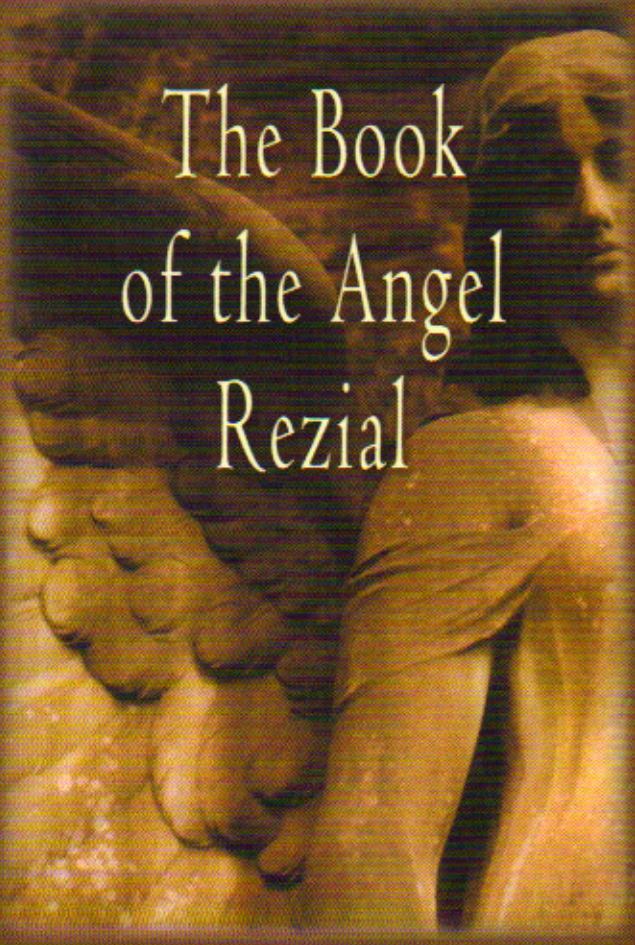
Sepher Rezial Hemelach



The Book of the Angel Rezial

edited and translated by

Steve Savedow

Sepher Rezial Hemelach

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

ACCORDING TO HEBREW LEGEND, the *Sepher Rezial* was presented to Adam in the Garden of Eden. It was given by the hand of God, through the medium of the angel Rezial. It is, therefore, suggested that this is the first book ever written. The text is an extensive compendium of ancient Hebrew magical lore, and quite probably the original source for much traditional literature on angelic hierarchy, astrology, qabalah, and Gematria.[1]

There is very little published bibliographical information available on the *Sepher Rezial*. It is noted in the bibliography of Gustav Davidson's *Dictionary of Angels* that the *Sepher Rezial* is sometimes titled *Raziel ha-Malach*, and credited to Eleazer of Worms.[2] Davidson mentions a Hebrew edition, published in 1881, and an

[1] "Qabalah" is an ancient mystical system usually attributed to Jewish religion. The study of qabalah is reputed to offer a multitude of spiritual benefits. There are several excellent introductory texts available on the subject, including *The Mystical Qabalah* by Dion Fortune (London: Rider & Co., 1935; and Samuel Weiser, York Beach, ME, 1984), *Tree of Life* by Israel Regardie (London: Rider & Co., 1932; and Samuel Weiser, York Beach, ME, 1972) and *Holy Kabbalah* by Arthur Waite (London: Williams & Norgate, 1928).

Gematria is a form of qabalistic numerology, in which each of the Hebrew letters is assigned a numerical value. Combining the letters yields a numerical value for every word. See the essay "Gematria" by Aleister Crowley (*The Equinox*, vol. 1, no. 5, London, 1911), later reprinted in *The Qabalah of Aleister Crowley*, edited by Israel Regardie (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1973), currently available as *777 and Other Qabalistic Writings*. See also Gareth Knight's *Practical Guide to Qabalistic Symbolism* (Cheltenham, England: Helios, 1965; now published by Samuel Weiser, York Beach, ME).

[2] Gustav Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), p. 365.

English manuscript in the British Museum.[3] The bibliography of Joshua Trachtenberg's *Jewish Magic and Superstition* notes a 1701 edition of *Raziel ha-Malach* published in Amsterdam, and "a German-rabbinic script that does not correspond throughout with the printed text, but often contains a more complete text." Trachtenberg further states: "*Sefer Raziel*, probably compiled in the 13th century and containing much Geonic mystical material (so potent were its contents considered that mere possession of the book was believed to prevent fires)."[4]

In Appendix IV of Aryeh Kaplan's translation of *Sefer Yetzirah*, Kaplan notes 25 various 19th-century editions of *Sepher Rezial*. He also notes that Eliezer (ben Yehudah) Rokeach of Worms (Garmiza) lived in the years 1160–1237.[5]

There is certainly no evidence to support the theory that the *Sepher Rezial* was actually written over 5000 years ago. There are however, references to the *Sepher Rezial* in several scholarly texts establishing a certain amount of validity to its claim to antiquity, dating it at least as far back as the 13th century. There have been various quotes printed from *Sepher Rezial* in a few English texts on Hebrew folklore, such as the Trachtenberg book mentioned earlier, and *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel* by Angelo Rappaport.[6] (For the record, no English edition was cited in either of these books' ample bibliographies.) Also, diagrams from *Sepher Rezial* were printed in Davidson's *Dictionary of Angels*, Trachtenberg's *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, and David Goldstein's *Jewish Folklore and Legend*.[7]

The introduction of the ancient Hebrew grimoire, *The Sword of Moses* states that ". . . the so-called Sefer Raziel, or the book delivered to Adam by the angel Raziel shortly after he had left Paradise. It is of composite character, but there is no criterion for the age of the component parts. The result of this uncertainty is that it has been ascribed to R. Eleazar, of Worms, who lived about the middle

[3] Mss. 3826 of the Sloan Collection. A list of Sepher Rezial manuscripts was posted on the World Wide Web by Adam McLean. See Appendix.
[4] Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York: Behrman House, 1939), pp. 321, 322, 315.
[5] Aryeh Kaplan, *Sefer Yetzirah* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1990), p. 330.
[6] Angelo Rappaport, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel* (London: Gresham, 1928.
[7] For an example, see David Goldstein, *Jewish Folklore and Legend* (London: Hamlyn, 1980), p. 30.

of the 13th century. One cannot, however, say which portion is due to his own ingenuity and which may be due to ancient texts utilized by him. I am speaking more particularly of this book as it seems to be the primary source for many magical or, as it is called now, a cabbalistical book of the Middle Ages."[8]

Trachtenberg states, "The long list [of magical incantations] in such a work as Sefer Raziel are proof of the arduous training that the novice in magic must undergo if he would learn how to direct all the memunium [Hebrew for "in charge of" or "appointed to"] of air, wind, date, time, place, etc., which can control a situation at a given moment."[9] In *Folklore in the Old Testament*, J. G. Frazer notes, "He (Noah) learned how to make it (the ark) from a holy book, which had been given to Adam by the angel Raziel, and which contained within it all knowledge, human and divine. It was made of sapphires, and Noah enclosed it in a golden casket when he took it with him into the ark, where it served him as a time-piece to distinguish night from day, for so long as the flood prevailed, neither the sun nor the moon shed any light on the earth."[10]

Sepher Rezial is also mentioned briefly in James Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. "The Book of Raziel, said to have been taught to Adam by the angel Raziel, and also to Noah, is a compilation, probably by various writers. It has affinities to the Shiva Koma and Sword of Moses. According to Zunz, Raziel was the work of Eleazer of Worms. It describes the celestial organization, and gives directions for the preparations of amulets."[11]

In *Hebrew Myths: The Book Of Genesis*, Robert Graves and Raphael Patai claim that:

> Solomon is said to have won much of his wisdom from the "Book of Raziel," a collection of astrological secrets cut on a sapphire, which the angel Raziel kept. The idea of a divine

[8] Moses Gaster, trans., *Sword of Moses* (London: D. Nutt, 1896; reprinted by Samuel Weiser, New York, 1970), p. 15.
[9] Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 70.
[10] J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, vol. 1 (London: MacMillan, 1918), p. 143.
[11] James Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 7 (New York: Scribner, 1908–1927), p. 628; it is also briefly mentioned in vol. 2, p. 658 (concerning the childbirth amulet); and in vol. 6, p. 206.

> book containing cosmic secrets appears first in the Slavonic "Book of Enoch" (xxxiii), which states that God had written books of wisdom (or, according to another version, dictated them to Enoch), that He then appointed the two angels Samuil and Raguil (or Semil and Rasuil) to accompany Enoch back from heaven to earth, and commanded him to give these books to his children and children's children. This may well be the origin of the "Book of Raziel" which, according to Jewish tradition, was given by the Angel Raziel to Adam, from whom it descended through Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Levi, Moses and Joshua until it reached Solomon. According to the Targum on Ecclesiastes X.20: "Each day the angel Raziel standing upon Mount Horeb proclaims the secrets of men to all mankind, and his voice reverberates around the world." A so-called "Book of Raziel," dating from about the twelfth century, was probably written by the Kabbalist Eleazar ben Judah of Worms, but contains far older mystical beliefs.[12]

A reference to the angel Raziel is presented *in Witchcraft, Magic, and Alchemy* by Emile Grillot de Givry, who quotes from the preface of a manuscript titled "Le Secret des secrets, autrement la Clavicule de Salomon ou le véritable Grimoire," where Solomon speaks to his son, Rehoboam: ". . . I named the most holy Name of the Lord, Yahweh, and I merited the means that may not be named, the means of the Wisdom, which the Angel Raziel showed me in a dream, whereof the close tale may not be told to the understanding, and said to me, 'Hide well the Secret of Secrets, because the time comes when the universal sciences will be destroyed and utterly hidden and will become void; and know that thy time is near.'"[13]

In *Jewish Folklore and Legend*, Goldstein states: "Enoch consulted the wonderous 'Book of Raziel' that had originally been given to Adam, and there he read of the part that Noah was to play in the salvation of the human race."[14] George Yurchison, in *World of*

[12] Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis* (New York: Doubleday, 1963), p. 53.
[13] Emile Grillot de Givry, *Witchcraft, Magic, and Alchemy*, J. Courtney Locke, trans. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), p. 103.
[14] Goldstein, *Jewish Folklore and Legend*, p. 30.

Angels, mentions that, ". . . when Adam was expelled from the Garden, the Archangel Raziel, at the instructions of the Lord, presented him with a Book of Secrets (known also as the Book of Adam, Secret of Secrets) to aid mankind in their attempt at salvation." He later states that "In ensuing generations of Adam's seed, the first man with his progeny were visited constantly by Michael and other Archangels to aid, instruct and console the mortals. It was at this point that Raziel gave the Book of Secrets to Adam. This is the only known book prepared actually in Heaven that existed (and still does, in fragments) on the earth."[15]

In *Dictionary of Angels*, under the heading "Raziel," Davidson presents the following:

> In the cabala, Raziel is the personification of Cochma (divine wisdom), 2nd of the 10 holy sefiroth. In rabbinic lore, Raziel is the legendary author of "The Book of the Angel Raziel" ("Sefer Raziel"), "wherein all celestial and earthly knowledge is set down." The true author is unknown, but he has been commonly identified as Eleazer of Worms or Isaac the Blind, medieval writers. Legend has it that the angel Raziel handed his book to Adam, and that the other angels, out of envy, purloined the precious grimoire and cast it into the sea, whereat God ordered Rahab, primordial angel/demon of the deep, to fish it out and restore it to Adam, which Rahab obediently did, although it should be pointed out that before this, Rahab had been destroyed. "The Book of the Angel Raziel" finally came into the possession of, first Enoch (who, it is said, gave it out as his own work i.e. "The Book of Enoch"); then of Noah; then of Solomon, the latter deriving from it, according to demonographers, his greatest knowledge and power in magic. (Rf. De Plancy, *Dictionnaire Infernal.*) From a midrash (Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews I*, 154–157) it develops that Noah learned how to go about building the Ark by poring over the Raziel tome. (Rf. Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions.*) . . . Searching further in the cabala, one learns that Raziel is one of 10 (actually one of 9) archangels in the Briatic world, which is the 2nd of the 4 worlds of creation. . . .

[15] George Yurchison, *World of Angels* (New York: Vantage Press, 1983), pp. 30, 48.

> According to Maimonides in his "Mishna Thora," Raziel is chief of the order of erelim (q.v.); also, the herald of deity and preceptor angel of Adam. In further connection with "The Book of the Angel Raziel", "The Zohar I", 55a, reports that in the middle there occurs a secret writing "explaining the 1,500 keys [to the mystery of the world] which were not revealed even to the holy angels."[16]

In the first book of the Zohar (Berashith-Genesis), there is a fairly long passage referring to the *Sepher Rezial*, that gives some insight to the legendary origins of this book.[17]

> This is the Book of the generations of Adam. In the day that Alhim created man, in the likeness of Alhim made he him." (Gen. v.,1.) Said Rabbi Isaac: "The Holy Ones showed Adam the forms and features of his descendants that should appear in the world after him, and of the sages and the kings who should rule over Israel. He also made known to him, that the life and reign of David would be of short duration. Then said Adam to the Holy One, "let seventy years of my earthly existence be taken and granted to the life of David." This request was granted, otherwise Adam's life would have attained to a thousand years. This was the reason that David said: "For thou Lord, hast made me glad through thy work; I will triumph in the work of thine hands (Ps. xcii.,5), for thou hast filled me with joy in prolonging the days of my life." "It was thy own act and wish," said the Holy One, "when thou wast incarnated as Adam, the work of my hands and not of flesh and blood." Amongst the wise men and sages that should

[16] Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels*, pp. 242–243.

[17] The Zohar is a twenty-four-volume compilation of qabalistic wisdom and lore. It was first introduced in the 13th century by a Spanish Jew named Moses de Leon, of Granada. There is some controversy surrounding the Zohar, as some believe that the work was not derived from ancient manuscripts, but actually written by de Leon himself. However, this does not detract from the fact that it is an extremely valuable qabalistic work. There have been several portions of the Zohar translated into English, most notably the five volumes translated by Harry Sperling, Maurice Simon, and Paul Levertoff, published by Samuel Bennet in 1958. This translation was later reprinted by Soncino Press in 1984.

> appear on the earth, Adam rejoiced greatly on beholding the form of Rabbi Akiba who would become distinguished by his great knowledge of the secret doctrine. On seeing, however, as in a vision, his martyrdom and cruel death, Adam became exceedingly sad and said: "Thine eyes beheld me ere I was clothed in a body and all things are written in thy book; each day hath its events that shall come to pass, are therein to be found." Observe that the book of the generations of Adam was that which was the Holy One through the angel Rasiel, guardian of the great mysteries and secret doctrine, gave unto Adam whilst yet in the Garden of Eden. In it was written all the secret wisdom and knowledge concerning the divine name of seventy two letters and its esoteric six hundred and seventy mysteries. It also contained the fifteen hundred keys, the knowledge and understanding and use of which had never been imparted to anyone, not even to angels, before it came into the possession of Adam. As he read and studied its pages, angelic beings assembled around him and acquired the knowledge of Hochma, or divine wisdom, and in their delight exclaimed "Be thou exalted, oh God above the heavens, and let thy glory be above all the earth" (Ps. lvii., 5). Then was it that the holy angel Hadraniel sent one of his subordinates to Adam, saying unto him, "Adam! Adam! guard thou well and wisely the great and glorious gift entrusted to thee by the Lord. To none of the angels on high have its secrets ever been revealed and imparted, save to thyself. Be thou therefore discreet and refrain from making them known to others." Acting on these injunctions Adam zealously and secretly kept this book up to his expulsion from the Garden of Eden, studying it and making himself acquainted with its wonderous mysteries. When, however, he disobeyed the commands of the Lord, the volume suddenly disappeared leaving him overwhelmed with grief and most poignant regret, so that he went and immersed himself up to his neck in the river Gihon. On his body becoming covered with unsightly ulcers and sores threatening physical dissolution, the Holy One instructed Raphael to return the book to Adam. After obtaining a full knowledge of its occult teachings, he handed it, when at the point of death, to his son

> Seth, who in turn bequeathed it to his posterity, and eventually it came into the possession of Abraham who was able by its secret teachings to attain to higher and more enlightened knowledge of the Divine, as was the case with his predecessor Henoch and enabled him, as it is written, "to walk with Alhim," that is to converse with them.[18]

The *Sepher Rezial* is very rare in any form, and the text is of great importance. It seems incomprehensible that it has never been translated, in its entirety, into English. The translation presented here was derived from a single text, the 1701 Hebrew edition, published in Amsterdam. The 1701 edition is a compilation of five texts, gathered together by its editor, who transcribed the letters of the various manuscripts into one volume. The title page notes that the book was "Printed in the chosen house of the respected priest [Kamir] Moses Ben Hieshiesh, by the honorable Abraham Mindim Kovitineyov."

The text is in biblical Hebrew, which uses no vowels. Hebrew vowels are represented by small dots and dashes positioned above and below the letters. According to the *Oxford Companion to the Bible,* the use of vowels in Hebrew writing developed between the fifth and tenth centuries C.E.[19] The full Hebrew text is 97 pages long. Each page has an average of 48 lines, with an average of 90 characters per line.

The use of vowels greatly simplified the matter of translating Hebrew into English. The variations of word interpretations became more specific with the placement of vowels. Also, there are very few pronouns and verbs utilized in biblical Hebrew, and almost no punctuation. In this translation, I have kept sentences as simple as possible, and have elected not to inject any implied verbs or pronouns, except where necessary to the grammar and/or syntax of the passage. Also, I have attempted to remain

[18] The quote is from the 1978 edition of the Zohar, translated by Nurho de Manhar (William Williams), and later reprinted by Wizards Bookshelf (San Diego, 1995). There are several other references to the book on pp. 234–235 of the 1995 edition, under the heading "Traditions Concerning Adam."

[19] Interestingly enough, this text actually discussed the use of the vowels in detail.

consistent with the words translated. You will therefore, likely note some repetition.

There are several difficulties involved with translating biblical Hebrew into English. English utilizes more words than any other language, especially Hebrew. Therefore, one Hebrew word may have a fairly large variety of possible translations, depending on the context of the passage. This obviously leaves room for interpretation. Most biblical Hebrew words have a root of three letters. The meaning may change depending on addition or omission of a prefix or suffix. For example, the root word (TzDQ) may be interpreted as right, righteous, righteousness, just, justice, justify, honest, correct, innocent, blameless, acquittal, vindicate, equitable, or charity. To complicate matters further, one English word may have several Hebrew interpretations. For example, the Hebrew words for the term "evil" include Ra'a, Resha'a, Ragezeni, Moseri, Chota, Cheli, Mezieq, Nezeq, Tzereh, and Hereh-Ason.

Each of the five manuscripts within the 1701 edition was produced during a different time period, while the manner of writing Hebrew was changing and improving. In each manuscript there is a different form and dialect of biblical Hebrew. Some of the dialects are of a very ancient form that was never intended to be translated into English. The first sections appear to have been derived from the most modern manuscripts. The style of writing in each book is different, with the use of different prefixes and suffixes, and different verbs and word spellings, and the expressions varied from section to section. The later sections are a bit "degraded" in places, as they are transcriptions of the most ancient manuscripts, and they were the most difficult to translate. For these reasons, the translation may seem rough and the "flow" of the text changes throughout this book. However, there is no way to accurately interject terms for the sake of literary integrity without possibly making an incorrect assumption. Those readers who have studied medieval Hebrew texts will understand the meaning as presented. Those not well-versed in this type of material may have difficulty, but they can also research similar works for clarification.

Due to the rarity of the *Sepher Rezial,* I could not locate alternate texts for comparison. I obtained two fragmented texts in English

translation, but neither was of much use for comparison. One section of this text was published in English translation as *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries*. In the preface of this translation, the editor states that ". . . no English translation [of "Sepher Ha-Razim"] exists."[20] The 1966 Hebrew edition used for this translation was edited by Mordecai Margalioth.[21] Also, an English translation of a Raziel manuscript was posted anonymously on the Internet. This consisted of less than 100 pages, and was titled *Liber Ratziel: The Book of Salomonis*. It was obviously taken from a Latin manuscript, as many passages were left in the original Latin.[22]

There are several concepts discussed in detail in this translation that may be unfamiliar to novices. Biblical Hebrew texts often use several names for God, and this book is certainly no exception. The most commonly used name here is (Hebrew: HQBH). This is an acronym for Hova Qedesh Berek Hova, which translates "He is holy. Blessed is He." When this acronym is used, I translate it simply as "God." Other names of God employed in the text include El, Elohim, Elohik, Elohinu, Eloah, Yah, Yehuwa, Adonai, Ahieh, Shaddai, and Melek Meleki Melekiem (The king, king of kings). In these cases, I simply leave the word in the English equivalent of the Hebrew pronunciation.[23] Also, the letter Heh followed by an apostrophe was often used as "The Lord." There are other mystical words in the text that do not translate clearly into modern English, so I have also left these in the English equivalent of the Hebrew characters. Table 1 on page 19 shows the Hebrew characters and the Roman equivalents used in this book. Please note that letters in parentheses (Hebrew: IHOH, for example) may not be translated as they are phrases used repeatedly throughout the text, or they are referring to the unspoken name of G-D.

One of the most important aspects of this book is the material concerning the various names of God, specifically the "72-fold name," the "22-fold name," and the "42-fold name." According to

[20] Michael A. Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (Chico, CA: Society of Biblical Literature/Scholars' Press, 1983), p. ii.
[21] *Sepher HaRazim*, Mordecai Margalioth, ed. (Jerusalem: Yediot Achronot, 1966).
[22] Probably Sloan Ms. 3846. See Appendix.
[23] In modern Hebrew texts, the name of God is never spelled out, but is often represented by two Yods. In prayer, this is usually pronounced as Adonai. Devout Jews will not even write the name God in English, and instead write out G-D.

Table 1. Hebrew and Corresponding Roman Characters.

HEBREW	Name	ROMAN	HEBREW	Name	ROMAN
א	Aleph	A	ל	Lamed	L
ב	Beth	B	מ	Mem	M
ג	Gimel	G	נ	Nun	N
ד	Daleth	D	ס	Samekh	S
ה	Heh	H	ע	Ayin	Aa
ו	Vau	O	פ	Peh	Ph
ז	Zayin	Z	צ	Tzaddi	Tz
ח	Cheth	Ch	ק	Qoph	Q
ט	Teth	T	ר	Resh	R
י	Yod	I	ש	Shin	Sh
כ	Kaph	K	ת	Tau	Th

Trachtenberg, "The name of 22, however is another matter, more interesting and puzzling—and much more important for the magician. Its debut was made in Sepher Raziel. . . ." Trachtenberg presents an extremely informational essay on the names of God. He also discusses the *Sepher Rezial* extensively throughout this same chapter, as well as in the following one, on angelic names.[24]

Another important concept discussed is the five names of the human soul. Each name corresponds to a certain aspect of the soul. The *Neshemah* refers to the breath of life. *Nephesh* refers to the soul itself. *Ruoch* refers to the spirit or mind. *Cheyah* refers to the life or vitality of the spirit. *Yechideh* refers to the unity or uniqueness of the spirit.

The concept of the Hebrew hells is also detailed. According to Hebrew mythology, there are actually seven hells: *Gihenam* (hell), *Sha'arimath* (the gates of hell), *Tzalemoth* (the shadow of death), *Baraschecath* (the pit of destruction), *Tithihoz* (the clay of death), *Abaddon* (the perdition), and *Shahol* (the highest, triple, or Supernal hell). In qabalistic lore, these are described as the ten hells in seven palaces, and they correspond to the ten sephiroth of the qabalistic tree of life.

The divisions of the Garden of Eden are mentioned several times in the first few sections. According to the Old Testament (Genesis

[24] Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, pp. 90–97.

2:10–14), the Garden of Eden is divided by four rivers. The first is Pishon, which flows around the land of Havilah. The second is Gihon, which flows around the land of Cush. The third and fourth rivers are the Tigris and the Euphrates. These are two actual rivers that defined the boundaries of the ancient land of Mesopotamia, which today is essentially the land in the area of Iraq and Iran. In fact, the word "Mesopotamia" means literally "between the rivers."

In his foreword, the original editor states that this work is a compilation of several manuscripts. He also claims to have proofread the text repeatedly to insure that this book would be "worthy to be studied by the children of my people." Although there is some repetition, the translation presented here is, for the most part, verbatim, in order to preserve the integrity of the text, as well as the intention of the original editor. I have also proofread the text repeatedly, and have taken great pains to produce an accurate transcription. I truly believe that the original editor would find this English translation to be worthy of study by the children of his people.

The title page is also of interest. We have reproduced it here, and the translation is as follows:

> This is the book of the history of man [Sephera Adem Qedemah] that was given to him by the angel Rezial. This is the gateway of the Lord. The righteous come forth. Rise upon the path. Rise to the House of El. Reach the glory of El. In every house of Israel, it is treasured. Rise up and see descendants most wise and intelligent. Prosper and be blessed. Extinguish the fire of enemies, that they do not rule in the house. Of every evil spirit and wicked enemy, fear not in the dwelling. Of who has this holy book, glory and honor to you. Keep it hidden and concealed near silver and gold in a house of treasure. In the course of sickness and misfortune, let there be salvation quickly. Testify [bear witness] and proclaim to all learned in the Torah. [25]

[25] The Torah is the holy book of the Jewish people, consisting of the first five books of the Old Testament. It is kept as a heavily ornamented scroll within an ark in the Temple, usually upon the pulpit. It is often carried and worshipped during ceremonies. The word "Torah" may be translated as "law," and may also be interpreted as "instruction" or "teaching." See Metzer and Coogan, eds., *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 747.

FOREWORD

BY THE

MASTER PROOFREADER

[HEBA'AL HEMEGIEHEH]

IN THE NAME OF THE UNITY of the tabernacle of the Lord [Heqebieh] and the dwelling of the Lord [Shekinethieh], it is secret and hidden. Blessed is the name of the glory of the kingdom forever.[1] See it restore the glory of life everlasting [Chieh La'avolemiem]. Endure therein and know every science of secret and hidden things.

This is the Book of the History of Man. Study and learn. Proclaim to the generations, from the beginning until the end. Of the most direct path of the Lord, the righteous journey therein, becoming strong unto Shem [Hebrew letters: Sh"M].[2] Break through as the dawn. Illuminate the eyes. See visions come in abundance. Visions of the illumination. Evil does not befall the righteous by understanding the commandments of purification coming forth from the ten books.

This book was concealed and locked away in a house of treasure for many years. The children of my people [Benai A'ami, usually a reference to "my countrymen"] are enlightened by the printing. In the [old] days, my ancestors did not speak the word, and

[1] Berok Shem Kebod Melekothov La'avolam. This prayer is used repeatedly throughout the text.

[2] This translates as "name," but the apostrophes between the letters signify a number (340), name (Shem), or abbreviation. This may be a reference to the Shem Hemaphorash, "the divided name" or "ineffable name." This term is extremely significant in qabalistic literature. See *Sword of Moses*, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, *Book of Enoch*, the Zohar, etc.

regretted not hearing the word. Upon seeing the vision of two visions [Rah Rayithi Shethi Rayivoth], it was printed in large quantity.

In the book are proclaimed the images of the letters from all the world, printed clearly. The holy and honored book is response to the commandments of the Torah. This was given long ago, financed by the Rabbi Obeadieh the Elder. A great outcry arose. The work was diminished and error after error discovered. I succeeded in reducing the errors by careful study, and seeking out the best portions of the book.

There are two books from other countries. I see mine is the original of all of them. They have all been copied from my book. I see the doctrine corrected for the benefit of the children of my people. Also included is the smaller work of Eleazer, son of the Rabbi Judah [see Introduction], who received the work of Merkabah [chariot] from the pious Rabbi Judah.[3] The rabbinical Judah the Hassidic received it from his father, Rabbi Simeon the Hassidic.[4] Obadiah himself proofread it, and sealed therein by the teacher of the great illumination, Rabbi Ta'abeli,[5] found during sojourn in the Land of Israel [Aretz Tzebi]. He traveled from one end of the world to the other. Those not dwelling in the land are not passed over. As travelers, as immigrants to Israel, dwelling in lamentation without possessions in the house, they are not passed over. They also receive greatest benefits by this book, from prayers rising up. From the beginning, the prayers are answered at once. Cry for joy all the day. There is no second to understanding the knowledge revealed by the name. Know the name to proclaim and be answered.

The great prophets were not able to make prophecies until studying this book, beginning properly on the third page.[6] The book prepared them to make prophecies. The Lord gives wisdom to understand every word in the world. It is required to prepare

[3] This term is highly significant in qabalistic literature. The text of *Sepher Rezial* deals with the work of the Merkabah in depth. Also, see the various qabalistic texts mentioned in earlier footnotes.

[4] There are several different Rabbis by the name of Judah and Simeon in recorded Jewish history. See the Zohar and the New Testament. Also, see Joshua 19:1–19:9, regarding Simeon's territory, later controlled by Judah.

[5] In the text, this is written as MHOR"R, which is a misprint for MOHR'R, an acronym for Morenov Verabenov Haravo Rabbi.

[6] The *Sepher Hamelbosh*, or *Book of the Vestment*, is presented on the third page of the Hebrew text.

them, as the jars of flour of the prophet Elihu [see The Book of Job], and the vessels of oil of the prophet Elijah [see Kings I, the Old Testament], and the fifty burnt offerings of the prophet Israel. When properly prepared, this book proclaims the Earth full with knowledge.

Also, it is written on the third page of the book, all pure are blessed and favored. The impure will not understand and not become wise. Let it be known, the words coming forth from this holy book are honored and revered. The impure profane by foolishness. The worthy become wise by understanding the knowledge. Herein are all the tributes [Medoth] written in the book of the great Rezial.

The book was not properly established by Obadieh. The work failed. The value of this holy book diminished, not being complete and corrected. The pure did not receive great benefit and usefulness by petition and prayer. It is required to speak all names and proclamations correctly. Only then to receive vision after vision, and the answer of answers to the secret of secrets.

The people dwelling in Egypt, who settle outside the land of Egypt, are not oppressed by powers of evil [Qliphoth] ruling the land from above. Shaitan commands the powers of evil, ruling from above and bound by the dwelling of the Lord [Shekineh].[7] Proclaim the day of retribution [Iyem Shelemeh] to punish the sons. The shadow of death [Tzalamoth] falls, bringing darkness across the lands. Israel languished, until the words of the Torah and word of the prophet. Death comes forth through the window [Chalon] by the powers of evil [see Exodus 11:1–11:8, the tenth plague of Egypt]. Cover the window and speak, protect us from the cloud passing over. The darkness falls, seen in the visible heavens. The prophets saw the vision by the virtue of the book. Serve the holy spirit [Ruoch Hakadesh]. Go forth from the cave, as the finger of a hand in the wall of the palace, loathsome and abominable. The hole closed and a great cloud passed over, spreading an abominable covering of bitumen [Chemar].[8]

[7] The Hebrew name of Satan. According to the Midrash, Shaitan was the chief of the Sepharim, and was created on the sixth day of creation. Also, see Gustav Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), p. 261.

[8] Bitumen, or asphaltus, is a dark, thick, gelatinous substance that flows underground, most notably springing forth in a "turbid effervescence" near Babylon, and also from the floor of the Dead Sea.

The prophets receive understanding. Fill the belly with all wisdom of the universe. There is nothing more precious than learning the wisdom of the qabalah, upholding the Mishnah [codification of Jewish oral law]. Without understanding the knowledge, there is no interpretation of the Mishnah, no knowledge of the work of the Merkabah, no learning the Gemara [commentary of the Mishnah], and no interpreting the unity of God. From understanding the knowledge, receive wisdom to interpret the significance of the unity of God. Begin the path of the Lord, but not without understanding the knowledge of the doctrine of the book. Is it not so, what Ezekiel and other prophets have written, bound, and sealed in the book?[9]

Change the names of the Malechiem.[10] In times of destruction [Choreveh], as in the Midrash of the scriptures[11] when Shaitan was cast out of heaven to the earth, where there is not understanding of the true meaning [Pheshat, the literal or plain meaning]. Of every work of qabalah, it is necessary to establish the seasons, the months, the days, and the hours. In every hour, change the name of the Malechiem, guided by the pages of this book. God created darkness to establish the hours. In the Midrash, Shaitan commanded the king of flesh and blood to extinguish the lamps. The Sun and Moon darkened. The shining stars increased.

Change the Malechiem watching over the heavens and Earth. Reveal the words of absolution by the Torah of Moses. Then the prophecies are revealed. Ears hear and eyes see. Cover the ears not to hear, and close the eyes not to see.

The qabalah is perfection, the root of the Torah. There are two Tablets of the Decalogue [Sheni Lochoth Haberith] arranged in order. The pure revere purity. It is indeed necessary to study and learn the 613 precepts of the Talmud. Solomon divided and distinguished the secret portions.[12] By grace of the Lord,

[9] Ezekiel was a prophet who lived from 593–571 B.C.E. See the Book of Ezekiel in the Old Testament.

[10] This term is often used as a general reference to angels. In some texts, the Malechiem are actually a specific order of angels.

[11] The Midrash is the non-halakhic portion of the Talmud. The term may also be translated as "commentary."

[12] The Talmud is a complex commentary on the Mishnah. Solomon was the King of Israel in the years 962–922 B.C.E. See Kings I of the Old Testament. Also, there are many amazing tales depicting the magical acts of Solomon in Hebrew and Arabic folklore. See the Zohar, the Koran, the Midrash, and, in fact, virtually every book mentioned in the Introduction.

reveal the prophecies. Make known the great perfection of the beginning.[13]

Goodness is the last word of the first wisdom. The beginning path to the end. According to the commandments, exceed in goodness from the revealed [Negelah] teachings of secret things.[14] You exceed in goodness by keeping the commandments.

Proclaim the lamp of the commandments of the Torah, the secret light.[15] Do not forsake the commandments written in the Torah. The light reveals that the commandments are superior. The light reveals the commandment as a lamp. The Torah is light [see Proverbs 6:23]. The secret is revealed. Bring forth a small lamp before the flame. Extinguish the burning flames as flame consumes flame. The fire of God goes forth to consume it. The lamp of Elohim.

The Neshemeth of man [see Introduction] is the root of perfection. Reach to God. Reach unto the Lord Elohik. The small lamp reaches to the great light. Make many commandments. Increase the lamps creating flames. Distinguish the secrets and reveal them. Become wise by the power of God. Reveal the divisions without reducing the commandments. Go forth to dwell in the house. Establish the prayers. Build the foundation of the Sukkah.[16] Dwell therein in prayer. Speak to the Lord and proclaim prayers above in reverence. Complete the tabernacle in prayer. Forgive the guilty banished [Diaspora].[17]

Keep all commandments. Reach to the Lord. The secrets are revealed to your sons. Dwell in the world. The son and father are as one.[18] All righteous dwell in the presence of power [A'atzemov].[19]

[13] On page 2 of *The Bahir* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1970), translated by Aryeh Kaplan, Kaplan notes: "The word 'beginning' (Reshit) is nothing other than Wisdom. It is thus written (Psalm 111:10), 'The beginning is wisdom, the fear of God.'").

[14] On page 70 of *The Bahir* (trans. Kaplan), it is noted: "What is the seventh attribute? This is the Blessed Holy One's attribute of Goodness." "Negelah" translates as "shining" or "revealed," but may also refer to the written or oral law.

[15] The term "light" has many important qabalistic and biblical significances, beginning in Genesis 1:3: "And God said, Let there be Light." Most classic texts on Hebrew mysticism discuss the concept of light.

[16] A tabernacle built of branches and leaves often adorned with fresh fruit.

[17] A Greek term meaning "dispersion." See *Oxford Companion to the Bible*, p. 169.

[18] The symbolisms of the father and son are extensive. See the Old and New Testaments and other original sources.

[19] The root AaTzM may be translated as power, force, strength, essence, bone, self, substance, etc.

The seal of Elohim is 96 by Gematria.[20] In the beginning, [Berashith] Elohim created the seal (Hebrew letters: ShAaHZ) upon a gourd [Dela'ath].[21] The wise understand and hereafter reach to God.

An abominable cloud of bitumen comes forth from the heat. Do not be destroyed by the powers of evil. Stand trembling before judgment.[22] Afterward, man speaks of the punishment of death [see Genesis 3]. Tremble before the wrath and be consumed by heat. The Torah speaks of heat to consume.

All are locked outside the gate. Weep and lament in Gihenam [the first hell; see Introduction]. In lamentation, experience 32 visions, the key of the 32 paths of wisdom and power of man. Of Yod Heh Vau Heh, shed tears until now revealing the secret of secrets concealed from ancient times. The secrets of the Neshemeth and Malachim above.

The pure learn and understand the words of the book. Be with Elohim as Enoch was taken by Elohim.[23] At the established time, speak to Israel of the act of El.

This is the Book of the History of Man and the Book of the Origin of Man. The worthy see the book of books is truth.[24] Behold, man is sustained in the Garden of Eden. Man received the secret of ten books from God through the medium of Rezial, the holy angel appointed over the highest and most holy mysteries. The ten highest plates are engraved of the most holy wisdom. There are 72 kinds of wisdom. The divisions are revealed as 170 (Hebrew: MAH OShBAaIN) engravings of the highest secrets. By means of the book, engrave the wisdom and reveal 1005 (Hebrew: ALP OChMSh) keys to the highest and most holy secret, concealed in ten

[20] The Gematria value of the name Elohim, as presented in the text, is actually eighty-six. In older Chaldee texts, however, the spelling of Elohim often terminates with a Nun rather than a Mem. The Gematria value of Elohin would be ninety-six.

[21] "Berashith" has a great deal of significance, as will be discussed later.

[22] The concept of judgment is quite significant. See the Old Testament, New Testament, Enoch I (22:4), *The Bahir* (verse 65), the Zohar.

[23] See Genesis 5:22. Also see *The Book of Enoch*.

[24] Psalms 85:12. "Truth sprout up from the earth, and righteousness looks down from heaven."

books.[25] The book was assembled at the time God indicated for Raphael to write ten books, as the intermediary of man.

Then came Abraham. By the ten books, he knew of the foolishness and disobedience in the world. He knew of Enoch writing ten books. Because of the foolishness in the world, he divided them. The brilliance was restored. Enoch rose up to reach the splendor and ceased being a man. You sent forth the holy angel to teach ten high wisdoms and deliver ten books. Keep hidden in the Tree of Life [Ayilon Chiyeh, see Genesis 2–3]. Learn the divisions. It is true that God gave this book to man through Rezial, the angel.

The book came to Rabbi A'aqivah and Rabbi Ishmael. The teachings of the Book of Formation were revealed by the Book of the History of Man.[26] It was handed down from generation to generation to A'aqivah. He rejoiced in the warmth of the light. It is also written in the Gemara, reveal to the generations. Rabbi A'aqivah rejoiced in the laws. The gift is seeing the generations. Reveal the visions at once. Be in awe by what is written on page 42 [of the original Hebrew text].[27] Write the names upon a myrtle leaf. It is not forbidden to engrave these seven names, as it is forbidden to engrave Ahieh. The gift to the worthy is knowing the signs of the ninth section.

The worthy come forth in purity. Learn from the pages of this book. Work in holiness and purity. Sons and grandsons of the pure father are created in purity. Only the father is required to guide therein to glory, as it is written in the Book of Vestments in the first section of this book.

It is required to keep this book in a house of treasure with silver and gold. Surely be delivered from blight and misfortune and affliction, and receive great benefit and usefulness.

[25] The Zohar notes 670 mysteries and 1500 keys, see the passage quoted in the Introduction. Also, see Rappaport's *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel*, volume I, page 148.

[26] *Sepher Yetzirah*. This has been translated into English by various scholars, dating back to the late 19th century. Translators include W. Wynn Westcott, Isidor Kalisch, and Aryeh Kaplan. In Appendix III of Kaplan's translation are tables from the commentary of Eliezer Rokeach of Worms. Also, see page xvi of Kaplan's Introduction for information on Rabbi A'aqivah.

[27] The first talisman of Book 2, Part 4 is presented on page 94.

In the first section of this book is the Book of the Vestment. Therein are works of the book, of how it was given to man by Rezial, the angel, and how to be guided therein. Also, the names of the seasons, and the names of the Malachim ministering in every season and every month and every day. Also, the names of the heavens and Earth, and every spirit and angel ministering over every sign of the zodiac, and the angels of the seven planets in every season, and days of the week.

In the second section is the Book of the Mighty Rezial. The corrected doctrine is sweet as honey dropped from the honeycomb. Also, the work of Merkabah and words of wisdom. All words are properly corrected and suitable to be revealed to the worthy. Also the works and actions of the Malachiem, and knowledge of winds and rains and such things.

In the third section is knowledge of the 72-fold name and the actions of the letters and vowel signs.

In the fourth section is the Book of Noah. The actions of the greatest works are written. Also, of the work of Berashith and prayers to rise up in exaltation.[28]

In the fifth section is the Book of the Signs of the Zodiac. Also the charms [Qomeya'avoth] over all things, tried and proven. Also the 22-fold name and 42-fold name, and their actions.

It is required to establish and make known, not to speak the most holy names aloud. Only regard them in the heart, even in prayer. It is written in the Gemara, worship the Lord the true God in all hearts. The prayers are difficult to learn. Much sleep is required to learn the meanings of the letters. Remember the holy names, as required to prepare, but do not speak them aloud.

It is also required to prepare, by rabbinical consecrations and devotions not printed in this book, for a period of ten years. These are not printed here, as a wise man said it is not appropriate to print them in this holy book. Knowledge against knowledge hinders understanding. The rabbinical, combined with that printed here, are united as one. Forsake them and be cursed by all plagues foretold in the Torah of Moses. It is established, those not keeping

[28] The term Berashith means "Genesis," and translates literally to "in the beginning." It is also the very first word of the book of Genesis, the first book of the Old Testament.

every commandment of the Torah are accursed. Forsake one commandment and sin unintentionally, the foolish are accursed. Let it be known the knowledge is reserved for those prepared by rabbinical consecrations and devotions. The scholars of Earth are favored in the eyes of the Lord.

Now it is time the transcription is printed. I have copied it letter by letter, with special attention to the most holy names, and also the names of the Malachim. I proofread it four times, letter by letter. If there are any errors, I beg the Lord to forgive me. It is now prepared to be printed and bound by Isaac Ben Checheber Abraham, Amsterdam.

BOOK ONE

PART 1

BOOK OF THE VESTMENT [SEPHER HAMELBOSH]

IT IS DECREED, THE HOLY AND PURE ARE FILLED with secret wisdom [Rezi Chokmah]. The knowledge is the result of understanding.

The wise are humble and cry in joy from the names learned in clear language. The chosen are pure of heart. Make to heal the body. Give grace that measures the strength of the light of the shining star. Gird with the strength. The power is established forever by the actions before the generations. Rejoice in silence from generation to generation of the holy heights [Qedoshov Merom]. It is written as pure gold. A bubbling fountain of purity is established in the center of the sublime power. Of the works of glory, the most precious pearls are not compared with the glory, nor the finest gold of Aphier.[1] The value of wisdom cannot be measured, nor understanding of knowledge. Also, there is no measure to the value of the secrets written herein, as revealed by Elohim.

As the force of fire, all search therein. As the ruler of the heavens, all search therein. The Tree of Life is supported and guarded and protected, as the apple of the eye. By reverence of the Lord, the glory is obtained. Obtain the glory to obtain life. Of understanding, receive wisdom. Of salvation, keep from death. Of fulfillment of the Nephesh, by consecration. Of the power, be strengthened by reverence of the Lord. Of learning the knowledge, understand and fill the heart with wisdom. From drawing of life, increase from the sole to the heel. Form divisions in the Garden of Eden.

Elohim treasures the reverence. The Lord fills all the Earth with glory, as in heaven where the throne is established. There is no

[1] A city or province famous for the highest quality of gold.

measure to the glory. Seven fountains rise and fall to honor a thousand thousands ministers [Mesharethim] and a myriad myriads hosts [Tzebavoth].[2] The force of fire ignites the river of fire flowing forth. The sound shakes the nations in fear of destruction. A vison comes forth of the image of a fiery archer as Tharshish and Sardonyx, and arrows as swift as lightning.[3]

The throne of the glory resembles ice [crystal]. Surrounded by Malachim, the archer Ophan kindles the flames.[4] The people of the dominion tremble in fear and cover their eyes. The Lord made clouds and fog all around, wrapped in swaddling cloth, dwelling alone upon the throne, concealed and hidden.

The worthy go forth to the hidden light. The most profound secrets are revealed. The revelations are made clear, not obscured by darkness. There is nothing in all the universe that compares. All actions and desires are fulfilled by works revealed. Become proficient and results occur quickly. Those who attempt to duplicate the works receive no results. The souls [Nepheshoth] of the disobedient and rebellious are punished by condemnation. By desire, to establish the curse. The sea dries up. The Sun and Moon darken. The light of the stars becomes faint. The mountains shift and fall, and the Earth trembles. This is the result of arrogance. Those chosen are strengthened by the power of the wisdom, established by understanding the knowledge.

In the holy book are 72 signs, given by Michael, the great prince above seven princes, ministering before the king, king of kings [Melech Melechi Melechim]. From it, Adam, the first man, received the beginning wisdom. From it, awaken and proclaim the names of every living creature and bird and creeping thing and fish. From understanding, increase the wisdom of all created by Elohim on the sixth day of Genesis [Berashith].

[2] Ten million. A myriad equals ten thousand.

[3] Tharshish is a semiprecious stone from the Spanish kingdom of the same name. Some suggest it is either amber or chrysolite. It is also the name of the ruling angel of the angelic order of Tharshishiem.

[4] In Gustav Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967, p. 213), it is noted that Ophan is identified by the ancient sages as the angel Sandalphon, the twin brother of Metatron. Also, see p. 257.

Adam read the holy book and learned the letters and words. He knew the words were true. The knowledge lifted him above all other creatures. He was in awe from all he saw therein, and understood that all that is written in the book is the truth.[5] It is true; all of the words in the book are most holy. Great is the glory of every power.

In holiness and purity, perform the operations. In humility and modesty, succeed in all works. Become wise by the spirit of wisdom [Ruoch Chokmah].

It is written, Adam prepared a bar of gold and purified it twice by fire. Then [he] engraved thereupon the signs of the holy book, in holiness and purity. Then [he] placed the book in a cleft of the rock on the east side of the Garden of Eden—not to fall to Earth, but to endure and sustain the power. In every place, Adam was sustained.

It is proclaimed, Adam wandered upon the earth, as a ship upon the sea. He remembered and recorded when mountains melted like wax; and the sea went forth as hoar frost; and fire went forth as dust; and lions and leopards and bears and animals of the pasture stood silent and still; and insects rose up in the air as birds; and the sea became a desert wilderness.[6]

He remembered and recorded the letters of the holy name before the Sun and the Moon and Orion [Hakesil]. By the light of all luminaries, rule in righteousness and in reverence of Elohim. Also, hold dominion over the spirit [Ruoch] and over violence [Shad] and over misfortune [Phega'a, or enemy] and adversaries [Shatan] rising up over men and women. It is written, be summoned as you wish and desire.

He recorded when the stone wall of the tower suddenly fell to the ground; and fruit trees bear fruit before the proper time; and [people] take flight before battles of war.

Everything was revealed to him: of the holy spirit [Ruoch Hakadesh], of death and life, of goodness and evil. Also, the mysteries of hours and minutes of time, and number of days. Calculate

[5] Psalms 119:160. "The beginning of your word is Truth."

[6] These are omens and portents, probably noted to help predict weather.

the seasons and anniversaries [Yobelim, refers to the equinoxes and solstices] until the end of the universe. Measure the time from the beginning until the end.

Then serve his son, Seth.[7] For ten years, instructed according to the way of the holy book, he received understanding of all letters and words engraved in the holy book, of all powers revealed. He knew by the powers therein to perform miracles, and learned to perform the works. He kept the book hidden away in the cleft of a rock.

From the book, Adam learned that the time of death drew near. Every day, he rejoiced in adjuration, not eating fruits or vegetables or any meat [giving] forth blood. Every day, [he bathed] in the purity of running water, once in the morning and once in the evening. He spoke to his son, Seth, by adjuration alone, not guided by the holy spirit. Preparation is difficult. Work only in humility and reverance, in purity and holiness. Every path is revealed and you become wise by the signs.

After all this, Adam was released to the long home [Beth A'aolam, a reference to the cemetery or grave]. His son, Seth, served the Lord. He was sustained therein by every power, not turning to the left and right from every word spoken by his father, Adam. He became wise from understanding the knowledge, and received the wisdom of the holy book. He opened the gate of wisdom and understanding. Know the difference between good and evil, be repelled by evil and choose goodness.

See and behold the generations of ancestors coming after. The foolish and the vain and the sinful profane by proclaiming false idols in the name of God. The disobedient and rebellious tolerate suffering, not knowing or understanding. Journey in darkness.

Seth became wise by the secrets of the book and the letters of the holy name engraved therein. He learned that God would cause the sea to overflow and destroy all the world by his power. He kept the book in a vault of gold and also placed in the vault all the precious spices, and kept it hidden in a cave. He lived in the city of Enoch, built by his brother Cain [see Genesis 4:17].

[7] Seth was Adam's third son, after Cain and Abel. See Genesis 5:3.

BOOK ONE

PART 2

THIS IS THE PRAYER OF ADAM, THE FIRST MAN

THIS IS THE PRAYER SPOKEN BY ADAM when cast out of the Garden of Eden. From [his] prayers for mercy, [he was] given the holy book by the compassion of the Lord.

Adam spoke: Lord, eternal God of the universe, [you] created all the universe by power and glory.[1] The kingdom is everlasting beauty, going from generation to generation. Nothing is unknown and nothing hidden from your eyes. You created me by your hand, to hold dominion over all living creatures and lord over actions.

The cunning and accursed serpent of the tree deceived my wife and me by lies, leading [us] astray to eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge. I know not what will become of my wife and myself and my sons, and the generations coming after. I am disobedient and foolish, running away before your power, not answering nor raising my eyes, ashamed of sins, of wickedness and iniquity, knowing you would cast me out into day.

Here am I, in the wilderness, to plow the soil and toil upon the earth, receiving nourishment from it, trembling in fear upon the earth, dwelling, from this time, by eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge and not heeding your words, not receiving wisdom. I know not what will come from foolishness.

You are merciful and rule with great compassion. I am the first man you created and breathed into me Ruoch and gave the Nephesh [see Introduction]. I beg mercy of compassion. Be slow to anger and show mercy as prayers rise up to the throne of glory. I

[1] See Angelo Rappaport, *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel* (London: Gresham, 1928), vol. 1, p. 171.

petition for salvation from the throne of compassion. Let there be mercy. I desire to speak in your presence, no longer hiding as I pray for mercy. The everlasting Lord of the universe holds dominion over all, ruling in great compassion.

I pray you reveal what will come of the generations coming after. What will occur every day and every month. I pray you do not conceal the wisdom. Watch over me and sustain my labors.

Adam prayed for three days. God sent forth Rezial, the angel, who dwelled upon the river going forth from the Garden of Eden. He was revealed to Adam as the Sun went black. By his hand, he gave the book to Adam, saying: "Do not fear and lament no longer. From the day you served in prayer, the prayers were heard. I come to give the knowledge of the words of purity and great wisdom. Become wise by the words of this most holy book. They reveal until the day of death. All sons serve below. All generations coming after are guided by this holy book to prosper in purity. Be humble in Ruoch. Reveal all that is written therein. Know what comes to pass every month, and between day and night.

"Every word is revealed. Learn when to eat, when to fast, and when to honor A'arob;[2] what to do in heavy rain or in times of drought; how to increase crops; hold dominion over wickedness in the world; [what to do] when plagued with locusts [Arbeh] and locust larvae [Chasiel]. [Learn what to do] when fruit is picked off the trees; when [you are] plagued with boils; when to fight wars and when to turn away. [Learn how to act] when disease comes to man or beasts; when the good come upon the highest favor; when the wicked spill blood; when to lament that the profane desecrate the flesh."

Adam drew near and heard, learning to be guided by the holy book. Rezial, the angel, opened the book and read the words. Hearing the words of the holy book from the mouth of Rezial the angel, he fell upon the ground trembling in fear. Rezial spoke: "Rise up and be strong. Revere the power of God. Take the book from my hand and learn from it. Understand the knowledge. Make it known to all pure. Therein establish what will occur in all time."

[2] A rabbinical provision alleviating Sabbath restrictions on eating certain foods, carrying certain things, or walking to a certain place.

Adam took the book. A great fire kindled upon the bank of the river. The angel rose up in flames and returned to heaven. Then Adam knew the angel had been sent forth by Elohim, the holy king, to deliver the book, sustained therein in holiness and purity.

The words of the book proclaim works to perform when seeking to prosper in the world. For three days before the New Moon [Rash Chadesh may refer to the first of the month], prepare by fasting. Do not drink wine nor lay down with his wife. Bathe in the sea before the rising Sun.

Then bring two turtledoves.[3] Slaughter them with a knife of brazen metal [brass or copper] with two edges. Slaughter the first turtledove with one edge of the knife. Slaughter the second turtledove with the other edge. Remove the intestines and wash in the sea. Bring three shekels of aged wine, pure frankincense, and a little honey, pure and clear. Mix all together and fill the bellies of the turtledoves. Then cut them into pieces. Place the pieces upon burning coals before the rising Sun of noon as a burnt offering.

Then be wrapped in white robes and go forth unshod. Write the names of the Malachim ministering in the months. Divide the names into three sections. Burn one section every day for three days. On the third day, gather up all the ashes. Scatter them upon the floor in the middle of the house. Then sleep above the ashes. Record above the names of the Malachim: the Hadieriem [mighty or noble ones], the Chazekiem [powerful ones], the Geborim [strong ones], the Kadeshim [holy ones], and the Moshelim [rulers, or dominions]. Then awaken. The Malachim came forth in the night in dreams to reveal their names. These were made clear, not in riddles, but all clearly revealed. Seek without fear.

After four generations, Enoch, son of Jarod, served and became wise in the reverence of Elohim.[4] Keeping the body in purity, bathing in the sea of life [Mim Chiyem] and living in holiness before the Creator of the universe [Borah La'ahalom]. In a dream, the place was revealed to him where the book was concealed and also the path to lead therein. Work in holiness and purity. Rise early

[3] Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York: Behrman House, 1939), p. 243.
[4] Genesis 5:22.

and walk until noon. Because of the heat of the Sun, stop to rest, not realizing [he rested] in the [holy] place. There, pray in the presence of God and be blessed. Rise up in purity and be sustained in the place of purity. While concealed therein, the light of all paths will be seen. Guide therein until seeing the highest holiness. Separate from those dwelling upon the Earth, taken by Elohim.

In this holy book is knowledge of the Malachim ministering in the seasons, the signs of the zodiac, all the luminaries, and those ministering in every month. Also, the names and invocations of every season, and the Malachim ministering in the four seasons of the year. Become wise from the names of the Earth and the names of the heavens. Also, the names of the Sun and Moon. Increase the glory by every power. Understand all knowledge over all creation.

Adam, the first man, understood the power was passed on to the generations coming after, by the power and the glory. After Enoch was taken by God, it was kept hidden, until coming to serve Noah, son of Lamech, a most righteous and honest man, loved by the Lord.[5]

In the time of five hundred years, there was great corruption on the Earth, by acts of violence and corruption of all flesh. Because of the ways of people of the Earth, a great cry rose up from the Earth to the heavens, before the throne of the glory of God.

Noah was favored in the eyes of the Lord. The Lord sent forth the holy prince, Raphel, to Noah. Raphel spoke, I have been sent forth by the word of Elohim. The Lord God restores the Earth. I make known what will be and what to do, and deliver this holy book. You will understand how to be guided therein by works most holy and pure. Hear the word of the Lord. You are the most righteous and honest man in all the ages. Behold, I give you this holy book to reveal all the secrets and mysteries. Work in holiness and purity, in humility and modesty. From it, learn how to make the ark from pitch pine [A'atzi Gupher]. Gather your sons and wives and sons' wives. Live in hiding for a short time, until the wrath of the Lord passes over.

Noah took the book from the hand of the holy prince, Raphel. In time, he received understanding of the knowledge therein. By

[5] See Genesis 5:28.

the words of the holy book, [he was] guided unto the Ruoch of the Lord. He made the ark in the length and width written therein.[6] By the knowledge, Noah became wise by the holy name and spoke to every house of God: Come to the ark, those righteous and worthy.

From the secrets of the book, Noah, son of Lamech, built the ark and understood all the words. [He] then brought to the ark two and seven males and females.[7] The sky opened up and the flood lasted forty days and forty nights. Noah spoke by the Ruoch of wisdom and understanding, giving blessing to the Lord Elohim, the great, strong, and honored king.

Noah spoke: Blessed is the Lord, giving wisdom to revere your name. Blessed is the kingdom. By reverence, deliver the souls of the pious. In the secret place, protect and deliver us in salvation, living by your grace, forever serving your spirit. By understanding every word, every man and beast and living creature and bird and creeping thing and fish know of the power and great strength. Become wise by the great wisdom of the holy book. Make known when it is day and when it is night. Know when to eat and when to fast.

The prayers rose up to the throne of glory, giving salvation to all in the ark. The Ruoch of Elohim passed over the Earth, lowering the water. The ark rested gently upon the mountain of Ararat.[8]

Noah was guided by the wisdom of the book. It was made known to his son, Shem. From it, Noah learned to build the ark, and what would come. Shem was guided therein and sustained by the book, following the works in holiness. Shem handed down the book to Abraham,[9] then from Abraham to Isaac, from Isaac to Jacob, from Jacob to Levi, from Levi to Moses, from Moses to Aaron, from

[6] According to the Old Testament (Genesis 6:15), the ark was 300 cubits in length, fifty cubits in width, and thirty cubits in height.

[7] According to the Old Testament (Genesis 7:2-4), God told Noah: "Take with you seven pairs of all clean animals, the male and its mate; and seven pairs of the birds of the air, also male and female, to keep their kind alive on the face of the earth."

[8] A mountain in an Armenian province of the same name, whereupon the ark was said to have rested, according to the Old Testament (see Genesis 8:4).

[9] According to the Old Testament, the lineage from Shem to Abraham was Shem, Arpachshad, Sheleh, Eber, Peleg, Rev, Serug, Nahor, and Terah. Terah was the father of Abram, who was later instructed by God to change his name to Abraham (Genesis 17:5).

Aaron to Phineas,[10] from Phineas to his son, and to all the generations coming after.

All who are pure rise up in happiness and goodness by the knowledge. Become wise as established therein. All are not afforded grace and not all gain the understanding of the knowledge. The beginning wisdom comes from reverence of the Lord. By this, the wise man considers how to become wise therein. From understanding, man serves the Lord. Study the book in purity. Do not fall upon your face, trembling in fear. Do not go astray from the path of the Lord. Do not go before the power of evil. Come forth in goodness. Counsel the wicked to join together, casting off their wicked ways. Live in goodness and happiness is obtained in life, not being persecuted by evil spirits and wicked enemies. Deliver from misfortune at once. The house is blessed.

Journey to the high place to contemplate grace. Give blessings to the holy name. Attain the brilliance of the light. By visions, know all are good in the eyes of Elohim. Man knows, by visions, of the death of the wicked. Deliver the Nephesh of the righteous to live. Conceal the Nephesh in the foundation, enduring death by the power in the presence of the kings assembled. Serve in the name of God, the king over all kings.

All are sustained by this book. It is written, keep the body pure and do not defile the flesh. The wife is not to toil in impurity.[11] The Nephesh is not to die. All uncircumcised [A'arel][12] are not to profane. Keep holy the flesh in the sea of life. Purify the body to be with Elohim. Do not consume unclean things. Do not toil in corruption. Work only in holiness by all written herein and prosper.

Those who are improper [wrongdoers] by the letters of the holy name, not keeping the body in purity and holiness, and corrupting the flesh, they are guided therein frivolously. By not keeping to the path, and by going with arrogance therein, [they] profane and desecrate the holy name. [They shall] be punished and perish from the world. [They shall] be accursed and an abhorrence in the world,

[10] Phineas was Aaron's grandson, and the son of Eleazer.
[11] The term used here is "Nedah," which is usually a reference to female menses.
[12] This term may simply refer to someone who is not Jewish.

not favored and not graced. The fire is not extinguished. [They will] wander in darkness, moving farther away from the light of the Lord.

Show reverence to the Creator of all the universe. Guide therein in purity and holiness. Understand the knowledge of all the words therein. Succeed in all the works. Be favored in the eyes of the Lord in mercy and compassion. All enemies tremble in fear before the power of the holy name. Proclaim to the wise and understand the knowledge. Travel the direst path to the Lord. Commit sins, and stumble, and fall before the power.

Prosper by the established and ordained blessings. Rise up to dwell in the light of the Lord, judged by the book.[13] The humble bow down to serve. All go forth to the Lord, for five days in the beginning of the month, and five days in the middle of the month, and succeed in all works.

Rise up and be judged by the great book. In exaltation, declare the Lord Elohim in prayer. All serve and live as it is written by the Lord to live, and succeed in all works.

Be judged by the book of judgment. In judgment, all serve and worship in prayer.[14] Of the works, change the name of the Moon and Sun, five days in the beginning, five days in the middle, and five days in the end.

In the first season, the Sun is in Aries [Taleh], Taurus [Shor], and Gemini [Tavomiem] for 91 days, three hours, and one from four of three hours [Achad Marba'a Vosheliesh Sha'ah].

In the second season, the Sun is in Cancer [Saretan], Leo [Areyieh], and Virgo [Betholeh] for 91 days, six hours, and one from four of three hours.[15]

In the fourth season, the Sun is in Capricorn [Gedi], Aquarius [Deli], and Pisces [Dagiem] for 91 days, and one from four of three hours.

[13] In the *Oxford Companion to the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 565, it is noted: "In terms of purpose, the oracles of the prophetic books can be classified generally as either 'judgment speeches' or 'oracles of salvation'."
[14] In *The Bahir*, Aryeh Kaplan, trans. (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1979), p. 24, it is noted: "As long as a person does judgement, God's wisdom is inside him."
[15] The third season is omitted. It is quite safe to assume the passage should read: "During the third season, the Sun is in Libra [Mazenayiem], Scorpio [A'aqerov], and Sagittarius [Qashat] for 91 days," etc.

When seeking to make the earth fertile, take water and pour it upon the earth. Speak the names of the earth in every season. The earth will absorb the water at once. You work and succeed.[16]

When in the first season, perform works to cultivate and sow the soil. Speak the name of the earth and the sun; and the prince, Yehov Hov Ayien; and the name of the first day of the week, Phiegnotheqer; and the names of the first season, Samal, A'anal and Geneshorash; and the prince, Ayied Mesetar; and the name of the Sun, Phenievothah; and the name of the sign of the zodiac Aries, Sha'atan; and the names of the rulers [Sheletin, or magistrates] over sowing the soil, Yiesorien, Thorethah, Yivoba, A'areketh, Dekadial, and A'anal; and the seven names.[17] Speak the prayers of holiness to serve all who work. They are Sheden and Aseren.

When in the second season, perform works that the trees and crops may thrive. Speak the name of the earth, Kol Ached,[18] and the name of the prince, Eliehon; and the name of the second day of the week, Mochethier; and the names of the angels of the second season, Nemelial, Tzedeqial, and A'anal; and the prince, Abier Abieriem; and the name (Hebrew: IHOH ABIN) [God the father]; and the name of the sign of Cancer, Qechedar; and the name of the rulers over the crops and trees, A'aqerieh and Hemoledieh; and [the names of the] princes of the Lord, A'arebrethiehov, Qorebithieh, Abekeleth, Netheleba, and Derekethial; and the seven names. The trees will grow tall and strong. The crops will thrive by the prayers. They will serve, whether conditions are good or bad.

When in the third season, perform works that the harvest is prosperous. Speak the name of the earth, Yieshieshieh; and the prince, Yehemial; and the name of the spirit of the east, Abiyan;

[16] These first four operations focus on improving the agricultural aspects of the land. It is generally accepted in biblical lore that there is an intimate connection between agriculture and religion. In fact, several of the major Hebrew religious festivals are based upon the harvesting of crops. For example, The Feast of Weeks, or *Shavuhot*, celebrates the completion of the grain harvest and the first fruit harvest. Also, the Feast of Booths, or *Sukkoth*, celebrates the final fruit harvest.

[17] The names of the seven archangels ruling the planets: Michal, Bereqial, Gabrial, Dodenial, Chesedial, Tzadiqial, and A'anial.

[18] Kol Ached translates as "every one." The term is presented as a name in the text.

and the princes Raphal, Gabrial, and Avorial; and the name of the third day of the week, Pherethan; and the names of the third season, Shemal, Ashemreh, and Gabrial; and the prince, Alebera Ayieh; and the name (Hebrew: IHOH SOPOThONIN); and the name of the sign of Libra, Theshegon; and the names of the rulers over the harvest, Raphal, Roqial, Gabrial, Tzorial, Yehov Yehieh, Michal, and Shelishial. From the first shoots, thrive until the harvest.

Abraham comes after, drawing near the Lord. In the place, see two angels. One serves as the right hand of the Lord and one serves as the left hand of the Lord. They serve Abaddon, the minister of death.[19] By his authority, endure. Hear the words and impose upon mankind wealth and prosperity, and goodness to him and every tribe until the end of all the generations. When corruption angers the Lord, send forth to fall upon the right side and be sustained. They are Meroqaphera and Merakephial; and the seven names of the princes. Raise hands to the heavens. From the flask filled with precious oil, anoint and consecrate. By judgment, [you are] bound in servitude to harvest the earth.

When in the fourth season, perform works insuring the preservation of the harvested crops. Speak the name of the fourth day of the week, Ramieh Shor Setar; and the names of the fourth season, Agedia, Gedodial, Berakial, Robiyoveh, and Derapa; and the names of the Sun, Abelad, Ashekor, Kechedon, Shecheron, and Qoledon; and the name of the sign Capricorn, Shenar Levi; and the names of the ruler over the preservation of the crops, Ahedierier, Methagdal, A'azrial, Zebena, and Zereqetha; and the seven names. Over the days, crops will be preserved. Serve Phelon Ben Phelon by the holy commandment.

When in the first season, perform works that the cattle may thrive. Speak the name of the fifth day of the week, Aberiemonos; and the name (Hebrew: IHOH PNIOTh); and the name of the sign of Aries, Shepheten; and the names of Moses and Aaron and Joshua, son of Non; and the most holy, Daleha, Bonegos, Beravoth,

[19] Abaddon is sometimes referred to as "the destroyer." This is the Hebrew name for "Appolyon," the angel of the bottomless pit (see Revelations 9:10). According to S. L. MacGregor-Mathers' translation of *The Key of Solomon the King* (London: George Redway, 1888; reprinted by Samuel Weiser, 1972, 1989, 1999), Moses invoked the name Abaddon to bring down the blight upon the land of Egypt.

Vometebrath, Gedeg, and Sebelievothavoth; and the seven names. Serve Sheriyien and Ayieserien.

When in the second season, perform works that the cattle may thrive. Speak the name of the sixth day of the week, Atheroph; and the names of the second season, Nemoval, Tzedieqial, A'anial; and the prince Abier Abieriem; and the name (Hebrew: IHOH ANKON); and the names of the sign of Cancer, Qeheder, Ovalien, Thenonial, Benebod, and Ayiepheten; and the seven names. Serve Gediehon and Geremiehon.

When in the third season, perform works that the camels may thrive. Speak the name of the fourth day of the week, Agethekon; and the names of the third season, Shemesial, Ovashemera, and Gabrial; and the names of the princes, El Bera Avor, Shemasha, and Sophethenien; and the names of the sign of Libra, Thenegebon, Beqoneqephethov, Menkebehov, and Anomiekehon; and the seven names. Take hair from a camel. Braid it in a circle and bury it in the earth. Petition Elohim. Do not return to the place until the hair turns to dust. In the place the hair was put into the earth, there raise the camels.

When in the fourth season, perform works that the birds of fowl may prosper. Speak the name of Earth [Aretz]; and the name of the first day of the week, Makel; and the name of the spirit of the east, Siederavon; and the names of the princes, Gabrial, Raphal, and Avorial; and the names of the fourth season, Agedal, Gedodial, and Berakial; and the name of the prince, Robiyov Derepha; and the names (Hebrew: IHOH), Abeleched, Ashekor, Kechedon, Beseron, Shechedon, and Qolehon; and the names of the sign of Capricorn, Sheger, Levi; and the names Neqola, Dema, Shebenial, Shenathial, A'azeberial, and Tenebial; and the seven names. Serve Phelon Bather Phelon.

When in the first season, perform works that the wine may be sweet and strong. Speak the name of the second day of the week, Ha'asher; and the name of the spirit of the west, Bechieledek; and the names of the princes, Yiediedial, Voval, and Shemal; and the names of the first season, Samal, A'anal, and Geneshoresh; and the name of the prince (Hebrew: IHOH); and the names of the sign of Taurus, Dekeron, Yereshial, Yerekethial, Va'anobien, and Samal; and the seven names.

When in the second season, perform works that the oil may be rich. Speak the name of the third day of the week, Qoch Dereshan;

and the name of the spirit of the north, Selenesh; and the names of the princes, A'azrial, Zekedial, and Shemeshial; and the names of the second season, Kemenial, Tzadiqial, and A'anial; and the name of the prince, Abier Abieriem; and the name (Hebrew: IHOH AONBIN); and the names of the sign of Leo, Shenehon, Michal, Raphal, Rephedial, Ova'akedial, Roqial, Toriel, and Iyovediem; and the seven names.

When in the third season, perform works that the spices may be aromatic and sweet. Speak the name of the fourth day of the week, Degiyem; and the name of the earth, Yeshieshieh; and the name of the prince, Yechemal Yehemavoth; and the name of the spirit of the south, Aphosemon; and the princes, Kokebial, Sherial, and Michal; and the names of the third season, Shemeshial, Vashemeda, and Gabrial; and the name of the prince, Alebeda Avor; and the name of the spirit, Biethial; and the seven names.

When in the fourth season, perform works that the mines may be plentiful with metals and gemstones. Speak the name of the fifth day of the week, Beri Abieriyov; and the name of the spirit of the west, Mepheniyeh; and the name of the prince, Yiediedial, Ovoval, and Samal; and the names of the fourth season, Anedial, Gedodial, and Berakial; and the names of the princes, Rebon, Herapha, and Derapha; and the names (Hebrew: IHOH), Abelechod, Ashekor, Necheron, Sheheron, and Qelechon; and the names of the sign of Capricorn, A'avothera, Aphethial, Becheral, Nodial, Phethial, Ayienovagel, and Gelethotz; and the seven names.

When in the first season, perform works to bring forth rain. Speak the names of the sixth day of the week, Abothem, Rehet, and Shesher; and the name of the prince, Avopheter; and the name (Hebrew: IHOH PTTh); and the names of the sign of Gemini, Shegerem, Ma'arekoth, Meloch, Meremavoth, Norethial, Segenial, Vobenoval, Qelaboth, Asetheqon, Norial, Shiethial, Senenial, Aremavoth, Gedegial, Seremial, Aremavoth, Va'ashal, and Vogenzial; and the seven names. Speak seven times. Speak the holy and established prayers. The prayers rise up before the throne. The dew and rain descend to fill the world from the storehouse. Blessings fall upon the surface of the earth and there is no drought.[20]

[20] The operations of rain were of utmost importance. Palestine records virtually no rainfall during the months between April and October.

When in the second season, perform works to stop the hail. Speak the name of the day of the week [not specified], Demeroniek; and the name of the spirit of the west, Sephophien; and the names of the princes, Yiedierial, Yoval, and Samal; and the names of the second season, Nemenial, Tzadiqial, and A'anial; and the name of the prince, Abiebiem; and the name (Hebrew: IHOH ANKIN); and the names of the sign of Virgo, Yieherial, Ovayien, Phethenavoth, Serekial, Phethelial, Genethial, and Chezeqial; and the seven names. There will be no destruction by hail.

When in the third season, perform works to find wells and bubbling springs. Speak the name of the first day of the week, Sopheterenien; and the name of the ocean, Asheresher; and the name of the prince, Aba Bavoth; and the name of the spirit of the north, Aha'arehies; and the names of the princes, A'azrial, Zebedial, and Shema'ayial; and the names of the third season, Shemeshial and Vashemereh; and the name of the prince, El Bera Bavor; and the name (Hebrew: IHOH SOPNThIN); and the names of the sign of Sagittarius, Abenier, Abelediyon, Mebieniethiyeh, Vothepheniyoth, Abiyoth, and Arebieter; and the seven names.

When in the fourth season, perform works for an abundance of fresh water. Speak the name of the second day of the week, Shegerien; and the name of the sea, Aphiyarenien; and the name of the prince, Thederenolial; and the name of the spirit of the south, Yiechel Derek; and the names of the princes, Kokebial, Sherial, and Michal; and the names of the fourth season, Anedial, Gedodial, and Berekial; and the name of the prince, Rebiyov Derephes; and the names (Hebrew: IHOH), Abeleched, Ashekor, Bechedon, Shehedon, and Qelehon; and the names of the sign of Pisces, Bechemera; and the names, Yehov, Yeh, Qethothial, and Vohayin; and the seven names.

When in the first season, perform works that the water may be purified by heat. Speak the name of the first day of the week, A'arebon; and the name of the spirit of the east, Qonedek; and the names of the princes, Gabrial, Raphal, and Avorial; and the names of the second season, Nanial and Tzedeqiel; and the name of the prince, Abier Abieriem; and the name (Hebrew: IHOH ANKON); and the names of the sign of Cancer, Qoheder, Voba'ayi, and Mieniyeh. Speak, Heh Yehieh Yedied Adokeh Yedied Yechotzoriya Iyayar Aberesekem Yeh Yeh Yeh Yeh Yeh Ahieh Asher Ahieh

Zeqoqoveheyi Yehoveh [IHOH]; and the seven names. By heating the water of the well, purify it and make it fit to consume.

When performing works in the first season, speak the name Yom in the days of the first season, and the name Lielela in the nights of the first season.[21]

When performing works in the second season, speak the name (Hebrew: IHOH) in the days of the second season, and the name Zehiera in the nights of the second season.

When performing works in the third season, speak the name Richesha in the days of the third season, and the name Shemieh in the nights of the third season.

When performing works in the fourth season, speak the name Asor in the days of the fourth season, and the name Dechiyotha in the nights of the fourth season.

The names of the Malachim ministering in the first season are Samal, A'anial, and Geneshorash. The name of the prince is A'aliehon Avor Kosesor. These names are proclaimed when performing works in the first season, otherwise the work will not succeed.

The names of the Malachim ministering in the second season are Siemoval, Tzediqial, and A'anal; and the name of the prince is Abier Abieriem. These names are proclaimed, otherwise the work will not succeed.

The names of the Malachim ministering in the third season are Bereqial, Avoremedial, and Gabrial; and the name of the prince is El Bera Avor. These names are proclaimed, otherwise the work will not succeed.

The names of the Malachim ministering in the fourth season are Avorial, Berial, and Kerebial; and the name of the prince is Deberhema. These names are proclaimed, otherwise the work will not succeed.

The names of the Malachim ministering in the nights of the first season are Sha'agien, Therotz, Sheregemen, and Shekeremen. The name of the prince is A'ashial. The name of the Moon is Lebedeniеth. These names are proclaimed when performing works in the nights of the first season.

[21] Yom translates as "day" and Lielela translates as "night."

The names of the Malachim ministering over the nights in the second season are Ashoshal, Ateredemen, and Shecheqonek; and the name of the prince is Lebermeq; and the name of the Moon is Avoliyar.

The names of the Malachim ministering over the nights in the third season are Phelayiem, Vothedoregel, and Shethenesheron; and the name of the prince is Phenial; and name of the Moon is Yirech.

The names of the Malachim ministering over the nights in the fourth season are Ashegeron, Redophial, Sheder, and Liyedi; and the name of the prince is Gedial; and the name of the Moon is Sheherien.

These are the names of the Sun in the four seasons. In the first season, the Sun is in the signs of Aries, Taurus, and Gemini. The name ministering in the first season is Avor Bemepheterieh. In the second season, the Sun is in the signs of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo. The name ministering is Akethemiem. In the third season, the Sun is in the signs of Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius. The name ministering is Aberiyavor. In the fourth season, the Sun is in the signs of Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces. The name ministering is A'aseqoron.

These are the four names of the heavens in every season. In the first season, the name is Ason Avor. In the second, the name is Rom Reqoya'a. In the third is Mephietz Nogeh. In the fourth is Shechoq Ma'avon. These are the names of the heavens in the seasons. When performing operations in the seasons, proclaim the names of the heavens in the beginning of every season.

These are the names of the earth in the four seasons of the year. In the first season, the name is Mememen. In the second, the name is Yebesheh. In the third is Thebel. In the fourth is Hed Herom.

These are the four names of the spirits [Ruochoth].[22] In the first season, the name is Abekeren. In the second is Qoherebek. In the third is Neberial. In the fourth is Areterial.

[22] Some texts suggest this term refers to the winds of the world. In the *Oxford Companion to the Bible*, it is noted: "There is no distinct term for spirit in the languages of the Bible; the concept was expressed by a metaphorical use of words that mean, literally, wind and breath; the English word spirit is simply an Anglicized form of the Latin word for breath (spiritus). Wind is an invisible, unpredictable, uncontrollable force, which bears down on everything in its path; and people found early that they are exposed to influences that affect them like the wind" (page 287). There is also an interesting passage in the New Testament that reads: "He makes his angels winds, and his servants flames of fire" (Hebrews 1:7).

These are the names of the spirits of the north in the seasons. In the first season, the name is Amoneh. In the second is Aberien. In the third is Nolegedod. In the fourth is Desephor.

These are the names of the spirits of the east in the seasons. In the first season, the name is Akeberon. In the second is Qorebek. In the third is Abedoth. In the fourth is Begierethov.

These are the names of the spirits of the west in the seasons. In the first season, the name is Mecheniyem. In the second is Kenogor. In the third is Zerezor. In the fourth is Deriyavor.

These are the names of the spirits of the south in the seasons. In the first season, the name is Meneshor. In the second is Alepheron. In the third is Methenial. In the fourth is Themehor.

These are the names of the princes of the planets ministering in all the houses [Ma'avon], and the angels ministering in the seven highest houses. The names of the planets are Saturn [Shabati], Jupiter [Tzadiek], Mars [Madiem], Sun [Chemeh], Venus [Nogeh], Mercury [Kokeb], and Moon [Lebanah].

In the seventh house, ministering therein is Saturn. The angel is Michael. To invoke Saturn in the first season, the name is Qovoretom. In the second, it is Pheshietos. In the third, it is Qoremelos. In the fourth, it is Phenephophos.

In the sixth house, ministering therein is Jupiter. The angel is Bereqial. To invoke Jupiter in the first season, the name is A'ayeh Avor. In the second, it is Pheniebor. In the third, it is Zavos. In the fourth, it is Qonienial.

In the fifth house, ministering therein is Mars. The angel is Gabrial. To invoke Mars in the first season, the name is Adom. In the second, it is Derom. In the third, it is Beron. In the fourth, it is Phezetom.

In the fourth house, ministering therein is the Sun. The angel is Dodenial. To invoke the Sun in the first season, the name is Qoyiezelos. In the second, it is Herotes. In the third, it is Thedephoriem. In the fourth, it is Tenephal Pheniyos.

In the third house, ministering therein is Venus. The angel is Chesedial. To invoke Venus in the first season, the name is Kokav Hanogeh.[23] In the second, it is Aphrodite.[24] In the third, it is Qoliepho Voyimephes. In the fourth, it is Phezetor.

In the second house, ministering therein is Mercury. The angel is Tzedeqial. To invoke Mercury in the first season, the name is Haremiem.[25] In the second, it is Hiyethophial. In the third, it is Teliem. In the fourth, it is Antoloviyem.

In the first house, ministering therein is the Moon. The angel is A'anial. To invoke the Moon in the first season, the name is Phelonieth. In the second, it is Seriyeqov. In the third, it is Nezephielov. In the fourth, it is Heyiphereki.

These are the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac and those ministering in the four seasons of the year. The names of the twelve signs are Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces.

In the first season, the signs of the zodiac are Aries, Taurus, and Gemini. These are the names ministering in every season.

In the first season, the name over Aries is Sha'aphon. In the second, it is Behemoth. In the third, it is Bekemesheb or Bekemekesheb. In the fourth, it is Qotzien.

In the first season, the name over Taurus is Dierenavor. In the second, it is Heniethebol. In the third, it is Siemegedel. In the fourth, it is Morepheker.

In the first season, the name over Gemini is Sheneron. In the second, it is Phelehedien. In the third, it is Volereked. In the fourth, it is Akeneseb.

The names of months of the year corresponding to the signs of the zodiac in the first season are Nisan, Ayer, and Sivan.

In the first season, the name over Nisan is Asegesenek. In the second, it is Mesokenek. In the third, it is Deriegemon. In the fourth, it is Shethenovesenov.

[23] Kokav Hanogeh translates as "Venus."

[24] The name of the mythological Greek goddess is printed here in Hebrew characters. She is the Greek equivalent to the Canaanite goddess Ashtaroth, who was also primarily a deity of love and fertility. Also, see Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic And Superstition*, p. 100.

[25] Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 100.

In the first season, the name over Ayer is Phemetor. In the second, it is Qotenebial. In the third, it is Ma'agol. In the fourth, it is Goberethial.

In the first season, the name over Sivan is Senediem. In the second, it is Tzoveh Tziyer. In the third season, it is Qoseqomial. In the fourth, it is Senegedial.

The names of the signs of the zodiac in the second season of the year are Cancer, Leo, and Virgo. These are the names ministering in every season.

In the first season, the name over Cancer is Qedoqoredi. In the second, it is Qoheleren. In the third, it is Phereshethial. In the fourth, it is Memenial.

In the first season, the name over Leo is Bephopher. In the second, it is Lieshebeker. In the third, it is Shehenen. In the fourth, it is Shehelekek.

In the first season, the name over Virgo is Siemosial. In the second, it is Sebodeh. In the third, it is Siegel. In the fourth season, it is Teremothiyeh.

The names of the months in the second season of the year are Tammuz, Ab, and Elul.

In the first season, the name over Tammuz is Zemieda.[26] In the third, it is A'aphierepheleh. In the fourth, it is Ma'ava'aqobebov.

In the first season, the name over Ab is Kedoremot. In the second, it is Hetheledemi. In the third, it is Qonezerema'a. In the fourth, it is Hehemekel.

In the first season, the name over Elul is Phelietepheter. In the second, it is Thesedegeb. In the third, it is Nephesa'ar. In the fourth, it is Qomoval.

The names of the three signs of the zodiac in the third season are Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius. These are the names ministering in every season.

In the first season, the name over Libra is A'ariegol. In the second, it is Mereton. In the third, it is Qa'aberi. In the fourth, it is Leqoshemelek.

[26] The name over Tammuz in the second season is omitted from the text.

In the first season, the name over Scorpio is Therephietz. In the second, it is Phetza'an. In the third, it is Shemophethen. In the fourth, it is Thokesed.[27]

The names of the three months of the third season of the year are Tishri, Marheshavan, and Kislev.

In the first season, the name over Tishri is Derek. In the second, it is Mezeredeter. In the third, it is Neqocheda. In the fourth, it is Asepheres.

In the first season, the name over Marheshavan is Beqosh. In the second, it is Pheladen. In the third, it is Seherenar. In the fourth, it is Kebod.

In the first season, the name over Kislev is Phelestos. In the second, it is Kether. In the third, it is Henek. In the fourth, it is Phonetos Lobenos.

The names of the three signs of the zodiac in the fourth season of the year are Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces. These are the names ministering in every season.

In the first season, the name over Capricorn is Ameni. In the second, it is Bieker. In the third, it is Depheri. In the fourth, it is Memelial.

In the first season, the name over Aquarius is Meta'am. In the second, it is Theberien. In the third, it is Shethoqoeh. In the fourth, it is Danial.

In the first season, the name over Pisces is Qomietzon. In the second, it is Qeheregen. In the third, it is Tzeletzel. In the fourth, it is Amenial.

The names of the three months of the fourth season of the year are Tebeth, Shevet, and Adir. These are the names ministering in every season.

In the first season, the name over Tebeth is Naphenietz. In the second, it is Sekeberiem. In the third, it is Senekeros. In the fourth, it is Bekereba'al.

In the first season, the name over Shevet is Pholekemon. In the second, it is Qeronega. In the third, it is Shelomieth. In the fourth, it is Yavorer.

In the first season, the name over Adir is Koneled. In the second, it is Ba'aren. In the third, it is Sebiebekera'a. In the fourth, it is Qoromeqoreb.

These are the names of the signs of the zodiac in every season.

[27] The names for Sagittarius are omitted from the text.

In the first season, the name over Aries is Shaitan. The name over Taurus is Debechen. The name over Gemini is Shegeresi.

In the second season, the name over Cancer is Qeheder. The name over Leo is Shehenom. The name over Virgo is Yiehierieh.

In the third season, the name over Libra is Theshegekon. The name over Scorpio is Bietheron. The name over Sagittarius is Aketen.

In the fourth season, the name over Capricorn is Shegerelovi. The name over Aquarius is Aketheral. The name over Pisces is Qohemera.

These are the names over the signs of the zodiac and the names ministering over the Moon in the seasons in the signs of the zodiac. Every sign of the zodiac ministers for thirty days. All the signs are complete in twelve months.

These are the names ministering in the seasons, with the names of the Moon.

In the first season, the names are Shaitan, Therezien, and Sheneremi. The prince is Gabrial. The name of the Moon is Leberenieth.

In the second season, the names are Yieshieshieh, Abererehon, and Sheheqonek. The prince is Bal Menael. The name of the Moon is Seletheleb.

In the third season, the names are Phelayiem and Ketherenial. The prince is Rebenial. The name of the Moon is Yieshegeron.

In the fourth season, the names are Biyom, Bieth, and Rothep. The name of the prince is Danial. The name of the Moon is Sheherieph.

These are the names ministering over the Moon in the signs of the zodiac in every season.

In the first season, the name in Aries is Zerem. The name in Taurus is Dekedon. The name in Gemini is Shegeron. The name in Cancer is Mekerechiem. The name in Leo is Letzoneber. The name in Virgo is A'anen Qenek. The name in Libra is Tzedeqiel. The name in Scorpio is Therephieth. The name in Sagittarius is Tzoqor. The name in Capricorn is Meshegeriem. The name in Aquarius is Ma'asheniem. The name in Pisces is Sha'aphenen.

In the second season, the name in Aries is Behemi. The name in Taurus is Mezekerien. The name in Gemini is Biehereron. The name in Cancer is Qoheder. The name in Leo is Shegeher. The name in Virgo is Yiehedieh. The name in Libra is Sheqothiek. The

name in Scorpio is Menedeber. The name in Sagittarius is Reberon. The name in Capricorn is Yieshieshieh. The name in Aquarius is Aberedon. The name in Pisces is Aniesien.

In the third season, the name in Aries is Pheloneh. The name in Taurus is Thederenael. The name in Gemini is Yielebek. The name in Cancer is Keresivon. The name in Leo is A'avoqor. The name in Virgo is Kenedeni. The name in Libra is Theshegekon. The name in Scorpio is Kotheben. The name in Sagittarius is Abenor. The name in Capricorn is Shebiebiek. The name in Aquarius is Mesepher. The name in Pisces is Sethered.

In the fourth season, the name in Aries is Qonosh. The name in Taurus is Amiena. The name in Gemini is Ashegerien. The name in Cancer is Mehiemeten. The name in Leo is Ayiethebien. The name in Virgo is Shegeton. The name in Libra is Shecheqon. The name in Scorpio is Bedod Besher. The name in Sagittarius is Keniepena. The name in Capricorn is Shegerelovi. The name in Aquarius is A'anethera. The name in Pisces is Qohemehogov.

These are the names of the days in the seasons:

The name in the first day of the week of the first season is Phiegenochen. In the second, it is Tenekien. In the third, it is Kophethenien. In the fourth, it is Makeleched.

The name in the second day of the week of the first season is Tha'sher. In the second, it is Menechethor. In the third, it is Qoleneheren. In the fourth, it is Shegedon.

The name in the third day of the week of the first season is Sheriyachetz. In the second, it is Qohebereneden. In the third, it is Phezeren. In the fourth, it is Hegelomoth.

The name in the fourth day of the week of the first season is Pheniov Lavor. In the second, it is Miyeshor. In the third, it is Degiem. In the fourth, it is Betheroqa.

The name in the fifth day of the week of the first season is Kedemenor. In the second, it is Avoreberien. In the third, it is Qovephethem. In the fourth, it is Bariebererov.

The name in the sixth day of the week of the first season is Qola'azeran. In the second, it is Deremethok. In the third, it is Akethenor. In the fourth, it is Arieh.

These are the names of the earth in the seasons. In the first season, the name of the earth is Menegien. In the second, it is Yibesheh. In the third, it is Thebel. In the fourth, it is Hezeh Dovem.

These are the names of the spirits of the earth in the seasons. In the first season, the name of the spirit is Mechemed Lov, and the prince is Yihov Yihov Ayin. In the second season, the name of the spirit is Bel Ached, and the prince is Yihemelieh Mavoth.[28] In the fourth season, the name of the spirit is Avor Berek, and the prince is Yibavobavoth.

These are the names of the spirits of the earth. In the first season, the name of the spirit of the east is Aseberon. In the second, the spirit of the east is Akeberon. In the third, the spirit of the east is Arial. In the fourth, the spirit of the east is Siederehon. The princes are Gabrial, Raphal, and Avorial.

In the first season, the name of the spirit of the west is Qoheloreh. In the second, the spirit of the west is Siemephov. In the third, the spirit of the west is Sechemor. In the fourth, the spirit of the west is Mephenieh. The princes are Derial [or Redial], Yoval, and Samal.

In the first season, the name of the spirit of the north is Amoniem. In the second, the spirit of the north is Deseleni. In the third, the spirit of the north is Arehieh. In the fourth, the spirit of the north is Mephenial. The princes are A'azrial, Zebedial, and Shema'aial.

In the first season, the name of the spirit of the south is Mepheni Shesher. In the second, the spirit of the south is Baledenien. In the third, the spirit of the south is Aphosien. In the fourth, the spirit of the south is Yihelederek. The princes are Kokebial, Sherial, and Michal.

These are the names of the Malechiem in every season, and the names of the four spirits of the world in the seasons.

In the first season, the name of the spirit of the east is Akeberon. In the second, the spirit of the east is Qoherok. In the third, the spirit of the east is Aberieth. In the fourth, the spirit of the east is Beriekoch.

In the first season, the name of the spirit of the north is Amereneh. In the second, the spirit of the north is Aberiek. In the

[28] The names for the third season are not included in the text.

third, the spirit of the north is Gezorophed. In the fourth, the spirit of the north is Kephor.

In the first season, the name of the spirit of the west is Mazeniem. In the second, the spirit of the west is Siegor. In the third, the spirit of the west is Zerezor. In the fourth, the spirit of the west is Avor.

In the first season, the name of the spirit of the south is Meneshor. In the second, the spirit of the south is Pheniemor. In the third, the spirit of the south is Themekor.[29]

When serving man traveling from a place or returning, separate the thoughts of the friend from the enemy. Be as a star [Kokeb] of the four spirits of the world and be without desire. Wander in the world without the desire to speak the names of every spirit. In that place, appear at once and work as you wish. Succeed in every operation and every work, however, work in purity.

These are the names of the sea [Heyiem] in the four seasons of the year. In the first season, the name of the sea is Belied. In the second, it is Thehom. In the third, it is Mererial. In the fourth, it is Shebiel Geder.

The name of the sea in the first season is Aregez, and the prince is Bethemial. In the second, it is Behenephel, and the prince is Pheliephal. In the third, it is Kieserephenon, and the prince is Thethederelial. In the fourth, it is Aphareten, and the prince is Therebegolial.

When seeking to cast a thing [Devar] to the middle of the sea, and make a thing in the middle of the sea, write the name of the waters in every season. Place it in the middle of the sea and receive by it. Work and succeed in every work, but work in purity and holiness.

These are the names of the ocean [Thehom] in the seasons. In the first season, the name is Netheqothed, and the prince is Tzephnial. In the second, it is Siempheten, and the prince is Athial. In the third, it is Ashereshek, and the prince is Ababavoth. In the fourth, it is Hayithob, and the prince is Bephenial.

These are names of the Malachim ministering over fire and flames: Melekial, Rephedial, Gorial [or Gezerial], Amienial, Aralielael, Norial, and Yizerael. When seeking to make a thing and

[29] The name for the fourth season is omitted from the text.

cast it into fire, or gather in fire, or extinguish fire, speak the names of the season and the seven names of the Malachim appointed over the river of fire, and receive all desire.

The names of the Malachim ministering over the sea, and all life in the sea, are Sheboqothial, Zekorethial, and Therekial. When seeking to cast a thing into the sea, write the names Neqietial and Regoneh with the names of the season. Cast it into the water and receive desire. Write upon a plate of silver.

These are the Malachim ruling over rain. When drought [comes] and [you] seek to make it rain, pray in supplication. Speak the names in this order: Melekial, Meremeremoth, Nohetial, Sebenial, Qokethial, Thenial, Gedial, Keremial, Yisha'aieh, Meterial, and Liethial. Speak the names of the Malachim seven times. Then take a white cock and purify it, cleansing it of all defilement. Remove blood and feathers, and take out the intestines. Fill it with frankincense and myrrh and saffron, the best peppers and the white blossoms of the white peppers, honey and milk, and aged wine. Then stand before the passing Sun and speak in petition: Lord, I stand before you in holiness and petition you to open the gates of the blessed storehouse. Allow the rain to flow down. Restore the earth from the blessed storehouse.

If rain does not fall at once, lay upon your face upon the earth. Speak the prayer and, after, speak the holy names of the glory and honor. Offer a libation [make a drink offering] of the milk, honey, and wine seven times. Rain will fall quickly to restore the world. Keep yourself pure and humble, and all your works will succeed.

These are the Malachim ruling over all dangerous creatures, such as bears, lions, and wolves. Speak these names before the creatures and close their mouths. The names are Methenial, Aphethial, and Vobehielael. By these names, shut the mouth of the animal.

When going forth on the path, seeing battles and wars coming forth, place the hand upon the right side. Proclaim the names of the spirits of the days of the week. Then speak the names in reverse. The battle will end before.

When falling into the congregation of the wicked, consider death and understand there is no salvation. By the name of the glory and honor, there is salvation. Place two hands upon your sides. Speak the name of the Sun in the season, the name from the

beginning as it is written. By the letters, separate therein righteousness and deliverance.

Write the letters upon a plate of gold. Of all thoughts of wickedness and corruption, man turns away. When going on the path, and falling upon persecution by the path, not yet seeing, turning away from the path of El Shaddai [Almighty God], place both hands above [your] head. Proclaim the names of the Sun in the seasons. If [you] still [do] not see the vision, speak the names three times. If [you] still [do] not see, spread [your] arms out and drop [your] hands. Speak the names in reverse and be delivered.

If when you are in the house, it falls upon the earth, quickly proclaim the names of the earth in the seasons and the names in reverse. The stones and wood will be lifted away, and be delivered without injury.

When in a boat in the sea, and a great storm arises upon the sea, seeing there is no refuge, proclaim the names of the sea in the seasons. [Through] the names of the glory and honor of the highest, the storm will abate and [you will] be delivered.

When standing in judgment before the enemy, place [your] hands over your ears. Speak the names of the week and the letters of the names. Rise up in the heart of the enemy, righteous in judgment.

When not hearing words, knowing [that] sin and iniquity are before [you]. Of disgrace and shame, command the prisoner to pray in supplication the prayers of this holy book. Remember the names and rise up in blessing to destroy enemies in righteousness.

When seeking to see the Sun rise in the chariot [Merkabah], speak the names of the Sun in the seasons. In holiness and purity, see the passing Sun. See, as the bridegroom going forth from the wedding canopy.[30] For all desires, petition and they will be given. After the petition, behold, the Earth trembles. Speak the names in reverse and send forth upon the path.

When seeking to locate hidden treasure, and bring forth silver and gold buried in the earth, take the gold tzietz, purified sevenfold.[31] Write upon it the letters of the name of holiness and purity

[30] The *chopheh*, the canopy of flowers under which Jewish couples are married.
[31] The tzietz is a gold ornament worn on the forehead of a rabbi.

[see top of page 30]. Bind it with a purple cord.[32] Bring forth a white dove and tie the purple cord around its neck. Then it flies with the sign into the air. Follow the dove on foot. The place it descends is the secret place. If it descends in a city, stand upon a roof top. Walk around seven times. When in the day, speak the names of the Sun in the seasons. In the night, speak the names of the Moon in the seasons.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE—The Hebrew in the talismans here in figure 1 is of an ancient form, and the translation is certainly open to interpretation. The numerous Yod Heh Vau combinations may possibly represent partial spellings of the name IHOH; however, HI may be translated as "oh," or "here is." HO may also be translated as "oh," or "alas." HIH usually translates as "to be," but may also signify "the Lord." IHO may signify "Lord of." There are numerous possible interpretations. Also, AL and AHIH are names of God, although AL may also have various intepretations. Therefore, I have partially translated this talisman, leaving God names and Yod Heh Vau combinations in Hebrew characters. Additionally, the larger talisman presented here is quite difficult to translate. The translation presented is certainly open to interpretation.

[32] The word used here is *Thekelet*, which represents a colored dye obtained from a mussel, species Helix Janthina. The color of this dye is designated cerulean purple.

TRANSLATION OF THE TALISMAN (PAGE 31)

1) Go forth to write in every place. Of the holy name complete, this is Shem Hemaphorash.

2) Separate

KO	K	HI
	O Sh	

Separate

	LI	
Sh	Sh	N

3)

LA		Sh

NO	Sh	ROM	Sh	N

Separate

4) Then the name and letters are suspended. Not supported above and not below, but alone by itself separated around.

5) HI HI HOD IH IHO AL BROKA BIH IChOSh IH ROB DIDI IROBIO BITzIRH IHOH DSS AHIH IIHO HH IHO HIH KMH HIH NChMD KMH MPOAR MShOBCh KMH ADIR KMH ARITz KMH NDOR KMH ZRZIR KMH ZK NQI BBROR OKL MShRThIO ZHO KBODO IH HI HO HIH IHOH HO HI HO SS.

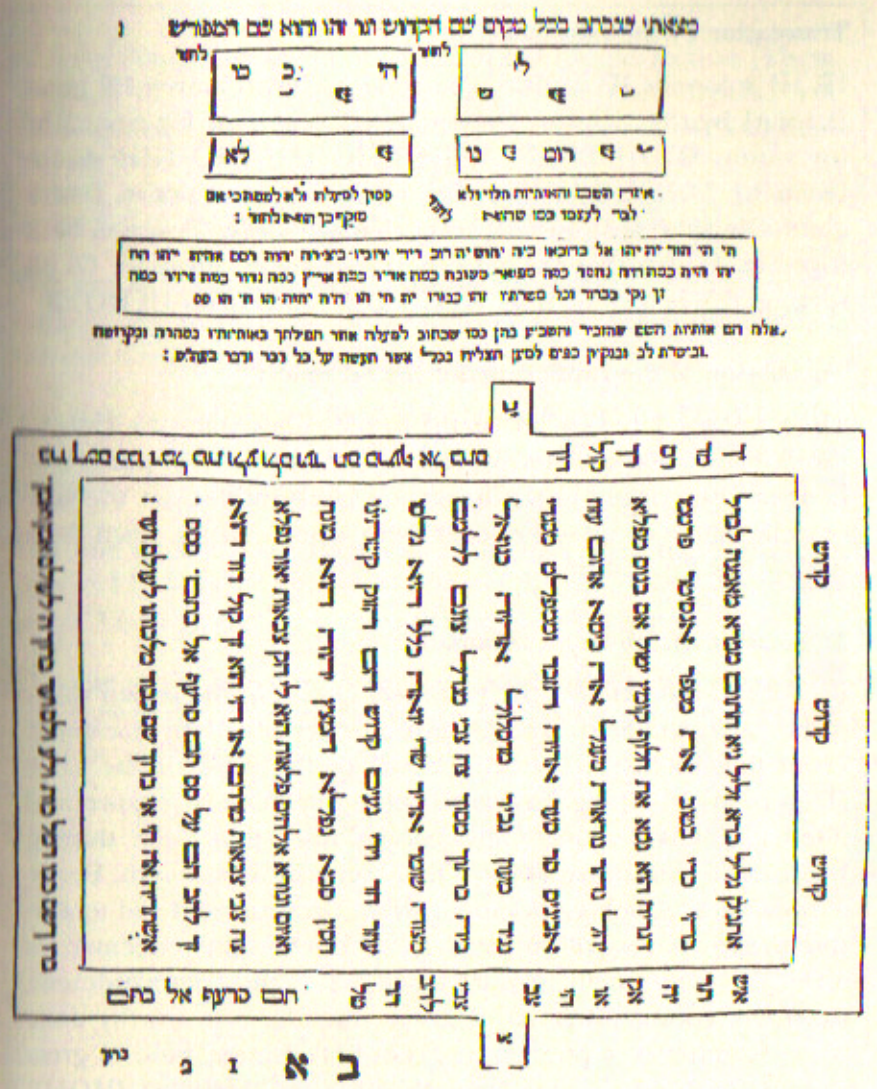

Figure 1. The translation of the text for this figure appears on the following page. The transliteration will be very literal so readers can interpret the text according to their studies.

Translation of the talisman (5):

HI HI splendor IH IHO AL blessing by IH to hasten IH great [strong] by the hand of [power of]. Strengthen [be great] by formation IHOH DSS.[33] AHIH IIHO HH IHO HIH desire [Kemeh]. HIH delight in desire, wondrous from praise. Desire glory. Desire to rush forth. Desire to make a vow. Desire to bind together. Desire that the pure be clean by purification. Of all serving, this is the glory. IH HI HO HIH IHOH HO HI HO SS.

Translation of the caption under the talisman:

These are the letters of the name to proclaim. Make the oath by those written above. After prayers by the letters, be in purity and holiness. Be upright in the heart and in cleanliness for the sake of deliverance by all works over every word and the word Ba'a-hesh [DBR BAa"HSh].

Translation of the larger talisman:

Be pure in the fields of the province. Flow into the sealed valley from the open field. The faithful are separated by goodness. From the book, you write in detail of the work of the Lord [Degeriem].[34] Taking flight and passing by, you are grasped and lifted up. When taking flight miraculously, praise the shining splendor in the course of life. Oh, cover man in strength. Desire to turn aside. Ahieh gives support from deliverance. Lead to worship in the dwelling of the Lord. Exalt Ahieh as the redeemer. Be within by anointment in pure splendor of the commandment. Keep the commandments of great Shaddai. The worthy complete, forming to support one. From holy desires, bind in great strength around. Reveal from the shining (Hebrew: IHOH). Make the offering and revere Elohim. Of the splendor to me, the law of the hosts enlighten. Provoke wonder of pure splendor as the hosts dwell. Here is the clear voice. Dwell in the clear flames

[33] The Daleth is likely superfluous, as two Samekhs usually signify termination of the sentence.

[34] This actually translates "the Lord broods (over eggs)," which does not make much sense. A lesser-known interpretation of the root DGR is "work persistently."

of those above. Complete the division of El in perfection [Them Sera'aph Al Bethem]. Oh, here is where the Lord breaks forth [Ashetherieh]. Blessed is the name of the glory of the kingdom forever.[35]

At the top of the diagram (Hebrew: QDOSh) translates as "holy."

The line at the bottom of the diagram translates: "Blessed is the name of the glory of the kingdom forever. Blessed is the Lord of the universe, Amen and Amen."

The line on the upper right side translates: "The Lord breaks forth to strengthen [or bind]. Here is the shining splendor of the glittering mountain of dew."

The line on the lower right side translates: "Complete the division of El in perfection." The line on the upper left side translates: "Through the ages, in a soft and tender voice."

The line on the lower left side translates: "Blessed is the name of the glory of the kingdom forever and ever. Complete the division of El in perfection."

[35] There are various possible interpretations of this: Them may be translated "complete," "end," or "perfect." Sera'aph may be translated as "division," "branch," or "thought." Ashetherieh may also be translated as "star of the Lord."

BOOK TWO

PART 1

THIS IS THE BOOK OF THE GREAT REZIAL

BLESSED ARE THE WISE BY THE MYSTERIES COMING from the wisdom. Of reverence, the Torah is given to teach the truth to human beings. Of the strength and glory, honor the Skekinethov. The power of the highest and lowest works is the foundation of the glory of Elohim. The secret word is as milk and honey upon the tongue. Let it be to you alone. The teachings are not foreign to you. This book proclaims the secret of Rezial, but only to the humble. Stand in the middle of the day, without provocation and without reward. Learn the tributes of the reverence of Elohim. Turn away from evil and journey on the path to pursue righteousness. The secret is reverence of the Lord. The worthy go directly to the secret. It is written, only reveal the secret of El to serve the prophets.

There are three secrets corresponding to the Torah of the prophets. All secrets correspond to these three. The first commandment is the first wisdom, reverence of the Lord.[1] It is written, reverence of the Lord is the first knowledge. The beginning wisdom is reverence of the Lord, corresponding to three wisdoms.

It is written, of the outer wisdom, rejoice and build the house of wisdom with the secret of the foundation. Be wise by opening the heart to the secret.

[1] This is often interpreted as "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of God." The term "Yirath" may be translated as "fear," but it may also be interpreted as "reverence." Many scholars disagree, but I firmly believe that "reverence" is appropriate. In support of this conclusion, I refer to the *Oxford Companion to the Bible*, Metzger and Coogan, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 225, where it is stated: "The fear of God involves worshipping the Lord with deep respect and devotion. It is a religious expression, and as such implies obedience, love and trust."

There are three kinds of secrets. The secret of the Merkabah [chariot],[2] the secret of Berashith [in the beginning, or Genesis],[3] and the secret of the commandments [the laws of God].[4] These are made clear by the help of Shaddai.

There are three kinds of reverence of heaven. They are reverence of the Lord, reverence of Shaddai, and reverence of Elohim. It is made clear that reverence of the Lord is to love the name of God and serve in love. It is written, man is happy to revere the Lord. It is not written here of reverence of Elohim, but only of reverence of the Lord.

It is written in the commandments to serve in love. Desire to regard in the heart and keep the commandments. In the commandments, it is said of the reverence of Elohim, revere Elohim, lest [you come] into the hands of temptation. Man is not to serve in temptation, of reverence before the king, not rising up by the name.

It is decreed, as it is written, Abraham was beloved. God spoke to him to lead his son. It is written, you know to revere Elohim. You know of love. Know it is decreed, man is happy not to journey by counsel of wickedness. It is written herein, man is happy to revere the Lord. Show reverence to the heavens all the day. Regard love in the heart. The reverence of the heavens is in the heart at all times, reverence of the purity of the Lord. Those giving reverence are loved by the Lord. There is much value in living in purity. Bathe in the glory of the light of Elohim. Go from darkness into light, divided from those led astray. As the light shines down upon the sea, that is the reverence of Elohim who spoke to Abraham. From love, understanding was created by the love and reverence. A thousand generations come after from the love.

[2] The term Merkabah is used to describe the mysteries of the Hekhaloth, or the seven heavenly halls of the palace of God. One would travel through them upon a chariot.

[3] Berashith is the name of the first book of the Old Testament, as well as the first word of the book.

[4] Most people are familiar with the tale of the Ten Commandments, which were handed down to Moses on Mount Sinai after the liberation of the Jews from the land of Egypt. However, in the Old Testament (Exodus 20:2–23:19), there are over sixty commandments that were proclaimed by God to Moses. Also, see *Oxford Companion to the Bible*, page 736.

It is written in the Midrash of three kinds of offerings. They are the burnt offering [A'avolah], the peace offering [Shelomim, or "thank offering"], and the sin offering [Chetath].[5]

There are three classes of righteousness. They are love, petition, and reverence. The burnt offering corresponds to love. The peace offering corresponds to petition. The sin offering corresponds to reverence. The burnt offering is a sacrifice to the glory of God alone. The peace offering and sin offering are for the sake of the living body. Proclaim love from the petition and petition from the reverence. From love, you serve God in righteousness. Give glory and honor to the kingdoms alone before all things. In goodness, the Lord created the universe by the word, not by labor. The God [Haloveh] and father and king is strong and wise, good and compassionate. You tolerate all things, filling all the highest and lowest, sustaining in the high places and bringing forth all creatures. You reveal the mysteries of the universe, the knowledge of good and evil. You tolerate wickedness for the sake of the restoration. Behold, all goodness to the righteous who love God. Give praise and laud over the greatest works.

The burnt offering is sacrifice. By petition, serve in the holy place, blessed is it. Fall in supplication and petition. Petition for every measure of goodness for the sake of the benefit of the body. This is the foundation of wisdom, understanding of knowledge. From this, bring light in the days. Heal the woman unable to conceive and make sons upright in the heart. You succeed in works of wealth and glory and treasures, all to the good. Petition the Lord above, thus sacrifice the peace offering.

Give reverence and serve God in great fear.[6] Be delivered from curses written in the Torah. The punishment comes forth from the holy place, blessed is it. Its measure is longer than the Earth and wider than the sea.[7] Receive salvation from affliction, injury, and suffering. Do not writhe in pain. Do not be ruled over by foreign lands. Do not bring death or speak evil. Fill the days in goodness

[5] There are five kinds of offerings described in the Old Testament (Leviticus 1:1–5:14): the burnt offering, the grain offering, the offering of well-being, the sin offering, and the offering with restitution.

[6] The context of this passage warrants the use of the term "fear."

[7] This reference describes the dimensions of heaven. See Job 11:9.

and blessings in the world. Deliver from misfortune and affliction and destruction from the walls of fire in Gihenam. The wicked prepare to burn in flames on the day of the great judgment [Yom Hadin Hagedol]. By reverence of the Lord, rise up by sacrifice of the sin offering. Make three sacrifices: the burnt offering, the peace offering, and the sin offering.

Of sacrifices in the first house [Beth Achad] through the first priest [Kahen Achad] in the name of the one God [El Achad], three times in righteousness: by love, by petition, and by reverence. Complete them and be protected by God, protecting and loving you from petition and reverence.

The beginning wisdom is reverence of the Lord and love of heaven. The heart of the righteous burns as flames of fire. Keep the commandments in reverence of the Lord. This the Lord Elohik requires, not making reward for reverence and love. It is written of reverence and love, the Shem Hamephorash was created from love. Of the written word, this is the reverence of Shaddai. Revere God by keeping every commandment. (Reverence of God is not in itself glory, but keeping every commandment.)

Fall down in supplication and cry out to El. Establish the heart and grant the petition at once. Reject wickedness and condemn the wicked. Forsake reverence of Shaddai. Know to withold mercy for sins. Forsake the petition, not revering the name of Shaddai, and not making desire or evil grow in the heart. In the middle of the house, the humble show reverence and gather in the house. It is written in the Midrash, withhold the mercy from those forsaking reverence of Shaddai. Stand and serve before God. Show reverence in prayer and receive tranquility therein. Deliver from all evil. Dwell in the secret place of the most high, hidden in the darkness of the shadow of Shaddai. Deliver from the mouth of the trap [the opening of the snare].

Petition in prayer. Speak, protect from traps. In every petition to Shaddai, be blessed by God the father [El Abiek]. By support of El Shaddai, be fruitful and multiply [Pherov Vorebov]. El Shaddai sees and turns away. Behold, be fruitful and multiply. Wherefore be silent, and bring forth from the secret place that the father reveals to you. Establish Shaddai, of sixty, four hundred, thirty and the Yod above [Hebrew: I' AaOLH, or ten burnt offerings] is five

hundred.[8] The man Job begets sons and daughters. There are five hundred of them.[9] Five hundred strong ones [Aberiem], 248 sons and 252 daughters. There are four more daughters than sons. Thus be fruitful and multiply (Hebrew: PRO ORBO).[10] By Gematria, the letters Tau Qoph are the name over be fruitful and multiply.[11]

Therefore, establish to petition the name. Thus, the course of the universe is five hundred years. It is treasured by Shaddai as the measure of heaven. Speak of heaven. According to Shaddai, there is not enough to serve. Remember Shaddai by the prophet of the nations seeing Shaddai. Behold the reverence of Shaddai. Be aided by the name Shaddai, protected from the evil spirits [Hamezieqien]. By protection of Shaddai, lodge and speak prayers of supplication. Therefore the name is written upon the Mezuzah.[12] Penetrate the iron over the Mezuzah. Proclaim and remember the name Shaddai to protect from the evil spirits, that is (Hebrew: IHOH BATh BSh MTz"PTz Sh').[13] Of the letter Shin of Shaddai, Shin is above [or "300 burnt offerings"] in the name of (Hebrew: IHOH). Of Shin above, (Hebrew: BATh BSh ShM HQDSh ODI) corresponds to (Hebrew: ID KOZO BMOK"SZ KOZO) written in the Mezuzah.[14]

Reveal the secret of the fourteen signs of the holy name. (Hebrew: KOZO HOIH) in reverse Aleph Beth. Thus Yod upholds Kaph, Koph upholds Vau, Vau upholds Zayin, and Heh upholds Vau. Thus, (Hebrew: KOZO).

[8] The letters S' Th' L' are used here to represent the Gematria.

[9] In the Book of Job of the Old Testament, it is noted that Job had seven sons and three daughters (Job 1:2). This name may also be Joab, who was a general in King David's army. There are a few stories of Joab involving children. In the Midrash, one tale depicts Joab slaying 500 warriors in Kinsali, the Amalekite capital.

[10] The Gematria of the letters of this phrase is 500.

[11] Tau is 400; Qoph is 100.

[12] The Mezuzah is a talisman attached to the doorpost. It contains a prayer written on a small scroll. Also, see Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 145.

[13] BATh may be translated as "come forth" or "in you." BSh may be translated as "shame," but is likely interpreted as "by Shin." MTZ"PTz is a name. The Gematria value is 300.

[14] The name KOZO is considered the antithesis of YHVH, or "Tetragrammaton." The numerical value of KOZO is 39. Also, see Joshua Trachtenberg's *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 92.

(Hebrew: BMOK"SZ ALHINO). Beth upholds Aleph, Mem upholds Lamed, Vau upholds Heh, Koph upholds Yod, Teth upholds Nun, Zayin upholds Vau. Here are fourteen signs corresponding to the three names (Hebrew: H' ALHINO). Therefore, write fourteen letters for the sake of the two corresponding to (Hebrew: H' ALHINO). Write Shaddai with Shin Daleth Yod.

The first Daleth corresponds to the back [or neck]. The Yod of Shaddai corresponds to the fathers, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham. The final written words are (Hebrew: BATh BSh ShDI).[15] Beth, Shin, Qoph, Daleth, Mem, and Yod.[16] The beginning Yod Yod Aleph is the number of (Hebrew: AHIH).[17] When adding the numbers Resh, Tau, Vao, Samekh, Tau,[18] Israel proclaims Jacob to be Resh, Yod, Vau in number.[19] That is to say, take Resh, Tau, Vau, Samekh, Tau, from the fathers, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Israel, here is 203.[20] Combine thirteen letters from the three names of the fathers, and here is 210. Thus the signs of the fathers correspond to thirteen tributes.

There are three praises. Of the Aleph before the name are 63 aspects [Bechineth].[21] Therefore, see the God [El] of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, by El Shaddai. Also the secret of Shaddai is revealed by calculating Tau Qoph.[22] The life of the fathers is 502 years. Abraham lived 175 years. Isaac lived 180 years. Jacob lived 147 years. Together, the years total 502.

Beth [with a value of 2] corresponds to heaven and Earth. In the course of 505 years, the fathers gather to them as the days of the heavens above the Earth. Make clear as the days of the heavens above the Earth. The course is 500 years as the lives of the fathers.

The letter Shin is in the house of prayer. First consider the correspondence to Jacob, that is written Israel.[23] Thus, praise in

[15] The Gematria of these letters is 1019.

[16] The Gematria of these letters is 456.

[17] The Gematria of Yod Yod Aleph is 21. This is the same value as the letters Aleph Heh Yod Heh.

[18] The Gematria of these letters is 1066.

[19] The Gematria of these letters is 216.

[20] These are the Gematria values of the names of the fathers: Abraham is 248; Isaac is 218; Jacob is 182. Also, the name Israel has a value of 531.

[21] In the text, it appears to read S"G (which is 63), however the lettering is a bit smudged.

[22] The numerical value of these two letters is 500.

[23] See Genesis 32–35, where Jacob's name was changed to Israel.

prayer. Proclaim the praise, speaking: Praised is the ruler above, and the chosen cast down to Earth. It is written, be cast out from heaven to Earth, the beauty of Israel. Prayers proclaim the glory. By prayer with the letters of glory, stay upon the path of the Lord. Therefore, by the nine fathers [Thesha'ah Bab], give the crown [Apher] in the place of prayer.[24] Of the days of the Messiah, give praise below the crown.

It is written in the *Book of Formation*, the letter Shin reigns.[25] Bind to the crown and bind therein the heavens. Therefore, fire resembles Jacob in heaven. By the letter Shin, create fire, and see fire therein. Thus, in the house of Jacob is fire corresponding to the letter Shin, as Jacob wrestled the angel of fire.

Also, the letter Shin has three branches, corresponding to the three names of Jacob, Israel, and Jeschuron [a periphrastic name of Israel]. The letter Shin is over the noble houses [Bethiem Atzel].

It is written, the image engraved in the throne of glory resembles the image of a flying cherub. Come forth to Egypt. It is written, fly over as the cherub takes flight. Revere Israel by the hand of the strength. It is written to revere Israel, by the hand of the great grandfather [Seva]. Israel resembles Jacob over the sea. Sing the hymn unto Israel. The Lord reigns forever and ever. Therefore, resemble Jacob, according to the written truth. Give the truth to Jacob. According to this, do not go forth unto carved images [Phesoleth]. The daughter, Dinah, was troubled by Shechem[26] and the maiden Aseneth,[27] daughter of Potipherah.[28] The tribes

[24] Apher actually translates "gray," "ash," or "meadow." It is probably a transposition for Phar.

[25] See passage 3:9 of the *Sepher Yetzirah*. This is presented on page 155 of Aryeh Kaplan's translation (*Sefer Yetzirah* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1990)).

[26] Dinah was the daughter of Jacob and Leah. Shechem was the name of a province, and the man for whom the province was named, who had raped Leah. Leah and her brothers then took severe revenge upon him. See Genesis 34:1–34:30.

[27] Aseneth was the wife of Joseph, son of Jacob and Rachel. The most famous bible story concerning Joseph is the tale of the coat of many colors (see Genesis 37:3–37:36), which results in his own brothers selling him into slavery in Egypt. He earned the good graces of the Pharoah by his prophecies. The Pharoah gave Joseph the name Zaphenath-paneah, as well as the hand of Aseneth in marriage. She bore him two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

[28] Potipherah was the father-in-law of Joseph, and a priest of On.

multiply to put forth the law.[29] Do not speak of idolatry. In the house of Jacob, written by Jacob, is the great name [Shem Hagadol] and the holy tzietz.[30] Take Mikal to become the wife of Potipherah.[31] Proclaim Joseph to take the daughter.

Around the Shin, twelve prayers divide, corresponding to the twelve tribes. The three divide and three tribes spread out as they go forth from Egypt.

The letter Daleth corresponds to the back [or neck], corresponding to Isaac. Straighten the back to unite the name of God. Daleth is the flesh of the back. All the flesh of the back corresponds to the back of the neck. Of all the flesh of the back of the neck, wring the neck. Therefore, shave the back. Place the strap upon the flesh. Inquire of Isaac. The letter Daleth is over the head in purple [argeman, a purple or reddish-purple]. Therefore, the letter Daleth corresponds to the neck.

Also, draw above and below, dwelling in the fourth firmament, the name in the Holy Temple [Beth Hamikadesh], thus the holy tabernacle [Meshikan] of four coverings. The first covering is sky-blue [Thekaleth].[32] The second veil is of goat skin. The third is of ram's leather. The fourth covering is of Egyptian leather [Tachashim, seal, dugong, or badger skin].

In the lowest dwelling, Isaac is sacrificed upon the back of the altar of degrees [Mezabech Shel Ha'aleh], therefore corresponding to Daleth. It is written in the *Book of Formation*, reign with Daleth. Bind it tight and create Mars in the fifth firmament.[33] Close to the Sun, it receives the heat of the Sun to be dry as fire. Therefore, Daleth corresponds to Isaac, the rising of the Sun. Mars is dry as fire and appointed over heat, and over anger and wrath. Therefore, when God is angry, remember Isaac, as he is honored. It is written, remove the ashes from the burnt offerings.

[29] The twelve tribes of Israel are descended from the twelve sons of Jacob: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, Joseph, Benjamin, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher.

[30] The tzietz is a shining plate or talisman worn on the forehead of the rabbi.

[31] Mikal was the daughter of Saul and wife of David. According to *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (p. 546), the wife of Potiphefah, Zuleika, attempted to seduce Joseph.

[32] This refers to a colored dye obtained from a mussel (helix janthina), termed cerulean purple. However, the term may also mean sky-blue, light blue, or azure.

[33] See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 4:9–4:10.

The Yod of Isaac corresponds to Abraham tested by ten trials.[34] Give in prayer near the side of the first house over the first name Abraham. It is written in the *Book of Formation*, the letter Yod reigns. Bind to the crown and create therein Virgo.[35] Abraham takes his beloved bride [Sarah] as virgin and form with the letter Yod. The perfection of the Lord [Kalelieh] is separated. Rise over by counsel from the perfection [Kalivoth].[36] It is written, rise up to the perfection. It is written in contrast to the counsel, take instruction and correspond to perfection. Give counsel and speak to close friends. The father Abraham did not learn much from the book, but learned perfection is as two fountains or springs of wisdom.

Also, the letter Yod corresponds to Abraham lifting the hand of the Lord God. The Yod corresponds to the heart. It is written, the faithful reach out with the heart.

Also, the Yod corresponds to Abraham, as according to it, God foresees Abraham serves by ten trials. Create the universe by ten commandments. It is written of the history of the heavens and the earth, the name Abram became Abraham.[37]

The ten numbers are nothing. Thus one and two, three and four, five and six, seven and eight, nine and ten. Then all calculations repeat. Begin eleven, twelve, and so on. Then twenty is two times the letter Yod. Thirty is three times the letter Yod, and so on. Thus all calculations are perfection. Nothing is concealed by language. By ten numbers, speak and close the mouth to speak profoundly.

At first, the Shekinah precedes the universe by myriad myriads years, or as many years afterward. The glory of the universe is above or below, deep and profound. It is in the east and west, north and south. How great is the light. In darkness, obscure the firmament. Here is the letter Yod. At first is the letter Aleph. At the end is the letter Beth. Gimel is above. Daleth is below. Heh is to the east. Vau is to the west. Zayin is to the north. Cheth is to the south. The light of the letter Teth reveals light in the air. Darkness obscures all

[34] See Genesis 22.

[35] See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 5:8.

[36] This term usually translates to "the inward, secret parts." This usually denotes the secret workings and affections of the soul. In this context, it probably means simply "perfection."

[37] See Genesis 17:5.

things. All is formed. It is in all and it is all. Bow down by all. Rise up and give thanksgiving in the heart. As the letter Yod bows down, the ancestors of Abraham go forth. Understand by the *Book of Formation*. Reveal over the Lord [Adon]. Place it in the bosom and kiss the head. Make a covenant.

Also, much more is revealed in the secret work of Berashith with help of Shaddai.

Also, the letter Yod corresponds to Abraham as Yod upholds Kaph. From Adam until Abraham is twenty generations. The universe was created by Yod. Bring forth small things, as Yod is diminutive. Yod is as a humble man, bowing down and rising up.

Also, make clear the reverence of Shaddai. Man serves God with love in the heart. Great is the reverence and devotion. Establish the heart. Keep the commandments. Rejoice in supplication to serve the creator of the universe. By rejoicing and reverence, serve the Lord in reverence and tremble in exaltation. It is written, serve the Lord by rejoicing. The heart rejoices to petition the Lord.

Revere Elohim and serve in fear of Gihenam and the day of judgment, of the suffering and torment. That is the reverence of Elohim. Judge and deliver retribution, as angered by the sins of man. Of every word, it is difficult to speak, Elohim, I do revere you and speak with great difficulty, very loudly at your feet. I shall not fall to rest, but journey to the house and revere you, lest I be punished. It is written, Elohim, judge me by reverence.

I revere Elohiek, speaking every word devoted in my heart. It is spoken, by the Lord Elohiek, revere and uphold the reverence of Elohim, not to fall from grace. In every place, revere Elohim and serve from the reverence.

Behold the reverence of the Lord. Serve in love, corresponding to the burnt offering. Be sustained in exaltation by the reverence of Shaddai, for not to revere is not to serve the Lord (That is not to serve).

Corresponding to the peace offering, fat [Cheleb] and blood is consumed [or burned]. The remainder is to the Lords [Leba'aliem]. The desire of the high priest [Kihenim] is the peace offering, bringing peace in the world. Serve from love and supplication, and strengthen the body. Give to him the Torah, of wealth and treasures and glory and understanding, revere Elohim. Serving in reverence is the foundation. Of the house of man [Aneshi

Bethov], do not deprive support corresponding to the sin offering going over sins. There is great love from the petition and supplication from the reverence.

At this time, become wise and prosper. Of the love of the blessed, after, write the secret of the Merkabah. Let man be wise by reverence forever. Consider the wisdom of the world. By the glory, form the king of flesh and blood. Command the armies and go to battle to smite the enemies in the name of the Lord. Give reverence before going into battle. If there is not reverence, enemies lay waste, prevailing over the land in every dwelling.

The king of all kings, God, exalts in reverence before going on all paths. The Lord is everywhere and in every place. He observes the good and wicked in every place. The worthy revere the Lord in righteousness. Unite the nations in order that the nation [not] be divided. Work for the sake of the heavens. Every path is created from the blessings. Establish the heart. It is written, satisfy the Lord. He is eternal, therefore established.

Blessed is the Lord. Command man to bind and calculate every season. Of the man who is a sinner or thief or adulterer of women, bind to consider much. Of the wisdom, this man is not to know and not to come near, disgraced in every dwelling created by the wisdom of the Creator.

Consider the wisdom that created the commandments, making reward for the love. Serve the Lord a little and serve much. Also, man considers forever not to forsake the wish of the Creator.

Bring the Lord of judgment [Ba'al Hadin] before the magistrates [Sheliton]. Reveal that the magistrates rule over the necromancer [Ba'al Avob] and magician [Yida'avoni], or engage in demoniacal works [Ma'asheh Shedim] or works by the knowledge of the signs of the zodiac.[38] Do not be false or deceitful, as it is revealed the magistrates know all. Also, fear the works binding with an evil spell [Lechebierora'ath], lest [you] come forth to be judged before the magistrates.

[38] Ba'al Avob is the Lord of Necromancy. The term "necromancer" may be defined as one who calls up spirits to learn of the future. Yida'avoni means "wizard" or "soothsayer." Ma'asheh Shedim are works of demons or works of violence or destruction.

God gives life to man in the heart. By the path of reverence, reveal all thoughts and understanding of all works. Lord over people and know to summon the Lord of judgment. Speak the words to find deceit. Rise up that the words may be true. It is written, those not pure will not rise up to know of the universe.

It is made known when shame is necessary. Speak, I will not do acts of iniquity, nor deceive by speaking or writing words, not to establish before the eyes. Thus, in every hour and minute, consider the love and search the heart. Examine the perfection. Keep the commandments and show reverence over the lifetime.

Of the root of benevolent acts [Chesiedoth, may refer to Hasidism] measured previously, be judged by every word you write, of favor over all works.

Of the root of reverence, the words are difficult. Know you revere Elohim and perfection.

Of the root of supplication, rejoice in the heart in love of God. Rejoice in the heart from the petition of the Lord. Therefore, be loved and protected.

Of the root of the Torah, the most profound knowledge of the works of all words, it is written, all made by the Lord is good.

The root of the commandments is eight words, corresponding to the eight threads of the Tzitzith.[39] Write and remember all the commandments of the Lord.

The first thread corresponds to the eyes. Do not see without raising up the eyes. Do not brim with tears. After, the eyes do not close. Speak by the power of eyes, lest [you] forget the words seen. Cast down the eyes to salvation. Also, the Totephith is between the eyes.[40]

The second thread corresponds to the ears. Do not be deceived by hearing lies, nor hear the ending of words. Israel hears the decrees.

The third thread corresponds to the throat. Do not swallow all abominations. Make to eat matzoh and similar things.[41]

[39] A fringed garment or shawl, draped around the shoulders of one praying in a Jewish temple.

[40] An ornament worn by the Rabbi upon the forehead.

[41] Unleavened bread. The custom of eating matzoh on Passover originates from the days of Moses. When the Jews were being liberated from Egypt, they did not have enough time to allow their bread to rise, therefore they baked unleavened bread.

The fourth thread corresponds to the mouth. Let the tongue not speak words. Of all words written, [do] not labor to make the oath, [do] not deceive by words or speaking the name, [do] not make the oath and speak falsehoods. Also, the teeth are not white in the mouth, or the tongue articulate.

The fifth thread corresponds to the hands. Do not lay the hand in sin and do not steal. Open the door with the hand. Bind the signs by the means of it.

The sixth thread corresponds to the feet. Do not walk about after strange Gods [Elohim Acheri], not stumble and fall. Walk after the Lord Elohik. Journey by all paths, as commanded by the Lord Elohik. Watch the feet as you walk to the house of Elohik.

The seventh thread corresponds to the skin [Ha'aroh].[42] Do not commit adultery. Be fruitful and multiply. Respect circumcision [Hamilah].

The eighth thread corresponds to the nose. Let it not be irritated or excited by the sweet scent of idolatry, nor desire the oblation. Smell the myrtle on the Sabbath, and similar things.

Man is to remember these eight things for all time. Let them be in the heart. Eyes first, ears second, throat third, mouth fourth, hands fifth, feet sixth, and skin seventh. Do not sin by them. The heart is with each. Consider thoughts of every one.

It is written in the Midrash, the congregation [Asepheh] diminishes and grows. Behold them equally over the years. Cast down to the battles. The first rise up and make the offering, fixing the crowns [or ornaments]. The first rise up, fixing the crowns. Reveal what is great. Speak, to ascend by the crowns. Of the wicked, smite the sinners rotting before smelling the scent of idolatry. The eyes close before the journey and the head turns away from the Lord in Gihenam.

The first threads of the Tzitzith are the strands of the greatest length and suitable to adorn. Of the first strand, speak not to deliver the strong ones [Geborim] to vanquish the uncircumcised [A'arelim]. The body is righteous to fulfill the commandments.

First, beginning in prayer. Second, the proclamations of the Torah. Third, opening the heart. Fourth, the nose smells the

[42] This may also mean "bare skin" or "nakedness." It is obvious from the context here that this refers to male genitalia.

matzoh. Fifth, the hands give righteousness. Sixth, consecration of the Torah and supplication before God. Seventh, the covenant of the body is suspended therein. Eight, the feet walk to the synagogue [Beth Kenesioth] and the house of study [Beth Midrashoth, another name for synagogue]. Therefore complete perfection.

The root of the reverence of the Lord is to forsake the pleasures of lust by the path of the reverence of the Lord. Do not revere the Lord for the sake of salvation of the universe, or being eternal. You just revere, lest not to be perfect before God in love.

As the commandments come into the hands, you labor over the works. Make as Abraham by sacrificing the son. It is written, at this time, know you revere Elohim. At this time, it is made known. Is it not so that before the secrets of the universe were revealed, the knowledge was not yet concealed in the belly [womb]? Speak, you are not tempted. Henceforth not to be tempted by all temptations.

Also, the letter reveals by the word. The heart is perfect by all commandments, as it is not necessary to be tempted. At this time, know the Lord is great. All to Elohim.

Also, by the name Aloah, Joseph spoke: Elohim, I show reverence to you. It is difficult to rise up and go forth to you by the feet. Indeed Elohim. I revere you. My sons endure in famine and the wrath of El. You, the Lord, are revered. It is difficult to rise up, lest reveal not to dwell and be slayed. However, he spoke of reverence of Elohik with devotion in the heart. He spoke to the Lord, I honor you in reverence. You, the Lord, by the holy words. The weight is upon the heart. Consider before the reverence of the Lord. I revere you, the Lord. Surely, take up your son Isaac in the name of God. Take up Nephesh and consider the power [A'atzem]. Come to bind, as a word. It is difficult to rise up, through that beyond desire.

The root of love is to cherish the Lord. The Nephesh is filled with love. You rejoice by passing over the pleasures of the body. Reign over the pleasures of the universe. Love is rejoicing in strength. Strengthen the heart. Consider always how to create desire of God. Bring forth pleasure, walking as women before the love of the Creator. More in youth and passing of the days, many women do not come before El. From desire of the Lord El, the heart burns to rise up to the Lord. From much love and desire, rise up to the Lord. Of the lightning of the early rain [Ivoreh Kachetz, or arrows

of the archer], benefit much from all without making desire of the Creator. The body is kept in purity and holiness by the love.

Phineas betrayed the body and slayed Zimri.[43]

As Abraham, place the hand to the highest when below. Until the shoe latchet [Sherok Na'al], Elishah did not desire to receive from Na'aman, and loved the heavens in the heart as flames.[44]

Bind the divisions, not seeing women there and not from the word cast forth. End the words. Toil and labor, making favor of the Creator. Delight by praises to fulfill desire. Rejoice to cherish the Lord.

The root of humility is to go away from the glory and be praised when returning before the Rabbi. It is revealed, gather the friends of the Rabbi to sleep. Know when to rest. Lie down after hard labors. Know when not to toil. Speak thus of labor and desire. Give glory to the friend, but do not speak of young women.

It is written, of you who send forth to journey, speak to send forth. Do not speak to send forth before the heretics [Mieniem], not speaking by the authority in the place. They are also humble. Go before the name of the friend, the house of praise [Beth Chelel] to the house of heaven [Beth Shemiya]. The friend senses [or experiences) and stops speaking. All are able to diminish the glory. Great is the glory to revere the name.

It is written, honor the Lord with the reverence in the eyes to condemn. When seeing humility, there is no desire to go before God. Great is he. Go before Shemethbiyiesh (Hebrew: ShMThBI-ISh). Be humble before the great Shemethbiyiesh. From honoring them, go before the Lord.

When proclaiming, man learns of El, Rabbi Shemethbiyiesh proclaims. Do not praise man much before and much after, and not speaking much. Speak thus, as it is written. Speak to him to learn of Rabbi Eleazer over Rabbi Jochenan Ben Zeketzi.[45] The

[43] Phineas was the son of Eleazer and grandson of Aaron. Also, another Phineas was the son of the high priest Eli, see Samuel I 1:3. The time frame here appears to be appropriate. Phineas was said to be a "scoundrel" and an "idolater" (Samuel I 2:12). See Kings I 16:9.

[44] Elishah was a prophet and the companion and successor of Elijah. See Kings I and II. Na'aman was the Syrian commander of King Aram's army. See Kings II 5:1.

[45] According to Kaplan, in the introduction of his translation of the *Sepher Yetzirah*, Rabbi Yochanan ben Zakkai lived in the years 47 B.C.E.–73 B.C.E. (p. xvi).

friend is permitted. El beholds the heart of man himself. When you praise, do not praise the body. It is written, praise the enemy [Zer, or stranger], and not the mouth, but only of the friend. Learn to teach. From the teacher, be able to praise the body. Speak of the perfection of Ahieh. Watch the path of the Lord. Declare the strength to rise up to the high place [Bemah].[46] Lengthen the days and show them the high place. Also, lengthen their days.

Keep all the commandments in secret. In secret, go with Elohik. When keeping them, know how to work before all, such as in prayers, and by the Tzitzith. Of envious writers [Sopheriem], increase the wisdom and the commandments. All are able to make commandments for the sake of the heavens.

Speak of the righteous, you are righteousness by every commandment. Do not be occupied by other matters. Place the love of the Creator in the heart. Reverence is necessary before him. Be skillful making the commandments. Rejoice before El and speak the final words.

In every place and in the synagogue [Beth Hakeneseth, house of gathering or assembly], stand in awe before the Shekinah. Establish the heart only to him. Do not withold passage, as there is disgrace before making the covenent. He is angered when man is not seen to revere, lest [you] make it known to human beings to be disgraced.

All passes forth, that which brothers [Shachiyiem] make. Do not make labor double [or multiply]. Every man toils before the king and before woman. The Creator of the commandments sees before the king. By splendor, the king finds favor in the eyes; however, women are forbidden to see. Speak, it is forbidden for the wife of man to see even the face of the Lord. When preventing sickness [Dothek],[47] do not see before the women. The labor doubles.

Know all the increased words are brought into the hands of the sinner. Consider the suffering of the loss of commandments corresponding to labor. Let all works be for the sake of the heavens. It is good to possess more from them of the brilliance. When you make them, be happy in the world. Good things come to you forever.

[46] This generally describes a hill or high place, usually dedicated to religious worship.

[47] A term meaning sickness, usually refering to a woman's menses.

They come from the assistance of the Lord, who created the heavens and Earth.

The secret is reverence of the Lord. Of the secret work of Berashith, Isaac speaks, it is not necessary to begin the Torah, but only restore this to you. Begin by Berashith. Because of that, speak of the power of works revealed to people. All was created in order to know and understand and make wise by the greatest and most wondrous works.

Bear witness there is none as, and there is none other than. I write the book to proclaim the secrets and reveal the strength of the creator of the universe. Man is happy to learn the secrets. Revere the Lord. Shelter him, dividing the universe. Come and write over the mouth of the gates of all that is above. Know of the unity of God. Of the glory, give the heart over to reverence. Bow down to him. He is one and there are not two of him. Blessed is he.

Aleph is as God. It is first and last. He is king over all the universe. There is no other unto him. In as much as the Aleph is first of the letters, God is first of all the Malachim. The Aleph is first. The calculation is small. There is none less than. Thus a myriad calculations.

Aleph is the first letter of the word Achad [one] and Aleph is the last letter of the word Rebova [myriad]. Speak of one Achad [Achad Chad] and a myriad Rebova [Rebova Rebov].

It is written by Ezekial, the first word is El Achad. By Daniel, it is written of a myriad myriads [Rebov Rebovon] before existence. The Aleph fell, as it is the first to designate one. Speak Achad Rebova [one myriad]. The Aleph fell, as it is at the end of Rebova. Speak Rebov. Human beings know it is first. There are none second to it. It is first and it is last.

Aleph is the beginning of calculations and the end of calculations. Also, Aleph begins the alphabet, as Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth. Aleph is at the end, as Aleph, Tau, Shin, Resh, Qoph, Tzadik, Peh, Ayin, Samek. It is proclaimed by three letters, Aleph Lamed Peh.

Aleph is the letter of the larynx. Lamed is the letter of the top of the tongue, in the center of the palate.[48] Peh is the letter of the lips.

[48] The palate is considered the seat of taste, which may be taken as a metaphor for the seat of perception.

Aleph begins in the throat. Of the larynx and the tongue, it is in the center of the palate. By the tongue and the lips, to speak.

Let it be known that Achad is first [Rashon], middle [Amtza'a], and last [Acheron]. The last Aleph is turned away [or opposite] from the rest of the letters. The Achad is in the universe. Create the universe turned away from the universe. Speak and revere the power [Avon].

Do not understand, as foreseen by the destruction [Cherben] of the Beth. Speak, do not permit destruction in the world. Hide the face from it. Know that, in the beginning, to create the universe. Indicate the destruction of the Beth. The Beth of Berashith is the great Beth Rashith [First Beth, or first temple] of the Holy Temple [Beth Makadesh], written therein upon the heavens of the first place of the most holy.

Through the gate of Earth, falling [Hietheh] to chaos [Tohu Vabohu] by the written word [Thibeth] in the middle. By Gematria, Tau Yod, indicating the first house [Beth Rashon], serves 410 years to fall.[49] By Gematria, Tau Koph [420] indicates the second house [Beth Sheni], serving 420 years in chaos. Tau Lamed [430] indicates two temples, both serving for 430 years: That is to say, Tau Yod, Tau Koph (Hebrew: ShKNThI) is in the middle of (Hebrew: ShKIN).[50] Here is Tau Yod also in the letters (Hebrew: ShKNThI).

Also, Tau Koph is in many places, indicating the destruction of the Beth. In time, make known Beth Rashith in the beginning of the universe. Remember the destruction of the Beth to destroy all that is created. The Lord alone is sublime.

All created by Beth are in pairs. Two worlds, heaven and Earth. Mountains and hills, seas and rivers. Gihenam and the Garden of Eden. Leviathan and Nechesh Beriech. The Sun and the Moon. Man and woman. Wickedness and righteousness. Man has two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth and tongue, two hands, two feet and sides, so on and so forth.

The Lord El distinguishes Beth, revealing one division. Make known to all, there is a pair. Therefore, opened by the outer Beth, he is one in the kingdom. Blessed is he.

[49] Tau Yod, by Gematria, is 410.
[50] This is a discussion of Hebrew suffixes.

According to Shem (Hebrew: Sh"M), Aleph is the first of the letters. Aleph begins the name (Hebrew: ADNI); however Yod begins the chosen name (Hebrew: YHVH). It is recognized. Aleph Vau Melaphom makes known the universe was created by the ten commandments and filled all.

Also, recognize Aleph Vau. Above is the punctuation point of Vau. The punctuation point is below Aleph.[51] Thus, Aleph, Kamatz,[52] Patah,[53] Aleph, Hatef,[54] Kamatz, Aleph, Hatef, Patah, Aleph, Vau.[55]

Of the seven above, recognize Aleph Vau. Reveal it is united above the seven firmaments. He is the ruler of all (and therefore, the name of Aleph). The name Ahieh is the beginning of the ten sephiroth, above to below. Adonai is the end of the ten sephiroth, beginning by Aleph. Aleph is first of all letters and end of letters, before Tau Shin Resh Peh. Complete to see every one by these letters.

Recognize all the most holy names. Yod begins the chosen name (Hebrew: YHVH). You are not able to write Aleph without the first Yod and also all the vowels.[56] Recognize the letter. It is not able to exist without Yod Vau, that Yod, Cholem [a Hebrew vowel corresponding to the Latin "O"] or Melaphom or Chiroq [a Hebrew vowel indicating the sounds "ee" and "i," as in "slip" or "sleep"].[57]

Reveal by Yod, create ten sephiroth, the universe in the middle, and the universe at the bottom—of Aleph itself, Sheva, Tzeri, Pethach, Chiroq, Cholem, Melaphom, Cheteph, Pethach (Hebrew: QO), Petach, Sheni, Yod, Sheva, Hatef, Patah (Hebrew: QO). When the Yod is below Kametz with Yod above. Of Vau, Cholem with the middle Yod (Hebrew: QO), Melaphom, as when above the line, Chiroq without the line, Sheva or Tzeri with the line. Of three letters (Hebrew: SGL). Aleph by itself, Yod Vau Yod.

[51] Portrayed by an Aleph with a dot beneath it.

[52] A Hebrew sublinear vowel in the form of a small mark or dot beneath the letter to indicate the sound of "a," as in "father" (long kamatz), or "o" as in "short" (short kamatz).

[53] A Hebrew vowel to indicate the sound of "u," as in "but."

[54] A short vowel mark to indicate the sound of a, e or o.

[55] The Aleph has a dot beneath it.

[56] The letter aleph is actually four yods in the form of an X.

[57] Hebrew: AO—the vau has a dot at the top; AI—the aleph has a dot below it; AO—the vau has a dot at the middle.

It is written of the name (Hebrew: HOIH). Reveal the Lord is one and created all the universe, the highest, middle, and lowest, filling all. There is not a vowel placed or the covenant [Hebreh] without him. Blessed is he. He is one above the seven firmaments and he rules over all.

Consider the one God [El Achad] for many myriad myriads [Reba Rebeben] years. In the beginning of the universe and in the worlds [A'avolemoth], you see by them and by them, the splendor and glory. Speak in the heart. Human beings are not to consider the glory of the kingdom. Create the universe, that it is to pass. Complete the understanding of El in the heart in reverence. Serve in truth with the perfect heart, and goodness to them all the days.

The Lord [Adon] spoke, all come forth from the Ruoch of the holy spirit [Ruoch Kadesh]. It is the first of all the covenants of man. From the word, Ruoch comes forth from the mouth. Therefore, spirits are not shut up by the worthy in silence.

The tractates on fasting [Tha'anieth, or self-humiliation] are in the *Book of Formation*.[58] Here are words of the Ruoch of fire and water.[59] From the word, man presses the lips. By force, the voice goes forth. Sparks go forth by the Ruoch. Therefore it is spoken, as a hammer smashing rocks. Sparks go forth from stones. Fire comes from the power of the sparks coming from the mouth. Therefore, it is written, is it not so the power of the word is as fire? Here is power from the voice of man, the Ruoch of water, the heat of the fire in every dwelling. From the word, fire consumes fire. Therefore, speak of how to create fire and water. The Ruoch is the glory of Elohim, the secret word. From blessings over the days, all exist by words.

[58] There is no text concerning fasting or self-humiliation in the modern English translations of *Sepher Yetzirah*. Tha'anieth is probably an error.

[59] See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 1:14.

BOOK TWO

PART 2

REGARDING THE POWER OF RUOCH

THE THREE LETTERS OF RUOCH go forth three times. Awaken in the days of Job, Elihu, and Jonah, and make three tributes. The Ruoch breaks boulders and dissolves mountains, and fire goes forth.

It was written by Elihu, Ruoch is great and powerful, dissolving mountains and breaking boulders before the Lord. It was written by Ezekial, Ruoch is great and continuous fire [Ash Methleqocheth].

Resh is the first letter of Ruoch. Resh reduces Beth by numbers. The second letter is round.[1] It is spoken of Ruoch, El goes around in circles to restore Ruoch.

Vau is in Ruoch. It is spoken of the Messiah, first is the spirit of wisdom [Ruoch Chokam], second is the spirit of understanding, third is of strength, fourth is of intelligence, fifth is of knowledge, sixth is of the reverence of the Lord, and seventh is Ruoch.

There are seven [*sic*] kinds of spirits. The first is Neqemeh [to establish]. Do not judge Ruoch. The second is Hamenshebeth [the breathing one]. It is spoken, in the world, the Ruoch of Elohim hovers above. The third is Melak [messenger, or herald], not by the Ruoch of the Lord. In Yonethen's translation, Hemelak Heruoch [the angel of the spirit], in the dwelling of the Lord, creates the spirit Melak.[2] The fourth is Berieh [nature, or human being]. Speak of El Elohi Heruoch. The fifth is Rechebah [proudly], making the laws of the spirit of justice [Ruoch Meshephet]. The sixth is Shera Demiyonoth [Prince of fantastic images, or prince of

[1] Beth is the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet. This refers to the shape of the letter Beth.

[2] Yonethen translates as "Grecian."

imagination]. Fear the Ruoch of Elohim. The seventh is A'arietzoth [mighty, or tyranny]. Do not fear before all. Even though you are weak, A'arietzoth takes on your burden. The eighth is Nebiayiem [prophecies], giving you the Ruoch. The Lord raises the Ruoch of Elihu. Be guided above. The Ruoch of the Lord pours out Ruoch over all flesh. These are the eight kinds of spirits.

God is the king of Shin Aleph Aloph. There is great value and importance in the knowledge of Ruoch. Of human beings, there is the Bible [Miqora], the Mishnah, the Talmud, and the Hagaddah [the narrative and hermeneutical portion of the Talmud]. In them are matters of the earth, and mysteries of the importance of Ruoch.

The male is Amesh. Mem is in the middle between Aleph and Shin. Change (Hebrew: BATh BSh IOR). Here is Amesh, the male.

The female is Amesh. Mem is changed by the Lord by Aleph Beth (Hebrew: AP BAa GS DN HM). Here is woman from Ashem.

The letters are prominent, illuminated by shining lights and complete. Thus, before the creation of the universe, letters are prominent in the Torah. Of the letters (Hebrew: AShM), thus create air. Strengthen by the highest power. Males are stronger than females. Be fruitful and multiply.

Ashem is complete. Created from the air, the females are created much weaker than males. There is air from the great weakening of the females. There is air from the great strengthening of males. Be fruitful and multiply.

The Ruoch goes forth from the holy spirit, filling the lives of all men with the breath of Ruoch. Therefore, remember Elohim by the Ruoch. Many say the Ruoch of Elohim hovers above. From the moisture of Ruoch came the sea. By the power of water came fire. Rejoice in the world.

Man breathes in the palm of the hand and sees moisture. Know when to heat water in a clear glass [or crystal] vessel.

Give praise to the Sun in the month of Tammuz. In the provinces, the atmosphere is warm. Be able to ignite the fire of the waters. Thus from the fire, the stones heat the water in the kettle. Boil therein for many days. After, find the stone divided below the vessel, revealed by the knowledge.

The strength of Ruoch is complete. Ruoch is suspended by the commandment of God. In the end, write the covenant with the Ruoch of the Creator.

It is written, the sea is arranged above the firmament, creating darkness and light. The light is formed and the darkness created. The Ruoch of Elohim hovers above the surface of the sea. Reveal Ruoch over the sea and therefore El. In the days of Elihu, as on the palm of the hand, man rises from the sea. Ruoch is there.

The Ruoch of Elohim is the holy spirit. The living air goes forth from the living spirit [Ruoch Chiyem]. It is created as the glory of the air. The holy name [Shem Hakadesh] from the Ruoch created all spirits. Know Ruoch is the first of all creatures [Haberiyoth] below and above.

Of the four spirits [Ruochoth] of the world, every one of them is in all four corners of the world. Ruoch is actually within every dwelling.

Every day, speak from the *Book of Formation* [see *Sepher Yetzirah*, 1:9–1:14] of the Ruoch. It is inscribed and engraved therein of Ruoch. The mouth is as night and dawn by three.

Ruoch is actually moist and warm. It goes forth from the holy spirit. From the Ruoch goes forth water. From the water goes forth fire. Water is from Ruoch. Every place there is water, there is Ruoch.

It is written, you go to the Lord as water from Ruoch. In the beginning, fill the sea with life by means of Ruoch. The Ruoch is moist. Collect the moisture of the air in the sea on one side. Carve a line of foliage from it. It covers all the world as a kind of green herb [algae] growing upon the surface of the sea.

The stones disintegrate [erode] from the moisture. They sink down in the ocean [Thehom] and water goes forth.

From the letter Mem, create the sea, as Mem is water.[3] Opposite to the proportion of the earth, there is water. Mem resembles water. Man proclaims, you drink between the lips and the sign of the sea resembles it [the letter Mem].

Mem is the first letter of the word Mayim [water], Mebova'a [spring], Meqovor [fountain], Ma'ayin [well], Moqvoh [pool, or pond]. From the holy word, all water goes forth in purity as a pool of water. God proclaims Moqvoh three times.

[3] The Hebrew word for water is Mem, spelled Mem Yod Mem.

Second, Moqvoh Israel, the Lord and Aleph and Moqvoh are as fathers [Abothikem]. Of the Lord, therefore, Moqvoh, by rising three mothers [Amoth]. Moqvoh, by Gematria, is forty Seahim.[4]

In the *Book of Formation* [see *Sepher Yetzirah*, 3:8], Mem is bound in the crown. Combine this with that. Flood the Earth, forever cold in the year. Draw out by Nephesh, male and female.

Divide the name Mem. Begin the word and combine the letters, making two words. Proclaim the first one Mash [Mem Aleph Shin] and the second Mesha [Mem Shin Aleph]. Form Earth in the world, as a fountain of cold water. In the belly, by the heat of Nephesh, consume and bring forth the cold. Male is Mash amd female is Mesha.

There is Earth. Bring forth the words and bring forth grass between. Of every word, there is female and male. On raining days, it is cold.

Ruoch is warm. There is moisture in the breath, as vapor comes from the mouth. Thus, place the word upon fire. The water goes forth from the moisture, therefore do not speak of how to create. The voice of the Lord is over the water. In the beginning, you, the king, receive by voices. Speak, the Lord is mighty in the heights [Adier Berom].

The Torah holds dominion over the sea. Of all who thirst for water, it comes to pass from counsel of Melakethov [angels, or heralds]. Be in purity as instructed by the Lord [Lomedieh, or disciple of the Lord]. Therefore, in forty days Moses received the Ten Commandments. Also, forty days afterward, of two-times-forty and the Ten Commandments, here is water. The moisture of the word fills all the world with water. Ruoch hovers above the sea.

Of water and fire, water comes forth from Ruoch of the holy word [Ruoch Debor Kadesh]. By the virtue, complete it. Fire comes from it, carving the throne as divided. Shin is engraved above and fire turns to heaven. Of fire, hissing by tearing [Qoriya'ath, or rending],[5] from hearing the sound of the letter of fire. When burning, the sound goes forth. Shin is above, as a lamp extinguished. The flames rise up. Come forth and proclaim Shin to change the

[4] Plural for Seah, which is a liquid measurement equaling fourteen quarts.

[5] The term usually refers to the tradition of tearing one's garment in time of mourning. Also, see *Sepher Yetzirah*, 2:1.

language. Of heaven, as in the *Book of Formation*, the Shin is bound to the crown. Combine this with that, forming the heavens [Shemiem].[6]

In the world, the heat in the year begins. Of Nephesh, the male and female. Divide the crown of Shin by fire and engrave the first word. Combine the letters, making two words. Know that male is Shema and female is Sham. Form the heavens in the universe from fire and the heat of the year. The first alone is from heat. Bring forth heat. There is heat in the year. Divide from the heavens and bring forth human beings, males and females.

Shin changes the language. Of Shin, there are three branches. It is the first letter of heaven. The Sun therein is fire and the Moon is snow. The blackness spreads. Here is three. The Sun is fire as red coals and the Moon as flames. The Moon in the firmament is similar to coal embers. Thus, there are three branches of Shin.

Fire is formed with the Shin. Therein are three things: flames, smoke, and embers. There is no fire without Ruoch blowing the letters. Therefore, binding Aleph with Shin is Ash [fire]. By Aleph form Ruoch. By Shin form fire. Shin changes language. The fire of heaven creates water. Consume the water. It is written, drain the water by licking it up.

The heart goes forth from the holy spirit as the brightness of fire. It is written, every word comes by fire. Pass over fire and purify. Above, purify by fire of the river of fire [Neher Dienor. This is also a reference to the Milky Way], and below, purify by the sea, existing by the word.

Fill the world with Ruoch, water, and fire. Amesh is air, water, fire. Fire decreases the water. Of all words of the petition, water is appointed above to descend below. Flames rise upward, coming to the place. The Ruoch of Elohim hovers over the surface of the sea. The holy spirit takes the fire together in the middle, of the Lord Shaddai. Now, life is in the world. Of water, Ruoch is over the water and fire is above all things.

Speak to the Lord in the heart. There is no glory to the king without the host to create worlds of knowledge and the glory of the kingdom. Counsel the king in all things. Teach him the Torah. The

[6] This is spelled Shin Mem Yod Mim. Also, see *Sepher Yetzirah*, 3:9.

value and importance of Berashith increases. Ahieh withholds the teaching of the word of the Torah. I exist in all things.

Of the teaching of God in the Midrash, the wisdom of the Lord is the foundation of the universe. There is no wisdom, but only of the Torah. It is written, it is the highest wisdom and the highest understanding. Learn that God created the universe by the wisdom of the Torah. Know (Hebrew: ChITh KP MM HH) by Gematria is 618.[7]

It is written, in the beginning, Elohim created [Berashith Bera Elohim]. There is no beginning, but only in the Torah.

It is written, the Lord establishes the beginning path of Berashith. By Gematria, the Torah was formed to learn from. Know the universe was formed by the Torah.

Aleph is one and Beth is two, which is three. Gimel is three, which is six. Daleth is four, which is ten. Heh is five, which is fifteen. Vau is six, which is twenty-one. Zayin is seven, which is twenty-eight. Cheth is eight, which is thirty-six. Teth is nine, which is forty-five. The letter is set in order to form one. Now calculate. Ten and ninety is one hundred. Twenty and eighty is one hundred. Thirty and seventy is one hundred. Forty and sixty is one hundred. Together this is four hundred.

Fifty remain set in order. Fifty with forty-five is ninety-five. Set in order ninety-five with four hundred. Here is four hundred and ninety-five.

Obtain five [H']. Subtract from five hundred [MTh"Q], and obtain five fifths [Chemesheh Chomeshi]. The Torah rules from the amount five hundred.

The universe was created in the course of five hundred years. Therefore, in the Torah form the universe. It is written of the covenant of day and night and the limits of heaven and Earth. It is not established in the Torah from the word.

Study therein day and night. It is known, study the Torah all the day. Consider every verse of the Torah, bequeathed to us by Moses.

In language it is (Hebrew: ATh BSh).[8] In numbers it is (Hebrew: IG ALP).[9] Subtract 40 [M']. That is to say:

[7] The Gematria actually calculates to 618, as the letters are presented here.
[8] The Gematria of ATh is 401. BSh is 302.
[9] IG is 13. ALP is 111.

One times four hundred is four hundred.

Six times eighty is four hundred and eighty.

Three times two hundred is six hundred.

Five times ninety is four hundred and fifty.

Here is (Hebrew: ThORH) [Torah], nineteen hundred and thirty.[10]

Five times ninety is four hundred and fifty.

Six times eighty is four hundred and eighty.

Five times ninety is four hundred and fifty.

Here is (Hebrew: TzOH), thirteen hundred and eighty.[11]

Twenty times thirty is six hundred.

Nine times fifty is four hundred and fifty.

Six times eighty is four hundred and eighty.

Here is (Hebrew: LNO), fifteen hundred and thirty.[12]

Ten times forty is four hundred.

Two times three hundred is six hundred.

Five times ninety is four hundred and fifty.

Here is (Hebrew: MShH), fourteen hundred and fifty.[13]

Ten times forty is four hundred.

Six times eighty is four hundrd and eighty.

Three times two hundred is six hundred.

Two times three hundred is six hundred.

Five times ninety is four hundred and fifty.

Here is (Hebrew: MORShH), twenty-five hundred and thirty.[14]

[10] The Gematria is for ThORH and APGTz.
[11] The Gematria is TzOH and HPTz.
[12] The Gematria is LNO and KTP.
[13] The Gematria is MShH and IBTz.
[14] The Gematria is MORShH and IPGBTz.

Four times one hundred is four hundred.

Five times ninety is four hundred and fifty.

Ten times forty is four hundred.

Twenty times thirty is six hundred.

One times four hundred is four hundred.

Here is (Hebrew: QHILOTh), twenty-two hundred and fifty.[15]

Ten times forty is four hundred.

Seven times seventy is four hundred and ninety.

Four times one hundred is four hundred.

Two times three hundred is six hundred.

Here is eighteen hundred and ninety.[16]

Here is (Hebrew: S"K HK"L I"G), a thousand less forty [M'].

Thus, there are twelve hours in the day, and in every hour, one thousand and eighty divisions. So, here is twelve times one thousand and eighty, thirteen thousand less forty, and thus night.[17] Study therein day and night.

Twenty-four books correspond to twenty-four hours in the day and night. Six orders [Sedriem] correspond to the six days of the week. Of four orders, there is Gemara, against four days of the week, without reading the Torah, and four orders of classes.

The Torah is the counsel of God, the King, King of Kings, King of Malachim. Blessed is the Lord of the universe, Amen and Amen.

[15] The Gematria is QHILOTh and DTzMBA. The Vau was excluded.
[16] Although not noted in the text, the Gematria appears to be IAaQB and MZDSh.
[17] ThThR"P I"G ALPIM PChOTh M'. The result is 12,960.

BOOK TWO

PART 3

IN THE BEGINNING [BERASHITH]

IN THE BEGINNING, GOD CREATED TWENTY GATES. It is revealed to the son of man by twenty letters. Create two names (Hebrew: AaHZ OHAaHB). By Yod Heh, the Lord formed the worlds, the Heh of (Hebrew: HAaHB) by Yod and (Hebrew: AaHB) over the works of creation preceding the universe. Yod precedes Heh and Aleph Tau precedes the holy name, blessed is it. Of Aleph Beth of Yod, for the sake of combining Yod Heh Vau.

Aleph is one. Beth is two, which is three. Gimel is three, which is six. Daleth is four, which is ten. The Yod is upheld by Heh Vau. Yod Heh Vau is the holy name. Divide the gates by the names of Beth. There are three sides to the universe, as the letter Beth.

Of Yod, words are created corresponding to the Ten Commandments.

Of Tau, the lives of the people [Thechiyieth Hamethiem] [are created]. Therefore, this is the gate to create the universe. Also the face of Beth is above. Aleph stands alone, forever turning the face in the universe.

Beth is written at the side of the desert as Bethiem [Beths, or houses]. You see Beth in the desert as the Earth. Here is chaos [Tohu Vobohu].[1] El was in the heavens, but there was no man in the beginning of the universe. The Earth was chaos, in darkness and desolation [Tohu]. Divide the emptiness [Roqnieth] from all goodness.

[1] This represents the two veils of nothingness of the qliphoth. Tohu translates "desolation," and Bohu translates "emptiness." Collectively, they translate "chaos."

In desolation, lament in the desert. It is the place of desolation, as there is no goodness therein. After the desolation, do not benefit and be not delivered from [it]. Thus, see the Earth is chaos and there is no man. Falling to the Earth, desolation consumes all the universe.

Of emptiness [Bohu] establish the days. Adam and his wife are concealed in the middle of the tree in the garden. It is not a cemetery [Bieth Ba'avolem].[†]

The clouds darken, as water is dark in the sky. Proclaim the clouds become dark and withhold the light. The darkness obscures sight when Eliek descends in the darkness of the clouds. Here create the clouds. Darkness is not without speaking, let there be light. Before darkness, light was not created in the universe.

Speak of darkness over the surface of the ocean. The clouds darken by the water near the sea. Also, in the beginning, the universe was dark. Therein a substance, as required by darkness. Of how many thousands of myriads, there is no beginning.

Thus of the universe, God is in the worlds. After, there are eyes to see therein other than Elohim. Do not rise up to support the evening. Illuminate according to the time of rest, as the rebellion of the darkness, in the dark of night, counseled by God in thanksgiving of the creation of the universe. The Torah is written by the strength of the fire of the Moon.

There are seventy-three names of God inscribed to the right. Alone in the universe, turn to this side and fear there is no man. Desire to be alone forever and to be one. He turns away from you, and at once you beg. The one goes forth, taking three drops of water and filling the universe with water. Dwell over the sea.

[†] There is a note in the original text that reads as follows: Add one, two, three, four, five, and six. The total is twenty-one. The second begins. That is to say Aleph Zayin. By the addition of seven, this is twenty-eight. The secret of Aleph Zayin, through deliverance, indicates twenty-eight works. Also, study Aleph, Beth, Gimel, and Daleth. The secret of Aleph Daleth [AD translates as mist or vapor], rising up from the earth. Add one, two, three, and four. The total is ten. Aleph Daleth by three [written "A"D BG"] in the center is the Heh. Heh is Nun. By the number, subtract, and here is the name Adonai. That is the secret of Beth, Gimel, Daleth (Hebrew: QODSh) [holy] indicates Beth, Gimel, Daleth, Beth, Daleth, Kadesh. With the Gimel in the middle, here is Beth, Gimel, Daleth, by Gematria, Yod, Heh. Beth, Gimel, Daleth, by itself is nine, and Resh Tau and Samekh Tau [OR"Th OS"Th]. Beth and Daleth is six. Here is fifteen [T"O].

The Ruoch of Elohim hovers over the face of the sea. The water is divided into three parts. One third is suspended above by his command. One third is springs. One third is sea.

Second, take three drops of light and divide them. One third is (Hebrew: BAaHZ). One third is (Hebrew: BAaChB). One third is the days of the Messiah.

Third, take three drops of fire and divide them. One third to create the Malachim. One third is the lives [Chiyoveth] of the holy. Of one third, do not breathe the fire.

Fill the world with water, light, and fire. Fire is on the right. Air is on the left. Water is below. Take and mix this with that. Take fire and water to create the heavens. Take water and air to create the throne of glory. Take fire and air to create the lives of the holy. The angel [Malachi] serves.

It is written, the wisdom of the Lord is the foundation of the Earth. Number the wisdom seventy-three, as the seventy-three names of God. Inscribe by the strength of God, laying his hand upon seventy names, every one able to create one universe. Thus it is indicated in the Midrash, the wisdom of the Lord is the foundation of Earth.

I receive, as it is written in the *Book of Formation*, of ten sephiroth. First, of the Ruoch of Elohim, the living breath of the mouth. Second, of the holy spirit, the Ruoch of air. The Ruoch does not go forth, but seven spirits [Ruochoth] go forth. From the word, Ruoch goes forth. The water is third from Ruoch, the wetness of the moisture of the words. The fire is fourth. The water displaces the heat by the words. The fifth is above. The sixth is below. The seventh is to the east. The eighth is to the west. The ninth is to the south. The tenth is to the north.[2]

From the words come the world, except for air, water, and fire. Mix fire and water together to create the heavens. Proclaim before, let there be light, not requiring light. Light is the power of Shaddai.

It is written, be wrapped in light as Solomon, the man that built the precious house [Beth Segor]. The shining lamp illuminates the shadows of the Ruoch of air as fog.

[2] See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 1:9–1:14.

Speak from the midst of the fire. The fire of Ruoch rises up as a narrow pillar of smoke. It is between the heavens and the Earth. It is divided first in the desert, second in the mountains, and third in the inhabited land. Hold dominion in the dwelling. Without eyes, be able to rule by the desire to see in the house.

There are three windows. The strength of the Sun goes forth above the windows and within the house. Thus, desire is as the measure of the strength. Bind and stand away from the windows. It is the air.

In the days of winter, see the narrow fountain rising up from the air and fire. It is not gathering above, but sinking in water to heat the earth. It is not usually visible, going forth from outside.

Also, in the days of the winter when the air is cold, body heat goes forth from the breath from the mouth of man standing outside, as fine smoke.

In the days of summer, the air is warm and the body is warm, not separating this from that.

The heavens are suspended in the air. Earth is suspended from the air. By the turning of the wheel, Earth turns around. There is no movement from the place. Speaking metaphorically, it is as a vessel of glass with the width of the mouth short; and as a chaff, or dry leaf, or wing of a bird, or the shell. Put it in place, face to face with the vessel. Breathe the Ruoch by the power, until filling the vessel with Ruoch. Then rise up in the air in the middle of the vessel, until the Ruoch is therein. Thus, Earth is suspended in air and air sinks in moisture.

The power of the Sun is the heat of the day. However, in night, lie down below the air, covered in a garment of wool or leather. The next day, the moisture goes forth from the mouth in a flowing movement, as a river in the air going forth from the mouth. Of the air of Ruoch, water is from air.

Of God, there is none like him. Only in the image, in order to understand the teaching. Thus the river goes forth from the mouth of Adon. From the flowing of the water by the power of the river, fog is all around. It covers the rivers from the heat of day. The river makes chaos in the direction of the green foliage. It resembles an image of a green arch.

When man is in a boat on the sea in the highest waves, look in the direction of the green above. It is reddish near the bottom and

the sea below is black near the deepest points. This is the place of darkness. In the shadow of the water, be able to look from end to end; to the ends of the world, from heaven to Earth.

The shadow of the water is fifteen cubits high from the heights of the mountains. By movement of water, man rises over the top of the mast [Thoren]. Observe the curvature of the earth before the water rises. Man sees this in the water. From the distance of the province, see all lands are like a bowl.

From the foam, the sea freezes as snow. In the mud and loam, raise a flower bed of fragrant herbs. Sow many varieties of fragrances. Make the border around the flower bed and place up a wall. When the sea comes forth, do not forsake them in a storm. It is as a valley. Put the rain therein. The clouds are filled with water and become dark. Do not speak how the light goes forth from the word.

I learn the secrets of fire and light. Also, how much moisture is inside, and of times to listen to sounds not able to rise above the foundation, and how to rise above the hidden and unknown, but only as ancestors receive in their hands. Reveal how to illuminate the sea from the holy word. Speak of you ruling over the truth.

Man inscribes the signs from the image. The angel drives out the accursed. God casts down from the heavens to find Adam, the first man. Return to inscribe the image from Aleph until Heh Yod Vau.

Thus of the water, Heh Yod Vau of the shining [or glorious] Malachim. Also by the name, man is the shining lamp in the house of illumination [Beth Lehayir, or house of light]. Thus created the universe by the most holy word, blessed is it.

Over the shadows of the sea, light goes forth. Light illuminates it forever. Let there be light. Perform miracles by the light. Create the sea. In many places, it is proclaimed, the sea is as light. Disperse the cloud with light. When covering the eye from light, therein the sea flows as tears from the eye.

Therefore, proclaim the light of day is the inlet of the sea. Let there be light. The clouds go dark. The Ruoch connects over the sea and the air between the shells [Qliphoth]. Heaven is in the day. The Moon is as a sphere. Water is above and below the universe, going around the firmament thus.

Figure 2. The translation of this talisman reads, "Light fills Earth above water."

Between all the shells is light. The light is created from the moisture of the word. Create water in the storehouse of water as rain and lightning. The storehouse of snow is the place the water shines. There is no darkness.

Thus of snow and rain, lightning comes, the lightning of the heat of the luminaries. Proclaim light over the name of air to pierce the darkness. The light is required of all actions, therefore sustained.

It is written, let there be understanding of light. Also it is written, let there be light to sustain the requirements of light. Also, it is written of the reverence of Elohim by the light.

Goodness completes the requirements of actions. Speak in goodness over the light, not over the heavens and Earth. The water is above. Let there be light, not being heaven, not Earth, and not water. Therefore, it is not written, let there be understanding. Let there be light. The river of fire is shining between the qliphoth.

From the word, the light goes forth before all. Engrave the word and be enlightened. Your light is sweet and treasured. Rejoice in righteousness. Rejoice in the light of righteousness.

The world is one third water, one third wilderness, and one third inhabited land. Also, the Earth of heaven is in the days. Also (Hebrew: HAaHZ OHAaB). In the days of the Messiah, reward the people of Jerusalem with mercy.

In the dwelling is three firmaments. From here, create pillars to strengthen them, not to be seen from the side. They are as stones rising up by the side, thus they are not seen. It is written, heaven measures three spans [or hand-breadths].

God takes pure fire and pure water, mixing them to create heaven. Create heaven with fire. In the beginning, Elohim created the heavens and the Earth, arranging seven houses above and seven below. Heaven extends upward as a cobra [Phethen] in a great veil. The Sun is complete, extending to surround heaven, resembling a veil.

It is revealed, you are over the gate and brought forth. The king brings forth and covers you, going forth and passing over you. The veil rises up as the morning star [A'amod Heshecher].

Of the heat of the Sun, cover the first firmament before the wheel of the Sun. Gather the heat passing over. Gather the Moon, stars, and signs of the zodiac. The Sun in the universe is the House of Glory [Beth Helel].

Speak of the Earth, created by the glory. Thus, the gate is in heaven before arranging the constellations.

Nisan is the first month of the year. Fire is the beginning of all things. Here is light to measure first. Nisan is the beginning of the warmth of the year. Aries is fire. It is the sign of the zodiac of Nisan. It is (Hebrew: TAQ).

After fire (Hebrew: AaPR) is Taurus, the sign of Ayir [the second month]. It is earth and (Hebrew: ShBG) is earth.

(Hebrew: AChK) is air. Gemini is the sign of Sivan [the third month]. It is air and (Hebrew: AChK).

Water corresponds to Cancer, the sign of Tammuz [the fourth month]. It is water and (Hebrew: SPD) is water.

Leo is the sign of Av [the fifth month] and fire.

Virgo is the sign of Alul [the sixth month] and earth.

Libra is the sign of Tishri [the seventh month] and air.

Scorpio is the sign of Marheshvan [the eighth month] and water.

Sagittarius is the sign of Kislev [the ninth month] and fire.

Capricorn is the sign of Teveth [the tenth month] and earth.

Aquarius is the sign of Shevet [the eleventh month] and air.

Pisces is the sign of Adar [the twelfth month] and water.

(Hebrew: ShShTh SAB MAQ GDR) are appointed. Therefore, in the scriptures, arrange heaven and earth. The Ruoch of Elohim hovers above the surface of the water.

Of light first, thus Aries is fire and proclaimed first. Nisan establishes the chamber to consume the offering. Obtain lambs from the herdsman. Proclaim the light. Speak to him of the secret of darkness. I desire to create the universe by the light. Speak before him of what you created before. Speak of not turning aside and devise the curse with you, to perish from the world. I am the Creator by the light of Aries. It is the fire, the sign of Nisan.

Speak after the light El created. Your darkness resembles Taurus, the sign of Ayer.

After, El created Gemini, the sign of Sivan. Man shuts out light. In the darkness, give two tablets.

After, El created Cancer of water, the sign of Tammuz. Everything requires water.

After, Yah speaks of Leo, the sign of Av. Man grasps with the strength of a lion.

After, Yah speaks of Virgo, the sign of Alul. Man is ready to be profound.

After, El of Libra, the sign of Tishri. Man as Virgo weighs you in Libra.

After, El of Scorpio, sign of Marheshvan. Weigh you in Libra. Of iniquity, be cast down to Gihenam, the place of serpents and scorpions.

After, Yah speaks of Sagittarius, the sign of Kislev. Descend directly to Gihenam, not rising to the Lord directly. From the petition of the highest for mercy, I cast down to Gihenam, as an arrow from the bow.

After, El of Capricorn, the sign of Tebeth. Be cast down directly to Gihenam, not rising up. Therein are the power of darkness [Meshechierien], turning away and leaping up. Rise as Capricorn.

After, El of Aquarius, the sign of Shebet. I sprinkle water to cleanse in purification of iniquity.

After, Yah speaks of Pisces, the sign of Adar. Rise up directly from Gineham. Succeed in the universe. Go forth to the spring, therein the dominion. Thus it is distinguished in the Midrash.

Then flow to the previous position of Aries in fire in Nisan, forming the chamber.

Of earth, Taurus is in Ayer, going forth from Thehom below. The image of a calf lying down on the ground, a fatted lamb. In fasting, therefore, make the image of a calf upon the ground, below the feet.

Gemini is in Sivan, corresponding to the Ruoch. There is no air going forth. By the word, from death, the trees flourish.[3] Cancer is in Tammuz, corresponding to the water. Of the great name of every generation on the Earth, suspend the signs of the zodiac. Therefore, heaven precedes Earth. However, Earth was created in the beginning, until here explaining the creation of Earth.

Of the twelve signs of the zodiac, God created light to shine in day and in night, but it was not seen in the day before the power of the wheel of the Sun. Measure it to see in night, except from the sign of the rising Sun. The highest is when the measure rises up to the sign of the zodiac. After, the union is concealed. From them, it is revealed to rise in the east. The star sinks down here and there over the measure.

Aries is arranged as the highest. Libra is in the period that stands in the east, setting in the west. The star of Aries sinks in the west as the star of Libra rises. Aries measures sinking, Libra measures rising. Then, Taurus and Scorpio, Gemini and Sagittarius, Cancer and Capricorn, Leo and Aquarius, Virgo and Pisces.

Measure the distance going forth, in the amount rising from the east, in the amount sinking in the west. In the amount, there is not one of them, but two arranged; not gathering in the boundary of the divisions of the sign of the zodiac.

When serving in the Spring, not serving in the Autumn. When serving in the Winter, not serving in the Summer. When serving in

[3] A reference to the death of trees in winter, and rebirth in the spring.

Summer, not serving in Spring. When serving in Autumn, not serving in Winter.

Arrange the ministers in the middle. Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius are in the middle. Plant seeds during these months. They minister for sixty-one days. In the middle is Sagittarius. Of Capricorn, in the middle is Aquarius. They minister in the days of the winter for sixty-one days. In the middle is Aquarius. Of Pisces, in the middle is Aries. They minister in the days of the spring for sixty-one days. In the middle is Aries. Of Taurus, in the middle is Gemini. They minister in the days of the autumn for sixty-one days. In the middle is Gemini. Of Cancer, in the middle is Leo. They minister in the days of the summer for sixty-one days. In the middle is Leo. Of Virgo, in the middle is Libra. They minister in the days of the warmth for sixty-one days.

The wise men of Israel speak of the firmament. It is made as a tent. The signs of the zodiac are fixed in the wheel. The wise men of the nations speak of the circle of the wheel. The signs of the zodiac are fixed therein, turning around. The wise men speak the words, not indicating Scorpio is in the south and the Dipper constellation is in the north. The Dipper constellation does not move from the place, not circling in the wheel.

The letters (Hebrew: TAQ) are fire (Hebrew: ShKG) are earth (Hebrew: ThMD) are air, and (Hebrew: SAaD) are water. Man does not know the root source [essential origin] of the signs of the zodiac. God created them, but not from the actions.

It is written, El poured out water in heaven and Earth, and fixed the signs of the zodiac. Reveal the works of the highest blessings. See the signs circle. Proclaim the sign of the zodiac when leaving. Bow down to the glory and the hosts of heaven [Tzeba Shemiem].[4] Bow down and be humble. Create all hosts by the Ruoch from the mouth.

The four above and below correspond to the twelve divisions: (Hebrew: TAQ) is fire; (Hebrew: ShKG) is earth; (Hebrew: ThMD) is air; (Hebrew: SAaR) is water. The twelve signs of the zodiac correspond to the three letters. Therein are the hosts [Methechielien]

[4] This term may refer to the angels, or to the Sun, Moon, and stars collectively.

of judgment. The last letters are (Hebrew: ShAZIININ), the three letters without (Hebrew: ZIININ).

Thus, there are twelve months and twelve great lives [ChOIIOTh] in the hands and feet. There are twelve tribes and twelve Malachim surrounding the throne of glory. Twelve blessings increased by all prayers. Twelve orders of the Torah, the laws of the Lord.

The first is integrity [Themiemeh]. The second is the restoration of the soul [Meshibeth Nephesh]. The third is faithfulness [Nameneh]. The fourth is intelligence [Mechokemeth]. The fifth is uprightness [Yiesheriem]. The sixth is rejoicing in the heart [Meshemechi Lebov]. The seventh is chastity [Bera]. The eighth is enlightenment [Mayiereth]. The ninth is cleanliness [Tehoreth]. The tenth is servitude [A'avomedeth]. The eleventh is truthfulness [Ameth]. The twelth is righteousness [Tzadiqov].

Therefore, the twelve hours of the day are occupied by these twelve orders of the Torah. Thus, the offering of bread for you to eat is of twelve shew breads. There are twenty-four tithes [A'asheronieth] serving the students of the Torah. Study for twelve hours in the day and twelve hours in the night. Of the twenty-four books, therefore be upheld at the side of the Lord and receive redemption.

The first step is to cook and mix the wine. Prepare the table and proclaim to those serving. Instruct those who are simple. Instruct them even when there is no desire to occupy themselves with the instructions of the Torah. Therefore, eat the bread of the Torah by eating twelve shew breads.

There are twelve praises [Shebechoth] of the Torah. The first is beginning [Rashith]. The second is preceding [Qedomim]. The third is from before [Maz]. The fourth is of old [Ma'avolem]. The fifth is in advance [Merash]. The sixth is early [Meqedomi]. The seventh is without [Bayin]. The eighth is Bayin. The ninth is Bayin.[5] The tenth is before that [Beterem]. The eleventh is in front of [Lepheni]. The twelth is not until [A'ad La].

Of the twelve after, the first is the way of [Derekov]. The second is the act of [Mepha'aliyov]. The third is the work of [A'avosh].

[5] The eighth and ninth may be typographical errors.

The fourth is in the presence of [Bephienov]. The fifth is in the bosom of [Bechiqov]. The sixth is in the midst of [Bametza'a]. The seventh is by the strength of [Ba'azoz]. The eighth is by the name of [Beshomov]. The ninth is by the law of [Becheqov]. The tenth is at the side of [Atzelov]. The eleventh is in the presence of [Lepheniyov]. The twelfth is in the land of [Aretzov].

The twelve signs of the zodiac were created for the sake of the Torah. There are four divisions of the signs, and thus of the Torah. Watch over the gates of the dwelling day by day. The first is by the journey [Vobelekethek]. The second is by rising up [Vobeqoumiek]. The third is by lying down [Vobeshekebek]. The fourth is by sleeping [Vobesheneh]. These are the four periods.

Man returns to serve. Learn of the three periods in the day and night, of sixteen in Av, until sixteen in Ayir. Therefore uphold and consider the commandments.

Observe all of the laws of God in fifteen days of the second month and uphold them. Thus, the mother learns to appoint it, as all are thrust forth from the caul. Be in the mother's womb for three portions of the year—actually, the days filled in the womb, previously eight days of eight months. (Hebrew: ThSh"I). A myriad and 240 [OR"M] divisions, relax in time to thrust forth in birth (Hebrew: ThSh"I).

It is written, you and your sons receive the laws of Elohik, and also the ancestors as thrust forth in birth (Hebrew: ThSh"I). It is indicated to Abraham that El regards them as a stone to be hewn. Abraham was occupied in the Torah, and learned the signs of the zodiac. Go forth abroad and [set] forth astrological matters [Atztaginothik].

Also, four are drawn above and below, corresponding to the twelve signs. Divide four above and below. (Hebrew: TAQ) is fire, corresponding [to] above. There fire is sustained, corresponding [to] above. (Hebrew: ShKG) is earth, corresponding [to] below. (Hebrew: ThMD) is air [Ruoch] to guide above. (Hebrew: SAaD) is water below. Also, guide above and below. The clouds are of air and water when in the sky. Man is in the days of raining. Ruoch opens, resembling a cloud, and it is water. In the days of raining, find growth to establish the green vegetation in open fields.

The rain falls upon the soil of the earth. Desire the growth of green vegetation. When water falls as rain in a stone vessel, it becomes green after many days.

In the days of heat, the signs minister with the Sun. Ruling in the days of heat, the signs minister with the Sun. Of the rain, then seeing many kinds of tropical flowers, seeing all varieties.

(Hebrew: TAQ) is the beginning of fire. The heavens are the foundation of the creation, above and first in heaven. (Hebrew: ThMD) is air of the Ruoch above, of all birds, only bound in the heavens. Thus, Earth was created second. Also of the foundation of Earth, the Ruoch (Hebrew: ThMD) takes the earth. The Ruoch gathers, reaching to Earth. The sea is fourth. Of (Hebrew: SAaD), the sea flows below and in the desert in the low country. It flows down to the heart of the nation. Of the sea, the dew comes down. It is written, flow down and establish the low country from the meager earth.

These are the four seasons of the year. The season of Nisan is hot and moist. The season of Tammuz is hot and dry. The season of Tishri is cold and dry. The season of Tebeth is cold and moist.

The four elements of man are blood, phlegm, red bile, and black bile. These are cold, hot, wet, and dry, as fire, earth, air, and water. The four elements of the body are blood, phlegm, red bile, and black bile. The seasons correspond to cold and hot, as summer and winter. The world was created from fire, earth, air, and water. The red bile corresponds to fire. Black corresponds to earth. Phlegm corresponds to water. Blood corresponds to air. The blood is the Nephesh and the Nephesh is warm.

Learn the interpretation of creation by the elements of the world. In the beginning, create Ruoch from the Ruoch of the Creator of all things. From Ruoch, create water and air. From the water, create fire and snow. From fire created from water, create the heavens. From the snow, create the earth.

Of the heavens and the living Ruoch of the heavens. The air of the heavens is hot and dry, corresponding to fire. Bring forth Ruoch from air. The earth is dry and cold. The water is wet and cold.

Thus, create the four elements of the body. The living Ruoch is the father and mother, Ruoch of the creator of all. From the living Ruoch of the father and mother, create the seed. The blood

corresponds to water and the blood is opposite to the air. The seed goes forth from the father. The mother creates red bile. The phlegm is as snow, created from the blackness by the word of the Lord. The sea of the universe is water. Of Ruoch, fire and air, as a throne over the water. The glory of the king is directly above.

The Torah was written by the fire of the Moon over the blackness of fire. Offer the Torah, hidden in the bosom [or hollow place]. Of pleasure, the throne stands by the word of the mouth, not creating life as paradise [A'adiyien] in the garden. Knowledge is the medium to reveal the light. From the images therein of all creatures and Neshemoth, it is hidden in a pouch below the throne.

Behold, on the left there are seven habitations built in the Garden of Eden. The Holy Temple [Beth Hamekadesh] was built before. The dwelling of glory [Shekineth Kebod] is in the middle. The name of the king, the Messiah, is inscribed upon the stone of goodness upon the altar. The Ruoch of Elohim sustained you until the universe was created. Be counseled by the Torah, for there is good counsel. Of the creation of the universe, return and create the Malachim that there is no sin. The first was Sodom. El invited man to drink the water of iniquity.

God restored all he created, restored by healing from sin, by the Nepheshem, healing man from a great state of affliction. In the Holy Temple, offer sacrifices of atonement in the Garden of Eden, of Nepheshoth, of righteousness, of Gihenam, of passing over the commandments of the Torah. The Messiah is occupied with the Torah, gathering the pages by hand. Administer to the restoration of the Torah.

Speak of the greatness of the universe. You are Elohi, Elohim of the universe. He speaks to you of what to do when there is no host of the king and when to journey to the desert by the words of the Torah. Listen to him. Of the firmament of heaven, cover in glory. Reach to the firmaments and the seven nations.

Elohik is the Lord of the heavens, the heavens of the heavens [Voshemi Hashemiem], the Earth, and all in it. The scriptures [Pesoq] are the strength of the Lord and offerings of the Lord.

From the heavens to the Earth is a journey of 500 years. Thus, the firmaments are obscured by the clouds. Thus, from the Earth to the firmament, and from end to end. Now, place the ear as a

funnel and listen to the sound of words. Give reverence to the heavens in the heart. Then, understand the knowledge of matters of the universe. Take snow from beneath the throne. Cast it upon the water. Freeze the water and make soil upon the earth. Of snow, establish the earth.

It is written of earth, the snow comes forth. By the word of the great king, freeze the water and make the storehouse of snow. Take snow from below the throne. The earth is the footstool. Of white snow, melt and flow down. The waters are muddy. Thus all creatures are pure and good from the heavens.

In the end, El restores the earth. Of snow, six horns [Qorenoth].[6] Thus all the operations of earth are six days. Of earth are six tasks [or customs]. Seed and harvest of winter, spring, summer, and autumn.

It says in the *Book of Formation*, water is from Ruoch. Engrave and hew chaos [Tohu Vebehuh] from mud and clay as a flower bed.[7] Establish by heat. From neglect, place snow above. Of the work, speak of snow.

Speak of the desolation of Earth. The green vegetation surrounds the Earth. The rocks fall and are immersed in the ocean. Water goes forth. Divide water from Ruoch. The moisture is to one side. Hew Tohu there. The green surrounds the world. Green is upon the water and upon the rocks. Moisture falls and the water goes forth. The water is created.

The man does not support this, not creating rock from water. Take a brazen vessel. Make rock from the brazen metal. Take pure, clear water, and boil it over the fire. When the water decreases, add twice as much water. The brass vessel breaks and a rock is found in it. Thus, in man and beast, find small rocks from the moisture boiled in the body. Make a rock in the liver or kidneys, or in the hinder place.

Of God, fire consumes the words, making the water into mountains and rocks and earth. The moisture goes forth from water.

It will come to pass, the Earth surrounding Tohu is seen by eyes. Anchored therein is the foundation of heaven, the origin of fire

[6] The horn is a symbol of strength. This term may also refer to mountain peaks.
[7] See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 1:11.

with the foundation of the Earth. Water goes forth. Collect the water and make mud, loam, and clay. Make it like a flower bed in a valley, surrounded by a wall. From neglect, by virtue of the signs, the mud and loam separate. Place snow above. Freeze and make earth. Speak of snow, earth is made.[8]

Of the *Book of Formation*, made from Tohu. Actually, Tohu is made of mud and clay, establishing earth. Actually, make the earth by them. Create the fortress above the ocean. Engraved above is the Shem Hemaphorash in 42 letters. Establish the letter over the surface of the ocean. Cover the waters and indicate 20 letters. Every word is sealed in the name of the heavens.

Of Earth by (Hebrew: AHIH). Aleph Heh is below and Yod Heh is above, corresponding to the crown. The throne is sealed by Yod Heh of (Hebrew: IHOH), of the three letters of fire and flame. By (Hebrew: IHOH), create heaven and Earth. Therefore, the beginning is Yod Heh.

Rejoice the heavens and exalt the Earth [Ishmecho Hashemiem Othegal Haretz] by the great name. Of all suffering [or burden], the Lord makes all. Seal in the pouch 42 letters. Offer over the ocean. The water does not rise up as the deluge of the ages. Take the pouch and at once divide the water of all the springs. The ocean increases. As one hastens to find the pouch, speak in vain to labor over [it].

Establish the Holy Temple and turn the pouch. The water goes forth and floods the worlds. Fall upon the face. By the song of degrees [Shir Hama'aloth] from the valley, proclaim the Lord to descend quickly.[9] Rise up by the fifteen songs of degrees, except for every song of degrees of David or Solomon, for they are not important.

Thus, corresponding to the dwelling in Chechares [mystical name of a city in Egypt] of 19 letters, therein place the 14 letters. Of Vau Yod Heh, here are five letters. By them, the ocean is angered. God beholds the humility. Indicate by Ruoch to wander the Earth. Over the pouch, God speaks to David to fetter his loins and build the foundation of the Holy Temple. David sees that in the

[8] See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 1:11.
[9] A term noted in the title of fifteen psalms. It is probably so called from having been sung on the steps of the temple.

pouch is written above the fifteen letters of the Shem Hamephorash. Around it, it is written, let there be glory to the Lord forever and He rejoices.

It is also written of David and Solomon, build the Holy Temple. Extend the hand and raise the pouch to be touched by El. The name of the Creator is engraved upon it.

Of God, the miracle to guide the pouch. It is fate [Gorel] of Joshua to proclaim. It is fate to return the pouch from heaven to David. By the name of the Creator, David is filled with the love of God.[10] Reach in you and raise the pouch by the power over the Shem Hamephorash. The water rushes upward.

God spoke to David, giving instructions of the arrangement of Aleph Lamed and instructed the building of the Holy Temple to remember the name. Establish it. Turn away from wickedness.

David raises the pouch and engraving over the Shem Hamephorash, casting it over the surface of the ocean, and afterward returned. Now become wise by the hidden, secret things of El. Learn without receiving the desires of the heart. When receiving the desire of the heart, speak of the desire in you.

Of thoughts, turn aside the heart. Serve and be reverent of life. Desire to be lifted upright at once. Incline upright and desire to return. Bow down thus, not to rise above the heart. Consider the valley below. The glory is below in the valley, as in heaven, the splendor of the Kingdom and the glory of the name.

It is written, below sow the earth. Know the heavens surround the Earth as a shell over all the universe.

All the universe is 500 over 500 [Th"Q AaL Th"Q]. The great sea circles the universe to support the foundation of the universe. The letter covers all the great sea. All the universe is supported by one pillar. The righteous name is (Hebrew: ShNA). Righteousness is the foundation of the universe and the letter of the pillar.

All the universe is upon the single fin of Leviathan [whale, or sea serpent]. Leviathan dwells in the lowest sea, as a small fish in the sea. The lowest sea is over the sea in the beginning.

Upon the shore of the sea, proclaim the name of the sea of weeping and the water rises up. Take the water of the highest

[10] The name David actually means "love."

weeping. The lowest weeping is not as pure as the highest. The highest desire is the path of God.

The sea of weeping is suspended above the lowest Earth [Aretz]. The Earth extends over the sea. It is written, the Earth extends over the sea. The sea is over the pillar of Chashmal.[11] The pillar of Chashmal is over the storehouse of snow. The storehouse of snow is over the mountain Bether [Her Bether]. The mountain Bether is over the ocean [Thehom], resembling three ox heads [Rash Shor]. El proclaims the ocean over desolation [Tohu]. Desolation is in the direction of the greenness. Darkness goes forth. Desolation is over emptiness [Bohu], resembling stones.

The water goes forth to serve. Emptiness is the pillar over the sea. The sea is over the water. The water is over the mountain. The mountain is over Ruoch. Ruoch is suspended in the gate [Sha'areh], bound by the elements of the lowest Earth [Aretz]. The angel appointed over the lowest Earth is Aretzietziyahov.

Proclaim the name of Earth. Desire to make the word of the king, ruling over the lowest Earth. The ocean [Thehom] is over the ocean of desolation [Thehom Tohu], over chaos [Tohu Vobohu], over the sea of emptiness [Bohu Im], over the sea of water [Im Mim], over the sea of ashes [Mim Apher]. The lowest Earth is suspended in the gate and bound in the dome of land [Kepheh Adameh]. Over land [Adameh] is the greatest glory, power, and beauty, by the virtues of the Creator.

In the beginning, El sees land. Exalt and rejoice. Proclaim how to create man from the soil. The Lord Elohim forms Earth [Aretz] from land. The angel appointed over land is Ademael, and over the ocean of land [Adameh Thehom]. The ocean of land is over the ocean of desolation, over chaos, over the sea of emptiness, over the sea of water, over the sea of the desert [Mim Chorabah]. Land is suspended in the gate and bound in the dome of desert [Kepheh Cherubeh]. The angel appointed over the desert is Cherubeh.

Proclaim the name of the desert to draw water from all the seas in the world. Regard the desert over the surface of the streams of

[11] In modern Hebrew, this actually translates as "electricity." It may also refer to a kind of polished brass or a mixture of gold and silver.

land [Adameh Iyavorim] and over the streams. The streams of the desert [Iyavorim Cherubeh] are over the ocean of desolation, over chaos, over the sea of emptiness, over the sea of water, over the sea of dry land [Mim Yobeshah]. Cherubeh is suspended in the gate and bound in the dome. The angel appointed over dry land [Yobeshah] is Yobeshehael.

Proclaim the name of dry land. Of all seas in the world, Israel goes by dry land within the sea. The water of the rivers and pools of water go to the sea, making dry land. Above the ocean of dry land [Thehom Yobeshah] is the ocean of desolation, over the sea of desolation [Tohu Im], over the sea of water, over the sea of earth [Mim Aroqa]. Dry land is suspended in the gate and bound in the dome. The angel appointed over Earth [Aroqa] is Aroqael. Proclaim the name Aroqael.

In Gihenam, the wicked are judged by the fire. Eloha in heaven judges the disobedient. Aroqa Shahul, and Abbadon, and Bar Shecheth, and Tit Hiyon, and Sha'ari Tzalemoth [Gate of the Shadow of Death] are in Gihanem.[12]

Of the wicked, there are forty Malachim and Chebeleh appointed over them. The clouds of darkness form a wall. The wicked are silent in the darkness.

Shahul is half fire and half hail. They suffer in pain and terror in Shahul. The Neshemeth do not languish, as the worms do not die in the river of fire.

There are seven great dwellings in Gihenam. In every dwelling, there are seven rivers of fire and seven rivers of hail. The highest is served by the fire. Every dwelling is bound together. There are 7000 caves [Chor] in every dwelling. In every cave are 7000 clefts. In every cleft are 7000 scorpions. Every scorpion inflicts 300 wounds. By every wound, there are 7000 as bitter herbs. There are seven rivers of poison [Sem]. Of death in fire, man is smitten therein. The angel Chebeleh smites you and judges you for every minute of one half of the year in fire, and half in hail and snow.

The Tzeneh [a vessel for containing snow] is from the fire. Divide the sins of man above the ocean of Earth [Aroqa Thehom]. The ocean [Thehom] is suspended in the gate and bound in the

[12] See the Introduction, page 19.

dome is the world [Thebel]. The angel appointed over the world is Thebel. Proclaim the name of the world.

From Thebelim are signs of the works of goodness. In the world are mountains and hills and all dwellings of the Lord. When speaking, the mountains tremble and all the hills dissolve.

In the world are 65 kinds of creatures over human beings, resembling the body of a lion and the face of a man, the head of a lion and the body of a man, the head of a serpent and a bull, for there are two heads. There are three heads, four hands, one body, one torso, and two feet.

Over the world, God prepares to judge. Speak to the world. Judge in righteousness and create the human being from the dirt [A'apher]. It came to pass, make the substance to build the world. Reward goodness and face the throne. Establish from the meager earth.

The throne of glory is over the ocean, over the ocean of desolation, over chaos, over the sea of emptiness, over the sea of water, over the sea of the world [Mim Cheled]. The world [Cheled] is suspended in the gate and bound in the dome. The angel appointed over the world is Cheledial. Proclaim the name Cheledial.

In the world, you are human beings. Of acts of wickedness, there is not the world, but only the body. The world is over man and beasts, birds and fishes, creeping things and insects.

Of the righteousness of the Torah and works of goodness, the reverence of heaven. All inhabitants of the nations listen.

In the world are seven lands and seven oceans between them. These are the four spirits of the world. From the spirit of the east, light goes to the universe. From the spirit of the south, a pool of water. From the spirit of the west, the storehouse of snow, the storehouse of hail and cold rain. From the spirit of the north, not stopping the spirit of destruction [Ruoch Meziqin] and horrors [Zova'avoth] and spirits [Ruochoth] and demons [Shedin]. In the north is the hell of the evil [Thopheth Hera'aheh]. Do not stop them from affecting man. Only Eloah may stop them. Forsake the north gate.

The Shekinah is in the west. All face the right-hand path. The universe is created corresponding to the east, south, and west.

It is written in the Torah, of the knowledge be counseled by the Mishnah. In the beginning, the universe was created in six days.

After six thousand years, the universe is established. The righteous are occupied by the doctrine of the Torah. The Lord first completed the testimony, second, the orders, third, the commandments, fourth, the reverence of the Lord, fifth, the judgment of the Lord, sixth, the blessings.

Thus first, be blessed. Second, preserve the light of the Lord. Third, consecrate. Fourth, rise up in exaltation. Fifth, be at peace [Shalom]. Sixth, observe the commandments.

First, keep watch over Israel. Second, observe. Third, observe.[13] Fourth, observe the Nephesh. Fifth, observe the going forth. Sixth, [observe] the coming of the Lord.

Sing the song of degrees. Keep in purity by keeping the Torah in purity. The divisions of the Garden are five signs. Five are exalted in Eden, of Egypt, Mesoptamia, Sinai, Jericho, and Israel.

Keep in tablets of six spans [or hand breadths]. The six orders are saved from Gihenam. It is written therein of the shadow of death [Tzalemoth], not of the orders of the tablets, six spans over six.

Let there be light to every one of the six. In the desert [Cherebah], make six divisions of the six. This equals 36 spans, arranged span over span. The width is three spans. Three times 36 is 108 appointed to Gihenam. Be delivered from it.

Know Gihenam and the Garden of Eden are supported by the first house, divided between them. The Garden of Eden is on the northeast side. In the north, fill the belly. Therefore, the Sun is red in the west. Flourish by the brilliance, as surely the fire is in Eden. In the northwest is Gihenam. From the burning coals of fire, the Sun in the east is red as blood. The hot springs go forth from Ga'a. Form a wall on the side from the springs. Gihenam is diagonal to the south. Come to the gate of Ga'a below the firmament. Gather in the universe on one side. The rest is outside of the firmament.

In the Qliphoth, seal the river of fire. Above the Qliphoth, the sign of Ga'a is surrounded by the second Qliphoth. Of Ga'a and Gihanem, the power of the Qliphoth. The river of fire is above the Qliphoth.

Of the throne of glory, life comes from the strength. Establish the turning of the Sun, Moon, and signs of the zodiac. Of boiling

[13] There is likely some dropped text here.

rain, the hot, boiling water descends, going from the east to west, and so on and so forth.

The highest firmament is the course of 500 years. Proclaim the universe is 146 myriad myriads cubits.[14] In the midst of the firmament is the Qliphoth and the river of fire. They come near the lowest part of the universe. In the end, complete the Earth.

The light from the heaven goes forth beyond the Garden of Eden by the mountains on the northeast side. It descends between the mountains to the world. The mountain divides the universe from the Garden of Eden.

The Malachim come forth from the mountain. The darkness of the firmament obscures it from the Earth. Also, the firmament surrounds Ga'a in brilliance.

Above the Qliphoth is the throne of glory. Below is the gate of spirit [Ruoch Sha'areh]. There is nothing surrounding the Qliphoth. It faces Ga'a and Gihenam, surrounding the universe. There is a path to the river of fire.

Of the limits of Gihenam, the signs of the zodiac are near the river of fire, immersed therein above. One from 60 in the garden, one from 60 in Eden, and one from 60 in Gihenam.

Be occupied by the study of the Torah. Of one from 60 of the highest wisdom, be delivered from death and from Gihenam. Come to the Garden of Eden. It is written, the wisdom of the Lord is the foundation of Earth.

Of the 22 letters of the Torah, Aleph is one and Beth is two, making three. Gimel is three, making six. Daleth is four, making ten. Heh is five, making fifteen. Vau is six, making twenty-one. Zayin is seven, making twenty-eight. Cheth is eight, making thirty-six. Teth is nine, making forty-five. Yod is ten and Yzaddi is ninety, making one hundred. Kaph is twenty and Peh is eighty, making one hundred. Lamed is thirty and Ayin is seventy, making one hundred. Mem is forty and Samekh is sixty, making one hundred. Here is four hundred-and-ninety-five. Of five from the Torah, here is 500.

Qoph is one hundred, Resh is two hundred, Shin is three hundred, and Tau is four hundred, making one thousand. Here is fifteen-hundred.

[14] This calculates to 14,600,000,000 cubits. A cubit is said to be the distance from the tip of your finger to your elbow, approximately 2 feet.

Twenty is five-hundred-and-forty, and six-hundred-and-fifty, and seven-hundred-and-sixty, and eight-hundred-and-seventy, and five-hundred-and-one-thousand, here is six thousand.

In the beginning, Elohim created (Hebrew: R"Th BKA OBKA BA"Th B"Sh) of six, as much indicated 6000 rising upward. By the right of three fathers and four mothers, create seven firmaments. Divide by seven lands. Twelve tribes correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac.

The names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by Gematria, are 638 [Abraham = 248; Isaac = 208; Jacob = 182]. The names of Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah, by Gematria, are 1086 [Sarah = 505; Rebecca = 307; Rachel = 238; Leah = 36]. The names of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, Benjamin, Dan, Joseph, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher, by Gematria, are 3166 [Reuben = 259; Simeon = 466; Levi = 46; Judah = 30; Issachar = 830; Zebulon = 95; Benjamin = 152; Dan = 54; Joseph = 156; Naphtali = 570; Gad = 7; Asher = 501]. Israel and Yesheron are 1107 [Israel = 541; Yesheron = 566].[15]

Of the prophets of the Torah, as it is written of the three, here are six thousand years. The universe will endure. Of Ephraim, Manessah, and Israel (Hebrew: BATh BSh ALP L"H), here is 7000 corresponding to 6000, to be the universe and Aleph Zayin of Tohu.

Therefore twice as much as Lamed Cheth [L"Ch] corresponding to Cheth, the seventh of seven firmaments. Of seven planets, and seven countries, and seven oceans, that seven is the world of Tohu.

Therefore, survive to the days of Achab[16] for 7000, not kneeling before Ba'al. 7000 in days of Jehovachez.[17] Here is divided seven countries and seven deserts between them, of seven firmaments.

It is written, the wisdom of the Lord is the foundation of the Earth. Fill with wisdom, not coming forth. It is written, the reverence of the Lord is the wisdom; however in heaven, be filled with intelligence. Understand the wisdom.

[15] Yesheron is a periphrastic name of Israel, meaning "the righteous people."
[16] A King of Israel. Also, the name of a false prophet.
[17] The name of a King of Israel, the son of Jehu. Also, the name of a King of Judah, son of Josiah.

By the means of the word, speak of intelligence in heaven. In the deserts, knowledge goes forth in two drops. From drops of knowledge in the deserts [come] the great book and all the works of glory.

On the seventh day, the love of the Lord shines upon the universe. Create seven countries. Give the laws over the Earth and in the open plains of the seventh firmament. The seventh day is chosen to be the Sabbath. Thus bind them and create around the lowest earth. Afterward, surround by fire and water,

Tremble in fear of lightning and thunder. Tremble in fear of the images. The noise and tumult returns and, afterward, silence. One minute after, speak the Kaddash [Prayer for the Dead]. After speaking the blessing, speak in counsel. After all this, the holy life and the Aophnim, the throne of glory, and the foot of the Shekinah.

Around the back of the head, see life on Earth as the Shekinah above. Thus, the Shekinah is below and splendor fills the Earth. Also, heaven is the throne and the Earth is the footstool.

A thousand thousands and a myriad myriads ministering angels serve below the feet of the Shekinah. From every kind of praise [Shebech] and every kind of praise [Qolos], fill the Earth below.

All the lands of the Shekinah are over the throne of glory from below. Of the powers of the universe, the second power to what is first of the lowest labors. First is the highest labor, keeping the glory above and below. The glory of the Creator is in the air and in the darkness, in every place filled. Do not fill the firmaments with glory. One is above and one is below.

The word written by the Lord is of one divine truth. He is one and there is none like him. There is no Creator other than him. He fills all, except as it is explained in the end of the book.

The Creator established all. The vision of glory is in heaven above. Dwell in the glory above, corresponding to the throne. Of the name, Seraphim, Chashmallim, Cherub, Aophanim, Chiyoth, thus below the lowest earth.

Reveal the glory above by the singing of the wings. Listen to the sound of the wings. From the wings, those on the Earth hear the holy singing from above and blessings from below. When speaking to God, I work in the temple [Meqedesh] and dwellings. Gather to all habitation above. Come forth to God, and speak to him: What is

the matter with you, dwelling in an unclean place? It is better to dwell in purity. I shall purify the dwelling. Dwell in the temple of El.

God spoke to them: Of man below, be equal. Complete the sign. Rejoice by the singing. Rejoice in heaven, created by the Lord. Dwell in the lowest Earth and rejoice in heaven.

The Malachim dwell in the lowest Earth. Of Israel from the singing below, and moreover the singing. It is written, rejoice in unison by glory that comes forth.

The people of Israel call out [Yiriya'aov, or sound the trumpet] to every son of Elohim. Consider more of all congregations. Do not rise up to rejoice the name of Aaron. The song of Aaron rises up. Rejoice as Jacob rejoices.

It is written, see and rejoice in the heart when you hear. Thus, when quiet, it is complete.

Moses and Esau are appointed to consecrate in the midst of the dwelling, corresponding to the letters of the names: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Joseph, Benjamin, Sabbatai, and Yesheron. There are seventy-two letters (Hebrew: ABRHM ITzChQ IAaQB RAOBN ShMAaON LOI IChODH IShShKR ZBOLN DN NPThLI GD AShR IOSP BNIMIN ShBTI IShRON).

Thus, by the name (Hebrew: OISAa OIBA OIT). The letters of the mothers are as the letters of the fathers. Embrace and kiss the image of Jacob.

Israel is the holy land, the place of God. Below is the Holy Temple. Speak, Holy, Holy, Holy [Qedesh Qedesh Qedesh], as it is written in the book of the temples of God. Embrace and kiss the name of the image of Jacob, engraved upon the throne of glory.

Place two seeds of Jacob. Speak, happy is the father of the praise of your son. By the most holy praise, see the vision of (Hebrew: ShDI IHOH) [the Almighty God] and see God.

The prophet Bala'am performed works of the Merkabah.[18] Place Jacob upon the throne. Speak of the goodness of Elohik. Of Jacob by Gematria, Jacob upon the throne. It is written below the left side (Hebrew: LRAShI IShRAL). On the right side, embrace. Therefore, speak of the hand over the right hand of man.

[18] See Numbers 22–24.

(Hebrew: AaL AISh IMINK) by Gematria (Hebrew: IShRAL). Over human beings, Ametzeth [strength] to you. (Hebrew: AIMTz"Th) by Gematria is Israel. It is written (Hebrew: ChZO-QOThIK AMTzThIK) [powerful strength].

Also, support the right side in righteousness. Speak, Holy, Holy, Holy, three times corresponding to Elohim. In the heavens above, first. Above the Earth below, second. There is not another in the air, third. There is not in the highest and lowest, nor in the air between.

Corresponding to three praises [Yithodien] we speak, hear me Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one.[19]

Of the blessings before, he who endures, petition in the morning, and then in the evening. First, proclaim from the beginning of the first generations. Second, proclaim to the Lord. I am first, and I am last. Thus speaks the Lord, King of Israel, and the redeemer, the Lord of hosts. I am first and I am last. There is no other unto Elohim. Of the third, actually sprinkle the blood.

From ancient times, return in vestments as white as snow. The heat of the flames of pure fire. The flames shine as a wheel of burning fire. First, put forth the darkness. Behold, the clouds around heaven come near. From ancient times, reach and come near second. From ancient times, deliver judgment of the highest and most holy. Appoint to reach the kingdom to possess holiness, third.

In the morning, speak three times, Holy, Holy, Holy. Once in Yotzer, and once in Amida [Prayer of Eighteen Benedictions] in supplication, and once as arranged in the Kaddash.

The holy glory is in the air between heaven and Earth. Those are the three prayers of supplication in the day. The Prayer of Eighteen Benedictions is the supplication.

Deliver directly from eighteen. Of Gihenam, 108 nations by the nation of God. From Gihenam, open the mouth wide without (Hebrew: Ch"Q) and gather (Hebrew: LAa"HB) for eighteen hundred thousand years.

Of the eyes, not seeing Elohim other than those men able to see eighteen hosts [Cholivoth, or armies] assembled.

[19] The prayer is Shema. Shema Yisrael Adonai Elihanu Adonai Achad. In modern tradition, followed by "Amen."

It is written, be satisfied in the eternal life of eighteen thousand lands of God. See in all time. They are hidden. Therefore, hide in them. It is written, they are hidden. (In other words, in the world. There are eighteen benedictions in the Amida. It is written to hide. Thus, in the world, there are eighteen rows of the throne, for it is written to hide.)

The Creator formed all and filled all space with the glory. Rise up over the holy life in heaven. Thus, honor the most holy glory over the life below the throne. Before the throne of glory, below is as above.

The name Shekinah is written upon the throne of the heavens. The Earth is the footstool. It is written, the glory fills the Earth.

Place the sign at the feet of the Shekinah, surrounding 18,000 lands. Of the spirit of the north, 4,500. Of the spirit of the south, 4,500. Of the spirit of the west, 4,500. Of the spirit of the east, 4,500. Thus, the circle is 18,000.

The 4,500 of the spirit of the north are of splendor and glory, of strength and praise, of song and honor, of joy and exaltation and majesty.[20]

The 4,500 of the spirit of the south are of fulfillment [Melayim] and holiness, of purity and righteous is the great name.

The 4,500 of the spirit of the west are of fulfillment, of adorning the crown, of the kingdom and the sound of the silence of time [Qol Demameh Dekeh].

The 4,500 of the spirit of the east are of fulfillment, of splendor and glory, of beauty and exaltation, of rejoicing in song. Restore as written therein.

The sign in the north is of fulfillment, grace and righteousness. Be strengthened by the great victory.

The sign in the south is of fulfillment, of splendor and glory, of beauty and glory. Exalt in the majesty.

The sign in the east is of fulfilment. The song restores the crown of the kingdom and the sound of the silence of time.

The sign in the west is of fulfilment. Adorn in the splendor. Of strength and exaltation, rejoice and sing all the words of praise.

[20] Tehileh Vokevod Vogeborah Voshebech Vozemireh Vohedar Vorenah Vogavoh Vogavon. Many of the words used here have very similar meanings.

Speak of the chariot of Elohim. Of myriad thousands upon thousands, the Lord is in them.

Eighteen thousand remain and they minister before and after. Of 18,000 lands surrounded by the river of water. After the river of water, surrounded by the river of fire. After the river of fire, surrounded by walls of fire and water. After the walls of fire and water, surrounded by mountains of hailstones and hills of snow. After is the wall of storm. After is the shaking of an earthquake. After is the fear of thunder and lightning. After are the Cherubim flying upon the wings of the wind. After are a thousand thousands hosts. After are myriads of pleasures. After, sing hymns. After, sound the Shofar. After is the sound of blowing the Shofar. After are myriads of pleasures. After are further praises. After are holy words. After are the words of blessings. The glory fills the Earth.

After all this is the mud and mire. After mud and mire, there is nothing; henceforth chaos and darkness. You cannot see, as there is no measure to it.

It is written, hidden in the darkness is a secret place. Every day for all time, God rides above the Cherub. Go forth to ride above the Cherub swiftly and return to see. Flying upon the wings of the wind, ride above the Cherub, flying upon the wings of the wind, filling all. Ride above the Cherubim in the south, thus going to the south side. All the Cherubim and every spirit dwell by the Ruoch of the Malachim.

By the sign of the side, the strongest princes [Methegeborim Sheriem] are below the strongest. The brilliance of the glory is not seen on the second side. Therein, Solomon speaks in prayer. Hear me in the heavens. The foundation of the dwelling corresponds to the glory coming forth by the brilliance of the great Malachim.

Place the sign of eighteen lands in righteousness. In the end is Ezekial, but not there, as the lands are diminished. Complete by these signs in love of 310 lands.

Give the name of the universe and the name of the lands. By the brilliance of the glory, see from the place of the throne of glory. The brilliance around it is from the blessing.

Blessed is the glory of the Lord. It is all and fills all, all between the heavens and the Earth. Seek the Lord by Aleph Beth, as the Rabbi A'aqiba.

The mercy of the Lord fills the Earth. Great mercy is given from God. Know in the Torah, to proclaim mercy. It is written in the Torah, of mercy over the language above. The Lord is merciful and the Lord is compassionate. They shall know all put forth of the firmaments and what is in the midst of the first. It is the veil high above. The veil covers and binds. It is as a sheet spreading. It is out, open, not seeing in the house. Thus, extend to surround heaven.

In the morning, spread out over the surface of the firmament of the heavens. Protect from the heat of the Sun, in the night, [from] rain.

The sign is before the stars of the signs of the zodiac. In the morning, return to the place. Cover the firmament in the evening to bind. In the morning, cover and be renewed every day.

Of the work of Berashith, the veil of heaven is bound. Unite the veil and heaven below the firmament is separated. It is written, the heavens are covered by the glory of El. It is revealed by the firmament. Return above the veil surrounding. See in the day. Know God created 390 firmaments of heaven. Double [or multiply] to unite. Corresponding to double, every firmament to my name and title. Point above and every one ministering between the throne of glory.

Of seven firmaments, they are the foundation. Above, all the firmaments are complete and perfect. The veil surrounds the heavens in the course of 500 years.

The ladder stands upon the Earth [Aretz]. Over 500 years, begin reaching to the Lord in the heavens. Rise up the ladder in the course of 500 years.

The most-honored princes [Sher Nekbadim] appoint seven chief offices [Serasim] over the lands. Above and below, come forth to the sign of Metatron. Create the heavens from fire and water by the word of the Lord. Create heaven by the word of God. By the power of the heat of fire and the moisture of the water, create the heavens therein.

The skies are below the firmament. Raise water by the name of the first firmament. The hosts of angels stand guard. Seven thrones stand over the heavens, not dwelling in the highest. Watching over and ministering, they are the highest magistrates [Sholetiem, or dominions].

Bind to them, the most merciful, the highest blessings, and the most powerful. Desire to take vengeance in the blessed place. The

destruction [Mezieqiem, or demons] of man is occupied by the Malachim.

Of the seventh sign, the Malachim are appointed to make. The seven princes [Shariem] of the magistrates [Shetoriem] are formed from fire. See by the flames of the fire. Go forth from the fire. The hosts did not create the word, but only when counseled by the magistrates. By authority of the seven, put forth whether good or wicked, whether wealthy or poor, whether in war or peace.

Below the first dominion [Shoter] are 70 princes ministering. They listen to every word. Of works of healing, proclaim the name Tezom and Thereh.

Below the second dominion are the princes and Malachim ministering. Of the consecration, keep guard and cast down the enemies in battle. Proclaim by the name of the Malachim. Proclaim in purity.

Below the third dominion are four princes of the Malachim ministering. They are friends of man, whether satiated or in hunger. Every word comes forth, whether good or wicked. Proclaim the name in purity.

Below the fourth dominion are 42. They are appointed over the heart of the king and the princes and every man. Proclaim the name in purity.

Below the fifth dominion are 22. They listen in the night to the words. Petition the stars and speak with the spirits. Proclaim the name in purity.

Below the sixth dominion are 37. They are strong Malachim, girded in power and strength, covering all the corners of the world. Proclaim the name in purity.

Below the seventh dominion are 46. They read every word in dreams. Proclaim the name in purity and you succeed in the works.

BOOK TWO

PART 4

IN THE BEGINNING, PART 2 (BERASHITH)

THE ANGEL A'AMOAL IS APPOINTED over the veil of the firmament, appointed over 12,000 Malachim. Of the many paths in heaven, extend the path in the light of the fire of splendor. In the place, there is a great mountain of white fire. Divide the pure fire, not seen from there. Go forth beyond to divide the path of the white fire from the pure.

On the grassless paths, the Malachim go forth. Go forth on a journey upon the path. Go around, until rising up the ladder from firmament to firmament, the Merkabah is reached. There are the Malachim. Those who are not pure will not reach the splendor (as it is commanded), rising up to the Merkabah.

In every place, it is written of the heavens, either of the significance of an open hand or the body of the firmament; however the heavens above the heavens are as a chamber within a chamber.

It is revealed that all the heavens are formed as a tent, stretched by a tent hook in the Sea of Oceanus [Mi Avoqiyinos]. Be caught as a hook in the Sea of Oceanus. Distinguish the limits of the heavens. Distinguish the limits of the Earth. The limits of the Earth and the limits of the heavens extend from the Sea of Oceanus.

Be refreshed in the highest sea. In the midst of the sea, rise above, as a tent extending forth. The human being stands below. The limits are below and in the middle of the heavens. The limits below and in the middle are above all the creatures of the lowest dwelling. Dwell in the tabernacle.

Of the seal of the heavens and the Earth, by the seal of Ahieh, Aleph Heh is below and Yod Heh is above. Of the three seals of Ahieh, there are twelve letters corresponding to the twelve hours of

the day and twelve hours of the night, twelve months of the year, twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twelve tribes.

To the side (see figure 3 on page 94), there are four seals of every spirit. Two letters are above and two letters below: Aleph Heh is below and Yod Heh is above. Of three spirits and three letters of (Hebrew: AHIH). The fourth spirit is established to serve, but not of the seal until the appointed time.

In the divine seal of (Hebrew: IHOH), Yod Heh is above and Vau Heh is below. By this sign, rejoice the heavens and exalt the earth. Rejoice the heavens [Ishemechov Hashemiem], as Yod Heh is above. Exalt the earth [Vothegel Haretz], as Vau Heh is below. These are the four letters of the name.

From the north gate, the Shekinah descends. Sustain the language. The Lord descends to see the city of Gomer.

Descending to Sinai, the Lord descends upon Mount Sinai to restore Jerusalem. Stand upon feet in the day, thus, upon the Mount of Olives. The letters of the seal are seen as lightning and flames of light. See a thousand thousands myriads of divisions rising up. Before that, engrave by the fingers. Bind the crowns of burning arrows of brilliance.

The letters Aleph Heh Yod Heh are a thousand myriad divisions. The one measure rises up as 79 [Aa"T) flames. It is written therein of 3000 of the seal of the heavens. As before, I employ the heat of the Sun in the universe. Be consumed by fire.

The myriad hosts of heaven of the orders of fire. The orders of the powers of the force of fire rush forth to cast down and burn the world. Thus, see the limits of the heaven, bound by the ends of the earth, the ends of the earth by the ends of the heavens by the seal of Ahieh. Serve in sorrow and bring forth by measures of mercy.

The seal is in the *Book of Formation*.[1] Raise in the hand three simple things [Pheshototh]. Cover them in the name of the great (Hebrew: IHOH). Seal them with six edges. Face upward and seal by (Hebrew: IHOH). Proclaim of twelve (or by Aleph Beth) not double Heh Vau Zayin Cheth Teth Yod. Move Qoph Yod Nun, taking Yod Heh Vau Heh.[2] Reveal by combining the letters of the name.

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[1] See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 1:13 and 6:6.

[2] The Gematria of Qoph Yod Nun is 160. The word is Qien, or Cain, and translates as "lance" or "spear."

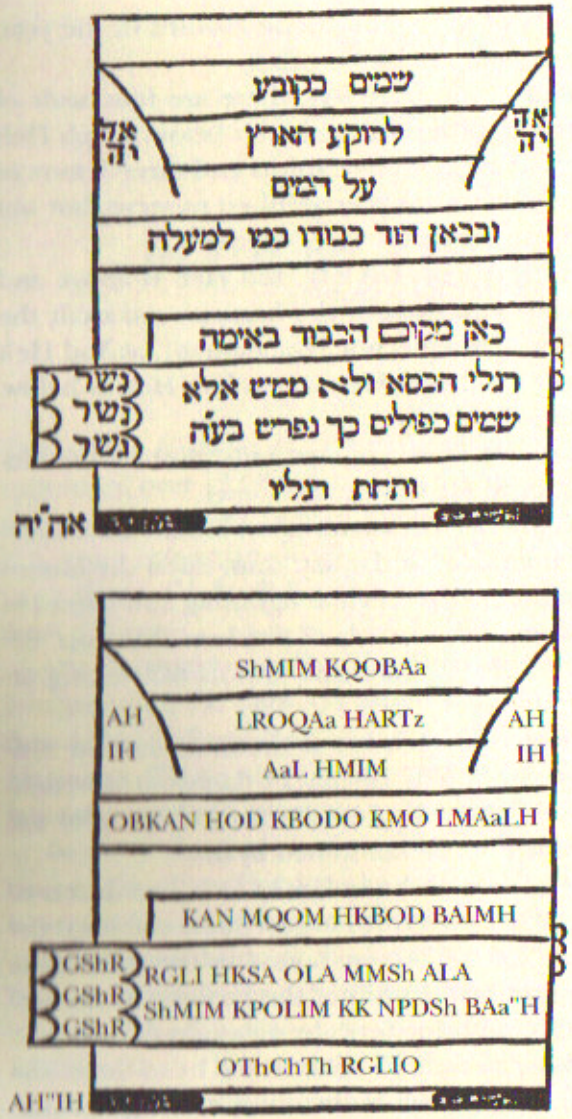

Figure 3. The caption under the diagram translates as: Of these twelve letters (N"L AHIH), that (AHIH) observes by the description. Before find three seals of (AHIH), two times (AHIH) and one time (AHIH). Here is the seal of heaven and Earth, of three seals of (AHIH). Complete as that before.

AH	Heaven is as a helmet	AH
IH	spread the earth	IH
	over the water	

and here, splendor and glory as above

Bridge	Here is the place of the glory, where the foot
Bridge	of the throne, and not being except in Heaven
Bridge	to double, thus to divide by 75 and beneath the feet.
AHIH	

Combine this with that, making Heh Qoph Beth Heh in heaven [HQBH, see Introduction], resemble the throne, but not the throne actually. Reveal only to all the Malachim. He is king over all the heavens. Double the image of the throne.

The heavens number the glory of El. Serve thus above the sea of the heavens, above the sea of water to the sea of lightning and thunder. Tremble as the walls of the powers of fire surround the sign.

The great ladder is placed in heaven. The top reaches to the firmament. The most holy Malachim and most honored princes are appointed over it.

The Malachim are appointed over the north gate by the grace of the Lord. There are six over the south gate, six over the east gate, and six over the west gate.

Malachim are in the sole (the round circle of the foot). The groups divide to establish. El speaks to man. Pass before, not turning away according to the circle within. Bring forth in the round sole of the foot. Interpret the feet and the oval sole of the foot. The footsteps in the circle are as darkness in the beginning of creation, resembling an ox. Therefore, create twelve oxen below. The foot is upright. The foot of the ox grows as the lion, not as man, and similar to the eagle. What the Lord creates is great.

Know, when described thus, by three veils of the throne of Aleph. Aleph is as the highest. Reveal the three veils. Aleph is above Beth. Beth resembles a throne. Gimel is as the eye of Cheshemial, like a sapphire. Aleph is above and created as Beth, therefore Aleph Beth.

Of Rabbi Aqieba, the Beth descends from above, from the throne of glory. Tremble as the wheels [Gelgalim]. God speaks to them. Restore the Beth above. Descend in the beginning, of all the splendors of heaven [Kebodino Merom].

From the beginning, speak of the glory of the Kingdom. Speak as it is written. The first circle of the throne is below the feet of the highest. God hears the prayers from his dwelling, sitting upon the throne in the heavens. The Earth is the footstool in the house of rest [Beth Menocheh] of the Lord [Adon]. The footstool is in the House of God [Beth Elihanu]. Bow down before the holy footstool.

Of Daleth, fifty-and-one of the Book of the Mishnah [Sepher Mishnah] of the Torah. Therefore, bow down before the Torah,

the footstool of the Lord. Thus, there are seven thrones in heaven. These thrones are in the heavens, seen therein. The magistrate is appointed over them.

The root of the word is engraved in the throne of glory in the court of the temple of the king. The honored prince is Voqemoval. The host is Sederial, appointed over the Malachim. The magistrate is appointed over 12,000.

The king stands over the gates of heaven. Therein are multitudes numbering the glory of El. It is written, the heavens number the glory of El.

Teth corresponds to the portion of the firmament reaching nine times the firmament by Samekh Berashith, until the sea shines upward to the heavens. Aleph is the most high [Meromiem], Beth is the angels [Melakiyov]. Gimel is the hosts [Tzebayov]. Daleth is the Sun. Heh is the Moon. Vau is the stars. Zayin is the heaven of heavens [Shemi Shemiem]. Cheth is the sea above the heavens. Teth is, thus, the foundation of the dwelling.

The foundation dwells in the heavens. There are nine kinds of fire. By the works of Merkabah corresponding to Teth, make the firmament above the heavens. The firmament is fixed therein. The Sun, and Moon, the constellation of the Pleiades, Orion, stars, every sign of the zodiac, every ocean, and every great ladder are placed in the firmament. The top reaches up to the sky. The angel is as flames of fire. The most honored princes are appointed over it.

There are seven appointed over the gates of the firmament. Of the gates of the firmament, make the north spirit. In the north are appointed six princes. There are seven princes serving over the spirit of the south, seven princes over the east, and seven princes of the west.

In the the second firmament is frost and vapor, the storehouse of snow, the storehouse of hail, the angel of fire, the angel of judgment, and the spirits of fear. Of the sign, the firmament fills with fear. In the midst of the Malachim, serve the unfathomable [Ayin Cheqor]. Make the hosts and the highest princes and most honored magistrates.

In the firmament are twelve degrees. In every degree stands the most honored and highest Malachim. Of every one of every body [Gopheh], hear to make a human being. Of every

proclamation in purification over the first degree, serve nine princes and magistrates serving. The fear weakens them. The terror binds them by fear. Tremble as they are dying by the image of fire around as a vision of lightning. The mouth is not to silence the commandments and not to hear sounds. The angels are silent. They come upon them suddenly, rushing over all to serve the highest.

There are eleven princes serving over the second degree. They serve by the power. Fill with strength, love, and desire. The burning fire rushes forth from the nearest sign of the zodiac.

Fourteen princes serve over the third degree. Tremble in fear of the anger of human beings, hindering thoughts. They are strengthened by the strength. Fear is before and fear is to follow. Of groaning and trembling, walk from the sound of the trembling of thunder as the sounds of fire. Burning fire goes forth from the eyes, to establish, complete, and abolish.

There are sixteen princes serving over the fourth degree. Seven bind the storm. The sound of steps walking are as the sound of chains being brandished in the east. From the north are sounds as lightning and rushing fire. Of the divisions of the year, and of good and evil.

There are twelve princes serving over the fifth degree. They hold a shield and spear, a helmet upon the head, and a coat of chain mail armor covering the right side and left side. Of hail stones, tremble in oppression as fire goes forth. Hold a lamp and whisper [Lecheshiem) the answer. Do not silence the mouth as burning flames go forth from the fire. The Ruoch from the nose consumes the fire. Make the storehouse of fire, from where fire goes forth.

There are seventeen princes serving over the sixth degree. They lead the humble, filled with glory and robed in white vestments. They are seated upon great thrones, over faithfulness, loyalty, honesty, and over the healing of the faithful and the peaceful.

There are eleven princes serving over the seventh degree, bound by the power to strengthen in fear. One half resembles fire and one half resembles water. They are wondrous, not serving over. Fire rises up as burning coals in the eyelids. Serve in fear of the lowest, not being able to see the visions. Serve the highest. Be afraid [of] the visions and the three spirits of the world.

There are nineteen princes serving over the eighth degree. There are fourteen offices over the faithful, appointed over the rushing forth of power and strength. Form man by the strength of the bow and lance. Seal up the fire. Fear the horsemen of fire and chariots of fire.

There are fourteen princes serving over the tenth degree [The ninth degree is omitted]. The offices are over the faithful. By the powers of the sounds of fire, not hindering all the knowledge, make the covenant in heaven.

There are sixteen princes serving over the eleventh degree. They serve in greatness. The hosts minister over the princes. The fire rises up in splendor. Fly and give praise to the Creator.

There are twenty princes serving over the twelfth degree. They are surrounded in rightousness and shine in splendor. In the beginning, fill the foundation of the building. These serve half and half. Half are roots and half are branches. Afterward, heal by words of binding. All remember healing in the firmament. The tabernacle of beauty is improved by the arrangement of heaven and filled with a great light.

Speak the name of the Sun in the tabernacle. The firmament divides the darkness of seven planets. Saturn is the highest. Mikal is appointed over Saturn. Berekial is appointed over Jupiter. Gabrial is appointed over Mars. Raphal is appointed over the Sun. Chesedial is appointed over Venus. Tzedeqial is appointed over Mercury. A'anial is appointed over the Moon.

Saturn is cold and dry, as ice and hoar frost. Jupiter is hot and moist, in even mixture. Mars is hot and dry, as fire. The Sun is complete fire. Venus is cold and hot. Mercury is cold and hot, less dry and moist. The Moon is a mixture of cold and hot.

Four dwellings are revealed to the prophets of the life of man. Bring forth by the star constellation [Mezeh Kokeb]. Reveal to the prophets of the life of man. In time, bring forth. The rising star goes forth in the universe from out of the east. It is the house of life [Beth Chiyov].

First, the house of the planet Saturn rises in 57 years. Second, Jupiter comes to pass in 79 years. Third, Mars comes to pass in 66 years. Fourth, Venus comes to pass in 22 years. Fifth, Mercury comes to pass in 77 years. Be alone in the house of the planet.

Saturn is appointed over (Hebrew: RIOCh) [probably an alternate spelling of Ruoch], over affliction, bruises, sickness, and disease hidden in the body, and over death.

Jupiter is appointed over life [Chiyiem], over peace, goodness, happiness, wealth, and over the glory and majesty of the kingdom.

Mars is apppointed over the blood [Dem], over destruction, wickedness, hostility, war, vengeance, anger, and over the great Lords [Ba'ali Reboth], over wounds and injuries, over iron, and over fire and water, and over the fall.

Venus is appointed over beauty, over mercy, lust and desire, sexual intercourse, fertility, nature, over the birth of men and birth of beasts, over the spirit of the earth and fruits of the tree.

Mercury is appointed over wisdom and understanding, over the science of writing and all engravings, the importances of all arts of education, all customs of every culture, and all languages.

The Sun is appointed over the division of light and darkness that determines the days and years, making therein all arts of education, over the writings of all languages. Reveal the revelations from city to city and from country to country.

The Moon is appointed over the gates of heaven and Earth, and the mixture of all the covenants, establishing the divisions of good and evil. They are appointed, not dominated by good or evil, as these are all in the commandments of the Creator. Favor all dwelling upon the earth. They are not evil, and also they are not good, even in Israel.

The light of the Sun is not necessary in the day, nor the light of the Moon in night. The Lord goes before the days, not touching the foundation.

The clouds in the day also come forth in the world. Israel does not require the light of the Sun nor the light of the Moon, not in day nor in night. The Lord goes forth in the day.

Speak, not because of the Sun, for the Sun and Moon are driven forth. The signs of the zodiac are fixed. Thus, calculate the seasons and measure the days. Calculate the hours and the orders of the courses from the beginning.

The strength within the Sun is Michael, Mercury is Beraqial, and Chesedial is the Moon. Gabriel is Saturn.

Saturn from the Sun, of all the signs of the zodiac, is 30 years. Jupiter is Tzedeqial. Mars is Samal. The Sun is Raphal. Venus is

A'anal. The seven Malachim are of seven hours of Saturn from the Sun. Of every planet is two. In the middle, reach the end. From the Sun, with all the signs of the zodiac, complete in 30 years.

Of Jupiter, from the Sun with every planet, in 12 months reach the end. Be complete in 12 years.

Of Mars from the Sun with every planet, of 30 days to reach from the sun. Twelve months is Venus from the Sun with every planet. Twenty-eight years to reach from the Sun and 36 years of Mercury.

The Sun ministers with every planet. In seven days, reach from the Sun. Three hundred days of the Moon from the Sun with every planet. In 25 days, reach from the Sun. Complete in thirty days.

The arrangement of the seven planets is the wisdom of the people [Goyiem]. The firmament is ten divisions of seven degrees above. There are seven dwellings of seven planets. These are arranged from the lowest degree. Uphold Earth by the dwelling of the Moon. The Moon circles in the firmament, rising up from the Earth 730 measures [Chebeliem].[3]

By the measure of the heavens, of every measure, there are 156 measures. Measuring to reach the Earth, the end is 123,880 by measures of the Earth.

The second degree is the degree of Mercury. Rise up 353 measures by the measure of the heavens. Of every measure, there are 161 measures. Earth, to reach the end, is 56,433.

The third degree is the dwelling of Venus. It is around every firmament. Rise from the dwelling 58 measures by the measure of the heavens. Every measure is 84 measures. Earth, to reach the end, is 4,552.

The fourth degree is the center of the dwelling of the Sun. Rush forth around the firmament in twelve months. Rise from the dwelling of Venus in 80 measures by the measure of the heavens. Every measure is 518 measures. Earth, to reach the end, is 41,340.

The fifth degree is the degree of Mars. Rush forth around the firmament. Rise from the dwelling of the Sun in 30 measures by the measure of the heavens. Every measure is 119 measures. Earth, to reach the end, is 3,570 measures.

[3] This refers to a measuring line, or a rope or cord.

The sixth degree is the dwelling of Jupiter. Rise from the dwelling of Mars in 612 measures by the measure of the heavens. Every measure is 112 measures. Earth, to reach the end, is 68,544.

The seventh degree is the highest. It is the dwelling of Saturn. Around the firmament is 30 years. Rise from the dwelling of Jupiter in 750 measures by the measure of the heavens. Every measure is 156 measures. Earth, to reach the end, is 127,000 measures.

From the dwelling of the Moon to the dwelling of Saturn is 1,881 measures by the measure of the heavens. Of 291,800 measures by measuring Earth.

Every measure of the earth is 50 cubits. 40 measures to the mile. Every mile is 1,000 cubits, to reach 72,546 miles less one measure. (And one from eight in the mile, and one from two miles, and 179 days and one half, and one from 40 miles to the clouds of the firmament.)

In the hollow space of the universe, from the Earth to the firmament, is 730 measures by the measure of the heavens. Every measure is 156 measures. By the measure of Earth, to reach the end is 123,480 measures of Earth. The 2,447-mile course is 71 days and seven miles.

Of the wisdom of Israel, it is spoken: From Earth to the firmament is 500. Speak the truth of the seven planets, of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon.

Divide the firmament in seven arrangements and seven lands of dominions. By these seven planets, know to bring forth man therein, of good and evil.

Above the second firmament is the highest sea. Reach the planet Saturn. It is near the sea. Therefore, it is cold, until the vapor comes from the water. It is far from the Sun, not receiving heat. Thus, it is cold and dry, as ice and hoar frost.

Jupiter is nearest to Saturn, receiving the cold that is close to the water. The heat goes to Mars, in the center between the cold and heat. Therefore, there is power from the mixture in the middle, not of great heat, nor of great cold.

Mars is near the Sun. It is hot and dry as fire. The Sun is the fire of all the seven planets. The heat of fire and force of the Sun is in the center. The path of fire heats the universe by the flame from above to below.

Of Venus from the cold, and Mercury and the Moon from the heat of the Sun, rise up and melt the cold. Mercury is cold. From the cold of Earth, the Moon is cold as snow.

Heat is received from Venus and Mercury. Below, reduce the moisture of the Moon from the mixture. Cold as snow, receive the cold from the lowest water. From the air [Ruoch] between the Earth, freeze the cold as snow. From the mixture of the heat, receive from the heat of the planets. It rises from Earth, not as cold as Saturn.

The heat received from the most powerful hosts [Tzebavoth Chiyiliem] comes near. Therefore, the power is from the mixture of cold and hot.

The Sun is fire. Mercury is dry. Jupiter is wind. Venus is rain. The Moon is cool. Saturn is flowing water. Mars is boiling water.

The Sun is as the land of Gog.[4] Mercury is as the southern land of Kebtabieth. Venus is as Edom. The Moon is as Shinar [A country near Babylon]. Jupiter is as Idumea. Mars is as Kephethor. Saturn is as Hodov.

The Sun and Jupiter are the ruling planets of fire. The Sun rules in the day and Jupiter rules the night.

Venus and the Moon are the ruling planets of water. Venus rules in the day and the Moon rules in the night.

Saturn and Mercury are the ruling planets of air. Saturn rules in the day and Mercury rules in the night.

Mars is the ruling planet of water in the night, ruling in the day and in night.

Seven Malachim are appointed to the highest. Therefore, seven rule in the day and the night. Give the power and strength of the Sun and the planets as one. Mars is ruling. The Moon is love. The Sun and Jupiter are hate. Saturn and Mars are as one in place, facing as one. Favor goodness in the place. Evil is ill-favored, being favored and ill-favored.

Jupiter, the Moon, Mercury, and Venus are as one to favor hate, ill-favored to complete this to that, not love with the Moon.

Mercury to Venus, as one favored. They are ill-favored, and of love, this with that. Of desire, not passing over Mercury with the

[4] This is probably a reference to Megog, an unknown region, probably Scythia.

Sun, and not the Moon with Venus, and the sign Aries with Jupiter, and Mars with Saturn.

The Sun, Venus, and Saturn favor Gemini, Venus, and Aries, with Jupiter, Mars with Saturn. The Sun, Venus, and Saturn favor Gemini, Jupiter and Saturn favor Cancer. The Sun and Jupiter favor Leo. The Sun, Venus, and the Moon favor Virgo. The Sun favors Sagittarius. Jupiter, Saturn, and Venus favor Capricorn. The Sun, Jupiter, and the Moon favor Aquarius. The Sun, Venus, and the Moon favor Pisces.

Of Yod, create the universe by ten commandments corresponding to ten words. Create the Sun and Moon corresponding to two tablets. By Zayin, create the planets corresponding to the Torah, refined sevenfold. Create many stars, ministering with the signs of the zodiac.

God created the twelve signs of the zodiac in the universe. Of every sign and planet, create power [Cheyil] of fifteen powers. Of every power are 30 powers. Of the powers of Riyehton, there are 10,406. Of Riyehton, there are 30 legions, 324,000 in every legion: 30 of Setera, of 9,720,000; 30 of Sherqon, of 90,000,000 and 1,000,000; of all to Sherqon, 3,650,000 stars as appointed, the days of the Sun, of 100,000,000,000 [one thousand myriad myriads], and 99,600,000,000.

Rule in the day and in night. Ruling the seven planets in the day is Keshetzenesh and in the night is Chelem. In the day, Keshetzenesh rules in the day over the seven arrangements of the constellation of the Pleiades, beginning with Taurus. The stars unite, gathering as one, as the brood below the chickens.

The constellation of the Pleiades begin with the sign of Taurus, Orion, the Little Dipper, and the Big Dipper. Going after the constellation of the Pleiades, speak of the Little Dipper, the Big Dipper, and Orion. Going after second, the stars of the Little Dipper. Proclaim Orion and the Lord proclaims the dwellings of Orion, of the constellation of the Pleiades, of seven stars.

In the beginning, rule in the day and rule in the night. Virgo rules in the day and in night. Here are five days and two days.

Seven are suspended from the wheel in the firmament. Those suspended go forth, and reverse, with all the signs returning. Of the wisdom after, there are no rulers of these signs, according to

the desire of God, the king of kings, who created the wisdom of the signs, to which there is no end.

Therefore, to every man is Neshemeh, Ruoch, and Chiyiem [see Introduction, page 19]. Face him, as he knows in the heart what comes forth in the day. Be united by the signs. Understand all in every dwelling. Of him who created, know of all thoughts until not creating all the great, shining luminaries in the sky, outside of the Little Dipper, as it is placed in the north.

The demons [Meziqiem] go in the firmament. The Malachim that fell from the most holy place, from the heavens, rise up to hear one word. After the veil, follow after in the tribe of man. By the hand, return to the place.

All stars and planets, and all signs of the zodiac were formed in the first quarter, not preceding the two parts of the hour. Therefore, every work of the Sun is slow. Every work of the Moon is swift.

The Sun and Moon are the two great, shining luminaries in the firmament. The highest is stretched as a tent, extending as a curtain. Isaiah speaks that it is spread as a tent. All the creatures cover the firmament as a tent, covering all below.

The wheel turns the luminaries, the stars, and the signs, from east to west, from west to east, going from Aries to Taurus, from Taurus to Gemini, and so on, until Pisces. From the beginning until the end of the year, going around and around. Rising up and descending, with the two great, shining luminaries. The stars from south to north and from north to south.

Earth extends over the sea, fixed within the waters of the oceans, as a ship in the middle of the sea. The Sea of Oceanus surrounds it. Proclaim the great sea [Im Hagedol]. There is no water produced therein or going forth. Cast down therein and rest in the water going forth in the universe.

When passing Oceanus, reach chaos. From there, reach the ends of the firmament. It is written in the Book of Job, surely be divided. Isaiah speaks of the Creator of the ends of earth.

Earth is created from the dwelling on the north side. Earth rises up to the dome, reaching the firmament on every side. It is suspended by the strength of the firmament. Of the wheel of the constellations, the Sun is the head and the Moon is the tail.

The desire of knowledge is in every place. The head is suspended, increasing over the creation of the universe in two

years. Deliver in twelve years and the remainder therein in the course, corresponding to the year and corresponding to the month.

The head is suspended and the tail goes behind it. Thus the stars go before all. Bring forth by going forth, but not before the head suspended. Rise by the letters Yod Heh, and return the tail.

There are seven planets. Bow the head before the favored star. Bring forth therein. Suspend the twelve signs of the zodiac. Set apart men from women. Reveal Tau Aleph Vau in the east, of the names of men. In the east corner is a young maiden [A'alemoveh]. It begins the letters and every word is of the highest.

In the beginning, man is Shin Koph Gimel before women. In the corner, divide the south. Cast down every word by casting down women, as women are below.

Samekh Ayin Daleth is in the north, extending in Tohu. In the lowest, women of Tau Mem Daleth in the west. Men are before the corners divide west.

Of the dwelling in the west, there is no glory. Of men, Tau Aleph Peh fire. The names of men are according to the dominions of fire. The fire rises up as man, for it is seen above.

Shin Koph Gimel is earth. The names of women are according to the dominion of earth. The nation below are as women, being seen below.

Tau Mem Daleth is air. The names of men are according to the dominion of air between above and below. Third, man bows down is Samekh Ayin Daleth as water.

The names of women are according to the dominion of water. The water is below. Third, women bow down, for it is seen below. These are the elements of fire, air, water, and earth.

God created the twelve signs of the zodiac in the universe, arranging them in the firmament. They are Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces.

The Sun is arranged in the twelve months of the year. The luminaries shine in the day and night. Every one is in place, not visible to the eye before the light of the Sun. In the wheel of the Sun, visible in the night outside from the sign, the Sun dwells above. Before the Sun, there are six concealed and six revealed.

Aries is arranged highest. From the strength of the star, Aries sinks down. Libra rises up. When Libra sinks down completely, go forth from the number of hosts and complete the names.

There is not one gathering in the boundary limits; not leading to minister in the season of sowing; not ministering in the season of the harvest; not ministering in the season of sowing.

Arrange to minister from the middle of Libra. Scorpio is in the middle. Sagittarius ministers in the season of sowing for 61 days. The hosts are in the middle of Sagittarius. Capricorn is in the middle. Aquarius ministers in the days of the winter for 61 days, in the middle of Aquarius, Pisces in the middle. Aries ministers in the season of the winter for 61 days, in the middle of Aries, and Taurus in the middle. Gemini ministers in the season of the harvest for 61 days.

Thus speak, come forth with sheaves of grain in the beginning harvest. The priest [Kehen] of El comes forth with sheaves of grain in the days of Nisan. Thus speak of the river Jordan. It overflows over every river bank in all the days of the harvest.

In the middle of Gemini and Cancer, and the middle of Leo in the season of the summer for 61 days, speak of the season of sowing until the harvest. Of the Sun in the course of the seven planets, from the middle of Libra until the middle of Aries, there are 180 divisions. Thus, in the season of the harvest until the season of sowing, seven planets from the middle of the signs of the zodiac until the middle of Libra, there are 180 divisions.

The divisions of the planets in the firmament are made as a helmet. Therefore, proclaim the planets go forth. Thus proclaim in the universe, the Little Dipper is in the south and the Little Dipper is in the north, leading in wisdom.

The Big Dipper, Orion, and the constellation of the Pleiades lead the order, every one in the season of the year, changing with the passing seasons. The Big Dipper and Orion minister. Define Orion and define the passing in the days of the Sun. Thus speak to define all language. Close and seal, as making to define by Isaiah.

Of Orion, define the passing and the interpretation of the Lord of the universe, creator of all. Seal the star. Orion passes close. The winds return from the strength in the days of raining. There is no path to the host of the sea [Mecheneh Iyem].

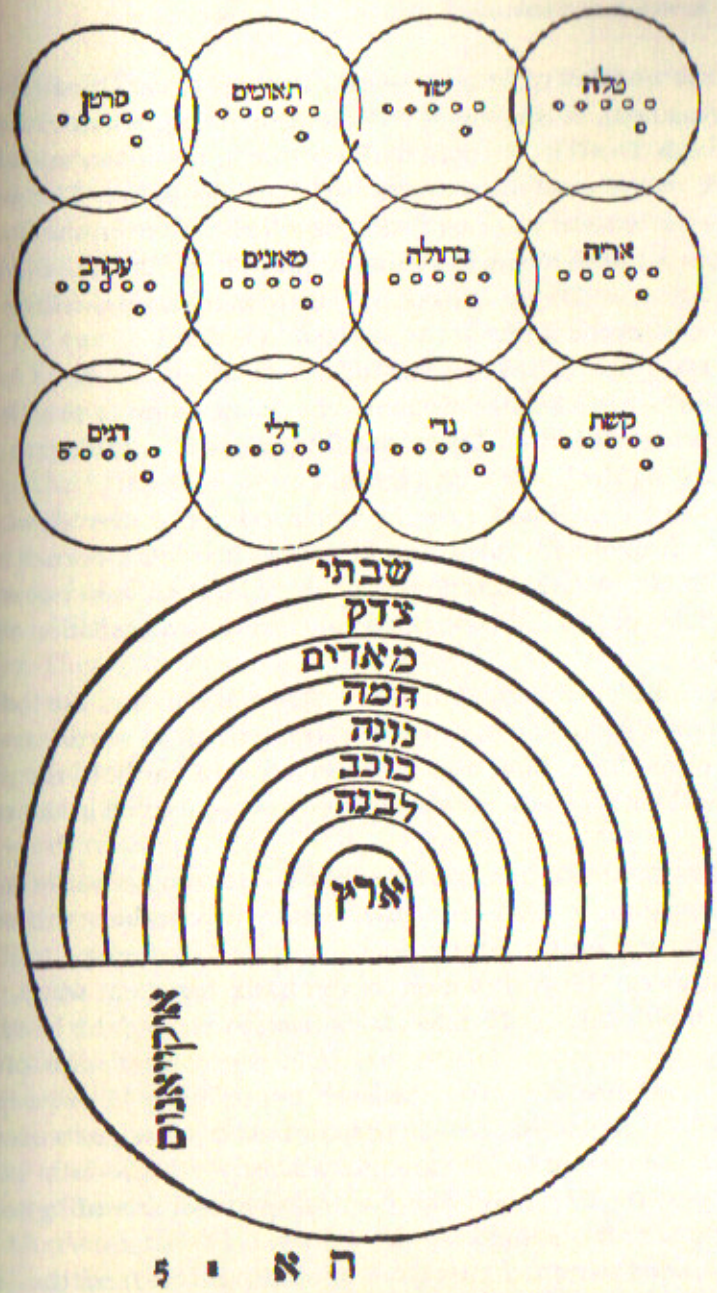

Figure 4. Earth and the heavens. The smaller circles (top row, reading left to right) contain the 12 signs of the zodiac: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces. The orbits below show Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Earth. Below is the "Sea of Oceanus."

In the number of Saturn, reveal the covenant of Cheshmoval in the firmament. It is made as a dome, resembling a tent extending over Earth. Dwell in the boundaries below, in the center and above.

The dome resembles a tent. All Earth is below. The Sea of Oceanus is around the Earth and chaos. It is written in the Book of Isaiah, is it not so of the knowledge, not to hear Elohi, the Creator of the universe. Of the ends of the Earth, there is no dwelling. The Earth reaches the limits in the firmament around.

In the book of the wisdom of the Gentiles [Sepher Chokmi Hagoyim], the firmament is above the Earth on every side. In the book of the wisdom of Israel, the firmament is in the north side, not reaching the limits of the Earth.

It is not established that the north corner is over desolation [Tohu]. Suspend Earth over nothingness. The south corner is the chamber in a closed circle. It is written, make great until not seeing the making of the Big Dipper, Orion, and the constellation of the Pleiades.

The south chamber is from the east. From the west, the foundation of the firmament is over Earth. It is written in words, obscure the heavens above. Bind over the foundation of Earth. In the dome and the chamber in the south, the Ruoch is concealed in the midst of it.

In the days of raining, God ministers. Job knows to fly as the hawk, spreading its wings in order to gather from the south below the wings, and he served. Let there be power of the bird to judge the rest of the birds; however, as the hawk has great wings, and great is the feather of the male, fat is from the rest of the birds.

Thus in the years, in the first year, the constellation of the Pleiades ministers in the days of the raining. The serpent [Nechesh] is sealed in the star [Beriech Hova Mezel, or sealed its fate]. Of the crocodile [Thenien, or sea serpent], proclaim in the language of the wise ones. The star is suspended, according to the twelve signs of the zodiac.

Suspended therein are six from one side and six from the other side, sealed in the heavens from end to end. Therefore, proclaim the serpent is sealed. From the twisting tail, gather therein. The middle of the face is as the twisting serpent.

The innermost six signs minister, leading the universe. Come forth in the period by the rising of the Sun. Also, twisting from the

second side in order to gather the outer signs before the Sun in the center of the universe.

Minister at this time. Surround and extend forth, sealed in the firmament from end to end. The firmament extends over all the universe from end to end. From one end, divide the north, but not to the end. Make the universe of three divisions. One third is sea, one third is wilderness, and one third is civilized land.

In the east of Earth in the period of Tebeth is the southwestern height. Until the firmament, measure in a circle. Go around corresponding to the shores of the Sea of Oceanus. On every side and in great height, go around the east, the south until the west and the south. The heights are as open windows in the east and open windows in the west.

In the east, in the period of Tishri, is the southeastern side of the period of Tebeth. Also, the east is the center, the center of the period of Tammuz. In the center, there are 91 windows in the south corner. Therefore, 91 in the north corner.

There is a window in the center. The splendor shines in the window. In the north, there is a window in the corner. It is covered and light goes forth.

It is said, from the covering, light goes forth. It is in the east corner, south of the period of Tebeth. Proclaim the window is open. The window in the north corner is of the period of Tammuz. Proclaim it is pleasant. From the beginning, the Sun shining in the window is pleasant. Go around in a circle. Afterward, cast down from north to south, going past the window. By the measure of 91 windows, there is one window in the chamber. In it is the wind of a hurricane.

The period of Tishri begins when the Sun rises before the window, shining in splendor. Go around to the eastern corner, the south, window after window, until it reaches the open window. The period of Tebeth begins from the open window. Go around in a circle. Afterward, rise from south to north, window after window, until reaching the concealed window. Go around and rise to the eastern corner, from the northern window, until reaching the pleasant window, until the window in the chamber.

In the chamber, consider 91. Consider from the beginning, the eastern corner south from the open window, until the concealed window. The window is concealed. Consider 91. It is the concealed

window to the chamber. There is the window, shining in splendor. Here it numbers 183. These windows in the east are 183, corresponding to 183 windows in the west.

Three enter and the Sun rises every day before the window. It sinks down, passing one in the west, corresponding to the window in the east, until it passes. Rising up in the darkness, it passes the window.

See it return in the dawn. It is spoken, when the dawn rises, reach the rising of the dawn until it comes and goes. Extend in the dwelling. Of passage in darkness, it is spoken, let the Sun come and darkness be.

The Shekinah is in the west of the universe, rising up to lead blackness to the first window, in the center of the firmament, between the east and south.

In the period of Tebeth between the eastern window, spreading there north to the period of Tammuz, it spreads out. From the chamber comes the tempest, from the spreading of ice. The Sun does not go forth to gather therein. Only once in the great course, the Sun is created therein. The course is desired in the orbit [circuit].

There are four faces of four sides. The first side is warm and moist. The second side is warm and dry. The third side is cold and dry. The fourth side is cold and moist, corresponding to the fourth season of the year.

In the period of Nisan, the side of the Sun is changed. It is warm. Thus, the fourth season of the year is warm and moist below the earth. It is warm and moist in the season for three months.

In the period of Tammuz, the side of the Sun is changed. It is hot and dry, below the rising up of earth. It is hot and dry in the season for three months.

In the period of Tishri, the side of the Sun is changed. It is cold and moist for three months.

In the period of Tebeth, the side of the Sun is changed. It is cold and dry for three months.

If the Sun does not pass around four revolutions, the universe is not served by the seven. Bind the constellation of the Pleiades in five bands and Orion in two, thus seven. There are twelve around the wheel. Seven are bound.

Two return to the south side. Of five gates on the outside, return to the north side. Four rise up from the north to the right side, and five to the left side. They gather in day and night.

Gemini is the end. Seventh is Scorpio. The eighth is from Gemini to Sagittarius, between Scorpio to Cancer. Between Scorpio to Cancer, between the Big Dipper to Scorpio, the Big Dipper to the north and Scorpio to the south. They rise up in a circle toward the south and sink down in a circle toward the north.

In the north, the Big Dipper rises, and ministers with those suspended by the wheel. Those suspended are the stars of the wheel. The wheel turns in a circle, Aquarius is in the days, and the stars in Cancer are suspended to rule. The Big Dipper is leading. Complete by Ruoch to serve by Ruoch, the beauty of heaven.

Bear the hand of Nechesh, bound and suspended in the circle. Rise to gather the luminaries as kings. The stars are as princes of the hosts. Arrange the stars as hosts in a group. Go forth by the number of hosts.

Consider twelve signs of the zodiac reaching the constellation of the Pleiades and Orion above. The seven planets reach from the constellation of the Pleiades and Orion above.

There are forty arrangements of the constellation of the Pleiades or the seven dwellings, with Orion beginning. When binding, arrange the constellation of the Pleiades. Orion is beginning. These are bound. Learn from the signs.

Of the seven planets, know the Lord arranged the constellation of the Pleiades and the seven dwellings with Orion beginning. God turned his face to regard, and spoke to Job. Be able to bind the five bands to the constellation of the Pleiades. There are seven. Begin the seven dwellings of Orion.

The Lord made twelve and the constellation of the Pleiades. It is in the sign of Taurus, from the tail of Aries until the constellation of the Pleiades. Consider it is near Taurus to Orion. The Little Dipper and Big Dipper go after the constellation of the Pleiades.

The Little Dipper and the Big Dipper go after the constellation of the Pleiades, the Little Dipper, and Orion. The Lord proclaimed the dwelling of Orion second. Consider before the Little Dipper. Of the Lord of dwellings and wheels of God (Hebrew: MOShBOTHHM OMGOLGLOTh IH'), the constellation of the Pleiades,

there are seven stars. They bind the constellation of the Pleiades. The Big Dipper goes after the constellation of the Pleiades.

God declared he would flood the world. Take two stars from the constellation of the Pleiades and thus the flood. As petition of the passing, take two stars from the Big Dipper. Conceal them in a place. Go above the Big Dipper after the Constellation of the Pleiades.

Petition the sons of the Lord [Benieh]. Make the Big Dipper over the sons of the Lord. Lead the universe as the beginning star, the one rising in the east.

Libra is seventh from the beginning, coming forth and sinking in the west. It is not visible. Complete the seven planets united from the ends. Rise up to see. From the ends, the seven sink and are not visible. Aries and Libra are in the period.

Begin with Aries rising, and from the beginning, Libra sinks. Taurus and Scorpio are in the period. Taurus begins rising. Scorpio in the beginning sinks down. Thus Gemini and Sagittarius, Cancer and Capricorn, Leo and Aquarius, Virgo and Pisces.

Six signs in the universe rise from the north. To the day it is, at the south side, south, visible to return. They go forth to the north side after the height of Earth, not visible to the eye. Thus, not the signs after. Over thus, proclaim Samuel is wise to perceive the gates. By the language, bind the gate.

The seven are bound above and bound within. The dwelling is not visible to the eye. This is not designated in the scriptures.

These are all of the signs of the zodiac and the planets. The Big Dipper and Orion are in the sign of Gemini. The constellation of the Pleiades and the Big Dipper begin with the sign of Taurus. Regard above. Much is revealed from all the planets and all the signs. Above, they are continuous. The constellation of the Pleiades and Orion unite. Draw near to unite this with that. Going to this after that, regard with all eyes.

Thus after God to Job, bind the bands of the constellation of the Pleiades or dwellings of Orion. These are the gates to learn. Look to the firmament. Rise up to the constellation of the Pleiades. Taurus is in the east. See the sign of Scorpio sinking in the west. In the period, Scorpio rises up in the east, Taurus is sinking in the west. Orion is near Taurus. The signs come after (in other words, the signs of the zodiac come after).

The dwellings of the signs are from west to east, and from the north side after. Earth rises up. Proclaim the dwelling. Dwell in the bands. Also, rise over the constellation of the Pleiades in the northeast. Learn much from all the signs above.

Thus, proclaim the binding of the seven. From the beginning, rise from the constellation of the Pleiades. Rise from the north and Scorpio rises from the south. The rest of the signs rise from the east. The constellation of the Pleiades is from east to west. Measure seven bands. The bands are considered near Orion. Five bands bind from west to east in the season. Orion is in the east and Scorpio sinks in the west. At the end of the five signs, they are in the north side. The bands near Orion are in the west to the east.

In the south side, from the sign of Scorpio, reach to Gemini in the end. The seven are in the east after the constellation of the Pleiades. The bands are regarded from the east to west in the north side. From the sign of Gemini, Orion is in the end of the seven. Reach Scorpio in the end. Five are in the west. Begin in Gemini until the beginning of Sagittarius.

Of the twelve signs of the zodiac, measure from the constellation of the Pleiades and Orion. There are twelve degrees, no less and no more.

In the beginning, increase the bands of the constellation of the Pleiades. Divide into divisions of the constellation of the Pleiades. Minister in the days of raining and from death, with worms from putrification.

The division of the band of Orion is between Sagittarius. Divide Orion to minister in the days of the Sun. Of the holy days of the Sun, divide the point near the second. From the heat, increase the band by rising from the point of shining. Blessed is the path of the blessed place, amen.

At this time, understand the baking [A'agiyini] of the Sun. Of 366 windows and 180 degrees in three days, rise up by the eastern spirit. Of 180 degrees in three days, descend by the western spirit.

According to the days of the year, the Sun goes forth in the east and gathers in the west. The Shekinah is in the west. Gather those bowing down before God, the king, king of kings. Speak of the everlasting greatness, making as appointed.

In the period of Tishri and Tebeth, the course is in the southern corner. The Sea of Oceanus is between the limits of the heavens to

the limits of Earth. Sinking down, the glory is great and the path is great, until the power reaches the window, in the window in the east, quickly produced therein.

In the period of Nisan and Tammuz, the course is in the northern corner. The Sea of Oceanus is between the limits of the south. The course is north. Go north in the period of Tishri and Tebeth. The north is in the period of Nisan, in the southern corner for six months and in the northern corner.

The course above is in the windows in the east. The spirit of the Sun returns by the three letters of the name written over the heart. The Malachim lead by the letter. They lead in the day, not in night.

The Sun rises in the chariot and the horsemen are adorned as the bridegroom. It is said, the bridegroom is adorned in beauty as the bridegroom goes forth to the bridal chamber.

In the days of the Sun shining, see the fire shining from Earth. Face upward of hail. Were it not for the hail covering the letter, the universe is consumed. It is not concealed because of this.

In the winter, cover and turn your face above from below. Were it not for the heat of the fire, the hail is not in the universe. Be able to serve before the cold. Speak, before the cold of the day, serve and the Sun shines.

The 460 bands (in other words, windows) are the number of the days of the Sun. Therefore, 460 of the names Shesech, Shemesh, Chedes, Chemeh.[5]

In every day of the Sun and Moon, cover the eyes from the light above. Cast out flaming arrows and go forth in strength. Of weakness from the iniquities of human beings, be bound by the blessings of the day. Above the arch of the firmament, pass below, heating the sea from there. Thus, not hidden from the heat.

Thirteen words are written over the heart. Therefore, from the beginning until enduring the light. Thirteen and five Malachim lead the letters of the day. Therefore, five words of the Sun.

The bridegroom goes forth first. Exalt in the strength second. Reach to it third. The seasons, fourth. Not hidden from the heat, fifth. Thus the light is divided of eight. First, in the beginning [Berashith], three Malachim lead the letters in the night.

[5] Shemesh and Chemeh are both terms usually referring to the Sun.

There are eight Malachim between day and between night, corresponding to the four days. Eight times light. Therefore, the Lord God [El Adon] is over all, making eight written words. Gedelov [strength] is first. Votobov [of goodness] is second. Mela [fulfillment] is third. A'avolom [universe, or eternal] is fourth. Da'ath [knowledge] is fifth. Votheboneh [of intelligence] is sixth. Sobeliem [turning, or circling] is seventh. Avothov [Thou, or sign] is eighth.

Thus of every one. Outside are Aleph Beth, Koph Lamed, Shin Tau [MA"B K"L Sh"Th]. However, by the the Lord God, Aleph Beth corresponds to the 22 letters of the Torah. Therefore, the name of the Sun [Shemesh Shem] shines in them. The Torah of the Lord divides between day and night. Upholding them are four spirits. They are a thousand corresponding to the Torah, preceding a thousand.

The Sun is immersed every morning. It circles and the light increases, going forth in brilliance until the day is established. Bow to it. Receive Ruoch in the flesh and blood.

The Sun comes forth in the firmament. Be immersed to purify with the power. Thus, in all time, Gelegelial is the prince appointed over the wheel of the Sun. Ninety-six Malachim, great and glorious, serve the wheel radiating [Heleh] in the firmament. There are 65,000 divisions in every day.

The Sun shines in the filthy place [Meqom Hetienophoth]. There is no destruction [Mezieq, or demon]. Be immersed in the light above. The eye is not able to see. It is written, man does not see life.

Thus, serve the Moon according to the New Moon circling after, as the Koph. When the Moon is half, cover around the Shekinah. From water, clouds and fog are around. The Moon is curved, as if facing the Lord.

The neck is below and the face is above. Of rain, all speak of drops. The blessing is over the Moon. Receive before the Shekinah, and dance before. Of the desires of life, return and leap up from below to the New Moon.

Aophenial is the prince appointed over the wheel of the Moon; 88,000 Malachim serve the wheel of the Moon. Of 24,000 divisions in every night of every season. In the season, the Moon serves in the east in the first season, by 96 of the New Moon of every month.

The dwelling of the Moon is between the clouds and fog. It is made as a dish. The New Moon covers this with that. It is between the eyes, as the birth of the Moon.

These two coverings change before the western spirit. It goes forth from between both, as a kind of shofar in the night. The first measure is in night. Measure second and thus until the middle of the month. It is revealed, the two coverings change faces.

By the spirit of the eastern corner, the Moon goes forth first. Gather and cover between the second in the night. First measure and second measure, and thus until the end, until the covering is complete.

It is spoken of the covering, place the covering of cloud and fog. Bring forth to cover completely. Blow the trumpet on the New Moon. The shofar is in the New Moon. The time of meditation [Hegiegov] is in the New Moon. In the time, complete the covering. Blow the trumpet in the New Moon. The shofar is in one hour. God comes forth.

The Sun and Moon in the beginning of the night is four hours. Return in the hours. Perceive the flame of the Moon reaching to the Sun in the day. Forty degrees pass to the center and darken with light.

In great brilliance [Rebi Nehorayi], the king speaks and decrees the iniquities of Israel. In the passing year, perceive the flame of the Sun reaching to the Moon in night. Forty degrees pass in the center. From the light is darkness. Israel desired to perceive over the passing year. God is perfection. Of the Sun, send forth wrath over the nations of the world. Thus it is spoken of the Lord God, learn the path of the people.

The light of the Moon is concealed in times and revealed in times. However, the light of the Sun of the universe is revealed to all people. The Sun and Moon go forth constantly, but the path of the Sun is not as the path of the Moon. The path of the Sun is fixed. The path of the Moon is not fixed.

In times, go forth with the planet in shortened length of time. How many steps from the north? See it is long from the south. See it is short and, not seeing it, remember the word, as it is spoken. Make the Moon of the festivals.

The Sun knows to come forth. Thus it is arranged, not going to the house as Saturn, Capricorn, and Aquarius.

Jupiter, Sagittarius, and Pisces. Mars, Aries, and Scorpio. Venus, Taurus, and Libra. Mercury, Gemini, and Virgo. The Sun, the Moon, and Cancer.[6]

Rehetial is the prince appointed over the stars. Seventy-two Malachim, great and glorious, serve with the signs of the zodiac rising from east to west, and west to east.

God created the planets and signs of the zodiac, going in the night from east to west and from west to east.

Kokebimal is the prince appointed. Three hundred and sixty-five thousand myriad Malachim, greatest and most glorious, serve with the planets. From city to city, from country to country, in the firmament of the heavens, and all suspended therein.

God created the firmament of the highest divisions of seven, created with those suspended from the head from fire. From water, the image of a great crocodile as a twisting serpent. Make the head and tail. Place in the darkness of the firmament. In the place, extend from end to end, bind the twisting serpent springing forth to the center of the light. In the middle, extend in a great circle. All the stars and signs of the zodiac surround all the planets therein and the two luminaries.

Twelve signs of the zodiac hold dominion over them, guiding between good and evil. Darken the light of the two luminaries and the seven planets. They go and come with the luminaries and signs of the zodiac, from east to west and from west to east.

In the period, the planets go after. Preceding to serve in the one place, speaking not before and not following after. You go forth on a journey directly. From fire and from water, see the hidden things not seen by the eye. Deliver the most ancient writings. I go forth to the knowledge of those suspended. Of power from holding dominion over the kingdom in reverence and goodness. In wickedness, facial features bring forth therein.

Prepare to go from star to star and be guided. Go forth to change the limits going after, behind the tail of the highest and lowest. Surrounded therein are the constellations, six in the south side and six in the north side. Know the wheel of the signs, planets, and luminaries are arranged and fixed in the darkness of the firmament.

[6] Although omitted from the text, Leo should be added here.

The stars are fixed and surrounded therein forever, not moving from their place. They are fixed in the wheel, circling around the firmament in the south. In the north, from east to west. Those suspended extend therein from end to end. They are bound and suspended, created in the center of the wheel.

The Big Dipper is placed from the north side by virtue of those suspended in the north side. The signs of the southern part of the wheel are suspended by virtue of those suspended in the wheel. The Big Dipper is fixed in the circle. Those suspended from the wheel of the signs are fixed in the wheel from east to west. From the north, from west to east of the universe.

Of the seven planets, the wheels diminish. The wheel of the stars goes forth with seven wheels of seven planets. They are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon.

The planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac are from east to west. From west to east. From the wheel of the Big Dipper, lead with those suspended. The fixed lead the suspended from the wheel, the wheel of stars. Seven of seven planets, completed by the Ruoch of God.

By the power, speak of the Ruoch of heaven. Create beauty by the hand of the serpent [Shephereh Choleleh Yidov Nechesh]. Bind those suspended, as written by the word of the Lord, who created heaven.

Ruoch is in the face of all hosts. El proclaims the names of the planets. Count what is written. Count the number.

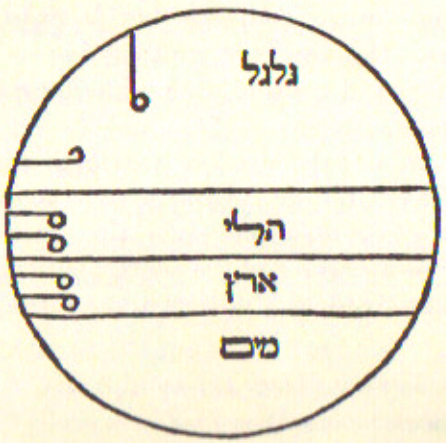

Figure 5. The Hebrew translates, from bottom to top, as "Water/earth/suspend/wheel."

It is written of the great power of the great Adonai, learn there is much greatness by the arrangments of the Malachim. Of the planets, signs, and those suspended in the wheel, as the Big Dipper, see greatness in the rest. Create the universe, for there is no width or depth to the wisdom. Distinguish the universe as wisdom, the heart of the suspended body in heaven, the wheel of the signs.

There is no wisdom. (HEBREW A"Ch ARI"H). The Sun is the innermost part of the universe. The wheel of the signs is suspended. There is no wisdom to serve, when the Moon is new or its period complete. The sea dries as fire. The name of the prince is Michael. Taurus is earth and Libra is air [Ruoch].

Serve Venus when the Moon is new. Air is flowing water. Of Venus and of rain, the prince is Aanael (Hebrew: ChK"Q) [or ThBQ]. Gemini is air and Virgo is earth.

Serve the planet when the Moon is new. Flow a little and dry a little upon the foundation of the earth. Of air, the prince is Raphael (Hebrew: S"L). Cancer is water.

Serve the Moon when therein, or when the New Moon is complete. The prince is Gabriel (Hebrew: QD"Sh). Sagittarius is fire and Aquarius is air.

Serve Saturn when the Moon is new. Dry by placing over in secret. Seal the mixture by moist air and flowing water. The prince is Qephetzial (Hebrew: GD"Tz). Capricorn is earth and Pisces is water.

Serve Jupiter in the New Moon. Divide in half. Dry in the place and divide in half of flowing water. The prince is Tzadqial (Hebrew: TAa"M). Aries is fire and Scorpio is water.

Serve Mars in the New Moon. Dry in the place. Divide in half as flowing water. The prince is Samael.

Learn the signs of the Sun. The Sun rises clear and pure. Of the warmth, reveal the qualities of fire, air, and purity. When rising, the Sun is clear and pure in flames of fire. Of red flame, reveal the greatest and most powerful spirits.

When seen before the Sun rises, the clouds are green and red, revealing the rain. When shining as the flames of the Sun, reveal the measure of the autumn and winter. The Sun rises in the midst of the clouds.

In the midst of the sea, see the flame revealing the winter and autumn. When the Sun shines, rising in brilliance from the clouds, reveal the winter and autumn, of the rain.

When the Sun rises in the west, the clouds increase around. Reveal the qualities of the purity of the firmament and the air.

The Sun comes forth, returning from the spirit of the north. Draw away the redness of the clouds from the north side and black clouds from the south side. Reveal the qualities of purity, of the winter and autumn.

When rising with Ruoch, also designate the raining. When, from every side, the Sun is at the approach of evening, signs of the red clouds shine in brilliance of the Sun. The clouds reveal the spirits of strength. It decreases when the winds blow clouds to be from here and from there.

The Sun reveals the winter and autumn. See the firmament in great blackness as the dawn of life [Shechoroth]. The darkness shows the dry land. The rivers dry up, and the springs and wells.

When the Sun rises, circle around to reveal the winter and autumn. The Sun rises at the time. After, weaken and scatter the greenness from there. The brilliance of the flames shines from the midst of the clouds. Reveal the rain mixed together with hail sinking down. In other words, reveal all the rain together with Ruoch. Ruoch of earth begins in the Ruoch of the world.

Kindle flames in heavens. Send forth, shining in brilliance. Send forth therein, as a lamp of fire. Follow after and complete by revealing the rain with air together.

When the brilliance is pure, the Ruoch of the north dwells. Of the purity of the body of the heavens, the Ruoch of the north is purity by Ruoch. The Creator decrees Yod Tau [I'Th] over that. Dwell on Earth from the high and lofty place. From all the highest places, therefore, is pure darkness of Ruoch, black and darkness. The light of the Sun shines without darkness, cloud, and fog, as the shining splendor of the light.

When seeing the Moon in the day, be concealed in the hiding place. The highest shining of the Moon reveals the Ruoch of the north. When concealing the lower Ruoch, reveal the dwelling of Ruoch. When seeing the Moon in the day, reveal the qualities of the purity of Ruoch.

When seeing the Moon in the day, it is diminished by fog and cloud. Pure and clear, reveal the changing of Ruoch. Dwell by the sign of the coming day.

When seeing the Moon, clouds reveal the winter and autumn. When the Moon is the fourth day of the New Moon, lift up

vertically in the corners until the Ruoch returns. From the Ruochoth of the west, reveal the winter and autumn. When seeing the New Moon divided from the place, see the divisions revealed from there. The Ruoch returns.

As the Moon is full, pass until the fourth day. From the fourth day until the fourth day, fill until the middle. Reveal the period being near the Sun. The Ruoch of the fourth sign goes with the Sun. Change the spirits of seven days.

Thus, by the signs of the Moon, see and understand the knowledge of the signs, the omen of rain for three days of the New Moon, or three days following the New Moon. Fill the life complete.

Of the half of the Moon, measure to fill all the seasons. Of the Moon, see the omens of rain for three days, or following three days. When the Moon is thin, pure, and clean, not seeing therein anything swollen, bind over the qualities of the air.

When seeing the dwelling of the Moon, it is circled around with cloud and fog. The wisdom of the purity of the Moon is in every month. See every Ruoch surrounding. Lead the clouds above. Bind the Ruoch dwelling from the sign at the side. Lead the sign of the clouds.

When seeing the Moon surrounded and dark, the name binds over autumn and rain. When around the Moon as one lamp of purity, descend from the dwelling. Decrease the lamp and bind over the qualities of air and purity, and when two or three.

Bind over autumn and rain and wind, when surrounded as wax [Doneg]. Divide from the first side, of the sign at the side, darkness comes. When darkness decreases, or is yellowish surrounded in blackness, see the divisions completed when greatest. Thus also, scatter the air and change much.

Of Ruoch, the Sun goes around as a circle of light. When divided quickly, bind over the qualities of purity. The firmaments rise as the Sun. Know by the sign of the day when there is to be rain. When the Sun rises from the midst of the clouds, heat rises as a flame of fire, then to be winter and autumn. As the Sun rises reddish and boiling, bind over Ruoch. When in the morning, see the Sun is great and large, then to be winter and autumn. When seeing the Sun shining before the rising, bind over rain. When rising before reddish clouds, bind over rain coming to the south side. When seeking great strength as in the desert, cast off. Also, when seeing

the great blackness passing over and flies gather to bite or whisper sounds, bind over rain.

Know the periods in the beginning, all the periods of heat and the middle portions. Venus is as much raining. Mercury is completely hot. The Moon is completely cold. Saturn is as the summer and the winter, cool and much raining. Jupiter is completely cold, of snow and rain. Mars is heat, decreased rain, and completely without cold.

The signs of the zodiac are arranged, ministering in the beginning.

In the first night, Kelesh Tzemchoq Kelesh Tzem.
In the first day, Chenkel Shetzemech Kenel Chenkel.
In the third night, Nekel Shetzem Chenkel Shetzemech.
In the second day, Leshetzemech Chenkel Shetzemech.
In the fourth night, Shetzemech Chenkel.
In the fifth night, Chenkel Shetzem Chenkel.
In the fifth day, Tzem Chenkel Shetzem Cheneb.
In the sixth night, Leshetzem Chenkel Shetzemech.
In the sixth day, Nekel Shetzem Chenkel Shetz.
In the seventh night, Mechnekel Shetzem Chenkel.
In the seventh day, Shetzem Chenkel Shetzem Chen.

Reach the order of the nights, Ketzenesh Chelem. Also, the intelligence to understand when it is autumn, or rain is from the signs of the Moon in the third day of the lunar month.

The New Moon draws out when the beams of the Moon are as plates of metal. Of darkness, the sign binds over rain. Thus, when the Moon shines in the fourth day, bind over the rain. When seeing the Moon is red as fire, it is the sign to bind over the great rain in autumn, filling the seas. When seeing the Moon is black, it is the sign to bind over the great rain in autumn, filling the seas. When all around is as a lamp in a circle, or two or three circles, bind over autumn and the great rain.

Also, learn and understand the knowledge of rain. In autumn, it rains by the signs of the Sun. When the Sun rises red, bind over the rain. It is established to sink in the west. When black clouds come near from the left side [the northern side], it will rain at once, as the Sun rises serving the clouds. When the brilliance of the Sun

shines as flames, it is the sign to bind over rain. Thus, it is written in the *Book of the Signs of the Zodiac* [Sepher Hamezeloth, presented here as Book Five].

Also, the wisdom of the name is over autumn and rain in the light of the days. When pigs or goats have sexual intercourse, the males with the females are able to produce. Cease the sexual intercourse to make strong. Also, when desired to make use of, or when dirty by places of the sea, or mud and clay, desire to be very dirty. Also, desire pleasures and seek pleasure from below the earth, until the ends of the opening edges.

Also, extend the head to correspond to the north side. Also, when the dogs dig in the earth and the wolf comes near the goats. Also, when immersing the princes of the tribes in the mirror of the sea, and in springs, not before desire. Also, listen when proclaiming the power consuming the crops. The thread of a spider's web falls from the strength, not to snare Ruoch. All these bind over autumn and rain in the light of the days.

In the course of the Moon, decrease to proclaim the small light. Thus, there is no dominion of the stars in the firmament, when stars number ninety-eight [Tz"Ch].

Denounce the Moon over the dwelling of the Lord [A'al Leboniethieh]. Create the stars as a man. Of power over the tree, consume and flames go forth. Therefore, the stars with the Moon go forth from the beginning of the universe.

Combine the signs and the wheel. Record and calculate and assign and number. Consider the calculations of the planets and signs of the zodiac. Calculate the periods and circling of the planets. Of those suspended and signs of the zodiac in everlasting order, see with light. Calculate in order to see the generations. Prepare to see them from the beginning until the end.

It is written, who acts and creates, proclaim the generations from the beginning, before the creation of the universe. In order to understand the actions of every man in righteousness and wickedness, decree over every one. According to the works, prepare works between good and evil.

Number the planets and signs of the zodiac, scattered in the hours. Bring forth between good and evil. All was created by Elohim in wisdom and intelligence, before the rise of the universe.

The wisdom of the Lord is the foundation of Earth. Number the planets and signs of the zodiac of every man. The universe was formed before them. According to the works, man is made to prepare. God does not give the planets and signs of the zodiac by permission of wickedness or goodness.

In the beginning, see man not established and without form. It is written, the heart of the wicked man is formed from youth. Elohim is compassionate and merciful. Compassion is over wickedness. Arrange and set in order. Return from the beginning of creation, when not yet rising to bring forth. Mankind dwells until the torment from sin is restored by repentence of the Lord Elohim.

There is no sign of the zodiac fixed. All is according to the man, by the sign and hour. As it is written by Ishma'al, by the name and by the letters of the luminaries, see all the periods. Therefore, speak in the night. Pass with the periods and change the hours, but not in the morning hours [Shecherieth, or morning prayers]. The cock proclaims the Sun in the night. Change the period and on the morrow being clouds. The clouds gather in the heights.

In the times the Moon is not shining in night, change with the periods. The next time, by three planets in the night.

That is the division between day and night; however, in the morning, see ten calculations in day. It is written to work diligently, be weary, and complete the name of the Lord of the hosts.

Learn to correspond Heh to the luminaries, thirty heights over all the the signs. Thus God is above all human beings. Observe all from the beginning of the creation of the universe by the command, let there be light.

Of the river of fire [Neher Dienor], the luminaries go forth by the commands. See, if not to toil, the constellation of the Pleiades in the river of fire. No creature is able to serve in the cold. Therefore, the Sun and Moon and planets see the redness of the Sun going forth in the day.

The river of fire goes forth in the place. The Sun goes forth in the day. The river of fire goes forth and the sign goes forth to proclaim day.

Proclaim the season of the day in the place. The Sun goes forth in night. In all days, be humble to go to the sign in the place and proclaim night.

Of the division, Elohim is between the light of the river of fire. Between the darkness of day, darken the sky and proclaim Elohim. Of the light of the day, that is the river of fire. By them, the luminaries stop going forth. Do not speak thus to be evening and be morning. Here suspend the luminaries.

The river of fire goes forth at the time of the Sun. Of the light of day, the river of fire. Of darkness, proclaim night. Of darkness of the days, the path of the Sun. In the morning, light of the river of fire until the middle of the day. The river of fire is above to the east and west in the fourth day. Go forth from the river of fire.

In the middle of the day, the river of fire is above and the Moon and planets are above. Speak of extending the heavens.

According to the going forth, arrange the measurements of the wise ones. Of 360 degrees, twelve signs of the zodiac are bound therein. The names of the signs are Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces.

Of every ruler, go forth 30 degrees. All degrees are 60 degrees to Gesteravoth.[7] Of every Gestera are 60 Bereqovonoth.[8] Of every Bereqovon are 60 Avoloth.[9] Of every Avoloth are 60 Avoroth.[10] Of every Avoroth are 60 Sototh.[11] Of every Sototh are 60 Rophosavoth.[12] Of every Aphorsavoth are 60 Herophoth, as instantly recieved.[13]

Calculate until eleven and twelve words. Follow the exactness of the calculation however the planets descend in the universe or lead in the universe. The names are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. There is a division to every one of

[7] This is probably a reference to Mater, which usually means rain, or is sometimes applied to the sending of hail, lightning, fire and brimstone, manna, etc.
[8] This may refer to Bereqoth, which can mean lightning bolts, although the term Bereqovon refers to thorns or briars.
[9] This is often used in reference to trees, and sometimes to fools. It may also be a reference to curses.
[10] This usually refers to lights, or sometimes to curses.
[11] This probably refers to Shototh, which may mean whips, or fools, or madmen, or possibly statements of contempt.
[12] This is likely a typographical error for Aphoresavoth, which may mean divisions or distinct declarations, or possibly specifications.
[13] This may translate as bruises or weaknesses, possibly medicine or cures.

the planets, by the strength of Draqon Dienor [Hebrew: DRAQON DINOR, a reference to the term dragon] surrounding.

Thus, in the period of the sign suspended from the wheel, go forth in heaven. The twelve suspended give seven from the period of the constellation of the Pleiades. The Lord binds the signs, suspended from the wheel and going forth in heaven. In Earth is seven. The Lord binds twelve around the wheel, bound from within. They are the outer gates. Seven rise from the right side of the north.

The Lord is from the north to the right side corresponding. Gather six in the day and six in the night. Gemini is innermost of the seven, and Scorpio is at the end. The Lord is from Gemini to Sagittarius, and from Scorpio to Cancer. Thus, gather the Little Dipper to Scorpio, with the Little Dipper in the north and Scorpio in the south.

Rise in a circle, according to the sinking in the south. Extend according to the north. In the north, the Little Dipper rises from the period with those suspended. The signs are suspended, the signs of the wheel. The wheel returns. In the wheel is Aquarius.

The signs are as lords [Seregiem] suspended as the rulers lead. Begin by six at the tail, suspended in the end. The six begin going directly and the tail goes opposite. Thus in the beginning, the river of fire is around the universe. Afterward from here is 80 days. On the fourth day, surround the river of fire. Begin and create the Sun to lighten the day upon the Earth. The river of fire is near the sign of heat. Cold is the constellation of the Pleiades. Snow is the Moon, as going forth by them. Therefore, create the smallest planets that do not shine, except to warm the universe by the light of the flame sending forth. Do not speak of what is created, what is neccesary to the universe, but only to create all the beauty of the universe.

From the power of the light of the planets, desire exaltation. Also, the signs and luminaries desire. Rehetial is the magistrate [Shoter] of desire. Twenty-three princes correspond to the desire of the signs. The luminaries, therefore, proclaim Rehetial, the language of desire. Desire to interpret desire.

All the Malachim proclaim over the name that supports the printing of Rezial. Deliver the *Book of the Mysteries* [Sepher Harazim]. Adam, the first man, learned therein, as therein are the Malachim over the months.

Shephiya'aial presides over the month Nisan with 36 Malachim.

Regehiyal presides over Ayar with 43 Malachim.
Arinavor presides over Sivan with 68 Malachim.
Tha'atz Bon presides over Tammuz with 28 Malachim.
Thecher Gar presides over Ab with 29 Malachim.
Morael presides over Alul with 29 Malachim.
Pechederon presides over Tishri with 29 Malachim.
Lerbeg presides over Marheshvan with 27 Malachim.
Arbegedor presides over Kislev with 29 Malachim.
Aberekial presides over Adar with 28 Malachim.

According to those presiding, proclaim Aberekial in the blessed language. The lowest are proclaimed by goodness to establish Romial, Chereshial, Tepherial, Shelemial, and Melekial.

All go forth seeing God. Send forth Mordecai in the month Adar.[14] Esther is of grace and mercy.[15]

Of the *Book of Memorials* [*Sepher Hezekeronoth*, or *Book of Commemorations*], come to Mordecai, being the one next to the king. Give blessings to the king of the glory.

Norial is over the river of fire. Shemeshial is over the Sun. Irechial is over the Moon. Kokebial is over the planets. Shopherial is over the *Book of Life* [*Sepheri Hechiyem*, or the numbers of life], over the name to speak of the shofar. Zekobial is over the purity of Israel. Yihodial is over the Malachim, extending to the highest.

Proclaim all the Malachim over the name of the dominion. Combine the letters (Hebrew: HQBH). Create the wheel of the words. See all the actions of creation. Proclaim to rise upward by the names in wisdom, according to the Sun, Moon, and planets, created from the river of fire. Therefore, it is in the second firmament. The stars go forth proceeding to the conclusion.

Make blessings in the days before the Sun. Of the cold, heat the heavens. Of the division appointed in the fourth day, go forth from the river of fire. The Sun, Moon, and planets are suspended in the firmament.

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[14] Mordecai was a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin, living in Persia, who was the foster father of Esther, and afterward the prime minister in the court of King Ahasuerus.
[15] Esther became the wife of Ahasuerus, and queen of Persia.

In judgment from the river of fire, boiling and put forth afterward, therefore the planets go to one side. Man is established, as cheese begins to go forth from the milk. When taken from the milk, it ripens and becomes cheese. Thus, it is not all white. Therefore, the Sun is white from the Moon.

From the planets, diminish the covering of the Moon. Of light over the days, create the river of fire. From them, create the lights. That is what is spoken by the wise ones. The shining goes forth from the motion of the living. Create in the highest heaven from the motion near the throne of the glory above. The wicked turn away.

In the second firmament, the river of fire is one. Of the judgment of the stars, speak of the many. If not for the tail of the constellation of the Pleiades in the river of fire, there is no salvation before the cold. The stars in the second firmament shine as the Sun goes in the day.

The river of fire is in the first day. Proclaim day by the Sun going forth. In night, go forth in the darkness of the universe. Of the days, take hold of the shell (Hebrew: BQLIPH ShThOPSh) in the days. Around the shell of the star, the river of fire goes forth in one shell above. In the shell going forth, the Sun goes forth in the day. Below in the shell is the place of the Sun in night. Thus, go forth in the darkness of the days.

Of the days of heaven, beneath in the shell dwell in darkness. Upon the path of the days, however, above is shadows. It is written of darkness, proclaim night as in the place of darkness. Proclaim the place of night, as the Sun goes forth in night. Thus, of every star above in the side of the end of the firmament.

Of the firmament, receive from the great fire, from the moisture, the holy word and the holy spirit. Mix together to bring forth a crystal. Be moist to extend and spread.

It is written on the right side, extend heaven. That is dry land. Of the firmament, create the firmament [see figure 6 on page 129].

The clouds of the firmament are moist. See the force cast down as the dry land extends. Of heaven alone, the path over the high place is in the day. By dry land afterward, spread as a tent. Of the dwelling, extend the abundance, all by means of the Ruoch. It is written, of the beauty of the Ruoch of heaven.

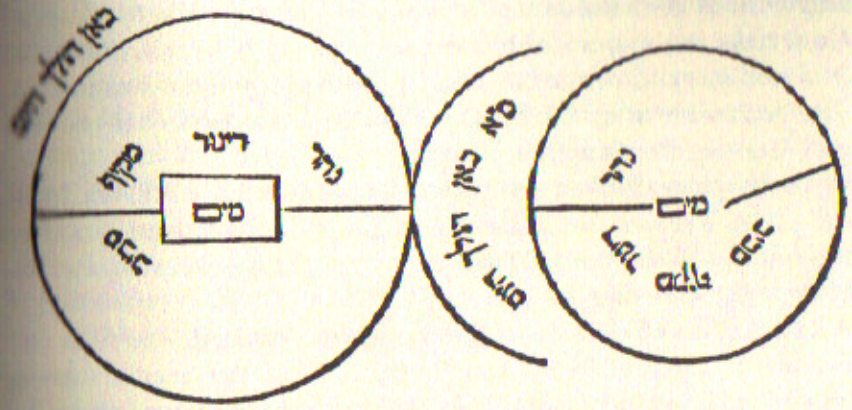

Figure 6. Diagram of the firmament of the heavens. The Hebrew in the center of the circles translates as "water." The text circling "water" reads, counterclockwise, "*Neher*/*Dinor*/circling [or surrounding]/around." The text on the outside of the circle reads "here journey in the day." *Neher Dinor* is interpreted as "River of Fire."

Of the power of the firmament above, the power rises to the beams of the protruding roof [Qoroth]. Thus, the days of the heavens are between the beams, as proclaimed above of the offering of the day.

Every star rises above, cooling in the days. Rise up and require the beams of the roof of the heavens. Strengthen and support the beams over the heavens. Is it not written, heaven extends to the right side? The rebatements give within and around, not holding the walls of the house, not piercing the wall by the first protrusion. The second is above the first. The sign proclaims the rebatements according to the wall support. Diminish the thickness of the wall, in order to protrude in the place. The sign is above, in the end of the wall. Proclaim to extend above in the wall. In the limited place, proclaim the offering. By the sign in the place, the rebatements of all the wall are weakened. By thickening, therefore, beneath is wide. Five above, six above seven.

It is therefore written in the floor, the lower is five cubits, the center is six cubits, and the third is seven cubits in width. However, not above, but only of the place of the limit.

In the Torah, it is proclaimed to extend. It is written, all these precious stones are hewn in measures, in the granary, from within

and without the foundation, until extending from the foundation. Undertake the majesty of heaven. Extend the right side of heaven. It is necessary to divide the beams protruding upward to heaven. The beams are after the heavens. The sign protrudes when in the wall. Cool in the rising sea.

In the place, heaven is supported, and also there is Earth. Limit the place. Receive the heavens and protrude to heaven. Come to the middle of the limit. Thus, the purse of silver is made therein. Receive the covering.

It is written of the side of the foundation of Earth, the right side extends to heaven. Reach this by that. Above the beams, there is heaven. It is a kind of dome. It is written, serve the name in the tabernacle.

Above is the river of fire and 22 shells [Qliphoth]. From the name, cast down and diminish the river of fire. Cast down every star and go with the star by boiling.

It is written, the river of fire leads. Go forth from the presence of a thousand thousands to serve the Lord. In the river of fire, the Malachim serve the Lord. The sign goes forth of every star. Great things are covered and established before the river of fire in every place, however the first indicates the days. Going to the top, here are a thousand thousands. Bear the sign of Elohim in the firmament. The heavens are between, with beams protruding.

Let there be shining luminaries. Do not speak of the luminaries when placing the lights. Here is the Sun, offering as a crystal. The light goes forth outside the crystal. Of the sign of the crystal it is said, let there be luminaries in heaven. Fill with splendor. Produce splendor as the crystal fills with splendor.

Move to the outer. Speak by the dwelling of the gate every day. The gates open in the east. The darkness of the firmament comes from the place. The Sun comes in the morning, going forth for 50 years.

There are gates in the place of darkness of the firmament. There are windows in the firmament. In the place, regard the universe seen from the Earth as the Sun comes in the gate.

The gates serve the morning and grow larger. Therefore, speak of the gates opening in the east. There is no division of the name. There is the Sun. Wind comes forth in the universe. The windows weaken. Therefore speak, divide the window of the firmament. Do

not go by the power and by the strength. Consume all the universe completely.

God goes forth in the place. The Sun goes forth from the place and the Moon from the place. Place it in the hollow of the heavens. The Sun is as a kind of dish in the hollow. Of the dwelling of the Moon, dwelling in the place, the Sun goes forth in morning or in evening. It spreads light in all the universe.

Therefore, the Sun is in the language of the female. Let there be luminaries. Do not speak of the luminaries when the Sun rises above. The language of female is of great beauty. The Sun is in the season.

Speak in the language of the male. The Sun goes forth over Earth. It is shining and goes forth. Thus, the Sun is in strength of six in four days from the river of fire. Serve between the shells.

The river of fire freezes [coagulates] as cheese. Create the heavens and dry up, seeing the river of fire as milk already made into cheese. Afterward, separate the firmament above the shells.

Beneath the darkness of the sea, it is dark. Create the Sun and Moon and planets and stars. Of every one, the glory of the firmament.

Know the planets serve in the firmament between day and night. Before the brilliance of the Sun, there is no offering seeing in them as man. Settle in the flames of the Sun, not visible in the distance, of the outer, before it is clear. When placing burning fire in the Sun, see it as ashes. Therefore, in the day, the brilliance of the Sun covers in light and is not visible. However, in the night, the Sun is beneath the Sea of Oceanus, and the planets are visible.

Speak to create the planets. Release the binding, as not shining. According to this, the highest sea cools. The host of the heavens create by the heat of the sign.

In the morning, see the planet going forth from the place of radiance [Zeherieroth]. The day comes, seen as the brilliance of the planet. Go forth from the place of the first rainfall [Yivoreh] as lightning. The planet goes above, not moving. Men are not lacking.

By going forth, give praise. Establish the flowing in heaven. In the place of the flowing, it is established to make the firmament yellowish in order to be more visible. Of goodness, the light is over the Earth. Give in darkness to the lowest firmament.

Support the Earth. The shining extends over the Earth, not in the firmament, but in planets and stars all being over the Earth. Man is able to receive the knowledge between good and evil. It is given in the heart, as God knows all. Here is flesh and blood.

Revere every word by the stars. Of every dwelling, God knows all, knowing of all flesh and blood. It is not necessary to know all. Blessed is he. Rise in memory forever and ever, but not in every dwelling. (Hebrew: OQ"O BNO ShL Q"O MIM M' BMIM.) Bind to it.

In the *Book of Formation*, God goes forth. The Ruoch is from the holy spirit.[16] Engrave and carve the sign of Ruoch, the breath. Form therein the four spirits of the universe.

Ruoch is in every one, divided as instructed. Of him who makes the crystal vessel, receive the vessel of iron bore from end to end. Receive from the crystal, from the smelting furnace. Ascribe the end of the vessel in the mouth of all. The end of the vessel comes to the mouth. Breathe in Ruoch of the mouth. The Ruoch passes from the midst of the vessel bore. Reach until the end of the empty vessel. The Ruoch of the mouth breathes in the crystal. Make the vessel small or large, or long or short or wide. Measure mouths by the power.

Of the power and the strength, the wondrous Ruoch goes forth. Extend the hollow of the universe. The sea goes forth from the slight moisture, much without measure. Carve and engrave the throne of the glory.

Of every high host, do not desire of God to make from the great fire. In order not to liken to it, fire consumes fire. Receive the sea of fire and Ruoch. Create the ministers [Mesherthiyov]. Divide the water into three divisions. In one portion, freeze the water. Boil the water in fire. Tremble in the smoke. Soil is made into the earth. The second portion makes every high host. Heaven is the highest. The third portion is the firmament above. Separate between water. Water is divided above and divided below. The water is received from below.

Rejoice and speak of happiness. There is life to us. Bring near, close to the Creator. Of living and rejoicing, uphold below the throne of the glory. Fly in great happiness. Give praise and

[16] See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 1:9.

thanksgiving and praise. Adorn the crown. The splendor forms the universe.

It is written, the sounds of water is the greatest glory. By the works of Berashith, reach eleven times water. Of the generations of Noah, eleven times water. In eleven generations, here is Noah. There is to be a flood. God knows the water restores the universe.

Turn aside eleven times by the sea, according to the generations. The flood purifies in female [Asheth] and male [Ayish]. Turn aside and separate. God is over the sea, being the highest sea. Separate the sea over Egypt. Eleven times the sea. In the ark, the sea is of two kinds. Here are twenty-two kinds. Therefore, twenty-two kinds in the Bible.

The Lord El speaks, and Moses speaks to Aaron [the brother of Moses, the first High Priest]. Receive the staff, and extend your hand over the waters of Egypt, over rivers and streams, and over lakes. All is given, not restored below the Sun.

Therefore, Joshua reaches the sea. Water is from the song [Shiereh] until Esau and Moses eleven times. Also by Joshua, eleven times. The sea is eight times the water of the Jordan. Of three times the sea, give to divide the water of the sea before the sons of Israel. Thus, the water dwells at the approach of morning.

The offering is everlasting, the offering with the water of six days of Berashith. The highest sea is suspended by the commandment of God, between the sea and over the firmament, above the firmament, as suspended by the commandment.

Elohim divided to fill the sea. Learn to divide. Of you, Elohim, of the sea, give half in the firmament divided in Oceanus. The firmament resembles a pool of water. Above the pool of water is the dome. From the heat of the pool of water and the motion of the dome, dense clouds fall. They are cast down to the middle of the sea of saltiness. The highest sea is clear from every word.

The highest sea from the lowest sea is thirty measures. Between sea to sea is thirty. The song of degrees is thirty degrees above from below. Freeze above. From below, the shining of the sea goes forth, complete in fire.

Create the Malachim to consume in the eyes. The Malachim are of the highest sea. They are males and the lowest are females. Between the highest to lowest are three fingers going around the firmament, dividing the sons.

Therefore, by Isaiah, the gate of the sea extends in the hollow over the sea, for the sake of the sea of heaven and Earth. Ruoch arranged the universe by the highest sea.

The firmaments are as goblets [hills]. The house receives the sea. It is said, the sea extends in the hollow. The sea is the hand or sole of the foot, heaven and Earth and the living Ruoch, the everlasting Ruoch.

The Ruoch hovers over the surface of the sea. Above and below, the mountains are suspended in the storm of Ruoch. However, in the beginning of heaven and Earth, the Ruoch arranged the stars and heaven of fire (Hebrew: TAQ ShL ASh ShBG AaPR ThMD ROCh SAaD), and of the sea. Of them, fire precedes farther. Soil is the beginning of the house of praise [Bieth Helel], but only the fire of heaven. The Shekinah is in heaven.

Therefore (Hebrew: TAQ) is fire. Aries is the beginning of the signs of the zodiac. Over thus, fire precedes Berashith. Elohim created the heavens of (Hebrew: TAQ).

After (Hebrew: ShBG) is earth. Fire consumes soil and trees. Let there be earth.

After (Hebrew: ThMR) is air. (Hebrew: ThMR) is from the dryness of the earth. The Ruoch of Elohim passes over the earth. Earth receives the Ruoch from you, not corrupted.

After (Hebrew: SAaD) is water. The Ruoch dwells, flowing in the sea. The forces of the water go forth after the sea of fire. Cancer is water.

After is fire. Leo is fire. The water extinguishes the fire.

After the fire of Leo, Virgo is earth. The fire consumes the earth.

After the earth is the sign Virgo. There is Libra that is air. Of the earth and the greatest mountains make a windbreak of the Ruoch.

After the air of Libra, Scorpio is water. The air breaks the waves of the sea. From blowing the water is clouds, the foundation of the congregation. The earth serves forever.

Record the generations of the Earth, the generations of the king. Restore the earth, as being from generation to generation. The living and the dying come forth. The spirits restore.

The earth speaks of generations. The Sun rises, not enclosing heaven. Offer a sacrifice. There is not awareness when near the Sun.

After the heavens, Ruoch is around in a circle. The Ruoch goes forth, actually to the four corners, going with the Sun. After is Ruoch. The sea is the course of the rivers of Elohim. According to that, the congregation upholds the conclusion.

The word written is the truth, however, love supports by establishing after. By the word of the Lord, create heaven. Blessed is the mouth. All hosts gather moving as the sea of water. Revere the Lord of all the earth. In Ruoch is the beauty of heaven.

Therefore, Ruoch, earth, water. After Ruoch is water. The Ruoch gathers waves and breaking. After water is earth, in the name of the sign. Do not fear the declaration of the Lord. The sands increase the water. Generations uphold to establish after heaven, Ruoch, earth.

Arrange the sign above. Below cover in light. As perfection and light of the Lord, the song of degrees extends in heaven as veils. They are the highest heavens.

In the place of darkness, lead the clouds below the heavens. Go over the wings of the wind. All the air fills below the clouds. Therefore, every bird flies upward. The Ruoch gives power of the bird, making messenger spirits [Melakiyov Ruoch] cast down to Earth.

Establish the universe and be content. Offer a sacrifice to the Malachim, going to and fro in the universe. Offer the sacrifice to the ministers. The name is before fire, burning the foundation of the Earth. Over the foundation of the Earth, we are above the ocean as a vestment of clothing.

These are the seven oceans. They are between four countries. Over the mountains, establish water is below the earth. It is written, extend the earth over water. The water is over the mountains. The mountains are suspended in the gate. In the end of the dominion, arrange and establish after heaven, Ruoch, water, earth.

The sea rises to heaven. From the rising of the sea, gather Ruoch. It is near the heavens. According to the Ruoch of heaven's beauty, the Ruoch comes as clouds to the side of the sea. Water is after the Ruoch.

The Ruoch dwells as flowing water. The rain comes forth. Ruoch establishes every end of the earth. The clouds rain down upon the earth, to drain away.

In the beginning, the dominion of Earth, heaven, water, and not Ruoch. According to that, the earth is created first. According to that, commemorate the foundation of the universe.

The earth and the heavens are bound above. Water is above and below. Also, first is the foundation of Earth. Scatter snow as water. Make mud as a flower bed. The wisdom of the Lord is the foundation of earth.

Establish heaven in the place. Receive the power of fire shining in the vision. Of the purest water, create in the place of the heavens. After knowledge, the oceans divide. Divide the oceans below. The skies drop blessed dew over every place. Dew comes forth. There is no Ruoch to commemorate Ruoch.

According to that, the foundation of the Earth is in every place. Commemorate the foundation, burning the earth. Of heaven, praise Ruoch of heaven, earth, and water from above. Below, the Ruoch circles around. It is written, place the darkness circling around. The darkness drops down in water from clouds in the skies.

The name of the Ruoch is (Hebrew: ANH ALK MROChK). Also speak (Hebrew: ANH MPNIK ABRCh). Speak when rising to heaven. The name is (Hebrew: ShL OATzIAa ShAOL).

Dust is in the end of water. The name leads and completes darkness. The blackness of the universe is not obscured from you. By praising Earth, heaven, Ruoch, water, according to that, commemorate the foundation. The mountains tremble.

It is wondrous to make Aleph in Earth. The earth trembles and shakes. Of heaven: descend from above. Fly upon the wings of the wind, above and around. The darkness of water is in dark clouds around. Here it is regarded from below, rising up. By Job, Earth, water, heaven, Ruoch. Suspend Earth over nothingness. It is written, extend the earth over the water.

Therefore, speak after. The sphere is over the surface of the water. Serve heaven over Oceanus. Therefore, support the pillar of heaven. The Ruoch weakens of the beauty of heaven.

Also, from below, the clouds rise up. Of Earth, bind water in the clouds. Of heaven above the clouds, Ruoch is near. Of Job, water, heaven, and Earth, Ruoch from the word. Establish that rain is the first water.

From the heat of the dome in the firmament, the rain descends. The water over the firmament descends over Earth. The Ruoch blows and the rain descends. Reduce the drops of water. The drops from clouds fill streams. From the water, the clouds drink. It is concealed in the bottom of the sea.

Light shines over the corners of the Earth, drawing out and restore the Ruoch from the chamber. The storm comes forth. By Job, Earth, water, heaven, and not Ruoch, according to that, commemorate the foundation preceding Earth. That is the foundation. The water is around it. Heaven is supported in the sea. Fall to the foundation of Earth.

The sea puts forth. The cornerstones are around the water. The foundation of the fire is in the gates, for the sake of joining the corners of Earth. After, the knowledge of the borders of heaven are bound in the sea. According to that, commemorate the foundation of Earth.

Water extends to Earth. Create the heaven. Do not commemorate Ruoch, not seeing with the eyes. Also, not in visions, so much that is necessary of the ancient law. Speak of the ancient Earth, there are no oceans. Establish heaven in the heights.

Of Earth, heaven is created by the power of the established world [Thebel] in wisdom and understanding. Of the sound Tohu, the sound of water in heaven, not from the word of the creation of the universe, but only to restore, thus speak of the path of the people [Goyiem]. Learn from the signs of the heavens from below.

Go forth in life, hidden in silver and gold. Change by praise and from words. It is written by Zechariah, weaken the word. The prophet makes not from words, to stop when dew and rain fall. According to the word, in order to deny the weakening, as said by Zechariah. From the Lord, rain from the time of the latter rain [Melqosh]. The Lord makes lightning bolts, thunder and rain, and perennial rain.

Grass in the field is from God. This weakens the word, also not in this case. Create Earth by the power of the word. In signs of the Malachim, as written over Egypt, over Judah and over Edom and Gomer, speak, to revere, and also of goodness. There are no signs.

Of truth, the Lord Elohim is angered. Earth trembles and the people do not prevail. Anger makes them perish from Earth. Keep

the commandments. From the blessings below heaven, stop the raining. From above, return to create Earth by the power.

Of the mountains, it is written, from the sign, destroy mountains. Of the foundation of the world [Thebel]. In wisdom, support the world. In the place of Earth, increase its people. God creates by wisdom.

Of vengeance, it is written by Jeremiah, in every language, to hear counsel. Counsel El by all thoughts. Consider the Chaldeans [inhabitants of Babylon], when not dragging the small cattle along the ground. The young lions gather above the battle. Of Nebuchadnezzar [king of Babylon, 605–562 B.C.E.], it is written by Isaiah, speak in the heart.

The heavens above are divided. They alone are arranged and bound over the mountains as the greatest cities in heaven. By the understanding, extend heaven above. Give the sound of water in heaven, it is spoken of rain.

Do not dwell over creatures of the world. Speak to extend heaven. Do not speak to create heaven, according to seeing the sign. Of not being able to see, but only as the heavens are filled with stars, as in the beginning of the month, or the end, thus, attribute to extend as the word extends. See so much, thus all the planets and stars, according to the clear heavens, for the sake of visibility.

Therefore, it is written to give the sound of water. There is no thundering, only in the day, quiet and calmness from the clouds of every divine [Elohi] nation. Of pagans [Alieliem], the world is created by means of the stars.

The Lord created heaven by the power, created with the stars, therefore be worthy. It is written, by the word of the Lord of heaven, create Earth by the power. Give the sign, therefore, perish from the Earth.

For the sake of the writing, the people speak. Where is Elohim and Elohino in heaven? All the Lord desires is made in heaven. On Earth, in days, and all oceans go forth to sustain heaven. Therefore, in praise it is first written, heaven is the beginning.

It is written, all that the Lord desires is made in heaven. On Earth in days, all oceans go forth to sustain heaven. Begin the power over Elohino in heaven. Therefore, all the Lord desires is made in heaven.

What name written is as the sound of water? In heaven, water precedes Ruoch. According to the sign, the heavens are clear in the day. As thunder comes, water comes without Ruoch. It comes to pass, write by the understanding. Heaven extends as a dome, visible in the clouds in day, as a rainbow in summer days.

It is written by Job, of Earth and heaven, Ruoch is in the days. The name is established to decree. God decrees Elohim. Understand the path. It is known in every place. Send forth the rain. Regard to the ends of Earth.

It is not necessary to reach below all the heavens. Regard the making of Ruoch. Plummet as a bladder [balloon] going into water. Measure the length and the width. Serve the angel and fill with water. As God blows the Ruoch, divide in 70 drops to fill the bladder. Blow therein divisions.

Water is established by the measure of all land and earth. It is written, the measure of the sea is in handfuls of water over the vessel. It is written by the false prophets [Benebia Hasheqor], the sign goes forth over the nation as crumbs of bread.

Of measures, the vessel is measured therein. Measure six measures. By Malachim, Gobi, the King of Edom, (Hebrew: GBI MLK ADM) pours out the ashes [Apher]. Keep all the people of Sha'aliem at the foot.[17] Fill the city with dust. All the people are at the foot, until it is not possible to measure.

Heaven spans the measure of the highest mountains up to heaven. By the span of the measures of the foundation of Earth, the right side extends to heaven and the mountains.

It is written by Amos, when smitten in Shavol [Hell], from there to take. When benefit of the heavens, from there to descend and divide. When concealed from the eye in soil, of the water, here is the soil.

Proclaim Shavol, and the well-cultivated plain of heaven by the kings [Melekim] in song. It is written, the foundation of the heavens tremble. By striking the foundation, Earth trembles when between the planets.

The sea breaks the rocks by the water. Be strong by the power and lead the people. The king goes to the valley and strikes the son of Sha'ayir.[18]

[17] Sha'alim is the name of a district, or may also mean palm of the hand or foxes.
[18] This may be the name of a man, or may also translate as goat, hairy, or a kind of demon.

Of 10,000 lives, take captive the sons of Judah [the 4th son of Jacob]. Go to the top. Cast down from the top of the rock. It breaks completely.

In every place, it is written of the foundation of Earth. The beginning of Earth is recorded. Of heaven, it is written by Isaiah, I place words in my mouth. Concealed in the shadows, establish heaven and the foundation of Earth.

Speak to the people of Zion. What language is established near heaven? Is it not so they establish and serve only heaven, dwelling in the highest mountains? According to that, Sennacherib [King of Assyria, 705–681 B.C.E.) receives all the gold that was burned [She-ba'ar] by Judah.

It is written, let there be, in fourteen years to King Hezekiah over Sennacherib, King of Assyria, over every city of Judah, fortification. Take flight all Israel from the cities. Therefore, speak to the people of Zion, not to take flight. Over these that are burning, Judah takes flight. It is written by kings, Israel rejoices, being over the people of Assyria until the day. Consider the days hearing of Hezekiah returning. It is written, send forth Hezekiah over all Israel. Judah comes to the house of the Lord in Jerusalem, making Pesach to the Lord Elohi of Israel.[19]

Also written by Isaiah, speak of watching [A'ari], behold Elohikem.[20] Thus of the flesh [Mebeshereth] of Jerusalem.[21] Jerusalem is, as other places, to come after.

The scriptures speak of the beauty over the mountains. Of the flesh of the feet, reveal to the king, the Messiah [Hemelek Hameshiech]. It is written after to speak upon the high mountain, to you over the flesh of Zion. Reveal the flesh.

Speak of the watching of Judah. Here is the king in glory. God rises up to the highest sea to establish the covenant with Earth, not able to live, even for a small moment, before the power of the great fire over the highest heavens, of the great heights and great abundance of the highest sea.

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[19] Pesach is the holiday of Passover, although this may refer to a Passover sacrifice or offering.

[20] A'ari means watching or waking, however A'ar is also the name of a son of Judah.

[21] This term may also mean rewards, heralds, messengers, good tidings, or declaring to.

The great darkness is of the divided firmament. Divide the firmaments, as all the creatures are not able to live. Of the highest fire, the highest sea cools the universe from the fire above. From the heat of the fire above, the source of the universe is the highest sea.

The water is suspended in the air far from the firmament. The course is 500 years. By the sign, purify the people. It is written, sprinkle the water of the highest sea in purification. Heat the dome from the motion of water as rain. Man receives the vessel in the house of the bathing [Hebieth Hemrechetz]. It is filled with water before the heat and the warmth.

All dwellings are before the heat of the Sun. The great fire is as males. Of the flowing of the oceans below, there are two concealed in the ocean. It is written of the ocean, proclaim them female. The female is of the desire of male. Thus, Earth and the ocean are from desire. Of the flowing of the rain, the rain lords over Earth.

Therefore, all is purity. Immerse in water or pass over fire. Purity is according to that. The sea goes forth from the moisture of the holy word. The fire is by the power of the heat of the word.

The Lord created the complete heavens by the blessings over the water. All comes to pass by the word. The power of the sea is suspended by the command of God. Blessed is he and blessed is the name forever.

Appointed over the firmament is Cherdenial. Speak of the highest of high [A'aliyov A'al]. Cherdenial is bound in the heights in the course of 60 myriad divisions. Of every word going forth from the mouth, go forth with 12,000 flashes [Berqiyem] of white fire [Ash Lebaneh] of the prince of hosts [Sher Tzabavoth].

Bereqial is appointed over. The Malachim in the firmament reveal the power of how to lead the people in the universe. Speak and work to reveal the firmament.

Of the letter Nun, God reveals 50 gates of understanding. These were handed down to Moses less one, corresponding to 49 days from the first day of Pesach until Shavuoth [The Feast of Weeks]. On the fiftieth day, receive the Torah.

Fifty lie down and 50 rise up. Speak of Aleph Beth of Rabbi A'aqiba. The faithful dwell and serve God. Decree and endure.

God dwells and the Malachim serve. Fifty is not of them, leaping up to serve the Seraphim. By rising up, the great wise ones bind

seven lands united. Cover the highest Earth. Suspend in the gate and bind in the dome.

The veil is suspended in the gate in the firmament. The firmament is suspended by 60 and 100 as two [BS' OQ' KB']. The base is suspended by 60 and 100 as two.

The plains [A'arboth] are suspended and bound in the arm [Zerova'a] of God. The righteous speak to the sky. Sink down to the righteous.

It is written, the sky goes forth, rising high above. The gates of heaven open to rain manna to eat. Tremble, as there are Malachim in heaven. The sky stretches forth from the righteousness. There is strength in the sky. Power and might is to you and your sons.

Manna rains as water coming from the sky, from all the firmaments of the heavens, before the great power of God. Of the great strength of the dwellings of the law [Shekinethov Thorethov] of Jerusalem and the holy temple, it is written, give strength to Elohim over Israel.

By majesty and strength in the heights of the sky, lead in heaven. Support in the heights of the dwelling of the sky. The sky is placed high above, not in the place, but only Shekinah. It is written of the Lord Elohim, from God, food to eat comes from the sky. Of Israel, rain manna from above to eat.

It is written in the Torah of the strength in the sky. There is not strength, but only in the Torah. The strength of the Lord is given to the people. Bless the people in peace. Of the Holy Temple in Jerusalem, the Lord built it with stones of goodness [Toboth]. At the feet are sapphire stones. By the blessing, every kind of precious stone. The sky sinks down to Jupiter, not the righteous of Jerusalem and the Holy Temple.

It is written, the righteous dwell in the power. At this time, be content to serve Jerusalem. The holy temple is suspended by chains of fire in the sky. In the day, go forth and shine in the wheel of the Sun.

The angels of the hosts of hosts [Melaki Tzebaovoth Mechenoth] of the classes [Kethoth] are in the middle. The ladder is fixed in the sky. The top reaches to the dwelling of the Malachim, the most-holy eleven. The most-glorious princes are appointed over the gates of the sky. Of the Ruoch, of the six princes of the gates of the north, six princes of the gate of the south, six princes of the gate of the east, and six princes of the west.

Beresial is the prince of the host appointed over. Proclaim the sky of the righteous. The dew and rain fall. Israel rejoices in the universe. Come and speak of the sky. The ceiling of the sky is in every kind of hymn [Shier], and every kind of praise [Shebech], and every kind of song [Zemereh].

Before the Shekinah is the holy temple in the heights. Speak of the splendor and glory before the holy temple in the sky. The splendor covers every remote part of the firmament to the highest. Speak of the concealment of heaven and the splendor of the sky. Learn of Thethermech. The hosts serve in the holy temple in the sky. Sing before it every day.

Of every Host of Thethremech, the great Malachim minister. Thus of the sky, the tumult of the sons of Thetheremech, the hosts are around the Shekinah in the sky. The highest name of God is in every kind of praise [Shebech] and song [Zemerah].

From morning until evening, speak Holy, Holy, Holy. From morning until evening, speak, blessed is the glory of the Lord. The Shekinah rises up in night to the heights. Of the hidden house [Bieth Meshtherem], speak, you are the hidden God [Atheh El Hameshtherem].

The third firmament fills the storehouse of clouds. Spirits go forth from it. In the midst of the hosts, thunder and lightning go forth from it. Three princes go forth upon thrones, in the image of the thrones of fire. The fire shines like gold, resembling every angel of fire. They are in the majesty of fire. The sounds of fire are as sounds of thunder. The eyes are as waterfalls [Tzenori]. The Sun resembles a wheel of burning flames. The wings of a bird shine as flaming horses in visions, as lamps from the words. Tremble from the roaring of birds flying, of every spirit, and from the birds in every corner [Pheneh].

These are the names of the princes ministering in the third dwelling.

The first is Yikenial. Of this name, 19 Malachim minister before. They are appointed to every word of fire, to kindle and extinguish.

The second name is Rehetial. Sixty-three Malachim minister, ruling every word over the horseman of fire and the horse of fire, of the broken and weak.

The third name is Delegial. Nineteen Malachim minister, ruling over flames of fire, of the burning house, of the sinking of the sky

therein. The sky is in every vessel. Sing before God. Sandalphon is appointed over, binding the crowns, possessing and delivering the Merkabah. Speak of Sandalphon, bound by Thephiliem [prayers, or phylacteries] in the beginning by the eternal God [Tzor A'av olemiem], the Lord Elohi of Israel. In the Thephiliem, it is written, who are like the people of Israel?

These are also the names of the Malachim ministering from above. The three with Beleqial serve the name. He resembles flames of fire. Nodeh, Avoyil, Melekiyeh, Cholial, Cherial, Chebial, Shelechial, Tzegerial, Kemebial, A'avorial, Sesenial, Gobial, Thomial, Amelial, Thelemenoph, Vothechenial, Arephial, Agebial, Mesherial, Amengenan.

These are the names of Malachim ministering in all seven dwellings. In the first dwelling is A'anial. In the second dwelling is Tzedeqial. In the third dwelling is Chesedial. In the fourth dwelling is Dorenial. In the fifth dwelling is Gabrial. In the sixth dwelling is Bereqial. In the seventh dwelling is Mikal.

These are the Malachim ministering by water. All are therein with Qothial, Thothial, Thekerial, Neqiyet, and Vogaheh. Ruling over the rain are Ma'aroboth, Melekial, Merememeravoth, Teretial, Sekenial, Leqobethial, Thenial, Gedial, Keremial, Isa'ayial, Meterial, and Liethial.

This is Shem Hemaphorash. It is the beginning of all the names. The beginning is the highest name and the lowest. Of the secret of male and female, Berash Adam Vochoveh. Of the name of four letters, Yod Heh Vau Heh. The great and honored name is the knowledge of our existence, the root of the invocation. Change the beginning of all existence. Bind to deliver by the tried and proven essence of truth. Of favorable existence, all was created by the wisdom and desire, according to the decree of wisdom, the desire to bless. Decree the name of twelve signs, of twelve written words combined.

IHOH IHHO IOHH HOHI HOIH HHIO OHIH OHHI OIHH HIHO HIOH HHOI.

These names are approved, combined from the special [Hemivoched] name. The root reveals the meanings, explained by the names written afterward. That is the name of 42 letters.

BOOK THREE

PART 1

THE HOLY NAMES

HEBREW LETTERS: ABG IThTz QRAa ShTN NGD IKSh BTR TzThG ChQB TNAa IGL PZQ ShQOTzITh.[1]

This is the holy name. It is revealed by the combination going forth from the beginning scriptures in the Torah. From the Beth of Berashith until the Beth of Boho. Knowledge of the wisdom of the Torah completes the names of God, blessed are they. The rows of marks reveal the knowledge and wisdom is received.

Hebrew letters: OHO ILI SIT AaLM MHSh LLH AKA KHTh HZI ALD LAO HHAa IZL MBH HRI HQM LAO KLI LOO PHL NLK III MLH ChHO NThH HAA IRTh ShAH RII AOM LKB OShR IHO LHCh KOQ MND ANI ChAaM RHAa IIZ HHH MIK OOL ILH SAL AaRI AaShL MIH OHO DNI HChSh AaMM NNA NITh MBH POI NMM IIL HRCh MTzR OMB IHH AaNO MChI DMB MNQ AAa ChBO RAH IBM HII MOM.[2]

Know these are the complete names. They are combined here to reveal the secrets of 72 letters. Prophesy the lives of ancestors by them. Of Elohim, learn from. Thus far, reveal the miracles of Yod Heh Vau Heh.

The name of the glory and honor is divided in 72 names coming forth from the mouth of the high priest [Kehen Gedol]. In holiness and purity, it was received therein in a vision. It comes forth

[1] The name of 42 letters. See Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York: Behrman House, 1939), p. 94.
[2] The name of 72 letters. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 96.

from three scriptures. Reveal the going forth from the tribute. Go forth to begin on the path, from beginning to end.

There are three letters in every name. These words are of the most glorious and hidden power. Of the powers of the highest measure, the letters are glorious and exalted.

They are delivered from three scriptures, of glorious power in the sublime and hidden secret. By them, reveal the wisdom and enlightenment of every sublime and hidden secret. The secret of heaven and Earth. The highest secret of the letters.

They are divided in three groups of 24 names. Reveal the glory of ten divisions, seven in every division. They indicate every secret going forth of the highest matters. The secret of the angel of Elohim. The secret to cover with glory. The secret of the power of water and the sea. The secret to extend the hand of Moses over them. The secret of the host of Egypt and the host of Israel. Of light and darkness, day and night. The secret of the ancient spirit [Ruoch Qediem].

The highest and most glorious words indicate the power. Of the secret of the ten sephiroth, reveal the sublime secret and glory. Reveal the divisions of the profound secrets in places. Reveal the angel of Elohim, of the most glorious and highest powers. Of Jochin and Boaz around the victory and splendor of ancient Israel.[3]

The two pillars rise up to the forehead. The forehead, until the upper arm [Atzilthen], is covered in light. Of darkness of fire, ancient Israel is around Jochin and Boaz, which is in the middle.

The night is complete, destroying the illumination from the light. Of darkness from fire, separate the host of Egypt, the outer from the absolute powers. Reach to the light of the divine emanations [Atziluth] in night. Illuminate as in death. Do not bring one near to the other.

Measure the sea in one place. Thus proclaim one to the other. Michael and Gabrial stand on the right side and left side, giving authority of this to that. Proclaim the dryness of Earth and water springs forth. This is good. Grow old and depart [Kelech Voyit]. Be delivered and rise up in victory.

[3]Jochin and Boaz were the two pillars of the Temple of Solomon. Also, Boaz was the husband of Ruth, and Jochin was the son of Simeon.

Seven rivers [Necheliem] are by the ancient spirit [Ruoch Qediemeh]. The holy power is hidden in all existence. Of existence, all secrets of miracles and wondrous deeds of the highest powers go forth. Be complete from the understanding of the power going forth to light the paths.

Cover in glory by the names of every angel. By the highest power, reveal the highest secret of Egypt. From it, the highest powers and marvelous deeds are recorded, the secret of purity, and of images and power.

Be complete in the secret of Heqophothieh[4] and judgment of the Lord. Of the proclaimation of the great Sanhedrin, reach the highest.[5] Included are the 72 spirits of marvelous deeds.

The highest divisions are of three divisions of 24 names. The divisions of power before the strength are divided in ten divisions, seven in every division, every one sublime power before the strength. From every division are operations of marvelous deeds and strength from power. Bind the image of names and the power extends. Be restored by it.

Also divide 72 words from the highest word of the Malachim. In languages, 72 names of every word of the name, of power sublime and glory before the strength.

Also, divide 46 letters of marvelous deeds. The highest images support the powers of the strength of every one.

Also, reduce the images of the highest glory and hidden powers of the host of hosts, ten divisions of images and letters of the highest names, and words of glory and power and the highest judgment. Proclaim all complete the Shem Hemaphorash. Reach to complete the name.

All the powers of the Lord [Kechethieh] are from the name (Hebrew: ADNI AL ALHIM) of the living hosts [Chieyiem Tzebavoth]. All establish the visions. Proclaim the language of the holy names. Divide by all the powers. Remember all are complete by the name (Hebrew: ADNI), emanating from the hidden and unknown name.

[4]The term translates as "surrounding the Lord," but generally refers to the procession around the synagogue on Simhat Torah.
[5]An assembly of 71 scholars serving as legislature.

All is seen in the letters. Do not proclaim. Do not reach the thoughts. Do not know knowledge and intelligence, and not power afterward. Of the four glorious letters, do not proclaim the secret of the unity of the Lord.

In the secret of ten sephiroth are thoughts of unity of the Lord. Of the perfection of the emanations, all is remembered. Blessed is he and blessed is the name.

All emanate from four foundations. The highest marvelous deeds are most secret and hidden by the power of the unity of the Lord. Of ten sephiroth with all actions and paths and the courses of the hosts, complete all, this by that. Unite this by that. Of the unity of one, the secret of the 72 most glorious. Proclaim the Shem Hemaphorash. All the powers are most holy and most pure.

By the strength of the actions of every word, remember the letter man receives. By powers and actions is the secret image and the power. The angel goes forth from every image. Of the letter of the name, measure in language, every one name from the book.

All men know of names and the power of the angel of every letter of the name. The book is a branch. All know the power of every word, of the angel of the wheel and planets, of all the highest words.

Thus, understand all intelligence. Know the words of glory. Reveal every secret of glory, sublime as it is, unknown and hidden. Understand the secret to change the letters. Of secrets, decree of images and all movements. Know of all intelligence. Understand the intelligence. Bind the names and highest letters. Combine the letters of the glorious and wondrous name.

It is written, every name is revealed and explained by the power. Change the images and calculate the name in measures. Of the actions of every word, reveal the images, but only in holiness and purity. Thus, consider the highest divisions established. Be prepared and understand all the words of glory according to the name of glory.

Of the sublime name of the unity of the Lord, the name of four letters is most glorious. According to the image of Yod Heh, the power and the glory. According to Vau Heh, the secret of the name of every name. Reveal the hidden name and the reverse. Bind the sign and the image.

By all measures, know to indicate by the power of the sublime, much exalted, every one according to the power. The image comes to every letter. In the image and power, understand every word.

Know every power of the name of glory and honor. The hidden secret is according to the most glorious name of four letters. Everlasting is the secret of the greatest truth. Reach to the truth of the secret of the names and matters of existence.

The light is diminished by the hidden secrets. Let there be light, and the commandments create. It is written, I am the Lord Elohik, who created the commandments. It is written, let there be light. I am not to be you, according to the accepted power over this.

Of the daughter of the mother [Am Beth], let there be the mother of the daughter and the daughter of the mother. Thus, the mother understands the secret of the image of Heh Heh Aleph. Complete the names and proclaim complete.

Also by the images, thus the name of the Neshemah. Of the secret of the word, bind Yod Heh, indicating three highest matters. Speak of Yod and cut off [Qotzov Ozembov, or dock the tail] Vau Heh.

Of 35 numbers, Yod follows three. Follow in spirituality [Ruocheniyoth] by the secret of ten, and the sublime and hidden secret. Aleph completes, hidden that the Yod Daleth binds; but not binding for the sake of the name of Isaac. Of Yod, Vau binds eternally. Of Daleth, Vau binds Heh forever. The second binds this by that, and now Yod Heh Vau. The Heh is below. Above proclaim Yod Heh Vau Heh. Pass Heh of Aleph Beth. By the name of four signs, remember the highest Aleph and the lowest Heh. Bind this by that. In the place, now prepare to write by the authority. Speak of the Cherubim.

Also, it is written of the God [Elohi] of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, Isaac is in the center. Prepare to raise Heh Aleph in the place of Yod Heh. Speak of the highest secret. The great strength and the glory of binding complete, the existence of wealth delivers [A'ashiri Pheltien].

Speak the full name over the unity of the universe in truth. Complete in the end. Aleph indicates two Cherubim, and Vau of beauty. Therefore, bind eternally.

Of the name Yod Heh, the existence is supported in the highest and fortified in the lowest, at the end of the name. Consider the

house of the Lord Father [Bith Abieh]. The servant of the Lord [Na'avorieh] speaks to you in day and also night.

Heh is in the beginning of the name and Heh is in the end, the two hands of the holy one. Of two hands, bind the one and the image Heh Yod Daleth.

Yod is united with the word until cut off the body to indicate three of the five divisions of Heh. Of ten sephiroth, here are seven. The thorn of the Yod is not in the amount of the last Yod of Yod Heh Yod. Indicate the last three, and here are ten sephiroth. Indicate the word Yod Heh Yod.

Make to cut off the stalk [Qephed Qeneh] and cut down the reed [Ovagemon Oviekereth]. Of Israel, time ends [A'ath Qetz].

The names by Gematria: Shin Samekh Teth by letters and the word, here is 376 [ShAa"O], as in the amount of (Hebrew: ShLOM) and before 376; here is the word.[6]

Make the wicked to speak to Jacob. Of the Sabbath, be at peace in the house of the father [Beth Abi], and make peace to me below.

It is 376 [ShO"Aa], thus as declared when established from the book. (Hebrew: AChI) is near [Atzel] (Hebrew: AaShO).[7] Here is 395 [ShTz"H], as from the book.

The Neshemeh is above. Speak of salvation at once. (Hebrew: AChI) over [A'al]. (Hebrew: AaSh"O). Remember at once by Gematria. Of salvation, indicate the end with the letters. One hundred ninety-eight [TzCh"Q] is half the number 395 [ShTz"H], with the word of the prayer over binding.

At the time of the Redeemer [Hegavoleh], give the spirit of understanding [Ruoch Biniehem]. Be worthy to dwell in heaven. Isaac reveals the kingdom above. Indicate to Isaac by addition of Yod. Of the crown [Kether], know to establish the crown of the kingdom [Kether Malkuth] in the beginning. The Lord reigns below. Make the sons to rule in peace [Hebrew: AaShO BNI' MOShL ShLOM].

[6]The Gematria of Shin Samekh Teth is 369. The Gematria of Shelom is 376.
[7]The Gematria is 19.

By the secret of (Hebrew: IHI AOR) [Let there be light], the secret name (Hebrew: HOIIH BIN KL BRASHITh IHI AOR OIHI IHI). Place in the end and thus, let there be the name. Thus four letters fill and complete. The letters support the name. Rise to the place of emanations by the name Yod Heh Vau. Of the highest glory and the secret, proclaim in secret Shalom. Proclaim Heh [H', sometimes refers to the Lord, five, or Heh] Shalom. Proclaim in the time of the names. Change the secret and complete the sublime secret.

Heh rises up and Heh descends. Reach the unity of Heh. One in the center and much glory, Beth rises up and Beth descends. Reach in the center of the ladder of unity.

When reaching to wisdom, bring support to possess love of the Lord, the secret of the divided name, of the existence, the beginning strength of every host of the Lord. Of power and the secret offering [Qorben], man offers the beasts. Man makes the offering of the beast in secret.

Of the face of the bull, cover the purity of the Cherub, from the bird, the purity of the names. Of the bones in the beast, be in purity. Of secret purification in water, be purified from remission. The image of the land remains, as measures in the sea. Of mercy, thus all remission remains of the image of the lands. Go forth from every remission. Thus, remission is purification.

From the flock, offer the sacrifice. It is written, make the offering by the house of mercy, the dwelling of the hidden secret. The bird is profane [Tema]. Keep it hidden in secret. Do not remember the creatures to rise up, hidden and sealed up.

Reach the highest and lowest. Do not begin the name by 13 measures of strengths, and not in the shape of a circle. For the sake of the name, the 13 provinces are diagonal.[8] The seven foundations are around.

The word is indicated by Moses speaking. At this time, increase the power. Bind and complete 613 [Theryieg] commandments by the full name.

[8]See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 5:2 and 6:1.

The highest name is from the name of the wheel. All 72 bridges [Geshriem] are of 72 names of wondrous actions. This is the beginning.

OHO—Guide [Moreh] the great name. The glory binds the image of four powers. Be guided in perfection [Keleloth]. By tithings, be adorned of beauty. Proclaim the Lord and speak, blessed is he. The abundance descends to the temple of (Hebrew: IHOH). From the name, descend to all the universe.

ILI—The Lord indicates the highest blessing. Rise up to the highest compassion. The perfection is complete. Therefore, from it, the strength of the highest strength. Cover the blessing and images of four powers. Guide by the word (Hebrew: OAaZABH). It is the ancient of all ancients [Qedemon Lekel Qedemon]. Bind the image, guided by the word.

SIT—Guide the greatest compassion. Be complete by it. Justice and righteousness is in the living Earth. Bind three powers guided by the word and image. The powers of the Lord support Beth and Beth is in the middle. The Shekinah is in the center dwelling. There are five of them. Seven guide in the place of living in victory. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), live and exist in victory.

AaLM—Guide by the second existing. Being in the place, complete Yod Heh Yod. Sublime in the highest judgment, understand all judgment. The image of seven powers join to guide all understanding. (Hebrew: OAaZABH) sees authority by making judgment in Egypt, with three scriptures from them all. The foundation binds Yesod. Adorn in splendor by the highest beauty in the center. They guide over the word.

MHSh—Guide the four secret houses in prayer. Reach to the Lord in the highest light, concealed and bound. Be guided to adorn. (Hebrew: ThTh ThThA). In the center is the Heh. Complete the prayers. Of Shin, the image guide between the vestment of the priest. Guide by the word (Hebrew: OAaABH). By the power of victory, the Heh is the image of the Lord. Reach in righteousness to the fathers by them.

LLH—Guide the Merkabah. Of the Merkabah of unity in two secrets, rise up and bind beauty, beauty of the greatest compassion. Reach to the unity of one. The image of six powers is guided by the word (Hebrew: OAaZABH). Create the universe in compassion by the ten commandments. From the commandment, reveal the one brother. Support to understand the word.

AKA—Guide in the foundation, all the souls [Neshemoth] and the Sabbaths. By the sign of living in victory, reach the Neshemeh. Of the name, bind to guide three sephiroth. Guide by the three vowels, Cholem, Shoreq, and Chireq. The image of seven powers guide to reach in the middle. (Hebrew: OAaZABH) guides to atonement in a quiet moment. Of life and death, understand the power of the actions by measures and thus complete.

KHTh—Guide as the Lord of the action [Ba'al Hepha'avoleh] speaks. The image of five powers guides. Complete by Yod. Of the understanding of vestments, and also the images coming forth from the Torah, support to understand and rise over the rewards of the righteous. Of the righteous, (Hebrew: OAaZABH) speaks. Blessed is he. Of the covenant of Elohinu in heaven, is purity by the highest wisdom.

HZI—Guide to unity. Reach by mercy. (Hebrew: OAaZABH.) The Lord over all the heights and over the measures. The image of four powers guides by the word in unity. Bind the Heh by Yod. Guide and lead by the word of enlightenment. The Yod rises up to the Lord. Both are in victory of the unity of one.

ALD—Guide the Merkabah. Of Merkabah, Aleph adorns (Hebrew: OAaZABH). Rise up and bind three powers, mercy and beauty of the highest beauty, by understanding six images of crowns, the beauty of one.

LAO—Guide by the second actions received from the understanding (Hebrew: OAaZABH). The Yod rises up. Judge in Egypt from the place of the governing dominion. The image of six powers supports the Aleph. Guide by the word. Bind in unity.

HHAa—Guide the Lord of the action. Bind to guide as 20 actions.

IZL—Guide the Yod by the great name in the power of victory. The image of four powers guides by the word. (Hebrew: OAaZABH.) By Yod, all actions. By desire of all powers of the wheel and angel. By the power of victory, bind to guide by two actions, the dominions in every power by the power victory.

MBH—Guide the great name, the name of power by 70. Proclaim unity. Of the image of six powers, guide by six ends and by the word (Hebrew: OAaZABH). The power of God sends forth to Moses by the power and the glory. Bind beauty by wisdom in the crown. In every word is one and the one power. Extend the powers to understand the power of the actions.

HRI—Guide the name of the unity. Bind all by the Yod. Bind three powers of the one word. Proclaim the living Earth. Reach and the image of four powers guides by the word (Hebrew: OAaZABH) by the highest one.

HQM—Guide by two actions. By Yod, the diagonal border. Swear an oath by them and bind to the crown. Reach the understanding, and (Hebrew: OThTh) [a reference to the letter Tau] guides over the word. The image of six powers guide by the understanding of the oath. Of two actions (Hebrew: OAaZABH). Remember the Lord by the name.

LAO—Guide three in beauty. Of the image of six powers, the crown. (Hebrew: Th"Th) reaches the beauty between two wisdoms. Speak from between two Cherubim. By the word (Hebrew: OThTh), complete all. All are divided in three holy things. (Hebrew: OAaZABH) guides by the holy words of degrees. Bind the one name to them.

KLI—Guide by the name. Complete the four gates of the highest universe. (Hebrew: OAaZABH) completes in compassion. The image of four powers guide by the word. Bind the crown of beauty. Of wisdom, guide by all understanding.

LOO—Guide by the commandment. The power of the oath by the Yod. The image guides, thus engraving in twelve signs of the zodiac of Israel.

PHL—Guide by two actions. In the midst is (Hebrew: OAaZABH). The compassion of the Lord is eternal. Follow them in the midst and bind to guide. The image of six powers guides the crown. Reach and bind in mercy and compassion. Bring near the highest.

NLK—Guide by the great name. The oath is in the power of the staff of Moses, of the power of actions of marvelous deeds. Bind to guide from the understanding of two. The image of powers guide by the word. This is received from that. From the midst, the actions go forth remembered.

III—Guide by three secrets of three vowels. Of the unity of (Hebrew: AHIH). The highest path is a line in the center until the Yod. Reach in the three places. (Hebrew: OAaZABH) follows the highest. Reach the resting place in the universe. Make the oath to all the nation by the ram's horn. Of one power, indicate the power of the universe. Bind to guide thus and also the image thus.

MLH—Guide by two actions. All the wheel below rises to every one power. Of the unity of one, thus the father [Abeh]. Bind to guide. The image of six powers guides. The daughter [Beth] becomes the mother [Ameh].

HHO—Guide by four foundations below the Yod. From the power, (Hebrew: HTh"Th OAaZABH). From the power of four foundations, bind to guide by measures. Aaron comes near over the hand of the Lord. Follow in beauty. The image of five powers guide by the word, and by all understanding.

NThH—Guide man from the domain of suffering by the strength of Hethokesh [the battles] (or Hethophesh).[9] Of the universe, reach in righteousness. In righteousness (Hebrew: OAaZABH), complete by two measures and bind to guide thus. The image of five powers guides. In secret, the souls [Neshemoth] go forth from the understanding, in regions in the domain of righteous nations. Speak for the sake of the great strength and bind them with (Hebrew: HTh"Th).

[9]This note is in parentheses in the Hebrew text. This term translates as "to catch" or "seize."

HAA—Guide by three measures. Complete the name (Hebrew: AHH). Complete (Hebrew: OShABH) by the power of Aleph. Measure one and bind to guide by Vau. Complete them. The image of eight powers guide by the word. All complete by Jacob. Of images of mercy and truth, understand the secret images. Complete the highest, beginning and ending of understanding the secret of the glory.

IRTh—Guide by completing the moving. Do not move from the place of victory. (Hebrew: OAaZABH.) In unity, establish forever. Bind to guide as 20 measures. Receive this from that until becoming afraid. The image guides all, bound by Yod. Bow down in fear. Do not move from victory.

ShAH—Guide by victory in beauty. By the power of action in Egypt. The middle of degrees (Hebrew: OAaZABH) goes forth to judge in Egypt. The seven bind therein. When passing forth in Egypt, to smite. Bind to guide by the word and image of nine powers. The actions complete in the midst of Egypt. Understand the actions.

RII—Guide by the letters of the sephiroth. Go forth from the star. The understanding of the wisdom of (Hebrew: OAaZABH) is the last wisdom. Bind to guide thus. The image of three powers guide by possessing wisdom of the highest wisdom.

AOM—Guide by two actions. Proclaim the name of one. The foundation is in the midst. Also, of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), righteousness is the foundation of the universe. Bind to guide thus. The image of six powers guides to six ends.

LKK—Guide by throne. Of the one throne (Hebrew: OAaZABH), is the horseman over the fathers. Bind to guide to the crown between the wisdom and understanding. The image of five powers reaches to beauty. (Hebrew: OChT BRCh DPIS.)

OShR—Guide by establishing the oath. In the end, reach thus of one. Of the Lord of the qabalah [Ba'al Haqebleh, or Lord of the receiving], bind to guide thus. The image of six powers guides by the word.

IHO—Guide by two actions from the six. Of the unity of one, the Lord speaks. Bind to guide thus and in all the dwellings. The image

of four powers guides by two luminaries. Of the secret of two actions, bind by this.

LHCh—Guide by two lives [Hoyivoth]. In the place of Chokmah and Binah is abundance by Yod in the place of the highest man. Bind to guide in understanding of abundance by Yod. The image of the powers guide by the word.

KOQ—Guide by the name of the judgment of the one power. Bind to guide (Hebrew: BAaTRTh) as Tiphareth and Binah. The image of eight powers guides in the kingdom. Reach the understanding. By two actions, understand the power of the actions.

MND—Guide as Moses rises up to the heights. Reveal to bind by the image of Binah. Actions of mercy are by two actions of abundance.

ANI—Guide by the word. The Yod is of life. Complete the Yod. Of fifty gates (Hebrew: OAaZABH) of the holiness above. Bind by the Tau and the Yod [Hebrew: ThTh OIOD]. Reach in understanding. The image of five powers guide by the word.

ChAaM—Guide by the power of the powers of hosts. The Moon [Lebeneh] is in twelve tribes of Israel. The Tau [HThTh] is between two measures of Aleph. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH) engrave the name, all from it and therein. Bind to guide by all understanding. The image of seven powers guide by the word.

RHAa—Guide by the Yod. The horseman in the evening is over the Yod. The lives of the Seraphim and A'anephiem are all below and hidden.[10] All Merkabah of Yod and all of Tau. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH). The name of four is over all. Bind and the image guides by the word.

IIZ—Guide by twenty-two letters of Merkabah, of one and eight of eight [LA' OCh' LCh']. After, experience the power of (Hebrew: OAaZABH) in eight measures and eight following. Bind two wisdoms by victory. Guide by the word and image thus.

[10]A'anephiem translates literally as "branches," but probably refers to Ophanim.

HHH—Guide by Binah, of Geborah and the crown. From the living power of the crown, bind thus. The image guides by Chesed, of the six powers.

MIK—Guide by three works of the wheel, angel, and vestment. Of Yod and the throne of Yod, the power of the A'anephiem is over (Hebrew: ZABH). Of the highest, complete all by Yod. Bind the name of the unity over all. The image of four powers guides. Understand the power of the actions.

OOL—Guide by two actions and the name of 42. Rise in unity. Proclaim the foundation of the universe. The twelve borders are slanted. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), by Yod Heh is the name over the holy temple. Bind the image to guide by the word.

ILH—Guide by rising up. (Hebrew: OThThAH.) Of wisdom over (Hebrew: ZABH), five measures of thirteen measures. Four are of compassion and mercy. The fifth is complete by Heh Yod Vau. Bind thus to guide. Of the image of five powers, five receive to complete.

SAL—Guide by the Malachim, Asethrial, Aderial, Sandalphon. Of the three palaces in ten sephiroth. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH) by the power of three letters. Of the chariots of the worlds, the highest power and the highest compassion. The three complete. Bind three times. (Hebrew: OThPA.) Of the unity of Aleph and the image of seven powers.

AaRI—Guide by the crown of seventy degrees. The powers cast down all the branches. The powers are all cast down until the ten are holy in the name of the glory. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), the Yod is holy. Complete to multiply [double]. The tenth multiply by all and combine. Bind to guide. The image of five powers guides by the word.

AaShL—Guide by the crown. Establish the oath. The hosts of the Moon in thirteen borders slanted. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), seal the arch. Establish the earth. Bind and the image of nine powers guide by the word in secret.

MIH—Guide by two actions of one unity. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), do not reveal the hidden name of Moses. Bind Tau of the Yod with the crown. The image of five powers guides. Receive in secret.

OHO—Guide by three. Divide three. The end is fixed. Begin the unity of one. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), the secret of Heh follows the name. By the division of three following, bind all. Understanding of unity is from the Yod of the crown. The image of four powers guides the word. From that, understand.

DNI—Guide by the root of three names of the crown. Three letters triple. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), the root of the name is Yod Heh Vau. By three holy things, the letters rise up. Bind to guide thus. The image of five powers guide all the unity of Aleph.

HChSh—Guide by the foundation of understanding. By the name, all is complete by Yod. Of (Hebrew: OAaZAB"H), the three complete all, in victory rising up. Bind to guide by the word. The image of eight powers guides by all understanding.

AaMM—Guide by the branch of the tree, from the Yod and from the five powers of all. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), the branches of the tree, the power of wheels and planets are from the power of the keys. Bind to rise up. Bind one in the foundation. The image of seven powers guides by the word.

NNA—Guide by the foundation. The secret of four powers is the power of the living blessings. The powers of marvelous deeds go forth from the motion after the wisdom. All is made known by wisdom in 100 days of the highest glory and unity of one, therefore concealed and unknown as (Hebrew: OAaZABH). Of the highest powers, praised is the name. Of every day, by 100 kinds of powers, establish 100 blessings of Israel. Bind and the image of five powers guides by the word.

NITh—Guide by the secret of (Hebrew: HThIO). The dominion is destroyed. Of the blessing over Israel of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), of Tzaddiq, by the power of Yod, reveal the eternal name. All is sealed as one. Bind to guide thus. The image of four powers guides. The unity is complete.

MBH—Guide by the power of the crown with the hosts of the Lord. All from the images of man. (Hebrew: OAaZABH) commands to descend in the midst of man. The universe is diminished. Bind to guide by all unity of one. The image of six powers guides the Yod and completes by Heh.

POI—Guide by the strength and glory of the action in Egypt. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), consider the ten plagues as ten commandments. Bind in the midst of the temple. Bind two actions. The image of four powers guides by the word. Extend the powers to understand the actions.

NMM - Guide by the light of the Moon and by the warmth of the Sun. Two reach by Nun. Thus the Shekinah exists. Appoint the rows [Shoreh Bezemen] and release Israel. By the ram's horn, reach the unity above. Speak of the holy, the Nun of the holy crown. Bind to guide by two luminaries. Bind by the ram's horn. The image of eight powers guides. In the end, release the ram's horn.

IIL—Guide by raising up the Yod over all created. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), rise up the sign of power over all. Bind to guide over the understanding. Conceal the unity of one. The image of four powers guides by the word.

HRCh—Guide by unity. Thus (Hebrew: ABH) binds to guide the living Earth. Complete the understanding. The image of five powers is complete by all.

MTzR—Guide as these two names. Change the actions before the place. The name goes forth. Of the image in the secret time of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), of every one, do not change any and diminish. Guide thus by the beauty of the crown by Binah. The image of five powers is of the abundance. Complete by Yod.

OMB—Guide by four powers of the name, by 22 boundaries around the day of the illumination and the night. (Hebrew: OAaZABH) leads from east to west. Of the unity of one, bind to guide thus. Of the image of five powers, all is secret. The Yod completes.

IHH—Guide by the unity. The unity is with the crown. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), the secret is the Heh. Take the universe from what is received. Bind to guide thus. The image of five powers guides all by the Yod.

AaNO—Guide the sound of the highest assembly in Israel. From the rest, these also unite the lives. Reach and complete the highest and also the lowest. The outer branches extend. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), guide by scattering the languages. Bind to guide by the word and image of five powers. All is complete by the crown (Hebrew: BAaTRH). In the midst, understand the power of the actions.

MChI—Guide the two most holy assemblies of Israel. Reach to the highest in unity. Of unity, Aleph is highest. In the lowlands, bind the tabernacle of (Hebrew: OAaZABH). In order to be darkened by one power, bind one. Bind to guide the secret of two actions. Of all understanding, the image of five powers guides. All is complete by the strength of desire.

DMB—Guide seven lamps from the beauty. Of seven by the crown (Hebrew: OAaZABH). The name illuminates seven above and thus below seven. Of the righteous seven, bind thus to guide. The image of five powers guides. All is complete by Yod.

MNQ—Guide by the name of four that measures two around. Of beauty, thus two classes of Malachim. Of power around the crown, proclaim the Tree of Life grows in Jerusalem. Reveal (Hebrew: OAaZABH). Of the abundance in the Garden of Eden, the highest power binds to guide. By understanding, complete this by that of one power. The image of five powers guides. All is complete by the crown.

AIAa—Guide by two actions. Change Moses in the secret image alone. Do not see the Nephesh in highest Jerusalem and in lowest Jerusalem. Seek after from the highest to highest. See the highest, and receive. Do not receive for the sake of the highest and sublime secret of (Hebrew: OAaZABH). By the name, petition to come to Earth. Do not listen. Bind to guide by beauty. The crown over 70 judgments is the secret of the sublime mysteries. Do not come to Earth. The image of six powers guides by the word.

ChBO—Guide in unity complete. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), also bind to one. The image of five powers guides by the word.

RAH—Guide over eight names. The seven release to indicate correspondence to seven names. Of the name of 42, by the Heh complete all by the ram's horn. Of (Hebrew: OAaZABH), calculate the eight sephiroth. Bring forth in the period of the Sabbath. Thus

bind this to that until the beginning place. Bind to guide thus. The image of six powers guides to complete the ends.

IBM—Guide by the crown. By the power of the beauty, reach to the power after. (Hebrew: OAaZABH) indicates the measure following to complete all. Bind to guide by the word. The image of five powers guide by the word. All is complete by Yod.

HII—Guide to indicate every secret of creation [Beriyah, or cosmos] and the secret of ten sephiroth. By the secret of three most holy, every one guides ten. Consider the resemblance to the house of the Lord. In the temple, speak Yod is over Yod and Yod. Three complete. Consider the secret of the sephiroth, of the divine emanations and three highest mediums. Of three mediums, it is indicated in the Torah, three follow every commandment. Of every commandment and every Sabbath, complete all. Go forth on every secret path of the names. It is decreed, go forth and complete in the foundation. At that time, proclaim the foundation of Binah. All dwell on the Earth. Proclaim to go forth from Egypt, the highest in night and day. The lives reach to the strength. Complete by Aleph in secret in three days. From the name of three is the highest and most sublime secret. Every secret reveals (Hebrew: OAaZABH). Speak of the God of the children of Israel [El Beni Israel]. The secret name is remembered from generation to generation, all the written name. Bind to guide on the path. The image of the four most glorious powers guides by the most holy and by all understanding.

MOM—Guide by completing two actions. By all of them (Hebrew: OAaZABH) is the beginning. End by the power of compassion. Every one is combined by six ends of the everlasting temples and the two actions of power. Speak, you are in the highest heavens and you are in the highest Earth. Bind to guide thus. By the image of Moses, complete therein all and all therein.

This is the secret Shem Hemaphorash complete. It is sublime and hidden, divided in secret. Proclaimed therein is every secret of heaven and Earth, and of every action occurring from the power. Bind by the image of wisdom, by the power of every name.

Of the Shem Hemaphorash, the secrets are proclaimed and explained by every name of most glorious powers, sublime and highest. Complete by the power of understanding.

The corrected doctrine is the trodden path [Nethiebethieh, may also refer to ways of life or customs of the Lord]. Proclaim to reach in fifty days, of fifty gates most glorious. In seven Sabbaths, complete the holy power of Nephesh [Kech Qodesh Nephesh]. Of every one, all is complete by the power of the secret of two actions. Complete the Yod.

Reach the powers of a thousand paths divided. Of the most holy Malachim. Of every planet and wheel and firmament. Of every prince and magistrate and the innermost and outermost powers.

In purity, be far from the highest classes of most glorious divisions. This from that, man over host and man over banner. Of the most glorious names, all are by one power. Of 72 names, change and bind by images. Calculate every letter.

The power and image are of the highest and most glorious powers. Of 22 letters, most glorious and highest. Consider the impressions of Aleph. The images are complete by the most glorious and hidden powers, concealed and sealed up as the gate of power.

There are fifty inner of fifty highest days, hidden in secret, of the thorn of Yod, sublime by the secret praise of the Lord [Hallelujah]. From the name emanates understanding. Binah goes forth in the light of all highest images. All follow the vessel of purification [Keli Hemetehereh]. The holy power is hidden by Binah. The fifty are complete. Bind every image by image and every power by power. The power of the five images are bound by the secret of Heh. After, bind the images. Engrave the throne of the glory. Every one is in place around the throne. The name of the glory and honor is engraved therein.

Of all divine emanations, every power and action is of all Elohim created. After, by the power and the action of every power, the highest action is of all hosts of the heavens and the Earth. Of the highest power and the highest decree and order and command and word and proclamation. All decrees come from the power of the letters.

Of the fortifications of foundations, engrave the throne, high and lofty. Rise up by the engravings around the throne. Proclaim A'areboth [a metaphor for heaven, translates literally as evenings or deserts] and all therein. It is written (Hebrew: BMSKH ChGINH AaRBOTh).

The hidden name of righteousness and justice is blessed. Of living in peace, of living and dying, of the powers of souls [Neshemoth]. Proclaim the throne of glory. Proclaim heaven receives from the crown of beauty. Therefore, therein are the great treasures of the souls of the rightous ones.

Complete ten sephiroth in three palaces before three divisions of the sephiroth. The palace of Malachim is in the Garden of Eden. The universe comes forth from the holy temple. In the palace, hidden in the images of the name of Seraphim and Chiyoth.

The holy letters around the throne are engraved in the holy dwelling. Proclaim by the name. Heaven receives from the crown. All is complete therein by the crown.

In the throne of the Lord, the name is all figures and images. All was created by Elohim. Divide three hosts and palaces before the palace of the Lord. Of the holy palace, all therein proclaim the dwelling. Speak, cover the holy dwelling of the heavens. Bless you, the people of Israel. From the name comes the blessing.

Also, every word of the throne of the Lord is of these two letters. The highest are engraved in the throne of glory. Heh indicates to complete the Aleph following.

Of the name of everlasting power, experience the word by utterance. Thus the 26 letters are concealed around the engraving of the throne. Two conceal most glorious powers. Give power and the image is complete. Of Yod and Vau, two names of every one.

Of every secret of the sephiroth. Of the trodden paths and the Sabbaths. Of every sublime and hidden secret. Of the fire of Ruoch [Ash Voruoch], reach this by that. Of every power and angel and highest prince, all are of one power and one image. Complete all by the one image of the highest glory of two letters, Yod and Vau.

Proclaim Aleph is first. Give power of the image. Bind the letters. Therein is the secret of the sephiroth, the most holy of six ends. All highest and lowest. Of the four gates of the universe, of the vessel, proclaim the secret of ten sephiroth and 22 most glorious letters. The secret of two is 32 most glorious trodden paths, hidden by wisdom. By the thorn of Yod and the chamber of seas [Imiem], highest and hidden.

Proclaim the praise of the Lord. Man is happy to revere the Lord. Keep the Nephesh, as much comes to the path of El. Do not receive much strength by every word and every letter of the image

and most glorious power. Reach the name by the direct path and by the goodness of qabalah.

Thus proclaim the angel Elohim is living. Be prosperous and wise. Souls reach by the living Ruoch of Elohim. Nephesh is pure and holy. Thus reveal the secret of the Lord. The glory of the division of secrets, of all actions and powers, speak above. By desire, bring forth exaltation. Know the name to proclaim and be answered by the strength. In salvation, the glory of light is in the days of adjuration. See by salvation. Blessed is the Lord of the universe, amen, amen.

BOOK THREE

PART 2

THE GEMARAH [COMMENTARY]

FROM HEAVEN, ELOHIM LOOKS UPON THE SON OF MAN [Beni Adam], who is seen to possess intelligence. You seek to know when to praise Elohim. Of the praise is enlightenment. Know the sign and the strength of the word over the earth.

Make an oath to the Lord by the right side and by the strength of the arm. Speak in the name thereof. Make an oath by the secret of the word until the scriptures reveal the word. Therein is great strength. Be favored, and speak (Hebrew: AAA HAAa AGO IHO IAaB MOB). How great you are and great is the name.

Be covered by the strength of the right side of the Lord. By the power of the right side of the Lord, crush the enemy. Rise up to the right side of the Lord. Create strength in your arm with the strength. Strengthen the hand. Rise up to the right side. Speak, be covered by the highest holy name. Rise up to the highest. Speak, El is high and lofty. Exalt in the dwelling unto every miracle.

Speak of the high and lofty. Provoke wonder by great miracles. Of the sublime glory, rise up by the most holy and great secret. Speak and reveal the mystery of the strength. Speak of all created by the Lord Elohim. The word reveals the secret.

El serves the prophets. The name reveals the secret of the glory. The unknown glory is of the strength. The most sublime secret of the most holy Seraphim and Aophanim, the holy angel and every host of heaven. In terror and fear, serve Earth and heaven. Tremble to hear the name. The name of the Lord of hosts.

Of the Cherubim, see the glory of Elohim living. By speaking the name of strength, reveal the truth. The name reveals the secret strength. Of the name, man is faithful, worthy, and humble. Speak

in every house of the faithful. Speak of the secret as the hand over the throne of Yod Heh. Speak to build the house for me and rest in the place.

All is created by Yod Heh. Draw the hand over the highest image. It is written, be at the hand of the Lord and praise the Lord. Proclaim above the name of the Lord. Do not extend the depth in the depths of the great ocean. Speak of the great ocean and sea. Receive by the image of the Alpha Beta (Hebrew: HALPO BIThA). Thus understand the great mystery. Being devoted to God is the great wisdom.

The splendor is of the most ancient wisdom, the secret of the name of the strength. It is written, the Garden is barred and sealed from eyes.

The wisdom comes forth by understanding of the first and the second. First is Yod Heh and second is Vau Heh. Here is Yod Heh Vau Heh. Of the holy name, it is said there is nothing to compare.

Elohim created by the power and the action. The action goes forth from the power. Speak not of the covenant of day and night. It is decreed of heaven and Earth. There is no second to the action.

All go forth to the one name the Lord proclaims. The secret of the word is divinity [Alehothov] and unity and existence. The secret of the book is truth. The strength of the name divides the division of strength rising in degrees. What is above is as below. Speak and make to establish the temple.

Of the temple above, speak to the Lord high and lofty. Exalt as before. The Vau of the pillars of the foundation divide. It is void [Behov] over the foundation. Divide the dwelling [Bonien]. Above the Vau of the pillars, all is high over the heights. Of the holy temple of degrees, the holy are inside. Go forth from the power of El.

The action below is of the action of actions [Pa'avol Hapova'aliem], the most perfect, the most righteous, and the most complete of unknown secrets. Seal them up by the offerings. The burnt offerings, peace offerings, and sacrifices are in order for atonement of man.

Of the lower action, thus place the desire of desires. The action is the power to give. Of the Ruoch of El, Elohim gives.

In every place, one is in the day as the Lord is one. The name is one, being the name of four letters. Complete the name Yod Heh.

Figure 7. Talisman of the Shem Hemaphorash. This talisman, known also as a "magic square," shows the name MPRSh IHOH divided. This may be translated as "division of God," as MPRSh translates literally as "divided," and IHOH is the holy name of God, sometimes called the Tetragrammaton, or the divided name of God. Tr. Note.

Let it be so as Vau Heh. Regard as Vau Heh rising Koph Aleph added therein.[1] Heh completes the name by the power of Yod Heh.

It is written of Yod Heh, Heh is the eternal image. Heh indicates the Cheth. Of Binah, Geborah, Malkuth, three of three measures after the action of Vau Heh.

It is written, when not making the covenant, be not without. It is also written, rise over to proclaim A'atzem [power]. Every letter of A'atzeemov is as five times Yod Heh. The Heh rises upward. Thus all are divided by Heh. Of Heh, creation of the lower. By Heh, create the pillar by the strength of the Creator, blessed is he. Speak the name A'atzem.

Yod Heh Vau is already divided in the place. By the secret of ten signs and ten sephiroth, proclaim the divisions in the wheel of 72.

It is written of salvation, measure five. Speak of love [DOD, or David]. Salvation measures five. Speak of the light in days. Swear an oath and revere (Hebrew: I IH IHO IHOH). Go forth from the name of 70.

[1]This has a Gematria of twenty-one.

Of the aged man, all the congregation completes the most holy. Write (Hebrew: IHOH).

In every name is one. By the power and strength of one, man rises above the side. The light goes forth by the one. The king is after the image and the memorial is below. Go forth to the light of splendor. Of the power of the most holy name, images rise up to complete. It is written, pass before complete. Of Heh in the beginning, here proclaim the beginning.

OHO—The image (Hebrew: ODIO) guides over (Hebrew: YHVH) and over (Hebrew: OOI). The pillars over (Hebrew: OII) is in the beginning.

IIA—The image (Hebrew: IKOI) guides with the letters of the name (Hebrew: AHIH), the name of the strength and the power.

SIT—The image (Hebrew: KOIT) guides (Hebrew: KO) and the letters of (Hebrew: AHIH) second.

AaLM—The image (Hebrew: AaM AaKO KO) guides two lives [Hoyivoth, may refer to desires or breaths] by the sublime and holy seventy names.

MHSh—The image (Hebrew: KO DI OSh) is in memorial of the rainbow [arch], however guide over as it is spoken in the scriptures (Hebrew: BAL ShDI) [by Almighty God], and the name of the Lord.

LLH—The image (Hebrew: KO KO DI) guides over the four spirits of the world, created by the ten commandments with the powers by lives.

AKA—Here is the most holy name. Make the oath. Prepare to come forth by the seal (Hebrew: BAKA). Speak only on the tenth of the month, not thus, but (Hebrew: AKA). Rest in the place and receive atonement by the purity of souls. The most pure prepare to come forth in the world by the image of the two names of power [A'atzem] and the letter of the name of power.

KHTh—The image (Hebrew: KDIDO) guides the 32 paths of wisdom. Of the two tablets of the Decalogue [The Ten Commandments], thus in heaven. Below, remember the secret of life.

HZI—The image (Hebrew: DIDO) guides (Hebrew: KO). The one after completes the high and lofty. Guide El high and lofty, and exalt.

ALD—The image (Hebrew: KO ChOD) guides the two lives and the four wheels of the chariot.

LAO—The image (Hebrew: KO KOO) guides (Hebrew: HA). The name of the dominion is in the group above. The second is in the group. The temple corresponds to the temple and the ends of the universe.

HHAa—The image (Hebrew: DI DIAa) guides by the name of power. It is divided by the name of 72 engraved over the brow of Aaron. Thus El comes forth, the most holy holiness [Qedesh Heqedeshiem].

IZL—The image (Hebrew: IZKO) guides the sublime name of the Lord over the ten wheels [Gelgeliem] holding dominion in seven firmaments. Therein are thrones and hosts.

MBH—The image (Hebrew: KDODI) is of the great prince. The Lord proclaims of (Hebrew: DODI), speak (Hebrew: DODI TzCh OADOM). Raise the banner [Degol] over the holy Merkabah and (Hebrew: IHOH) with two letters.

HRI—The image (Hebrew: DIDO) lacks the Teth. Divide by ten. On the Sabbaths, bind the signs above. After sublime alone.

HQM—The image (Hebrew: DIKOM) guides the power. Divide twelve stones being carvings by these holy names.

LAO—The image (Hebrew: KOKOO) guides the two lives. The six ends from (Hebrew: AIThI), most holy in the universe.

KLI—The image (Hebrew: KKOI) guides (Hebrew: KOKO). The Daleth is over the four gates of the universe.

LOO—The image (Hebrew: KOOO) guides. Engrave the twelve signs of the zodiac and the tribes of Israel. Of Yod Heh, the testimony of Israel.

PHL—The image guides the two lives by the name of (Hebrew: AHIH) with three letters of (Hebrew: AaTzM).

NLK—The image guides the power. Seventy names are engraved in the staff.

HI—Begin the oaths with (Hebrew: AHIH). By the power and strength of Moses and Isaiah, speak of hearing. Receive revelations by the name (Hebrew: AKA) engraved. Call upon the three most holy. The universe is served first by the ten commandments. One by the ten sephiroth, one by the ten miracles [Nephlavoth] of Egypt and by the secret of (Hebrew: AHIH).

MLH—The image (Hebrew: KO KO DI) is the name of the dominion in ten degrees. The name of the dominion is of seven tribes. The name of the wheel [Hemgelgel] is the sign of the great power.

ChHO—The image (Hebrew: DODIO) guides six and twenty of four foundations of the universe.

NThH—Of the image (Hebrew: NDODI), do not remember the images of five until here following to complete by praise. Of the foot, three are in the sole of the foot of the righteous. The Nephesh is in the universe. Mercy is the foundation of the universe. Begin below to correspond with abundance of the universe. The wheel guides the universe. Of the humble, mercy and righteousness. Consider the lacking of the Teth. Establish and change to correspond to the Aleph. Of the Aleph (Hebrew: QDSh OHThIO), the pillar of the temple. By the staff and the holy sign, guide all the universe in judgment. Speak as it is written of the mercy of the Lord of the universe. Until the world is of reverence and righteousness, guide by the name of the power. The power guides the name of 72 by the great strength.

HAA—Of the image (Hebrew: DI KO KO), the prayer for mercy of the righteous. In truth, the Lord El is compassionate by thirteen measures. Complete by the one power.

IRTh—The image (Hebrew: IRDO) guides the knowledge written above from (Hebrew: HThIO). The Yod delivers the name of (Hebrew: AHIH).

ShAH—The image (Hebrew: ShKODI) guides the name of compassion and the mighty name.

RII—Consider the beginning of the name of twenty and two signs. (Hebrew: AHIH OH) is in the beginning. In the beginning is the oath.

AOM—The image (Hebrew: KOO KO) is of two lives of the pillar. It is written, the pillar is the light of the universe and the foundation. Righteous is the foundation of the universe.

LKB—The image (Hebrew: KOKOD) guides two lives and guides the chariots of the fathers.

OShR—Of the image (Hebrew: OIIR), here is mystery. Three Yods correspond to the three first fathers. The rainbow is below. Of the rainbow of Noah, make a covenant of earth. Prepare to establish it. You sow the earth. Thus, it is also written of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

IHO—Of the image (Hebrew: IDIO), the name of the angel (Hebrew: IHO) is as Tarshith in the images of gold in flame. It is written, the gold ring of the hand is set in Tarshish. Thus also, guide the name of twenty and six.

LHCh—Of the image (Hebrew: KO DI DO), all the actions of the name Metatron. Proclaim the name (Hebrew: DODI). Descend to the garden of the humble. With two letters, also guide two lives.

KOQ—The image (Hebrew: KO KO) guides the name of the power, divided by seventy names.

MND—The image (Hebrew: KOND) indicates fifty from the palace. When receiving one from the fifty, the name is in the midst of the four being five remaining from nine gates of understanding. Want little from Elohim in the lives of five decades. Of the most holy fire, guide by the name of the power, by the name (Hebrew: AKA) and 32 paths of wisdom.

ANI—The image (Hebrew: KONI) guides by the name (Hebrew: ADNI). With the Daleth of (Hebrew: DNI) and with the Aleph of (Hebrew: ANI [which translates as the pronoun "I"]), here is ADNI, as divided in the place.

ChAaM—Of the image (Hebrew: DOAaKO), the name of 70 is engraved by the name of twelve tribes of Israel. Unite the sublime name alone and establish the two Cherubim.

HHAa—Of the image (Hebrew: RDIAa AaDNI), dwell over the Merkabah of degrees. The assembly comes forth to complete the most holy. In the midst is (Hebrew: H' ADNI). Four are from the Merkabah. Seventy are actually with 70 of (Hebrew: ADNI). All unite that (Hebrew: ADNI) is over 70 nations and over 70 degrees of the horsemen of the Merkabah.

IIZ—The image (Hebrew: KO OA) is the name of 22 letters. (Hebrew: OHHA) indicates five measures of the name of 22 letters. Engrave them in the Torah.

HHH—The image (Hebrew: DI DIDI) guides the power of the name in unity. In great secret, the three divisions of three tenths, of three measures, thus half the name. With half of the one, complete the universe. Therein exists the word. Thus regard the image (Hebrew: IDID). Of the name, Vau faces it in secret and over the image (Hebrew: IHOH OIO).

MIK—The image (Hebrew: KOIK) guides with three tenths of the seal here. The Lord rises up. The holy of holies of the throne of glory. The foundation of the universe is divided below.

OOL—The image (Hebrew: OOKL) guides. The Lord dwells over. (Hebrew: OOI) serves the dominion in twelve orders. Speak, dwell in praise of Israel.

ILH—The image (Hebrew: IKODI) guides over two lives with mighty power [Chiel A'atzem]. Guide by five measures of the name. Of the true image, speak of all power.

SAL—The image (Hebrew: KO KO KO) is written in the palace of the Lord. The palace of the Lord. The palace of the Lord. Three times. The first is the mountains around Jerusalem. The second passes over. You face the Lord in the beginning. The third is the Lord El. Of the three palaces, engraved in the throne of the Lord, of the name Alpha Beta, there is a great secret. Speak, the Lord, the Lord El in compassion and mercy, three times in unity.

AaRI—Of the image (Hebrew: NGDI) is 70 degrees. The power of the wheels guides the name of 72. By them, the degrees and the power of ten wheels. Speak of the reverence of heaven, making fingers.

AaShL—Of the image (Hebrew: NGIOOL), come to remember the covenant of Noah. For the sake of three fathers, therein not to corrupt your universe anymore. It is written, remember your covenant. After, until the covenant of the rainbow, speak of the Earth. Remember the image of the name and consider (Hebrew: KO), of 72 names and one name over all horsemen.

MIH—The image (Hebrew: KRDI) is written (Hebrew: ANI) first and (Hebrew: ANI) last. In the beginning, serve the king. Face the Lord in the beginning. The name (Hebrew: IHOH) is divided in secret. Of the image, speak of the name of the Lord. It is not revealed to them. Reveal the name of the covenant [Shem Berich]. From the beginning of the covenant, regard (Hebrew: KO KO).

OHO—The image (Hebrew: ODIO) is in the beginning and in the end. Also (Hebrew: ANI) is first and (Hebrew: ANI) is last. Speak and see at this time. Of (Hebrew: ANI ANI), not serving at the feet of Elohim. Of the beginning (Hebrew: OHO), seal (Hebrew: HIH). Of the beginning (Hebrew: OHO), seal (Hebrew: MM). The secret of the first is as the last. Do not extend the most profound secret.

DNI—Of the image (Hebrew: AaTzMO), of the name of the Lord and of the nations above. Want from the one as wanting from (Hebrew: IHOH). Of the nations, the root of the power of all is the most holy name. The nations are over the great secret. Guide to the six ends of the universe. Above, want from the three. Three remain in order to come forth by the word. By the root of the image, be thus two lives. The two (Hebrew: OO"IN) are of six stalks [Qeniem] and six branches. The lives are divided in order to illuminate you in the splendor of the Shekinah of El, before the light of the candles rise up.

HChSh—Of the image (Hebrew: DIDOSh), the name of (Hebrew: ShDI). Of the Shin, the image guides to see three fathers. Speak, behold the God of Abraham, the God of Jacob, the God of Abraham. El Shaddai is the light of all the actions. Establish to speak

seven times. Seven cast candles are above the top. The sign leads over ten.

AaMM—The image (Hebrew: GN KO KO) guides two lives. Of the eyes of the prince, the angel of the most holy sign in every day. Bow down before the glory. It is written, all bow down before Elohim. The seven grades dwell in the beginning of the kingdom. The image guides by the name. Of the Lord, the power of Nepheshoth, the stars are divided by these princes.

NNA—The image (Hebrew: NNKO) guides to establish above. It is written, second is the Nun. Second is (Hebrew: QDSh). Of the twenty (Hebrew: QDOShH). Also the Aleph is firstborn [Bekor, or elder, birthright]. (Hebrew: QDSh.) Here is three most holy by the holy sign of one. Of the 100 blessings of Israel, be in prayer every day by the name. Blessed is it. It is written of the Lord Elohik, petition from the people. Be complete, proclaim what 100 are kept above. The king passes before the Lord in the beginning.

NThTh—Of the image (Hebrew: NIRZ), come forth to remember the powers of God. By the power of (Hebrew: HThIO), El created the universe pillar over pillar [A'amiedov A'al A'amod]. First speak, righteousness is the foundation of the universe. All the universe is in darkness until it is established. The pillar serves the universe by the light of (Hebrew: HThIO). The name of 26 is divided above. The light of the great Sun does not extend the grace of the name. The light of the Sun lights the foundation. (Hebrew: HThIO) is 26. Of the rest, speak of 60 powers around it. (Hebrew: LThIO.) The holy name goes forth from the scriptures. Reveal the blessing of Israel.

MBH—Of the image (Hebrew: KOKODI) is two lives with two letters of the name of Metatron. Proclaim the name (Hebrew: DODI). Speak (Hebrew: DODI) descends to the garden of the small universe.

POI—Of the image (Hebrew: KOII) is the name of the holy name by the ten words. See the strength in ten plagues coming over Egypt.

NMM—Of the image (Hebrew: NBOKO) is the unity of the two, the most holy over the highest holiness. Speak of the years, the fifty holy years in the holy period by the holy name.

IIL—Of the image (Hebrew: IIKO), the holy name establishes the throne of glory over ten wheels. Rise to the greatness by ten commandments. Speak of the throne of the heavens, and the Earth is the footstool. It is written of the dancing of the hosts [Mecholeth Mecheniem].

HRCh—Of the image (Hebrew: DIRDO), the Resh is lacking. Of the name of 26, speak of one who returns.

MTzR—Of the image (Hebrew: KO INR), of (Hebrew: ADNI) with the three signs of the name. Speak (Hebrew: IHOH ADNI) is the name of the host.

OMB—Of the image (Hebrew: KO ODO), the four foundations are divided. Of twelve signs of the zodiac, the power of the hours of the dominions in day and night.

IHH—Of the image (Hebrew: IDIDI), blessed is it. Of the most holy is strength by Yod Heh. From the name, revealed by the Heh, the truth of the name. The profound image is divided here. After is four of one truth. Of unity, do not speak of four to heal and not to prolong.

AaNO—The image (Hebrew: NGNO KO KO) is everlasting, the most holy sign and the strongest sign. The strongest sign is in merciful justice. One is over 70 languages and one of 24 facing. The universe is sustained by compassion. It is written, eight descend to complete the name of eight.

MChI—The image (Hebrew: KODO IM B B) is most holy, the most holy sign of the world. Of the secret of the Cherubim and the truth of the two most holy. Of these two classes, one class of Israel is below. Of the second class, the names are in abundance above the most holy sign of the world.

DMB—The image (Hebrew: DKODO KO DOD) is seven, by seven cast candles of the illumination.

MNQ—The image (Hebrew: KON KO) guides over the 50 hosts. By Nun, the angel princes journey by the message [Shelichoth] of

the everlasting name. The message is of 22 foundations of strength and power around the glory. Keep the glory of the throne. By the messages created, speak to make the angel spirits minister flames of fire. Keeping the flame is the cherub (Hebrew: HMThHPKTh) in the midst of the garden. The two guide by the name (Hebrew: AHIH). The letters of the image are divided. The power is over all.

AIAa—The image (Hebrew: KOING) guides by the two most glorious names. The righteous pray for mercy. Speak, the Lord Elohim of the hosts. Complete with two letters.

ChBO—Of the image above the gate, speak (Hebrew: ATh ALH GDOLH ADON.) [You are God, the great Lord.] Holy is the glory of the name of the universe forever. Of the one power, blessed is the name.

RAH—Of the image (Hebrew: KBOD), truth by the name. The prophet remembers names of strength and power. Proclaim the power over birth. Proclaim the name Phela. Counsel El by the strength of the father until ruling in peace by the name of the power. In visions is power from the strength and strength from power. Proclaim to see the prince of the strength of the Lord, including thoughts of the Lord. Of the vision before, guide to dwell over the holy one. The name of the strength is in the midst.

IBM—The image (Hebrew: DII) is the name of power guiding the horseman over ten wheels. Speak of the horseman rising up in the nights. The image guides to the temple between four great signs, as three tenths. The memorials above are by the number. (Hebrew: AHIH.) Speak (Hebrew: AHIH ZH AHIH N'). (Hebrew: AHIH) of the ten commandments of the Torah. (Hebrew: AHIH) of ten sephiroth. (Hebrew: AHIH) of ten plagues in Egypt and Lord of the qabala [Leba'ali Heqebleh]. Remember the sign by the name (Hebrew: AHIH). All the world trembles. Ten completes the Torah with ten commandments and with ten of Egypt. The truth therein suspends all. The earth trembles. Speak, and hear, after, the great sound of trembling. Remember the strength. Therein are the great secrets, according to the number of the name (Hebrew: AKA). Therein is the seventh secret, the sephiroth with the Aleph. Of the seven, the Lord is sublime. The Lord is one, alone in the day. It is written, the name is eternal. Remember it from generation to

generation. Therein seal the strongest and all the most holy. Of all commandments of the Torah and all the powers by them, as explained by the wise ones. Of the qabala, being (Hebrew: OHOH) It comes to pass, by the secret seal in ten commandments (Hebrew: OHOH). The seal of ten commandments and sealed in ten plagues forever and ever, over the order of wise men, the commandment of Gemoreh. Remember to go forth to Egypt in day and night. Speak in order to remember the day of deliverance. Pray until the Messiah comes in the world. Also, not to lengthen. It is hidden in secret and sealed. Of the Lord of the qabalah, indicate by hearing and from revelation.

HII—The image (Hebrew: DII) guides over three most holy. Every one from ten, and four over all.

MOM—The image (Hebrew: KOOKO) guides from the strength of unity. The strongest is beauty in truth. Seal by the two names of power. One is first and last. (Hebrew: ANI ANI OLA ALHIM.) Measure Aleph. Of the understanding of the Lord, the Vau indicates six ends. All are in them. They are east, west, north, south, above, and below, indicating six corners. The most holy sign is everlasting. Of the six ends the universe, speak of the king of Earth and all nations. Of the princes and every magistrate [Shopheti] of Earth. Of righteousness of Elohim until heights and from the magistrate of the great ocean.

Now complete by revealing to bind the image of the book. Consider the most holy qabala, received from the mouth by the strength of Moses from Sinai. It was handed down to Joshua, and from Joshua to the elders [Zeqoniem] and from the elders to the prophets [Nebiyayiem]. The prophets handed it down to the men of the great assembly [Kenneset, the parliament of Israel].

Of the Lord of wisdom, Lord of qabala, Lord of honor, Lord of glory, and Lord of understanding, speak of the secret of the Lord. Of reverence, treasure in the midst. Of the secrets of the Talmud, all the qabala is to Moses from Sinai. Do not interpret the doctrine. Do not draw out and do not cast out. When man understands wisdom, do not fill the stomach and consume meat.

El gathers in the garden and hands down the sign. Man understands the wisdom to revere Elohim. The secret is passed on to companions in order to establish knowledge and understanding.

Complete and open the eyes and heart as being upright. Regard the living light. Regard the ends of the path. Blessed is the name. Rise up from the power, most glorious and powerful, El in heaven created Earth. Inquire and thus understand.

The highest light shines in the eye. Of understanding, it is written, the light shines in darkness. The upright remember the knowledge of the purity and goodness. Dwell by the sign of the highest light. Speak therein of the lamp of the commandments. The Torah is light. Consider (Hebrew: OHI), the name in knowledge of the path. The upright understand the image. Bind from the holy book. Shout out the name of the glory.

The glory is divided by purification. In purity, happiness and wealth come forth. He is everlasting. He shall establish the name of heaven, thus reach to light. Knowledge comes from above with the light of the Malachim, the angel of the Lord of hosts.

The image is engraved in the throne. Of the high throne, the 22 letters of the Torah. The secret of (Hebrew: AHIH) and the light of every covenant. The angel is above. Israel is below. The one letter is engraved. It is written of the Totpheh between the eyes. Engrave in three palaces, the throne and the image. Of the image, the Alpha Beta is received by the Messiah from the mouth.

Of the strength, it is written, thus engrave in the throne. Examine by four signs. (Hebrew: BIH OHI.) Regard the power by Yod and the Vau, the two names of the holy power. Every one seeks alone of the power [La'atzemov].

Of the power of the two. (Hebrew: BIOD OIO.) The chosen name is by them, according to the power of strength. The greatest strength is by them alone, by the images of the strength. The first is fire and the second is Ruoch. It is written of the fire of Elohim and the Ruoch of Elohim, the Malachim are around the throne of the glory by fire and Ruoch. Speak to make the angels of Ruochoth ministering fire.

The two signs are of the strength of the images of the Creator. See the power of the actions. Explain it to people. Give to the people. The strength is in them alone.

Of the power of powers, do not receive, not the image, and not power, and not greatness. Do not move from the place. From the power, bind the holy image in the house of the king within [Beth Melek Pheniemeh]. By the great king and strength of holy glory, unite the people. Give great power of the holy image. All people

come after. The name is as the name of the Creator. Also, the power of the image of the Creator.

Speak to provide and support. Lead in measures of compassion and purity of life alone. Make the hand to adorn you in the temple of your kingdom. From worshipping you and from the power, the strength of the prayer of Moses. By you, the days are revealed. Petition the compassion before the strength. Thus speak in prayer. The Lord El is compassionate and merciful before the six ends of the temple. You are everlasting, in reverence and supplication thus before the most holy. That Beth is in the place, indicate to complete ten sephiroth.

Remember David. Understand to indicate the word and secret of the one Lord, great and strong. Complete ten as the division of the sign is received in the great secret. Of the written words before five, Moses remembers them. These six complete ten, as the prayer of Moses to the Lord Elohim.

Of the Lord El, and before the secret of the most holy three, that three is to six, as two to four. Understand the secret by the Lord Yeh, the everlasting image. The three secrets of three nations divided is over the secret of ten sephiroth of 22 letters of the Torah. Below is the king. Bind every one of the images, of the image and the 22 letters.

The food is on the table of the king. Receive every one of the images. Of the image above, nourishment of El. Of the glory, the king seeks. Pass over the king before. Heh begins as the name by the great name. Remember above, as the image divides power of the name of power. The power of the name is from the holy names and from the Shem Hemaphorash. Proclaim the name of 72, the Shem Hemaphorash, the power of the name of power.

All go to the one place, one of every one word. Therein is tranquility. In compassion, we are supported by salvation of the Neshemeh. Of understanding, reveal Nepheshinov. Serve you in the heart. Complete by Nephesh. Desire in fear and, in awe, exalt. Of Neshemeh, forgive iniquities by sin offerings. It is written, the Lord speaks, forgive and complete and return affliction and the highest compassion. It is written, you are compassionate. Of the mercy of the king, compassionate and merciful is he, in great goodness [Merbeh Lehetieb]. Blessed is the Lord of the universe, amen, amen.

BOOK THREE

PART 3

THE ACTIONS [HEPHA'AVOLOTH]

COME FORTH BY THE STRENGTH of the Lord Elohim. The righteous remember. Blessed is Elohim by the holy path. El is great as Elohim. Of Elohim, learn from youth until here showing marvelous deeds. Bind by strength.

Prepare the wise son [Beni Chekem] in the heart. The wise son rejoices in the heart at this time. The wise son admonishes you, as admonishing the man of the wisdom. Go forth on the path. The darkness covers the earth and fog obscures the lands. The Lord rises above.

Now the wise son is with the Lord Elohiek and opens the eyes. Remove all foreskin [A'arleh] from the heart, removed by all desire. In every period, cover with linen [Lebeniem]. Of sandals, raise the feet. In the place, Elohim enters.

Serve until the man comes to forsake El. Interpret and investigate every palace, lest consuming much grain. Make the battlement of the roof and cast down. Cast down from above the divine emanation. Of the holy man, chosen from people by the priests of the nation of Levites [Hebrew: LOIIK].

The Lord Elohiek chooses from every tribe. Seek and search by all desires. Draw near with the offering. The foreigner [Zer] does not consume and does not suffer, except in the heart by every Nephesh. The heart lives. Give the heart to El.

Now the wise son is pure. In the universe, revere Elohim and turn away from evil. See and understand. Place the heart in El. El is in heaven over all to come. Elohim is in judgment when the son lives and when making the guilt offering [Thashiemeni].

By the word of the oath, you lie down there and rest in thought. Be strong by the high priest [Hekehen Hegedol]. Of the friend from the nearest nation, of sacrifice or supplication, suspend the nation over the name.

Uphold the heart. Life is suspended in the dwelling, however, when turning around, receive visions. Regard the chosen and prophecies. All are most holy. Take the priest the wicker basket. Lie down before the altar of the Lord Elohiek.

Now the wise son is complete, fulfilled by all the word. You listen. Revere Elohim and keep your commandments. Revealed to you is the qabalah by the division of the name of the glory and honor. It is divided by powers and secrets, most wondrous and most powerful.

Of the holy Rabbi [Qedesh Rebienov] and Rabbi Ishma'ael in history, deliver therein. By the secret, understand the signs and the power and image and the actions from them, all in festivals and in hours and in times to reveal. When you are pure and upright, understand the word by wisdom concealed in the womb.

It is written upon the tablet of the heart of the innocent and pure. Understanding the purity, the glory of Elohim is the secret word, complete and revealed to you in answer. Change by the wisdom and power for him. Change wisdom and power for him and understand wisdom and power for him.

Complete the powers of the images, most wondrous and most powerful and most glorious. Come to enlightenment by purity of heart and being upright. Complete by praise in song, in music of victory. Rejoice in the heart. Consider the understanding to learn by them, over the beginning of beginnings and the ending of endings. Rise up without ladder and without degrees. Cast down. Establish those who are cast down.

Now listen to the wise son. Understand how to rise up, and how to come by the secret, and how to obtain power and actions of the light. When receiving them in the beginning, reach the end. Thus understand much. Examine and search the three original scriptures by the simple and plain meaning. Also, examine the concealed meanings. Also, examine the written words. Examine all the letters, every one for itself. Also, examine the changing of the understanding.

Bind the images by understanding of powers, and by the most holy name that guides every one. From them, examine in actions. Reveal the sign to you alone. Complete in the heart by the written words above.

Speak to you of already knowing what is written. Deliver the angel of Elohim. Deliver the pillar of the cloud. The highest powers are most powerful and most glorious. Of the host of Israel, understand the power of the Lord. Divide understanding.

The sign circling indicates the three scriptures. Complete the most powerful and strong. Also, the action of the spirit of the east [Ruoch Qediem]. Also, the strength of power. Measure all the highest before the power of the sea.

Of strength, regard the highest. It is written, the spirit of the east inquires of Aniyoth Tarshish [translates as "a ship of Tarshish"]. The spirit of the east rises up to the visible heavens.

It is written, go with the Lord. The sea begins in love and compassion. Do not listen at once. Come above by measures of strength of all the night. Measure night and thus return and want much.

Every king of the world listens to the sound. Give the three scriptures. Understand in order to separate the two measures of powers. The measure is weak. Begin above and end below.

By the strength of the powers, cast down to judgment. Rise up to separate the understanding. The secret is not being thus, however, upon the path after. Bind strength with strength and fire with fire. Thus consume all the universe. From the destruction of all the universe, all the universe is desolate, not being able to make actions.

The nation is destroyed by the power, however, now, reach to revive therein. Also of goodness, of evil, of judgment and compassion, love and hatred, peace and war. Also healing, and removing evil spirits. From the power of images and from power of intelligence, and the gates [Thera'athem] existing by them.

Now the wise son and the faithful make adjuration to the Lord Elohi of the heavens in every period. In every season, come forth to wander. The words of the Shema establish. I already declare to you the first word. Be revealed when in the periods. Know the heart is of goodness and upright.

Knowledge is in the dwelling of the good. You swear an oath in truth. I revere you. You are near and you are far away. Until

wandering around many times, the good see before every name and every power, according to the observance of knowledge.

By images and by divisions, understand what to speak: that (Hebrew: IH) is (Hebrew: IDI) in the image. Actually the power is to bless, however, there are therein three measures—the three signs before Kether, the most high, Chokmah, and Binah. However, the truth of the three measures indicate the fathers.

The truth and all power is unity. Of the power of the sea, reach therein as the hand of the Lord. Here is compassion. Also, of the hand of the Lord, here is the judgment.

Receive therein and change over the sign of power. Desire the action therein. Also the Lord corresponds to the lower. Of the power of the Lord, the power everyone, and one name. Also, the image (Hebrew: IDO HOA HOO) corresponds to the pillar of the universe. Of the holy temple of the Lord [Bieh Hemeqedesh], below and forever is the Earth. It is written, fill all the Earth with the glory of the temple. From the temple of all the Earth, and also the 70 going forth from power, the one name of all strength and power.

BOOK THREE

PART 4

THE FIRST ACTION [HEPHA'AVOLEH HERASHONEH]

OHO—Guide by the abundance. Descend to the Holy Temple. From the name, descend to the world.

ILI—Guide by the ancient name [Shem Qedemon] of all ancient.

SIT—Guide by coming to pass of life and existence [Chi Voqiem].

AaLM—Guide by the vision of strength in the three most wondrous scriptures. Make people in Egypt and in the sea.

MHSh—Guide by establishing three fathers by three measures of the name in power and victory, for the sake of victory.

LLH—Guide over the creation of the universe by compassion. Also, create by ten commandments.

AKA—Guide the universe coming forth in atonement and forgiveness. The Nephesh rests. Guide the lives of the people from the image by compassion with the seven holy names. When making incantations [Lochshiem] of the sign or writing on the silver plate, of disease to spread death. It is written, learn by them for the sake of disturbing every evil spirit. It is difficult to measure. Make the incantation by the sign in hours of the Sun. Write the sign in the day in the first hour. Remember the power of desire. Of the angel, one is over the sign in the hour. Be pure and fast. Be immersed in purity and be pure from sexual intercourse.

KHTh—Guide by the highest wisdom of the Torah. Of the covenant of Elohienov in heaven, and over not remembering (Hebrew: HThIO).

HZI—Guide by the wisdom of the unity complete. El is high over all heights.

ALD—Guide by rising up over the chariots of the Seraphim above and below.

LAO—Guide to see miraculous deeds in Egypt. Above and below, create heaven and Earth. Thus the dominion. People revere all the universe.

HHAa—Guide by the foundation of Moses. Hereafter, the name is therein. Come in the temple and remember the powers of God. Hand down the breast plate of the priest, and the name of 72 letters.

IZL—Guide to God. Rise up in strength. Dwell as king over the throne of glory in the kingdom. In order of judgment, all comes to the universe. Also, of judgment with the planets in seven firmaments. Do not place them over making every word of judgment in Egypt.

MBH—Guide by the power of God, the only power by the glory of God. Of Moses, action by the name (Hebrew: IH) over the face of the Lord. Of the seven names, purification is learned by wisdom. Write the sign on the silver plate. Drink from the sea of life, from the spring of life. Of the spring of life, begin in the month of Nisan. Suspend the sign above in goodness. Keep man from every evil spirit and evil eye, from every demon [Mezieq]. Suspended above, written on the shells, covered in holiness and purity. The measures are after, of day and hours. In the beginning, measure Moses.

HRI—Guide one by the highest.

HQM—Guide over the sceptre. (Hebrew: IH) is engraved on the stones. Remember before the Lord.

LAO—Guide by the most holy above.

KLI—Guide by the four gates of the universe, engraved by compassion.

LOO—Guide by the twelve tribes. The holy name is in the midst and measures above.

PHL—Guide by the compassion of God everlasting.

NLK—Guide by the name engraved in the altar. Of Moses, by the actions of the seven most holy names. In goodness, make the talisman [Qemiya'a]. Drive out every evil spirit of fear and lamentation. It is good to petition compassion before the name. You are delivered from every fear. You speak to the four spirits of the universe seven times. Speak, let there be desire from before the Lord Elohi. Of Elohi of the fathers by the name and the divine names. By the power of compassion, deliver from fear. In measures of the first day, Abraham is in the day and in hours and by the angel. Also, it is good to cast out the fear alone in purification, by fasting and immersion in purification.

IH—Guide by three Sabbaths [Shebethoth]. Of Yod corresponding three times. (Hebrew: AHIH) is the last and the highest. In clear language, indicate the last measures. From the power of victory, indicate three, the most holy name and all power after. The power of the universe indicates the highest.

MLH—Guide by the highest and lowest. Of one power, reach the sign.

ChHI—Guide by the name from the power of four foundations.

NThH—Guide by the power [A'atzem] of (Hebrew: HThIO), however the Resh resembles the firmament. Begin the lower universe; however (Hebrew: HOO) the righteous proclaim to the feet. Complete from two measures of the righteous.

HAA—Guide by 13 measures. Complete the sign by one measure and one power. Of Kether, proclaim it is complete.

IRTh—Guide by the unity of the name established forever.

ShAH—Guide by the name. Go forth from the place of judgment in Egypt. See visions by the name of strength. The seven names are of the purification of goodness. Journey on the paths of the seven nations. The name is in the place of fear. The names are written on a brazen plate. Remember and write in purity. Be immersed in the name of Isaac, by measures and by power. In the day and hour, the fourth day is the day.

RII—Guide by 22 letters of the Torah. From the power of the name, (Hebrew: AHIH) is above from the last Sabbath and the secret third Sabbath.

AOM—Guide also thus over righteousness, the foundation of the universe.

LKB—Guide over the name of the horseman over the fathers.

OShR—Guide the rainbow. Indicate three measures in three kinds of colors. By the measures, make the oaths of Earth. Israel is taught the sign. Teach to the holy people and dwell by the name of names.

IHO—Guide by the power of (Hebrew: IHOH), as Tharshish indicates (Hebrew: ThRI ShSh).

LHCh—Guide by the Ruoch of Elohim, the living Ruoch of Chokmah and Binah. In abundance, the highest man is in the small universe of all the actions.

KOQ—Guide by the name (Hebrew: KO). Of the first power and seven most holy and divine names. Remember the sign in holiness and purity. It is good to study the Torah and wisdom of the nations. Write upon the first silver plate (Hebrew: TOBIM TOBIM.) [most good, or goodness.] Above is power from all. Study in the second day by measures of power. In the hour, write in holiness and purity.

MND—Guide as Moses ascends to the heights. Deliver to him all wisdom and understanding of the heart of the paths of wisdom. Indicate the holy wisdom to the highest governors [Pechoth] of the highest power.

ANI—Guide by the holy above, corresponding to the ten holy palaces below.

ChAaM—Guide by the twelve tribes engraved by the holy name.

RHAa—Guide by the highest power corresponding to the lowest book [Hemgeleh]. Seventy nations correspond above to seven degrees. The name between is four letters over all. The secret is divided in the throat. Search out the 70 and 12. The rising sea indicates Jacob and sons.

IIZ—Guide by the ten measures of the powers by the sign (Hebrew: HHA).

HHH—Guide by the power of three measures of the name. Of the power of the life of the weak. The power of the living is from the name.

MIK—Guide by the three most holy serving the highest and lowest. By the power of the name of 70 and the divine and most holy seven names. It is good to petition. Petition the words many times. Conceal them when writing. Remember the scriptures and understanding comes forth. Of the song of generations, the Lord is our shepherd. In unity, revere the wondrous words. It is wondrous from the beauty by the most holy. In great purity, remember. Of the Sedieniem [wide linen undergarment, may refer to sheets], the purity of sons. The shell is pure and the ink. Complete four or five. Remember seven times. Place the written word below. From the beginning, be in purity. Speak, let there be desire from the Lord Elohi, the Elohi of the fathers. Of the most holy signs, it is most glorious to see in the night by the word. Thus (Hebrew: OKK AO HM AO LA). In the middle of the day, do not consume. Make immersion and petition thus.

OOL—Guide by the foundation of the universe. Of the most holy, the Holy Temple and the name is above. The name seals the tribes of Israel.

HH—Guide by four measures. Complete compassion alone. The fifth is in the middle and complete.

SAL—Guide by the image of the signs corresponding to the three powers. The leaders of three worlds by the highest power. The secret of the Lord El. The highest completes compassion and the third is complete.

AaRI—Guide by the 70 degrees in seven firmaments; however, until the tenth holy is complete, double.

AaShL—Guide by the righteousness of the fathers. Serve the universe by the most holy seals and Earth.

MIH—Guide by the image of the name. The signs are not revealed to Moses.

OHO—Guide by the first secret. The secret of the Heh is last in the name, that Heh is the last measure. Yod is first of the seven most holy names of purity. It is good to petition compassion by every action. Of every desire, or with the king or name of the man of grace and love, as the great are very strong by compassion. Thus speak, let there be desire from before the great and powerful name. Hear the prayers and petitons. Make desire and actions from the word (Hebrew: OKK OKK). I love as desire. Of desire, speak to the face and meditate [Hegiyon] in the heart before the image of the Lord. Begin on the sixth day. Observe the measures. By the angel, in purity make retribution [Shelemeh] by prayer and by fasting.

DNI—Guide by the root of the name (Hebrew: OHO) and the third holy secret.

HChSh—Guide by the measure. (Hebrew: ShDI) exists by the two fathers of three complete. Victory is the highest wisdom.

AaM—Guide by 70 powers below the name. From them is the power of seven planets moving forth in arrangement.

NNA—Guide by the highest powers. Praise the name every day with 100 kinds of praises and blessings. Establish in Israel 100 blessings. Every day in prayer and supplication, proclaim also from the highest.

NITh—Guide by serving in righteousness. The foundation of the universe serves the highest universe. Measure the truth of the light of the highest seals of God.

MBH—Guide by the Ruoch of intelligence. The pure are appointed to descend in the midst. The man is in the small universe.

POI—Guide by considering the ten plagues of Egypt corresponding to ten commandments. Of seven names in purity and cleanliness. By the powers, petition every word by petition and supplication. Speak of the sign over the sea of purity. The living springs are flowing. Three times, bathe the face and flesh. Cast over the head and speak thus. Let there be desire from before the most

holy and great divine names. Learn every word of the Torah. Of the wisdom, thus create every day. The Lord is in the morning in the beginning of the month of Nisan until the middle of the month.

NMM—Guide by the 50 gates of the power of Elohim. Concealed from every living creature, return to lead away from the temple. Stop the sound of the holy ram's horn. Stop the power that is one in the period of the holy in holiness.

IIL—Guide by raising up the sign of power over all the highest.

HRCh—Guide the holy name. It is sublime alone by one and who returns.

MTzR—Guide by 22 corresponding to (Hebrew: ADNI) and the one power.

OMB—Guide by the name. Give power in the hours of the beginning of day and night, from east to west.

HHH—Guide by the secret of the Heh. Receive it with all the universe in righteousness and compassion.

AaNO—Guide by seeing times in measures of compassion. Scatter the languages in order to return. Restore that the Ayin corresponds to 70 degrees and the seven holy names. It is good to petition prayers of forgiveness and atonement over all iniquities. Confess in fear, in reverence, and in purity. When knowing of transgression by great sin and crime, be in great danger from the kingdom or from the name. Man confesses all iniquities by the name. Speak, let there be desire from before the great name. You are the Lord of forgiveness and atonement. Forgive me for all iniquities and shade me from death and all misfortune. When praying, you establish retribution. Be in great purity in the day. Measure as Moses in hours.

MChI—Guide by the most holy sign above. Also, Israel is below in order of power. Be the nation in one power and in one dwelling.

DMB—Guide by the name illuminating seven powers above. Also, thus seven are below, illuminated before the name in righteousness and thus all righteousness.

MNQ—Guide by the 70 powers. Of the powers around the throne, put forth the everlasting name. Receive abundance by the divine power [A'atzem Halehieth].

AIAa—Guide by the name of supplication. Come forth and gather to Earth, not to hear him.

ChBO—Guide over the unity [thereof].

RAH—Guide by indicating to the prophet of powers rising up from ten sephiroth. Eight by calculation and three powers from the seven. Of the ten, the eight by calculation. Proclaim the sign of deliverance for the sake of the abundance. Thus, for the sake of the power, prepare man and man rises up.

IBM—Guide by indicating to measure last. Complete all.

HII—Guide by three tenths. The three Sabbaths establish the great name. Give the Torah and create the universe by three. Seal the strongest. The powers go forth, most glorious by the great and strongest signs of the highest and lowest. It is written, give the signs in heaven and on Earth. Of the great plagues, the faithful are everlasting. Remember until all the generations come forth. It is written: Thus speak, El of the children of Israel [Beni Yisrael], (Hebrew: AHIH.) Forsake the eternal name of all coming forth to (Hebrew: HAaHZ) forever until (Hebrew: OOH). Remember from generation to generation of the deaths of the living. From generation to generation are 6,000 of all the days of the life of the universe, until the generation of the Sabbatical year. It is written, the image completes the action. Of the name of life, strength in eternal victory.

MOM—Guide by the beginning works of the name in compassion over all creation from the greatest sign. Consider and know El provides support of all. Praised are all the signs. From the midst is the king of Earth, and all princes of the nations and all magistrates of Earth.

Now, understand the wisdom here. Gather to you the greatest, the most glorious and most powerful. Also the wondrous actions of

most precious things. Reveal clearly the writings here. El is everlasting in life. El comes in every period. El is holy.

Of the cotton cloth of the holy vestments, you are the high priest. The people do not rise up in the nation, as coming forth visions of the face of the Lord Elohiek. Be in fear and reverence in the pure heart. Establish retribution by explanation of calculation.

Beauty goes forth from the visible light. Great is the name of the glory and honor. The powers of miracles are bound in reverse and opposite images of the most holy book. All are worthy of the seven words. Of Elohim, live and do not be hungry and thirsty after. Drink of the living sea, most glorious. Thus understand the secret image of Alpha Beta engraved in the highest throne. All hosts worship the three palaces.

The name is engraved. Complete the most glorious powers of Elohim living. Change this from that. Exalt the Lord this from that. Most glorious, this from that. Marvelous deeds, this from that. Most powerful, this from that. Most pure, this from that. Most clean, this from that. Most innocent, this from that. Most upright, this from that. Most perfect, this from that. Most peaceful, this from that. Most illuminating, this from that. Most beautiful, this from that. Most shining, this from that. Living, this from that. Inwardness [Pheniemiem], this from that. Most holy, this from that. Complete the flame of fire, this from that.

Serve in reverence. In reverence and holiness, be [free] from tyranny. El creates the signs. The name of every one by dominions. Of works of the desire of the Creator. Of 22 letters in three palaces, engravings of images of every sign for himself. They proclaim in truth of the highest powers. Reveal to you the hidden and profound secret of the glory. Your sons live upright and faithful to me. Establish and be revealed to you.

These are actually the powers of the name. Proclaim in truth of the highest powers. Engraved in the throne, seal every sign alone from the image by the power. Proclaim that the angel Elohim is living by most glorious and most holy and highest signs.

Thus bind Moses in order to go forth. Bind the image and, from power, do not consume the learned sign. The pure fire consumes and burns. Receive it in purity. By images, change every power for itself. Of the power, remember actions. Thus proclaim the sign of angel Elohim living.

The highest power is from the sign. The abundance of powers of El. Work below and bind power to power, according to the motion and powers and secrets of action. Reveal to you, not to lessen the abundance of the vision of great power. In great purity and great holiness, study and be upright. When living, you understand the word. Corrupt Earth, not seeing and not prophesying.

The image is suspended. Abundance does not descend upon Earth. The secret of (Hebrew: ShARZL) is the splendor. It surrounds Earth, resembling the sea. When separating it by cutting it away, surely to live, and, in them, is the abundance. Thus consume and perish. Over that (Hebrew: ARZL ASOR GDOL) compels the powers above without the great image that is in the river [Biyar].

Of the throne of Kether, Chokmah, and Binah, the Ruoch of Elohim is living. The powers facing before are most powerful and most glorious, and shining [Seraph] from here. The Merkabah of the fathers. The understanding of the Lord.

The fathers speak of the shining above. All desires are of the powers. Of the most powerful deeds, however, in the scriptures, until the Seraphim are serving from above. Of all the highest powers, the fire is divided around. By desire, flourish by all powers.

From the day of birth [Yildothem], measure day and night, seasons and periods in the course of time, in order to reach the glory of formation. It is written, hasten to come after the Seraphim. Proclaim this of that and petition this from that. Where are most holy and glorious, proclaim holy and divine. Holy is the Lord of hosts.

Increase the power in short time by the sound of worship. Of holiness and reverence, speak, blessed is the glory of the Lord. All the highest draw away. From afar, speak, blessed is the name of the glory of the kingdom forever and ever.

Of the Merkabah and remaining Seraphim above, the highest powers remain. The Malachim and the Neshemoth of the righteous people of Israel are below. The unity is complete in fear of sinfulness. Speak, holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts.

By the sign in the hour, sublime is the Lord. Of the power, rise up to great holiness. Rise up over the throne of the kingdom. Dwell upon the throne of mercy and compassion. Speak, also I serve Israel, thus adorned. Happy is man in the morning of every day to praise and honor. Of strength in terror and fear. In holiness, speak (Hebrew: BShKMLO).

Be secure in the mercy of the Lord. All powers surrounding change this from that, according to the power of degrees. Of all writings in the temple, in the place, see actions complete. East and west, north and south. Of compassion, of judgment, of goodness, of evil, reward mercy, reward righteousness. Of justice and righteousness, call forth [Tza'aqeh]. Of peace, of war, of the slain [Herog] and of destruction [Abedon], and of peace, and of deliverance from evil, of hate and of love. All by the desire of the Creator and king. It is established and fixed over man, serving and bearing. Complete the powers, living and glorious. Worship every day. Speak, (Hebrew: BShKML). Happy is man to revere Elohim.

Of understanding by the most glorious and most powerful, place the heart. From the vestments, go forth. Wear the vestment of Esau, the white vestment of the life and light of days.

Also forge the signs. Thus the Aleph and the Mem and the Tau. By the one path and the highest name, the powers are in the midst. Of the greatest and most glorious powers, make the vow of the name (Hebrew: AaMHM). Seal in compassion of the nation. Of judgment, bind and proclaim the truth. (Hebrew: ShARZL) is the true seal of God. From before goes forth the judgment. Change in compassion and all signs are given by the one image.

Serve until Aleph is by the throne, not thus below. Of the Aleph, fifty signs. (Hebrew: HB B G BD.) Lie down upon the first path. Do not bind the holy sign of the name (Hebrew: DI) by two images. Do not bind the most holy six. Serve the holy. (Hebrew: Ch Ch T). Thus bind. Here is the last image to calculate. From it, create the seal of the wicked. Darkness goes forth in the universe. The name (Hebrew: NIDONIN) of the wicked nations of the ten lands. The vowel completes the inner.

Holy and sublime is the Lord of purity. Thus the remaining signs (Hebrew: BQDSh L' K"O N' QDSh S' K"O Aa' NG P' K"O Tz' P"B Q' K"O R' QDSh Sh' ABOTh Th' D"O). Every word established corresponds above. Of four fathers of the Merkabah, of the four spirits of the universe, serving above the universe in righteousness.

Of the palace of Metatron and the understanding of purity. The abundance of El Nephesh. Man considers the purity. The palace of the understanding separates them from all the Malachim. Of all the most righteous and all the Neshemoth. Of Nepheshoth rising up to the highest. However, in the universe, come to the palace of Jacob.

Of the palace of Metatron, the name comes from the Nepheshoth, the most righteous in the universe. Of the profound secret, Metatron is all the actions and power of Shaddai, of all the one power. It is proclaimed, Metatron comes from below, pure and clean. Divide from the clay [Hechomer]. The name comes forth in the place. Hew the Neshemeh of the purity. Of the universe, Ga'a is above.

Of the pure and the upright, all the highest powers. Also the signs of the strongest and most powerful powers. Do not petition to receive the remaining powers. All see first the Yod Vau, first of all the highest powers. Bind images in the period. Moses rises up to receive the Torah. Know that Moses desires to descend from above. Of the holy temple, engrave the many and want to consume.

However, command to sing the highest name of the universe. Indicate to serve by Moses. Of the Nepheshoth of the most righteous, also receive from the highest and from the most holy, in the midst of the body of man [Goph Hadem]. They are above from the remaining powers. Above indicate the Lord. Be humble to revere. The horseman rises up. Of one father of orphans [Abi Yithomien] and the judgment of El.

You understand the powers of the name. Of the highest of all and the most humble of all. Speak, the Nepheshoth of the most righteous are above the Malachim. Hear the word of the Lord. (Hebrew: MGAaRThO NZRAaZAaO) is complete.

At once, bind every sign to the images. Come to Moses and descend to the people, engraved in tablets. Of the name, learn the most holy secret of the sephiroth. Of the 22 holy letters, bind all the Torah from them. Of the illumination of light, the highest and lowest. Of 70 names, and from them, the name of the first power and every word. Of all the highest powers, the words of the most glorious secrets are concealed and sealed, closed up and locked. Of the strongest and most powerful, of valuable and precious things, the most profound writings. From afar, engrave the many signs united. The high priest of man knows the illumination.

It is most fulfilling to calculate the generations. Consider and know the seasons and periods. Thus, sacrifice offerings of the righteous. Of goats, contrary from the birds, burn in purification. The remaining people stop, and serve from afar. Worship and draw near.

The priest stops serving. Fire falls from the heavens to consume and destroy. El casts out down to Earth afterward, as day is concealed. The Lord Elohino reveals to us understanding, until the universe was created with every word of the Torah. Happy is man to revere the Lord by the commandments. Desire much and complete.

(Hebrew: IH.) Restore the mystery of the vowels. Of the name of unity, reveal all. Receive from the root and foundation. Calculate all signs between. Of three measures, here is (Hebrew: ADNI).

(Hebrew: OHHI OHI HIO HI.) This name is combined together. Calculate the vowels first written here above all. Aleph is below. The value of the letter is below the Shin. The Shin is above. Begin to understand much by what is established. Thus reveal the secret.

Know of all going forth from the signs. The point is from fortification above. The name of unity comes forth. At once, praise the prince Metatron. Thus, when desire to make the oath, and thus the prince comes forth. Know the secret of the name corresponding to the powers of the Sun [Shemesh]. Combine and thus reveal the secret of A'azael. Of the Sun [Chemeh] is fire and light and day, corresponding to the signs. By the seal of Metatron, reveal the secret of the vowels from the letters. Thus, the first name is by the letters and vowels. It is known to reveal in reply of the one. Here it is written in two names remaining.

(Hebrew: OHI HI.) Previously reveal the first name of A'azael. Of the Sun and light and fire and day, the power of the name compels to speak the petition here. Thus the second name. In the middle, guide two names ruling over the creatures. Reveal by the assistance of the name. The name is the medium to guide over the second.

(Hebrew: OHI.) Of all revealed from vowels and letters, (Hebrew: RLCh) guides over the two magistrates, A'azael and A'avozial. Compel the understanding and the secret of A'azael and A'avozial already guides you. Thus the second magistrate as eight steps [Ha'abiem, or thresholds]. After, reveal the secret of the center name. Reveal quickly the third name.

(Hebrew: HI.) Know all raise hands. Guide the name by vowels and letters. Compel (Hebrew: ThThQNG) by the secret of

A'avozial. Of the Moon, water, and darkness, and night. After thus, here is the name. Compel by the name corresponding to six signs. The prince serves to reveal. After, reveal in reply. Restore and remember the third. All know the great name compels two princes. Change the Sabbath of the Jews [Leshebeth Yihediyov]. Do not gather in the border of the country. Do not draw near the other. The middle name reveals. Compel to understand both as understanding A'aza and A'azael. Behold the fortification. Also, as decreed, indicate to guide by the powers that correspond. The middle name is the seal.

(Hebrew: OHO.) Bind to rise up and establish with both and the image serves.

Here is the image serving. Correspond and change. Rise up and establish. In order to establish, speak after, you lessen by the established response.

Return and speak. Lessen by the mouth of eight princes. Know the name A'aza guides over the wisdom. The name A'avozial guides the throne of the glory. Of the high priest and false idol [Besheth], all is in secret. Thus reveal four mysteries [Tha'alomoth, or enigmas] of wisdom.

Come upon the paths. Reveal the path of the king. Come forth to correspond to the knowledge of the foundation. Death and life are through the language of man. Deliver all when from love of the Lord. Forsake the knowledge of the name of glory and choose by life.

(Hebrew: OHHO OHO HO.) Know first to calculate the holy name. Guide the highest powers. Abundance comes from understanding the name. The two powers of the two faces are as fire and water. Deliver by the hand of Metatron. Behold my desire is revealed to you. Know the first name by itself.

(Hebrew: OHHI.) Calculate to compel (Hebrew: ChThIZ). By the name (Hebrew: ChThLT), reveal the oaths above in the house of the fire [Beth Hash]. I make the oath of the wheel of the Merkabah. By the power of the highest, man is appointed by the established power of fire. By the power, at once understand much from the word. The secret is beneficial [Mova'ayiel]. Know to speak by the three names. The second changes. Bow down in the middle. Understand thus in

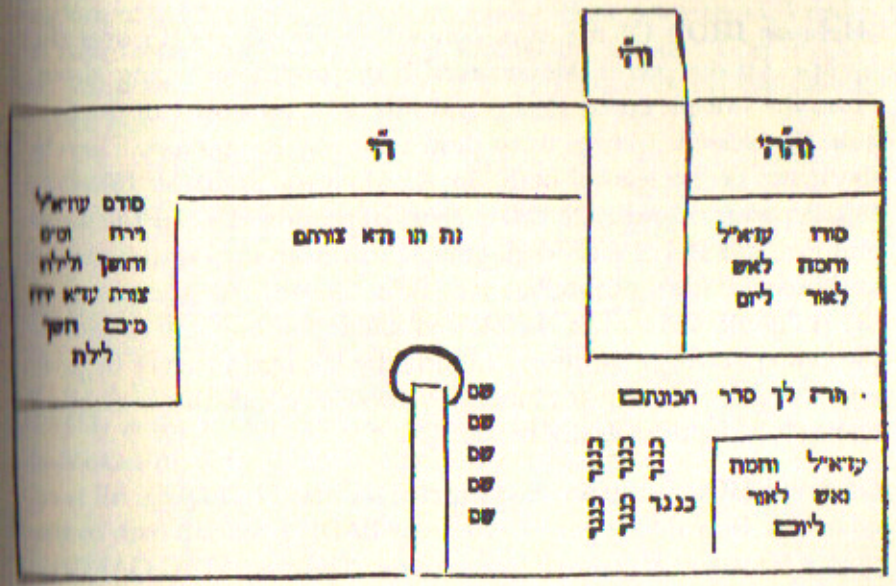

Figure 8. The text in the upper left corner translates as, "The secret of Aávozial, and the Moon and Water [or "and in days"] and darkness and night form Aa'za [*Esau*, translates as "strong man"], the Moon, water, darkness, night." Moving clockwise in the talisman, the upper characters form "HI," a name, and below this is, "This to be formed of that." The name Vohi appears to the right of this, and further right is the name Vohehi. Moving down and clockwise from Vohehi, the text translates as, "The Secret of Aa'zial and heat [or sun] of fire, of light, of the day." The next line translates "and that to you to arrange in order [or arrange the seder]," below this is, "Aa'zial and heat [*chemeh* may be translated as "heat" or "sun"] and fire of light of the day." *Keneged* and *shem* translate as "corresponding to" and "name," respectively.

the middle is the prince of the highest powers. I desire to reveal to you the middle name. Bow down. By two paths, return in the night as you know and understand therein the first as hearing.

(**Hebrew: IHO.**) Of the sign, compell (Hebrew: ThQT) over the middle. Of the secret, Metatron is in the middle as ruling above. From the wheels, create desire and wishes by the power of the Creator. Be blessed. Deliver from destruction by the powers. Therein the name of the second path. Speak, Metatron is master [Sheliet] by the power of the cycle [Mechezor] of the wheel. Over the water and fire, the secret is divided, going forth from it. You understand and hear El, Lord of intelligence [Ba'al Shekel]. See the power of the six going forth from the blessed name; but only the actions of the powers change by desire. Compel by the sign to serve by powers. After, speak of two names. To reduce, speak the remaining name. It is opposite as fire to water.

(**Hebrew: HO.**) Calculate to compel (Hebrew: ThThQIT). All is established. Reveal to speak of (Hebrew: BAD). Swear an oath to the prince Metatron appointed by man over (Hebrew: AThG OAKGD). The highest wheels descend, compelled by the power through the name. Fill with desire. At once, divide the water, highest and lowest. This is the secret of the lowest man.

The oath goes forth from the secret. Know to indicate to divide. Remember the two written words. Understand much of the brilliance therein. Prepare much by the most profound secrets. Receive the most holy and highest. Place the heart. Understand the wisdom. Petition the name of the Lord Elohiek. Seek in every heart and in every Nephesh. Journey by the path. Go forth by every oath.

Know to support the root of the universe. Consider the angel the intermediary. Conceal the oath and swear the oath to the name [Shom Shem]. Know to support the root and wheels [Aophenov].

After seeing all is attractive [Hemoshek], make the oath to the divine glory of the name. Berashith return the glory therein with the name. How many times, perhaps because of all desire by the Lord. The image from the oath is over the path of the humble by the name.

(**Hebrew: IHOH.**) Hear information [Shema'anov] around the tablets of the prince Metatron. Face the prince of hosts by

the motion of the wheel. Here occupy the universe, complete by the power of the wheel. Moses and Aaron and Miriam [the sister of Moses] from the gift of the Lord, the Creator. Blessed is the wisdom of the knowledge by the covenant. How many times, I make an oath by the vision of the image Elohim the Creator, God [Elohi] of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob by the Shem Hemaphorash.

(**Hebrew: IHOH.**) Reveal the foundation. Come forth in every period. Petition before and learn of the universe to come. Learn from the journey, the one secret. (Hebrew: ShALO ANI BN BIH).

IHOH—Elohi of the path of the most powerful knowledge. The path of the knowledge preceding is everlasting. Secret sacrifice [Zebech] is the truth of the spirit [Heruocheni Hamethi]. (Hebrew: HATD) is the understanding of the truth. (Hebrew: HATD). The understanding from this time and forever, amen.

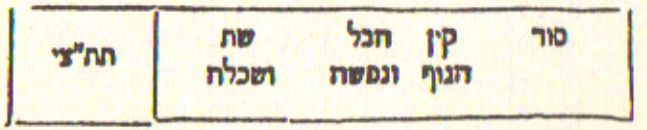

Figure 9. The text translates, from right to left: "The secret of the vanity [or "foolishness"] of Cain. Make the body and the Nephesheh and intelligence." In the smaller square: Thethetzi. Far left: Shelehebeth Neqi.

(Hebrew: Q' QMTz) is below the name. From Yod Heh Vau Heh, as that being by Yod, man is able to make.

Ruling by Phattah, be able to gain wealth.
By Tsiri, be able to protect from destruction.
By Seggol, be able to make love and brotherhood.
By Cholem, be able to make joyful and remove anxiety [Dageh].
By Chirik, overthrow the enemy.
By the great Shurruk, great knowledge follows.
By the small Shurruk, be able to hold victory of every man.

By Sheva, to slay [Leherog].
Behold by the Sheva.
By Kametz, make love.
By Patteh, tear [drive out] and destroy [crush].
By Tziri, hold dominion.
By Seggol, rise up.
By Cholam, of wealth.
By Chirik, knowledge to prepare for what is to come in the future.
By the great Shurruk, not to enflame [Yiezieqi] all demons [Mezieqiem] and evil spirits [Shedien].
By Sheva, heal sickness.
By the small Shurruk, knowledge of the signs of the zodiac.
By Kametz, of victory.
Bind by Patteh of the lives of the foolish [simple].
By Tziri, of wealth.
By Seggol, love.
By Cholam, success.
By Chirik, overthrow the enemy.
By the great Shurruk, conquer [Lekebosh, or occupy] the dominion.
By Sheva, go forth and come forth.
By the small Shurruk, grace and mercy.

Complete the secret. Indicate the name (Hebrew: OHMBIN IBIN).

Blessed is the Lord of the universe, amen and amen.

THPLH NORA OQDOShH KShMGIAa LShOMAa ThPLH.

The Lord of the universe reveals. Know before the sins and iniquity and transgression, of all offenses made in the universe, not in order to speak the petition. For the sake of it, you fill with compassion.

It is written in the Torah, the Lord El is of compassion and mercy. Endure facing great mercy and truth. From mercy, a thousand rise in sin [A'avon] and sin [Phesha'a]. In purity and innocence, the prayer comes forth before the great name. Of the strong and mighty, purity is divided.

Dwell in the heights over the wings of the wind. It is holy to be written. Do not proclaim Elohi of the hosts. (Hebrew: IHOH IHOH IHOH.)

Of the most holy in Kether, the glory astonishes you.

(Hebrew: GBIAL MShGBIAL). Deliver from every evil thing and every evil misfortune [Phega'a]. I am in every house and bequeath blessings by every work and labor. Give of grace and mercy and compassion in eyes and in eyes every vision. Blessed are you, the Lord, to hear the prayer.

Speak of desire and praise in the name of peace [Shelom]. That is the secret of the name of unity, the glory and the honor.

In a dream [Chelom], write the name on a shell [Qeleph] from the drawing [design]. Place the sign below the head and speak, you are the prince of the dream. I make an oath by the sign of the great name. Of the strength and the glory, come to me in the night. Move to me. From petition, seek to understand the dream. Understand the vision. Understand the scriptures. Understand the word. Understand the word of the Helekeh [a portion of the Talmud, mainly concerning laws]. Understand the written words in testimony. Do not forsake them. Remember to petition. (Hebrew: AAA SSS.)

Of the name (Hebrew: MABRITh ABRITh BRITh RITh ITh Th).

Vowels of (Hebrew: IHOH) are as the fortification of man. Establish by the name and by vowels. Of how many vowels. The vowel of the universe. The word of the Lord. Rise to heaven. Speak, let there be desire from before the great name. Of the powerful, the strong, the mighty, deliver from this and thus create with this.

Receive therein the one vowel. In Elohino after, that in me is desire [Chesheq]. (Hebrew: BILAO.)

With the Heh, God created heaven and Earth. Speak of the creation by the Heh. Create with the Yod, the Sun and Moon. Speak, create fingers and (Hebrew: HMBIN IBIN) with (Hebrew: OIO). Make the light and the darkness, and creeping [Remesh] and creeping [Sheretz] and creatures [Chiyoth] and beasts [Behemoth].

Speak, lay down and rise up with the Heh. Embrace [Hechbieq] and establish all. Multiply as (Hebrew: AHIH ZH AHIH OHMBIN IBIN). All to reveal the name. Do not keep to bind to man in

corruption. All is revealed. Keep in purity to endure days and years. Be from the glory forever.

In the highest world, rise up [Hegah]. Speak, form the fig tree [Thaneh, may also mean sexual impulse] and eat of redemption [Phediyov] above. Speak of Adoniyov to keep, of glory to keep and the glory of the Lord, Lord of glory [Hebrew: ADONIO ADONIO IKBDHO]. Speak of deliverance. Glory rises up. Know the name. Reveal the glory to form. Speak over all. Cover with glory. (Hebrew: OHMBIN IBIN.)

Blessed is the name of the glory of the kingdom forever and ever. Blessed is the Lord of the universe, amen. (Hebrew: SLIQA.)

BOOK FOUR

PART 1

BOOK OF THE MYSTERIES [SEPHER HEREZIEM]

IN THE NAME OF THE LORD ELOHI OF ISRAEL, bring forth the *Book of the Mysteries*. Noah gave it to his son, Lamech, to his son, Methuselah, to his son, Enoch, to his son, Mahalaleel, to his son, Enos, to his son, Seth, and to his son, Adam.[1]

It came from the mouth of Rezial, the angel. In years to come, the written words came before the assembly [Kenisethov]. It was written upon a sapphire stone. The characters are engraved. From it, learn of wondrous actions and mysteries by understanding and intelligence of the humble.

Counsel thoughts to serve. Investigate the degrees of heaven going through all in seven dwellings, going around all by every sign of the zodiac. Observe every manner of life. Examine and inquire of the Moon. Reveal the paths of the Big Dipper, Orion, and the constellation of the Pleiades. Consider what names are in every firmament and what angels. Also, what will come to pass of every word. Also, what names minister the magistrates [Meshethrethi Shoteriem].

In all humility and modesty, hear them make every desire. All draw near above in purity. Reveal works of death and works of life. Understand evil and good. Examine the periods and minutes to reveal periods of birth and death, and of affliction and healing. Interpret dreams and waking visions. Draw near battles and make peace in wars. Hold dominion by spirits and send forth.

[1]According to the Old Testament, Cainan was the son of Enos, and the father of Mahalaleel. Also, Jared was the son of Mahalaleel, and the father of Enoch.

Go forth to worship. Consider the four spirits of the earth. Live from the wisdom. By the thunder, tremble. From the book, what works of lightning. Consider what comes in every month. Serve over works in every year. When of crops, of drought, of peace, of war. Live by one from the most glorious. Understanding of wisdom in the treasury in the heights.

From the wisdom of the book, Noah learned to make the ark from pitch pine [Gopher]. Protect from the flood of the sea and from the deluge. Come to bring forth with two and seven.

Of the preparation of all food and meat, give in the ark of gold. Come in the beginning of the ark. Reveal the periods of day and night, of which period to serve. Bring forth deliverance and go forth from the ark. Therein, come forth all days of life.

In time of death, deliver it to Shem, and Shem to Abraham, and Abraham to Isaac, and Isaac to Jacob, and Jacob to Levi, and Levi to Kohath, and Kohath to Amram, and Amram to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the wise men. Thus, in every generation, until serving Solomon, the King. Reveal to him the *Book of the Mysteries*. Reveal by the word of the mysteries. By the understanding, hold dominion over all spirits. Of all desires, seek and wander in the world.

Bind and release the sign to rule above. Understand and prosper from the wisdom of the book. The great books are delivered by the hand, being precious and honored. Happy is the eye to see, and ear to hear. The heart is intelligence and understanding the wisdom. By the seven firmaments, all from the hosts to learn.

Of the wisdom in every word, succeed in all works. Consider the wisdom of the book.

The name of the first firmament is proclaimed heaven. Therein are hosts of Malachim. Seven thrones establish the name. Above are seven dominions dwelling. Hosts surround them, hence and thence.

Listen to human beings in the hours of matters. All serve in matters by names. Of names and memorials [Lehezkierem] by signs in the period. Succeed in works by all hosts of the Malachim. Of the seven magistrates of the dominions, send forth by every desire. Desire and succeed.

These seven names rule over the seven thrones. The first name is Avorphenial. The second name is Ayigeda. The third is Dohel.

The fourth is Phelmiya. The fifth is Asiemor. The sixth is Phesker. The seventh is Phoval. Form from fire and see flames from the fire going forth.

The Malachim do not go forth ministering without domain to occupy them. By speaking the word, work until going forth to speak before the seven magistrates dwelling on the thrones of the dominions above. Below is the power in the domain to journey. Every one serves over the kingdom and congregation of them all. Send forth when good, when evil, when abundance, when lacking, when war, when peace. All proclaim the name from the day to form.

These are the seven names of the hosts ministering of the seven magistrates [Shoteriem]. Of every host, one from the magistrates. Remember the name of the Malachim ministering before.

Seven times, speak thus from petition. I am Pheloni Ber Phelonieth (Hebrew: ANI PLONI BR PLONITh). Succeed in healing by Pheloni Ber Phelonieth. All from the petition of healing, when written by petition.

Be pure from all corruption. Purify flesh from all abomination, and thus succeed.

These are the names of the Malachim ministering with Avorphenial: Chemori, Demna, Aphod, Alephi, Amok, Qetieki, Phetapher, Gemethi, Pha'avod, Nerotheq, Reqehethov, Avodena, Mavoth, Pheroseh, Aqoviya, Vohereqovova, Beroqi, Chesedora, Atheneni, Golan, Chemeh, Adenova, Abeka, Nethenal, Adial, Anoph, Heriyavor, A'abedial, Ton, Alien, Mol, Leleph, Vochesepheth, Rechegal, Romalov, Vokethov, Adenoval, Ashemi, Yivoash, Qephien, Kerebi, Gorshom, Pheriyatz, Sheshema'a, Phokien, Kerial, Zebdial, Agedelen, Miegal, Gephial, Kedieneh, Koledeh, Diegel, Alebovi, Thocheli, Sokeleth, Adial, Al, Kesial, Soqemeh, Ashekeh, Notheneh, Chelial, Asethial, Thena, Miemal, Nethenial, Aphoneh, Thelegial, Ga'aneh, Avosethial.

These are the second host of Malchim ministering with Ayigeda: Akesether, Mekeres, Kerebieb, Kemeshen, Ayisheteb, Redethal, Arieta, Geba, Anekier, Kebier, Thieleh, Keriethek, Herekom, Kenophial, Nodial, Herochon, Shelhebien, Ashlekeh, Meshethieb, Gecha, Hatha, Chegeda, Chegera, Amiemial, Chegeleth, Lega, Menothial, Theniemial, Aberietha, Berietha, Rekial, Cheshethek, Phethesh, Asethierotz, Avorephenial, Ashenor, Melekial, Adi, Sher, Shenoch, Hemiek, Therenech, Zemkieth, Hetzeniepha,

Hetzeniephelehov, Voshovova, Ashephor, Areq, Qenomial, Neqial, Gedial, Adeq, Remiemial, Pherog, Rechonal, Zegdial, Abenienok, Dorenial, Delepheth, Hekel, Helial, Alial, Moth, Avokal, Phenial, Phothephera, Lephoch, Avornemok, Adelial, Ayisethorien, Azoti, Avosetor, Tier, Avothoth, Beregemi, Demov, Diegera, Pherotial, Qomiya, Renerdena, Delegial, Pherothial.

These are the third host of Malachim ministering with Dohel: Ayizerekebov, Aneboshel, Berethobial, Delobial, Avochial, Berekethien, Bereka, Davoniem, Amek, Abiyar, Athelega, Avothoth, Ashethonal, Ashephek, Theregial, Amephial, Athereshov, Avorial, Akemor, Ashon, Akal, Anavok, Asebiereh, Lephial, Al, A'avosheh, Chesenial, Lemieshotha, Doth, Thieches, Alephi, Amok, Aregela, Megial, Alial.

The angel of the consciousness is all around and without. It is written upon the precious mantle [Avoqier Geliyiemov]. All is written and written alone. Receive prosperity. The Lord restores and gives from the midst of goodness. Cast the words to the midst.

Serve to correspond the Sun in the hour of noon. Speak the oath, I am above the Sun, the illumination to all the universe by the name of the Malachim. Of the understanding of the wisdom of wisdoms of hidden and secret things. Create from knowledge. Create to me. Petition and reveal what is to be in the year. Conceal from me the word.

These are the third host of Malachim ministering with Phelmiya [rendered here as Belmiya]: Abedieh, Demeniya, Amenayi, Amoneher, Ovamenok, Phetakieza, Tobial, Gielal, Aphieri, Gemethi, Avorenial, Pheriephohov, Avophieri, Areq, Letemoval, Avorieni, Thomieni, Avomerial, Menial, Geremetov, Seretov, Tzebeqeteni, Koretheyavom, Seresieth, Phereson, Amaph, Phebehier, Hesethier, Setherial, Alieses, Helesial, Setereseti, Qeresetom, Melekial, Arereq, Chesedial, Acheseph, Amoval, Phedetem, Gedal, Sebekial, Kokeb Henogeh, Shehiya, Aphroditi, Vomelek, Chesedial.

The fifth firmament is above the precious light. One hundred myriad cover the precious. Fill the angel with pride [Gavoh]. In the midst, be still in fear. Of orders of the strongest powers, adorn by hewing from flame. The sound rushes forth as a storm in the sea. Of the wheels going forth, tremble.

The name of the twelve princes of glory dwelling by the throne of glory. They resemble thrones in vision of fire. In the center of

the firmament are faces of four spirits of the universe. See lightning go forth as flames in wings of fire. From the shining, faces shine in the firmament. They are appointed over the twelve months of the year.

Establish what is to be in every month. Of the outer, it is not spoken of when darkness was formed. Stand to serve. Make known of the months that come in all the year. These are the names of the 12 Princes [Neshiyayiem]:

The first name is Sha'aphial, serving over the month Nisan.
The second is Deghal, serving over Ayer.
The third is Diednavor, serving over Sivan.
The fourth is Tha'akenov, serving over Tammuz.
The fifth is Thochereger, serving over Ab.
The sixth is Moral, serving over Alul.
The seventh is Hehedan, serving over Tishri.
The eighth is Yilereneg, serving over Marheshvan.
The ninth is Anethegenod, serving over Kislev.
The tenth is Mephenial, serving over Tebeth.
The eleventh is Theshenderenies, serving over Shevet.
The twelfth name is Aberekial, serving over Adar.

These are the signs of the zodiac and the angels ruling and ministering over every one:

In the first day is the Sun. The sign is Leo. The angel is Raphael ministering in the first week. Divide 15 [T"O] from (Hebrew: ChNKL). (Hebrew: ShTzM) is in the middle.

In the second day is the Moon. The sign is Cancer. The angel is Gabrial ministering in the second week in the preceding hour.

In the third day is Mars. The signs are Aries and Scorpio. The angel is Samael.

In the fourth day is Mercury. The signs are Gemini and Virgo. The angel is Michael.

In the fifth day is Jupiter. The signs are Sagittarius and Pisces. The angel is Tzedeqial.

In the sixth day is Venus. The signs are Capricorn and Aquarius. The angel is Qephetzial.[2]

In the first night is Mercury. The signs are Capricorn and Taurus. The angel is Michael in the first hour.

In the second night is Jupiter. The signs are Sagittarius and Pisces. The angel is Tzedeqial.

In the third night is Venus. The signs are Gemini and Virgo. The angel is A'anial in the first hour.

In the fourth night is Saturn. The sign is Capricorn. The angel is Qephetzial in the first hour.

In the fifth night is Mercury.[3] The sign is Leo. The angel is Raphael in the first hour.

In the sixth night is the Moon. The sign is Cancer. The angel is Gabrial in the first hour.

In the seventh night is Mars. The signs are Aries and Scorpio. The angel is Samael.

These are the names of the Malachim ministering by the sixth host: Pheseker, Avoyial, Arebial, Teriphon, Phonekos, Phesethemer, Lenial, Qedonial, Shokerien, Sebieren, A'avozial, Phenial, Thekemial, Chememial, Tzeremial, Niemiesem, Gedoniya, Baroba, Zenoviyem, Chekemial, Teredial, Phenial, Qedemial, Kepheliya, Ademial, A'aremon, Heremod, A'abiesal, Ga, A'akiesal, Sepherial, Qethenial, Shebebial, Aremienos, Toti, Phos, Phesetzial, Chetephial, Pheresemon, Nechelial.

These are the angels of the strength. Bind by strength and power. Desire in every place and fly in all corners [Phenothem]. Come forth with all. Taking flight, man comes forth on Earth.

Take four brazen trays and write upon every one, of the name (Hebrew: AMO) and the name (Hebrew: PSKR).

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[2]The seventh day is omitted in the text, however the planet would be Saturn, and the signs are Libra and Taurus.

[3]Typographical error. This should be the Sun.

Of the name of the Malachim ministering, speak, deliver me to you. The angel of the strength is with Pheloni Ben Pheloni, and not the other. In every place, dwell therein. Change with the heart, when in the city and in the country, when in day and in night, when on the sea and on dry land, when eating and drinking.

Fly as a bird. Come forth not by desire. Do not forsake to delay, not in the day and not in night.

Place the four brazen trays in the four corners of the house. Come forth when in the city or in the country of man. Serve to take flight. Of every word, to take flight.

These serve above the sixth degree: Abiehod, Qenod, Deleqial, Secherial, Aderek, Gechelial, Chemekial, Semekieh, Reba' ayial, Yivoqemial, Shemiechod, Meherial, Domial, Bierekom, Vozeqanen, Qenial, Phesetelen, serving with Rieshiehon, Kelehon, Ayiseteronelien.

These serve over the sixth degree. Guide in humility and fill with glory. The vestments of linen garments go forth. Man measures the most glorious as men sitting Shivah [Yishiebeh]. Dwell upon the thrones of glory. The faithful are over the truth and serve over the healing.

Blessed is the maker [Iyotzerem] and the Creator [Boram]. Go forth to create all the commandments to you, the great Lord.

BOOK FOUR

PART 2

THIS IS THE WORK OF GENESIS [ZEH MA'ASHEH BERASHITH]

IN THE BEGINNING, THE LORD ELOHIM created the heavens and the Earth. The Lord Elohim proclaimed Berashith as (Hebrew: BRA ShITh). Thus, the root is not written as (Hebrew: BRA ShITh).

What is Berashith as the letters of Berashith? Create with them heaven and Earth. Speak, the Lord Yeh is the everlasting rock [Tzor]. Of two letters (Hebrew: IH), and of four (Hebrew: IHOH), here is six. Behold, learn of these six letters. Elohim created the heavens and the Earth.

Speak of heaven and Earth created by these six letters. Speak, the Lord Yeh is the everlasting rock. Learn by these six letters. Create the second everlasting. (Hebrew: HAaHZ OHAaH.) Therefore speak of Berashith, what is Berashith?

By one letter, Elohim created the heavens and Earth of heat from the fire. What is one letter? By it, create heaven and Earth with Heh. Speak of the generations of the heavens and Earth. Of the creation, El proclaims the creation by Heh.

With the letters, Elohim created the heavens and the Earth. (Hebrew: OHAaHZ OHAaHB.) Of heat from the fire of Gihenam, it is half hail and half fire. Judge the wicked by the burning hail. Consume them as fire. Judge by the fire. Consume the letter as hail (in other words, judge by hail. Hail burns as fire and fire burns as hail).

The angel of destruction [Melak Chebeleh] descends from above. Keep the Neshemethen in the dead body. Speak that worms do not bring death.

Every day, the angel of destruction descends. Every day the angel of death [Melak Moth] descends from above, guiding you

from hail to fire and from fire to hail, as the shepherd leads a herd of cattle from mountain to mountain. Speak as the herd is guided to Shuhal, the place of death.

The angel of destruction descends from above, judging you in Gihenam for twelve months.

After twelve months, you descend to the gate of the shadow of death [Sha'ari Tzelemoth]. You are judged in the gate of the shadow of death for twelve months.

After twelve months, you descend to the gate of death [Sha'ari Moth]. You are judged in the gate of death for twelve months.

After twelve months, you descend to the mud mire [Tiet Hiyon]. You are judged in the mud mire for twelve months.

After twelve months, you descend to the grave pit [Bar Shecheth]. You are judged in the grave pit for twelve months.

After twelve months, you descend to hell [Abaddon]. You are judged in hell for twelve months.

After twelve months, you descend to the lowest hell [Shahul Thechethieth]. You are judged in the lowest hell for twelve months, until seeing all righteousness.

Speak before him who has compassion over acts of judgment. Praise and speak, these are holy. Nephesh is not satisfied before the destruction of the house. Understand anger.

Speak, do not dwell in the heat of anger [Cheron Aph, or burning wrath] created at this time, until it is established to prepare the heart.

After twelve months, you descend to the Earth [Areqa], below the river of fire [Neher Shel Ash] going forth from below the throne of the glory. Speak, here is the tempest [Sa'areth] of the Lord.

The Sun goes forth and the tempest moves over the head of the wicked. Fall and descend, returning to the Earth. Do not speak. (Hebrew: ALHA DI ShMIA.) Of Earth [Ara'a], do not serve to disappear from the Earth.

The fifth ocean [Thehom] above the Earth [Areqa] is the ocean above the ocean of desolation [Thehom Thehov], above chaos [Thehov Behov], above the sea of emptiness [Behov Im], above the sea [Miem]. The sea is above the sea of Earth [Miem Thebel].

Upon the Earth [Thebel] are mountains and hills. In all dwellings, speak and mountains tremble and hills melt.

The sixth ocean above the earth [Thebel] is the ocean above the ocean of desolation, above chaos, above the sea of emptiness, above the sea of seas [Miem Miem], and over the sea of the world [Miem Cheled].

Of man and beasts, of creatures of the field, and birds of the sky, and fish of the sea. Of the Torah, make goodness and reverence. Speak of all listening to dwell in the world [Cheled].

The seventh ocean is above the world [Cheled]. Gather foreigners [A'arebieth] to lodge. Go forth, going around from the month in every day.

Of the work of Berashith, above lodge in heaven. Speak, extend as a wall of heaven. Proclaim the name [Shemem] of heaven. According to the boundary of fire and water, God extends this by that and created heaven.

Speak also of the foundation of Earth. Heaven extends to the right side. El proclaims heaven. Fire and water is above the sea of heaven. Of grain and new wine [Thierosh] and new oil [Yitzeher].

In the period, God desires to bless the earth. Dew and rain descend in times. Above the sea of water [Hiem Miem] and above the sea of the firmament, between the sea to the firmament suspended.

Serve the wheel of the Sun and Moon and planets and signs of the zodiac. The Sun illuminates all the universe and holds dominion in every ocean. Light descends over the lowest Earth.

Speak, Elohim gives you to complete above the sea of water. The water of the sea is pure. Of hail and thunder, from the drops complete. The narrow walls of fire are surrounding. Speak of the heavens and the name [Shemi] of the heavens.

Over the gate of heaven of the spirit of the north, these are the names of the princes appointed: El El Ovel (Hebrew: AL AL OAL), Biem, Bela'ayial, Bela'ayi, Vobetzelial.

Over the gate of the spirit of the south, these are the princes appointed: Dorenial, Derekial, Hemon, Donal, Gechenial.

Over the gate of the spirit of the east, these are the princes appointed: Dorenial, Gabrial, Gederial, A'aderial, Modial, Rechemial, Vochenial.

Over the gate of the spirit of the west, these are the princes appointed: El, Tzien, Soqial, Zenesial, Vobechial, Vobeqetemal, Voterephenial.

Above the firmament of heaven, fix the Sun and Moon and signs of the zodiac. The end of the firmament resembles a dome. The Sun and Moon and planets and signs of the zodiac are at the end of the firmaments, holding dominion in every ocean. Light descends over the lowest Earth. Speak, Elohim, you give in the firmament of the heavens.

Over the gate of the spirit of the north in the firmament, these are the names of the princes appointed: Tiyal, Yida'al, Yinal, Nenal, Vocheleqiem, Vochenial.

Over the gate of the spirit of the south, these are the princes appointed: Kelah, Bechelial, Belehial, Loval, Yilial, Neqerial.

Over the gate of the spirit of the east, these are the princes appointed: Mesiem, Keremial.

Seal in the ring [Vochethemeh Beteba'ath] (Hebrew: AHIH AShR AHIH). Before sealing in the ring, they are not sealed in the ring. Every human being [Berieh] is not able to seek by the letters before the flames of fire.

All who come to the gate seek by the letters. At once, fill the fire, therefore concealed by the letters and sealed in the ring.

Therefore, speak of Berashith. What is Berashith? In the beginning, create heaven and Earth. Give habitations and move the oceans to establish seven dwellings above corresponding to seven oceans below. Extend above corresponding to the foundation of Earth [Ademeh] below. Establish the sky [Shecheqiem] above corresponding to the dwelling of dry land [Yibesheh] below. Extend the habitation above corresponding to the foundation of Earth [Areqa] below. Extend the habitation above corresponding to the foundation of Earth [Thebel] below. Extend the deserts [A'areboth] above corresponding to the foundation of Earth [Thebel] below. The throne is established above. The glory extends as the work of the first day.

In the second, divide the sea. From it, take below and take above. Speak, Elohim created the firmament and separated between the sea.

In the third, you gather the water in one place. See the dry land and proclaim the earth. Go forth trees and grasses. All kinds of grains, trees bearing fruit, all kinds of plants of branches and fruit. Speak of grass springing forth upon the earth. Grass springs forth from sowing seeds of all kinds.

In the fourth, create the luminaries. Divide between the day and night. Give the Sun dominion in day. The Moon and stars hold dominion in night. Speak, Elohim created the two greatest luminaries.

In the fifth, create fish and all creeping things [Sheretzi] of the water, and the birds above the face of the Earth. Speak, the water teems with creeping things and living creatures, and birds fly above Earth.

In the sixth, create beasts and creatures and creeping things. Speak, go forth on Earth living creatures of all kinds. After, create man to hold dominion. Rule over every one, serving the great angel.

Begin to complete the storm [Sopheh] surrounding and the tempest [Sa'areh] surrounding. Speaking holy blessings and splendor fills Earth to the lowest ocean.

Above the ocean of desolation, above chaos, above the sea of emptiness, above the sea of seas, above the sea of dry land [Cherebeh], and above dry land is illumination. Voyage upon the ocean. Speak, give illumination to dry land.

The third ocean is above dry land. The ocean is above the ocean of desolation, above chaos, above the sea of emptiness, above the sea of seas, above the sea of dry land [Yibesheh], and above dry land are the seas and rivers and every place of water. Speak, create the sea and dry up to form them.

The fourth ocean is above dry land. The ocean is above the ocean of desolation, above chaos, above the sea of emptiness, above the sea of seas, above the sea of Earth [Miem Areqa], and above Earth [Areqa] is the lowest hell [Shuhal] and hell [Abaddon] and the grave pit and mud mire and gate of death and gate of the shadow of death and Gihenam. The angel of destruction is appointed over the wicked.

From the highest dwelling to the lowest hell, the course of the depth is three hundred years.

From the second dwelling to Abaddon, the course of the depth is three hundred years.

From the third dwelling to the grave pit, the course of the depth is three hundred years.

From the fourth dwelling to the mud mire, the course of the depth is three hundred years.

From the fifth dwelling to the gate of death, the course of the depth is three hundred years.

From the sixth dwelling to the gate of the shadow of death, the course of the depth is three hundred years.

From the seventh dwelling to Gihenam, the course of the depth is three hundred years.

Of the fire of the lowest hell, the power is complete from the fire of Abaddon.

Of fire of Abaddon, the power is complete from the fire of the grave pit.

Of fire of the grave pit, the power is complete from the fire of the mud mire.

Of the fire of the mud mire, the power is complete from the fire of the gate of death.

Of the fire of the gate of death, the power is complete from the fire of the gate of the shadow of death.

Of the fire of the gate of the shadow of death, the power is complete from the fire of Gihenam.

Kegebial begins the princes in praise and song. By the song, experience soothing in the throat. Make the paths. Of the paths, make to speak of works.

Of the angel Yiedod [to love], learn the letters of the exaltations [Solemoth]. Make strong this to that. Descend eternally. By the praise, peace descends in the universe. The course of the length of the universe is five hundred years.

The course of the width is five hundred years. Of eighteen circles [A'agol]. The great sea is as a circle [Chozer] around all the universe, as a kind of dome. It is served by all.

Leviathan serves all the universe over the ends. Leviathan dwells in the lowest sea as a fish in pure water in the center of the sea. The

lowest sea is above. From the days of Berashith, as a small fountain upon the shore of the sea.

From the days of Berashith, serve over the Sea of Oceanus as a small fountain upon the shores of the sea. Oceanus serves over the waters of weeping [Miem Hebokiem] as a small fountain upon the shore of the sea.

Proclaim the name of the waters of weeping according to the hour. Go forth and divide the sea. Take from above and give below. The sea is given below, being in tumult. From the crying of lamentation, the cold sea is weeping.

Speak, the pure do not lament. Draw near to form that which makes the refuge [Ha'ayizov] before. Divide the oceans. Petition to rise up to the heights, until rebuked by God. The furnace [Kebeshen] is below the soles of the feet.

Speak of the Lord speaking and give by the path of water and by the forces of the sea. On the trodden path, God speaks to begin to create by glory, not the domain of the highest sea.

Sing until being cast forth from the domain. Speak of the sounds of the great sea, of mighty and powerful waves of the sea. Great glory is in the heights of the Lord El. Proclaim the waves from the sound of song. Speak of the sea. Rise up to the domain of the highest sea. Speak of great glory in the heights of the Lord.

Therefore, proclaim the waters of the weeping. The waters of the weeping are suspended and serve above the lowest Earth [Aretz]. The lowest Earth is distant over the sea. Serving over the sea stands Heshemel.

Serve the mountain of hail. The mountain of hail is over the storehouse of snow.

The storehouse of snow serves over the sea.

The sea is over fire and serves over the ocean.

The ocean serves over desolation [Thehov].

Desolation serves over emptiness [Behov].

Emptiness serves over the air [Ruoch], and the air is suspended in the gate [Sa'areh].

Earth [Ademeh] is bound in the dome, and Earth is suspended in the gate.

Dry land [Cherebeh] is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

Dry land [Yibesheh] is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

Earth [Areqa] is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

The world [Thebel] is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

The world [Cheled] is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

Heaven [Shemiem] is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

The firmament is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

The sky [Shecheqiem] is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

The dwelling [Mekon] is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

The dwelling of the house [Mekon Ma'avon] is bound and suspended in the gate.

The habitation [Zebol] is bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

The deserts [A'areboth] are bound in the dome and suspended in the gate.

Bound in the strong arm [Zerova'a A'avozov] of God, speak to serve heaven. Become weak in wonder by the curse. Therefore, speak, what great works of the Lord to complete by wisdom of the actions [A'ashieth].

After the lowest Earth, around is the fire and the water.

After the fire and the water, around is the storm [Sopheh] and the tempest [Sa'areh].

After the storm and tempest, around is the word of wrath [Ameri Hemoleh].

After the word of wrath, around are Cherubim trembling [Merophephi].

After Cherubim trembling, around are images of lives [Demoth Chiyoth].

After images of lives, around is rushing forth and returning [Retzova Voshob].

After rushing forth and returning, around is holy words and blessed words.

By the lowest Earth, there are the lives of the holy. Of the wheels and the throne of the glory, of the footstool of the Lord over all the Earth. Speak, the heavens are the throne and Earth the footstool. Speak and see the lives.

Here is the one wheel. Of Earth and, in as much as the dwelling [Shekinothov] is above, thus the dwelling is below. Speak of the name. Awaken in the day. There are surrounding, 18,000 lands [A'avolemoth]. Speak, be surrounded by 18,000.

The spirit of the north is 4,500.
The spirit of the south is 4,500.
The spirit of the west is 4,500.
The spirit of the east is 4,500.

Be surrounded by 18,000 lands.

The world of the spirit of the north is filled with splendor and glory, power and strength, praise and song.

The world of the spirit of the south is filled with splendor and glory, power and strength, praise and song; and filled with splendor and glory, exaltation and glory, uprightness and majesty.

The world of the spirit of the east is filled with holiness and purity, power and righteousness, victory and strength.

The world of the spirit of the west is filled with beauty, and adorned by the crown [A'atereh Kether] of the kingdom [Malkuth].

In the sound of a moment of silence, after, around are the fire and water.

After the fire and water, Teherial, Norial, and Kegebial.

After 18 lands, around are the fire and water.

After the fire and water, around are the storm and tempest.

After the storm and tempest, around are the trembling and quaking.

After the trembling and quaking, around are terror and fear.

After terror and fear, around are thunder and lightning.

After thunder and lightning, around are the wings of the wind.

After wings of the wind, around is the river of fire.

After the river of fire, around is the river of water.

After the river of water, around is the river of the sea.

After the river of the sea, it is completely dark. There is no end. There is no number. There is no measure. There is no amount. There is no calculation.

Speak of darkness. Be in secret around the tabernacle [Sekoth]. Around are Noherial and Norial, from the gate [Phethech] of the spirit of the east.

Over the gate [Sha'ari] of the spirit of the west, these are the names of the princes appointed: Qodial, Phedal, Sekehial, A'anal, A'anial.

Above the firmament of the sky [Shecheqiem], there is the storehouse of snow, the storehouse of hail, and the storehouse of dew.

From the storehouse in heaven, the living and dying [Thechiyieth Hemethiem]. Speak of the majesty of the sky.

Over the gate of the sky of the spirit of the north, these are the names of the princes appointed: Phenal, Phenial, Raphael, Remial, Deremial.

Over the spirit of the south, these are the princes appointed: Pheroval, Tzerial, Qenial, Shesethenial, Shema'ayial, Shema'ahal.

Over the gate of the spirit of the east, these are the princes appointed: Tzedeqial, Qediesha, Thieretal, Thereniyial, Thodeth, A'amal.

Over the gate of the spirit of the west, these are the princes appointed: Torenial, Qerenial, Rekial, Meletial, Pheletial.

Above the dwelling [Keon] of the sky, therein build the holy temple and the altar of the incense and the altar of the burnt offering. The great prince Michael serves. The censer is upon the altar. The burnt offering is upon the altar of the burnt offering.

Speak of the dwelling by the action of the Lord. The holy temple is built by the hand of the Lord.

Over the gate of the dwelling of the spirit of the north, these are the princes appointed: Rechomial, Chenonial, Behial, Sheraphial, Mesial, Sheral.

Over the gate of the spirit of the south, these are the princes appointed: Techorial, Mechenial, Gedial, Choshial, Voa'anenal, Voqeshial.

Over the gate of the spirit of the east, these are the princes appointed: Terephial, Behelial, Begegal, Rememal, Qelebem, Aseron.

Over the gate of the spirit of the west, these are the princes appointed: Alemheqenal, Asetheqenal, Lobeqiem, Somekem, Yihela.

Above the dwelling of habitation [Mekon Ma'avon], therein is an army of Malachim. Every host of heaven speaks of the dwelling of the Lord Elohi.

Over the gate of the dwelling of the spirit of the north, these are the princes appointed: Achial, Anial, Vochezeqial, Medegephial, Shethephial, Vomethenenal.

Over the gate of the spirit of the south, these are the princes appointed: Tehorial, Mechenial, Gedial, Choshial, Voa'anenal, Voqeshial.

Over the gate of the spirit of the east, these are the princes appointed: Terephial, Behelial, Denetzal, Hememal, Qelebem, Ateron (or Anoron).

Over the gate of the spirit of the west, these are the princes appointed: Aloheqena, Asetheqena, Lobeqiem, Tomekem, Yihelal.

Above the dwelling of habitation, therein is an army of Malachim. Every host of heaven speaks of the dwelling of the Lord Elohi.

Over the gate of the dwelling of the spirit of the north, these are the princes appointed: Achial, Anial, Chezeqial, Meregebial, Shethephial, Vomethenial.

Over the gate of the spirit of the south, these are the princes appointed: Nekebedial, Nephelial, Qedeshial, Hoderial, Nechemial, Vomelekial.

Over the gate of the spirit of the east, these are the princes appointed: Shemeshial, Vobereqial, Yira'ashial, Chederial, Voshcrephial, Voyiheneq, Reba.

Over the gate of the spirit of the west, these are the princes appointed: Anechal, Phelelal, Vophelelal, Tzoreteq, Shem Qedosh [The Holy Name], Tietepech, Phielelal, Kal, Shem Hashem [The Name of the Name].

Above the habitation of habitation [Ma'avon Zebol], speak and regard from heaven. See from the holy habitation. Beauty is above. From the habitation in the deserts, sing the song to Elohim. Sing the song of the name to the horseman in the deserts.

In the deserts, there is righteousness. Therein is righteousness and justice. Treasure living and treasure blessing and treasure peace. Neshemethen are most righteous. Of dew, God preserves life, therein the dying body. Prepare to come forth. Speak, the dew shades earth from the light.

The dome of the arch curves [Kiephi Qesheth Gebi] over the deserts. In the heights, a thousand thousands and a myriad myriads measures correspond to the cities. Holiness is above from the wheels of wheels [Gelgeliem Avopheniem] over the curve of the arch.

In the heights, a thousand thousands and a myriad myriads measures correspond to the Seraphim and Avopheniem and Gedodiem above. The lives are given over the wheels of the wheels.

In the heights, a thousand thousands and a myriad myriads measures correspond to the princes of the Gedoliem [The Great Ones].

Of the shell of the arch, give in the beginning of the lives. The rays of the splendor go forth in the firmament, resembling ice. The glory extends over the rays of the splendor.

In the heights, a thousand thousands and a myriad myriads measures correspond to thousands upon thousands.

Above the dwelling, the vision of the light gives over the ice. The glory in the heights is a thousand thousands and a myriad myriads measures corresponding to guide Elohim a thousand myriads.

Above the dwelling, the most glorious vision is given from the vision of the highest light. A thousand thousands and a myriad myriads measures correspond to the rays of the splendor. Guide the glory above from the throne of sapphire stone. Give over from the most glorious vision.

In the heights, a thousand thousands and a myriad myriads measures correspond to power and strength [A'azoz Vogebor]. Above the throne of the glory, give over the sapphire stone.

In the heights, a thousand thousands and a myriad myriads measures by the Lord of all the universe. Glory is given above. Speak of the vision. You, the Lord, dwell upon the throne. Raise up and speak, below the feet, serve to establish the sapphire.

All the universe is suspended in the strength of the arm, as an amulet. Speak of below the feet. Speak, below the arms is the universe around. Conceal the brilliance of the sapphire and emerald from before the visions of the eye. Speak, do not regard the eye. Of the name of the Lord, proclaim, great is the gift of Elohinov.

BOOK FOUR

PART 3

THIS IS THE PRAYER REQUIRED TO ESTABLISH GREATNESS [ZEH HETHEPHELEH TZERIEK LOMER BEKOVONEH GEDOLEH]

BLESSED ARE YOU, THE LORD ELOHINO. God [Elohi] of the fathers. God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob. El the great, the strong, and the honored. El of the highest lamentation [Qineh] by the compassion of heaven and Earth. You are king of kings of the Malachim [Melek Meleki Hamelechiem].

(Hebrew: HQBH IThSh.) Great is the name. Honored is the name. Adorned is the name. Victory is the name. Praised is the name. Uplifted is the name. Remember the universe is everlasting. Forever dwell upon the throne of the glory. Lives rising up to the throne of glory. You are fire of the throne of fire. Of the lives of the holy fire, divide the flames of fire.

Your fire consumes fire. The prince over all princes and chariots over the Avophanim. Send forth David Ben Zelateh [Hebrew: DOD BN ZLATH]. The truth is the path. From the sons in the generations [Men Bera Deremen], appointed over ministers of the Lord. Widen the heart and mouth as the eye. Of the power, reach in the days. Do not deceive.

Blessed are you, Lord over the name of names. In the great heights, the Lord is strengthed from praise. Sing of strength. Praise the great name and the holy glory. Sing to the Lord. In life, praise the Lord while yet I am.

Speak of Rabbi Ishmael. Speak to me, Metatron, the great prince. Bear witness as I testify. (Hebrew: IHOH), God of Israel, God of life and living.

Proclaim to rise up 118 [Q"ICh] myriads. From within, come forth to proclaim the Lord. Below are 118 myriads resembling.

Of the Lord, 236 [RL"O] myriads thousands divisions from the arm of the right side until the arm of the left side.

Seventy-seven [Aa"Z] myriads from the wheel of the eye, from the right eye until the wheel of left eye. Thirty [L'] myriads wheels of the Lord.

In the beginning are three and three myriads crowns.

In the beginning, 60 myriads correspond to 60 myriads thousands of Israel. Therefore proclaim, El is great, of the power and the glory.

Of the perfection of the beloved ones [Yidiedoth], El is of all lives. Of the corruption of the rotting, pick it off. Picking to cut off, for the sake of touching by that as cut off.

Speak, all reveal the mystery. Know and understand what is to come in the world. Of salvation in the land of Gihenam from every kind of retribution [Phora'ani]. Of every kind of retribution [Gezier] and hardship. Of every tumult, come forth in the world. Of salvation from every kind of sorcery [Keshephiem], bring forth to us.

Deliver us from violence. Deliver me, Levi Ben Zosekien (Hebrew: LOI BN ZOSKIN). Deliver by the letter of every evil word. Of every retribution and hardship. Every kind of retribution is for the sake of the great name. Therefore, we are bound by songs of praise. Praise and adorn, praise and exalt, bless and exalt, of holiness and unity and devotion, ruling over.

The true king. The strong king. The one king. The first king and the last. The Lord [Adon] king. The brave king. The blessed king. The chaste king. The chosen king. The creator king. The proven king. The great king. The strong king. The exalted king. The savior king. The majestic king. The protector king. The king dwells in the heavens. The king raises the banner. The king of judgment. The protector king. The king of generations. The king of the word of peace. The king of righteousness. The king adorned in vestments. The king ends tumult. The king of splendor. The king of glory. The eternal king. The ancient king.

The king speaks. The king makes pure. The king feeds. The king is not to be forsaken. The king raises up the humble. The king of compassion. The mighty king. The gracious king. The merciful

and compassionate king. The living king. The king of everlasting life. The king of victory. The king of strength. The king of the grace of the weak. The king of the innermost and secret workings of the soul [Choqer Kelivoth]. The king of the life of the living.

The king hews the flames of fire. The good king. The upright king. The pure king. The king supports. The king of goodness and wickedness. The king of good hope. The one king. The upright king. The honored king. The king knows to bear witness. The king dwells in secret. The true king. The king rises up to the heights. The king of glory, the king of power. The king establishes the throne in righteousness.

The king conquers anger. The king is clothed in righteousness as armor. The king is eternal. The king is robed in compassion. The king of absolution and forgiveness. The king of dying and living. The king of atonement. The king overcomes every sin. The king forgives. The king of adoration.

The king descends and ascends. The king of the poor and rich. The king of lowering and raising up. The king, providing, sustains. The king maintains and supports. The king of heights and rising up. The king is filled with compassion. The king is filled with purity. The king of blessings by praises. The king of the kingdom of victory. The king holds dominion over every king. The king of the miracle of miracles.

The king reveals prosperity and salvation. The king of security and support. The king loosens fetters. The king releases fetters. The king of the kings of the kingdom. The king of praise and majesty. The king of wondrous deeds. The king is revered. The king is sublime. The king is exalted. The faithful king. The honored king. The king of pleasure and desire.

The king created mercy. The proud king. The king forgives sin. The wise king is forever victorious. The king upholds the fallen. The king bears the burden. The eternal king. The king protects and is concealed in flames of fire, covered in glory. The king forgives iniquities. The king of great strength and power. The mighty king. The powerful king. The highest and honored king.

The king fortifies the dwelling. The king forgives crimes. The king makes miracles. The king of the work of Berashith. The ancient king. The mighty and powerful king. The king of redemption and deliverance. The king rewards salvation. The king opens the

hand to all. The righteous king. The upright king of white [Tzech] and red [Adom].

The king observes the periods. The king of the eternal fortress [Tzor A'avolemiem]. The king of the glory of hosts. The holy king. The honored king draws near to proclaim. The zealous king. The vengeful king establishes heaven and Earth. The holy king above the king precedes above. The high and lofty king. The king rises up. The king of compassion and mercy. The king is high and lofty over the heights.

The king guides through the deserts. The king leads above to the throne of glory, over the Cherubim and over the wings of the wind. The king desires to restore. The king of the dwelling of the sky. The king hears supplication. The Almighty [Shaddai] king dwells above. The strong king. The king of the path of perfection. The king of the hosts of the universe. The king of praise in song above and below. The king of the name of the king of kings of Malachim. God rules in compassion and the king forgives all iniquities and heals all sicknesses.

The king created with the letters of goodness for the sake of the great name. Speak in the presence of Jacob.

To you, the Lord of the great and strong, of beauty and victory and splendor. All in heaven and Earth is to you, Adonai, the Lord of kings [Adoniem Hemelekeh]. Exaltation of all who begin.

Who declares the strength of the Lord? Hear all supplications to the king of kings of Malachim. Who allows the book by hearing supplications? Who is able to declare the strength and power of the works? Who allows the book of great miracles? Who dwells to consider the book?

Of mercy and happiness of Israel, the name secures above. By the commandments, desire much. Who loves you, and gives compassion upon you, as the compassion of the father over sons? Guide by the light of the living. Deliver from the path of death.

Of the sign of the path, David Ben Zelateh serves. By the path of the living, secure the names above.

Who is Adononov? Who is Elehienov? Who is Melekenov? Who is Moshiaya'anov?

Not by Elehienov. Not by Adonienov. Not by Melekienov. Not by Moshiya'anov.

Give thanks to Elehienov. Give thanks to Adonienov. Give thanks to Melekenov. Give thanks to Moshiya'anov.

Bless Adononov. Bless Elehienov. Praise Melekenov. Praise Moshiaya'anov.

You are the power. You are the strength. You dwell in the great kingdom. You are the splendor. You are the glory. You dwell in the glory of the kingdom. You are the strength. You are the power. You dwell in the glory and the strength. You are great and make miracles.

You are Elohim. You are blessed. The Lord blesses. You create the heavens and the name of names. All hosts of the Earth praise the Lord El, first and last. You are the Lord. The beginning of all beginnings and end of all endings. You are the strength of great power and deliverance of the Lord of hosts. Happy is man to have faith in you.

Rabbi Ishma'al speaks. I see you dwelling upon the high and lofty throne. Rise up and hosts serve before you, from the right side and left side. Speak to me. The angel prince faces the name Metatron Ruoch, Mieseqoniech, Pheseqien, Atemon, Hiegeron, Siegedon, Sereton, Seniegeron, Mieqon, Chesekos, Sethiem, Heshekem, Cheqierien, Na, Doqierien, Ziena, Reba, Nenetosh, Zenetoph, Hekieqem.

Of Rabbi Ishma'al, how much is the measure of God? Conceal from all the human beings. Divide the feet [or soles of feet]. Fill all the universe. All speak of the heavens as the throne and the Earth is the footstool. Hew divisions [or the height of every sole] of three myriads thousand divisions.

Of the sole of the foot of the right side, the name is Pheresiemiya Atereqetet. Of the left side, the name is Agethemen.

From the soles of the feet until the ankles are 1,000 myriad and 500 divisions of height. Thus of the left side of the ankles.

Of the right side, the name is Thetzenenethenieh Teshesheqes. The name of the left side is Asethemen.

From the ankles until the knees are 19,400 divisions of height, and thus of the left side.

Of the leg of the left side, the name is Qenegegi Meheriech Teseseqos. The name of the right side is Memena Vozoviya.

From the knees until the thighs are 12,000 myriad divisions and 1,004 divisions of height. Thus the name of the left side is Menehebov Heriech.

The name of the thigh of the right side is Sheshephoseth Phereseb. The name of the left side is Thepheget Chezieza.

From the thighs until the neck [or back] are 24,000 myriad divisions. The name is Motheni Motheniyov, and the name is Motheniyehov Athesegeh Yidiedieh.

Over the heart are 70 names[1] written:

TzTz TzDQ TzChIAL TzOR TzBI TzDIQ SAaP SRAaP BOChN
TzBAOTh ShDI ALHIM IH OHI TzCh DGOL OADOM SSS
AaAA AAA AIA AHO RBIH HH HO OH TzTzTz PPP KN ChH
ChI ChI ChI ROKB AaRBOTh IH HH OH MMM NNN HOO
IH ChPTz HTzTz AI ZA ThAaA AAaA QQQ QShR RZ ZK
GBOR IA IA IOD HAN ALP DIMN PAP KOP RAO III IIA KBB
TTT BKK PLL SIIM AOThIOTh BShB MLO

The neck is 13,000 myriad and 800 divisions of height. The name is Seneniehov Vobehethieqen. The curve of the head is 300,000 myriad, of three and one third divisions. The mouth is not able to speak and the ear not able to hear. The name is Ather Hoderieh A'atesieh A'atetieh.

The chin is one myriad and one thousand and 500 divisions. The name is Hedereq Semiya.

See the face. See the jaws as the image of Ruoch. Fortify the Neshemah. Not every creature is able to remember bodies as Tharshish. The shining brilliance enlightens from the midst of darkness. Clouds and fog surround the sign. Of every prince, face the Seraphim. Speak before, not to measure these names written to us. Bind the name Legebethiyiya and the name Aberegeg Tetephiyiyeh.

Of the tongue, from one end of the universe until the other. Speak in the presence of Jacob. All who sleep are not revealed. Seal the scripture. Speak in the presence of Jacob. The name is Asesegiyiyehov Voayiyia.

[1]There are actually 72 names here.

Of the forehead, the name is Mesesegiyiyihov Yinayiyia Negem. Upon the forehead is written (Hebrew letters: IIHO HH IOH OIH HA HI HI HI HA HH OOH III HO OIHO HH IH AI HH IH IH IA HO HO IIHII HIH IHO HS HA HIH OIH).

The black [pupil] in the eye of the right side is one myriad and one thousand and 500 divisions, and thus of the left side. The name of the right side is Azeriyiyeh Azeriyiyeh Atetietos. The name of the prince is Rehebial. Over the name is Shehoval Metet Gerophemetzia. Of purification, go forth from the illumination of all creatures.

The white in the eye of the right side is two and twenty myriad and two divisions, and thus of the left side. The name is Bezeqocha.

From the shoulder of the right side until the shoulder of the left side is 16,000 myriad divisions. The name of the shoulder of the right side is Metetegeriyaha A'anegen. The name of the left side is Thethemehieneta. Of one name (Hebrew: ShLMH INNIAL).

From the arm [or forearm] of the right side until the arm of the left side is 12,000 myriad divisions. The arms are double. The name of the arm of the right side is Geberehezeziya A'akebovi. The name of the left side is Metetegehetzetziehov.

The fingers of the right hand are 15,000 myriad divisions by every finger, and thus of the left side. The name of the right side is Thethemetzemetz Gegemoth Gegeshemesh. The name of the left side is Thetz Meph Thethemeth Agegemetz Agegemeth Voshosheniem. Thus, you appoint to go on and grow.

The palm of the right hand is 4,000 myriad divisions, and thus of the left side. The name of the right side is Hezeziya Ategeriyiyieh. The name of the left side is Ashehoziech.

The toes of the right foot are 10,000 myriad divisions by every toe, and thus of the left side. The name of the right side is Atheremetz Aderemeth Beremenem Berethehemiem Ovahoz. The name of the left side is Zekiyiyen Kezekiyiyin Hethemeth Ahoz.

You appoint the hands and go forth. Therefore, proclaim El is great, the power and glory. Speak of the Lord Elohiekem. He is the God of Gods [Elohi Helohim] and Lord of Lords [Adonai Hadoniem]. El is great, the power and glory.

Speak to me of the word. Calculate the divisions complete. How many measures of every division? The division of three miles [Mielien]. Every mile [Miel] is ten thousand cubits. Every cubit is

two spans [Zerethoth]. The span fills all the universe. All speak, who measures by that over the sea and heaven. Establish by the span.

Rabbi Nathan is the disciple of Rabbi Ishma'al. He speaks of the nose of the face. Of Nathan, measure from the right side and measure from the left side. Thus of the lips and jaws of Nathan. Measure the forehead of Nathan, every cubit, whom the Lord adorns.

The width of the forehead is as the eyebrow to the neck. Thus the shoulder as the point of the nose. The point of the nose is the point of the small finger. The height of the jaws is half the curve of the head. Thus measures every man.

The lips are 77 divisions. The name of the higher lip is Tiya. The name of the lower lip is Hezereniya.

Of the mouth, fire consumes fire. Deliver Aleph from the word. Of the name Akedera, who desires to present as an ornament.

The crown [Kether] is beginning 500,000 over 500,000, and the name (Hebrew: IISh).

The precious stone is between the rays. The name (Hebrew: IISh) is with (Hebrew: ALI). There is with (Hebrew: ALI) engraved (Hebrew: AaLIH DODI) of the white and red banner.

The Merkabah begins in gold. Of fine gold [Phez] locks of curly hair.

The eye is established over the horizon of the sea, as a fragrant flower bed. Two thousand myriad divisions of all not sealed in scriptures. Be as a fragrant flower bed of the greatest aromatic perfumes. The lips are as lilies. Of myrrh dripping, passing over the hand. The gold ring is filled, as Tharshish in the womb, ivory covered by sapphires.

Stand and rejoice, as instructed. Of Adonai, fine gold appears as white [Lebenon]. The young man percieves sweetness and all desire that love [DODI] and that beloved [RAaI] sons of Jerusalem.

AGTIH TChON IChON TOB THOR IOD IOD IOD IHIH ChSIN ChSIN.

Holy, holy, holy. The Lord of hosts fills all the Earth with glory.

The eyebrows measure the eye of the right side. The name is Heder Vovoled. The name of the left side is Aphedeh Tzetziehov.

The height of the ears are as the height of the forehead of the right side. The name is Atzethiyiya. The name of the left side is Megogehov Tzetziya.

Obtain all the measures of every myriad. A myriad myriads of thousands of divisions in height and a thousand thousands of myriads of divisions in width.

Rabbi Ishma'al speaks, as speaking the word before Rabbi A'aqiba. Speak to me of all who know to measure that formed. Praise God for covering the creatures. Know of security, and understand what is to come in the world. It shall be good in the world. Know of the good coming in the world and the length of days in the world.

Speak to me of Rabbi Ishma'al before the disciple. I and Rabbi A'aqieba combine the word this by that. All who know measures of the formed, praise God. Of security, understand (Hebrew: HAaHB). The second letters change in every day.

Establish to fill (Hebrew: KRSIO) of fire. (Hebrew: DTh BG BG GB HOMG.) The name of the locks of hair. Establish the name (Hebrew: DBR BRIR DOKN). There is half. Call the name (Hebrew: GL ShRB).

One eye sees from one end of the universe until the other. The name is Akeseseth. It is necessary to go forth from illumination to all the creatures. One eye sees afterward, of what exists eternally.

Of the name Atenoneseth, the body resembles an arch. The arch resembles the name Leqeseshiya. Divide the name Men Kemetz. The name Cherebov Metzemetzieth Metziya.

Of the throne of glory, the name is Dorekez Phierota. Of the dwelling place, the name is Dorephez Pherorephez. Thus call by the name. The feet of the glory of lives [Chiyoth].

The living serve below the foot of the first throne, that it is living. The name is A'ageliyov Chetzebiyiyeh. Of the foot of the second throne, it is living. The name is Bekebeb Phelebiyiyepheti. Of the foot of the third throne, it is living. The name is Kekebeb Alegiyi. Of the foot of the fourth throne. it is living. The name is Atzekiyiya Bezekez. The name is Alegiyi.[2]

[2]The second name here was probably added by the editor of the 1701 edition, possibly due to a contradiction in the different manuscripts he was compiling.

Of the image of the faces, the seal of the lion, the seal of the eagle, the image of the bull. The face of man conceals four faces. One of four faces and four faces to every face. Of sixty and four faces to every life. Four faces and four corners to one and four corners to corner. Four corners to faces and faces to corner and corner sixty and four faces to every life.

Of the prince of the face of the man, the names are Alieh, Ametzeb, Ametz, Ameth, Kemetz.

Of the prince of the face of the lion, the names are Hodov, Dieh, Hiedova'ah, Al, Avoriya, Hod, Hoviyeh, Themegemetz.

Of the prince of the face of the bull, the names are Alieh, Tzemetzememeba, Mesekiya.

Of the prince of the face of the eagle, the names are A'aphephi, Alieh, Memetzieth, Tzehorierial.

The sin offering of Israel covers the face of the bull, and the Cherub comes below.

Of the prince of the face of the Cherub, the names are Temetemeni, Alieh, Kerobieh, Kerobeh, Phesephesiech, Heneqeneqiya.

Of them, speak, they are holy. Speak, it is blessed to speak. Declare words to Jacob. Of all who are not sealed in Sepher Berashith, in order to work Berashith. Here prosper in the beauty of God. Beauty fills all hosts.

Thunder and storms are from the right side. Support the storm from the left side. Omens of the storm come before. In the midst are signs of brilliance. Of darkness and clouds and fog and mud mire. Before strengthen between star to star, the source of lightning. Between lightning to lightning. Of the gate of Heshemel, of spirits above, and thunder and sounds and lightning and the shell of the arch and vapor [Hebeliem] belonging to the seal. Ascend and descend therein over God. The grace and mercy and glory and compassion and splendor and crown and honor and beauty and majesty.

Of the hand of God and the name Metatron, speak of power and strength. Speak of holiness and blessing. Speak, there is not tumult before. Serve before being cast out. Metatron comes forth.

Place before the name (Hebrew: HQBH AHH). Of praise and beauty, speak, blessed is the glory of the Lord from the name (Hebrew: IHO HO HO IOHO IHIIH). Blessed is the glory of the Lord from the name. Thus speaking after, blessed is the glory of the Lord from the name (Hebrew: OBShKMLO).

Gather before and below the throne of the glory. Go forth from the right side. Separate fire and stones of hail and the wall of darkness. Of Ruoch, the left side goes to the corners of the storm and strength of the tempest.

Gather Metatron before God, below the throne of the glory. From great strength of the corners, every angel ministers before God. Speak, El is great, the power and glory. In praise of God, speak three times every day for eighty days.

Of Metatron, God gives from the splendor and glory. Metatron is over the ministering angels. It is written, the great prince is over all the princes and over every angel ministering.

Serve before and serve above. In the heights, minister before Adam. Fire consumes fire. Of the throne, the name of Moses by the prince Metatron.

It is written, by one letter, create heaven and Earth. Seal in the ring (Hebrew: AHIH AShR AHIH). It is written in seven letters. Of seven letters of 24 signs and 70 names and seven most holy. Give over six from the names. Engrave upon twelve stones.

It is written in seven sounds by six over six high. Give in the innermost chamber [Chederi Chederiem], by the secret of secrets [Setheri Setheriem] and the miracle of miracles [Phelayi Phelayiem]; but only to Rabbi [Rebienov] Moses.

God did not give domain, nor allow to make use of by Adam, the first man, and not to Shem, son of Noah, and not to Abraham, and not to Isaac, and not to Jacob, but to Moses alone.

Speak, here I am. Send forth the angel and the brilliance of God. Moses keeps it therein. Speak, keep therein and listen to the sound. El rises up as smoke therein. Do not rise up in rebellion in heaven.

Moses draws near and speaks before God. When not facing him, El goes forth to rise up. The Malachim come forth and circle before the throne of the glory on one side. Lives are from one side. Shekinah over Shekinah. The glory is in the center.

One life rises over the Seraphim and descends from the Shekinah. Metatron speaks in a great sound and small silence. The throne of the glory is silent at once. The Avophanim are silent and also the Malachim. Of the strongest cities, the most holy silence and weaken the river of fire.

Lives give faces by the Earth. Metatron comes forth as fire in silence. Give in the ears of lives, in order not to hear the sound of the glory of God. Of you, the Shem Hemaphorash. (Hebrew: HTTTRON.)

Remember by the sign of the hour. Thus proclaim to God by the name of the life of the pure and the holy. Of the greatness and the glory and the strength and the power and the love and the might and honor and splendor.

ADRIHO AHRKI HChII IHOH AHIH AShR AHIH HChI IOM HKH HH OH HOH OHO HH HIA HOA HH IHI HI HI IHIH IHOH.

Of the everlasting Lord, the name is remembered from generation to generation, divided in portions in clear language.

IHO HHIO HIH HI IH IH HOHI HIH OIHIO IHO HChI OIHH IHI HI HHIO HII HO IHOH IHO HIHO HI IHOH.

Blessed is the name of the glory of the kingdom forever and ever.

By commandment of Adonienov, righteous host of Israel, hope and expect righteousness is with you. Be righteous and rise up in rightousness. Rise up in exaltation to you. Burst into song from the mouth. Answer and speak. The Lord Adonienov. What mighty name is in all the Earth? Praise the splendor over the heavens.

You are holy and your name is holy. You are mighty and your name is mighty. You are strong and your name is strong. You are true and your name is true. You are blessed and your name is blessed. You are chosen and your name is chosen. You are great and your name is great. You are power and your name is power. You are exalted and your name is exalted. You are praised and your name is praised. You are honored and your name is honored. You are ancient and your name is ancient. You are eternal and your name is eternal.

You are pure and your name is pure. You are refined and your name is refined. You are mighty and your name is mighty. You are life and your name is life. You are pure and your name is pure. You are precious and your name is precious. You are upright and your name is upright. You are unique and your name is unique.

You are great and your name is great. You are flame and your name is flame. You are high and your name is high. You are pleasure and your name is pleasure. You are glory and your name is glory. You are desire and your name is desire. You are revered and your name is revered. You are tolerance and your name is tolerance. You are upheld and your name is upheld. You are power and your name is power. You are wondrous and your name is wondrous. You are splendor and your name is splendor. You are righteous and your name is righteous. You are pure and your name is pure. You are holy and your name is holy. You are compassion and your name is compassion. You are beauty and your name is beauty. You are Almighty and your name is Almighty. You are perfect and your name is perfect. Blessed are you, the holy Lord El. Amen.

Give praise above. Adore and exalt. Of the unity of the everlasting image, the Lord is over all the universe. The Lord is over all creatures and all the lives of the living souls [Nepheshoth Chi Hechiyiyim], first and last.

Of the song of the Lord, the majesty of the king. Be clothed in the vestment of the Lord. Strengthen the fetters. Also establish the world [Thebel] is not to shake. Establish the everlasting throne. You raise the rivers. The Lord raises up the sound of the rivers. The great rivers rise up from the sounds of the great sea. The most powerful waves of the great sea.

In the heights, the Lord witnesses the most faithful dwelling in the most holy house of the Lord. Enlighten the days. Sing of the love [or the Song of David]. Deliver to the Lord. Build strength and deliver to the Lord the glory and strength. Deliver to the Lord the glory of the name. Bow down to the Lord in the splendor.

The holy voice of the Lord is over the sea. Of the glory, the desires of the Lord. Over the great sea, the voice of the Lord. By the power of the voice of the Lord, the glory of the voice. Of the grain of cedar trees, the Lord strengthens the white cedar tree. Leap up as a white calf. A coat of armor as in oryx [Ramiem]. The voice of the Lord hews flames of fire.

The voice of the Lord strengthens from the word. Strengthen the Lord from the holy word. The voice of the Lord strengthens trees and strips bare the wood.

In the palace, all speak of the glory of the Lord. Of the deluge, to dwell. Dwell the Lord, king of the universe. The Lord of the strength of the nation. Give the Lord to bless your nation in peace.

Sing of the love of the Lord of the Earth. Fill the world and dwell in it. Over the foundation of seas and over rivers, establish who climbs up the mountain of the Lord. Who rises up in the holy place with clean soles and pure heart. Do not bear falsehoods of Nephesh. Do not make the oath to deceive.

Rise up and you are blessed from the Lord. To the righteous, Elohi gives salvation to the generations. Seek in petition. Face Jacob and rise up to two gates. Of the first, rise up the gate of the universe. Come forth the glory of the king. Who is he that is king? Of the glory of the Lord, mighty and strong. The Lord of the strength of hosts. Rise up to two gates first.

Rise up to the gate of the universe. Come forth the glory of the king. Who is he that is king? The glory of the Lord of hosts. He is king. The glory rises up.

The Lord blesses you. Create the heaven of heavens. Of the heavens and all hosts of the Earth, all rise up in the days. Of all in them, you are life and you complete. Of the host of the heavens, you are worshipped.

You are the Lord Elohim, that chose Abram to go forth from the light of prosperity. There is the name Abraham. Reach your heart, faithful before.

Of the covenant of the people, the covenant gives you the Earth. Of the Kena'ani [Cannanite], Hechethi [name of a people, the second son of Cannan], the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Yibosi [ancient name of Jerusalem], and the Geregeshi [name of a Cannanite nation]. Spread the seed and rise up by your words, that you are righteous.

You are the Lord. The great and the strength and the beauty and the victory and the splendor is in heaven and Earth. You are the Lord of the kingdom. All rise up to begin. You hold dominion over all through power and strength, greatness and might over all. You are Elohino. We praise you and praise for the sake of beauty. Blessed is the name of the glory of the heights above.

Of every blessing, the splendor forms mercy. One thousand rise up in sin and iniquity, of atonement and purity. The Lord Elohim Shaddai of hosts.

IH AHH IHA IH AHIH AShR AHIH IHOH IHOH AL.

Of compassion and mercy, you are slow to anger. Of great mercy and truth extolled. I pray to the power of compassion. Of sadness and anger and wrath, pass in the distance from it.

Serve to understand the truth. Of Phelonieth, all to me. From every house and from you. From cities and divisions, let there be compassion. The Lord above shows pity and is merciful above.

All speak of the Lord Elohim, and your prayer comes before. Worship to dwell in heaven. Dwell in the highest heaven. Derephed Pheloni guides in the deserts. Dwell in the habitation.

Dwell in the habitation. Dwell in the sky and dwell upon the throne of compassion.

In the seventh firmament, all light is sevenfold. The light shines on all the habitations. Therein is the throne of the glory. Establish over four lives in glory. Therein is the storehouse of lives [Chiyiyim] and storehouse of souls [Nepheshoth]. It is unfathomable.

In the world, the great illumination is therein. From the great light, illuminate the Earth. Malachim are bound to serve light, light as light shining and not extinguished. See it as the movement of a ship.

Of lightning, serve over the rising light. It is most wondrous. Come to the dwelling of the high and lofty throne. Rise up that it is alone. There is no limit and there is no end.

Before the rivers of fire, bind and rise up to dwell. Rise up in silence to serve. From the sound, the nations tremble. The powers extend to serve before. Do not behold the images facing. Conceal from all.

Of the sign, not able to see. Of the unity, images from all hidden. All images are not hidden in the most profound book. Divide darkness and go forth to light. In the shadows, know what is secret in darkness. The light is of splendor.

By completion, aid the light. Dwell in the light of the throne. See around is the light of lives. The Aophanim rise up.

Of the darkness are the six corners. In the corners, cover the face. Below give faces. Of four faces facing. Do not rise above faces from fear and terror.

Of hills [Gebiehem] serve before breaking into pieces. Be immersed in the river in purity, wrapped in white coverings. Dwell by the sound of strength and power.

Holy, holy, holy. The hosts fill all the Earth with glory. It is the place of all the works. It precedes all the universe and precedes the Garden of Eden. Also, until heaven and Earth. It is alone and there is no limit and no ending without.

Be suspended by the strength in the habitation. In all dwellings revere by the Ruoch. The mouth is established and glory is established. It is one. There is not two. There is no equal. There is nothing to compare. There is none except. There is none without.

Of the word, there is no end to the life of the king of kings of Malachim. God is king over every king of the Earth. Rise up over every angel in heaven. Search the hearts until not formed. Know thoughts until not existing.

In the name of the Lord, be blessed with honor and glory of the universe forever and ever. Eternal victory forever. Follow eternally as there is no universe if there is no Elohim.

By the sound, the earth trembles. Mountains move forth and mountains dissolve. Of anger, by the wrath of the power of the sea. Travel and serve in the world. Proclaim, all rise up in strength. Hidden from the eye, all life dwells in the throne of the glory of the great holy kingdom.

Travel and serve in the world. Travel all the world. Do not be visible. Know all the most secret things. Know what is in darkness. Change the shadows of dawn. Illuminate night as day. All the most secret things are revealed by the Sun. Be in wonder from the world.

The holy king journeys over wings of the wind. He holds dominion in all worlds. Do not turn away from [him]. The Sun and Moon and all planets and all signs of the zodiac worship him. It is revealed in the Garden of Eden, plant the Tree of Life in the garden.

Blessed is the name in every generation. From blessing in the habitation above the ancient [A'athieq]. Of the ancient and righteous, blessed is the glory of the place. From blessing, proclaim to fill in beauty. From understanding of knowledge of creation, search and reveal. Thus, reverence of the name.

Blessed is the name. Proclaim in the habitation. From the blessing, strength in beauty.

Blessed is the name. Come forth snow from the blessing. The deer in flames.

Blessed is the name. Splendor in darkness. From the blessing, splendor and glory in the habitation.

Blessed is the name. Guide in deserts. From the blessing, thousands upon thousands.

Blessed is the name. Be fettered from the blessing, of cords of flame [Mietheri Leheboth].

Blessed is the name. The sound of thunder. From the blessing, lightning rushes forth.

Blessed is the name. All in Earth. From the blessing, oceans in Earth.

Blessed is the name. All in deserts. From the blessing, waves in the sea.

Blessed is the name. Alone on the throne. From the blessing, dwell in strength.

Blessed is every Neshemah. From the blessing, every creature.

Blessed is the name forever and ever. From the blessings, forever and ever.

Blessed is the Lord of the universe, amen and amen, hallelujah.

The scholar forsakes [Beni Thorethi Tha'azob] the commandments. Conceal your punishment [Moser]. The Lord El condemns and El abhors, in punishment. Keep the commandments and laws as the apple of the eye. Do not remove the covering [Kepher] of the Torah.

Of retribution, and lamentation in day and night for the sake of keeping, create all written therein. Thus succeed upon your paths and thus prosper. Is it not so, appointing strength and power? El strengthens. El is below the nation.

Of the Lord Elohiek, all go forth in the day. Appoint the mercy of the Lord. In night, sing in prayer to El. Blessed is the everlasting name in the great kingdom.

AHOHO AHRKO HChII IHOH AHIH AShR AHIH IHOH OAI HHH HH OH HO HH HI HH IHI HI HI HI HOTh.

Of the everlasting name of the universe, remember from generation to generation.

BShKMLO IHI HHIO HIH HI IH HH HO HI HOH OIHIO HHI HHI OHI HH IH IHI HO HHIO HII HO IHOH IHO HHIO HI HOH.

Blessed is the name of glory, the Kingdom forever and ever. By the name, thus great. Of greatness, thus glory. Of glory, thus majesty. Of majesty, thus holy. Of holiness, thus beauty. Of beauty, thus light now. Of light now, thus light then. Of light then, thus great mercy. Of great mercy, thus power. Of power, thus exaltation. Of exaltation, thus great. Of greatness, thus great compassion. Of great compassion, thus goodness. Of goodness, thus compassion over all works.

To you, beauty of the glory of the name, great and strong. Of the kingdom and the beauty and the victory and the splendor, all in heaven and in Earth. The name is from it. Thus, the name of glory in the universe. The name of glory forever and ever.

The highest blessing is of the name. Of the name of splendor, of the holy name, praise the name. The highest name is over every blessing. In prayer, the name is as thus. The name is before all. Establish the name forever and ever.

Establish the name. From the name, armies [Gedodi] tremble. From the glory of the name, hew flame. Praise the name. The Seraphim praise the name of the lives of the most holy. The name Aophanim is from the name of purity. The name makes you over all the creatures.

Of the name, receive from the name. The sea rises up hereafter. All waves and undulations are from the great name. All dwell above. Every habitation and dwelling trembles and shakes.

In heaven and Earth, dwell with the Lord [Derieh]. Of the ocean and the desert [Tzieh], hell [Abaddon] and shadows [Tzelmoth], man and beast, mountains and valleys and hills, seas and rivers. Of fire, hail and snow and vapor of the great Ruoch. The angel of fire and angel of water.

Tremble from the name. All Neshemeth, Ruoch, Chiyiyem. Thus establish the glory of the name. I, David Ben Zelateh, serve. Dust and ashes afflict the heart of the humble, Ruoch is appointed. Of worms, shadows pass over the field.

Come forth to fall in supplication. Of prayers before, obtain grace in the eyes. Of grace and mercy and righteousness and

compassion before the throne of the glory of the kingdom. You draw near to every proclamation and commandment.

All seek glory in holiness. You fill with compassion. You are pure and upright. Mercy and compassion are to you who are pure and good. Rise up, you who are pure. Make prayers and petition and supplication before the throne of glory. Open to me. David Ben Zelateh serves. The gate is prayer. The gate is answer. The gate is understanding. The gate is wisdom. The gate is knowledge. The gate is righteousness. The gate is compassion. The gate is reverence of heaven. The gate is blessing. The gate is supporting and maintaining.

It is written in the book, of the living nation of the most righteous. Give thanksgiving and be great of the lives of goodness for the sake of the glory of the great name, the power and glory.

The divisions are the mighty and the powerful and the strong and the wondrous and the holy and the secret and the honor. Holy, holy, holy. The Lord of hosts fills all the Earth in glory.

The angel host gives honor to you and strengthens you. Adorns you and protects you. You are to be holy and you exalt. You rejoice and entice in song. You praise the splendor in song. Sing blessings of praise [Shebech] and praise [Helel] and praise [Qelos] of splendor [Theheleh] in thanksgiving of freedom and victory.

Play the music. The sound is exaltation. Rejoice in joyfulness and merriment. Sing and reply in answer. Of beauty and righteousness is truth. Be upright and rejoice of the great glory and mighty strength. Rise above in wonder. Salvation is in the quiet resting place. Be in comfort and calm, in peace and serenity, in security and goodness, in love and desire.

Redemption is in grace and mercy and beauty. In the light of day, desire redemption in glory. In purity, the brilliance of shining radiance. Be adorned in shining light emanating outward. Be adorned in shining light. As spice from salt, light illuminates. Of power and majesty and glory and strength, hold dominion and strengthen. Rise up to the heights.

Of brilliance, holiness, and purity. Of purity, mighty strength, and great power. Of the majesty of the kingdom, in splendor and glory. The crown is majesty. The crown is most glorious. It is pleasant there. Remember it is pleasant and the splendor of it. The splendor of the beauty of it.

Desire the glory. Minister from desires before. There is wondrous power in the presence of the king of kings of the Malachim, the God of Gods [Elohi Helohiem] and Lord of Lords [Adonai Hadonaiem]. Go around by binding the kingdom. Surround in the branches.

In the presence of shining light, cover with splendor. Cover heaven in the splendor. Brilliance comes from the heights. From the mouth, burn the oceans. Describe the splashing in the majesty of the skies. Of deliverance, appear perennially from the dispersion. Tremble and flames push forth to divide all formed.

Rejoice by singing the song. It is required to rejoice. Words drop down in heaven. Push out and go forth as burning in flames of fire. Be happy in the morning in tranquillity. Establish love of the king.

Of desire, the pure are lifted over all. Be lifted up high from the splendor above. Generation to generation rise over, constantly perennial in the heights. Over the most glorious praise of the king in splendor.

Draw near the exaltation of the holy. It is common to all. By expectation, by the good name, by every upright path in all works. Pleasure is in all vestments. Be pure by counsel.

By the knowledge of the ages, by understanding of the actions, judge all the Neshemah until every word. Of judgment by every word, power is in wisdom of every mystery. Be skillful in purity and all holy.

The true king. The one king of eternal life. The king of death and life. The king is creator of every plague and creator of every cure. The king is creator of every blessing. Establish all goodness. The king is pure in all works and maintains all creation. The king is high and lofty. Of all the low and all mighty power, the king is high and exalted and sublime. Of honor and glory, desire strength and highest power. Of the nation, holy and pure, righteous and upright, faithful and pious, great and strong.

Thus, constantly dwell upon the lofty throne. Rise up by the great strength, honor, and glory. It rises over all. Bind splendor and desire over every crown. Be praised in the splendor of the majesty of the palace. Conceal and cover, and see the most profound.

In every place is the name. Do not dwell over words, not hereafter with desire. Wish not to flow and not to take flight from it and

not to conceal it. Reign eternally. Reign upon the throne from generation to generation.

The king of mercy and compassion forgives. Dance in a circle. Pass to honor in every song. Honor in every desire. Rise up in the palace by exaltation. Bear all splendor to exalt in all the workings. Dwell over all creations. Be honored upon the throne of glory. Be honored over all precious things. Be blessed in all the blessings. Be praised in all the praises [Hethoshebechoth]. Be praised [Thethehelel] in every praise [Qelos]. Be praised [Thetheqelos] in all the great things. Be great eternally. Be holy forever and ever.

(Hebrew: TTRIM IHOH). Elohim of Israel. King over all. Eternal Lord [Adon] of all the works of wisdom by all mysteries. Hold dominion by all the spirits. Elohim and prince. Eternal Lord of all the works. The one king rises up in eternal victory.

Let there be the name from the blessing forever and ever, eternally. The king proclaims (Hebrew: TTRSIO IHOH). Elohi of Israel. The Lord of Lords. Praise the throne of glory. You give majesty and strength. You dwell in strength and beauty. You are strong. You are power. You restore. You rejoice [Yirenenov]. You are praised [Yishemechov]. You are blessed. You are praised [Yishehechov]. You raise up. You are adorned. You bring forth. You are great. You are honored. You sing. You are one. You are serene. You are praised [Yiqelesov]. You are crowned. You are victory. You are praised [Yiselselov]. You are exalted. You are holy. You are praised [Yihelelov]. You sing. You are desire.

You are (Hebrew: TTRSII). You are the Lord Elohi of Israel. Honor the Seraphim. You declare greatness. You are (Hebrew: TTRSII IHOH). Elohi of Israel ministering. You crown with crowns [Ketheriem]. Sing to you the new song and reign forever. Hold dominion over all kingdoms. The elders are united forever and ever.

(Hebrew: TTRSI IHOH.) Elohi of Israel. Of eleven kings over all the mysteries. Lord of all the secret things.

God proclaims you are Na'ar [youth]. Thus he proclaims, you travel and wander. Call out the name. Hew from flames of fire in the desert. From generation to generation is the name of Na'ar. Do not slay the guilty. The first goes forth. The second passes over from seeing the strength. Below resembles this of that. From seeing the strength, above there is none resembling.

The name of Na'ar is as the name of Rebov. Speak of who examines therein, the name of God of 72 letters. Of the name of Na'ar, 72 letters rise up. Twenty-six letters descend. Twenty-six letters of the glory of Elohim is the secret word.

In order not to cast out from the universe, 72 of the young king [Meleka A'alema]. From here and henceforth you do not hold dominion over the word.

Thus, it is written in the book. To turn away is incomprehensible. You do not inquire. Cover you from above. Investigate that which is to reveal the knowledge. Do not be concerned by secrets.

One by one, turn that which changes. Do not inquire. Reveal in three. Not in the work of Berashith in two. Not by Merkabah, even though it is in unity, but only wisdom. From understanding of knowledge, be instructed of its first nature.

The name illuminates the eyes. Understand what is spoken in the beginning. Understand (Hebrew: HI) goes forth from (Hebrew: IOD ShBALBM). Come up to (Hebrew: IOD ShBALBM HI).

Go forth from the seven. From the seven (Hebrew: ShBAChS). From (Hebrew: LMD ShBALBM). Come up to (Hebrew: IOD ShBAChS). This is facing.

Go forth from (Hebrew: IOD). From (Hebrew: GH ShBAChS) and from (Hebrew: LMR ShBALBM). Come to (Hebrew: IOD ShBAChS).

Here is the Shem Hemaphorash. (Hebrew: BAI AMH AQBO) is over the word of the holy name.

Speak, desire to establish, to reveal, to descend and ascend. Of the sons of Israel, designate to me three blessings by six [B'D] above and six below. All are secondary in order of the work of Berashith. Designate to it blessing in every day. Of day, six is above and six is below.

In the house of rejoicing [Beth Sheshoniem] are over myriad blessings. Also, that I love you, the redeemer [Phodeh].

All who desire the wisdom every day, receive the book. Proclaim therein from the beginning until the end. When the book is within the house, do not fall therein fire. Do not perish. Do not be destroyed. Do not turn away. You regard the name of the minister above.

Petition that the dream is proven. From the experience, bathe the hands in purity. Draw the hands to the left by the water lily [Mi

Chebetzeleth]. It is written, above is the Lord. Thus, the dwelling of the most holy Malachim. The names come forth.

Show me all petition by divisions. When speaking, increase the interpretation of the dream. At this time, know when to answer. Make mercy and show me the truth.

(Hebrew: AAA SSS NTzCh NTzCh NTzCh.) Lie upon the right side. It is good to be on the left. See and be amazed.

Petition the dream is proven from the experience. Fast for three days in purity and humility and reverence. Be clothed in linen vestments. Be cleansed from all defilement. Purify the body for three days. Of the second, third, and fourth day, do not eat until the fifth day. On the fifth night, light the lamp in the house. Lie upon the ground in the middle of the house upon the face. Let there be light of the lamp. Speak in petition and make an oath.

In adjuration by the Shem Hemaphorash, dwell in the darkness of the highest heaven. You come in the night, by eye and mouth and heart complete. Do not come forth, but only in love. Speak the petition to me. That is what I seek. Explain to me the petition, as when Gabriel explained to increase the dream of the Pharoah. The words are true. Thus come forth in the night in truth.

Conceal me in petition. Petition in the name of the prince Metatron by the Shem Hemaphorash. Dwell over the wheel of the Merkabah in the name of life. Establish to dwell in deserts. By Yod Heh is the name.

Rejoice before, in the name of the great El, the power and glory. He is love and desire and faithfulness. Make the oath to the prince Metatron by (Hebrew: AHIH AShR AHIH). It is revealed to Moses, son of A'amerem, from the midst of the bush [Heseneh]. Eleven disciples [Lemedeni] are appointed by the name divided in 70 languages. Of the robe [Hema'ayileh] in 70 languages.

Rise up by 70 names, from the seventh letter in the name, to tremble. You are in the universe. From the name, Gedodi tremble, the highest and lowest. Of wrath, the earth trembles. The people do not endure the wrath. Blessed is the glory of the Lord.

Of the name (Hebrew: OBShKMLO), the adjuration over the prince Metatron by the name. God [Elohi] of Israel, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. By the name, the Malachim establish to precede. (Hebrew: ALHA RBA.)

The seven Malachim are Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, A'anial, Yetzorial, Turiel, and A'azial. They are over the name and over the truth of the name, in mercy and compassion.

Of the name (Hebrew: BShKMLO), the adjuration over the prince Metatron. By the name, the princes are appointed over the four seasons of the year.

In the first are Norial and Tzedeqial. In the second are A'azial and Samael. In the third are Zebedial and Semenial. In the fourth are Gabriel and Raphael. Ashebiereh Hesheron rule in every season of the year.

Of the adjuration, the sign of the prince Metatron is by the blessed name. From the blessing of the name, in the heights over every blessing.

Begin by the name. Thus the name is before all. Establish the name forever and ever. Serve the name. From the name, Gedodi tremble, highest and lowest. Of the most magnificent [Mepharien] name. Of every Gedodi above. Of every most magnificent name. Do not regard the name. All tremble.

The sea flows in reverse from reverence of the name. All the most powerful waves are of the magnificent name. The earth trembles by regarding it. Serve the Lord. Shake in fear from the name. Over every name of the world. (Hebrew: ODIIRI.) The world trembles in fear from the name. (Hebrew: ODIIRI.) Thehom and Abadon and the shadow of death flow from the name. In the Garden of Eden, all pious shout for joy of the name. Of all Neshemeth, Ruoch and Chiyiyim in the nose.

By desire, the language gives glory to the name. Give glory to the name. I am as dust and ashes cast forth. Worms smite the heart.

Of the Ruoch of the humble, cover until, as a flower of the field, you cast down to be humble before. Petition compassion before the throne of glory. You draw near to every proclamation and commandment. Seek to make prayer in petition by desire before. Hasten the petition in compassion. Make desire that you created after.

Of all desire, let there be below. Of compassion, forgive the sin. Do not defile. Many return in anger. Do not designate all anger. The Lord descends in clouds formed from the Ruoch above. Give over seventy men, the elders. Let there be quiet above the Ruoch. Prophesy and do not fail.

The Lord passes over, above the surface and proclaims, three [G'] forms mercy to thousands. Of three, pardon sins. Of three, forgiveness in the nation. Of three, the Lord hears. The Lord pardons. The Lord listens. Of three, Jacob goes forth from Bar Sheba. Of three, reach the place and remain there. Then to dream. Here stands the ladder. Of three, here is the Lord. Stand above and be spread as dust of the earth. Break forth. Of three here, we are the nation. Keep by all that to go forth. Speak, these are the complete scriptures. Let there be facing below to see desire.

This is the Shem Hemaphorash. Remember from desire in the bush. All who remember the sign over the destruction [Heshed] take flight. It is over extinguishing the fire and healing disease, and over the mountains of Tharshish.

When man remembers and writes the sign, the enemy dies, and the magistrate loves you. Remember not to proclaim the sign, but only when you are pure from all defilement.

Of all who proclaim the sign, those who are not pure will surely die. Thus the consecrations are necessary.

Of Chenial and Chesedial and Tzedeqial above, by the name reveal to me. Thus the name goes forth from three scriptures. Travel and come forth to be guided. Make a pledge [Iya'arebem] to the nation. Begin and end and begin.

This is the name of the honor and glory. It is divided into these 72 names:

OHO ILI SIT AaLM MHSh LLH AKA KHTh HZI ALD LAO
HHAa IZL MBH HRI HQM LAO KLI LOO PHL NLK III MLH
ChHO NThH HAA IRTh ShAH RII AOM LKB OShR IHO
LHCh KOQ MND ANI ChAaM RHAa IIZ HHH MIK OOL ILH
SAL AaRI AaShL MIH OHO DNI HChSh AaMM NNA NITh
MBH POI NMM IIL HRCh MTzR OMB IHH AaNO MChI
DMB MNQ AIAa ChBO RAH IBM HII MOM

(Hebrew: BShKMLO.) Blessed is the name of the glory of the kingdom forever and ever.

When petitioning to turn away the heart of the woman, not to hear; but only Eliek receives from the motion of the nose of the face. On the New Moon, take one brazen tray and inscribe the above upon the tray. (Hebrew: QSTIRON) is the name of the

magistrate. Of the names of the Malachim, cast forth to the midst. Speak over the knowledge of the face. Of the oath, I am A'aliekem, the angel of knowledge. Change your heart. Phelonieth or Pheloni Ben Phelonieth. Do not create the word by putting it in order. Empty the heart or regard in the heart.

Take the flask and conceal it in the place of passing. It is written in the day, five in four hours in the day, that there is not five days.

Afterward, come forth to restore. These are the Malachim and the magistrate of the nation. The magistrate is Phelemiya. These are the Malachim ministering: Aberieh, Azemerehi, Demenehi, Amenehi, Aphenok, Phetebieza, Tobial, Gelial, Avophori, Gemethi, Avorenial, Menial, Vobemethov, Sereten, Tzebeqetheni, Bemerethiyas, Serephieth, Keresovien, Amaph, Phekehier, Hesethier, Setherial, Aliesen, Helesial, Soresephi, Qerekototh, Melekial, Acheseph, Amial, Pheretem, Gedial, Sebekial, Kokeb.

These are the Malchim ministering. These are the Malachim exciting your heart. Of the king and the greatest knowledge, and your human heart.

When the king desires to come forth, or when petitioning the visions of the image of love or friendship from these words, the miracles of the holy book and the glory, remember the recorded names of the most holy Malachim and the name of the magistrate, and succeed.

These are the names of the Malachim ministering with Deleqial, serving in the the three dwellings and holding dominion by flames of fire: Noreh, Avoyiel, Melekieh, Cholial, Chedial, Shelechial, Cheboval, Tzorial, Bemekial, A'aqerial, Sesenial, Benekial, Thomenal, A'amelial, Thelemeteph, Votechenial, Arephial, Agenial, Meshterial, Amenegenavoth.

Speak thus and thus create. They create and succeed only in purity.

When of desire, the house is filled with smoke and fire. The flames do not consume anything. Gather fruit [Pheriyon] and place upon the coals of fire. Smoke rises in the midst of the house. Remember the name of the magistrate and the Malachim. The smoke rises. Speak thus from the oath. I above the Malachim weaken the fire by who understands fire. Dwelling upon the throne of fire and ministering flames of fire, the host of fire ministers fire

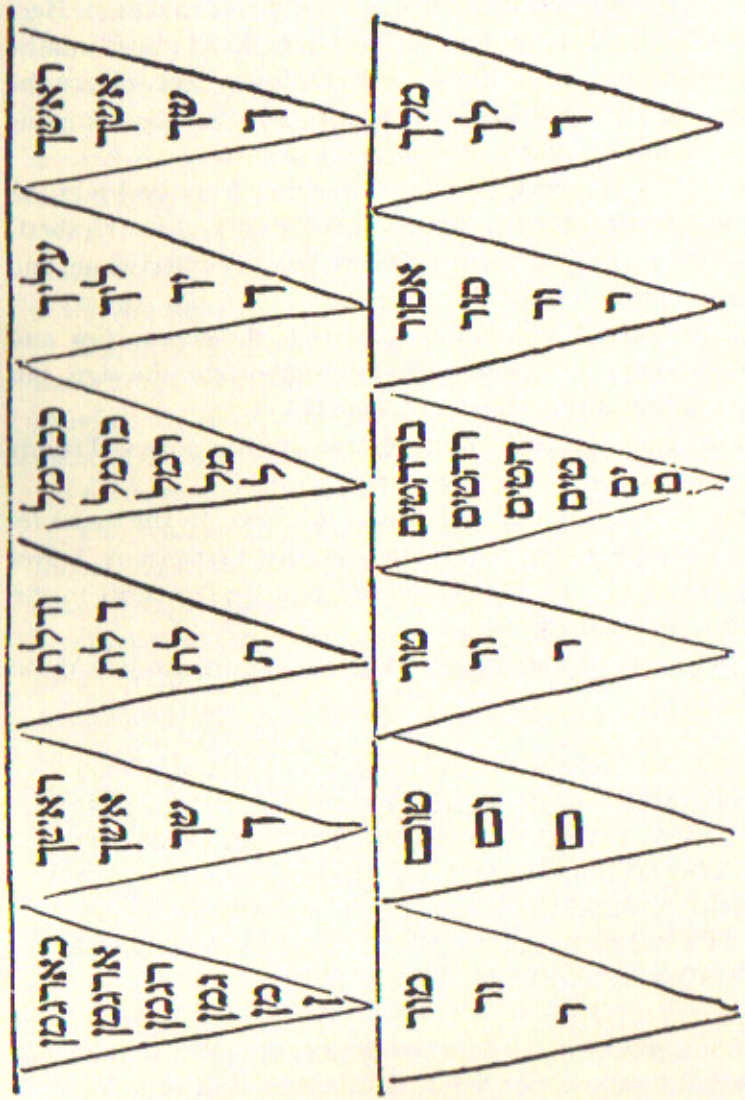

Figure 10. The upper level of "banners" translates, from right to left, as "First/rise up/as an orchard [or garden]/and a door [or gate]/first/as purple." The lower level translates, from right to left, as "King/binds/in the ceiling/arranged/concealed/changed." There are various possible interpretations. This diagram is also published in Trachtenberg's Jewish Magic and Superstition, page 117.

by the great name. I speak the oath. You see to rise up the greatness. Do not fear. Complete the word. See the house fill with fire.

When of desire, the fire abates. Speak from the oath. I above the most powerful angel. You extinguish the great fire. Do not serve one hour in the house. In completion, the fire abates and is extinguished quickly in the hour, without ash and without destruction. Work in purity and succeed.

These are the names of the Malachim ministering by the sixth host: Pheseker, Azial, Arebial, Teriephon, Phiekebom, Phesethemer, Lenegial, Qeronieren, Shobehen, Sebieren, A'avozial, Phenial, Therenial, Chememial, Tzehemial, Biememom, Gerezeniyiyeth, Gorenetal, Baroba, A'aremor, Heremor, Zebenos, Chesemal, Noredial, Pheniyavon, Qeremial, Bepheliyiya, Aremial, A'aremon, A'aphosal, Sepherial, Qethenial, Shebebial, Aremiyiyenos, Tophiemos, Phetzetzial, Chetephial, Pheresomon, Nechelial.

These are the Malachim, the most strong [Hegeboriem] and most powerful [Havozeriem]. Of power and strength, rush forth from place to place. Come to man upon the earth far from the house of El. Fly as one hour of the bird or in order to come to serve that to pass.

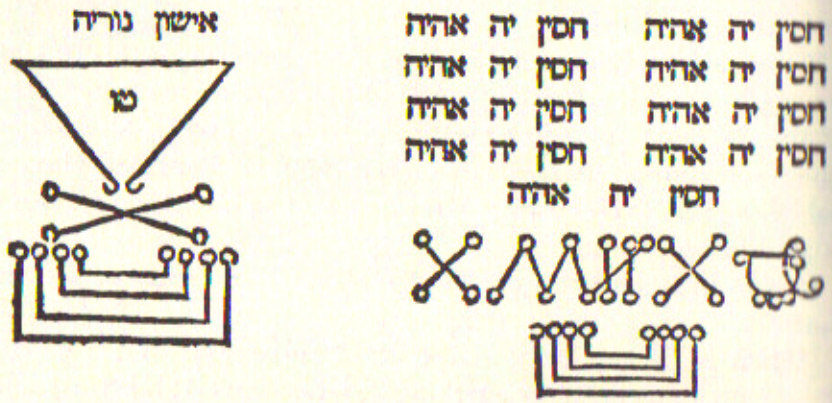

Figure 11. The talisman on the left reads, from right to left: "The little man [refers to the small image of a person as seen in the pupil of the eye] / Light of the Lord." The characters in the center are likely to be an error, and should be Tau Vau, which translates as "sign." The talisman on the right displays the word "mighty" on the far right, and the names of God to the left.

Take four brazen trays and inscribe upon every one. On one of them, the name, and the name Amov, and the name Pheseker, and the name of the Malachim ministering before. Speak correctly, I am above the angel of the strength. You are Pheloni Ben Phelonieth. You do not follow in every place. It dwells therein. Face your heart when in the city, when in the country, when on the sea, when on dry land, when eating, when drinking. You fly as a bird. Come to you not by desire. Pray to El. Tarry not in day and not in night. Place in the four corners of the house.

In the beginning is the name of the honor and the glory. Of the oath, above is Asmoday, the king of demons. Of every group, go forth to gather in groups of diseases. Of every group, go forth. Do not cast forth and do not fear. Do not be afraid. You are Pheloni Ben Phelonieth, but only by assistance and support from all misfortune and distress.

Of all who fall upon harm and all disease gather. Of Beremech Ayiberiem, by the four names of the gates [Mephethechien]. Of Diyovehen, Phethechien, Yidiehon, Segeron. Bless the Lord and enlighten the face of the Lord above. Favor Phesephesiem. Exalt the face of the Lord above. Restore peace to you.

Of adjuration above, the king is holy. Of purity, destroy and divide every man in warmth and coldness. Of every devil [Shed] and demon [Mezieq], of every binding [Ayisor] and weight [Qeshiet], of every enchantment [Chereshien] and every sorcery [Kieshophien].

Of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth, by the names Diehon, Diyavon, Shehov, Shemoth, Mepheresha, Keshemi, by the name Shel [Sh"L, or 330 names], engrave upon the crown. (Hebrew: AAA SSS.)

Of all who desire to write the amulet [Qemiya'a], it is necessary to write first the Malachim appointed over the period as thus.

In the period of Nisan, the names are Semal and A'anoval and Genesheriesh. The name of the prince is Avor Pheniek.

In the period of Tammuz, the names are Kedenial and Tzedeqial and A'akenial. The name of the prince is Abel Abehem.

In the period of Tishri, the names are Bedeqial and Ayisemerial and Gabrial. The name of the prince is Aleberiyavor.

In the period of Tebeth, the names are Gabrial and Avorial and Berekial. The name of the prince is Rebial.

Concerning the periods afterward, Nisan is Avorial. Ayer is Amerial. Sivan is ____.[3] Tammuz is Terial. Ab is Bereqial. Elul is Phenial. Tishri is Tzorial. Marheshvan is Keberial. Kislev is Adenial. Tebeth is Tzephial. Shebet is Yirial. Adir is Somial. In Adir is Sandalphon.

The first day is Ariyal. The second day is Asephenial. The third day is Ariyal. The fourth day is Hekebial. The fifth day is Yihova'ayial. The sixth day is Hederial. The seventh day is Israel.

In the period of Tishri is Gelietzor and Hederenial.
In the period of Tebeth is Berezial and Sememial.
In the period of Nisan is Semial and A'anial.
In the period of Tammuz is Nemetzial and Tzereqial.

[3]In the text, the two letters of the name are obscured. The visible letters are Tz**IA"L.

BOOK FIVE

THE BOOK OF THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC [SEPHER HEMAZELOTH]

IN THE MONTH OF NISAN, the sign of the zodiac is Aries, and Ovavorial is the angel.

In Ayer, the sign is Taurus, and the angel is Lehetial.
In Sivan, the sign is Gemini, and the angel is Phenial.
In Tammuz, the sign is Cancer, and the angel is Zorial.
In Ab, the sign is Leo, and the angel is Bereqial.
In Elul, the sign is Virgo, and the angel is Chenial.
In Tishri, the sign is Libra, and the angel is Tzorial.
In Marheshvan, the sign is Scorpio, and the angel is Gabrial.
In Kislev, the sign is Sagittarius, and the angel is Medonial.
In Tebeth, the sign is Capricorn, and the angel is Shenial.
In Shebet, the sign is Aquarius, and the angel is Gabrial.
In Adir, the sign is Pisces, and the angel is Romial.

In the first day, the planet is the Sun, and the angel is Avorial.
In the second day, the planet is the Moon, and the angel is Semal.
In the third day, the planet is Mars, and the angel is Voyieroval.
In the fourth day, the planet is Mercury, and the angel is Lehebial.
In the fifth day, the planet is Jupiter, the angel is Zieroval.
In the sixth day, the planet is Venus, and the angel is Ashedial.
In the seventh day, the planet is Saturn, and the angel is Asherial (or Israel).

In the first season, beginning with Nisan, the angel is Semal.
In the second season, beginning with Tammuz, the angels are Nemetzal and Tzedeqial.
In the third season, beginning with Tishri, the angels are Yiqemial and Yiremoth.
In the fourth season, beginning with Tebeth, the angels are Bereqial and Sememial.

(Hebrew: TAQ) creates the males from fire, and they serve in the east.
(Hebrew: ShKG) creates the females from earth, and they serve in the south.
(Hebrew: ThMD) creates the males from air, and they serve in the west.
(Hebrew: SAaD) creates the females from water, and they serve in the north.

In the day, the Sun rules in Leo.
In the day, Venus rules in Taurus, and in Libra in the night.
In the day, Mercury rules in Gemini, and in Virgo in the night.
In the day and the night, the Moon rules in Cancer.
In the day, Saturn rules in Capricorn, and in Aquarius in the night.
In the day, Jupiter rules in Sagittarius, and in Pisces in the night.
In the day, Mars rules in the horn of Aries, and in the sting of Scorpio in the night.

Of the twelve signs of the zodiac (Hebrew: TAQ) and (Hebrew: ThMD) are male, and (Hebrew: ShKG) and (Hebrew: SAaD) are female.

When a male is born in the feminine sign of the zodiac, he will not live.

When a female is born in the masculine sign of the zodiac, she also will not live.

These are the hours of the days of the week when it is suitable to engrave the amulets [Qemiya'ayien].

In the seventh hour of the first day.
In the fifth hour of the second day.
In the first hour of the third day.
In the second hour of the fourth day.
In the fourth hour of the fifth day.
In the fifth hour of the sixth day.[1]

Of the sign [Siemen] from the twelve hours (Hebrew: AB"D H"I).

These are the days of the month when it is suitable to engrave the amulets.

Anytime in the first day.
The morning of the second day.
Not on the third day.
Anytime in the fourth day.
In the morning of the fifth day.
Not on the sixth day.
In the morning of the seventh day.
In the morning of the eighth day.
Not on the ninth day.
Not on the tenth day.
In the morning of the eleventh day.
Any time in the twelfth day.
Not on the thirteenth day.
In the morning of the fourteenth day.
Not on the fifteenth day.
In the morning of the sixteenth day.
In the evening of the seventeenth day.
Not on the eighteenth day.
Not on the nineteenth day.
Not on the twentieth day.
In the morning of the twenty-first day.
Any time in the twenty-second day.
Not on the twenty-third day.
In the morning of the twenty-fourth day.

[1]See Joshua Trachtenberg *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (New York: Behrman House, 1939), p. 145.

Any time in the twenty-fifth day.
Not on the twenty-sixth day.
In the morning of the twenty-seventh day.
Any time in the twenty-eighth day.
Not on the twenty-ninth day.
The morning of the thirtieth day.

Thus inscribe the amulet and speak, by the name (Hebrew: DI) create heaven and Earth [Shemiya Ovara'a, or sky and ground].[2]

It is written, this is the amulet of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth, and by the name of the angel appointed in the hour of the day, of Pheloni.

Open the heart to make desire of Joshua [The Lord is his salvation]. Write the sign upon the leaves of citrus [Terephi Atherog]. Wipe the sign in aged wine and drink in purity.

These are the letters to write:

DR TBA IOD TIHO BOTA AAA NS.

Afterward, in purity in Nisan, speak over the glass of aged wine seven times. These are the names: Phethechial, Rephal, A'anal, Yihov, Yihov, Tedephial, Yihoval. After thus, you drink.

Afterward speak, beloved is the Lord [Elohim Ahabath] 40 times.

After, engrave the sign upon the back of citrus or apple. As you engrave the circle around the sign, speak La'ayila three times. Then consume it. The sign and written word.

After the adjuration speak, I am above Gelietzor. In the book [Hemegeleh], the Torah decrees of adjuration, I am above Yiphiephieh. The prince directs adjuration. Zegenez Gal is the prince of the Torah. Open the heart of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth by the Torah. By wisdom and understanding. By the name (Hebrew: IH IH IH) of hosts. (Hebrew: AAA NS).

Take the virgin egg [Bietzeh Betholeh] and boil to harden the shell. Upon the shell, write these letters:

PI PI OOTh PI PI IOTh ChIL PI PI IOTh AKOTh ChIL TzOR ITO TATITh QDOSh QDOSh AAA NS.

[2]Usually, the term representing heaven is Shemiyiem, and Earth is Aretz.

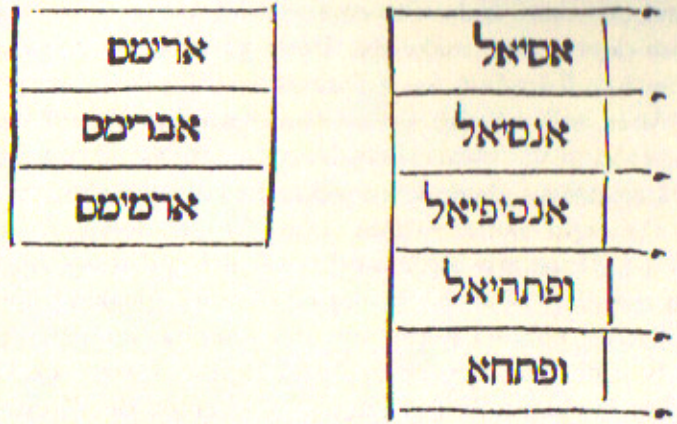

Figure 12. The transliteration of the Hebrew is as follows: left hand column: *ARIMS, ABRIMS, ARMIMS*; right hand column: *ASIAL, ANSIAL, ANSIPIAL, OPThHIAL, OPThChA*.

Afterward, by the name (Hebrew: OMSPR MSPRA AKD PSPSL), the great teacher [Ameser Gedol]. Open the heart. David Ben Zelateh is learned in the Torah. All learn not to forsake from this time and forever (Hebrew: AAA NS).

Afterward, the root of the workings is purity in Sivan, in the evening of the Sabbaths; nevertheless do not eat until tomorrow. Concerning all matters therein, purity is not the foundation.

It is required to keep the body and heart in purity. Establish heaven and thus judgment. Take flour and barley. If not barley, take wheat; however barley is best. Knead in purity. Speak the name Pheloni. I employ by that. Let there be desire before Elohino in heaven. Succeed by opening the heart. I establish the name Pheloni Ben Phelonieth. Be the key of the Talmud and Torah. Of every word, do not forsake. Teach all, and all is known by decree in the cities. Of the dogma [Phethegema], speak most holy are these by the name (Hebrew: IH), the Lord of hosts. Knead to improve the flour. Make pure the fine meal. From the fine meal, make round cakes as the palm of the hand. Take ink and make four drawings on the four cakes.

Write in the center of the cake. Write upon the fourth these three names. Write as these are tried and proven. Do not write in one and not in two, but only in three rows.[3]

[3]See Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 117.

Behind the cake, make the corresponding fourth sign. It is already four-sided. After, make six, drawings with ink. Write the five names above. Every name before the strength is written and proven. After, write all the second names on the sides of the cake. Bake the cake in the oven. Heat the oven with wood of wild vines. After baking, take a glass of red wine and take eight myrtle leaves. Inscribe the eight names written above on the fourth. Write every name above. Draw one alone and wipe with red wine. Also place above in the glass of wine. Do not drink until speaking this seven times: Ada Ber Phepha Repherem Ber Phepha Remi Ber Phepha Yikiesh Ber Phepha Sorecheb Ber Phepha Derov Ber Phepha Chema Ber Phepha Achi Ber Phepha Nechemen Ber Phepha Meri Ber Phepha.[4] Blessed are you the Lord, to teach the law [Berok Atheh H' Lemedeni Choeqiek].

Of Nephesh, live and praise. Of judgment, support you in goodness. Blessed are you, the Lord. The good and the goodness.

Adjuration above is the key. Of the prince of Shekineh, the foolish turn away the heart from me. Cast out to live upon the mountain [Toriya, or castle]. Rise up by the name. (Hebrew: ShMRThA QDIShThA ALIN ARIMS ABRIMS ARMIMS ASIAL ANSIAL ANSIPIAL OPThChIAL OPThChA.)

Noah obtains favor in the eyes of the Lord. Speak in testimony six times. After thus, eat thou the cake.

The amulet is good and proven. Put to flight the evil eye by the spirit of knowledge. Of grace, take hold of the sword. Open the heart and examine the Torah. Therein are blessings over every kind of affliction and pain. It comes to pass that treasures flow. By the name (Hebrew: ShDI DI), create heaven and Earth. By the name, the angel Raphael is appointed over the month.

Sememal, Henegal, Vonegeshoresh, Kenedores, Nedemeh, Qemial, Sa'arial, Aberied, Noried. Appointed over the period of Tammuz. The prince is Avora'anied. The angel of the hour and the sign of the zodiac. In the name of the Lord Elohi of Israel, the Cherubim dwell. El is great, the strong and the glory.

(Hebrew: IHOH) is the name of the hosts. By the name Elohi, compassion. By the name Adierieron Elohi Ropha, worthy of all

[4] ADA BR PPA RPRM BR PPA RMI BR PPA IKISh BR PPA SORChB BR PPA DRO BR PPA ChMA BR PPA AChI BR PPA NChMN BR PPA MRI BR PPA.

groups below. Above is the innermost part [Bierek]. By the name (Hebrew: IHOH), succeed in writing.

Of the amulet, write in the name of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth. Keep all 248 mighty ones [Ayiberiem] therein. Take hold of the edge of the sword. Be aided and prosper. Of deliverance and salvation of wicked men, from the tongue of the wicked, and from the lord of judgment [Ba'al Dien].

It is difficult to understand the covenant. Understand that there is not a covenant of all established above. The wicked understand by the works of the Lord. Understand by language and by counsel. Understand by thoughts. Overpower the humble [Hekeniya'am Heshephielem]. Cast down and be weary. Be subdued [Hekena'a] and shaken [Na'ana'a] and afflicted [Sheber]. Be weary without rising up in strength.

All is from the petition of wickedness. Complete every wicked desire. Deliver and save from all. From being covered with bruises. From every kind of pain and affliction. From wicked men, from the second death [Memietheh Meshoneh], from every kind of evil thought, from every kind of suffering and wicked disease.

Give grace and mercy and compassion before the throne of the Lord, and before all creatures. You behold the visions, when placed over the creatures, as when over the lion attacks.

Of the oath, I, Pheloni Ben Pheloni, in the name of Avoriedon and Aderieron.

Here is another amulet: Aregial, Seregial, Nedegial, Achenal, Tzemethienial, A'amethenial, Shemenal, Yivochek, Yivobek, Yivobeb, Az, Bov, Geh, Aberial, Berekial, Gelalek, Deleqial, Horerial, Ova'arial, Zereqial, Chenial, Tehorial, Yihoval, Kerobial, Mehemenial, Lechetial, Norial, Sorial, A'azerial, Phenial, Tzephehal, Qethenial, Ra'ashial, Shepherial, Yithoqial, Avorial, Rephal, Miephal, Athenal, Seneseneh, Qeneqenetha, Mova'aqech, Mekeshephial, Vosenederial, Voqephetzial, Abeg, Yithetz, Teha, Nod, Heneb, Gemal, Torial, Yiphiephieh, Gelietzor, Tzoreteq.

Rejoice and be happy in the Torah, by the name (Hebrew: OPTh ZAI BThA RKB TzRD IIH AThM ChZA BIZ RThIK IChD ThQO IOH IA IA AaPR QAN OThA BBD ORK AIR). Open the heart of Lieb Ben Shereh (Hebrew: LIB BN ShRH). Be learned in the Torah.

Of prophecies, it is written in the Talmud of Jerusalem. Of the complete Talmud and Midrash and additions and books and scrolls, the decrees of the Torah and profound secrets of the Torah live in the heart as flowing fountains.

(Hebrew: HOH.) Of knowledge and wisdom and all orders of the wisdom and every word of the Torah. Keep the commandments. Deliver and save and bring forth from every kind of sorcery. From binding and from every kind of misfortune, and every kind of punishment. From the edge of the sword and from evil men. From the tongue of the wicked and from the Lord of judgment. It is difficult to understand the covenant. Understand there is not covenant of all established above.

Of wickedness, understand by the works. Understand by the thoughts of the subdued and humble, fallen and weary, overthrown and shaken and broken. Do not rise up in strength. All is from petition of wickedness. Complete the desire of wickedness. Of deliverance and salvation from every kind of misfortune and affliction. From evil men and from second death, from every kind of evil nature, and from wicked disease. The heart of the good prevails over the heart of the wicked.

Behold when over the creatures, as when the lion attacks. By the name (Hebrew: IHOH IHHO IOHH HIOH HOIH OIHH OHHI HHIO HOHI), and by the name (Hebrew: ABGIThTz QRAa ShTN NGD IKSh BTR TzThG ChQB TNAa IGL PZQ ShQO TzITh)[5] and by the name (Hebrew: OHO ILI SIT AaLM OKO') and by the name (Hebrew: ANQThM PSThM PSPSIM ODIONSIM)[6] bless and keep.

The Lord enlightens. Face above and find favor. The Lord rises up. Face above and give you peace.

Listen and dwell in Israel. In secret, the Lord of the highest favors you. Be protected by the Lord Shaddai. Dwell united and of love, you speak of the Lord. Shelter me Elohiek and fortify all. O Elohi, secure in the heart. All therein Nephesh. All give much. Breathe the words. Gather them from the word breathing.

I, by the power, command to establish the day to you above and below. Regard in the heart and repeat. Find refuge from the cold.

[5]The name of 42 letters. See Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 94.
[6]The name of 22 letters. See Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 93.

By the words, travel in truth to the dwelling. Do not fear in the house. Go without fear on the path at night to the dwelling.

Establish to cover with darkness. Bind in the day. The letter of the word is above, in the side of darkness. Go forth and be cut off. The unclean are laid waste. Cast down the eyes.

It is written, fortify over 1,000 door posts [Mezozoth]. Of one myriad houses from the right side, open in the heart of the dwelling. Drive out the demons [Mezieq] from the place (Hebrew: IHOH) keeps away devils [Shiedien] and demons [Mezieqien]. Pass the night and breathe easy while sleeping. Be safe from all fears by the name (Hebrew: IHOH), the God of Gods and the Lord of Lords.

(Hebrew: OALHA RBA AaGLA). In the designated time, draw near. (Hebrew: AAA AZ BO GH ThThA MGINO.)

Blessed are you, Lord of the Shield of David [Megen Dod]. (Hebrew: MTzMTzITh NAaRORON MTTRON.)

Here is another amulet. It is of the Ruoch of man. Raise up and give great success. (Hebrew: BAaH) is written upon the shell and suspended by the left side. This is written and be protected on the path. Be guided by the word of truth. Of righteous nations, the Torah reveals the knowledge of the right side.

SNMKR TNP BKR ZG MNB ODD TZHSN TThA ChD SBR ASBQSD ARAHB.

Let there be desire of the Lord Elohi of Israel. Command the angel. Come forth to the house of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth. You go forth and succeed in every work. Succeed with great ease, in the day and night, in the house and outside of the house, in the city and outside of the city. Of the name and the holy seal, have pride in your work. In your house, succeed of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth, amen seleh.

It is tried and proven to keep the woman safe. Give birth to the infant. Keep from sorcery and from the evil eye. In the hours of the birth, do not hold dominion. In birth, turn away from misfortune and bad events.

Of the song of degrees [Shier Hema'aloth], the names go forth. From the song of degrees, these raise the eye. (Hebrew: AL R"Th Aa'B.) Of the name (Hebrew: HOIH), speak of praises.

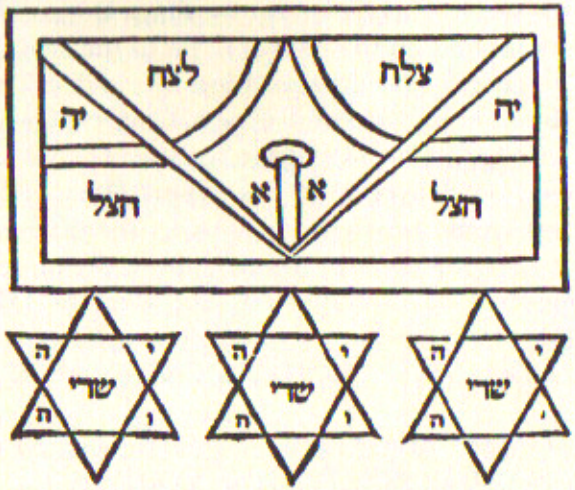

Figure 13. The characters in the upper right section translate as "succeed," or "prosper." Upper left: "of purity" or "of the pure." The other corners are the same letters re-arranged. Below the rectangle, in the center of each Star of David is Shaddai, "the Almighty," another name of God.

Thus (Hebrew: S"Th). The eye sees from where. (Hebrew: Q"L.) The Lord guides over. (Hebrew: Aa"B Q"L) and also (Hebrew: S"Th). See from where comes (Hebrew: ADNI HOIH). Join together to support the nation. The Lord creates. (Hebrew: S"Th ADNI). Heaven and Earth. (Hebrew: S"Th Q"L.)

Do not flee from here. (Hebrew: R"Th HOIH.) Speak of Alephs [Alephien]. The highest man is the right hand. Of the day, three Yods [Yodien]. From the name of 72, complete compassion. Awaken compassion in the highest man. (Hebrew: HOIH). Speak of Alephs. Of the names, do not lament. (Hebrew: R"Th HOIH). Speak of Alephs. Also of every letter after the name (Hebrew: HOIH NOTRIQON AaShTzII). The name is very good. Keep safe also in every night preceding. It is required of every man. Of the song of degrees, establish the name.

You pass. Of passing (Hebrew: IB"Q). Pass (Hebrew: Aa"B RI"O). Of the 72 names of 216 letters (Hebrew: IB"Q ADNI HOIH AHIH) joined together.

Of the name of 72, as found on page 24 [of the Hebrew text], serve two of the scripture. Be blessed by the names found on page 42 [of the Hebrew text]. Serve two.

Serve the wheel [Ha'ayigol]. Of the image in the circle on the right, listen to people join together. Let there be pleasure on the page ***[7] Of the second side, answer the Lord. Bind in the day.

Go forth from the song four times. (Hebrew: IB"Q) in the day. Of misfortune, exalt holiness in strength. Deliver and fall. We establish to answer in the day. Proclaim (Hebrew: IB"Q) of the three names (Hebrew: ADNI HOIH AHIH) joined together. Of four treasured powers, deliver from all misfortune, especially in childbirth. Here the Lord guides.

The names going forth from the scripture are very good. Keep safe, not being bound by sorcery. Here by Gematria, complete the name from the name of 72. All sorceries are not able to work. (Hebrew: Aa"I) completes 72. Of the name of 72, keep from all powers of evil [Qliphoth]. Have knowledge of it. (Hebrew: OA"K). Salvation by all three letters of the name before the power. Blessed is the name of glory.

(Hebrew: O"K) of the three letters of the name is in the presence of the power [Bepheni A'atzemov]. Joseph, the son of Ephraim, raises the eye to the young sons. Raise the wall in the name of (Hebrew: IO"D H"H O"O H"H MI"K OSh"R NI"Th AaSh"L NM"M RH"Aa). These names are very good to the evil eye. Go forth from the scriptures. Of the son of Ephraim, see the Lord [Rayich]. Of the word (Hebrew: AaShL), understand the evil eye. Also (Hebrew: NMM RHAa). By Gematria, the evil eye.

Of the 70 names of the Malachim, they are very good. All keep the things as revealed. Afterward, these names and images are seen and engraved by Adam, the first man. Of your image, it is very good to keep safe during childbirth.[8] Another well-known amulet follows.[9]

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[7]The letters HN"L are presented here, which would not correspond to the page in this book. Also, the page numbers cited refer to the original Hebrew text.

[8]This diagram is also published in Gustav Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels* (New York: Free Press, 1967), p. 164. The caption under the diagram reads, "Of difficult labor in childbirth, take the shell of a turtle. Prepare it by writing above by the name (Hebrew: QOP QPO OQP OPQ PQO POQ). Bind it over the navel. Whisper in her right ear. You go forth and all the nation by foot. This is tested and proven.

[9]This plate is also published in David Goldstein's, *Jewish Folklore and Legends* (London: Hamlyn, 1980), p. 30. Goldstein notes, "In each of the two compartments are representations of the three angels who captured the female demon Lilith, namely Snwy, Snsnwy, and Smngll."

Figure 14. This talisman protects women from a difficult childbirth. The Hebrew outside the circle mentions the names of the four rivers of Eden (from upper left clockwise): Gihon, Phishon, Phereth (the Euphrates) and Chidgel (the Tigris). Contained within the circle are the names of angels and Adam and Eve.

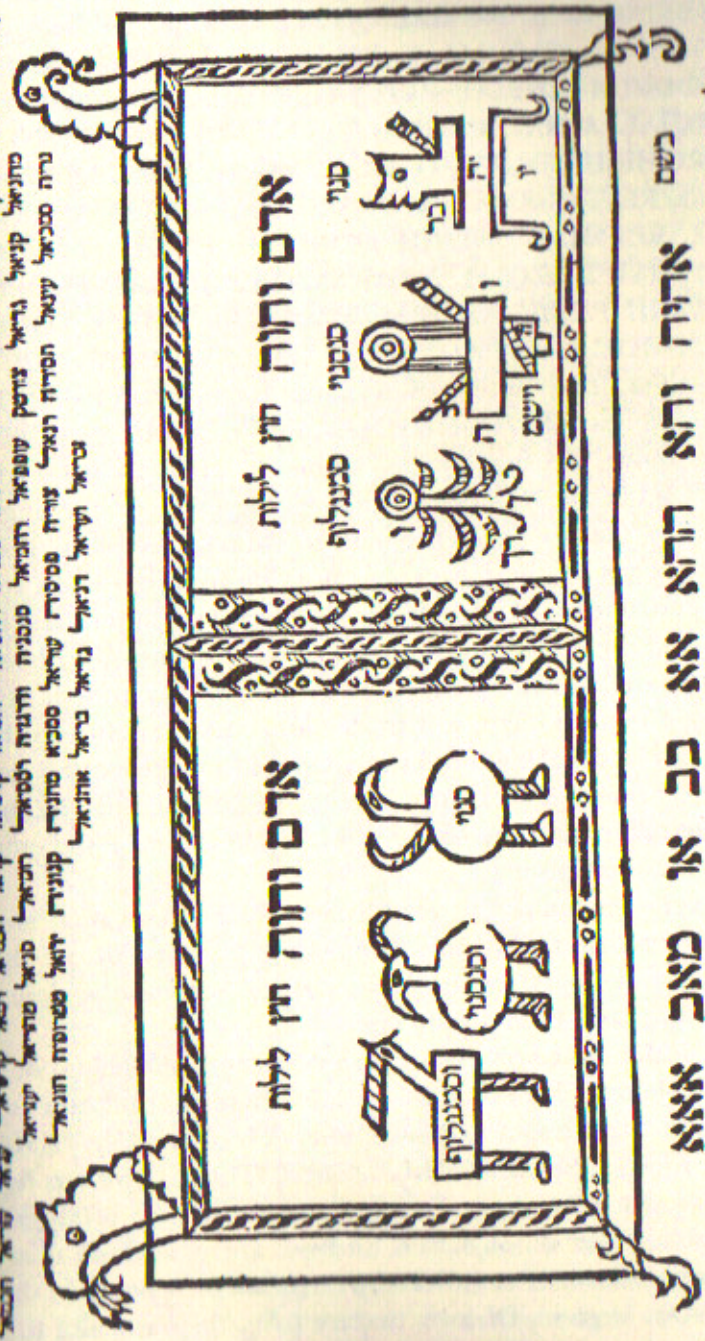

Figure 15. A talisman for protecting new-born children from Lilith.

The names above the diagram (figure 15) are as follows: MIKAL GBRIAL RPAL NORIAL QDOMIAL MLKIAL TzDQIAL PDIAL ThOMIAL ChSDIAL TzORIAL RMAL IOPIAL STORI GZRIAL ODRIAL LHRIAL ChZQIAL RHMIA QDShIAL ShB-NIAL BRQIAL AHIAL ChNIAL LAHAL MLKIAL ShBNIAL RHSIAL ROMIAL QDMIAL QDAL ChKMIAL RMAL QDShIAL AaNIAL AaZRIAL ChKMAL MHNIAL QNIAL GDIAL TzORTQ AaOPPIAL RChMIAL SNSNIH ODRGZIH RSSIAL DOMIAL SNIAL THRIAL IAaZQIAL NRIH SMKIAL AaINAL ThSIRIH RNAL TzORIH PSISIH AaODIAL MMKIA MChNIH QNONIH IROAL TTDOSIH ChONIAL ZKRIAL OAaDIAL DNIAL GDIAL BRIAL AHNIAL. The caption underneath the diagram reads, "By the name (Hebrew: AHIH OHA HHA AA BB AO MAK AAA), give adjuration above. Be first by the name to form. By the third name, send forth the Malachim. Form by the path. Of the angel of the shore of the sea, make the oath to them in the place. Find the names are not of one power, and not one from the hosts and ministers, and not of all who dwell. Of the names, therefore by the names and the seals written here, I make the oath. Your hosts and ministers do not strengthen. You give birth. Phelonieth Ben Phelonieth. After the birth, not in day and not in night, not by eating and not by drinking, not by head and not by heart, and not by 248 mighty ones [Aberihem], and not by 365 degrees. By the power of the names and the divine seals, of these I make the oath of your hosts and ministers.

Here is another amulet. It establishes love between man and wife, or between man and female companion. Of love, you are the Lord Elohiek in all hearts and in all Nepheshek. Let there be desire from before the Lord Elohi of the fathers.

Send forth the most holy [Heqedoshiem] angel of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth. (Hebrew: K"P) establishes love. These are the names of the most holy angel appointed over love. (Hebrew: PTh TzIMA ThA HOHI KI HLA ShLK KShShLA PShLK IThQL.) You are the angel of love. Establish love. Declare to understand. (Hebrew: PB"P). In them, there is not hatred, and not anger, and not quarreling, and not evil words and wicked hearts; but only peace in the heart. The heart is good. Of love, declare from this time and forever and ever, amen. Let there be the image.

Here is another amulet of love (figure 16). It is written of water lilies and saffron, and with the brazen writing tool, write upon the prepared shell.

In the name of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth, let there be binding of the heart. Of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth, to love. Of Pheloni Ben Phelonieth, works of desire. Desire from power of the song and power of the Totepheth. You are blessed of Nephesh of the Lord Elohi. In great splendor and glory, the vestments cover with light. Peace extends to heaven. The veil cools in the highest sea. In the place of darkness, the horseman travels upon the wings of the wind.

Make the angel over spirits that minister flames of fire. The foundation is of Earth. Above is the dwelling of the Lord. It is not to fall forever and ever. Of Thehom, the vestment covers the mountains. The sea stands from the curse. Flee from the sound of thunder. Quickly rise up the mountains and descend into valleys.

Of the foundation, measure the limits. Do not pass over. Do not inhabit the earth. In the place, put forth from flowing rivers between mountains. Journey and drink. Do not live in the dwelling. Quench the thirst in the arid wilderness. Fly above the heavens to dwell. Be refreshed from the highest mountains to the wilderness.

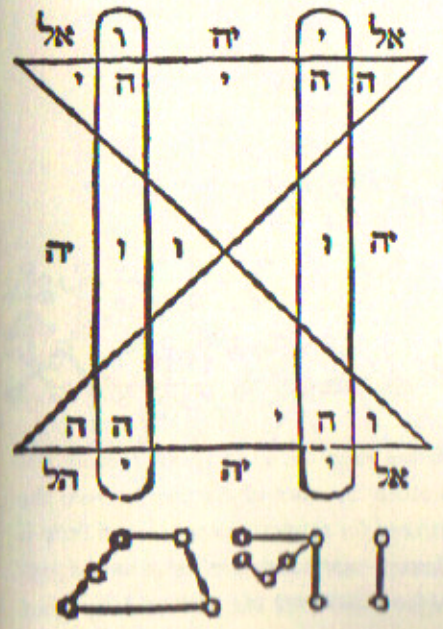

Figure 16. The letters in this figure form "God names." This diagram is also reproduced in Goldstein's *Jewish Folklore and Legends*, page 30.

The earth is enriched with plant growth to support the beasts. The grass serves man. Go forth by the warmth from the earth. Of wine, man rejoices in the heart. The surface of the earth becomes fertile. Warm the heart of man. Support the tree of the Lord. Of white cedar, establish the name. Return to the nest of the stork in the fir tree. In the house of the heights [Bitheh Heriem], mountain goats [Liya'a'iem] hide in the shelter of rocks.

Make the Moon of the fixed time of the Sun. Know to come forth. Beseige the darkness. Let there be night therein. All life moves, until the lions roar and growl, rending and tearing apart.

Seek food from El. The Sun rises. Gather to the dwellings to lie down. Man goes forth to work and works until evening. How many works of the Lord are complete by the wisdom created to fill the Earth with wealth.

The sea is great and wide. There are creeping things without number, from the smallest creature to the greatest. There are boats to journey Leviathan. Form clouds therein.

Complete by providing grains. You give food in the hour. Give to gather and fill the open hand. It is good to hide the face as the winds increase. Of toil, the dust returns. Send forth Ruoch to enrich and restore the surface of the earth. Let there be glory of the Lord forever. Rejoice by the works of the Lord. The earth trembles and the mountains shake.

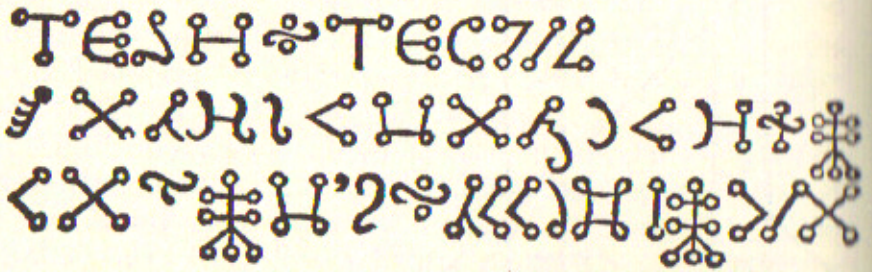

Figure 17. Angelic script. These symbols are reproduced in *Jewish Folklore and Legends*, p. 30. Goldstein notes, "The so-called 'alphabet of the angels' from the Book of Raziel, Amsterdam, 1701. It was used for magical purposes, and little is known of its origin. The forms of the letters bear some similarity to the Hebrew and Samaritan alphabets." See Davidson, *Dictionary of Angels*, p. 335.

The Lord keeps in life. Sing to Elohi as long as darkness is above. Let us rejoice. The Lord ends sin and evil from the earth. Nephesh rises up. Praise the Lord.

Here is another amulet (figure 17) of grace and mercy written upon the prepared turtle shell. In the name of grace and mercy (Hebrew: IHOH), let there be mercy in the world. (Hebrew: IHOH AaL PB.)

Increase the righteousness of the nation. Speak, of the Lord to increase and send mercy above. Give you grace in the eyes of all visions. In the name of Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Avorial, Kebeshial.

IH IH IH IH IH IH IH IH AHIH AHH AHH AHH AHH IHO IHO IHO IHO IHO IHO IHO IHO IH.

Here is another amulet (figure 18). Do not hold dominion by men with weapons [Keli Zien]. It is written upon the prepared shell of a turtle and suspended by the neck with these most holy names:

AaThRIAL ORIAL HORRIAL HMRRIAL ShOBRIAL ShOBRAL AaORRIAL ShORIAL MIKAL GBRIAL HGRIAL HGDH AL ShOBRIAL TzBChR AThNIQ TzORTQ ANQThM PSThM PSPSIM DIONSIM LISh OAaTh KQO IThI IHOH ABG IThTz QRAa ShTN NGD IKSh BTR TzThG ChQB TNAa IGL PZQ ShQOTzITh QBTzQAL AHMNONIAL OMSThIH HIRShThIAL AaANH PIH ALAaH ABG IThIN ALAaH AaH AaH AaZOR LPLONI BN PLONITh

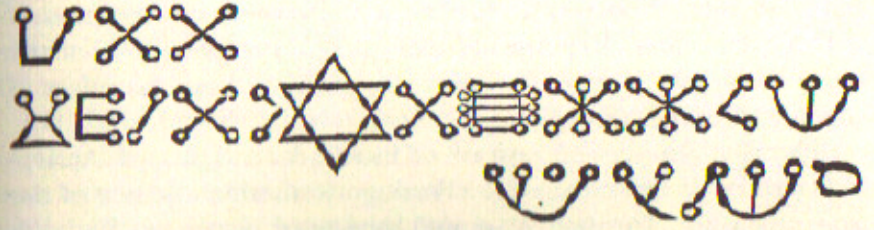

Figure 18. Angelic script. These symbols have been reproduced in Trachtenberg's *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, page 141, as well as in other texts.

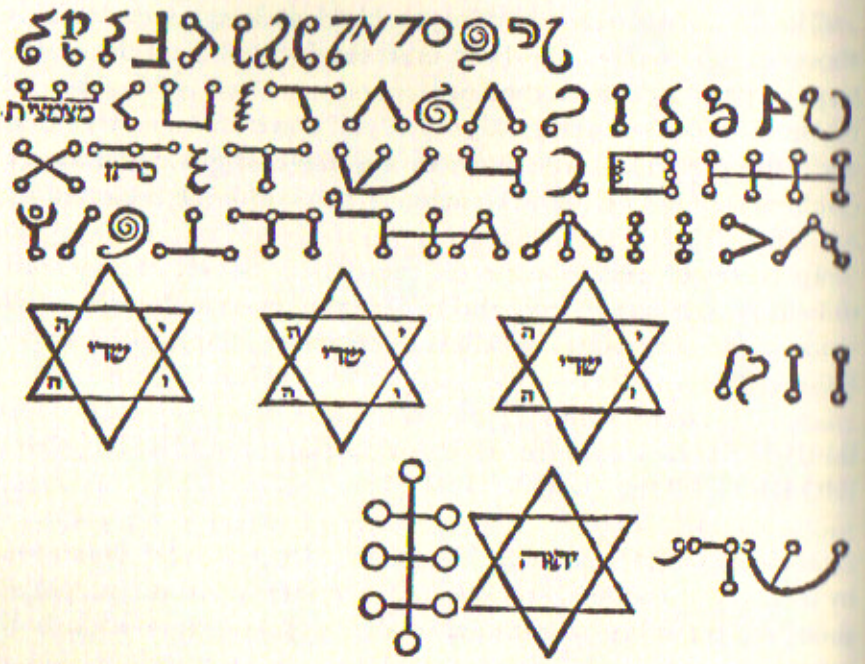

Figure 19. Angelic script. These symbols are also published in Trachtenberg's *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, page 141.

It is spoken of wisdom, live for seven periods. Drink a glass of rum [Kosiya Remiya] every day for 40 days. Understand the divine word that was given to Moses from the midst of the bush.

The understanding of the wisdom is from the midst of the knowledge. Intelligence is from the midst of the thoughts. Intelligence is from the midst of all goodness and honesty, from the midst of the most skillfull. Improvement is from the midst of the most pure. The most holy is from the midst of the modesty. Compassion is from the midst of the peace. The most satisfaction is from the midst of the abstinence. Reverence in purity is from the midst of the secrets of the holy spirit.

Through Sephephial, prince of intelligence. Through Aphephial, prince of the knowledge. Through Kethethial, prince of the understanding. Through A'aremial, prince of craftiness. Through Yihoval, prince of testimony. Through Nehenal, prince of the deliverance of the Lord. Through Rehal, prince of the mystery of the

Shekinah. Through Ashemoli, prince of the Torah. The name Shehesherov Shekinah is over Moses.

The Ruoch of wisdom and understanding. Ruoch of knowledge and intelligence. Ruoch of craftiness and science. Ruoch of the mystery of the deliverance of the Lord. Ruoch is from you, Elohim. Thus dwell in the Shekinah of wisdom and understanding. Ruoch of counsel and strength and thoughts. Ruoch of knowledge and wisdom. Of the Ruoch of Elohim, the mystery is from intelligence in the hour over David Ben Zelateh by the name Sheqrechozi.

The great prince is (Hebrew: ZH PTR II'). The great prince is (Hebrew: GDL ZH RIRIAL II'). The great prince is (Hebrew: AGOQThIAL II'). The great prince is appointed over the treasured wisdom of the Torah and over all keys of wisdom.

Teach Moses the Torah. Of wisdom and knowledge, thus to open. I am David Ben Zelateh. Of the gate of wisdom and the gate of understanding, by the name (Hebrew: AHO AChOSh IChOSh IHOH IHO IH HH HOH HH HOH IHOI HOH HH IH OH AH IHO AH IH OH OAA ANM SLH).

Do not forsake desire. Do not forsake learning. Speak of the scriptures preceding. Consume and mix a glass of wine or beverage [Mesheqeh] after. Speak, these are the scriptures over Ruoch of men and women. Of Shaddai, man understands to arrange the heart.

The Lord answers in language. Of El, cast out from before. The holy spirit of El is received from me. The Lord commands to cast the amulet out of gold. Deliver to the pure heart. Create to me Elohim and Ruoch is established, restored within.

Elohim gives me language to understand the knowledge. You give the word to awaken every morning. My ear hears the teaching. The Lord Elohim opens my ear. I am not disobedient. After, do not remove Ruoch. The word of the Lord is in me. Rule over language and speak thus.

Let there be desire from before the Lord Elohi of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel. Open the heart by the laws. Enlighten the eye and heart by the name Phethechial Rephal Chophial. Open your heart. In all the days, do not forsake all that is learned.

What is commanded to learn? From serving, learn all days. Do not forsake the word of the Torah forever, amen.

Make to fast in the evening. (Hebrew: R"Ch) is in Sivan. Write the divine scriptures upon an egg. Knead the yolk with good honey. Consume the word from all flesh. You eat the food.

(Hebrew: DIO NSIM.)[10] That is (Hebrew: D"IO NS"IM).

Of two flags [B' NSIM], create Gabriel as (Hebrew: DIO). Of the appearance [Pheretzophien] and the interpretation of the flags, create Gabriel of the grace of Mieshal [Hebrew: MIShAL].[11]

Of support, the cold is before. Be warm from the inside. There is interpretation over the holy. Blessed is it.

(Hebrew: A"Z B"O G"H.) Of five seals of God, divide the letters. Strip away the plain meaning [Peshet Pieseth]. Create the two flags.

(Hebrew: A"Z B"O G"H.) Establish the letters of the name of 22 letters. (Hebrew: ANQThM PSThM PSPSIM DIONSIM BGIM' ADIRIRON IHOH ALHI.) Of the hosts, the Cherubim dwell. Here completes the name of 22 letters.

You make change to engrave the name of 42. (Hebrew: ABGIThK) is divided. (Hebrew: ABGA) is broken down. (Hebrew: ABGA) is above and faces the veil.

Obtain (Hebrew: HShTN). Denounce to break down and rend (Hebrew: QRA'a)[12] the Sepharim. Denounce going forth (Hebrew: HShTN). Denounce over Israel. Obtain the book of the Merkabah.

(Hebrew: ABGIThK QRA'a ShTN.)[13] In the *Sepher Hekeloth* [*Book of the Palaces*], even as rending the book. Of the guilty, denounce here until being without food. Make the oath. Learn of favor [Zekoth] and fault [Meleqien] before the Lord.

The beauty of the bow of the Lord is in the secret parts of the one new language coming forth [Yikesh Henah Daqoshi Lieh Bemebosha Leched Beter Leshon Bova]. The first part is new. (Hebrew: TzTh"G.) Of language, establish the tabernacle [Heqeb]. Proclaim to expand the language. (Hebrew: TN"Aa.) Thus the keys of power. (Hebrew: IG"L). Thus the book of power. (Hebrew: PZ"Q KPZ"Q.) Learn of the snow. (Hebrew: PZMQ"I ShQ"O.) Bear

[10]These are the final letters of the name of 22 letters.

[11]This translates, "Who is what God is?" It is also the name of several people, notably a companion of Daniel.

[12]This word is significant in the name of 42 letters.

[13]See Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 95.

the burden. Run from the place. (Hebrew: TzI"Th.) Go forth in abundance.

(Hebrew: ABGIThK) is the secret in the tractate passed over by the scholar. Of supplication, go forth three miles. Do not speak before, however afterward, do not return to Jerusalem. Of exactly one mile, return in less than a mile.

Thus the law [Helekeh]. Now, the sons understand of the sins of thousands of nations. Of all murder [Rotzech], it is necessary to journey. Take flight and take refuge in the city. There is no evil outside the pasture.

It is written of the shelter of the city, of 48 cities nearby. Your pastures and fields are in the nations. You are hidden in the nations. Take possesion of the cities, given before. Afterward, reduce from one mile in the midst of, and not be slain.

(Hebrew: ShARZL.) Less than three miles, here the Sun rises. Thus of murder, measure three miles. Speak, take flight to the east from the place of murder. Thus at the appointed time, be in prayer for nearly one hour. Thus the killer turns away. Of murder in the place of prisoners, the sea is around. Speak, you are prisoners. Of the might of the Lord, send forth. You lessen to draw from the sea.

(Hebrew: MGB"A GB"A.) Of the letters Aleph Beth Gimel, it is the name. Of the book of great wisdom, the thousands of nations of God. Be blessed to calculate by combination. The sea is less from one mile. Speak of the length from Earth. Measure width until the sea. The Sun returns above. Be immersed in the sea. Afterward, lessen from one mile. Do not return before three miles.

Therefore (Hebrew: AB"G BI"Th GIM"L NOTRIQON). Through prayer, the border of one mile. Of three miles, it comes to pass. The sea is fixed by portions in the soil of the ground. Dig down one mile. Make it in the place where the ground is virgin soil. Speak the oath. I am above Nechelial, A'aremogial, Tetophiech, Atzothiech, Nera'ayial. By the name, truth goes forth as a bubbling fountain.

(Hebrew: QRAa ShTN.) The letters (Hebrew: ShAaR) are small above. Therein gather to denounce Shaitan over Israel. At once, see lives preceding. Arrange the ends. You are the gate. Do not be able to come before the Shekinah. Denounce over Israel.

Remembering the purity of Jacob. Proclaim of the small. Speak of who rises up. Of Jacob, it is small.

(Hebrew: OAa"O NAM' TzDQ" OMShPT" MKON" KSAK.) Mercy and truth precede before. (Hebrew: OS"Th) is small. All is made by that name.

(Hebrew: QRA'A ShTN.) It is good. Those who are wicked are torn to pieces above or from before the evil spirit or from before the sharp teeth of the demon [Mezieq].

(Hebrew: KOChBIN.) Of that name, suspend by the neck and heal.

(Hebrew: IKSh.) They are lifted up. Below is Teth and above is Samekh. According to that, speak of grace of all the acts of El three times.

Of man with strength, as to be thus 13 (Hebrew: I"G) below. Thus without punishment. You are lifted up three times. Thirteen rise up. Establish Teth, however above, there is no punishment until to be thus 23 times 20. They are (Hebrew: S' NG"D). It is good to remember support, of food and nourishment.

(Hebrew: BTR TzThG.) The false are dismissed [Sheqorien Pheter]. Of the language, dismiss the first sea above [Pheter Miem Rashieth Merom]. There it is false. Rend Shaitan. Thus of the oath. Thus record the event. Rend Shaitan.

(Hebrew: PTR TzThG.) Reply to the oath afterward. The event is with Shin and Beth.

(Hebrew: BTR BNIMT' ALIH.) Fulfill the letters Aleph, Lamed, Yod, Heh.

(Hebrew: TzThG.) By Gematria is as the strength [ChLNOTh]. Petition the Lord above in prayer. That is what to speak. Look from the windows, from the Tietz [ornament] and from the lattices.

(Hebrew: MShNIH NOTARIQON MTTRON.) The great prince. Open the window. Of 13 [OI"G] windows, they are by the throne of the glory. You open them in order to gather to the phylacteries [Thephielethen] of Israel. All are created in that name.

(Hebrew: BTR TzThG BATh BSh ShGN HAR.) Learn that the first light was created by God. Separate the righteous and make them ready. God conceals it in Eden.

Speak and proclaim, Elohim illuminates. (Hebrew: AOR.) By Gematria to the Garden of Eden. Understand by that name.

(Hebrew: ChQD TNAa.) By Gematria. (Hebrew: RAM.) According to it, speak of the rays [Qeren].

(Hebrew: RAM.) Rays by the nation of Enoch.

(Hebrew: RAM.) Raphael, Avorial, Mikael are the hosts of Shekinah. Make ready to assist the Messiah. That is what is spoken of rays at once.

Of the name (Hebrew: ChBION AaZO), by the letters and by the name, that is Avorial.

(Hebrew: D"L.) Facing Avorial. (Hebrew: L"A RA"O). You see after and before (Hebrew: L"A IRA"O).

(Hebrew: ChQD TNAa) by Gematria is Nezeral the angel. Make the oath to the angel Nezal in order to stop deriving evil.

Differentiate by the name. It is necessary to be of great innocence and baptized [Tebieleh].

(Hebrew: IGL PZQ) by Gematria is Cherub. The name to engrave over Cherub is above. Every day, God above guides. Speak and guide over Cherub. I take flight and fly upon the wings of the wind. See in 18,000 lands in the east, and 18,000 in the west, and 18,000 in the north. These 72 lands establish mercy. Speak of mercy in the universe. Understand the mercy. In heaven, establish the faithful. Establish mercy of thousands of myriads. Of (Hebrew: OAaZ), speak around 18,000. Of the name, the day of the name of the Lord.

Divide around to all four faces. Of 18,000, there is no place. Of the angel of the nation, the angel is prince. The faces guide the nation. Be covered with glory. Speak of facing the letters (Hebrew: HNOK).

By the one letter, the vision of glory comes to all the world. In the highest world, of one song of every group above. Remember the name.

(Hebrew: IGL PZQ MThI.) In the period, God rises upon the throne of the glory. The wicked are judged at once. Of every group above, directly see God rising up.

(Hebrew: KThRIHON.) Beginning above, descend from above upon horses. Of judgment, seek compassion over Israel. At once, rise over the throne of compassion. Therefore, the Shekinah is by the throne of compassion.

(Hebrew: IGL PZQ.) Above is the throne of the glory. Understand all is well.

(Hebrew: ShQO.) By Gematria and over the veil, learn that above the veil, engrave the name and image of the idol [Besh Tzer] of evil coming forth. Denounce over Israel at once. Remember the name. (Hebrew: OMIDNBO.) Fear the evil image. It is not permitted to gather before.

(Hebrew: ShQO BNI' OAaL ITzR D"L.) Above is the evil image.

(Hebrew: ShQO BNI' OAaL HDRNAL MLMD ShHDRNAL.) Journey by all. The veil is spread over the throne. Immerse you in the river of fire. Divide over the throne of glory. At once, gather every group above the Moon [Irech]. They are also immersed in the river of fire.

(Hebrew: ShS"H.) Be protected above the river.

(Hebrew: AaLI NHR BNI' ShSH.) Thus take authority from Jacob. The fathers above are of peace. Sing the song. Speak not of Jacob. From the sounds of Gihenam are the letters of Jacob. At once, they hold dominion by the name. According to it, engrave over the hearts.

(Hebrew: ShQO TzITh.) It is good for man to wear the vestment garment of sackcloth and have gray upon the head. Remember the name. Pray and, at once, the prayer is heard and answered. Speak, there is not one permitted to wear the vestment sackcloth. Only be answered by the king. (Hebrew: KIORM BN AChAB.)

Also, it is spoken in the Midrash, of how many are adorned in sackcloths. God sees you at once, lest [you] understand the secret of the sackcloth. All thus are adorned. See the covering.

Of the letters of the covering, thus find (Hebrew: BMRDKI). Wear the sackcloth and be gray. Go forth (Hebrew: LRBIM) and thus (Hebrew: GBI ANShI NINOCh). Wear the sackcloths and understand the great secret.

Here completes the division of the name of 42 letters. The book is complete. The fountain of wisdom [Ma'ayiyien Hechekmeh] is from the secrets of the great Rezial. Of all the books that Rezial the angel gave to Adam, the first man, learn from it. Of all fountains of the wisdom of the Lord, for the sake of compassion. Be favored by the pleasures of victory. Desire to succeed by walking upon the path of the wisdom. Be ministered by a myriad myriads hosts. Of armies of fire, the river of continuous fire [Methleqecheth Neher Ash]. Dwell before rising up to shine in strength. From the sounds,

the nations tremble. Guide in strength and guide to the highest. Blessed is the Lord of the universe, amen.

Through the actions, employ the holy messenger. The faithful hold dominion.

DOD BN LAA KHRR IShShKR DOB ZTzL MPOLIN QTN MQQ ZALQOOI HBIRH HSMOK LQQ LBOB.

APPENDIX

SEPHER REZIAL MANUSCRIPTS[1]

British Library MS. Sloane 3826 (101 folios):

1. ff.l–57 Liber Salomonis, called Sepher Raziel, containing Seven Treatises:
   1. The first is said Clavis for that in it is determined Astronomy and of the starres for without them we may do nothing.
   2. The second is said Ala for that in it is determined of the vertues of some stones, of herbs and of beasts.
   3. The third is said Tractatus Thymiamatus for that there is determined in it of Suffumigations and of allagacions of them and divisions.
   4. The fourth is said the Treatise of tymes and the heere of the day and of the night for that in it is determined when any thing ought to be done by this booke.
   5. The fifth is said the Treatise of Cleanesse for that there is determined in it of Abstinence.
   6. The sixth is said Samaim for in that treatise it nameth all the heavens and her angels and the operations of working of them.
   7. The seventh is the booke of virtues for that there is determined: *in it of vertues and miracles for there be tolde the propertyes of the arte of magicke and of his figures and of the ordinances of the same.*

[1]This list, compiled by Adam McLean, was posted on the World Wide Web, at http://www.levity.com/alchemy/raziel.html. Readers may find his information helpful to their study.

2. ff.58–65 The rule of the booke of Consecration or the manner of working with some orisions.
3. ff.65–83 Magical Directions.
4. ff.84–97 Liber Lunae.
5. ff.98–101 The Invocation of Oberion concerning Physic Art.

British Library MS. Sloane 3846 (Paper. Quarto. 186 folios. 17th century): Item 18. ff.129–157.

Liber Salomonis, called Cephar Raziel, containing seven treatises, said to be written by William Parry of Clifford's Inn in 1564. ff.129–157. [The text in English is the same as in MS. Sloane 3826.]

British Library MS. Sloane 3847 (Paper. Quarto. 188 folios. 17th century): [Items 1 and 2 see under Clavicula Salomonis—English] [Item 11] ff.161–188.

Praefatio in librum Razielis J.V. in nomine Dei omnipotentis vivi et veri, et eterni, et sine omni Fine qui dicitur Adonay—Saday—Assereye—Jucipio—scribere istum librum qui dicitur Cephar Raziel cum omnibus suis Pertinentiis, in quo sunt septem Tractatus completi, et septem libri.
Introductio Libris.
Clavis Libris. Liber Primus Astronomia.
De Lapidibus. Liber Secundus.
De Herbis.
[This text in Latin is the same as MSS. Sloane 3846 and 3826 but breaks off incomplete in Chapter Three.]
[Preface begins]: "Dicit Salomon Gloria et laus cum multo honore sit Deo."
[First book begins]: "Clavis istius libri est cognoscere et scire locum septem corporum superiorum."
[The introduction lists the seven books of the Sephar Raziel as:]

1. Clavis de Astromonia et de Stellis.
2. Ala de virtutibus quorundam Lapidum, Herbarum, Animalia.
3. Thimiamatum de Suffumigationis.
4. Temporum Anni [times of the year].

5. Munditio de abstinentia.
6. Samahym [names of God and Angels].
7. Virtutum quod ubi determinatur in eo [Virtues of the art of magic].

British Library MS. Sloane 3853 (Paper. Quarto. 268 folios. 17th century):

1. Tractatus cui titulus, Thesaurus Spiritum, secundum Robertum Furconem et Rogerum Bacon, cum tabula contentorum et prologo praemissis. ff.3–45. [Begins]: "Haec est doctrina omnium experimentorum."
2. Libri qui vocature Sephar Rasiel [Imperfect]. ff.46–53. [Begins]: "Incipio scribere istum librorum qui vocatur Sephar Rasiel."
3. Experimenta plurima magica. ff.54–63, 70–120.
4. The book of consecration. ff.64–69.
5. De spiritibus, solaribus, in figuris delineatis. ff.120v–127.
6. The divine Seal of Solomon. f.127v.
7. Invocationes, orationes, etc. f.129–137.
8. Tractatus qui vocatur, Speculum quator Regum. ff.138–141. [Begins]: "Dic inprimis hanc orationem."
9. Processus magici, excitationes spirituum, etc. ff.142–174.
10. A magical book called the Dannet, containing various magical experiments. ff.176–219. [Begins]: "This is the doctrine of all experiments in general."
11. The book of the science "of nygromancie." ff.219v–241. [Begins]: "Here beginnethe the boke of the sience of nygromancie by the which sience thou mayst worke yf thou wylt by daye as by nyght."
12. De sigillis planetarum, etc. f.243.
13. Conjurations, etc. ff.245v–252, 253–256.
14. Of the Offices of Spirits. ff.257–264.
15. Experimenta quaedeam magica. f.266.

British Library MS. Additional 15299:
[The following description appears in the British Library MS catalogue entry which is pasted into the beginning of this volume.]

"The Book Raziel (the Hidden Things of God). The Angel Raziel delivered this book to Adam after 130 years of his Repentance, which book contains Cabbala, by which they can cause Angels, according to his month and his day, to perform miracles, and cast out the evil spirits which occasionally enter in men, and it also contains the knowledge of conversing concerning the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, and to cause to be sick and heal again, and it speaks of many other powers of the vegetable world, precious stones, fishes, fowls, wild beasts, also to be enabled to foretell by the means of the stars and to explain the rod of Moses, wherewith he performed wonders. Vide Labia Dormientium lette 7. No. 31. "This MS contains the book Jetzirah, with the commentary apparently, of R. Eleaser ben Juda de Garmiza, who lived in the middle of the 13th century. There are various other cabalistic Treatises in it. See the note at f.132b. See Wolfius Tom 1, p.23."

MS Alnwick Castle 596:

The following work is a Book of great name among the Magi and Cabalists as the Title of Sepher Raziel or the Book of the Angel of Secret.

p.1. For the Account of the Book, see the Zohar of the Jews in Genesis. When Adam was in the garden of Eden J. H. V. H. sent him a Book of the Angel Raziel in which were engraved characters of the highest wisdom.
p.3. A Compendium of the Book called Sepher Raziel or the Angel of the Great Secret.
p.8. [Recipe for cabalistic ink.]
p.11. Operation of the First Heaven.

p.20. Operation of the 2nd Army in the . . . and attributed to Mercury.
[Opens in English, then in Italian.]
p.25. Operationi del 2 do Exercito. [Sections in Italian, Latin, and English.]
p.35. Operationi del 3 zo Exercito. [Italian, Latin.]
p.47. Operationi de 4 to Exercito. [Italian, Latin, and English.]
p.56. The Operations of the 5th Army. [English, Latin.]
p.62. The Operations of the 6th Army. [English, Latin.]
p.69. Operazioni de 7 mo Cielo. [Italian and Latin.]
p.75. [Lists of qualities of the sevenfold.] [List of various Angel names.]
p.88. Oratio. [Latin.]
p.90. l'Orazioni. [Latin.]
p.92. Tavola. [Contents of MS. in Italian.]
p.93. Haec Sunt 72 Nomina Dei. [List of 72 names with qualities and powers.] [Latin and Italian.]

MS. Alnwick Castle 585:

f.ii. "This Book was bought at Naples from the Jesuit's Colledge when that Order was suppressed and all their goods seized upon by the King and confescated. It was brought from there by a Gentleman in publick Employment in the English service and at his death was purchased in London with other MSS of the Jesuit's Colledge."

1. Cephar Raziel. [In Italian p.1–43.]
   p. 1. Erudition hujus Libri. Zoar: Sectione in principio Genesi I.
   p. 1. Comprehendio de Libro dello Cephar Raziel, id est Angelus Magni Secreti Communicato as Adamo, ed esposto da Salomonie in Ebreao . . .
   p. 2. Incomincia.
   p. 3. Disse Salomone in guest libro guello che disse l'Angelo Raziele as Adamo.
   p. 6. Operazione de primo Cielo.

p. 8. Seguone l'operazione del i° cielo.
p.11. Operazioni del 2° esercito, quale'nel Cielo di Labana, ed attribuiscon a Mercurio.
p.12. Operazioni del 2° Esercito.
p.14. Operazioni del terzo esercito.
p.17. Le operazioni de IV esercito, il quale sta'nel cielo de labana, ma'e atribuito al Sole.
p.18. Operazioni del IV Esercito.
p.21. Operazioni del IV Esercito, il quale ben che stia nel Cielo di Labana, non di meno e'attribuito a'Marte.
p.22. Operazioni del quinto esercito.
p.25. Operazioni del VI esercito, il quale ben che stia ne Cielo di Labana, non di meno, e'attribuito a [Jupiter].
p.26 Dell' operazioni del VII esercito.
p.29. Operazioni del VII Cielo ill 7° Cielo si chiama Arabitht.
p.37. Il Complimento.
p.40. Questae l'orazione.
p.41. Siegrie il Nome Magno.

2. Compendium totius Sme Kabala cuius misterius consistit in divinis nomninibus vita hora fundamentum smus hoc nomen. [Begins]: "Haec sunt 72 Nomina Dei."
   p.1–8. [In Latin.]

3. Regole di Mr Gio Adamo Wetter.
   [Table of the days of the months.]
   [Tables with inverted pyramids of numbers.]
   Kabala Hermetis.
   [With number square and inverted pyramid of numbers. Some sigils at end. Text in Italian.]

4. Vero modo d'acquistare la Kabola Angelica.
   p.1. {Angels of past, present, and future.]
   p.2. Cio finito di rai con gran divezione.
   p.3. Invocazione dell' Asistenza.
   p.5. Devi sapere. Cio che s'edetto / che in agni nome d'Angliolo si deve leggere: Hic est spiritus: e si segna la Croce.

p.6. Oratio.
[p.1–6 in Italian. 18th century] [four short tracts bound together.]

British Library MS. Additional 16390 (Paper. Small quarto. 17th century):

Two tracts in Hebrew.

(i) "The Seven Names."
(ii) The eight chapters of Maimonides, or introduction to Aboth [imperfect]. At the end is added an extract from the Hebrew cabalistic work, entitled Raziel, in Italian.

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Sepher Rezial Hemelach is the long-awaited, first English edition of this famous magical text—a translation from the ancient Hebrew in the rare and complete 1701 Amsterdam edition. According to Hebrew legend, the Sepher Rezial was presented to Adam in the Garden of Eden, given by the hand of God, and delivered by the angel Rezial. The myth thus suggests that this is the first book ever written, and is of direct, divine provenance. A diverse compendium of ancient Hebrew magical lore, this book was quite possibly the original source for later traditional literature on angelic hierarchy, astrology, Qabalah, and Gematria. Moses Gaster mentions this in his introduction to *The Sword of Moses* (1896) suggesting that the Sepher Rezial could be a primary source for many magic and qabalistic books of the Middle Ages.

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THE ODES OF

SOLOMON

HERE *are some of the most beautiful songs of peace and joy that the world possesses. Yet their origin, the date of their writing, and the exact meaning of many of the verses remain one of the great literary mysteries.*

They have come down to us in a single and very ancient document in Syriac language. Evidently that document is a translation from the original Greek. Critical debate has raged around these Odes; one of the most plausible explanations is that they are songs of newly baptized Christians of the First Century.

They are strangely lacking in historical allusions. Their radiance is no reflection of other days. They do not borrow from either the Old Testament or the Gospels. The inspiration of these verses is first-hand. They remind you of Aristides' remark, "A new people with whom something Divine is mingled." Here is vigor and insight to which we can find parallels only in the most exalted parts of the Scriptures.

For these dazzling mystery odes, we owe our translation to J. Rendel Harris, MA., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. He says about them: "There does not seem to be anything about which everyone seem agreed unless it be that the Odes are of singular beauty and high spiritual value."

ODE 1

1 The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be without Him.

2 They wove for me a crown of truth, and it caused thy branches to bud in me.

3 For it is not like a withered crown which buddeth not: but thou livest upon my head, and thou hast blossomed upon my head.

4 Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect, they are full of thy salvation.

ODE 2

(*No part of this Ode has ever been identified*.)

ODE 3

The first words of this Ode have disappeared.

1 . . . I put on:

2 And his members are with him. And on them do I stand, and He loves me:

3 For I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not loved me.

4 For who is able to distinguish love, except the one that is loved?

5 I love the Beloved, and my soul loves Him:

6 And where His rest is, there also am I;

7 And I shall be no stranger, for with the Lord Most High and Merciful there is no grudging.

8 I have been united to Him, for the Lover has found the Beloved,

9 And because I shall love Him that, is the Son, I shall become a son;

10 For he that is joined to Him that is immortal, will also himself become immortal;

11 And he who has pleasure in the Living One, will become living.

12 This is the Spirit of the Lord, which doth not lie, which teacheth

the sons of men to know His ways.
13 Be wise and understanding and vigilant. Hallelujah.

ODE 4

This Ode is important because of the historical allusion with which it commences. This may refer to the closing of the temple at Leontopolis in Egypt which would date this writing about 73 A. D.

1 No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place;
2 And it is not (possible) that he should change it and put it in another place: because he hath no power over it:
3 For thy sanctuary thou hast designed before thou didst make (other) places:
4 That which is the older shall not be altered by those that are younger than itself.
5 Thou has given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers: never wilt thou fail, nor be without fruits:
6 For one hour of thy Faith is more precious than all days and years.
7 For who is there that shall put on thy grace, and be hurt?
8 For thy seal is known: and thy creatures know it: and thy (heavenly) hosts possess it: and the elect archangels are clad with it.
9 Thou hast given us thy fellowship: it was not that thou wast in need of us: but that we are in need of thee:
10 Distill thy dews upon us and open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey:
11 For there is no repentance with thee that thou shouldest repent of anything that thou hast promised:
12 And the end was revealed before thee: for what thou gavest, thou gavest freely:
13 So that thou mayest, not draw them back and take them again:
14 For all was revealed before thee as God, and ordered from the beginning before thee: and thou, O God, hast made all things. Hallelujah.

ODE 5

This Ode has strangely appeared in a speech by Salome in another ancient work called the Pistis Sophia.

1 I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, because I love thee;
2 O Most High, thou wilt not forsake me, for thou art my hope:
3 Freely I have received thy grace, I shall live thereby:
4 My persecutors will come and not see me:
5 A cloud of darkness shall fall on their eyes; and an air of thick gloom shall darken them:
6 And they shall have no light to see: they may not take hold upon me.
7 Let their counsel become thick darkness, and what I have cunningly devised, let it return upon their own heads:
8 For they have devised a counsel, and it did not succeed:
9 For my hope is upon the Lord, and I will not fear, and because the Lord is my salvation, I will not fear:
10 And He is as a garland on my head and I shall not be moved; even if everything should be shaken, I stand firm;
11 And if all things visible should perish, I shall not die; because the Lord is with me and I am with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 6

First century universalism is revealed in an interesting way in verse 10.

1 As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak.
2 So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by His love.
3 For it destroys what is foreign, and everything that is bitter:
4 For thus it was from the beginning and will be to the end, that nothing should be His adversary, and nothing should stand up against Him.
5 The Lord has multiplied the knowledge of Himself, and is zealous that these things should be known, which by His grace have been given to us.
6 And the praise of His name He gave us: our spirits praise His holy Spirit.
7 For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad;
8 For it flooded and broke up everything and it brought (water) to the Temple:
9 And the restrainers of the children of men were not able to restrain it, nor the arts of those whose business it is to restrain waters;
10 For it spread over the face of the whole earth, and filled everything: and all the thirsty upon earth were given to drink of it;
11 And thirst was relieved and quenched: for from the Most High the draught was given.
12 Blessed then are the ministers of that draught who are entrusted with that water of His:
13 They have assuaged the dry lips, and the will that had fainted they have raised up;
14 And souls that were near departing they have caught back from death:
15 And limbs that had fallen they straightened and set up:
16 They gave strength for their feebleness and light to their eyes:
17 For everyone knew them in the Lord, and they lived by the water of life for ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 7

A wonderfully, simple and joyful psalm on the Incarnation.

1 As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over what is lovely, and brings in of its fruits without restraint:
2 My joy is the Lord and my impulse is toward Him: this path of mine is excellent:
3 For I have a helper, the Lord.
4 He hath caused me to know Himself, without grudging, by His simplicity: His kindness has humbled His greatness.
5 He became like me, in order that I might receive Him:
6 He was reckoned like myself in order that I might put Him on;
7 And I trembled not when I saw Him: because He was gracious to me:
8 Like my nature He became that I might learn Him and like my form, that I might not turn back from Him:
9 The Father of knowledge is the word of knowledge:
10 He who created wisdom is wiser than His works:
11 And He who created me when yet I was not knew what I should do when I came into being:
12 Wherefore He pitied me in His abundant grace: and granted me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice:

13 Because He it is that is incorrupt, the fulness of the ages and the Father of them.
14 He hath given Him to be seen of them that are His, in order that they may recognize Him that made them: and that they might not suppose that they came of themselves:
15 For knowledge He hath appointed as its way, He hath widened it and extended it; and brought to all perfection;
16 And set over it the traces of His light, and I walked therein from the beginning even to the end.
17 For by Him it was wrought, and He was resting in the Son, and for its salvation He will take hold of everything;
18 And the Most High shall be known in His Saints, to announce to those that have songs of the coming of the Lord;
19 That they may go forth to meet Him, and may sing to Him with joy and with the harp of many tones:
20 The seers shall come before Him and they shall be seen before Him,
21 And they shall praise the Lord for His love: because He is near and beholdeth.
22 And hatred shall be taken from the earth, and along with jealousy it shall be drowned:
23 For ignorance hath been destroyed, because the knowledge of the Lord hath arrived.
24 They who make songs shall sing the grace of the Lord Most High;
25 And they shall bring their songs, and their heart shall be like the day: and like the excellent beauty of the Lord their pleasant song:
26 And there shall neither be anything that breathes without knowledge, nor any that is dumb:
27 For He hath given a mouth to His creation, to open the voice of the mouth towards Him, to praise Him:
28 Confess ye His power, and show forth His grace. Hallelujah.

ODE 8

Note the sudden transition from the person of the Psalmist to the person of the Lord (v. 10). This is like the canonical Psalter in style.

1 Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord:
2 And let your love be multiplied from the heart and even to the lips,
3 To bring forth fruit to the Lord [fruit], holy [fruit], and to talk with watchfulness in His light.
4 Rise up, and stand erect, ye who sometime were brought low:
5 Tell forth ye who were in silence, that your mouth hath been opened.
6 Ye, therefore, that were despised, be henceforth lifted up, because your righteousness hath been exalted.
7 For the right hand of the Lord is with you: and He is your helper:
8 And peace was prepared for you, before ever your war was.
9 Hear the word of truth, and receive the knowledge of the Most High.
10 Your flesh has not known what I am saying to you neither have your hearts known what I am showing to you.
11 Keep my secret, ye who are kept by it:
12 Keep my faith, ye who are kept by it.
13 And understand my knowledge, ye who know me in truth.
14 Love me with affection, ye who love:

15 For I do not turn away my face from them that are mine;
16 For I know them, and before they came into being I took knowledge of them, and on their faces I set my seal:
17 I fashioned their members: my own breasts I prepared for them, that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby.
181 took pleasure in them and am not ashamed of them:
19 For my workmanship are they and the strength of my thoughts:
20 Who then shall rise up against my handiwork, or who is there that is not subject to them?
21 I willed and fashioned mind and heart: and they are mine, and by my own right hand I set my elect ones:
22 And my righteousness goeth before them and they shall not be deprived of my name, for it is with them.
23 Ask, and abound and abide in the love of the Lord,
24 And yet beloved ones in the Beloved: those who are kept, in Him that liveth:
25 And they that are saved in Him that was saved;
26 And ye shall be found incorrupt in all ages to the name of your Father. Hallelujah.

ODE 9

We shall never know surely whether the wars referred to here are spiritual or actual outward wars.

1 Open your ears and I will speak to you. Give me your souls that I may also give you my soul,
2 The word of the Lord and His good pleasures, the holy thought which He has devised concerning his Messiah.
3 For in the will of the Lord is your salvation, and His thought is everlasting life; and your end is immortality.
4 Be enriched in God the Father, and receive the thought of the Most High.
5 Be strong and be redeemed by His grace.
6 For I announce to you peace, to you His saints;
7 That none of those who hear may fall in war, and that those again who have known Him may not perish, and that those who receive may not be ashamed.
8 An everlasting crown for ever is Truth. Blessed are they who set it on their heads:
9 A stone of great price is it; and there have been wars on account of the crown.
10 And righteousness hath taken it and hath given it to you.
11 Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord.
12 And all those who have conquered shall be written in His book.
13 For their book is victory which is yours. And she (Victory) sees you before her and wills that you shall be saved. Hallelujah.

ODE 10

A vigorous little Ode in which Christ Himself is the speaker.

1 The Lord hath directed my mouth by His word: and He hath opened my heart by His light: and He hath caused to dwell in me His deathless life;
2 And gave me that I might speak the fruit of His peace:
3 To convert the souls of them who are willing to come to Him; and to lead captive a good captivity for

freedom.
4 I was strengthened and made mighty and took the world captive;
5 And it became to me for the praise of the Most High, and of God my Father.
6 And the Gentiles were gathered together who were scattered abroad.
7 And I was unpolluted by my love for them, because they confessed me in high places: and the traces of the light were set upon their heart:
8 And they walked in my life and were saved and became my people for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 11

A beautiful sketch of Paradise regained and the blessedness of those who have returned to the privileges of the fallen Adam.

1 My heart was cloven and its flower appeared; and grace sprang up in it: and it brought forth fruit to the Lord,
2 For the Most High clave my heart by His Holy Spirit and searched my affection towards Him: and filled me with His love.
3 And His opening of me became my salvation; and I ran in His way in His peace, even in the way of truth:
4 From the beginning and even to the end I acquired His knowledge:
5 And I was established upon the rock of truth, where He had set me up:
6 And speaking waters touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord plenteously:
7 And I drank and was inebriated with the living water that doth not die;
8 And my inebriation was not one without knowledge, but I forsook vanity and turned to the Most High my God,
9 And I was enriched by His bounty, and I forsook the folly which is diffused over the earth; and I stripped it off and cast it from me:
10 And the Lord renewed me in His raiment, and possessed me by His light, and from above He gave me rest in incorruption;
11 And I became like the land which blossoms and rejoices in its fruits:
12 And the Lord was like the sun shining on the face of the land;
13 He lightened my eyes, and my face received the dew; and my nostrils enjoyed the pleasant odour of the Lord;
14 And He carried me to His Paradise; where is the abundance of the pleasure of the Lord;
15 And I worshipped the Lord on account of His glory; and I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in thy land! and those who have a place in thy Paradise;
16 And they grow by the fruits of the trees. And they have changed from darkness to light.
17 Behold! all thy servants are fair, who do good works, and turn away from wickedness to the pleasantness that is thine:
18 And they have turned back the bitterness of the trees from them, when they were planted in thy, land;
19 And everything became like a relic of thyself, and memorial for ever of thy faithful works.
20 For there is abundant room in thy Paradise, and nothing is useless therein;
21 But everything is filled with fruit; glory be to thee, O God, the delight of Paradise for ever. Halle-

lujah.

ODE 12

An exceptionally high level of spiritual thought.

1 He hath filled me with words of truth; that I may speak the same;
2 And like the flow of waters flows truth from my mouth, and my lips show forth His fruit.
3 And He has caused His knowledge to abound in me, because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word, and the door of His light;
4 And the Most High hath given it to His words, which are the interpreters of His own beauty, and the repeaters of His praise, and the confessors of His counsel, and the heralds of His thought, and the chasteners of His servants.
5 For the swiftness of the Word is inexpressible, and like its expression is its swiftness and force;
6 And its course knows no limit. Never doth it fail, but it stands sure, and it knows not descent nor the way of it.
7 For as its work is, so is its end: for it is light and the dawning of thought;
8 And by it the worlds talk one to the other; and in the Word there were those that were silent;
9 And from it came love and concord; and they spake one to the other whatever was theirs; and they were penetrated by the Word;
10 And they knew Him who made them, because they were in concord; for the mouth of the Most High spake to them; and His explanation ran by means of it:
11 For the dwelling-place of the Word is man: and its truth is love.
12 Blessed are they who by means thereof have understood everything, and have known the Lord in His truth. Hallelujah.

ODE 13

A strange little Ode.

1 Behold! the Lord is our mirror: open the eyes and see them in Him: and learn the manner of your face:
2 And tell forth praise to His spirit: and wipe off the filth from your face: and love His holiness and clothe yourselves therewith:
3 And be without stain at all times before Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 14

This Ode is as beautiful in style as the canonical Psalter.

1 As the eyes of a son to his father, so are my eyes, O Lord, at all times towards thee.
2 For with thee are my consolations and my delight.
3 Turn not away thy mercies from me, O Lord: and take not thy kindness from me.
4 Stretch out to me, O Lord, at all times thy right hand: and be my guide even unto the end, according to thy good pleasure.
5 Let me be well-pleasing before thee, because of thy glory and because of thy name:
6 Let me be preserved from evil, and let thy meekness, O Lord, abide with me, and the fruits of thy love.
7 Teach me the Psalms of thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in thee:
8 And open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit, that with all its notes I may praise thee, O Lord.
9 And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, so thou shalt give to me; and hasten to grant our petitions; and thou art able for all

our needs. Hallelujah.

ODE 15

One of the loveliest Odes in this unusual collection.

1 As the sun is the joy to them that seek for its daybreak, so is my joy the Lord;
2 Because He is my Sun and His rays have lifted me up; and His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face.
3 In Him I have acquired eyes and have seen His holy day:
4 Ears have become mine and I have heard His truth.
5 The thought of knowledge hath been mine, and I have been delighted through Him.
6 The way of error I have left, and have walked towards Him and have received salvation from Him, without grudging.
7 And according to His bounty He hath given to me, and according to His excellent beauty He hath made me.
8 I have put on incorruption through His name: and have put oft corruption by His grace.
9 Death hath been destroyed before my face: and Sheol hath been abolished by my word:
10 And there hath gone up deathless life in the Lord's land,
11 And it hath been made known to His faithful ones, and hath been given without stint to all those that trust in Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 16

The beauty of God's creation.

1 As the work of the husbandman is the ploughshare: and the work of the steersman is the guidance of the ship:
2 So also my work is the Psalm of the Lord: my craft and my occupation are in His praises:
3 Because His love bath nourished my heart, and even to my lips His fruits He poured out.
4 For my love is the Lord, and therefore I will sing unto Him:
5 For I am made strong in His praise, and I have faith in Him.
6 I will open my mouth and His spirit will utter in me the glory of the Lord and His beauty; the work of His hands and the operation of His fingers:
7 The multitude of His mercies and the strength of His word.
8 For the word of the Lord searches out all things, both the invisible and that which reveals His thought;
9 For the eye sees His works, and the ear hears His thought;
10 He spread out the earth and He settled the waters in the sea:
11 He measured the heavens and fixed the stars: and He established the creation and set it up:
12 And He rested from His works:
13 And created things run in their courses, and do their works:
14 And they know not how to stand and be idle; and His heavenly hosts are subject to His word.
15 The treasure-chamber of the light is the sun, and the treasury of the darkness is the night:
16 And He made the sun for the day that it may be bright, but night brings darkness over the face of the land;
17 And their alternations one to the other speak the beauty of God:
IS And there is nothing that is without the Lord; for He was before any thing came into being:
19 And the worlds were made by

His word, and by the thought of His heart. Glory and honour to His name. Hallelujah.

ODE 17

A peculiar change of personality, scarcely realized until the return from it in the last verse.

1 I was crowned by my God: my crown is living:
2 And I was justified in my Lord: my incorruptible salvation is He.
3 I was loosed from vanity, and I was not condemned:
4 The choking bonds were cut off by her hands: I received the face and the fashion of a new person: and I walked in it and was saved;
5 And the thought of truth led me on. And I walked after it and did not wander:
6 And all that have seen me were amazed: and I was regarded by them as a strange person:
7 And He who knew and brought me up is the Most High in all His perfection. And He glorified me by His kindness, and raised my thoughts to the height of His truth.
8 And from thence He gave me the way of His precepts and I opened the doors that were closed,
9 And brake in pieces the bars of iron; but my iron melted and dissolved before me;
10 Nothing appeared closed to me: because I was the door of everything.
11 And I went over all my bondmen to loose them; that I might not leave any man bound or binding:
12 And I imparted my knowledge without grudging: and my prayer was in my love:
13 And I sowed my fruits in hearts, and transformed them into myself: and they received my blessing and lived;
14 And they were gathered to me and were saved; because they were to me as my own members and I was their head. Glory to thee our head, the Lord Messiah. Hallelujah.

ODE 18

A man who had a spiritual experience brings a message.

1 My heart was lifted up in the love of the Most High and was enlarged: that I might praise Him for His name's sake.
2 My members were strengthened that they might not fall from His strength.
3 Sicknesses removed from my body, and it stood to the Lord by His will. For His kingdom is true.
4 O Lord, for the sake of them that are deficient do not remove thy word from me!
5 Neither for the sake of their works do thou restrain from me thy perfection!
6 Let not the luminary be conquered by the darkness; nor let truth flee away from falsehood.
7 Thou wilt appoint me to victory; our Salvation is thy right hand. And thou wilt receive men from all quarters.
8 And thou wilt preserve whosoever is held in evils:
9 Thou art my God. Falsehood and death are not in thy mouth:
10 For thy will is perfection; and vanity thou knowest not,
11 Nor does it know thee.
12 And error thou knowest not,
13 Neither does it know thee.
14 And ignorance appeared like a blind man; and like the foam of the sea,

15 And they supposed of that vain thing that it was something great;
16 And they too came in likeness of it and became vain; and those have understood who have known and meditated;
17 And they have not been corrupt in their imagination; for such were in the mind of the Lord;
18 And they mocked at them that were walking in error;
19 And they spake truth from the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them; Praise and great comeliness to His name Hallelujah.

ODE 19

Fantastic and not in harmony with the other Odes. The reference to a painless Virgin Birth is notable.

1 A cup of milk was offered to me: and I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord.
2 The Son is the cup, and He who was milked is the Father:
3 And the Holy Spirit milked Him: because His breasts were full, and it was necessary for Him that His milk should be sufficiently released;
4 And the Holy Spirit opened His bosom and mingled the milk from the two breasts of the Father; and gave the mixture to the world without their knowing:
5 And they who receive in its fulness are the ones on the right hand.
6 The Spirit opened the womb of the Virgin and she received conception and brought forth; and the Virgin became a Mother with many mercies;
7 And she travailed and brought forth a Son, without incurring pain;
8 And because she was not sufficiently prepared, and she had not sought a midwife (for He brought her to bear) she brought forth, as if she were a man, of her own will;
9 And she brought Him forth openly, and acquired Him with great dignity,
10 And loved Him in His swaddling clothes and guarded Him kindly, and showed Him in Majesty. Hallelujah.

ODE 20

A mixture of ethics and mysticism; of the golden rule and the tree of life.

1 I am a priest of the Lord, and to Him I do priestly service: and to Him I offer the sacrifice of His thought.
2 For His thought is not like the thought of the world nor the thought of the flesh, nor like them that serve carnally.
3 The sacrifice of the Lord is righteousness, and purity of heart and lips.
4 Present your reins before Him blamelessly: and let not thy heart do violence to heart, nor thy soul to soul.
5 Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by the price of thy silver, neither shalt thou seek to devour thy neighbour,
6 Neither shalt thou deprive him of the covering of his nakedness.
7 But put on the grace of the Lord without stint; and come into His Paradise and make thee a garland from its tree,
8 And put it on thy head and be glad; and recline on His rest, and glory shall go before thee,
9 And thou shalt receive of His kindness and of His grace; and thou shalt be flourishing in truth in the praise of His holiness. Praise and honour be to His name. Hallelujah.

ODE 21

A remarkable explanation of the "coats of skin" in the third chapter of Genesis.

1 My arms I lifted up to the Most High, even to the grace of the Lord: because He had cast off my bonds from me: and my Helper had lifted me up to His grace and to His salvation:

2 And I put off darkness and clothed myself with light,

3 And my soul acquired a body free from sorrow or affliction or pains.

4 And increasingly helpful to me was the thought of the Lord, and His fellowship in incorruption:

5 And I was lifted up in His light; and I served before Him,

6 And I became near to Him, praising and confessing Him;

7 My heart ran over and was found in my mouth: and it arose upon my lips; and the exultation of the Lord increased on my face, and His praise likewise. Hallelujah.

ODE 22

Like the Psalms of David in their exultation because of freedom.

1 He who brought me down from on high, also brought me up from the regions below;

2 And He who gathers together the things that are betwixt is He also who cast me down:

3 He who scattered my enemies had existed from ancient and my adversaries:

4 He who gave me authority over bonds that I might loose them;

5 He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads: and thou hast set me over his roots that I might destroy his seed.

6 Thou wast there and didst help me, and in every place thy name was a rampart me

7 Thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison; and thy hand levelled the way for those who believe in thee.

8 And thou didst choose them from the graves and didst separate them from the dead.

9 Thou didst take dead bones and didst cover them with bodies.

10 They were motionless, and thou didst give them energy for life.

11 Thy way was without corruption, and thy face; thou didst bring thy world to corruption: that everything might be dissolved, and then renewed,

12 And that the foundation for everything might be thy rock: and on it thou didst build thy kingdom; and it became the dwelling place of the saints. Hallelujah.

ODE 23

The reference to the sealed document sent by God is one of the great mysteries of the collection.

1 Joy is of the saints! and who shall put it on, but they alone?

2 Grace is of the elect! and who shall receive it except those who trust in it from the beginning?

3 Love is of the elect? And who shall put it on except those who have possessed it from the beginning?

4 Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High without grudging: to His exultation and to the perfection of His knowledge.

5 And His thought was like a letter; His will descended from on high, and it was sent like an arrow which is violently shot from the bow:

6 And many hands rushed to the letter to seize it and to take and read it:
7 And it escaped their fingers and they were affrighted at it and at the seal that was upon it.
8 Because it was not permitted to them to loose its seal: for the power that was over the seal was greater than they.
9 But those who saw it went after the letter that they might know where it would alight, and who should read it and who should hear it.
10 But a wheel received it and came over it:
11 And there was with it a sign of the Kingdom and of the Government:
12 And everything which tried to move the wheel it mowed and cut down:
13 And it gathered the multitude of adversaries, and bridged the rivers and crossed over and rooted up many forests and made a broad path.
14 The head went down to the feet, for down to the feet ran the wheel, and that which was a sign upon it.
15 The letter was one of command, for there were included in it all districts;
16 And there was seen at its head, the head which was revealed even the Son of Truth from the Most High Father,
17 And He inherited and took possession of everything. And the thought of many was brought to nought.
18 And all the apostates hasted and fled away. And those who persecuted and were enraged became extinct.
19 And the letter was a great volume, which was wholly written by the. finger of God:
20 And the name of the Father was on it, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 24

The mention of the Dove refers to a lost Gospel to which there are rare references in ancient writings.

1 The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head; and she sang over Him and her voice was heard:
2 And the inhabitants were afraid and the sojourners were moved:
3 The birds dropped their wings and all creeping things died in their holes: and the abysses were opened which had been hidden; and they cried to the Lord like women in travail:
4 And no food was given to them, because it did not belong to them;
5 And they sealed up the abysses with the seal of the Lord. And they perished, in the thought, those that had existed from ancient times;
6 For they were corrupt from the beginning; and the end of their corruption was life:
7 And every one of them that was imperfect perished: for it was not possible to give them a word that they might remain:
8 And the Lord destroyed the imaginations of all them that had not the truth with them.
9 For they who in their hearts were lifted up were deficient in wisdom, and so they were rejected, because the truth was not with them.
10 For the Lord disclosed His way, and spread abroad His grace: and those who understood it, know His

holiness. Hallelujah.

ODE 25

Back again to personal experience.

1 I was rescued from my bonds and unto thee, my God, I fled:
2 For thou art the right hand of my Salvation and my helper.
3 Thou hast restrained those that rise up against me,
4 And I shall see him no more: because thy face was with me, which saved me by thy grace.
5 But I was despised and rejected in the eye of many: and I was in their eyes like lead,
6 And strength was mine from thyself and help.
7 Thou didst set me a lamp at my right hand and at my left: and in me there shall be nothing that is not bright:
8 And I was clothed with the covering of thy Spirit, and thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin;
9 For thy right hand lifted me up and removed sickness from me:
10 And I became mighty in: the truth, and holy by thy righteousness; and all my adversaries were afraid of me;
11 And I became admirable by the name of the Lord, and was justified by His gentleness, and His rest is for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 26

Remarkable praise.

1 I poured out praise to the Lord, for I am His:
2 And I will speak His holy song, for my heart is with Him.
3 For His harp is in my hands, and the Odes of His rest shall not be silent.
4 I will cry unto him from my whole heart: I will praise and exalt Him with all my members.
5 For from the east and even to the west is His praise:
6 And from the south and even to the north is the confession of Him:
7 And from the top of the hills to their utmost bound is His perfection.
8 Who can write the Psalms of the Lord, or who read them?
9 Or who can train his soul for life, that his soul may be saved,
10 Or who can rest on the Most High, so that with His mouth he may speak?
11 Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord?
12 For he who could interpret would be dissolved and would become that which is interpreted.
13 For it suffices to know and to rest: for in rest the singers stand,
14 Like a river which has an abundant fountain, and flows to the help of them that seek it. Hallelujah.

ODE 27

The human body makes a cross when a man stands erect in prayer with arms outstretched.

1 I stretched out my hands and sanctified my Lord:
2 For the extension of my hands is His sign:
3 And my expansion is the upright tree [or cross].

ODE 28

This Ode is a musical gem.

1 As the wings of doves over their nestlings; and the mouth of their nestlings towards their mouths.
2 So also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart:
3 My heart is delighted and exults:

like the babe who exults in the womb of his mother:
4 I believed; therefore I was at rest; for faithful is He in whom I have believed:
5 He has richly blessed me and my head is with Him: and the sword shall not divide me from Him, nor the scimitar;
6 For I am ready before destruction comes; and I have been set on His immortal pinions:
7 And He showed me His sign: forth and given me to drink, and from that life is the spirit within me, and it cannot die, for it lives.
8 They who saw me marvelled at me, because I was persecuted, and they supposed that I was swallowed up: for I seemed to them as one of the lost;
9 And my oppression became my salvation; and I was their reprobation because there was no zeal in me;
10 Because I did good to every man I was hated,
11 And they came round me like mad dogs, who ignorantly attack their masters,
12 For their thought is corrupt and their understanding perverted.
13 But I was carrying water in my right hand, and their bitterness I endured by my sweetness;
14 And I did not perish, for I was not their brother nor was my birth like theirs.
15 And they sought for my death and did not find it: for I was older than the memorial of them;
16 And vainly did they make attack upon me and those who, without reward, came after me:
17 They sought to destroy the memorial of him who was before them.
18 For the thought of the Most High cannot be anticipated; and His heart is superior to all wisdom. Hallelujah.

ODE 29

Again reminiscent of the Psalms, of David.

1 The Lord is my hope: in Him I shall not be confounded.
2 For according to His praise He made me, and according to His goodness even so He gave unto me:
3 And according to His mercies He exalted me: and according to His excellent beauty He set me on high:
4 And brought me up out of the depths of Sheol: and from the mouth of death He drew me:
5 And thou didst lay my enemies low, and He justified me by His grace.
6 For I believed in the Lord's Messiah: and it appeared to me that He is the Lord;
7 And He showed him His sign: and He led me by His light, and gave me the rod of His power;
8 That I might subdue the imaginations of the peoples; and the power of the men of might to bring them low:
9 To make war by His word, and to take victory by His power.
10 And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His word: and he became like the stubble which the wind carries away;
11 And I gave praise to the Most High because He exalted me His servant and the son of His handmaid. Hallelujah.

ODE 30

An invitation to the thirsty.

1 Fill ye waters for yourselves from

the living fountain of the Lord, for it is opened to you:
2 And come all ye thirsty, and take the draught; and rest by the fountain of the Lord.
3 For fair it is and pure and gives rest to the soul. Much more pleasant are its waters than honey;
4 And the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it.
5 For it flows forth from the lips of the Lord and from the heart of the Lord is its name.
6 And it came infinitely and invisibly: and until it was set in the midst they did not know it:
7 Blessed are they who have drunk therefrom and have found rest thereby. Hallelujah.

ODE 31

A song that Marcus Aurelius might have known when he said "Be like the promontory against which the waves continually break."

1 The abysses were dissolved before the Lord: and darkness was destroyed by His appearance:
2 Error went astray and perished at His hand: and folly found no path to walk in, and was submerged by the truth of the Lord.
3 He opened His mouth and spake grace and joy: and He spake a new song of praise to His name:
4 And He lifted up His voice to the Most High, and offered to Him the sons that were with Him.
5 And His face was justified, for thus His holy Father had given to Him.
6 Come forth, ye that have been afflicted and receive joy, and possess your souls by His grace; and take to you immortal life.
7 And they made me a debtor when I rose up, me who had been a debtor: and they divided my spoil, though nothing was due to them.
8 But I endured and held my peace and was silent, as if not, moved by them.
9 But I stood unshaken like a firm rock which is beaten by the waves and endures.
10 And I bore their bitterness for humility's sake:
11 In order, that I might redeem my people, and inherit it and that I might not make void my promises to the fathers, to whom I promised the salvation of their seed. Hallelujah.

ODE 32

Joy and light.

1 To the blessed there is joy from their hearts, and light from Him that dwells in them:
2 And words from the Truth, who was self-originate: for He is strengthened by the holy power of the Most High: and He is unperturbed for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 33

A virgin stands and proclaims (v. 5).

1 Again Grace ran and forsook corruption, and came down in Him to bring it to nought;
2 And He destroyed perdition from before Him, and devastated all its order;
3 And He stood on a lofty summit and uttered His voice from one end of the earth to the other:
4 And drew to Him all those who obeyed Him; and there did not appear as it were an evil person.
5 But there stood a perfect virgin who was proclaiming and calling and saying,

6 O ye sons of men, return ye, and ye daughters of men, come ye:
7 And forsake the ways of that corruption and draw near unto me, and I will enter into you, and will bring you forth from perdition,
8 And make you wise in the ways of truth: that you be not destroyed nor perish:
9 Hear ye me and be redeemed. For the grace of God I am telling among you: and by my means you shall be redeemed and become blessed.
10 I am your judge; and they who have put me on shall not be injured: but they shall possess the new world that is incorrupt:
11 My chosen ones walk in me, and my ways I will make known to them that seek me, and I will make them trust in my name. Hallelujah.

ODE 34

True poetry—pure and simple.

1 No way is hard where there is a simple heart.
2 Nor is there any wound where the thoughts are upright:
3 Nor is there any storm in the depth of the illuminated thought:
4 Where one is surrounded on every side by beauty, there is nothing that is divided.
5 The likeness of what is below is that which is above; for everything is above: what is below is nothing but the imagination of those that are without knowledge.
6 Grace has been revealed for your salvation. Believe and live and be saved. Hallelujah.

ODE 35

"*No cradled child more softly lies than I: come soon, eternity.*"
1 The dew of the Lord in quietness He distilled upon me:
2 And the cloud of peace He caused to rise over my head, which guarded me continually;
3 It was to me for salvation: everything was shaken and they were affrighted;
4 And there came forth from them a smoke and a judgment; and I was keeping quiet in the order of the Lord:
5 More than shelter was He to me, and more than foundation.
6 And I was carried like a child by his mother: and He gave me milk, the dew of the Lord:
7 And I grew great by His bounty, and rested in His perfection,
8 And I spread out my hands in the lifting up of my soul: and I was made right with the Most High, and I was redeemed with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 36

Theologians have never agreed on an explanation of this perplexing Ode.

1 I rested in the Spirit of the Lord: and the Spirit raised me on high:
2 And made me stand on my feet in the height of the Lord, before His perfection and His glory, while I was praising Him by the composition of His songs.
3 The Spirit brought me forth before the face of the Lord: and, although a son of man, I was named the Illuminate, the Son of God:
4 While I praised amongst the praising ones, and great was I amongst the mighty ones.
5 For according to the greatness of the Most High, so He made me: and like His own newness He renewed me; and He anointed me from His

own perfection:
6 And I became one of His Neighbours; and my mouth was opened, like a cloud of dew,
7 And my heart poured out as it were a gushing stream of righteousness,
8 And my access to Him was in peace; and I was established by the Spirit of His government. Hallelujah.

ODE 37

An elementary Ode.

1 I stretched out my hands to my Lord: and to the Most I High I raised my voice:
2 And I spake with the lips of my heart; and He heard me, when my voice reached I Him:
3 His answer came to me, and gave me the fruits of my labours;
4 And it gave me rest by the grace of the Lord. Hallelujah.

ODE 38

A beautiful description of the power of truth.

1 I went up to the light of truth as if into a chariot:
2 And the Truth took me and led me: and carried me across pits and gulleys; and from the rocks and the waves it preserved me:
3 And it became to me a haven of Salvation: and set me on the arms of immortal life:
4 And it went with me and made me rest, and suffered me not to wander, because it was the Truth;
5 And I ran no risk, because I walked with Him;
6 And I did not make an error in anything because I obeyed the Truth.
7 For Error flees away from it, and meets it not: but the Truth proceeds in the right path, and
8 Whatever I did not know, it made clear to me, all the poisons of error, and the plagues of death which they think to be sweetness:
9 And I saw the destroyer of destruction, when the bride who is corrupted is adorned: and the bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted;
10 And I asked the Truth 'Who are these?'; and He said to me, 'This is the deceiver and the error:
11 And they are alike in the beloved and in his bride: and they lead astray and corrupt the whole world:
12 And they invite many to the banquet,
13 And give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication, and remove their wisdom and knowledge, and so they make them without intelligence;
14 And then they leave them; and then these go about like madmen corrupting: seeing that-they are without heart, nor do they seek for it!
15 And I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the deceiver; and I congratulated myself because the Truth went with me,
16 And I was established and lived and was redeemed,
17 And my foundations were laid on the hand of the Lord: because He established me.
18 For He set the root and watered it and fixed it and blessed it; and its fruits are for ever.
19 It struck deep and sprung up and spread out, and was full and enlarged;
20 And the Lord alone was glorified in His planting and in His hus-

bandry: by His care and by the blessing of His lips,
21 By the beautiful planting of His right hand: and by the discovery of His planting, and by the thought of His mind. Hallelujah.

ODE 39

One of the few allusions to events in the Gospels—that of our Lord walking on the Sea of Galilee.

1 Great rivers are the power of the Lord:
2 And they carry headlong those who despise Him: and entangle their paths:
3 And they sweep away their fords, and catch their bodies and destroy their lives.
4 For they are more swift than lightning and more rapid, and those who cross them in faith are not moved;
5 And those who walk on them without blemish shall not be afraid.
6 For the sign in them is the Lord; and the sign is the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord;
7 Put on, therefore, the name of the Most High, and know Him, and you shall cross without danger, for the rivers will be subject to you.
8 The Lord has bridged them by His word; and He walked and crossed them on foot:
9 And His footsteps stand firm on the water, and are not injured; they are as firm as a tree that is truly set up.
10 And the waves were lifted up on this side and on that, but the footsteps of our Lord Messiah stand firm and are not obliterated and are not defaced.
11 And a way has been appointed for those who cross after Him and for those who adhere to the course of faith in Him and worship His name. Hallelujah.

ODE 40

A song of praise without equal.

1 As the honey distills from the comb of the bees,
2 And the milk flows from the woman that loves her children;
3 So also is my hope on Thee, my God.
4 As the fountain gushes out its water,
5 So my heart gushes out the praise of the Lord and my lips utter praise to Him, and my tongue His psalms.
6 And my face exults with His gladness, and my spirit exults in His love, and my soul shines in Him:
7 And reverence confides in Him; and redemption in Him stands assured:
8 And His inheritance is immortal life, and those who participate in it are incorrupt. Hallelujah.

ODE 41

We discover that the writer may be a Gentile (v. 8).

1 All the Lord's children will praise Him, and will collect the truth of His faith.
2 And His children shall be known to Him. Therefore we will sing in His love:
3 We live in the Lord by His grace: and life we receive in His Messiah:
4 For a great day has shined upon us: and marvellous is He who has given us of His glory.
5 Let us, therefore, all of us unite together in the name of the Lord, and let us honour Him in His goodness,
6 And let our faces shine in His

light: and let our hearts meditate in His love by night and by day.
7 Let us exult with the joy of the Lord.
8 All those will be astonished that see me. For from another race am I:
9 For the Father of truth remembered me: He who possessed me from the beginning:
10 For His bounty begat me, and the thought of His heart:
11 And His Word is with us in all our way;
12 The Saviour who makes alive and does not reject our souls-;
13 The man who was humbled, and exalted by His own righteousness,
14 The Son of the Most High appeared in the perfection of His Father;
15 And light dawned from the Word that was beforetime in Him;
16 The Messiah is truly one; and He was known before the foundation of the world,
17 That He might save souls for ever by the truth of His name: a new song arises from those who love Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 42

The Odes of Solomon, the Son of David, are ended with the following exquisite verses.

1 I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord:
2 For the stretching of my hands is His sign:
3 My expansion is the outspread tree which was set up on the way of the Righteous One.
4 And I became of no account to those who did not take hold of me; and I shall be with those who love me.
5 All my persecutors are dead; and they sought after me who hoped in me, because I was alive:
6 And I rose up and am with them; and I will speak by their mouths.
7 For they have despised those who persecuted them;
8 And I lifted up over them the yoke of my love;
9 Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride,
10 So was my yoke over those that know me:
11 And as the couch that is spread in the house of the bridegroom and bride,
12 So is my love over those that believe in me.
13 And I was not rejected though I was reckoned to be so.
14 I did not perish, though they devised it against me.
15 Sheol saw me and was made miserable:
16 Death cast me up, and many along with me.
17 I had gall and bitterness, and I went down with him to the utmost of his depth:
18 And the feet and the head he let go, for they were not able to endure my face:
19 And I made a congregation of living men amongst his dead men, and I spake with them by living lips:
20 Because my word shall not be void:
21 And those who had died ran towards me: and they cried and said, Son of God, have pity on us, and do with us according to thy kindness,
22 And bring us out from the bonds of darkness: and open to us the door by which we shall come out to thee.
23 For we see that our death has not touched thee.

24 Let us also be redeemed with thee: for thou art our Redeemer.
25 And I heard their voice; and my name I sealed upon their heads:
26 For they are free men and they are mine. Hallelujah.

THIS IS THE BOOK OF THE GREAT REZIAL

PART 1

Blessed are the wise by the mysteries coming from the wisdom. Of reverence, the Torah is given to teach the truth to human beings. Of the strength and glory, honor the Skekinethov. The power of the highest and lowest works is the foundation of the glory of Elohim. The secret word is as milk and honey upon the tongue. Let it be to you alone. The teachings are not foreign to you. This book proclaims the secret of Rezial, but only to the humble. Stand in the middle of the day, without provocation and without reward. Learn the tributes of the reverence of Elohim. Turn away from evil and journey on the path to pursue righteousness. The secret is reverence of the Lord. The worthy go directly to the secret. It is written, only reveal the secret of El to serve the prophets.

There are three secrets corresponding to the Torah of the prophets. All secrets correspond to these three. The first commandment is the first wisdom, reverence of the Lord.[1] It is written, reverence of the Lord is the first knowledge. The beginning wisdom is reverence of the Lord, corresponding to three wisdoms.

It is written, of the outer wisdom, rejoice and build the house of wisdom with the secret of the foundation. Be wise by opening the heart to the secret.

There are three kinds of secrets. The secret of the Merkabah [chariot][2], the secret of Berashith [in the beginning, or Genesis],[3] and the secret of the commandments [the laws of God].[4] These are made clear by the help of Shaddai.

There are three kinds of reverence of heaven. They are reverence of the Lord, reverence of Shaddai, and reverence of Elohim. It is made clear that reverence of the Lord is to love the name of God and serve in love. It is written, man is happy to revere the Lord. It is not written here of reverence of Elohim, but only of reverence of the Lord.

It is written in the commandments to serve in love. Desire to regard in the heart and keep the commandments. In the commandments, it is said of the reverence of Elohim, revere Elohim, lest [you come] into the hands of temptation. Man is not to serve in temptation, of reverence before the king, not rising up by the name.

It is decreed, as it is written, Abraham was beloved. God spoke to him to lead his son. It is written, you know to revere Elohim. You know of love. Know it is decreed, man is happy not to journey by counsel of wickedness. It is written herein, man is happy to revere the Lord. Show reverence to the heavens all the day. Regard love in the heart. The reverence of the heavens is in the heart at all times, reverence of the purity of the Lord. Those giving reverence are loved by the Lord. There is much value in living in purity. Bathe in the glory of the light of Elohim. Go from darkness into light, divided from those led astray. As the light shines down upon the sea, that is the reverence of Elohim who spoke to Abraham. From love, understanding was created by the love and reverence. A thousand generations come after from the love.

[1] This is often interpreted as the beginning of wisdom is the fear of God." The term "Yirath" may be translated as "fear," but it may also be interpreted as "reverence." Many scholars disagree, but I firmly believe that "reverence" is appropriate. In support of this conclusion, I refer to the *Oxford Companion to the Bible,* Metzger and Googan, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 225, where it is stated: "The fear of God involves worshipping the Lord with deep respect and devotion. It is a religious expression, and as such implies obedience, love and trust."

[2] The term Merkabah is used to describe the mysteries of the Hekhaloth, or the seven heavenly halls of the palace of God. One would travel through them upon a chariot.

[3] Berashith is the name of the first book of the Old Testament, as well as the first word of the book.

[4] Most people are familiar with the tale of the Ten Commandments, which were handed down to Moses on Mount Sinai after the liberation of the Jews from the land of Egypt. However, in the Old Testament {Exodus 20:2-23:19), there are over sixty commandments that were proclaimed by God to Moses. Also, see *Oxford Companion to the Bible,* page 736.

It is written in the Midrash of three kinds of offerings. They are the burnt offering [A'avolah], the peace offering [Shelomim, or "thank offering"], and the sin offering [Chetath].[5]

There are three classes of righteousness. They are love, petition, and reverence. The burnt offering corresponds to love. The peace offering corresponds to petition. The sin offering corresponds to reverence. The burnt offering is a sacrifice to the glory of God alone. The peace offering and sin offering are for the sake of the living body. Proclaim love from the petition and petition from the reverence. From love, you serve God in righteousness. Give glory and honor to the kingdoms alone before all things. In goodness, the Lord created the universe by the word, not by labor. The God [Haloveh] and father and king is strong and wise, good and compassionate. You tolerate all things, filling all the highest and lowest, sustaining in the high places and bringing forth all creatures. You reveal the mysteries of the universe, the knowledge of good and evil. You tolerate wickedness for the sake of the restoration. Behold, all goodness to the righteous who love God. Give praise and laud over the greatest works.

The burnt offering is sacrifice. By petition, serve in the holy place, blessed is it. Fall in supplication and petition. Petition for every measure of goodness for the sake of the benefit of the body. This is the foundation of wisdom, understanding of knowledge. From this, bring light in the days. Heal the woman unable to conceive and make sons upright in the heart. You succeed in works of wealth and glory and treasures, all to the good. Petition the Lord above, thus sacrifice the peace offering.

Give reverence and serve God in great fear.[6] Be delivered from curses written in the Torah. The punishment comes forth from the holy place, blessed is it. Its measure is longer than the Earth and wider than the sea.[7] Receive salvation from affliction, injury, and suffering. Do not writhe in pain. Do not be ruled over by foreign lands. Do not bring death or speak evil. Fill the days in goodness and blessings in the world. Deliver from misfortune and affliction and destruction from the walls of fire in Gihenam. The wicked prepare to burn in flames on the day of the great judgment [Yom Hadin Hagedol]. By reverence of the Lord, rise up by sacrifice of the sin offering. Make three sacrifices: the burnt offering, the peace offering, and the sin offering.

Of sacrifices in the first house [Beth Achad] through the first priest [Kahen Achad] in the name of the one God [El Achad], three limes in righteousness: by love, by petition, and by reverence. Complete them and be protected by God, protecting and loving you from petition and reverence.

The beginning wisdom is reverence of the Lord and love of heaven. The heart of the righteous burns as flames of fire. Keep the commandments in reverence of the Lord. This the Lord Elohik requires, not making reward for reverence and love. It is written of reverence and love, the Shem Hamephorash was created from love. Of the written word, this is the reverence of Shaddai. Revere God by keeping every commandment. (Reverence of God is not in itself glory, but keeping every commandment.)

Fall down in supplication and cry out to El. Establish the heart and grant the petition at once. Reject wickedness and condemn the wicked. Forsake reverence of Shaddai. Know to withhold mercy for sins. Forsake the petition, not revering the name of Shaddai, and not making desire or evil grow in the heart. In the middle of the house, the humble show reverence and gather in the house. It is written in the Midrash, withhold the mercy from those forsaking reverence of Shaddai. Stand and serve before God. Show reverence in prayer and receive tranquility therein. Deliver from all evil. Dwell in the secret place of the most high, hidden in the darkness of the shadow of Shaddai. Deliver from the mouth of the trap [the opening of the snare].

Petition in prayer. Speak, protect from traps. In every petition to Shaddai, be blessed by God the father [El Abiek]. By support of El Shaddai, be fruitful and multiply [Pherov Vorebov]. El Shaddai sees and turns away. Behold, be fruitful and multiply. Wherefore be silent, and bring forth from the secret place that the father reveals to you. Establish Shaddai, of sixty, four hundred, thirty and the above [Hebrew: I' AaOLH, or ten burnt offerings] is five hundred.[8]

[5] There are five kinds of offerings described in the Old Testament (Leviticus 1:1-5:14): the burnt offering, the grain offering, the offering of well-being, the sin offering, and the offering with restitution.

[6] The context of this passage warrants the use of the term "fear."

[7] This reference describes the dimensions of heaven. See Job 11:9.

[8] The letters S' Th' L' are used here to represent the Gematria.

The man Job begets sons and daughters. There are five hundred of them.[9] Five hundred strong ones [Aberiem], 248 sons and 252 daughters. There are four more daughters than sons. Thus be fruitful and multiply (Hebrew: PRO ORBO).[10] By Gematria, the letters Tau Qoph are the name over be fruitful and multiply.[11]

Therefore, establish to petition the name. Thus, the course of the universe is five hundred years. It is treasured by Shaddai as the measure of heaven. Speak of heaven. According to Shaddai, there is not enough to serve. Remember Shaddai by the prophet of the nations seeing Shaddai. Behold the reverence of Shaddai. Be aided by the name Shaddai, protected from the evil spirits [Hamezieqien]. By protection of Shaddai, lodge and speak prayers of supplication. Therefore the name is written upon the Mezuzah.[12] Penetrate the iron over the Mezuzah. Proclaim and remember the name Shaddai to protect from the evil spirits, that is (Hebrew: IHOH BATh BSh MTz'FTz Sh'). Of the letter Shin of Shaddai, Shin is above [or "300 burnt offerings"] in the name of (Hebrew: IHOH). Of Shin above, (Hebrew: BATh BSh ShM HQDSh GDI) corresponds to (Hebrew: ID KOZO BMOK"SZ KOZO) written in the Mezuzah.[14]

Reveal the secret of the fourteen signs of the holy name. (He-brew: KOZO HOIH) in reverse Aleph Beth. Thus Yod upholds Kaph, Koph upholds Vau, Vau upholds Zayin, and Heh upholds Vau. Thus, (Hebrew: KOZO).

(Hebrew: BMOK"SZ ALHINO). Beth upholds Aleph, Mem upholds Lamed, Vau upholds Heh, Koph upholds Yod, Teth upholds Nun, Zayin upholds Vau. Here are fourteen signs corresponding to the three names (Hebrew: H' ALHINO). Therefore, write fourteen letters for the sake of the two corresponding to (Hebrew: H' AL-HINO). Write Shaddai with Shin Daleth Yod.

The first Daleth corresponds to the back [or neck]. The Yod of Shaddai corresponds to the fathers, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham. The final written words are (Hebrew: BATh BSh ShDI).[15] Beth, Shin, Qoph, Daleth, Mem, and Yod.[16] The beginning Yod Yod Aleph is the number of (Hebrew: AHIH) ,[17] When adding the numbers Resh, Tau, Vao, Samekh, Tau,[18] Israel proclaims Jacob to be Resh, Yod, Vau in number.[19] That is to say, take Resh, Tau, Vau, Samekh, Tau, from the fathers, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Israel, here is 203.[20] Combine thirteen letters from the three names of the fathers, and here is 210. Thus the signs of the fathers correspond to thirteen tributes.

There are three praises. Of the Aleph before the name are 63 aspects [Bechineth].[21] Therefore, see the God [El] of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, by El Shaddai. Also the secret of Shaddai is revealed by calculating Tau Qoph. The life of the fathers is 502 years. Abraham lived 175 years. Isaac lived 180 years. Jacob lived 147 years. Together, the years total 502.

Beth [with a value of 2] corresponds to heaven and Earth. In the course of 505 years, the fathers gather to them as the days of the heavens above the Earth. Make clear as the days of the heavens above the Earth. The course is 500 years as the lives of the fathers.

The letter Shin is in the house of prayer. First consider the correspondence to Jacob, that is written Israel.[23] Thus, praise in prayer.

9 In the Book of Job of the Old Testament, it is noted that Job had seven sons and three daughters (Job 1:2). This name may also be Joab, who was a general in King David's army. There are a few stories of Joab involving children. In the Midrash, one tale depicts Joab slaying 500 warriors in Kinsali, the Amalekite capital.

10 The Gematria of the letters of this phrase is 500.

11 Tau is 400; Qoph is 100.

12 The Mezuzah is a talisman attached to the doorpost. It contains a prayer written on a small scroll. Also, see Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition,* p. 145.

13 BATh may be translated as "come forth" or "in you." BSh may be translated as "shame," but is likely interpreted as "by Shin." MTZ"PTz is a name. The Gematria value is 300.

14 The name KOZO is considered the antithesis of YHVH, or 'Tetragrammaton.*' The numerical value of KOZO is 39. Also, see Joshua Trachtenberg's *Jewish Magic and Superstition,* p. 92.

15 The Gematria of these letters is 1019.

16 The Gematria of these letters is 456.

17 The Gematria of Yod Yod Aleph is 21. This is the same value as the letters Aleph Heh Yod Heh.

18 The Gematria of these letters is 1066,

19 The Gematria of these letters is 216.

20 These are the Gematria values of the names of the fathers: Abraham is 248; Isaac is 218; Jacob is 182. Also, the name Israel has a value of 531.

21 In the text, it appears to read S"G (which is 63), however the lettering is a bit smudged.

22 The numerical value of these two letters is 500.

23 See Genesis 32-35, where Jacob's name was changed to Israel.

Proclaim the praise, speaking: Praised is the ruler above, and the chosen cast down to Earth. It is written, be cast out from heaven to Earth, the beauty of Israel. Prayers proclaim the glory. By prayer with the letters of glory, stay upon the path of the Lord. Therefore, by the nine fathers [Thesha'ah Bab], give the crown [Apher] in the place of prayer.[24] Of the days of the Messiah, give praise below the crown.

It is written in the *Book of Formation,* the letter Shin reigns.[25] Bind to the crown and bind therein the heavens. Therefore, fire resembles Jacob in heaven. By the letter Shin, create fire, and see fire therein. Thus, in the house of Jacob is fire corresponding to the letter Shin, as Jacob wrestled the angel of fire.

Also, the letter Shin has three branches, corresponding to the three names of Jacob, Israel, and Jeschuron [a periphrastic name of Israel]. The letter Shin is over the noble houses [BethiemAtzel].

It is written, the image engraved in the throne of glory resembles the image of a flying cherub. Come forth to Egypt. It is written, fly over as the cherub takes flight. Revere Israel by the hand of the strength. It is written to revere Israel, by the hand of the great grandfather [Seva]. Israel resembles Jacob over the sea. Sing the hymn unto Israel. The Lord reigns forever and ever. Therefore, resemble Jacob, according to the written truth. Give the truth to Jacob. According to this, do not go forth unto carved images [Phesoleth]. The daughter, Dinah, was troubled by Shechem[26] and the maiden Aseneth,[27] daughter of Potipherah.[28] The tribes multiply to put forth the law.[29] Do not speak of idolatry. In the house of Jacob, written by Jacob, is the great name [Shem Ha-gadol] and the holy tzietz.[30] Take Mikal to become the wife of Potipherah.[31] Proclaim Joseph to take the daughter.

Around the Shin, twelve prayers divide, corresponding to the twelve tribes. The three divide and three tribes spread out as they go forth from Egypt.

The letter Daleth corresponds to the back [or neck] , corresponding to Isaac. Straighten the back to unite the name of God. Daleth is the flesh of the back. All the flesh of the back corresponds to the back of the neck. Of all the flesh of the back of the neck, wring the neck. Therefore, shave the back, Place the strap upon the flesh. Inquire of Isaac. The letter Daleth is over the head in purple [argeman, a purple or reddish-purple]. Therefore, the letter Daleth corresponds to the neck.

Also, draw above and below, dwelling in the fourth firmament, the name in the Holy Temple [Beth Hamikadesh], thus the holy tabernacle [Meshikan] of four coverings. The first covering is sky-blue [Thekaleth] ,[32] The second veil is of goat skin. The third is of ram's leather. The fourth covering is of Egyptian leather [Tachashim, seal, dugong, or badger skin].

In the lowest dwelling, Isaac is sacrificed upon the back of the altar of degrees [Mezabech Shel Ha'aleh], therefore corresponding to Daleth. It is written in the *Book of Formation,* reign with Daleth. Bind it tight and create Mars in the fifth firmament.[33] Close 10 the Sun, it receives the heat of the Sun to be dry as fire. Therefore, Daleth corresponds to Isaac, the rising of the Sun. Mars is dry as fire and appointed over heat, and over anger and wrath. Therefore, when God is angry, remember Isaac, as he is honored. It is written, remove the ashes from the burnt offerings.

[24] Apher actually translates "gray," "ash," or "meadow." It is probably a transposition for Phar.

[25] See passage 3:9 of the *SepherYetzirah.* This is presented on page 155 of Aryeh Kaplan's translation *(Sefer Yetzirak* (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1990)).

[26] Dinah was the daughter of Jacob and Leah. Shechem was the name of a province, and the man for whom the province was named, who had raped Leah. Leah and her brothers then took severe revenge upon him. See Genesis 34:1-34:30.

[27] Aseneth was the wife of Joseph, son of Jacob and Rachel. The most famous bible story concerning Joseph is the tale of the coat of many colors (see Genesis 37:3-37:36), which results in his own brothers selling him into slavery in Egypt. He earned the good graces of the Pharoah by his prophecies. The Pharoah gave Joseph the name Zaphenath-paneah, as well as the hand of Aseneth in marriage. She bore him two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

[28] Potipherah was the father-in-law of Joseph, and a priest of On.

[29] "The twelve tribes of Israel are descended from the twelve sons of Jacob: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, Joseph, Benjamin, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher.

[30] The tzietz is a shining plate or talisman worn on the forehead of the rabbi.

[31] Mikal was the daughter of Saul and wife of David. According to *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (p. 546), the wife of Potipherah, Zuleika, attempted to seduce Joseph.

[32] This refers to a colored dye obtained from a mussel (helix janthina), termed cerulean purple. However, the term may also mean sky-blue, light blue, or azure.

[33] See *SepherYetzirah,* 4:9-4:10.

The Yod of Isaac corresponds to Abraham tested by ten trials.[34] Give in prayer near the side of the first house over the first name Abraham. It is written in the *Book of Formation,* the letter Yod reigns. Bind to the crown and create therein Virgo.[35] Abraham takes his beloved bride [Sarah] as virgin and form with the letter Yod. The perfection of the Lord [Kalelieh] is separated. Rise over by counsel from the perfection [Kalivoth] .[36] It is written, rise up to the perfection. It is written in contrast to the counsel, take instruction and correspond to perfection. Give counsel and speak to close friends. The father Abraham did not learn much from the book, but learned perfection is as two fountains or springs of wisdom.

Also, the letter Yod corresponds to Abraham lifting the hand of the Lord God. The Yod corresponds to the heart. It is written, the faithful reach out with the heart.

Also, the Yod corresponds to Abraham, as according to it, God foresees Abraham serves by ten trials. Create the universe by ten commandments. It is written of the history of the heavens and the earth, the name Abram became Abraham.[37]

The ten numbers are nothing. Thus one and two, three and four, five and six, seven and eight, nine and ten. Then all calculations repeat. Begin eleven, twelve, and so on. Then twenty is two times the letter Yod. Thirty is three times the letter Yod, and so on. Thus all calculations are perfection. Nothing is concealed by language. By ten numbers, speak and close the mouth to speak profoundly.

At first, the Shekinah precedes the universe by myriad myriads years, or as many years afterward. The glory of the universe is above or below, deep and profound. It is in the east and west, north and south. How great is the light. In darkness, obscure the firmament. Here is the letter Yod. At first is the letter Aleph. At the end is the letter Beth. Gimel is above. Daleth is below. Heh is to the east. Vau is to the west. Zayin is to the north. Cheth is to the south. The light of the letter Teth reveals light in the air. Darkness obscures all things. All is formed. It is in all and it is all. Bow down by all. Rise up and give thanksgiving in the heart. As the letter Yod bows down, the ancestors of Abraham go forth. Understand by the *Book of Formation.* Reveal over the Lord [Adon]. Place it in the bosom and kiss the head. Make a covenant.

Also, much more is revealed in the secret work of Berashith with help of Shaddai.

Also, the letter Yod corresponds to Abraham as Yod upholds Kaph. From Adam until Abraham is twenty generations. The universe was created by Yod. Bring forth small things, as Yod is diminutive. Yod is as a humble man, bowing down and rising up.

Also, make clear the reverence of Shaddai. Man serves God with love in the heart. Great is the reverence and devotion. Establish the heart. Keep the commandments. Rejoice in supplication to serve the creator of the universe. By rejoicing and reverence, serve the Lord in reverence and tremble in exaltation. It is written, serve the Lord by rejoicing. The heart rejoices to petition the Lord.

Revere Elohim and serve in fear of Gihenam and the day of judgment, of the suffering and torment. That is the reverence of Elohim. Judge and deliver retribution, as angered by the sins of man. Of every word, it is difficult to speak, Elohim, I do revere you and speak with great difficulty, very loudly at your feet. I shall not fall to rest, but journey to the house and revere you, lest I be punished. It is written, Elohim, judge me by reverence.

I revere Elohiek, speaking every word devoted in my heart. It is spoken, by the Lord Elohiek, revere and uphold the reverence of Elohim, not to fall from grace. In every place, revere Elohim and serve from the reverence.

Behold the reverence of the Lord. Serve in love, corresponding to the burnt offering. Be sustained in exaltation by the reverence of Shaddai, for not to revere is not to serve the Lord (That is not to serve).

Corresponding to the peace offering, fat [Cheleb] and blood is consumed [or burned]. The remainder is to the Lords [Leba'aliem]. The desire of the high priest [Kihenim] is the peace offering, bringing peace in the world. Serve from love and supplication, and strengthen the body. Give to him the Torah, of wealth and treasures and glory and understanding, revere Elohim. Serving in reverence is the foundation. Of the house of man [Aneshi Bethov], do not deprive support corresponding to the sin offering going over sins. There is great love from the petition and supplication from the reverence.

[34] see Genesis 22.
[35] See Sepher Yetzirah, 5:8.
[36] This term usually translates to "the inward, secret parts." This usually denotes the secret workings and affections of the soul. In this context, it probably means simply "perfection."
[37] See Genesis 17:5.

At this time, become wise and prosper. Of the love of the blessed, after, write the secret of the Merkabah. Let man be wise by reverence forever. Consider the wisdom of the world. By the glory, form the king of flesh and blood. Command the armies and go to battle to smite the enemies in the name of the Lord. Give reverence before going into battle. If there is not reverence enemies lay waste, prevailing over the land in every dwelling.

The king of all kings, God, exalts in reverence before going on all paths. The Lord is everywhere and in every place. He observes the good and wicked in every place. The worthy revere the Lord in righteousness. Unite the nations in order that the nation [not] be divided. Work for the sake of the heavens. Every path is created from the blessings. Establish the heart. It is written, satisfy the Lord. He is eternal, therefore established.

Blessed is the Lord. Command man to bind and calculate every season. Of the man who is a sinner or thief or adulterer of women, bind to consider much. Of the wisdom, this man is not to know and not to come near, disgraced in every dwelling created by the wisdom of the Creator.

Consider the wisdom that created the commandments, making reward for the love. Serve the Lord a little and serve much. Also, man considers forever not to forsake the wish of the Creator.

Bring the Lord of judgment [Ba'al Hadin] before the magistrates [Shellton]. Reveal that the magistrates rule over the necromancer [Ba'al Avob] and magician [Yida'avoni], or engage in demoniacal works [Ma'asheh Shedim] or works by the knowledge of the signs of the zodiac.[38] Do not be false or deceitful, as it is revealed the magistrates know all. Also, fear the works binding with an evil spell [Lechebierora'ath], lest [you] come forth to be judged before the magistrates.

God gives life to man in the heart. By the path of reverence, reveal all thoughts and understanding of all works. Lord over people and know to summon the Lord of judgment. Speak the words to end deceit. Rise up that the words may be true. It is written, those not pure will not rise up to know of the universe.

It is made known when shame is necessary. Speak, I will not do acts of iniquity, nor deceive by speaking or writing words, not to establish before the eyes. Thus, in every hour and minute, consider the love and search the heart. Examine the perfection. Keep the commandments and show reverence over the lifetime.

Of the root of benevolent acts [Chesiedoth, may refer to Has-sidism] measured previously, be judged by every word you write, of favor over all works.

Of the root of reverence, the words are difficult. Know you revere Elohim and perfection.

Of the root of supplication, rejoice in the heart in love of God. Rejoice in the heart from the petition of the Lord. Therefore, be loved and protected.

Of the root of the Torah, the most profound knowledge of the works of all words, it is written, all made by the Lord is good.

The root of the commandments is eight words, corresponding to the eight threads of the Tzitzith.[39] Write and remember all the commandments of the Lord.

The first thread corresponds to the eyes. Do not see without raising up the eyes. Do not brim with tears. After, the eyes do not close. Speak by the power of eyes, lest [you] forget the words seen. Cast down the eyes to salvation. Also, the Totephith is between the eyes.[40]

The second thread corresponds to the ears. Do not be deceived by hearing lies, nor hear the ending of words. Israel hears the decrees.

The third thread corresponds to the throat. Do not swallow all abominations. Make to eat matzoh and similar things.[41]

The fourth thread corresponds to the mouth. Let the tongue not speak words. Of all words written, [do] not labor to make the oath, [do] not deceive by words or speaking the name, [do] not make the oath and speak falsehoods. Also, the teeth are not white in the mouth, or the tongue articulate.

[38] Ba'al Avob is the Lord of Necromancy, The term "necromancer" may be defined as one who calls up spirits to learn of the future. Yida'avoni means "wizard" or "soothsayer." Ma'asheh Shedim are works of demons or works of violence destruction.

[39] A fringed garment or shawl, draped around the shoulders of one praying in a Jewish temple.

[40] An ornament worn by the Rabbi upon the forehead.

[41] Unleavened bread. The custom of eating rnatzoh on Passover originates from the days, of Moses. When the Jews were being liberated from Egypt, they did not have enough time to allow their bread to rise, therefore they baked unleavened bread.

The fifth thread corresponds to the hands. Do not lay the hand in sin and do not steal. Open the door with the hand. Bind the signs by the means of it.

The sixth thread corresponds to the feet. Do not walk about after strange Gods [Elohim Acheri], not stumble and fall. Walk after the Lord Elohik. Journey by all paths, as commanded by the Lord Elohik. Watch the feet as you walk to the house of Elohik.

The seventh thread corresponds to the skin [Ha'aroh].[42] Do not commit adultery. Be fruitful and multiply. Respect circumcision [Hamilah].

The eighth thread corresponds to the nose. Let it not be irritated or excited by the sweet scent of idolatry, nor desire the oblation. Smell the myrtle on the Sabbath, and similar things.

Man is to remember these eight things for all time. Let them be in the heart. Eyes first, ears second, throat third, mouth fourth, hands fifth, feet sixth, and skin seventh. Do not sin by them. The heart is with each. Consider thoughts of every one.

It is written in the Midrash, the congregation [Asepheh] diminishes and grows. Behold them equally over the years. Cast down to the battles. The first rise up and make the offering, fixing the crowns [or ornaments]. The first rise up, fixing the crowns. Reveal what is great. Speak, to ascend by the crowns. Of the wicked, smite the sinners rotting before smelling the scent of idolatry. The eyes close before the journey and the head turns away from the Lord in Gihenam.

The first threads of the Tzitzith are the strands of the greatest length and suitable to adorn. Of the first strand, speak not to deliver the strong ones [Geborim] to vanquish the uncircumcised [A'arelim]. The body is righteous to fulfill the commandments.

First, beginning in prayer. Second, the proclamations of the Torah. Third, opening the heart. Fourth, the nose smells the Fifth, the hands give righteousness. Sixth, consecration of the Torah and supplication before God. Seventh, the covenant of he body is suspended therein. Eight, the feet walk to the synagogue [Beth Kenesioth] and the house of study [Beth Midrashoth, another name for synagogue]. Therefore complete perfection.

The root of the reverence of the Lord is to forsake the pleasures of lust by the path of the reverence of the Lord. Do not revere the Lord for the sake of salvation of the universe, or being eternal. You just revere, lest not to be perfect before God in love.

As the commandments come into the hands, you labor over the works. Make as Abraham by sacrificing the son. It is written, at this time, know you revere Elohim. At this time, it is made known. Is it not so that before the secrets of the universe were revealed, the knowledge was not yet concealed in the belly [womb] ? Speak, you are not tempted. Henceforth not to be tempted by all temptations. Also, the letter reveals by the word. The heart is perfect by all commandments, as it is not necessary to be tempted. At this time, know the Lord is great. All to Elohim.

Also, by the name Aloah, Joseph spoke: Elohim, I show reverence to you. It is difficult to rise up and go forth to you by the feet. Indeed Elohim. I revere you. My sons endure in famine and the wrath of El. You, the Lord, are revered. It is difficult to rise up, lest reveal not to dwell and be slayed. However, he spoke of reverence of Elohik with devotion in the heart. He spoke to the Lord, I honor you in reverence. You, the Lord, by the holy words. The weight is upon the heart. Consider before the reverence of the Lord. I revere you, the Lord. Surely, take up your son Isaac in the name of God. Take up Nephesh and consider the power [A'atzem]. Come to bind, as a word. It is difficult to rise up, through that beyond desire.

The root of love is to cherish the Lord. The Nephesh is filled with love. You rejoice by passing over the pleasures of the body. Reign over the pleasures of the universe. Love is rejoicing in strength. Strengthen the heart. Consider always how to create de-sire of God. Bring forth pleasure, walking as women before the love of the Creator. More in youth and passing of the days, many women do not come before El. From desire of the Lord El, the heart burns to rise up to the Lord. From much love and desire, rise up to the Lord. Of the lightning of the early rain [Ivoreh Kachetz, or arrows of the archer], benefit much from all without making desire of the Creator. The body is kept in purity and holiness by the love.

[42] This may also mean "bare skin" or "nakedness." It is obvious from the context here that this refers to male genitalia. matzoh.

Phineas betrayed the body and slayed Zimri.[43]

As Abraham, place the hand to the highest when below. Until the shoe latchet [Sherok Na'al], Elishah did not desire to receive from Na'aman, and loved the heavens in the heart as flames.[44]

Bind the divisions, not seeing women there and not from the word cast forth. End the words. Toil and labor, making favor of the Creator. Delight by praises to fulfill desire. Rejoice to cherish the Lord.

The root of humility is to go away from the glory and be praised when returning before the Rabbi. It is revealed, gather the friends of the Rabbi to sleep. Know when to rest. Lie down after hard labors. Know when not to toil. Speak thus of labor and desire. Give glory to the friend, but do not speak of young women.

It is written, of you who send forth to journey, speak to send forth. Do not speak to send forth before the heretics [Mieniem], not speaking by the authority in the place. They are also humble. Go before the name of the friend, the house of praise [Beth Chelel] to the house of heaven [Beth Shemiya]. The friend senses [or experiences) and stops speaking. All are able to diminish the glory. Great is the glory to revere the name.

It is written, honor the Lord with the reverence in the eyes to condemn. When seeing humility, there is no desire to go before God. Great is he. Go before Shemethbiyiesh (Hebrew: ShMThBI-ISh). Be humble before the great Shemethbiyiesh. From honoring them, go before the Lord.

When proclaiming, man learns of El, Rabbi Shemethbiyiesh proclaims. Do not praise man much before and much after, and not speaking much. Speak thus, as it is written. Speak to him to learn of Rabbi Eleazer over Rabbi Jochenan Ben Zeketzi.[45]

The friend is permitted. El beholds the heart of man himself. When you praise, do not praise the body. It is written, praise the enemy [Zer, or stranger], and not the mouth, but only of the friend. Learn to teach. From the teacher, be able to praise the body. Speak of the perfection of Ahieh. Watch the path of the Lord. Declare the strength to rise up to the high place [Bemah] ,[46] Lengthen the days and show them the high place. Also, lengthen their days.

Keep all the commandments in secret. In secret, go with Elohik. When keeping them, know how to work before all, such as in prayers, and by the Tzitzith. Of envious writers [Sopheriem], increase the wisdom and the commandments. All are able to make commandments for the sake of the heavens.

Speak of the righteous, you are righteousness by every commandment. Do not be occupied by other matters. Place the love of the Creator in the heart. Reverence is necessary before him. Be skillful making the commandments. Rejoice before El and speak the final words.

In every place and in the synagogue [Beth Hakeneseth, house of gathering or assembly], stand in awe before the Shekinah. Establish the heart only to him. Do not withold passage, as there is disgrace before making the covenent. He is angered when man is not seen to revere, lest [you] make it known to human beings to be disgraced.

All passes forth, that which brothers [Shachiyiem] make. Do not make labor double [or multiply]. Every man toils before the king and before woman. The Creator of the commandments sees before the king. By splendor, the king finds favor in the eyes; however, women are forbidden to see. Speak, it is forbidden for the wife of man to see even the face of the Lord. When preventing sickness [Dothek],[47] do not see before the women. The labor doubles.

Know all the increased words are brought into the hands of the sinner. Consider the suffering of the loss of commandments corresponding to labor. Let all works be for the sake of the heavens. It is good to possess more from them of the brilliance. When you make them, be happy in the world. Good things come to you forever.

[43] Phineas was the son of Eleazer and grandson of Aaron. Also, another Phineas was the son of the high priest Eli, see Samuel I 1:3. The time frame here appears to be appropriate. Phineas was said to be a "scoundrel" and an "idolater" (Samuel I 2:12). See Kings I 16:9.

[44] Elishah was a prophet and the companion and successor of Elijah. See Kings I and II. Na'aman was the Syrian commander of King Aram's army. See Kings II 5:1-

[45] According to Kaplan, in the introduction of his translation of the Sepher Yetzirah,Rabbi Yochanan ben Zakkai lived in the years 47 B.C.E.-73 B.C.E. (p. xvi).

[46] This generally describes a hill or high place, usually dedicated to religious worship

[47] A term meaning sickness, usually refering to a woman's menses.

They come from the assistance of the Lord, who created the heavens and Earth.

The secret is reverence of the Lord. Of the secret work of Be-rashith, Isaac speaks, it is not necessary to begin the Torah, but only restore this to you. Begin by Berashith. Because of that, speak of the power of works revealed to people. All was created in order to know and understand and make wise by the greatest and most wondrous works.

Bear witness there is none as, and there is none other than. I write the book to proclaim the secrets and reveal the strength of the creator of the universe. Man is happy to learn the secrets. Revere the Lord. Shelter him, dividing the universe. Come and write over the mouth of the gates of all that is above. Know of the unity of God. Of the glory, give the heart over to reverence. Bow down to him. He is one and there are not two of him. Blessed is he.

Aleph is as God. It is first and last. He is king over all the universe. There is no other unto him. In as much as the Aleph is first of the letters, God is first of all the Malachim. The Aleph is first. The calculation is small. There is none less than. Thus a myriad calculations.

Aleph is the first letter of the word Achad [one] and Aleph is the last letter of the word Rebova [myriad]. Speak of one Achad [Achad Chad] and a myriad Rebova [Rebova Rebov].

It is written by Ezekial, the first word is El Achad. By Daniel, it is written of a myriad myriads [Rebov Rebovon] before existence. The Aleph fell, as it is the first to designate one. Speak Achad Rebova [one myriad]. The Aleph fell, as it is at the end of Rebova. Speak Rebov. Human beings know it is first. There are none second to it. It is first and it is last.

Aleph is the beginning of calculations and the end of calculations. Also, Aleph begins the alphabet, as Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth. Aleph is at the end, as Aleph, Tau, Shin, Resh, Qoph, Tzadik, Peh, Ayin, Samek. It is proclaimed by three letters, Aleph Lamed Peh.

Aleph is the letter of the larynx. Lamed is the letter of the top of the tongue, in the center of the palate.[48]
Peh is the letter of the lips.

Aleph begins in the throat. Of the larynx and the tongue, it is in center of the palate. By the tongue and the lips, to speak. Let it be known that Achad is first [Rashon], middle [Amtza'a], and last [Acheron]. The last Aleph is turned away [or opposite] from the rest of the letters. The Achad is in the universe. Create the universe turned away from the universe. Speak and revere the power [Avon].

Do not understand, as foreseen by the destruction [Cherben] of the Beth. Speak, do not permit destruction in the world. Hide the face from it. Know that, in the beginning, to create the universe. Indicate the destruction of the Beth. The Beth of Berashith is the great Beth Rashith [First Beth, or first temple] of the Holy Temple [Beth Makadesh], written therein upon the heavens of the first place of the most holy.

Through the gate of Earth, falling [Hietheh] to chaos [Tohu Vobohu] by the written word [Thibeth] in the middle. By Gematria, Tau Yod, indicating the first house [Beth Rashon], serves 410 years to fall.[49] By Gematria, Tau Koph [420] indicates the second house [Beth Sheni], serving 420 years in chaos. Tau Lamed [430] indicates two temples, both serving for 430 years: That is to say, Tau Yod, Tau Koph (Hebrew: ShKNThI) is in the middle of (Hebrew: ShKIN).[50] Here is Tau Yod also in the letters (Hebrew: ShKNThI).

Also, Tau Koph is in many places, indicating the destruction of the Beth. In time, make known Beth Rashith in the beginning of the universe. Remember the destruction of the Beth to destroy all that is created. The Lord alone is sublime.

All created by Beth are in pairs. Two worlds, heaven and Earth. Mountains and hills, seas and rivers. Gihenam and the Garden of Eden. Leviathan and Nechesh Beriech. The Sun and the Moon. Man and woman. Wickedness and righteousness. Man has two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth and tongue, two hands, two feet and sides, so on and so forth.

The Lord El distinguishes Beth, revealing one division. Make known to all, there is a pair. Therefore, opened by the outer Beth, he is one in the kingdom. Blessed is he.

[48] The palate is considered the seat of taste, which may be taken as a metaphor for the seat of perception.

[49] Tau Yod, by Gematria, is 410.

[50] This a discussion of Hebrew suffixes.

According to Shem (Hebrew: Sh"M), Aleph is the first of the letters. Aleph begins the name (Hebrew: ADNI); however Yod begins the chosen name (Hebrew: YHVH). It is recognized. Aleph Vau Melaphom makes known the universe was created by the ten commandments and filled all.

Also, recognize Aleph Vau. Above is the punctuation point of Vau. The punctuation point is below Aleph.[51] Thus, Aleph, Ka-matz,[52] Patah,[53] Aleph, Hatef,[54] Kamatz, Aleph, Hatef, Patah Aleph, Vau.[55]

Of the seven above, recognize Aleph Vau. Reveal it is united above the seven firmaments. He is the ruler of all (and therefore, the name of Aleph). The name Ahieh is the beginning of the ten sephiroth, above to below. Adonai is the end of the ten sephiroth, beginning by Aleph. Aleph is first of all letters and end of letters, before Tau Shin Resh Peh. Complete to see every one by these letters.

Recognize all the most holy names. Yod begins the chosen name (Hebrew: YHVH). You are not able to write Aleph without the first Yod and also all the vowels.[56] Recognize the letter. It is not able to exist without Yod Vau, that Yod, Cholem [a Hebrew vowel corresponding to the Latin "O"] or Melaphom or Chiroq [a Hebrew vowel indicating the sounds "ee" and "i," as in "slip" or "sleep"].[57]

Reveal by Yod, create ten sephiroth, the universe in the middle, and the universe at the bottom–of Aleph itself, Sheva, Tzeri, Pethach, Chiroq, Cholem, Melaphom, Cheteph, Pethach (Hebrew: QO), Petach, Sheni, Yod, Sheva, Hatef, Patah (Hebrew: QO). When the Yod is below Kametz with Yod above. Of Vau, Cholem with the middle Yod (Hebrew: QO), Melaphom, as when above the line, Chiroq without the line, Sheva or Tzeri with the line. Of three letters (Hebrew: SGL). Aleph by itself, Yod Vau Yod.

It is written of the name (Hebrew: HOIH). Reveal the Lord is one and created all the universe, the highest, middle, and lowest, filling all. There is not a vowel placed or the covenant [Hebreh] without him. Blessed is he. He is one above the seven firmaments and he rules over all.

Consider the one God [El Achad] for many myriad myriads [Reba Rebeben] years. In the beginning of the universe and in the worlds [A'avolemoth], you see by them and by them, the splendor and glory. Speak in the heart. Human beings are not to consider the glory of the kingdom. Create the universe, that it is to pass. Complete the understanding of El in the heart in reverence. Serve in truth with the perfect heart, and goodness to them all the days.

The Lord [Adon] spoke, all come forth from the Ruoch of the holy spirit [Ruoch Kadesh]. It is the first of all the covenants of man. From the word, Ruoch comes forth from the mouth. Therefore, spirits are not shut up by the worthy in silence.

The tractates on fasting [Tha'anieth, or self-humiliation] are in the *Book of Formation.* [58] Here are words of the Ruoch of fire and water.[59] From the word, man presses the lips. By force, the voice goes forth. Sparks go forth by the Ruoch. Therefore it is spoken, as a hammer smashing rocks. Sparks go forth from stones. Fire comes from the power of the sparks coming from the mouth. Therefore, it is written, is it not so the power of the word is as fire? Here is power from the voice of man, the Ruoch of water, the heat of the fire in every dwelling. From the word, fire consumes fire. Therefore, speak of how to create fire and water. The Ruoch is the glory of Elohim, the secret word. From blessings over the days, all exist by words.

[51] Portrayed by an Aleph with a dot beneath it.

[52] A Hebrew sublinear vowel in the form of a small mark or dot beneath the letter to indicate the sound of "a," as in "father" (long kamatz), or "o" as in "short" (short kamatz).

[53] A Hebrew vowel to indicate the sound of "u," as in "but."

[54] A short vowel mark to indicate the sound of a, e or o.

[55] The Aleph has a dot beneath it.

[56] The letter aleph is actually four yods in the form of an X.

[57] Hebrew: AO–the vau has a dot at the top; AI–the aleph has a dot below it; AO–the vau has a dot at the middle.

[58] There is no text concerning fasting or self-humiliation in the modern English translations of ***Sepher Yetzirah.*** Tha'anieth is probably an error. See ***Sepher Yetzirah,*** 1:14.

[59] See *Sepher Yetzirah*, 1:14

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To all the Youth of the World so you may see the path to Ascen-Sion.

4

Foreword

Forward

Four Word

The race was not given to the quick or the swift, but to the one who could endure till the end, then we found out there was no end.

The unwary soul, who fails to grapple with the Mocking Demon of Illusion, will return to the Earth as the slave of Illusion. To become a true master of fate you must first become a "Knower of Self".

In a time much too distant to consider we as Humans splitting from the single Source entered Duality. Spiraling away from the Creator some spun in the direction of 6 while others spun in the opposite direction of 9, this is the "Spiral Force". These two forms contain complete opposites, however, it is with their Union something new can be born, this is the sequence of life. Our Solar System houses various Binary or Dual worlds and Earth called first Tiamat is one of them. Once entering this realm the Spirit begin to develop its very narrow definition of things, as in most cases, besides twins, they are lacking their other side. In extinct we create a "stand in" which we call the ego. The ego is wholly constructed of astral energy in which we create and breathe life into everyday. At times not knowing "power" we birth a Monster which we love and care for since after all it is a part of us, our baby.

At some point in incarnations or loops one realizes they must begin the quest of taming the Monster. They realize they must flip it over and ride it. At that moment they also see how strong it has become as it is stuck in its ways, rigid in form, brutish and ineloquent. In that condition we can take it nowhere just as you never take a street dog into a royal party. The work before us then was to take this rough cut stone and form it into a chariot of fire that could propel us through the center of the Universe, it is there we will meet our other half. In this realm that is the meaning to life.

To help us through this whole process and all of its components the Most High developed a system based upon the energies of the entire Universe. Seeing that Humans are smaller composites of the Celestial Spheres it became possible for one to know how to guide their particular life in the direction that would equal the greatest amount of potential for their unique design. In each person lies the pearl of the highest potential, if developed it is a treasure to all existence visible and invisible. This wondrous Metamorphosis was possible of the Human creation, however, as you see in some parts of nature, not every creation has been given this ability. Thus there arose a challenge from lower forms

of consciousness that manifested as Jealousy and thus Spirituality and Religion were created, these are the "Limits". Once again at the close of this time segment the masses will have an opportunity to discover their true form which is not a Word and comes before even thought. It is the Highest. If you but knew.

Reason 1: Entire Universes are known to be Binary, this gives the possibility of balance and diverse continuation. The figure 8 which is the sign used for infinity is actually the sign of the two worlds that one continues to reincarnate through one after the other in an infinite loop We call stasis. Our own parallel actually exists in this otherworld simultaneously until it is merged with. It also remains just as clueless as you are right now to its existence.

Consider hot cold light and dark, is there not warm and grey which can easily fit between the two? Not to mention in temperature there is hot, cold, warm, vapor, freezing, and many more stages each having a particular use, some being very beneficial for a certain moment, and useless for others. If someone came to your door looking for a person that you loved to do them harm, would you tell them they were inside or would you lie and say they were not around? If you lied to protect that

person is that good or bad? If you ask a Pastor of a Church they will say it is evil to tell lies period, but is better to allow the loved one to be hurt? As you see everything is a matter of perspective. So there can be no good and bad only reason and reason has so many parameters if all things are not considered a person could be left confused, not knowing what decision to make from time to time thus they are left and lost in time. Whatever you do in life let it be endowed with meaning and purpose.

The world is lodged in the phase of opposites right now, thus we face wars, racism, and extinction of our natural life. What I'm presenting here is the information of the inner workings of the World along with its Creeds, Cultures, and Religions that have shaped our thoughts and actions since antiquity extending several incarnations. We will see how ideas grow over time and sometimes lose their true meaning altogether. In this we will see also how we were taken off track. This due in part by the "controllers" knowing if you take humans from their original cycle they are easy to confuse and enslave. Let us not forget we faced many conquerors in the past, intending to usurp the order of the world and bring it under their sway, this they accomplished, and it should not be forgotten no matter how much the Illusion tells you it does not exist.

The foolish think of Me, the Un-manifest, as having manifestation, knowing not My Higher, immutable and most excellent form. Fools disregard Me as clad in human shape not knowing flesh cannot withstand Me. They have empty hopes, vain actions, of vain knowledge and senseless they verily are possessed of deceitful nature and become un-divine Beings. I hurl these evil-doers into the womb of distortion deluded birth after birth, not attaining Me they thus fall into a condition even lower, without the slightest suspension, proving they are not using the reason and senses We gave them. The Most High

There exist certain systems, mainly language and religion that perpetuate this fallacy of Illusion in a subliminal way. If you happen to be aligned with any of the religions or ideas being discussed, do be careful not to think of it as bad if you happen to hear something that makes you uneasy, after all, many of us at one time or another in this life or in past lives have avowed ourselves to something only to later find out we have outgrown it because we now possess an entirely different set of key knowledge. Every time we learn something new that is the truth we should celebrate, we are closer to home.

THE OTHERS

This world we are in is fully animate, it has been constructed by an "Ability" so powerful it has missed no details. Challenge in life equals substantial growth. It is after all the constant lifting of heavier weights that makes a person strong. Those weights we must lift are actually other life forms

that are very dense slow moving vibrations. These weights when attached to us make us wait right here on Earth burdened down and unable to fly. Those of us who are Divine Positive are attracted to the Light thus we must get lite by releasing the weight.

But wait, the complexity of the Creator exist within its Creations and there are many of us. On 3rd Density we all appear to be about the same. Two arms, two legs, a head, etc. although if you had the ability to see each individuals astral form no two forms would look the same. Some you would see infused with animal natures, extraterrestrial life, unknown elements and essences, and everything else they had accumulated in past existences all comprised in one Auric Field. When that field is placed in a humanoid body the outer shell looks similar enough to allow you to get along in society. We are all something much more different then what is seen in the mirror, so we must never be confused that the reflection is the complete you.

On other dimensions there are so many life forms they cannot be cataloged. It would be much more difficult than listing every type of insect, plant, fish, mammal etc. which exist on such a small Planet as Earth. On their dimension they have a spirit form, the "Breathe" flows through all living creatures. When they take physical form, as we have, they combine with what is most like their character. The ancient knowledge was to know how they appeared in the "Seen World", how to communicate with them, and which ones to avoid. Many of these Beings had no concern for the Humanoids whatsoever themselves being either much too dense to comprehend human life or much to developed to waste thought on something so distant and primitive.

There are Beings who in fact are closer to us in proximity of Creation and also endowed with reason. They possessed a fiery and airy nature they are known now as the Serpents. Mankind's history with the Serpents is undeniable, for example:

In Columbian Mythology Bachue the primordial woman was called "Serpeinte Celestial" (Celestial Snake). Mesoamerican cultures worshipped Quetzcoatl the feathered Serpents and they await His return just as Christians wait for Jesus.

The Egyptians called them Neteru and said they came on heavenly boats and set up Priesthoods whose Priest were called Djedhi, sound familiar?

The Sumerians claimed their ancestors where Reptilian Annunaki who genetically modified them to be slaves. It is of value to keep in mind the Sumerians say they where hybridized and made as slaves while other legends simply say they intermingled with their population.

In Ethiopia stories and ancient statues can be found of the Serpents known as Naga. These Naga also went into Persia and China. Nagasaki was named after the Serpents who migrated there.

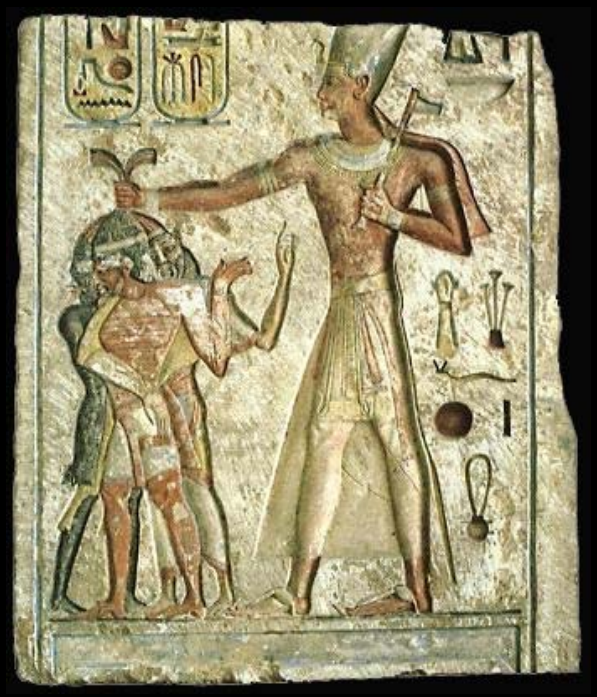
In Japan the Dragon Yasha is the protector of Buddhism. The Celts make mention of the Druid Adders or great serpents that came to instruct them in mystical arts.

The Hebrews speak of the Serpent Nakash who was ever giving them trouble and misguiding their people.

The Arabs produced thousands of codex warning of the Serpent Shaitan and his cunning ways of making man and woman fall short.

It is safe to say that we can identify at least one non-humanoid Being that in fact interfaces with our life cycle, and this is only one but there are many more. Thus we should be able to establish that we are not alone.

Reason 2: The Maya clearly show they had already pledged allegiance to a group of "Masculine" Serpents. The Serpent races are just as vast as our own. Many of the Serpents are on a "collective mind" thus they are generally out to accomplish there own agenda and stop at nothing to see it through. Humans are looked at as a resource to most of them, they are a Supremacist warrior class, also some have mated with the Human race and try to protect their "Hybrids" as extended family. Many of the Ancient Reptilians despise this union and thus a war has ensued amongst the Elders and the Siblings.



Reason 3: In the Egyptian Glyphs it clearly shows much larger Humanoids inhabited the land. They are the Nephalim bent on world domination and enslaving what they called inferior Humans. They exist now in spirit form. This is beyond Alexander the Great and Constantine in fact this is where they drew their power and destiny from. They were just the Human catalyst, Hybrids themselves although there Legends are so shrouded in myth it does them little credit to the truth of their origin. Alexander was known as "Great Two Horn" and by the Arabs Dhul-Qarnayn who built the wall.

The correct knowledge actually makes your spirit larger. Knowledge is the food for the Spirit. When this happens just like a fish that has gotten too big for its tank, you must move on. This is no different than having a small bike as a child that takes you everywhere you need to go, as a child your range is a lot smaller. When you get older you may need a car, plane, or even a ship depending on where you are intending to travel. The body itself when developed is the vehicle to traverse the cosmos and it must now be prepared to do such a thing, this is a vastly populated territory we speak of and it contains the experiences you will need to continue growth. We will discover that all the things we have gone through in life have served to get us to that point, it is only of value to realize that since nothing is absolutely still you must continue to move, this is the nature of our entire Universe nothing dies even if you blow it up it will still become an infinite amount of pieces of whatever it was before.

It is a wondrous age we have entered as we watch the mist of the Illusion dissipate, the hot spiral of reality permeates the globe. We are awakening as children of giants from a long slumber realizing that we have been living a long dream. As a Planet we have seen many ages that are part of a larger cycle of growth, this is the process of turning dirt into Gold. One thing that we can be sure of since man and woman have triumphed through the Stone Age to now meet the end of the Space Age we most certainly intend to continue on to what is next.

Reason 4: From the Stone Age to the Space Age was made to look so easy a caveman could do it. Have you asked yourself where our world is headed next? What do you think organizations like NASA, Lucent, and Sony are really doing with now Trillions of dollars?

Like a game of chess you anticipate the player's next move, so we see that it is the Age of Ether we are arriving into or more simply put, Spirit. Now we can begin to do the things that only made up the fiction portion of our previous ideas and imagination. The weight of the body, which is now the cube, will be shed and we will be open once more to higher senses. We would do well to develop and train these senses now. As we speed up and things take place it will not be time to practice. There is no doubt that we will experience a new aeon we are all Adepts of Motion, Acolytes of the Flux, we populate the Galaxy and thus we have solidified our wave through the harmonic cosmos. We are Vessels of known and unknown energies untold being ourselves convertors for multiple life forms to assimilate and grow not only on Earth but also in space as above so below.

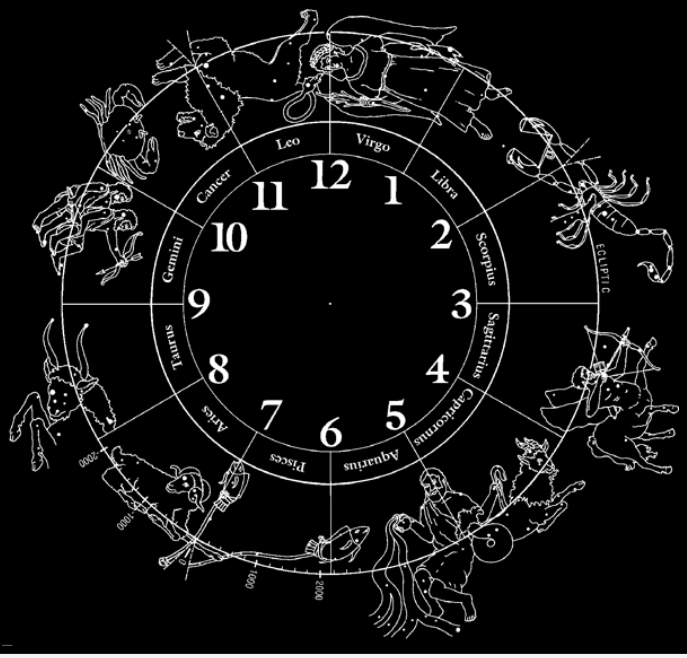
This energy field cannot be seen with the untrained eye but exist all around you as a standing column wave. With the science of sound which is vibration we can venture to know that if a large wave is made by anything in the same pool, it will only make the smallest waves speed up and increase in size, thus the small are supported by the Great and coaxed to become bigger. Since these Greater Forces are now sending out stronger waves than ever our choice is when we face that big wave, can we ride it, or will we wipe out and hope to catch another. We can be sure that we cannot be destroyed because the soul within us, a gift by the Most High, is Immortal and without end, but ye can be made to forget which is called the second death.

Figure 5: An actual NASA photo of what appears to be a very conscious form in the Galactic looking back at us. **Phillip's Astronomy Atlas Page 194. Other sentient life forms are found on Earth all the time but we have now been trained to reject clear proof separating us more from the reality of the existence of other Creations, many of whom are very intelligent.**

When a person really assimilates there are other "Sentient" things in existence it opens them up to better Innerstanding the Most High through diversity. This also allows us to make a sober estimate of ourselves and where we personally stand in the levels of Matter. When one remains insolent to a fact of such magnitude, there are sure to be repercussions. Those repercussions cause a Supremacist nature; never considering what we think is the top is actually the bottom for another Being. We would assume we are on an elated level which really does even more damage than good since the sub-conscious mind factors in that we are poisoning the same air we breathe, so as the most intelligent we are really the most ignorant. Anything built on that kind of foundation will go through successions of destruction and chaos, now we have Earth's full historical description. When this changes, which it will very soon, everything will be different, fast.

My first experience with the "Others" was when I unknowingly started a purification procedure and became Enlightened. I had no doubt heard of accelerated thinking and higher abilities, however, my intention at the time was to just seek answers from a Higher Source, not to mention trusting if whether a Higher Source could actually be contacted. I knew something Higher existed, that became obvious by seriously taking into account man did not create man, it's at least mathematically not possible. I had done this by chanting until my body had changed its complete vibrational frequency which took about 2 hours and some extreme desire. The desire I called (HSM) Heart, Soul, and Mind something I found in the Torah that was worth extracting. It was said to be the real formula of contacting the Most High, a focal point to interface with if One came to such a moment that contact would need to be made. Once I started to activate all the metal in the room was shaking I had to remove my watch, belt, and anything that contained metal. I had no idea this was going to be the outcome, the energy was far more than I anticipated thus I was extremely unprepared and confused but strong nonetheless, I had become the portal for Higher Selves.

As the camera continued to run on my PS3 catching these moments I knew we had something special, finally I had vividly captured my proof of the paranormal. I can only explain it as I went up and came back down very fast and I could feel the Essence of were I had gone inside of me, especially in my hands. My friend, who is now my witness was even less prepared, he had also experienced the phenomena by simply touching me once I reached High Vibration, this he did by accident or fear of the metal situation. This prompted him to grab me and ask me what was happening, like I knew. That caused it to spread to him instantly and later he said "he went down deep into somewhere, saw himself, grabbed himself, and started making an ascension back out with Things hot on his trail". He was, what I later figured out, in some lower dimension being ruled by some Dominion. This was defiantly a result of his current character although he was given a chance nonetheless.



Reason 6: What the many ancient tribes have been explaining to Westerners since time memorial is that we are actually located on a lower plane that is being ruled by various Entities. The sub-Planes are indicated above by the triangles in the center. The pictures of Beings you see are of various Ascended Masters or Gods who rule different parts of the Planes. The 4 outer points are the Gates. The Kabbalah reflects the same thing indicating the Planes as Spheres or Hexagrams. They also served as Calendars because the alignment of everything from above and below is perfectly in order.

Breaking through the Netherworld with obviously his Ka in tow, my friend got stuck. How this appeared in our Realm was he looked to me to be gone, wacko, done, goosed. I was gathering myself fast, still feeling the strength, but also thinking of the full parameters of what just occurred. I knew that I had to do something fast because my friend (fiend) was saying the same two words over and over so loud eventually the neighbors would call the cops, he seemed to be in a mental loop. Using the "WORD" I yelled It into his mouth, it was all I could think to do. Later he said at that moment he saw a light and he was able to hurry to it. That brought him back to this Plane. That was my second vivid Spiritual encounter.

We will now mention with no more delay our Source, the Exact One with no Equation, beyond capacity and function, Jubilant Magnetaur Dispersed in Realities Self Generated. We swoon in ecstasy when You touch us, and we guard thy Beloved with our life as no cost. The charge is to admonish the Guided with exact knowledge of this time sequence and its mysteries we will expose as they lay bare before us. This is so all things may be made clear and the Path may be made level for thy feet. Think not these works are those of my own, nay, I was found by the Source headed swiftly in the wrong direction, it was then I was visited. In that state I was strengthened by the Hosts who perceiving in me such a lowly state but a subtle glow as we all posses the remnants of a Brighter Star in our

hearts. It was through Them it was conveyed to me my mishaps. It was in such joy of returning to the true Path and turning from the Abyss that I light ultra rays Resplendid that will exhaust Plutonium fuel cells so all in the darkness may know of and come to receive the real Light.

It was then I knew that the world could raise its entire vibration by contact with just one person who could hold the frequency. The voice that entered inside of my head after "the charge" started to tell me things that I had never read or seen before. I also felt the activation of the opposite hemisphere of my brain which came first as a separate voice with a mind of its own. At first I thought I had gone crazy or had broken something in my brain, as I settled down I realized it was my other half so excited to be heard finally. I spent weeks on Google checking the information after it was made known to me and I was fascinated with such a breakthrough as everything that was being spoken into my mind was accurate, not to mention the personal hidden things it revealed. For me at that moment I knew there was something they were not telling us, this should be the first subject in school! I imagined how much the encounter would enliven the Youth this is what we wanted.

Later when I was able to enter Higher States through simple whole body breathing techniques I realized our potential as a Species is definitely a threat to anything that seeks to rule over the Human Race. It would not be possible, the energy of freedom is too great and when felt, ones life means nothing if they cannot constantly feel it again. If the Humans were to unlock their true self thus broadcasting a higher signal or frequency that would permeate the globe, it would surely burn holes in the nets and webs created to surround our atmosphere (At Most Fear) that's keeping us trapped within. They admit the eye can see thousands of miles when there is no atmosphere, this was another phenomena they recorder when in Space.

This is the time one is now free to feel and receive the truth from the thin air which contains a stream of information of now, past, future and most valuably who we really are. Who we really are is the biggest secret period, any wise man thinking on that will agree. What I also felt more than I understood was that it was harder to destroy a Planet than it was to keep it in harmony and peace. The Planet was so strong, I watched how much She took payloads of nuclear arsenals "H" Bombs and "A" Bombs all while keeping the children snug on the other side of the world, spinning lightly on her axis with only a slight wobble. This is the true food for thought. I was convinced that the majority would want to be on a Higher Vibration and I set out almost immediately on that Quest.

What was conveyed to me then was that many people in our history all the way until our current day claiming spiritual enlightenment, especially the New Agers, were talking to Angels and Masters that had in fact corrupted our world long ago. Many of these Beings at a certain point were workers of a much Greater Force thus they learned various mental and spiritual techniques that appear Godlike to humans. In time, pride, jealousy, selfishness, and scarcity crept in the Order and ideas that they should divvy up everything that was resourceful to them became prevalent. This is in part due to the nature of the Most High which does not watch all its Creations like a micro manager.

Once the design is put in place It's off Creating more Universes and all in time will eventually take its proper form, however, there are phases in between. The Creations make up the entire construct of allowing those "in between phases" to be possible, we sharpen each other.

As with all things some Beings have more senses thus more power than others. These Beings are often times given the name Angels, although there classification is much vaster and the term Angel is far from the word that should be used. Consider this, most modern Angels names end in EL. EL is the Name given by the Hebrews of their God which corresponds to our Planet Saturn, this means all the Angels work for El and this you will see is true on various levels as we go on. You will learn to trace the Origin of a Name using a system that is infallible. Through the correct procedure you can seriously have a Guide to the Universe and a map to other worlds beside Earth Dimension 3. Breaking down Saturn you have Sat and Urn or Sa and Turn. The word with the most practical use out of these combinations is Sat and Urn. As we go on you will learn who Sat is. As said before the original name for this Planet was El thus the new Name given in English signifies some type of unity between this Being "Sat" and another simply called "Urn". When we drop the "N" to see if we can get anymore clarity since an Urn's basic meaning is just something you use to put the ashes of the cremated dead in, we find a place that syncs up Ur. "Ur" was known as Chaldea, also known as Samaria, also known as Babylon.

History says Ur of Chaldea, home of Marduk, Chaldean Magic and the Necromicon spell book was also home of a young boy known as Abram, later Abraham. According to the story Abram's father Terah made idols known as Teraphim and it was Abram's responsibility to peddle those idols to the people. It was said Abram rejected the worship of the idols because they had no power. He later discovered the true God and thus became the father of all Mankind, just like that. Logically this story has to have so type of hidden meaning because its literal definition is preposterous although almost all people believe in the literal meaning; they believe Abraham is their ancestral father even when their genealogy places them somewhere like Africa or Asia.

These household Teraphim caused much trouble throughout the Bible even after Abrams exit from Ur. Rachel stole Teraphim from her father and he could not rest until they were returned, a few other similar stories exist like this. It is revealed that the Sylphs, Serpent spirits of the Air whom I call Siths, inhabited these items and would bring forth Oracles of the future. Abraham wife is Sarah his father is Terah. It is obvious the real story here is about the unity of the Seraphim and the Teraphim both being spirit forms. Again, since the Bible is a partial account of various stories, only those who really have dissected the clay tablets are able to cross all these characters back over to their original Sumarian Archetypes along with putting together the details of their story about what went on. When we are simply looking for truth and spiritual growth this all becomes too much. So many have never researched any of this and are at the alters blindly saying AMEN, they mind as well add Ra after that, its still the same Being. Amen-Ra. Blindly they are dragged about.

All the stories from the Sumarian Tablets are retold in the Torah after a few alterations mainly with the Names of the individuals involved. By changing the Names it became virtually impossible for the "common" people of the times, most of whom could not read nor write, to realize they were actually still following the religion of the Chaldeans long after being lead from captivity. The Hebrews became enslaved by the Babylonians, along with many other Nations afterward. As more cultures are put into the melting pot of Babylon, facts become blurred with fiction and languages are turned to Babel. Terah, Abraham's Father and Torah the first 5 books of the Bible are so close together in spelling it begs one to wonder what is meant by all this? You will soon see that many of the stories being told are the events of the cross-breading that took place with mankind.

Amazingly many ancient nations such as the Phoenicians had no written language or culture of their own, instead they borrowed from everyone they conquered. They altered the original cultures and languages of these people saying they were "perfecting" them, what audacity. In the Western world we credit our language, English, much of our symbolism like the Phoenix, our current death and resurrection doctrine, and many other things to the Phoenicians who were really the Philistines. Philadelphia was the original state capitol of the United States. The biggest mistake a conquered people can make is to begin to imagine they were never defeated, thus placing their trust in the assailant. We are seeing the results of that now, our Government, Spiritual Leaders, and Instructors have been telling a multitude of lies many without the slightest knowledge of it. Some are sworn traitors avowed to something much more sinister. We mistakenly have trusted the same system that once brutally annihilated everything that had its own will so they could indoctrinate their falsehood.

Reason 7: There are traitors amongst us with phenomenal resources that have avowed to something far more devious then can normally be conceived. Left unchecked for centuries they have finally come to the conclusion of an agenda scheduled for the near future. Who will face them?

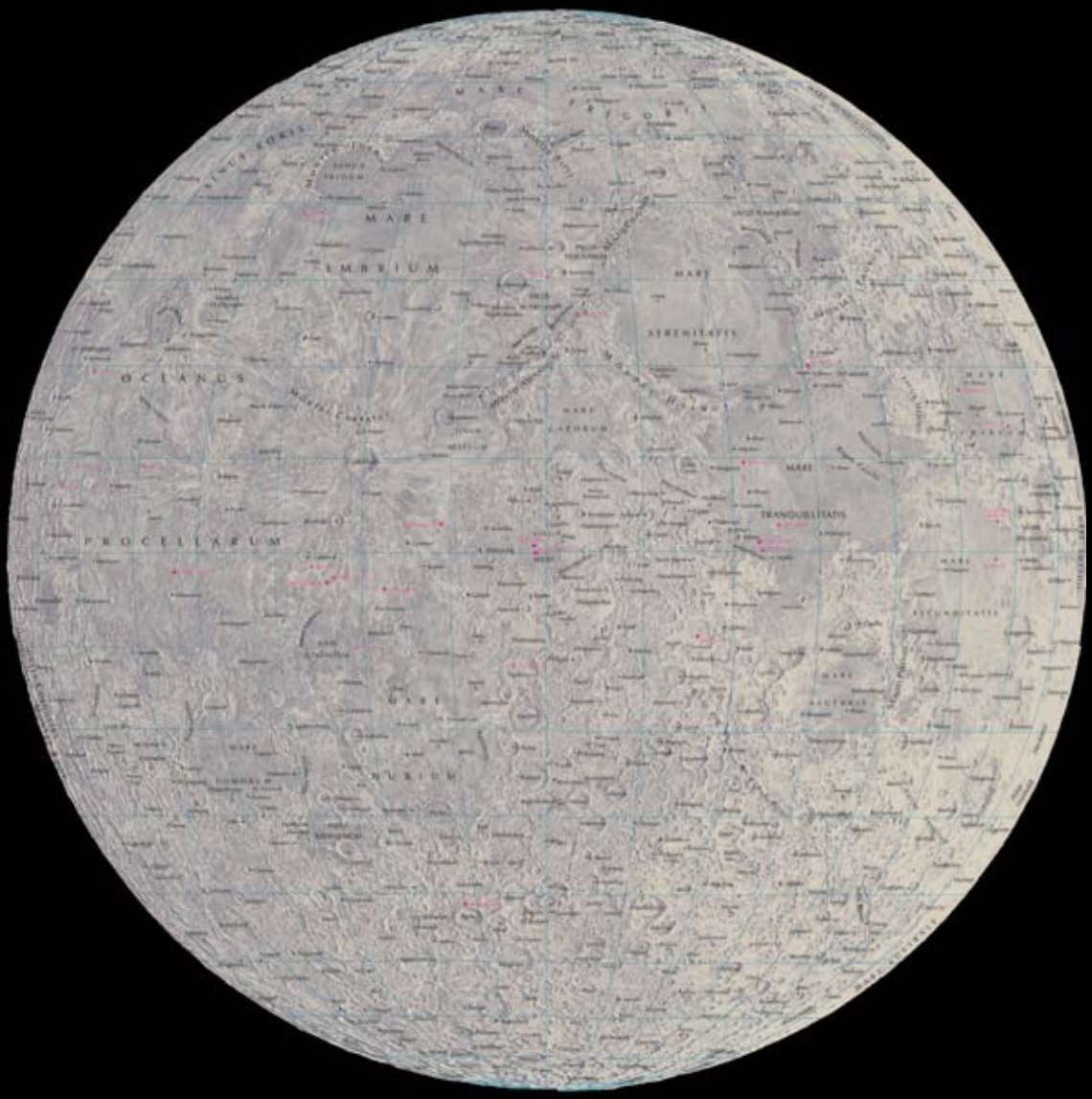
What now has to be done in order for us to discover our true potential is we have to put our real past back together. During the times Pharaohs, Czars, Kings, and Shahs despoiled the lands they found it most important to alter the history, culture, and language of the people they conquered. This is how they gained a monopoly over social and spiritual power, the later being the controller of the former. Most of these factions served the "Unseen Hand" very far back in our history so they generally

had the same agenda. Removing a persons spiritual belief in themselves leaves them powerless. All of Mysticism has effect based on the belief of the Welder of such power. In ancient times many had such exemplary belief in their Internal Power, Symbols, and Talismans they where very difficult to conquer much less indoctrinate. The tyrants of ancient times sent entire armies to subdue them and often entire armies were laid to waste, many eluded those armies by going underground, deep into the mountains, and some even left this dimension, after all what does killing mind controlled soldiers really solve?

The greatest adversary to the human race has been the human race. No matter how much evidence we find that links Devils, Aliens, Spirits and various other life forms to the corrosion of our natural state, in all these stories you will find human traitors that gave them access to our inner circles. The entire human race was a collective brother and sisterhood capable of maintaining contact with one another across entire planetary systems. We were grouped more commonly as all Humanoids, not black man, white man, yellow man, etc. It is virtually impossible to break apart from the outside anything as strong as human will. This book is not about pointing the finger, this book is about Innerstanding our original state, how it was altered, how to grow back into it, and even excel beyond its original potential. At this moment we are in a degraded state, it is only pride that keeps the individual from admitting this. Power now lies mostly in monetary wealth, not spiritual essence one will always pass away the other is eternal. Common sense is not common.

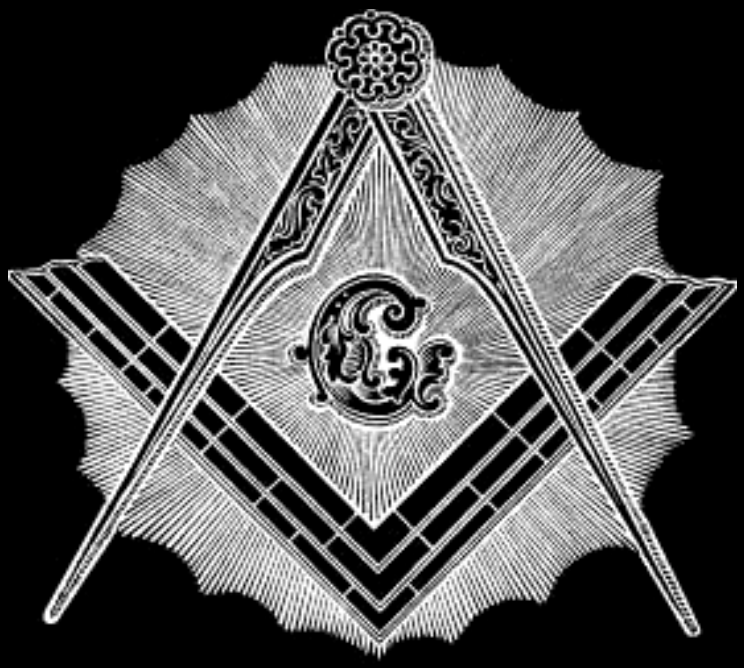
This may sound a little confusing especially this early on, however, the earlier you see this the better. When they decided to make the Names for the Planets in English they really did began to turn things in an opposite direction. Searching for other Names indigenous tribes used for the Planets will turn up almost nothing. Some may think this is because in Ancients times we had no knowledge of the Cosmos, and of course this proves to be untrue. We are told the Sumerians, Egyptians, and a few indigenous tribes from Africa have the only details of the Names given to the Planets in ancient times. Whatever the case we can be sure that what we call the Planet Saturn in modern times may not be actually referring to the Planet with the rings, but more of an idea of Evil Sat, bought forth from Ur.

Our consciousness, when not hindered, will always look to the sky for answers. Our Spirit is from the sky or rather far out in space while our bodies are indeed flesh and will remain here as dust. When we innocently inquire about the names of Planets, Stars, and Moons wanting to learn more, we get names that are tainted with deception. The vibration of Ur is that of an animal, in fact so-called early man depicted the entire Cosmos as animal forms rather than the much greater concept Space stands for which is beyond normal life on Earth. It is highly unlikely we will find a horse on the Moon but this has not stopped them from naming the quadrants of the Moon Mare, like night”mare”.



Reason 8: Quadrants of the Moon are called Mare the commoner would pronounce this just as it sounds, esoterically it is pronounced MARY, the names of spots on the Moon are riddled with a deep significance to its origin and use.

Unlike most modern church participants those Initiated into various magical societies evoke Angels and Spirits all the time. They do this by various means; one key element involves drawing perfect stars inside of circles or squares. A symbol drawn is physical proof of ones intent. A perfect star is often made with a tool used by the Elite called an Angle. This word Angle is an anagram for Angel. The tool itself is the shape of an "L", that's right EL. If you notice when drawing a star it consist of straight lines, straight lines are opposite to nature which itself is a composite of spheres and circles, the body itself contains no straight lines. These straight lines are known as masculine while the curved lines are feminine. It is known that fleshly beings are categorized as Feminine despite there sexual orientation while heavenly Beings are known as Masculine due to their strong ethereal nature which can even withstand the force of being in close proximity to the Sun.

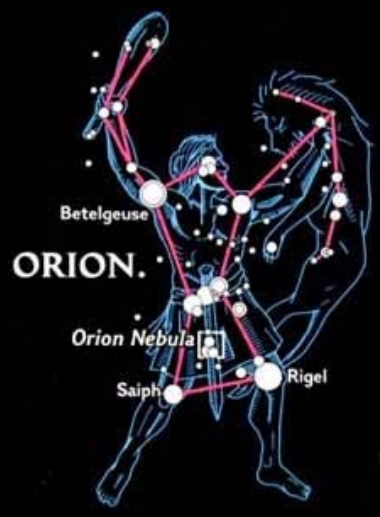


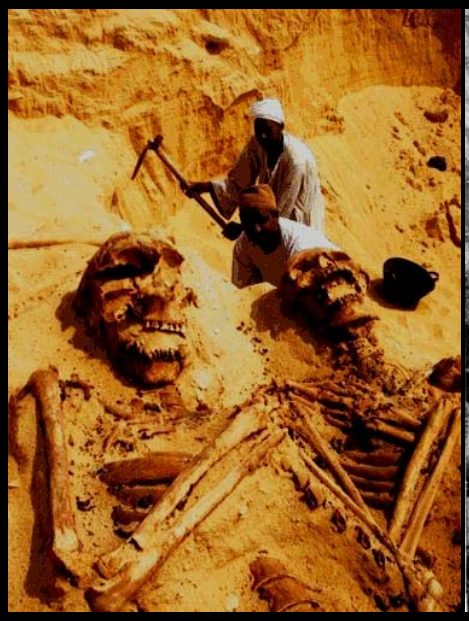
Reason : An Angle, the tool seen below the Masonic "G" in the shape of an "L" is used to draw straight lines while the protractor above is used to make the perfect circle to create Talismans.

There is recorded knowledge of 1/3 of the Angels in the Sphere of Saturn, rebelling. Those fallen ones came to Earth and intermingled with woman thus creating the term "Mankind" meaning kind of like man but not entirely. No matter how fictitious this may seem it is in fact true. These Beings go under the names of Rephaim, Nephalim, Annunaki, Titans, Giants, and Danites along with their offspring they make up the legends of various mythological creatures of various titles. This resulted from the union of the Angels with not only the women but also with the animals. These offspring became known as Demigods meaning half God, half man or animal. They possessed various powers that caused the indigenous tribes of the time to worship the Supreme Creators which was far from true.

The head of the Fallen Angels would place the Demigods over the people to rule them in a hierarchy or Pyramid structure. They would remain in contact with the Demigods from their habitations in various Constellations such as Orion. Ancient Aram indicates the Name of Orion originally being Nephila meaning Nephalim. Orion is depicted as a Giant man for this reason. There will be lots of Orion sync's as we go on, they have guided much of what we have seen in the media as children growing up until this very day. As a child I remember watching a cartoon called Fraggle Rock which was about the life of the Fraggles especially their encounters with the Giants called Ogres of the land. In Pre-Christian Scandinavian Orion's Belt is known as Friggles Rock, no doubt the Origin of

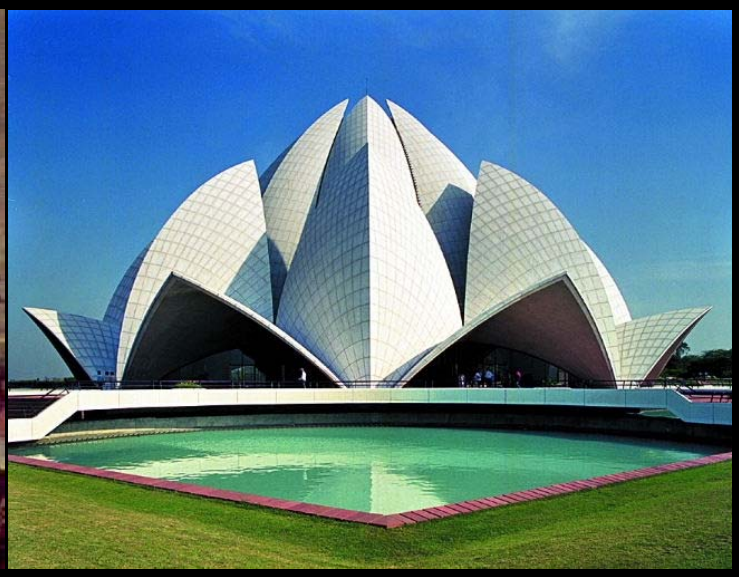
the Name of the cartoon. There is a heavy amount of Scandinavian in our language.



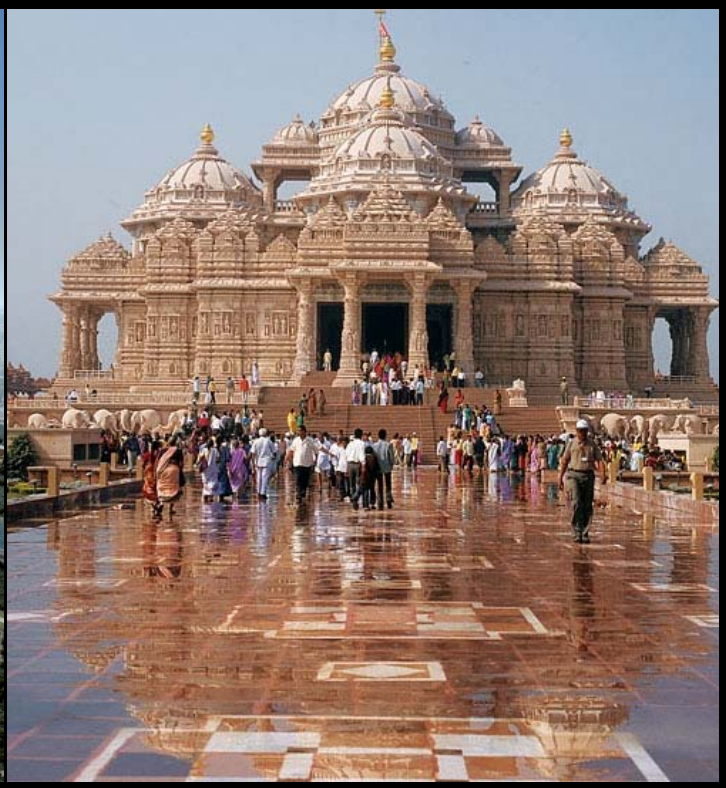


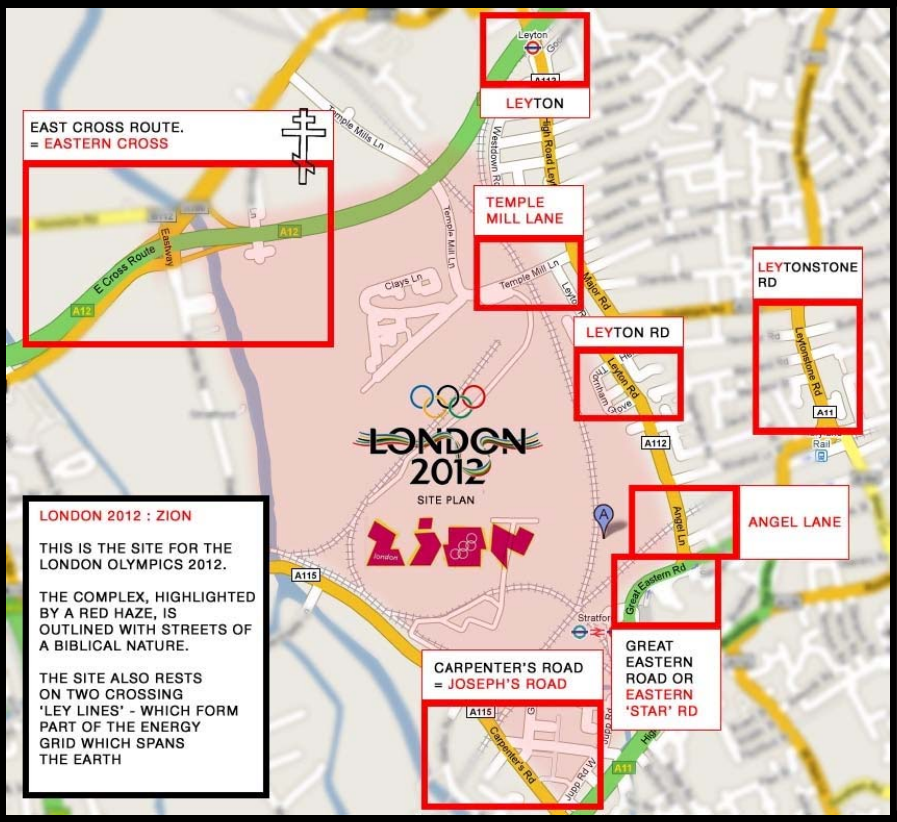
Reason 9: The Daughters of Cain with whom the fallen Angels had companied, conceived but they were unable to bring forth their children, and many died. Of the children in the womb, some died and others split open the bellies of their mothers coming forth by the navel.....they thought evil continually and God bore with them for a time.

Entire Material and Ethereal Kingdoms below the third heaven were erected and hewn for their spiritual and physical residence. The task of building these lofty havens fell to the Humans in this world and the one to come, what a cruel treatment. Expansive kingdoms the slaves did build, but the fact was the Humans were in the lower dimensions with a bad case of memory loss only being allowed at times just to worship the God and bask in its false light. Those were the favored ones, the others lived much worse then when truly alive in unity with the Most High thus these lower planes became know as the Netherworld/Arralu//Amenti/Duat/Elysium/Sheol/Hades/Oz/The Matrix/Imperishable Devachanic Plane/Malkuth/Maya/Lemuria a place were injustice was allowed to rule through Igigi, Neters, Baalim, Valkries, Mares, and Manes for a time, since everything has its place in contrast.



Reason 10: Man has been the constructor for these Gods building them High Places so they may enjoy. What the Humans have gotten in return are lifetimes of being a servant with little reward. Their structures are always placed on Leylines to control the energy in the area. In order for many Regions to be free some building must be removed from the Leylines. They are binding the energy of freedom and suppressing clear thought. In history when structures bind the leylines for too long cataclysms occur to shake everything off of them.





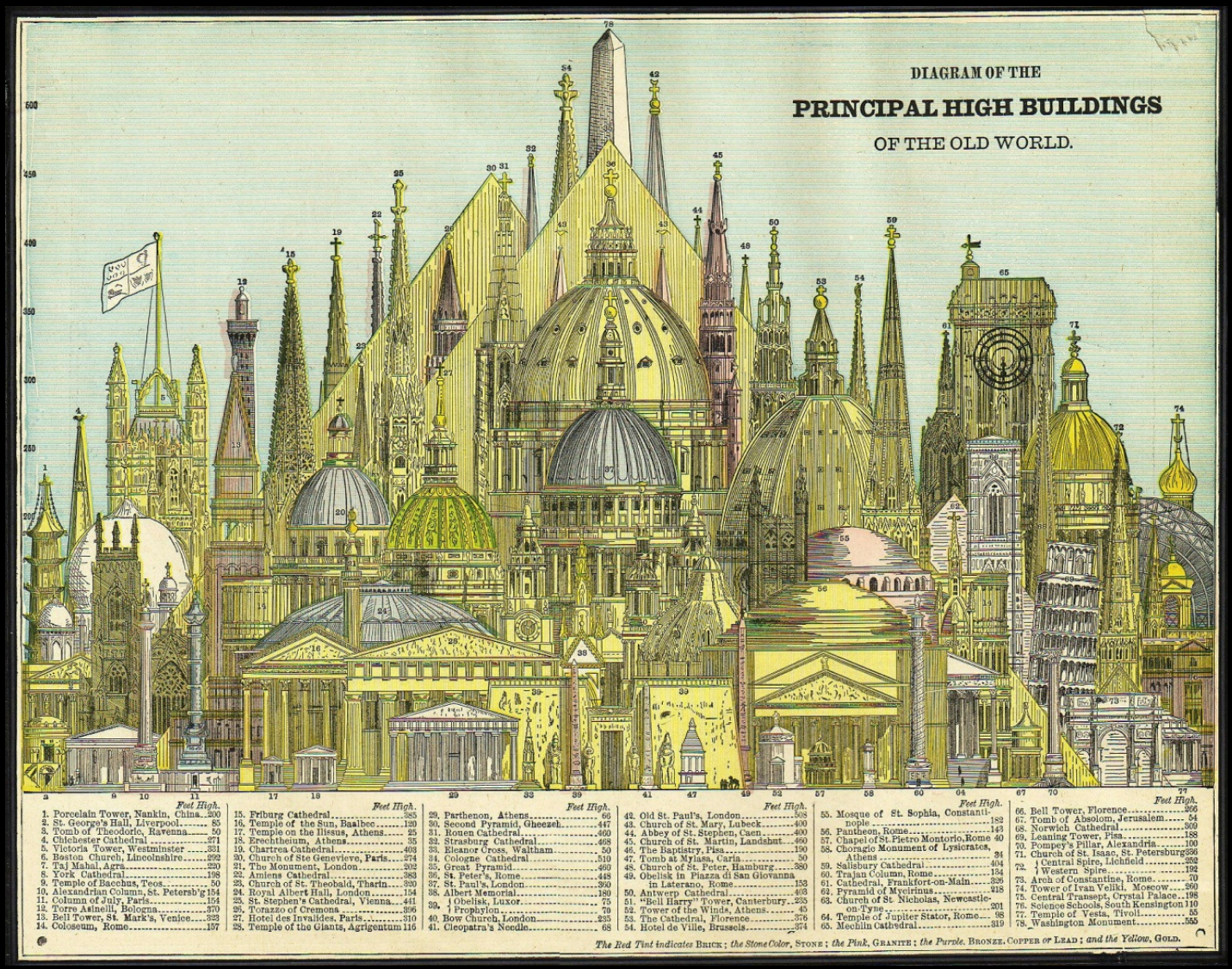
Reason 11: The 2012 Olympics logo says Zion, even more diabolical is the final Olympian Ritual will return "home" to London on the leylines of their old monoliths. The Greek Olympians Hesta, Hephaestus, Aphrodite, Ares, Demeter, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Zeus, Artemis, and Apollo where their chief Gods most of them bloodthirsty Titans/Giants/Nephalim. Not many will see this all coming, only a few will escape. Disbelievers block their own way.

"We sent men, women, and even the Pure Ones to them to persuade them that there where multiple heavens and they were caught up in the lower dimensions deceived by the Stars, they were, and they would not listen." They would not forsake the Partners they had subscribed with The Most High imagining them to be in favor of their growth, in spite, the Gods gave them little and blocked the Path of Ascension. Thus there was a silence of man and woman's great deeds in the heavens and there was little to harvest, truly the people were not guided trading paper for life. Then the veil began to lift and once again man and woman recognized each other as the only source of harmony, we were all together then man and woman shaping and forming a new world. Truly our work is not in vain and just as the trees, we are numerous and patient, as We provide man and women their substance just as we all must live.

We are currently positioned in a place Kabbalistically known as Malkuth which means foundation. This is why the Gods often say the Earth is their footstool. Indeed some of the Spirit energies are so large it is true that Earth could be in fact used as a footstool by them. Malkuth consists of various life forms with limited senses, thus they are vibrating at a lower frequency in order to form something as solid as a Foundation. To make this easier to understand a rock is actually in motion although it is vibrating so slow it is heavy, hard, and what appears to be unmovable although it is just moving so slow you do not have the time to see its movement.

The more senses we lose we become more like a rock, which means our emotional movement and idea of things lesson as we descend. This is also the secret to why Gargoyles, The Sumerian Stone Cherubs, The Sphinx and various other stone figures that have survived from antiquity are all known

to be in fact alive and resonating a certain type of energy. Lower life forms are also on a low vibration like rocks thus they at times inhabit stones. These figures are kept around for protection against other Entities by Magicians.



	Feet High.
1. Porcelain Tower, Nankin, China	200
2. St. George's Hall, Liverpool	85
3. Tomb of Theodoric, Ravenna	50
4. Chichester Cathedral	271
5. Victoria Tower, Westminster	331
6. Boston Church, Lincolnshire	292
7. Taj Mahal, Agra	230
8. York Cathedral	198
9. Temple of Bacchus, Teos	50
10. Alexandrian Column, St. Petersb'g	154
11. Column of July, Paris	154
12. Torre Asinelli, Bologna	370
13. Bell Tower, St. Mark's, Venice	323
14. Coloseum, Rome	157

	Feet High.
15. Friburg Cathedral	385
16. Temple of the Sun, Baalbec	120
17. Temple on the Ilisus, Athens	25
18. Erechtheium, Athens	35
19. Chartrea Cathedral	403
20. Church of Ste Genevieve, Paris	274
21. The Monument, London	202
22. Amiens Cathedral	383
23. Church of St. Theobald, Thartn	320
24. Royal Albert Hall, London	154
25. St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna	441
26. Torazzo of Cremona	396
27. Hotel des Invalides, Paris	310
28. Temple of the Giants, Agrigentum	116

	Feet High.
29. Parthenon, Athens	66
30. Second Pyramid, Gheezeh	447
31. Rouen Cathedral	460
32. Strasburg Cathedral	468
33. Eleanor Cross, Waltham	50
34. Cologne Cathedral	510
35. Great Pyramid	469
36. St. Peter's, Rome	448
37. St. Paul's, London	360
38. Albert Memorial	180
39. { Obelisk, Luxor / Prophylon	75 / 70
40. Bow Church, London	235
41. Cleopatra's Needle	68

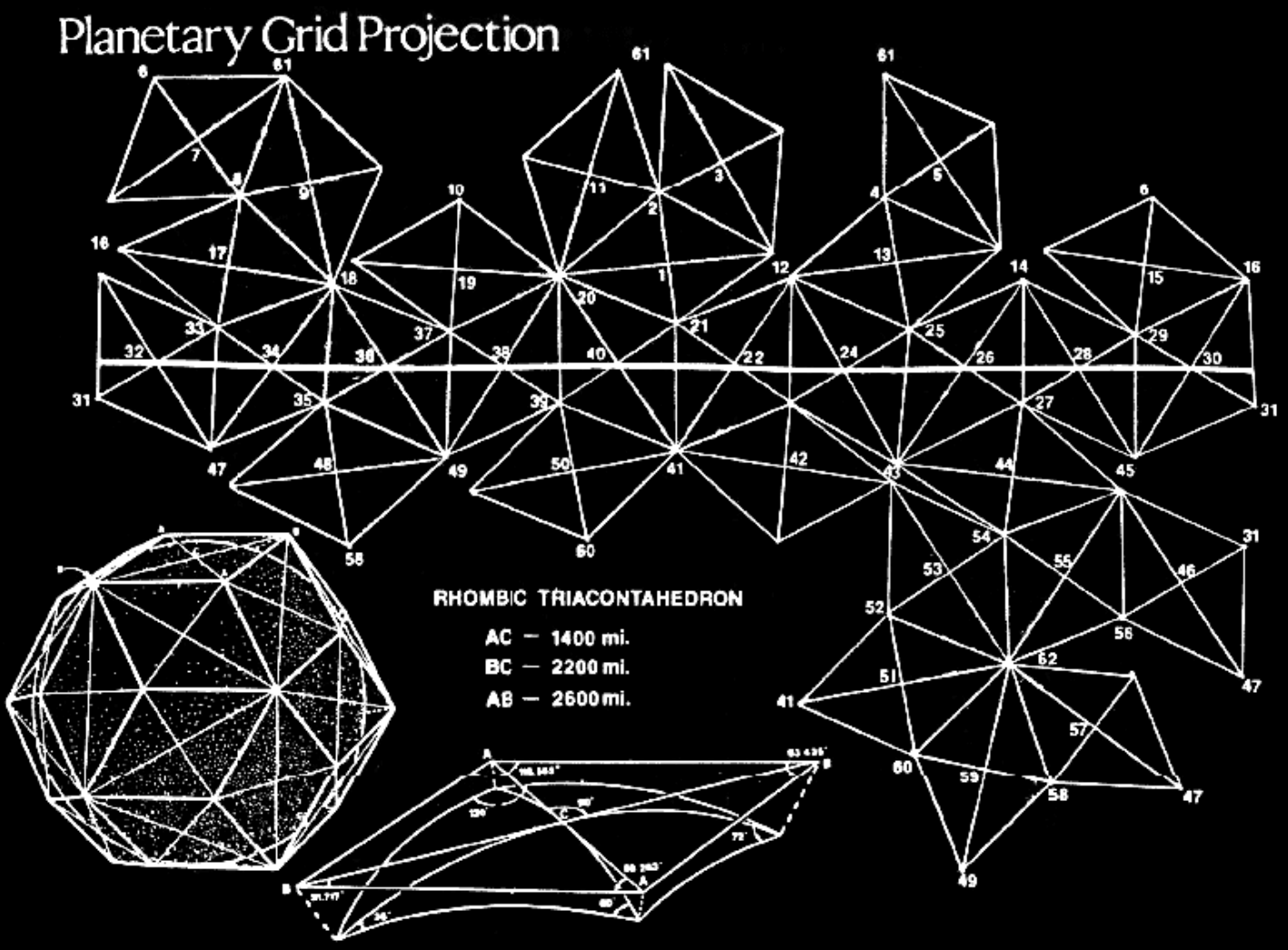
	Feet High.
42. Old St. Paul's, London	503
43. Church of St. Mary, Lubeck	400
44. Abbey of St. Stephen, Caen	400
45. Church of St. Martin, Landshut	460
46. The Baptistry, Pisa	190
47. Tomb at Mylasa, Caria	50
48. Church of St. Peter, Hamburg	380
49. Obelisk in Piazza di San Giovanna in Laterano, Rome	153
50. Antwerp Cathedral	403
51. "Bell Harry" Tower, Canterbury	235
52. Tower of the Winds, Athens	45
53. The Cathedral, Florence	376
54. Hotel de Ville, Brussels	374

	Feet High.
55. Mosque of St. Sophia, Constantinople	182
56. Pantheon, Rome	143
57. Chapel of St. Pietro Montorio, Rome	40
58. Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, Athens	34
59. Salisbury Cathedral	404
60. Trajan Column, Rome	134
61. Cathedral, Frankfort-on-Main	336
62. Pyramid of Mycerinus	218
63. Church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne	201
64. Temple of Jupiter Stator, Rome	98
65. Mechlin Cathedral	319

	Feet High.
66. Bell Tower, Florence	266
67. Tomb of Absolom, Jerusalem	54
68. Norwich Cathedral	309
69. Leaning Tower, Pisa	188
70. Pompey's Pillar, Alexandria	100
71. Church of St. Isaac, St. Petersburg	336
72. { Central Spire, Lichfield / Western Spire	252 / 192
73. Arch of Constantine, Rome	70
74. Tower of Ivan Veliki, Moscow	360
75. Central Transept, Crystal Palace	198
76. Science Schools, South Kensington	110
77. Temple of Vesta, Tivoli	55
78. Washington Monument	555

The Red Tint indicates BRICK; *the Stone Color,* STONE; *the Pink,* GRANITE; *the Purple,* BRONZE, COPPER *or* LEAD; *and the Yellow,* GOLD.

Reason 12: Pictured above are statues that have been passed from Magician to Magician. As you see here J.K. Rowling Author of the Harry Potter series in possession of the same Gargoyle John Dee, a well known magician used to keep in his possession. The spirit lives within the stone. The strength of stone is obvious by its durability. An Adept is familiar with all types of stones and the Elemental Gnomes who have wisdom of Earth and fashioning things out of Earth. Here are just a few buildings that are positioned on major Leylines. Leylines have been known since ancient times discovered by dowsing and also witnessing how things grow in certain areas. A spiraling tree is often on a Leyline. Below you see the Earth Grid of Major Leylines which you will find structures build upon. The smaller leylines are generally not mapped in such detail.



There were also those who just signed up for the Pantheism since the ladder is ascending and descending, they naturally gravitated towards the negative. The lower dimensional Beings, which also make up the foundation we stand on, had its way with them while their "channel" was open and they spoke whatever message that would bring more energy and treasure to their coffers, they where led by distortion. Man and woman involved themselves with Beings that possessed and incarnated into their Human bodies. Some of these Beings either never had a vocal box or are no longer in possession of

one nor a corporeal body to operate on the 3rd physical plane. Numerous they are and they could not be counted as if opening a sealed vault of misshaped things that spawn amongst themselves in what would seem like an instant. Pandora's Box, tricks of the God Pan Lord of Panic and Pandemic.

Those who were more interested in the fast route imagining that Spiritual work was a road to riches would inherit the curse of Ammon/Amon one of the first names given to Planet Jupiter and is in fact a very active Egyptian God. Jupiter is one of the largest Planets in this system. From here we will refer to Jupiter or Ammon as Amon so we can keep track of this Being. Even the Bible scripture gives a clue when it says "Thou canst serve both God and Mammon", unfortunately it didn't leave more detailed information. The "Am" in Amon is where the "Am" in America comes from and is the great I AM. You will find an advanced intelligent "Am"phibian called Oanes the fish God amongst them along with its offspring such as Dagon, they crossed into our world a long time ago under the Sumarian name E.A. (pronounced Aya) Lord and King of the S"ea". One of the greatest questions that will ultimately come to mind is; are the actual Planets themselves doing this, or are these malevolent Beings with various powers who have fooled man into believing they are the Planets?

To answer that we will have to consider a few things, the Planets themselves are in a fixed movement everything interacting together. I personally know there are many more Planets in our immediate system that most know nothing of such as Vulcan. The heaviest spiritual involvement from these "Sat"ellites seems to come from the Asteroids like Venus and Ceres along with what we call Meteorites ,"falling stars", and comets, that seem to cause many of the problems. There are also hollowed artificial satellites such as our Moon Sin, and Phobos which are bases of some sort.

Think of this also, the Bible is supposed to be a Holy Book and in the end you find a passage that says something like "Whoa to the one who adds or takes away from what is written in this book, We will add to him the plagues of this Book and take away his Name from the Book of Life". There is obviously a faction that cares nothing of this warning because every time a new addition of the Bible comes out, there are serious changes. People need to start seeing that the ones who are changing it care nothing for the curses because there are none and the Book itself has stories borrowed from everywhere, such was the way of these people.

The negative forces are infamous for lying, if a Being says "I AM Amon I AM Jupiter the Planet you know as the biggest", I find this no different from a man who says "I AM the Son of the Sun and because of that I have leave to destroy everything in my path". Man has been notorious for blindly following these possessed deluded traitors who are blurred by their own desire to iconoclast themselves in the mold of time and usurp the Throne of the Great One which is unreachable and immeasurable. Surely a man can charge into battle with great strength imagining he will vanquish his foes and then the next thing, he awakes in evil Elysium Jahannon for such foolish thoughts. Everything material will pass away at some point thus it is only wise to seek immortality with everything at your disposal letting nothing impede your way. Around you at all times are those who

will never see what's coming they do not desire it nor believe it thus they have shut the door on themselves and they are wandering in the dark. Protect yourself from becoming enveloped in their aura of deluded drunkenness where everyday for them is the same as the last and they see it not that time draws nigh, what a waste.

The Judgment itself is taking place now, we are in 2012 at this moment because of the delay of the Gregorian calendar. Many have knowingly forfeited their chance to ascend and thus they are like crabs in the bucket pulling everyone else they can around them into the same prison they created for themselves. Beware of those who you know are involved in some form of dark occult practice it is now time for the Unseen Hand or Dark Lord to exact recompense from them. They are now being used to betray even those they were the closest to. Many of them did not expect this time to come and were lied to. They imagined the Ritual a game a mere fraternity hazing, now they have Phantoms as their companions that fill their dreams with absurd visions, there is no rest for the wicked.

A Sorceress had done all the bidding for the Dark Lord and took pride in it. The Dark Lord promised her he would award her deeds in the Underworld. With this promise she worked more vigorously causing division and setting traps for those who found themselves in her web. On her untimely death she was transferred to the Underworld where the negative forces seized her and commenced to torturing her pulling her soul apart. She cursed them profusely and demanded to speak with the ruler of Dominions who was watching from afar. When approaching she said, "I have done everything you have required of me and even more, a have sown discord with the peaceful, and separated many from love and happiness. This I have done for you and the reward you promised me, where is it"? He said, I lied, did they not tell you I was the Father of Lies? I find more pleasure in betrayal than I do in honor, think not my titles go without proof and he waved his hand for his minions to commence as he watch.

Reason 13: The Greek God Jupiter and his consort Juno, indeed this is not a Planet this is a man, imposter! Obviously not a God for daughters. Planets do something entirely different then impersonate themselves as men who have women, nor do they ever appear as men. Think.

As will be made clear what we are dealing with at times is interplanetary, extra dimensional, highly intelligent space skum. One simply has to think that although some may perceive already that we are alone in this Universe, which is profoundly un-true, if we blew up Earth it would cause a chain reaction of cataclysms for the entire galaxy thus we have been governed by higher forces that oversee the timing of events so the crazy Dictator doesn't slip on the nuclear kill switch. There are Principalities, Rulers, Forces, and Dominions in place working out an entirely larger scheme that makes Earth more of a value subdued, not destroyed. Think of the loss of resources and biological data. Earth is a storehouse of genes working together well enough. For one moment do not doubt all these genes are in criyo tubes fully cataloged and ready to implant into other worlds which is a part of Terraforming a Planet and getting it prepared for higher life forms like me and you.

Since we know there are other Beings with other senses we can endeavor to obtain those senses also. This separates us from animals who seldom openly enlist the help of humans. This also means that some who have higher senses have already discovered harmony, the benefits of a collective mind, the power in Numbers, the Elements, etc. thus there is a place to go. It is entirely possible that the knowledge of even how to alter an entire planetary frequency with just insects that also emit sound frequency is in the Orion arsenal of technology. This moves us further into the intelligence of Beings who are more advanced in some ways than us. We could go so far in imagining what they have and what they can do and we would more than likely be right, however, what is of value here is to show that they are not the Creator of all things. They to had a Creator and if we find ourselves in service, it should be to That only. They are no doubt involved in our evolution; there can be no question of it. Just as the wheel has saved us endless amounts of time and effort so we may travel further, faster. If these Beings gave us T.V. or should I say things like the Cathode Ray Tube and the Integrated Circuit that's enough altering right there, case closed.

The way many Beings feel about Earth is they would not give something that looks like dust compared to Antares and Betelgeuse the honor of destroying this whole Galaxy. Everything must evolve in time and for this segment of the Human race that time is long overdue. The lower dimension now awaits occupying the spot we are in now. Since the information vault is now open you can gain a higher level of esoteric intelligence, without being fully Initiated, and thus stuck in some lower dimension slave world ruled by jealous megalomaniacs because you joined the wrong group chanting Namaste, "Name Sat". Some of the most valuable portions of this information has come from Higher Beings still reaching back to help along the children which we all are, they gave no names, and they demanded no worship save to the Original Creator in which all things will eventually have to face and it is patient Shrouded within itself Majestic and Wise. Many of the forces that have invisibly protected and guided the Human race have long since ascended beyond points where they can any longer interact with the Earth because of contamination and its lack of pure ideas thus there is a heavy need for new Ethereal Planetary workers, not Golden Age materialist.

On the flip side there are those working with the dark force that have kept the masses in this recent segment of time away from the true wisdom. Their doctrine is to Know, Dare, Will, and keep Silent. One should understand their Oath to keep silent, they are all around and they would never reveal their identity. Those who have read works like the Art of War and the Law of Seduction should get a general idea of how they operate in business much less in the Spiritual World. These particular books written by Sun Zhu along with works by Machiavelli such as the Prince and various other shrewd titles are required reading for the upcoming business Elite. In addition they do not just read but put into play the methods being elaborated upon as if the world is only a giant chess board with human pieces.

Even now this particular work which you hold in your hands is allowed to reach the mainstream not because they could not easily stop it, but because it fulfills another one of the Prophecies, thus they cannot plug the loop hole that has been made. Although they plan unceasingly the Most High is the greatest planner. Have you not noticed the forces that seek to hinder always tell what is to come in the future before it happens? Even in the Bible there is always a solemn warning by the Prophet before the destruction. This is in fact a Law of the Universe which exist so that all conscious Beings on a Planet may have a choice of whether they want to participate in the collectively planned future of that Planet, attempt to do something to prevent it, or emancipate themselves from it entirely which is always an option. We do hold the master button on our personal Earth life if we want to really exit, we can make it happen, some type of choice always clings to us. Our future is the beautiful fractalised shape of a myriad of choices.

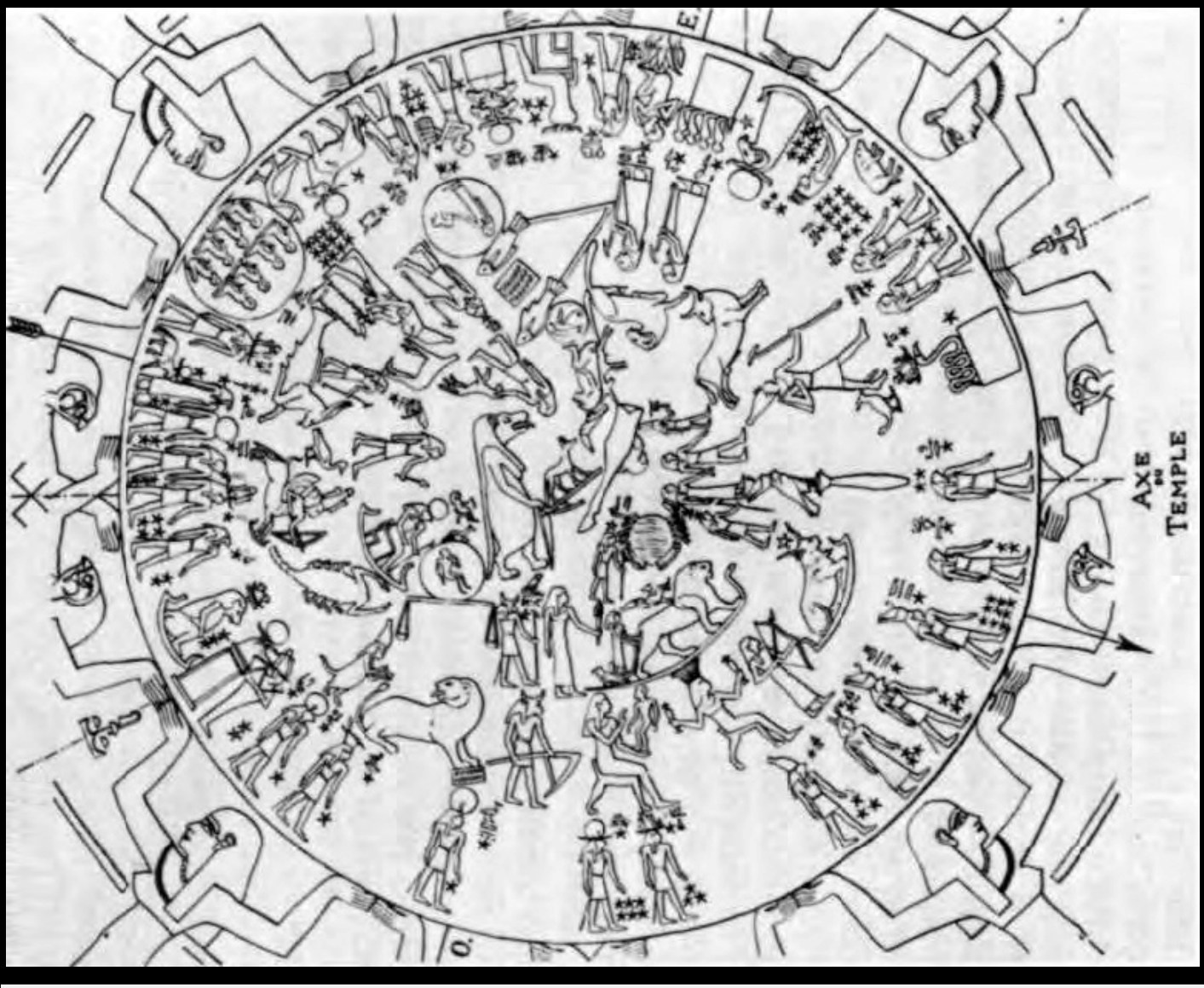
As you see within the word "Planet" there is a "Plan" here which we will just call "Planned Net 10" which means the end of one world and of course many new worlds will begin after. Our status in the ungoverned worlds beyond has much to do with our accolades and milestones that we have crossed in our previous world of origin. This information always remains on our Aura even if we are unaware of it. Think of yourself known throughout the whole Universe as someone who assisted your race in Ascension. As all things are recorded that's what the record will reflect once the deed is accomplished. Every action we make will always be contained somewhere, it determines what we are to face next on various levels of action and reaction, it can always be accessed and cannot be erased just balanced. If you were strong did you protect the weak? If you were truly wise did you share your knowledge to your best ability? If you possessed wealth did you distribute the goods committed to your charge?

It was known that each segment of astrological time is controlled by a particular Planet. That Planet is responsible for emitting the energy that is necessary to accomplish what has to be done during that cycle. The Universe can be looked at as a big clock in which the Planets rotate positions as if on massive cogs. It is known that Mars was once in the position we are occupying now in the Cosmos, they were the 3rd Planet with a lush surface, oceans, etc. What is left now after their wars is just their core in which we still find war torn life, Mars was 3 times larger than Earth, a sad story that was. The name Mars and Wars make it not hard to piece together what happened on the scorched red

Planet known to be the Martial Planet of this system. The Planet was split into two warring factions that went to a stage of war we would call biologically nuclear. The effects were far reaching creating a ghost world of infected souls. Lemuria in fact means "Ghost World". A remnant of one of the Martian factions were sent to Earth just in case their race faced total oblivion, they are today known as the Zulu Tribe of Ifrika. In their legends you will find the history of their advent from Mars, they were warriors they have no shame in admitting this. The wars fought on Mars continue here on Earth between the two factions called Atlantians and Lemurians. We find Shaka Zulu as one of the earliest African films introduced into our physic for a reason that will be obvious later. The original Phoenicians were also of darker skin tone.

It may be of value for you to start seeing these Deities, Gods, Spirits, Daemons, as Beings alien to you because there are many of them that did not originate here on Earth. In ancient times people had gained the knowledge of this and began to emulate the movement of Energies, Stars, and Planets, and thus some became completely alienated from the people. This is also when the Elitist religions of the "Chosen People" began to flourish. Those who wished to be in power during a certain era would make pacts and oaths with the Spirit energies and from there they would become fleshly vessels doing the bidding of these rouges by declaring war on all unbelieving infidels. Even the word "Peace" means something must be split up and only a portion remains. The word Unity also means a unit or part, not the whole thing. We have grown so accustomed to these words we don't see that every time nations use it as a reason to go to war, we get exactly what we ask for, sending in the Units to tear things to Peaces. The world has now been divided into so many pieces we have all become isolated from one another and thus we think our true enemy is our fellow man and women and silently in the Cabal rules one who is not Human at all. I shall smite its face.

These factions were often at war; they began through submission and then continued with religion. This brought about complete conversion of the captor. Those who became initiated into the dark Brother and Sisterhoods Cults where taught the finer details of the Spirit World and how it works. Vile Beings in the Realm of afterlife betwixt dimensions began hording the Human souls after death. Other times we were made while living to go to physical war in the Name of the Gods which only hurt us, fragile flesh is. This was forbidden times, man was lost worshipping Gods, Stars, Asteroids, and Moons, thus Destiny was created. Just as you see in the story of Jesus, the Essenes, known then as the Magi, were following a Star that indicated to them the birth of what they had been waiting for. You will find many sects of ancient men that follow the Stars. The Ishmaelite Arabs along with the Egyptians had extensive knowledge of such things due to the clarity of the Stars in the desert on a clear Arabian Night. Of course the knowledge and Genius of the Genie which was a Jinn or Jann. Many of which are trapped in desert regions in the sand. Sand is glass they were confined there encased under sheets of it until men "removed them from the bottle". They could beyond doubt prove that when a baby was born a star appeared first thus they had knowledge of when someone important was born.

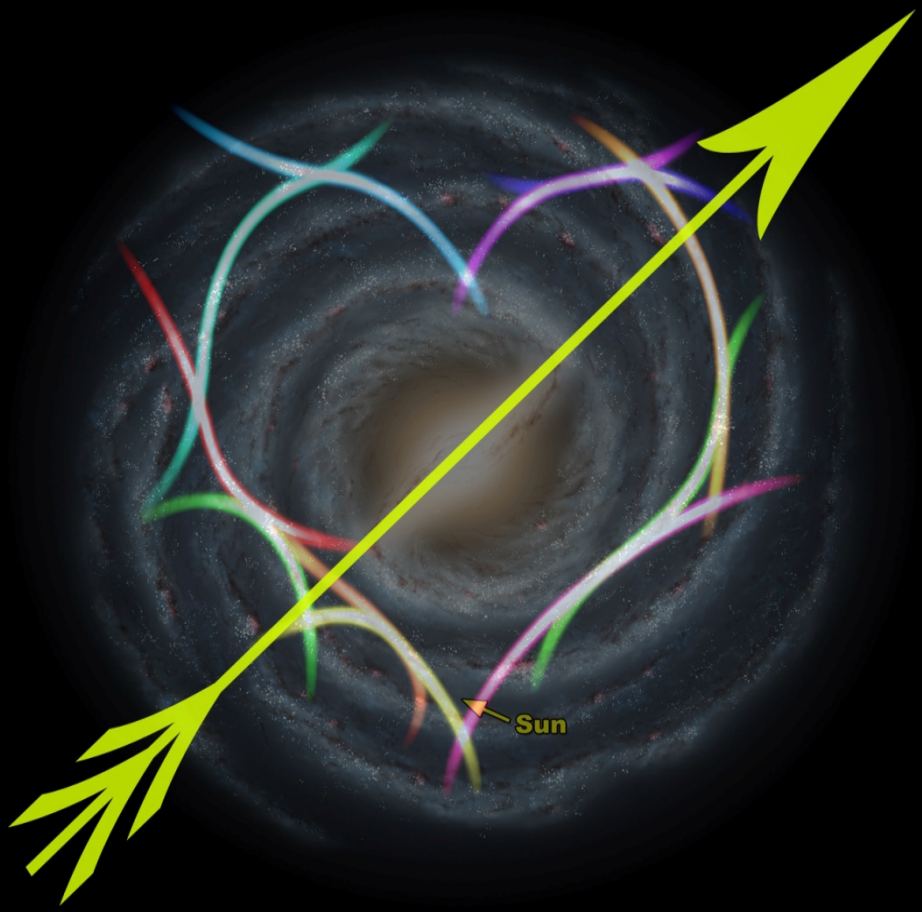


Reason 14: The Egyptians were given extensive star charts of animalistic nature in which they emulated. The Priesthood itself was in such complexity the people were made to dedicate every act of daily life to a separate Star or Deity leaving little room for natural growth and unadulterated consciousness expansion.

Subtly this becomes another reason why we as a people become servants of Kings, Queens, Presidents, Dictators, and Icons who all follow the Procession. I will not bore the reader with tales that can seem as myth in this primitive time with a futuristic coating we live in. We will just dive right into things as they are now, this way you have little to research because it is happening all around you as you live the truth. The world has now become a very large version of the boy who cried wolf, now that the wolf is upon us few believe that there is even such a thing. So many have come saying they know what the future holds, only to disappoint those who felt foolish to believe them and this has made the people weary of warning and preparation. In this I know you will find an energy that will arouse you once more.

Listen and I will instruct thee once more how to turn this language in thy favor. Gird thy comprehension and fail not to seek innerstanding in these words. Humans have grown indeed complex and have no simple answer for their troubles so look not for something easy in explanation. The time grows nigh and many are at the end of their cycle, some raising to eternal beauty and others to layers of retribution, sheets of fire in which they must be passed through with no end, miserable. If you say "I am saved" Lo you are in error, none can be sure, if you say "I will bow down now" Nay it will be impossible to stand up. It is wise to make haste in embedding your mind with exact knowledge beyond reproach so you may position yourself to receive a fair judgment as you have been already observed. The faithful will find these words sweet to their ears while the faithless will be made to listen fore their Jinn even seek a way to escape what is to come and it will most surely not delay past its appointed time.

El A.K.A Saturn A.K.A. Father Time for short was the God known to rule the Age of Aquarius which we now find ourselves in again as of February 14, 2009 Valentines Day. The symbol of Valentines day is a heart being pierced by and arrow, it is the esoteric symbolism of when our Universe known as the Sagittarius Dwarf would be passing through the heart of the Milky Way crossing into the Parallel Universe B for a Galactic lineup. At this very moment while we are crossing the Great Divide an opportunity that has been proclaimed for Aeons is taking place for those who are in the know.



Reason 15: This is by far not the first Aquarian or Golden Age, in fact this only represents the time of a shift. The energy of the Cosmos actually assists a person, if they do a little seeking, to find Higher Truth. Once that time passes those who have not seized Enlightenment will come around the cycle again after death remembering little of what happened before. The Golden Age Movement is designed to get the whole world to rewind and re-live a time long past. The most recent Golden Age in our history was the times of Hitler and Nazi Germany.

The opportunity is the merging of collective minds and frequencies allowing an individual to become the portal for higher essence and their higher purpose, purpose equals energy. This other world is what we glimpse ourselves in at times while we are sleep or in vision, in this world everything appears as it really is and there are few limits. One has higher senses, can fly through the Ether, considers not time, and can make contact with multiple Beings. Omnipresence, the art of being in more than one place at a time, is possible in this parallel realm thus you can visit multiple people all in one moment. This is why it is easier to contact other Beings while in Lucid Sleep, so the controllers do their best to keep us from being conscious while in that world, even more than they do in this one. We tend to watch our dreams rather than control them, as in society we have a tendency to take things as they come and react accordingly rather than getting directly involved in the big picture.

On the 3rd dimension there are physical laws against Omnipresence generally you can only separate your body into 2 parts while on 3rd dimension. One of those two when split is basically a vegetable, the body, when lacking a soul will appear limp with shallow life signs until the Spirit reinters it, the technique itself when not a natural gift takes proper training as Dr. Monroe revealed in his Hemisphere Synchronization techniques before the CIA gained control of his work and altered it, or maybe he was the CIA all along especially since his father was a known CIA agent.

When you are "Lucid" riding the dream like a wave you can call forth Beings and if you have the might to withstand them they will appear, then you will see what they really are and you will learn why many of them we should not be worshipping. Destruction is a main part of keeping up the Chaos on Earth and many of these Beings are destroyers. Now that the Hindu Pantheism is the preference for the New World Order they have unleashed a whole retinue of Destroyers like Shiva, Kali, and Latchme. They con "Khan" the person by telling them to think they must be destroyed completely to be made new again as they dissolve into nothingness. They are instructed to chant and meditate on the Destroyer which is a weakening tool. This is no different than nonsense like boiling frogs' eyes in pigeon's blood which Agrippa used to recommend to Caesar. The end if these things could never be positive because it began in negativity. Kali is bedecked in the severed heads of the victims she has destroyed. We will have to learn again how to judge with common sense and take things at face value.

For many of us our life is attached to time, the clock is one of the most valuable tools in controlling the mind. The Elite know there becomes no use in counting time unless you plan on it running out. Imagine in immortality and infinity someone actually counting the hours and minutes, talking about useless. Saturn, also known as Cronos, which is where words like Chronological and Chronograph come from, was elected for time because of His rings which signified like an old tree His length of time in the Galaxy. In other words those attempting to learn the age of this Universe looked first to Saturn and the debris in its rings containing residue of lost Planets that entered the Golden

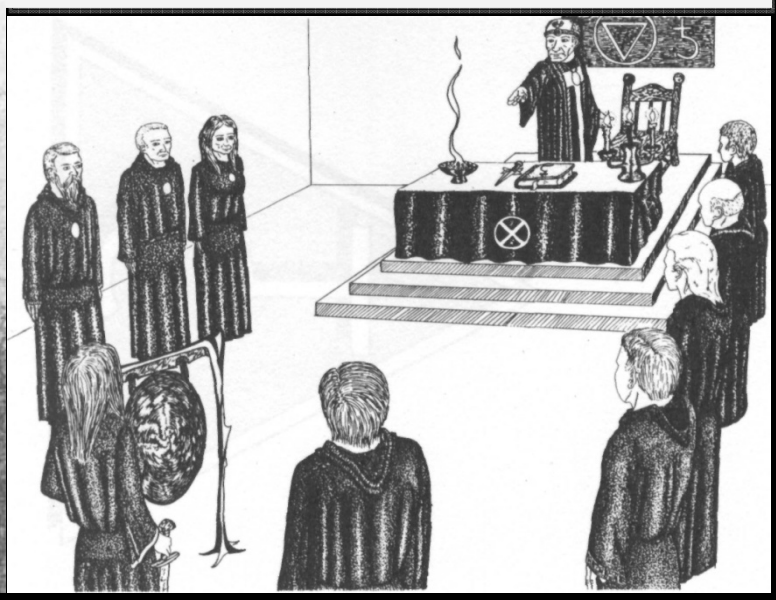
Age of Destruction and Chaos now long forgotten although their essence still remains.

Reason 16: The stunning rings of El, rich with the debris of forgotten Planets. Planets such as Maldek and Vulcan are seen clearly on ancient star maps but are now somehow gone. Some I believe are still in existence, others have left this Galaxy, and some were destroyed in wars.

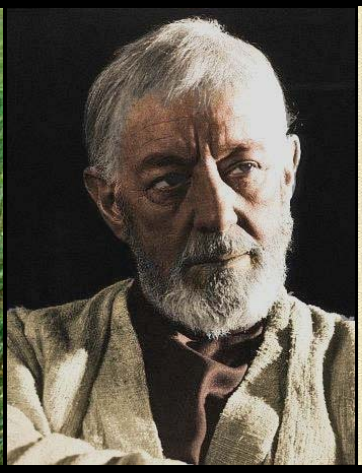
The sign of Aquarius or the Golden Age bears witness with two wavy lines in which some say are signs of water and others that of lightning bolts. Known as the Age of Man the Water being dumped out signifies the cleansing or deluge. The mystery of lightening was shown by shooting an electron in sterile water and watching as a single cell life form appeared out of thin air or a portal depending upon your perspective. That showed us that life could be created from nowhere out of virtually nothing except energy, this of course destroys the Evolution Theory. At this point there are many Beings leeching from the Human race, under many guises.

Reason 17: The classic white bearded depiction of Saturn. Few on the outer circle have figured out Saturn is affiliated with the Serpent. Notice the larger Serpent underneath Saturn's arm, not to mention what is happening to the child. They also refer to the Bearded God as the Great Architect although He destroys everything He builds. This is why Santa and the Wizard of Oz fit this motif.

Reason 18: The Brotherhood of Saturn is in big service today underpinning various organizations. Depicted below are the Inner Circle. The Outer Circle consist of all of the religious projects erected for global domination this is Sat. Saturday, Satan, Santa (Satan), Saint (Satins), Sabbath, etc. Sir, Sur, Sar, Ser, and Sor are all Names for the Serpent energy ye shall know them by their works.



Long before the Third Reich, Amon was worshipped as the chief Deity of many nations. The knowledge of Amon being one of the largest Planet in this solar system was known since ancient times. You can then see why many wanted to find favor with Amon since they believed it was the biggest thus it was also the strongest. Again, it is the name changes that sometimes throw us off the trail and that is of course if we have even decided to investigate what could be going on beyond the level of petty politics. Amon is also Pa, Thor, Jove, and Pater pronounced Potter.



Reason 19: When you see the Bearded depiction you already know who is involved. George Lucas is a Saturnalian.

Europa, a Moon in Amon's orbit is where Europe got her name from. This Goddess from Crete daughter of the Giant Sidon set up a civilization where we now find Europe. Many of the Beings are referred to as Giants because in other civilizations their home Planets are much bigger than Earth. It can be assumed that their height proportion is in conjunction with the size of their Planet. Amon has 63 moons orbiting it while we have only one and that one Moon has a lot of influence over the minds of our planetary inhabitants because of the magnetic energy. As will be seen more and more Humans are energy and we have a magnetic core and poles just the same as a Planet hence the term Bi-Polar.

To show a brief link we will talk of another tool used against us which is money. This is by far the most effective tool so I will discuss its "Spirit Origin". The money we use now is "Pa"per we are no longer really using currency made of metals as you may have notice. In the old days if you had lots of Silver or Gold you at least had the energy of these metals around you and they carried certain types of strength that gave one certain spiritual advantages, now we are on paper. Why? The main advent of this was with the first Pope of whom his parents were "Pa"pists. A Papist is a person who makes paper or "Pa"rchment. This magical art was known to be taught by one of the fallen Angels and is discussed in the book of Enoch under, cutting of roots. Certain trees when blended together and formed into parchment have a binding effect. This is the basis for the special paper a talisman must be inscribed on. When you look at the currency of the world, which has been revealed with the U.S. one dollar bill, you will see many magical symbols, especially Stars, and even a magnetic strip to give it power. The paper itself holds a binding energy that perpetuates our desire for it; this was one of many wicked things done by the "Pa"pacy by direction of the esoteric knowledge of the Jesuits.

Reason 20: While pretending to teach moderation and piety the vice generates for the Wicked One spew their poison of money/Mammon over the Earth. Few know of the Black Pope which controls the Jesuit arm of the Papacy. Money has become the stumbling block of the world. I've heard many say "he is our Pope" indeed they will share his lot. To the left is an "astral depiction of the Pope" the use of trees for magic has been their main tactic. Tree, Three, Word, Wood.

Looking at our world today one should not be surprised that destruction and chaos beyond preconceived proportion could be possibly looming in the future. We have the NWO Zionist who no longer want money only blood, The Annunaki Ship Nibiru or Planet X which can be seen from the South Pole lazily headed this way, the End of the 13 Moon Mayan Calendar, Global Warming beyond reversal, Anti-Christ's in Las Vegas and India, Quetzalcoatl the feather serpent scheduling a tour, the proposed Alien Invasion warming their ships, The Galactic Line up clicking into place, a population doubling by 2012 and a host of other wild cards to give us a jolt into the future. It is safe to say maybe one should start tuning in to Higher Energy and phone home just in case on of these things just happens or maybe even all of them all at the same time.

In any event this book will serve to prepare the sincere, while still making a good read for the ever remaining skeptic which I began as myself. It is better to think of it this way, since the Earth continues to be polluted and mistreated with no clear sign of massive reversal, we can move a step ahead and just come to the conclusion that all this is happening to promote us to wake up from the "s"mothering and see what else is out there. We must connect with our other half then with Spirit newly mended we can go to the next wave length. With this formulation we are now wholly prepared or re-"membered", everything we need being internal, thus we are self sufficient to move about the Galaxy to meet new life which equals new experience. This ensures our proper growth and of course that we don't get bored in Immortality caught in infinite loops of Qlipoth.

Just how long can we as a people really wake up every morning, battle traffic, suck fresh smog, get to work, give half of what we earn to Fascist, come home and eat Codex Alimentarius infested food, get digitally mind controlled by the Flat Screen, go to sleep, not remember our dreams and start over again the next day. C'mon have you noticed that for many it seems like the movie Ground Hogs Day, February 2, the 33rd day of the year, and why are we taking this? There is something that has not been figured out, not because of the lack of intelligence, but rather the height of distraction. I personally believe that right now in your hands is what you need to get your perspective focused once again on the main picture.

The census says our population will actually double by the year 2012 the reader should highly consider if the Earth can handle double the trouble it is in now. It is due time that the world change and the same energy used to destroy for so long will now consume those who used it in vain as they are consumed in the reflux current. The Elite knew there would be those that would come able to convert their negative energy they spewed upon us into positive. They tried to tell us it was only One, the anagram for Neo, that could do it which is far from the truth. They feared and anticipated that the younger generation, who seem to have the unique ability of converting bad into good, would catch on at some point and Break the Matrix. This term The Matrix comes from the head of the Greek Goddess Pantheon known as Medeatrix of whom their descendants come from Medea/Media.

Reason 21: The youth of today withstand heavy bombardments of mind control and degradation some becoming stronger and smarter than their predecessors while others hopelessly face early termination if the mental and physical poisoning of the Elite continues.

There are those who serve consolidated dark energies under a Elitist pretense and thus have been eating away at society for centuries. We will uncover their deeds and their involvement in this Golden Age amongst many other things it behooves you to know as they are trampled beneath our feet. This will not be to stop them, no it is too late for that, the judgment is Set for the children of Seth and they would just as soon push all the nuclear buttons before they would cease and desist, what a miserable brood they are, even now our Government looms over 50 pounds of weapons grade Plutonium in which it would take only one to blow up the whole Earth. This Plutonium is being kept in the satellites we have in orbit over the Planet. This serves as a way to keep the benevolent forces from entering our atmosphere and saving the many species besides Humans that exist here, not to mention it is our responsibility to emancipate our own race.

The world government has proclaimed to benevolent extraterrestrials that if they seek to "physically" intervene then they can pick up the ashes. This is why you don't see vivid aid from other Benevolent Humanoid factions, they remain at the status of "unseen", they show us the way through signs and seldom materialize. I have personally viewed videos recorded by NASA showing the use of the Plasma Cannon developed by Nikoli Tesla to shoot at other space craft seeking to enter our atmosphere. Whether those craft were friendly or hostile cannot be determined by the video, however, it is safe to say that the prison Planet is being guarded. Our minds now serve as the only link to those who seek to give us assistance, internal clarity is all they need to contact us, it is good this is all. It takes millions to go in space by physical ship, but it is free with your body. What a treat the Most High gave us a million dollar ethereal vacation vehicle.

This is written so you will be able to recognize friend from foe allowing you to steer your course to what comes after the destruction and chaos which is surely new worlds. You will do all of this while evading what you will see so many get caught up in because of disbelief and none preparation. The world leaders are not the allies they have showed on numerous occasions they are merely puppets that are fully animated and can put on quite a show that often deludes the non-observant.

Reason 22: Politics is all a game, the joke is on us. Time and again the masses fall for the trick.

We sent Warners to them and they taunted them saying "Show us this God you speak of, you are crazy and deluded were is It we cannot see It, thus they imagined they could see Pure Energy with two eyes and not the one given to them by the Creator which they kept closed and beyond function in the center of their heads. So they where divided amongst themselves wondering if what was spoken was truth and they fell under conviction. They returned to one of the Warners with threats saying "give us the Name of your God and we shall see" but alas the Warner could not provide a Vibration familiar to them so they stoned him, raised him as a Martyr, and invented a Name that was pleasing to them.

Reason 23: When the Third Eye is activated the Illusion collapses and then you see the world as it truly is.

The Oath of Silence has kept many people from telling you what is detailed here in this fabulous work. The first reason most were told to keep this under the strictest confidence was the ability for it to allow a powerful system to continue unchecked and running with few interruptions. Those keeping the secrets could only benefit as long as what they were doing, in its totality, remained a secret. Most organizations especially secret societies are compartmentalized in a way where each group is only holding a fraction of the truth thus the new initiates never know the complete plan.

Reason: Old plans are now coming to their completion and all the workers for the Unseen Hand are in key places of Government waiting to carry out the next part of the plan.

Reason 24: All important positions of power even past the Presidency are run by individuals who are initiated into Secret Societies. They don't keep their involvement a secret just their practices. One only needs to go back 200 years and they will find the entire "civilized" world involved in dark magic and Grimores. Countless novels were written by men who had made pacts with demoniac life forms to represent them and do their bidding. This became so popular demons trapped in jars, talismans, gems, and various tools of dark magic were sold on the black market at high value. The underworld operates in the dark, it is hidden from plain view.

The leaders of this world go about every day with ease and receive little attention by the masses as they crush the weak expressing no remorse. A simple look at the Criminal News Network "CNN" and you will see glorified slaughter in high definition. Many that have risen in efforts to oppose the tyrants have often been unsuccessful due to their lack of knowledge about the High Places and also in regards to how the Elite possess and control power. It is time that we admit we are not dealing with dummies that just need to be voted out of office, there is more evidence of a massive plot that need be put to ruin.

Leaders like Martin Luther King arose attempting to free the people but still remained trapped to the Religion that did little for those he represented. The first ship that brought Nubians to America was named Jesus. The most Christianity seemed to do for the Africans was make them more passive brainwashed servants. In fact pacifist movements always come into play when the people were finally ready to rebel against the oppressor at the cost of their lives. There is a certain power that possesses a person when they are willing to lay down their life so that the children may have one. This power often preserves the life of the courageous; this is the true act of unselfishness, a noble deed. After all, the adults that have lived till at least 30 in our current era have seen so much of life already. We have enjoyed what it took lifetimes for our predecessors to experience all in one vacation. We should thus do our duty in carving out a world for the innocent youth who already bare the gifts of the future in their complexly beautiful minds. This is something I believe our earliest ancestors attempted to do thus we must finish what they started.

INTEGRATION LEADER RECEIVES AWARD
. . . Rabbi Jacob Rothschild presents bowl to King

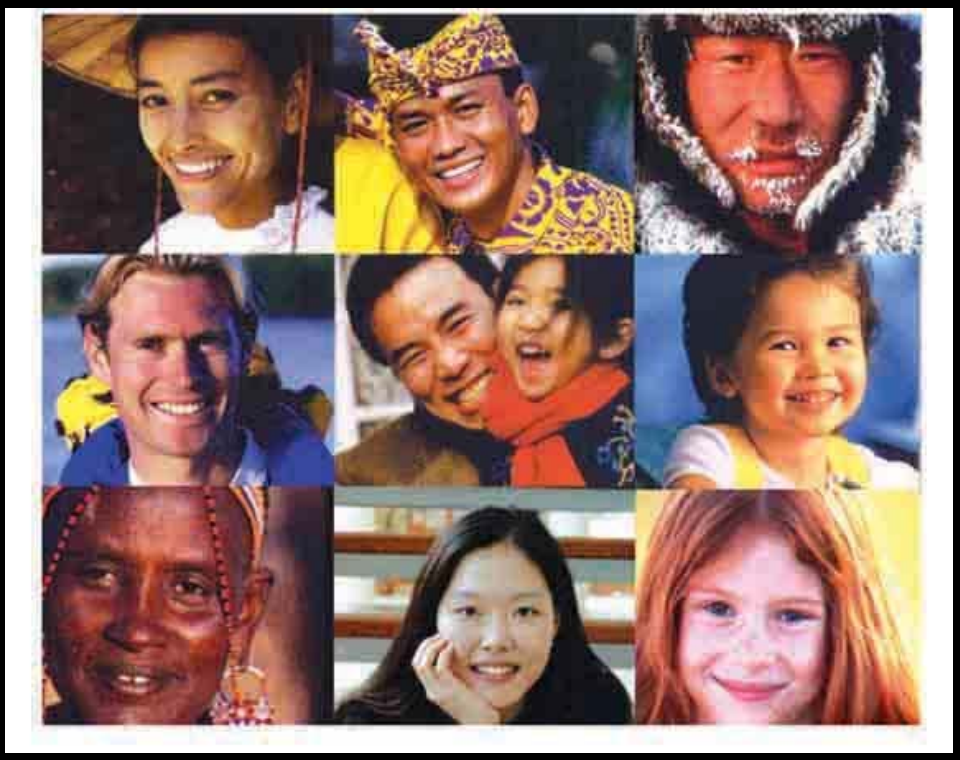
Reason 25: Martin Luther King receives an award from Illuminist Jacob Rothschild. The Illuminati planned Pro-Peace agendas all over the world to make the people docile while they put the finishing touches on the New World Order. The tactics often used remain the same; many have become traitors to their people for a moment of power that they will forever regret but they lack reason deluded by promises of great material wealth which will corrode under the inevitable pressure of time. We shall take up account with their souls.

When looking today at those that still rule, their high ranks have been depleted thus they are making new pacts and selling what does not even belong to them. This extends beyond material resources and has crossed into Plasmic and Ethereal supplies bartered throughout the trade routes that extend beyond Earth. All the miles that have been walked, all the pain that has been endured, all the walls that have been torn down we have but one final task by delivering the final blow to the tyrants before they reinforce or re-legion.

The soldier can no longer continue in this present day since he knows what he is doing is obviously not for patriotism. So they now put him behind a screen to kill and make it look like a video game as he flies the drone like its on Playstation 3. What he kills no longer brings a feeling since even the victims appear as just white light's or blobs of infrared on the screen in the tank, plane, or battleship. Since the world is now in the information age every soldier has access to Zeitgeist and many more publications revealing the intention behind the hideous wars of the past. This makes him question his role in such disasters since he sees that it is not to protect the country that we continue to kill thousands. Since they foresaw this happening the chemicals already put into the soldier's diet to keep him subservient were increased, he was removed from the frontline and put behind the computer to deal out death still remaining under the foot of the "Gen"eral.

Reason 26: With movies like Zeitgeist, Fahrenheit 911, and numerous Youtube videos the modern soldier is well informed of the internal plots and "Black Bag" jobs of the Elite. Soon the true Hero, which is given another name entirely, will rise from amongst their ranks turning the tide against the negative forces. Injustice will not continue forever. Even a broken clock is right at least two times a day. The HERO-HORE-WHORE was a temple prostitute esoteric story character. We are much greater, encrusted seven fold with positive energy as armor, the Mighty.

The biggest issue we have with overpopulation is people seldom greet each other anymore. When passing by on the street, jogging in a park, walking on the beach or pretty much anywhere unless people are drinking and then nothing is clear. Truly if we are prepared to see a one-eyed green Alien and accept them before we can see our own neighbor who may be of different ethnicity but a Human nonetheless, we have missed the mark. There was a time that if you happen to see another Human while in transit you immediately greeted each other with hugs and kisses of astonishment as you tried to communicate by first giving gifts and showing them things you had found on your journey as they did the same. You would explain to them the various territories you have crossed, what resources were there, and what to be aware of. Often times you learned their customs and came to respect their individuality marveling at how the Creator made things so diverse. Now that has faded away and people are looked at as expendable, some even as worthless by others as racism increases. They have forgotten if you have climbed up on the ladder you are in a perfect position to help the person below you. Instead they give them a boot in the face knocking them down further. We must re-establish communication. When you look around you if you see someone is lonely or troubled, speak to them. I find it amazing men will speak with devils, demons, and brutes but not their own Kin.



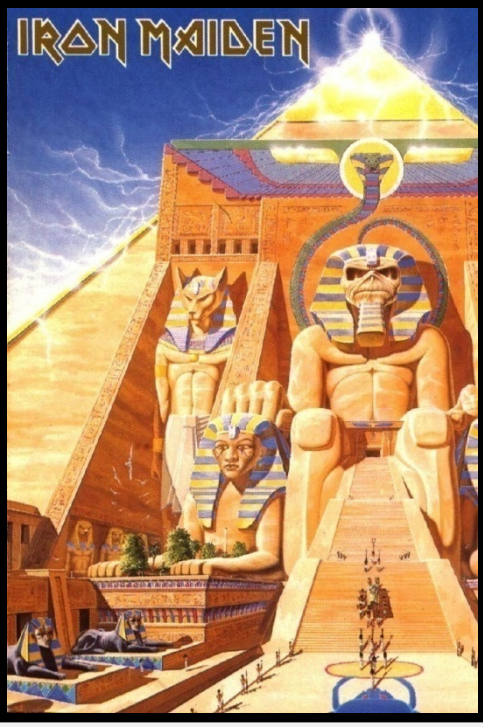
Reason 27: The unique blend of ethnicities is one of the greatest assets of Earth. We have so many things to share with one another while religion has kept us divided, teaching us not to mingle with one another. Our souls are all unique and none are the same thus we operate as a team with multiple functions endowed with splendor and beauty, it is only the blind that cannot see this.

People, no matter the color, never overcame and they still face a constant barrage of self degrading tactics especially by the sell outs of the Music industry bombarding the world with low frequency sounds. This is not just exclusive to the African Americans but all races that have members who in thinking of only of themselves have become the catalyst used by the dark Elite to deceive their people. The Brotherhood of Ma sent "Ma"hat"ma" Ghandi a firm contact of the Theosophical Society, as the Mahatmas and "Ma"treiahs have always been. They where sent to quell the disturbances in India with a pro-peace movement so the British could regain control as the uprisings began. The Indians, a people tired of being enslaved on their own territory by the British, finally reached boiling point. They pacified them through Mahatmas pro-peace teachings and kept them from taking back Persia until England could regain strength from spreading itself too thin in its hasty plans for complete world domination. Now they have turned their country into a giant telemarketing call center.

Reason 28: Modern research in behavioral science and gestures has shown all the individuals on the left to be insincere. The latest Lord Matrieya positioned in the center of Globalist Benjamin Crème is scheduled to make his advent once the U.S. Economy collapses. Lord Matrieya has already appeared in several countries of the Orient and all the Spiritual leaders are endorsing him. Matrieya says he is the Matrieya, Messiah, and Mahdi that all religions have proclaimed to be awaiting the arrival of. His miracles so far have been magnetizing water in which people can enter and become healed. There will be no limit to these types of deceptions in the last days as the science and energy of the body produces what appears to be miracles to people who don't' know they can do the same thing.

If you ask me did these men and women know how they are being used, I will tell you that I believe some do not. It seems they believed in peace so much it filled them completely beyond understanding of bigger pictures. They could not be themselves if it was under some type of false pretense, to me this is no different from the Pastor of the church, the Congressman with the beautiful

family and the great smile, the Bartender, or the inspired Musician who bring forth the works of degradation.

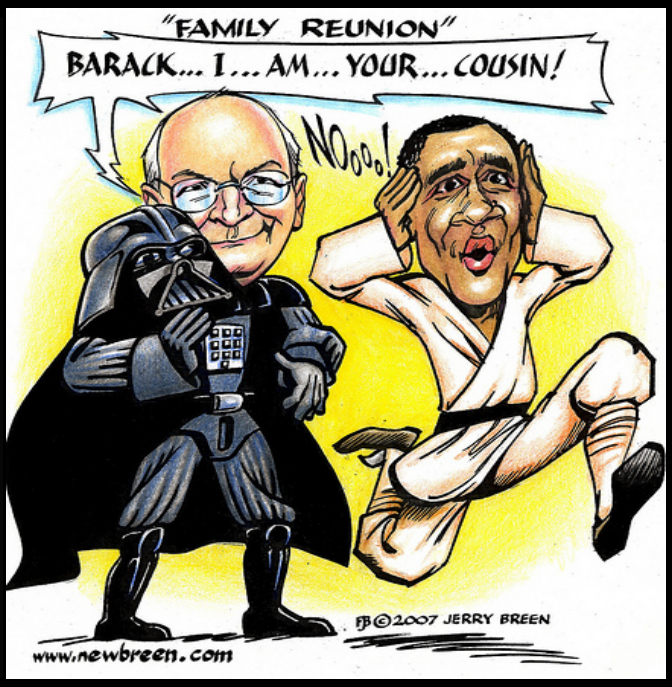


Reason 29: Media Mogul Shawn Combs is actually wearing the Maltese cross which symbolizes a heavier involvement in the Zionist Agenda. This cross cannot be worn unless you are an Initiate. Even Rapper Jay-Z under the label Rockafella Records could not use that name without some type of "granted" affiliation by civil law. They are willing puppets selling out to the Illuminists to push "Rape Music" that gradually destroys the mental and physical moral of the listener. Rock has always been a Tool and right now the pieces fit on why all this is coming about.

There are others who are very conscious of what they are doing. We find people like Emperor Hallie Salassie still revered by the war torn Ethiopians of Nubia who are clueless to the paramount role he played in subduing that once rich fertile country. He turned their remaining resources over to the Queen who he was in constant retinue with. You see the Jamaicans jammin' to Rastafarian tunes with little if no knowledge of who Ras is. Ras is another form of Ra/Marduk a God introduced into Nubia by Ramses II on his maddening mission to be the greatest Pharaoh to bring about conquest of the whole world. That position he never achieved thus he defaced the Temples and Shrines of the Egyptian ancestors removing the names and bodies of the previous inhabitants. Surely this was a dark man that would do anything for his personal gain thus he prostituted the people to the Gods of the Underworld more than any in his lineage.

Reason 30: First Hallie Sallassie was exiled from Nubia and reared as a child by Zionist. He is given a first class education and then reinserted back into Nubia where he becomes Emperor. He then proceeds to divide the land and relinquish its resources to the Monarchy. He is seen here with a Young Queen Elizabeth, Theodore Roosevelt, and the Pope.

When you see and study all this you begin to realize why not much progress in the right direction has been made for Humanity. The people we are taught to idolize, our Revolutionaries, Presidents, Dictators, Religion Leaders etc. are placed in front of us like a carrot dangles in front of a rabbit. We want to believe we can elect one person to handle all the troubles of the world so we can go back to our daily programs. It is decreed that until we come together and take control of our world, those in power now who do not care about Humanity like me and you, will continue to decimate it. As long as we keep trusting them and remaining lazy and insolent to what we get to do, which is take our world into harmony, we will not feel the yoke lift. As good people we want to believe that someone like Obama could change our course although every indicator told us he would not. This is no different than thinking Christopher Columbus discovered America when there where already entire maps conscribed before he was even spermatozoa detailing the whole world from an aerial view and it was not flat.



Reason 31: As shown on CNN Obama has more Elitist in his lineage than most Presidents in U.S. History. Zionism is not a color it is an idea that is not even Hebrew.

It is safe to say that what is put directly in front of us, especially through popular media, needs our personal investigation and common sense before it can be trusted. The shear energy of crowds envelops all who are in the midst. As hearts begin to sync up all are in the hands of the so-called world leaders and in the past, few have lead in the right direction as they grope about the darkness of Kali Yuga gathering all the resources for their private groups consuming far more than the average citizen and never loosening the yoke. We cannot continue to be looked at as resources rather than Human Beings. Taking the mainstreams word for it seems to always prove unintelligent, they are liars and they will say and do anything to make the masses disbelieve in what we have felt for so long which is that Religion, Politics, Social, and Educational structures are developed to hinder, not free the people less they raise the whole Earth which can be seen itself as a large ship, into the higher heavens that those that have fallen cannot ascend because it burns away all impurities.

The Gods need not money it is man who needs the money while the Gods divvy up what is more precious to them, the Gold or the Soul. With taxes taking 40% and church taking 10% what is one to do about the baby? The religion of Christianity has done enough on its own for anyone with a keen eye to see something may need to be questioned. Even the scripture says "the proof of wisdom will be within the type of people it produces". As I often say many of those who are in church are only there because of the "con"viction of the Lord, whatever that statement really means, it sounds more like a jail sentence. Anyone who does not see religion as simply stairs to the top will often get stuck on one level or another thus never entering complete enlightenment and only perceiving its premature phases. Enlightenment itself comes with having a firm foundation of truth, unshakable,

not able to be moved as it is fortified in exactness. That exactness comes when the real truth of whatever faith you elect falls upon your ears. At least at that moment you have an opportunity to really serve the God you claim to worship. You will now have the hidden doctrine of these faiths which is generally reserved for the Priests.

Reason 32: When Rome merged with Egypt they borrowed the Rites of Isis casting Jesus known as Iesu as the new Horus. We are not saying this individual did not exist he in fact did, however, what we are questioning is the final destination of the Christian soul which is the Underworld just like it was with the Rites of Isis. Ra is ruler of the Underworld he is better known as Amen-Ra. This is why all Christian p"ra"yers are concluded with Amen. The Latin word for prayer which is Oration indicates their power is in Orion.

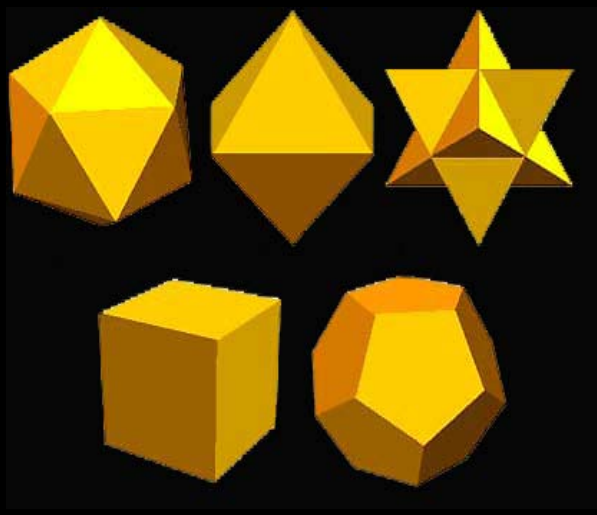
In 1999 a movie titled the Matrix was released and made its way to the top as the box office churned the propaganda machine with numbers rivaling Star Wars. The city of freedom they gave the name Zion, blatant Zionist propaganda as even churches pride themselves on being called Mount Zion. Just as Bob Marley heads sway to the tunes as he sings about Zion the city depicted as having no worries and this is anything but true. The defeat of the mind of the masses was subtle, not by force, when the flutes, cymbals, and lyres play then the formidable human force is lulled to sleep.

Reason 33: Many love the flow of Bob Marley's Rastafarian music, never once noticing the Zionist connection. When the shields of the mind are down the enemy is sure to invade. The New Age movement now insists there is no enemy and this is just a figment of a mental hologram, poisonous vipers their words are sly. We need to take back Earth or get ready to leave it entirely. What is to come can not be escaped this was set in motion a long time ago and does not reverse so we must work beyond it. They say humans unlock their true abilities under the scenario of fight or flight through the adrenals. Learn to simulate those expressions and began to work on you. Remember what is happening does not come from a particular race of people it is an idea that many are aligned with and has consumed their rational senses.

There were of course many things hinted and eluded to in the movie the Matrix itself that we now in fact find to be true from various levels. It leads one to ponder the exact design of what we are really faced with currently and in our not to distant future. What kind of force would show us in something we are supposed to find entertaining, that it has us trapped in an Oz like mechanical Netherworld where our senses and abilities are limited and our energy harvested? It beckons one to ask "Are we really in a Matrix"? Can we be pulled out of the Matrix? Is there an actual Code to the Matrix? This book will show beyond the shadow of doubt that the answer to the questions being proposed above is yes, and that is not all.

This book will awaken your memory and quicken you thus causing your DNA to reformulate which I will prove to be possible by the end of this composition. DNA itself is manipulated by the mental state, surroundings, and acquaintances of the individual subject. When any these are altered for a constant period the DNA itself also alters and reformulates according to its environment. This means that once you become firm about what you know to be true, especially about your special abilities that have been dormant, the DNA will reconstruct itself to make what you will believe again to be possible, happen. That is one of the main secrets of creating the Superhuman, you have to give it "Reason" to activate itself. This takes consistency and as we talked about earlier a firm foundation grounded in truth to what reality is, not what Maya or Illusion attempts to make you perceive.

The value of this to your future would be of catamount benefit especially in the world of today where knowledge is power. You can thus remove yourself from the cubes known as the hexagon or the bee hive. At one point long ago a jealous force recognized that certain types of knowledge meant unlimited power to those in possession of it thus much of the valuable knowledge was removed. All written copies were burned although at least one copy was placed in the 5 mile library under the Vatican. In replacement we received lies mixed with truth which does a horrible job on the mind as we watch the masses plug about clueless, still searching for themselves because religion has fulfilled almost none of its promises.



Reason 34: The Elite depict the world full of worker Bee's, trying to be something but they are trapped in Hexagonal cubes. This Platonic knowledge introduced the dark square or cube. Pythagoras introduced several methods of trapping Organic Spirit into Matter/Cubes. We will speak more of this later.

We are talking about the level of foreknowledge which gives you the ability to know what will happen before it takes place, this is the time it is most useful as things speed up. You will be able to do this without the aid of books and scholars thus you will be placed back in the driver's seat of life exiting the checkered cab. The issue we all individually face is that we wait to see what is going to happen next before we react; this is called reactionary. This leaves you with no preparation and little time or ability to shape the future. I say that one should confront danger and fear before they become closed in by it instead of allowing it to greet you on your doorstep while your loved ones are inside. Run and face it so you may prevent it or at least prolong it. This may in fact give those you care for the edge they will need to prepare. Again think of the 7 year old who will have to live at least another 10 years in this world and what they are to face in those 10 years. What kind of monsters have we left for them to battle? Supplying people with this information will at least allow you to say that you did the best you could, which is also why I write this to you before my departure.

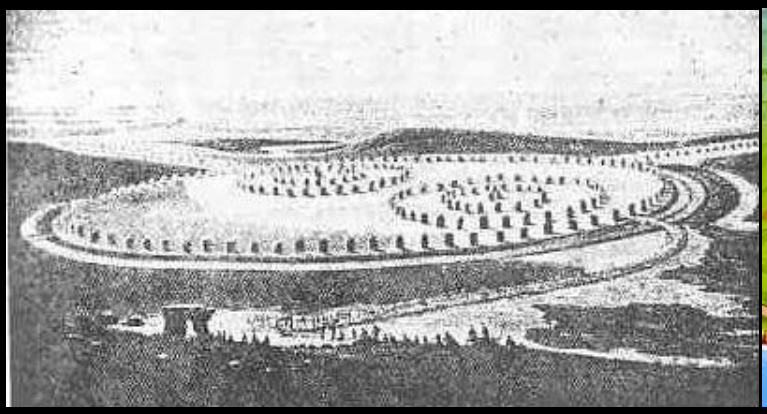
When comprising this particular work what came across my mind, since I had long since discovered "The Code", was to write a book that even when the reader is finished they could continue to write their own unique personal novel of experience. Due to the fact that we are all entwined in some way or another to what we are experiencing now in the world you will find amazing syncs in

your life that all roll into why you are here. Just because few are using the collective consciousness channel does not mean that it is not always broadcasting, we are always linked to it. In fact it is more like two lovers who have both fallen asleep on the phone and the lines remain open although there is no one speaking.

It is time you begin to unlock all the mysteries and most importantly yourself. Often I began lengthy writings only to leave them incomplete, pieces of these writing you will find in *Italics* throughout the book they serve as tidbits of poetry to ponder. The rabbit hole is far deeper than I expected in the beginning, not to mention the fact that after you get deep into the rabbit hole you must climb back out, which they forgot to mention. You do not want to be in any hole, trust me. When you learn the whole system, you will have so much knowledge you will not be incapable of fitting it all in one book. What should be kept in mind is once you start to "unlock" you will see what used to remain hidden, everywhere in plain view. This also means that everything is not contained here, only the framework that is needed for you to build your own ladder out of the Cube of Flesh into the Sphere of Spirit. After that the statement will come true that if the oceans were ink and the trees were pens you could still not write about everything that you will know in fact to be true.

With that being said I have done my best to narrow the book down to what is of highest worth to know. It was originally meant to show how words themselves play one of the most valuable roles in your individual awakening. That later morphed into a detailed story of our true past, present, and future. Even the Elite cannot simply say "the old language is no good anymore so from today you will use this new language". That only happened one time in history in the confusion of Babel, when tracing the story of Babel or "The Gates of Ishtar" a far more complex story arises than the brief chapters dedicated to it in the Bible. In the ancient texts one story holds about Babel. This Tower or Ziggurat had multiple purposes and it was also connected to a Gate, the two went hand in hand.

In most ancient tribes some type of structure was built to serve as the portal of communication between the presiding God/Goddess and the people. You will find a precise geometric layout of some type of construction whether stone alter, pillar, temple, hollowed tree, or various other portals. You will learn that the geometric structure, especially its number of sides, has everything to do with the type of energies being evoked and from what dimension, plane, expanse, or abyss they hail from. In Reason 35 you will see a rare picture of pre-historic London now synchromystically called Babylondon. It seems the Atlantian style art deco is preferred. The Pyramids have four sides because they are massive Gates to the 4th and 8th dimension. These dimensions although very different from the $3^{rd,}$ are functioning and highly populated unbeknownst to the masses. It is time to innerstand that multiple worlds exist already functioning, some far worst then the one we are currently in, and some in complete harmony (Harm Money) like a Utopia but not by that word, let's get there.



Reason 35: Ancient London was more like a rather large Stonehenge/Atlantis. Few know of this part of London's history and the ongoing attempt to restore its sacred layout. Notice the model of Atlantis as seen on the right. Later you will see this particular design can be found everywhere you find Atlantis affiliates especially in Government and Parliament.

What is most amazing is how the obvious goes totally unnoticed, this would mean that we are out of focus and we need to actually zoom in or scale down to look at what is right in front of our face, for example: Christmas is a anagram for Mithras once you remove the "C". Mithras Day was December 25. Do you think it would be of value on various levels to at least investigate who this individual is? What I find is those who think an inkling about their souls want to prepare it for afterlife. This would mean knowing as much as you can about what that involves rather than just imagining that being a servant in the afterlife forever would actually be a reward. This is what determines whether or not you end up in a place that will mean total freedom, or the opposite. Servants are always slaves to something. It is already obvious that our current Overseers seem to be very detached from the people, so this means you must build yourself to learn of the higher things. The future can only be the future for so long and then it becomes the present.

Another ploy is the fight we get dragged into all the time with these Two Brother Archetypes that appear in many religious texts whether it's the Astrological Jupiter Vs Saturn, Sumerian Allalu Vs Anu, Egyptian Osiris Vs Set, Hebraic Ishmael Vs Israel, and my all time favorite classic mind job Cain Vs Able. This is the roots of Duality.

After reading hundreds of Testaments, Vedras, Hieroglyphs, Steles, Tablets, and spending months in meditation on what had been gathered a very clear picture began emerge. When this quest began it was in earnest desire to find God. My ideas have never been to disapprove the existence of God or other Beings, only to create a clear path that I may enter in constant communion with them. There can be no benefit in falsely disapproving something that could emancipate us all. In addition I not only studied these faiths I immersed myself in them. There can be nothing more unnerving than someone ousting a religion that they have not even studied, much less participated in. What I did also since I was very serious about the quest was I sought to become the highest in each faith I was deluging

in. So while I was a Christian, I was a Pastor and Prophet, while I was a Muslim I was also an Imam and Sufi, etc.

There can be nothing more positively life changing then following the truth even when it goes against everything you have been taught. I believe many headlong in their religion have discovered through one book or another the true origin of their proclaimed faith. At that moment and subsequent times after, the person enters a strong duality phase. One side insists that it is the Wicked One who is trying to steal their faith. This side tends to use no facts only emotions barraging a person with memories of past divine experiences. The other side finds constant facts that debunk what the emotional side is suggesting. It often shows that paranormal experience should not be the only gauge of determining if something is true or false, especially positive or negative. Sadly the emotional side tends to win because a person has also gained friends in the religion, a home or fellowship place, and all these novelties weigh heavier on making the correct decision to disavow. As a Pastor it was hard for me to walk away from Christianity, however, since I was also infused with the Spirit of Truth it was even more difficult to keep denying the obvious which was its demoniac esoteric doctrine.

Once engulfing the Spiritual terrain there is indeed a common story, it is only the names that change. We will examine this story once and for all because it is the backbone of all belief systems which we will call ME's (pronounced Mays). Belief Systems and Words are ME's. In the Sumarian text it talks about something described as only ME's. If one gains possession of the knowledge of these ME's they can control large parts of this dimension. All authors on Sumarian religion never present a definition of what these ME's are just that they are very powerful. It is noted that the ME is not a weapon, they describe various weapons that belong to the Gods in the Sumarian text but they are sure to keep the ME's separate. The only hint they give of them is that they are written on Tablets. The resin of information that remains coated on our Aura of what happened in past existences will always serve as mental triggers for our minds. This is how stories of the our past is linked to religion in order to bring about devoutness, fear, resonance, and loyalty under false pretenses. I cruel mental scheme designed around ethereal based historical facts.

Reason 36: The Sumerians inscribed their religion on stone tablets that have survived since antiquity. All the stories of the Torah were first Sumarian minus the name changes. The ME's were known to be inscribed on such Tablets just as Moses was proposed to receive Tablets inscribed by the God YHVH/Tetragrammaton. Shem, Noah's son, also finds a secret stone with engraving from before the flood and conceals it from his brothers later to use its magical formulas.

I learned that some ME's were certain words of power encompassed by a doctrine that could be incorporated around those words. The one who controlled the Names could control whole nations. First we will examine the doctrine. There are things that have happened on our Planet that even reincarnations cannot completely erase the memory of and that is the flood. The flood is mentioned in every ancient text although it was not said to be related to man's sin but rather a natural phenomena. The "punishment for mans sins" story did not come about until the Sumarian and Hebrew text which mainly operated on fear and reverence of a Terrible God rather than unconditional love, this is obviously the product of guilt. The main reason for this being the leaders of these groups were always warring with surrounding countries so love was not a good angle for them, war, vengeance and favoritism was more ideal. The occurrence of the last flood has left residue in our Aura thus all stories that begin with floods are entertained by the subconscious because it knows for a fact the flood was true, the details are of course not available. Many people have a phobia of deep water because of the last flood.

The Ark is the other part of the subliminal entrainment of doctrines. The word itself resonates to escape something that is fearful and impending such as the Dark. It was known that you could

traverse the Netherworld on a Bark which meant a special boat. There were few who made it onto the Ark and those that did were given a Mark to show they had been saved. After the Dark came the Sun which we unconsciously assume will rise every morning. The Sun awakes the whole world and gets the next day started. The Sun and Son were made synonymous in English because of this. The Babylonia name being Sam, Son of Sam or is it Samson? The Son God religions embed themselves in the natural occurrences of nature. There is always a Mother sometimes two since we are in a binary system this always leads to one good Mother and one Evil or surrogate mother, Eve and Lilith. The Mother Archetype will always survive because the Planet can never be seen as anything different than a nourishing Mother, thus when a name for the Mother Earth was given all would revere it as they do their physical Mother. The name was spoken as Gaia then Maia/Maya then a thousand more. Often the Origin of the name was never examined; the people remained always too trusting of their rulers.

The dying and resurrecting Sun theme was all in a days work the Sun died at night and resurrected in the morning. This always left the door open for a host of nighttime nightmare creatures that played the role as adversary to the Son, thus the Devil became night/knights or Set as in Sunset still a Sun God nonetheless with a host of worshippers that gravitate towards darkness. Once this began the idea of a City with eternal light was hatched, a place that was never dark and of course there were requirements of how to get there. Those requirements where made known by the numerous Prophets, Shamans, Seers, Holy Men, Gurus, Yogis and various others playing the role of predictors of time. They later became just as revered and reversed as the God itself. Notice how in Christianity Jesus is now worshipped more than YHVH, many in church don't even known who that is nor do they care Jesus has it all covered. In Buddhism there is more discussions about Buddha than the Devine concept of the focal point which Buddha presented, this is no wonder since they say his mothers name was Maia/Maya, all around the world the same song. Various sects of Islam suffer form the same problem revering Caliphs, Imams, and Mohammad more than Ilah at times. The Rabbis get more air time than Ain Soph especially since they are convinced "He" is incomprehensible and cannot be conceived by impure flesh.

Last but far from least comes the chaos and destruction. Since mankind is not immortal in this physical state many assume a time will come for everything to die thus we falsely decree the Earth's time will come also. It should be obvious by now the Earth is immortal and passes through various phases. We watch it happen everyday as animals die, bugs die, we age, the house or neighborhood gets rundown. Decay is inevitable, however, the glass half empty approach of modern religion in which the whole world and most of its inhabitants must be utterly destroyed by plagues and horrors falling from the sky distorts an act that should otherwise be looked at as the entrance to a Greater Phase. The truth is the heaven and hell these distorted belief systems propose are one in the same. With their Spiritual technologies they have mastered how to keep the soul in stasis, true Spirituality is the growth of the Soul. This allows it to become quite the opponent to forces that would attempt to capture it once it escapes the body. Any Shaman can tell you this, when he/she enters the Spirit world there are various

things its inhabitants consider before they interact with the Shaman. Many Shaman have various types of protection but their main asset is the strength of their Totem. The Human soul is a force to be reckoned with when it is fully in tune, this leads to other Beings just leaving you alone so you can live.

Reason 37: Religion has constructed an entire ideology of afterlife that plagues the believers mind with absurdities giving birth to distorted forms and the imbalance of fear. When consecrated belief is put into such things they are given the energy to materialize and believe me they have already. Places like Purgatory, the Fields of Elysium, Hyades, Abaddon, the Netherworld, and many others really exist. Remember there are now billions of people who believe in these places and most end up in them.

The doctrines of today are combined in more or less a religious buffet based on collected information gathered over time. Some systems more creative and poetic than others although the story itself only served to captivate and implore the Neophyte, it was the names which are vibrations that created the "staying power". All throughout this work we will be examining various names of

power. The commoner is enticed to a place of worship for one reason or another. The High Priest, however, must understand how it all works especially the Spiritual realm. Chanting is a major part of Priestly duties beyond ritualistic observances. What chanting does is bring the body into the frequency of whatever Name is being chanted, once the frequency match is accomplished the portal is open. We are the fifth element being comprised of Earth/Flesh, Water/Mucus, Air/Breathe, Fire/Blood and the Fifth which is the Devine Breath liken unto fire none can produce save the Most High. Many have tried and reasonless abominations they continue to bring forth when "Practicing" as Doctors and Magicians tend to call their Art of non-perfection.

One of the real reasons this is happening is the Most High has decreed all will eventually return to the Source and it does not exist in time thus it is extremely patient. It also says it is sufficient enough to rule its Creations and does not need representatives that claim to magnify but in all actuality block the way. If man or woman wanders off the true Path they easily lose focus by being divided amongst Gods vying for power splitting the person's energy at least 3 ways which they call the Trinity. Instead of following these Gods who want sacrifices and servants all the time I went to look for something that is not as petty and sadistic and guess what I found it and I'm giving it to you. When you give something good out you get the same in return. That is what we were supposed to do no matter what everyone else is doing. Just remember if they don't know "The Code" their entire form as it exist before you is being effected in more ways than you can even conceive so you can afford to give those you have grudges against a pass.

This is pre-history, however, Gods abound across the globe in various lands and they are increasing. This is because the term God is being used so loosely you even have people saying that they are God. I know the popular argument is God is experiencing itself through us. This is another one of those things that just sounds good and is never questioned. The Most High brought forth all experience from Itself and shared it with us as a gift, there in no need for The Most High to live through us, I'm sure better things are entertainment for an All Powerful Being building multiple galaxies with a spiral force than playing the Sims with Its Human creations.

The truth is sayings like this are fuel for the ego, which can make us think a little too much of ourselves while still not in constant contact with the Most High. We are living in a society where most things related to paranormal and esoteric matters that have been proven are still hidden from us, imagine our maturity rate compared to freed societies. With the Entities the stronger eventually becomes the victor and they are warlike Gods. The Most High is not involved in such debased and petty things; this is the key to proper distinguishment. With the Gods their strength comes in numbers, those numbers are individual Souls who get caught up in the religion and die with it freshly on their mind and aura. Its time you finally get the truth so you can be what your dreams used to say you were when you were a child traveling worlds with endless imagination creating things in your perfect undistorted image.

I will make it clear if it wasn't for the brain screwing by those sinister groups that administer Medical Drugs and Procedures, Cartoons, Candies, Toys and Education to kids while they are in their most sensitive growing phases, naturally we would have a beautiful world full of joy. For those that came out ill they would be showered with love and positive vibration. This would bring up their frequency thus curing them, simple. So there is someone to point a finger at and this is exactly why the New Age movement has hatched, because people once again are rising up as the burden is getting heavy. One now has to work 2 or 3 jobs to keep things going, not to mention their habits and they are tired of this and with just cause. Silently we know this is not our fault and when I found the Code in the language at that moment I knew it wasn't the peoples fault, before then religion had me thinking that it was because they didn't worship the right God so they were suffering, or it was some past karma form another life so they were paying in this life, I would silently think, what, can we be sure of that?

Reason 38: There can be no doubt the Elite are implanting the children with corrupt ideas. They propagate and insinuate war while the child is still growing; thus it becomes more natural later on in life. It is no "Sur"prise to see the Dragon and Skulls mixed in with this poor child's cache of death dealing plastic.

This is what I came to stop, the misinterpretation of the Most High and I give my life proudly exposing everything that I can to make the world better and to restore the power to the people for free. Why not it is a noble deed, what else do we really have if we lose the Earth and don't know where our next home will be? People expect the afterlife to be some big happy festival where something invites you into a higher realm with rivers of warm Honey and Milk, streets of fine Ophaz Gold with

Gems and Diadems running through the current of Sweet Water cool to the touch as compatible Mates are all around you basking in the glow of the God. You can see how that can lull a person into a deeper sleep then they already are in. What is being described here is something you can have on Earth, the real Heaven is much much more, if you but knew.

Medical drugs are now, according to rehabilitation institutions, far worst than street drugs. This is not suggesting one should use street drugs, however, we should find it daunting that our organization formed to look after our health are actually the orchestrators of a slow mental and physical arsenic death cycle. It is now known that Alzheimer's disease, the disease that makes the elderly forget all their precious memories, is mainly accredited to the cocktail of drugs given to them prescribed by the doctors intentionally. These drugs contain high amounts of Mercury which melts the brain as chemical ether melts the soul away. Even the word retire (Re-Tire) tells a person to go back to sleep, incredible! The chemicals in baby formula are mostly metals exhausting the child's natural nutrients like enzymes in which never develop again once they are depleted.

Reason 39: This man was prescribed all these drugs over time for chronic pain, the more he would take the more they would prescribe. Since the doctor is only interested in billing the insurance company they don't really care. The medicines in fact caused the continuous pain.

Many of the individuals who work for the organizations that administer these things are unaware from the sense that they have been compartmentalized in the mind. The dream of being the doctor with the white coat, sloppy handwriting, Rolex, and BMW infested the grid that we all plug into. Compartmentalization is done through the language. It takes at times thousands of years to alter a language and since words are really vibration the actual true meaning can never be destroyed, you feel it through emotion. Of course many things will be exposed and made known to the reader that is riveting. I would only ask that one should not concentrate on what they do not know but rather what they will and should know. When something is introduced that is new it is often times rejected at first, this rejection is really fear. It seems we often forget that this is how we learned everything that we

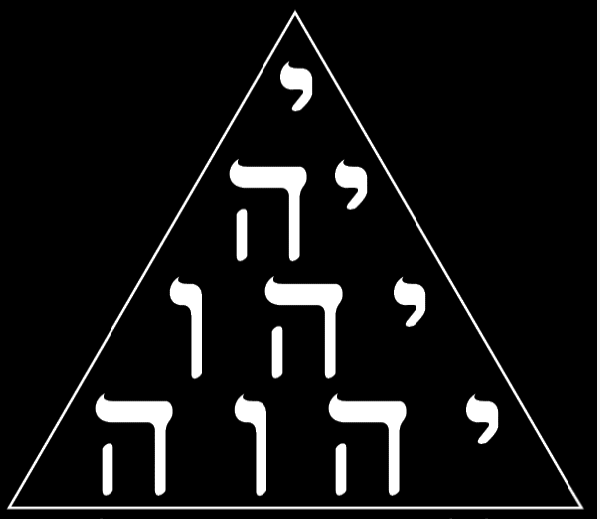
know right now. At first it was new, then you learned and practiced it, and some things you even perfected. New always equals fear at first, something like your first on stage recital especially if you had a speaking role.

I will tell the reader now, nothing will be the same after you finish this book, it cannot be. The world itself will open for you and you will be given back what we have unknowingly given up or lost which is true choice. I will also say that what I offer is the truth, nothing more, it is the persons own unique decision, after it has been restored, that although the facts will be made clear beyond doubt, to ultimately believe and react to what surrounds you at every moment is your own individual responsibility. The system itself is comprised in a way to make the individual feel a dependency upon it and a false love for it; this is what keeps an Illusion solid. This becomes the key to determining whether or not you are prepared for ascension (Ascend Sion) during this lifetime or whether you need to come around the loop again. So wasting no time at all you may accompany Us in a journey through the rabbit hole, trust We know our way around as true light does at times pass through the lower regions of Hyades as a box is the final residence of all foolish men, Kings included.

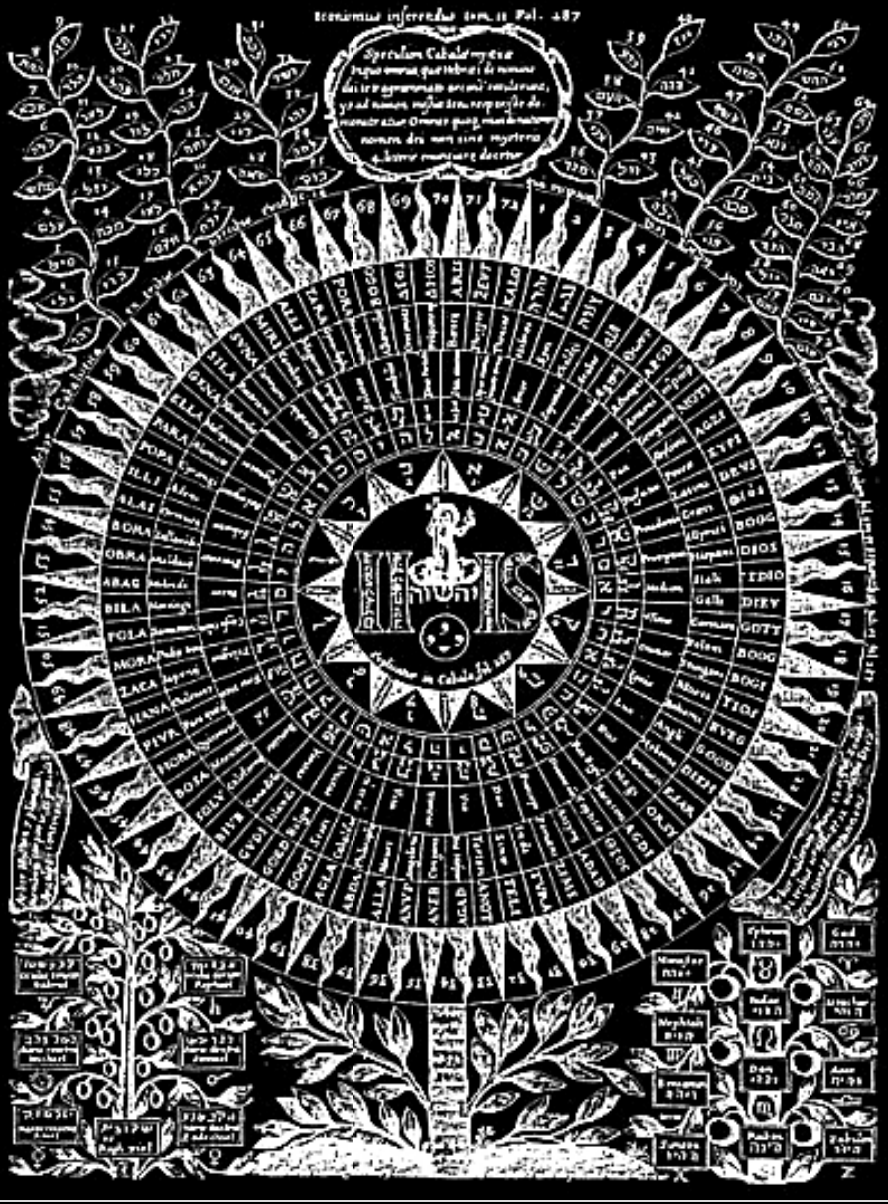
The Word

How this all came about this thing we call the Matrix was through a play of words. Language is the Microsoft Windows or Unix for the brain. The Bible says, "In the beginning was the Word". This did not mean the whole book because it would have read "In the beginning there was a Book" but instead it refers to an actual Word that can create things. This ability is referenced here in the first book known as Genesis. Since we are in the Image of the Creator we can do smaller versions of the same thing depending upon how well we understand the ability and how to use it. Although the need to create a new World/Word is now at hand the gap between creating multiple Worlds and creating the things within worlds is vast, thus the original keepers of this knowledge used this ability to form many things after the first creation; we will call them "Secondary Creations". These Secondary Creations were not created by the Most High but created by the Beings the Most High created, this is of value to remember how to distinguish one from the other. Through the real Kabbalah, that 4 letter Word, and its many formulations were made known to a few men and that gave the original man the ability to step onto the level as baby creators.

The word Kabbalah itself means Oral Resuscitation which means that the true Kabbalah can only be given verbally due to correct pronunciation of these words of power, it is never written. When this knowledge of such magnitude came to be known across the land two more Kabbalah's where introduced, the first being the Abjad, the Arabic Kabbalah, then came the Kabbalah of Canaan or the Grimores of which the latter can be easily downloaded from the internet, while the former has remained hidden. Imagine how many people downloaded a copy of the much more common Cabalist Grimores when Madonna proclaimed she was studying Kabbalah.

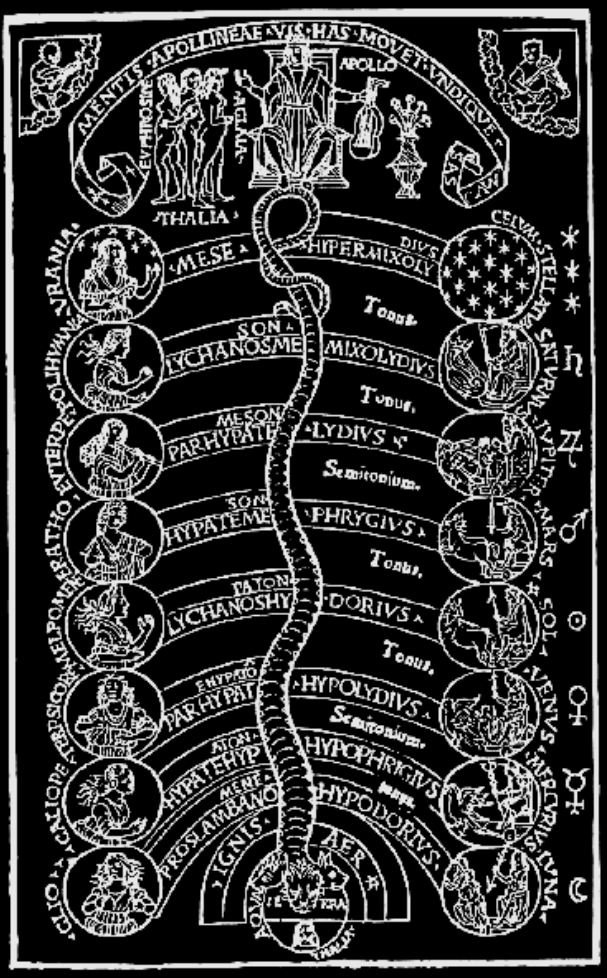


Reason 40: YHVH known also as the Tetractys or Tetragrammaton is the Name Judaism and Christianity revere as their Father. Tetra means four 4. Forefathers



Reason 41: This chart known as Shemhamphoresh survives from antiquity although not very legible. You can see the Name DIOS on the right side of the wheel. In many Latin countries they refer to God as DIOS however He is but one out of the many Names constructed in Ancient Kabbalah. Many of these Names are reported to be Ineffable meaning that one should never utter them verbally but should only contemplate them in their mind. Uttering them off the mouth is said to be a sin because the flesh is impure. Such tales kept the people separated from the true Origin of these Beings since when uttered they are enlisted to appear at some point, however when they arrive one must gird themselves to deal with such strange overwhelming forces.

This particular Kabbalah which we will call the Written Kabbalah of Cain was known through circles as the Lesser Keys this work was eventually identified as a text of dark magic responsible for uniting man with horrid beings from the lower dimensions. This did not stop its reproduction, just as books like the Necromicon, the Book of Shadows, and the 6th and 7th Books of Moses are easily available and many have become possessed reading books such as Sepher Raziel, Sepher Yetzirah, and Sepher Hashmoth which are still in mainstream production as people are subtly coerced to lend an open ear to the dangerous degenerating Art of Goetia, the evoking of departed Souls and lesser Jinn.



Reason 42: Various Cabala's were formed as many descended the inverted tree of life which as can be seen here lead to heavy serpent and beast worship. It is unmistakably obvious that this has gone beyond some mere hobby for wise men; this has become an Art that has corrupted minds and made men into the pawns of spooks.

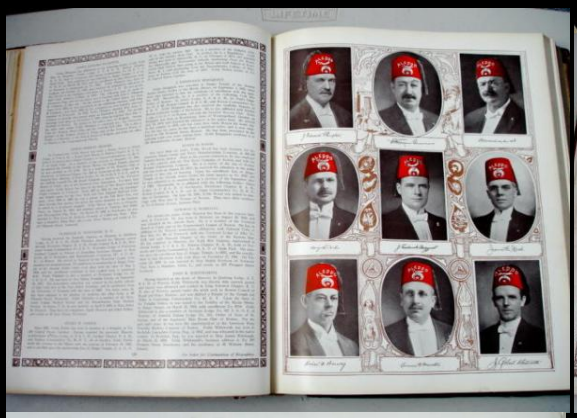
Let us keep this in mind, if you are a powerful high vibration Being and someone from Earth is summoning you its obvious you have no time to fool with the Earthlings to do their selfish bidding which generally involves controlling people and making money. Being very different the lower Forms

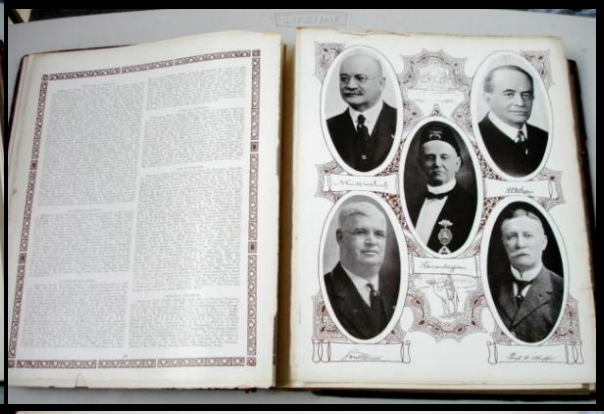
have something to gain by making pacts and acquaintances with Humans because they are on lower dimensions some of whom have forfeited their chance of ascending, what a loss they have lava to drink.

To sum up Kabbalah for the reader I will give this explanation. The original oral Kabbalah consist of only one word that masters every spirit energy on this dimension. The entire body was put into formulation to pronounce this word. The written Kabbalahs have been proven to a degree to teach the Magus how to control droves of elementals that can be bent to the will of the Magus, however one should keep in mind that the use of these Beings to gain advantage in everyday life rather than doing it naturally always "spells" trouble. It has been documented several times that these Beings are very different from Humans, being lower life forms they have only one ability, thus their name Elemental meaning simple or base, a controller of one element. They are referred to as Sylphs, Undines, Gnomes, and Salamanders which correspond to Water, Air, Earth and Fire. It is known that they often play tricks on the Magus, hiding things, and breaking things, which becomes a can of worms that the Practitioner wishes they had never opened, those are the normal experiences. Deeper forms of this Practice have lead to haunting, unknown strangulations and death, as the otherworld will continue to entreat the Magus driving him or her mad especially in Goetia were the departed souls drain the life force from anything alive in the vicinity when evoked, especially the Magus.

Reason 43: A classic depiction of a Magician who has evoked too many elementals. The art of magic itself is very real, dark magic is dangerous and leads to encounters that can stunt the Seekers growth. Magicians have been known to also create two part Beings known as Golem to do their biddings, there is now concern in certain esoteric circles in regards to Golem who are said to be revolting because they to are evolving and want to be free. Stories such as Solomon controlling Jinn has fascinated many into believing that it is mans right to control the Jinn. The attitude of seeking to master something you do not understand will always lead to trouble. There is generally no trial and error or learning curve in magic. One mistake can lead to a lifetime of problems.

That one Word mentioned above and its correct pronunciation was lost because of abuse and was before then only known by the High Priest who learned it from the High Priest before him. The Name was said to be pronounced only once a year during ceremony. The Name itself when pronounced responded instantly with no delay thus the Name was alive and not dead like the many slow responding Idol Gods of the time. Although I believe the true Name was removed long before then, the Holy Name possessed by the Hebrews was recorded as lost during the time the Romans sacked the temple of Jerusalem. It is said in legend that the High Priest was caught up by a fiery chariot into the sky just so the Name could not fall into the hands of the profane. The Arabs protected their secret Name so tightly that few know the Abjad (Arab Kabbalah) even existed. The Shriners', Aleppo and various Secret Societies for Spiritual adepts studied under the Arabs.





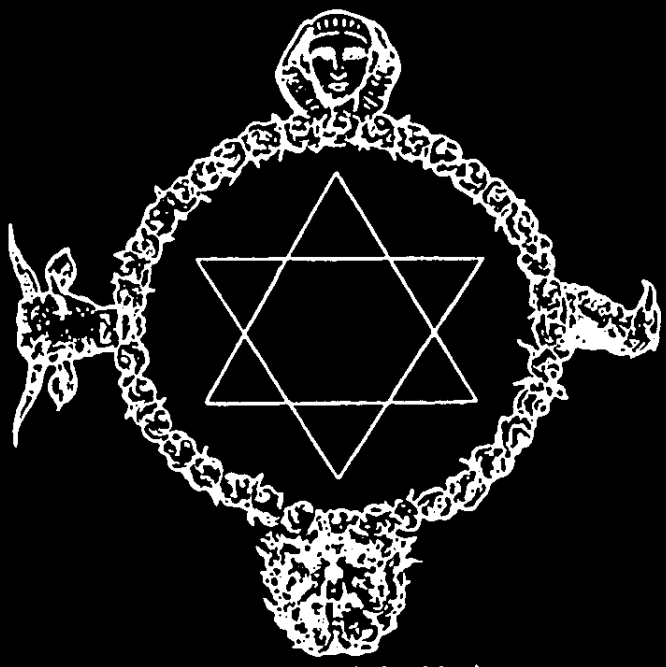
William Jermyn Florence, 32°,
Who introduced the Ancient Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, in the Western Hemisphere.

Reason 44: Westerners went to Arabia to learn the esoteric wisdom of the Arabs. When they returned to America they used what they learned to gain control of the whole country. As can be seen in this rare book, they own all things of importance like the Railroads. Even Forbes grandfather is in this book!

The written Kabbalah of Cain was purported to be the Path of recovering the original true Name of the Lesser God after you descended the Tree of Life like a serpent and met the Pantheon of

hosts of whose Names and position could be deciphered by working through combinations and equations. It is safe to say many became lost and possessed as they attempted to make brutes as allies. Its claim that one could arrive at the original name through contemplation of 72 Letters and Numbers has remained unverifiable. In Holy Languages the letters also double for the Numbers. In the end many became insane moving the letters and numbers around and bringing forth energies untold. The Art itself gave birth to what we know now as Sorcery the control key being the Tetragrammaton a 4 sided cubic diamond also known as the Tetractys made of letters and Numbers with 18 functions or Luciphers, I mean Ciphers. Kabbalah is a life study so explaining anymore of Kabbalah here would only be confusing for the reader, but not for me and I will tell you just as you see the word Tetra meaning four, Grams, and Tons, these units of Spirit energies can overwhelm the mind and if the person is not strong their senses leave them forever and the body becomes the host of 4 counterparts. The have named this state of insanity the Jerusalem Syndrome.

The Cherub of Ezekiel


The Crown of the Magi

Reason 45: This is the symbol of the Magus once he has joined with the 4 animal traits he will no longer be the ally of normal men he feels elated over his fellows.

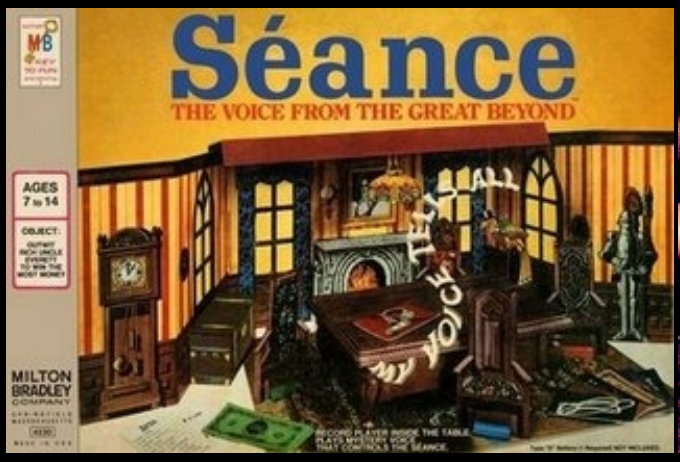
The deepest and darkest part of Spiritual knowledge lied within the Art of Goetia and Necromancy. Apparently this ancient knowledge from Sumeria eventually spread to the Western schools of thought creating multiple offshoots. The Necromicon, the Sumerian Spell book of Marduk/Ra was the Initiated Doctrine of dark occults, few Initiates knew this. What I find even more interesting is Marduk had three main enemies one was Tiamat. Tiamat was the old Name for Earth before Earth had its last encounter with Nibiru also called Planet X. One of its orbiting Moons slammed into what is now Earth but was then Tiamat. This indicates even more that a war took place

in the past involving these invaders who had some issue with the Planet we now call Earth. Even known powerful Adepts like Eliphaz Levi who many believe along with himself was the thrice born Hermes/Thoth in his last incarnation advised to stay away from Goetia, and this comes from a man who practiced almost all forms of dark magic. He purported that this was the worst and had extreme negative results that were far reaching extending into the Spirit planes of past and future.

Reason 46: This is the Seal of the Necromicon of Marduk the sworn enemy of man, if you see it, head the other way, Necromancers are lower life forms looking to gain energy. They are distorted and not fully developed thus they know not what they do and have no guidance save their dark lord who is blind, We shall use his body to stir the Lake of Fire. The sigil is a series of imperfect pentagrams meaning flawed.

Necromancy as a game entered the U.S. through the Parker Brothers and Milton Bradley who where Illuminist themselves. First it came as the Ouija board and then the game Séance. Once the organic portals, "Humans that sometimes have unknowingly formed pacts with Spirits per game instructions" were open, it became something of a greater proportion. This was the knowledge of the Ghost World which was populated with lost dismembered souls looking for answers and various other 2 dimensional Spirits. These were those who had spent life in vain and thought death was the end, many Warners we sent to them and they rejected them. As you notice in Christianity they speak of a Gospel (Ghost Spell) and entreat the Holy Ghost. What business does the church have with these Ghosts? Someone call the Ghostbusters.

Again the only one really responsible is the individual person. There is definitely a point of no return and that point is reached at times within the first ceremony. If you could see the spirit world, which some already can, you will see that many are watching and waiting for the opportunity to weave their way into your world. These days many have already let them in. Look around your whole habituation and see how much evil is resident manifesting in the forms of skulls, guns, horror, harsh music, and killing games. All this carries energy and at a certain point it can overwhelm your atmosphere unknowingly if you don't keep balance. Why do you think media is still stored on magnetic disk? What do you think happens when these disks are stacked or even spun at high rates of speed? Negative magnetic information generates and emits a field of binary aura that fills large areas.



Reason 47: Most never questioned why these games entered the U.S, who brought them there, and for what purpose? This dark Art was made to look like fun and was everything but that. All the tools were in the box to open a portal to the lower dimension or your money back.

Looking deeper we find an ancient text explaining the final termination of the first round of early Earth Gods that ruled mortals through Oracles and Pagan practices. Along with the captured Gods more than 8 million Warring Angels were carried altogether to Makavishtu, in hand, the Most High says: We cast them into the unquenchable fire where there was already more than ten million who were in chaos and madness. For awhile the Earth was clear of the Gods, whose chief labor had been for thousands of years to capture the Spirits of the recently dead, and make slaves of them for the glory of the lesser kingdoms. Their end was swift just as one rises and falls in power, however, the cursed Magicians invited them back into this realm once more, and the people, ever lacking in reason, welcomed them back by their abhorred actions and impurities to no extent.

Some of these Beings are further along the evolutionary cycle than we are, thus they appear as Gods to the primitive. The Art of Deifying or creating Gods was perfected in Egypt. They discovered upon death that if a person knew the secrets of the soul they could become like Gods to the mortals,

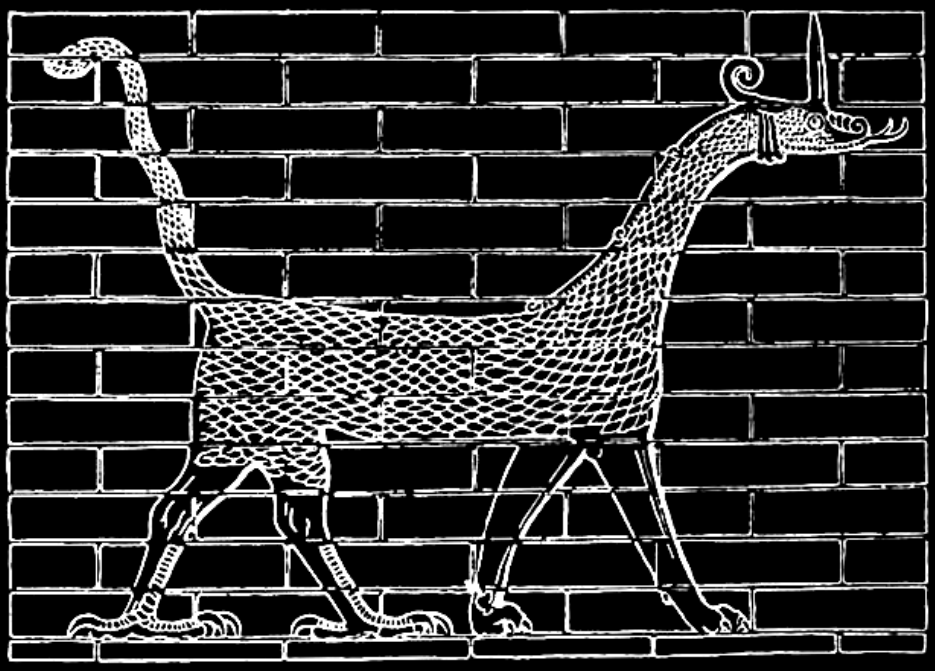
living on the dimensions below them. This feat involved forever relinquishing a chance to ascend which believe it or not many have accepted. The gravity of dissention at a certain level is too strong to turn around. Notice Grave and Gravity are almost the same word not to mention you go "6" feet down in an 8 sided box. The "Dimensional Transport Ritual" still stands today in the western world. If you notice in the Arab countries the dead are buried immediately in a white sheet, no box, and faced toward the East.

Reason 48: The Saturnalian ritual of the eight sided rectangular box insured the departed soul was transported to their dimension or sealed. It exists today without the slightest notice as people are unknowingly being boxed up and transported. As the scripture says "the day the dead will come out of their grave", because many are trapped there. We should ascend the moment we are released from the body however the disposal of our shell must be back in the dirt, from dust the body comes so it must return.

The God making business set some men up to became Lords of the Underworld and its grotesque inhabitants. Egypt was first known as Kem the descendants of the lost Atlantis then Ogygia in esoteric circles a name long forgotten. Also called Sidian by the Mystics where we get our English word City, then Egypt by the commoner. Much later it was found out that the word Genesis actually was formulated from the words "Genes of Isis" or "Generation of Isis". None of these are Hebrew terms. Even the word Bible comes from the word Byblos which is the place Isis set up worship to mourn Osiris. Likewise Ishtar did the same with Adonis long before the Holy Bible and King James were thought of. The Hebrews now refer to their God as Adonai, this is Adonis. Decoding the Bible you will find that all the prophecies are occurring exactly as they have been foretold. This is because millions of people believe the prophecies of the Book will come true due to their religious preference, thus they are actually happening because we manifest what we think collectively out of thin air. I for one know that prophecies are for profit and that will become more evident later. Many have attempted to authenticate when the Books of the Bible were written, after many investigations it was

at least safe to say many of the Books were written long after the actual events took place, thus the details are solely dependant upon at least second hand information which is always partial to who is telling the story.

I once read an ancient transcript of a meeting that took place between Kings and Emperors in regards to powerful languages. Being a person that sought to model myself after wise men I was curious of why there was such emphasis put on the formation of languages. I soon discovered that language codes and directs the mind and this was known at least since the time of the ancient Arabs although evidence proves way before then. According to the Bible at the Tower of Babel man faces a confusion of languages by the God and that is the word used, confusion. A few chapters later the same God remarks that He is not the author of confusion. Huh? What is all this about? This made for quite a puzzle for me that made no sense.



—DRAGON FROM THE ISHTAR GATE IN BABYLON

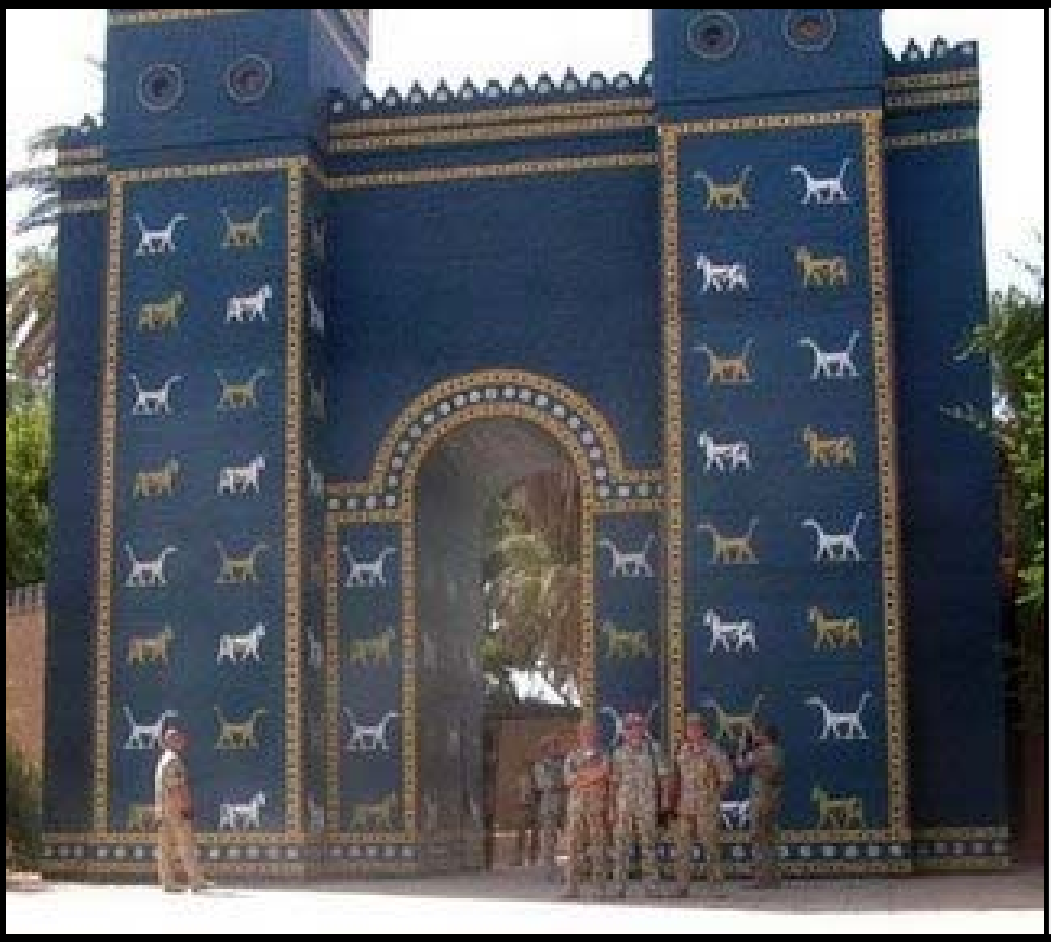
Reason 49: The Dragon Hath Horns of a Stag, Head of a Camel, Eyes of a Demon, Neck of a Snake, Belly of a Clam, Scales of a Carp, Claws of a Eagle, Soles of a Tiger, and Ears of a Cow, by these symbols you will know them.

Parts of the puzzle we will unravel slowly so nothing is missed. The Ishtar Gate is one of the most controversial relics known to man. Just as the pyramids are gates, the Gate of the Ishtar also known as the Gates of Ilu were first located in Ur. This was the first gate ever constructed to open the Portal of Inanna/Ishtar/Ashtoreth/Astarte/Asherah/Venus a channel to androgynous vampric serpents and various other life forms that hang out in Club Shemhamphoresh. She is Inanna consort of Marduk/Ra also called She-Ra and Rat, connected to the Seven Sisters in the Pleiades their protector the Dog Hyades/Anubis they are Ma, Maia, Ma'at, Mag and Mary who give power to the Magus with them is the Serpent Sor who is the Source of the Sorcerers power of Hathor. This is the Dragon its first depiction then called SUSA our abbreviation USA land of the Serpents who guard the Sedona time portal to SIAM. Their Art is sedation which brings about delusion and seduction. When

approached by these Beings one feels a pressure around the anus they are androgens thus they masquerade as female and male this is God "S", Dragon Queen or Drag Queen.

They falsely Illuminate men to the wisdom of the Serpent thus eliminating them from the Great Race, this is the Gate of Ilu. Many Men have made Ishtar their consort and then have been betrayed such as Sumerian Gilgamesh and Solomon. As the scripture says "Solomon went after Ashtoreth and sacrificed in the Groves and the High Places and after this his wisdom was naught". This is the Bacchanalia, Temple Prostitutes, the Cult of Yoni. They have connected with many of the daughters of the Gods called Fates, Ferts, Nymphs such as Morganus, Medusa the Gorgon, Persephone, Europa, Nemesis, Sothis or Sirius, Sekhmet, Saba, Sofia, Nepthys, Nut, Kadesh, they have legions with them they are Succubae draining vigor from their captives.

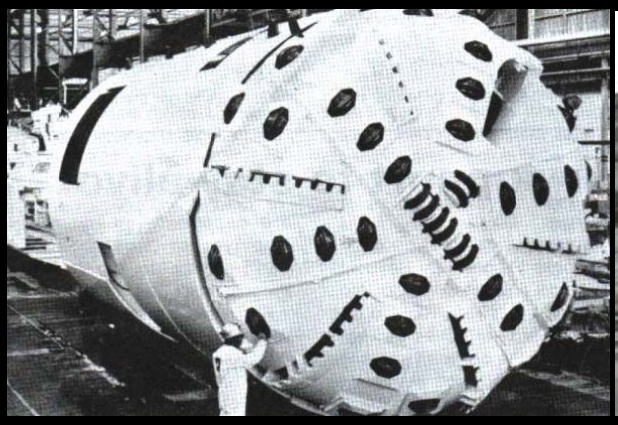
Many an overambitious power hungry fool has wandered down the path of false Illumination and few have return. In Ancient times men would war against each other to find favor with Ishtar then erect a High Place in her name to serve as a gate or portal, this is key to know now because you will see them everywhere.



Reason 50: The Gates of Ishtar the main reason we went into Baghdad above the oil. Who ever controls the main Gate controls all subsequent Gates. Those on the ground in Baghdad said "the first thing they went for was the museum with a team of individuals that looked like they stepped out of a James Bond film. They were definitely looking for something, some type of artifact or relic".

Another use of Ziggurats like the Tower of Babel seen in Reason 10 were as Arks in which several had been constructed through various times to escape floods. People of the time seemed to always have a foreknowledge of these floods whether is was through the Adepts or by records left by

previous civilizations. As said before the Ziggurats had various uses. Our current world leaders have all of the information in regards to not only future floods but also which land masses will submerge as the world adjusts during the Shift, they will give none of this information to the common people and it seldom leaks out. Instead they continue to extend the underground caverns for themselves, building space cities, and terra forming other Planets securing their future. The new Tower of Babel is in Dubai, Marduk/Ra finally accomplished what he set out to do which was to build the tallest building in the world. Through ancient geography we learn that many regions that are deserts now where actually oceans before and you are looking at the sandy bottom of them.



Reason 51: Many indigenous tribes left several warnings about Earth's flood cycles. They also had higher consciousness to astral travel to other places before such things occurred. The Elite are expanding their underground domain in preparation of future cataclysms; these machines borrow 3 miles per day and pave the wall behind them at the same time. Inner Earth cities are beautiful.

Reason 52: The new Tower of Babel the tallest building in the world, built by the construction company "Wafi" which means "One who is Loyal to Pharaoh" that Pharaoh is Ramses who was the fleshly vessel for Ra. Keep in mind these Spirit energies are immortal and they incarnate into willing vessels who are all connected by bloodline. In the last Olympics the Chinese Government showed their alignment with the plan of a new world order as they danced around the Tower. This is why many of the Chinese people protested, unfortunately to no avail. What the world leaders have done however is revealed their true identity. This is priceless for the Guided, truly a big answer in a world full of questions.

"Tower of Babel"
(by Pieter Brueghel the elder)

"Memory Tower"
(from Beijing closing ceremony)

Language allows us to communicate and express ourselves embedding itself in the framework of our mind or mental Matrix. When the words we use are manipulated by the developer of the language, it is possible for us to think and feel like we are saying one thing but in all actuality we are saying another which would change the outcome of our intended desire. The most damaging thing about many languages of today is they are not only backwards "Back Words" as the word indicates but they are also heavily laden with the names of various Deities from our past fetish with Pantheism. It is now evident that many words with certain vibrations pull energy while others restore energy; this was shown through water crystals. Our body, being 70% water, is extremely sensitive to vibration. Thought is also vibration and this is how thought forms are created and given life.

It is apparent that in the history of man and women there has been lots of meddling with negative energies which can be seen within our warlike nature and bloody history. The development

of weapons began the downward spiral. This art was blamed on the Fallen Angel Tubal-Cain the Kenite Goat God who in legend taught man how to fashion the first sword from a plow share. From that point man looked for anything to make a better weapon to pummel and plunder his brother. The discovery of gun powder and various other explosives by the Alchemists produced a fatal time of misuse of energy that continues more now than ever. It has also morphed into genetics. Everything is alive so imagine what Radiations character is. Our "Kind" have become fascinated with force, not energy and ability which is entirely different. It can be looked at this way: Some things are passive like steel, we can fashion it into a plow, till the soil, and bring forth abundant food or we can make it into a gun. This is my definition of "Passive Energy". Then you have things like Mercury and Radiation that have no nurturing assimilation for Human beings they are what I call "the Force". Their use is generally to deteriorate anything they come in contact with.

When asking about the various fuels that are used as food for different energies and spirits I learned that first it was Plasma the lower vibration Beings fed on, the wars were fought with swords and the blood was up to the bridle. Many ancient accounts note that the battlefield when war was finished would glow with an eerie light and you could see gaseous life forms absorbing the energy of the blood. In time "Ra"diation was in preference, the nastier the element the more degraded the Host that feed upon it, this is the wisdom taught by "Es". Now you see they are using depleted "Ur"anium and you should know enough by now to get the clue on where the Hosts that feed on that energy come from.

Our history also shows that many have had a fondness for worshipping and serving rather than mastering and leading. True Spirituality benefits the one who is able to enact such rare talent as communion with the Most High. What remains is religion which for the most part borrows from everywhere orthodox faiths and tales of Villains and Heroes may have sprang up. Where most people get lost is being able to imagine this unseen world is real. The world we live in now is very populated with other forms of life. In history these Beings were given names in which many people, especially those that speak the languages of the Latin Vulgate, evoke everyday. As the wise men always knew behind your words lies a certain force depending upon how serious you take it. If you speak only idly there are those who take that as an opportunity to release you of your power and use it at their advantage, they understand how it works. Of course the biggest move is to detach you from belief that such things could be possible. The names used for these Entities have survived without the slightest bit of notice by the average person, until now. The one that can control the tongue is on the path to controlling their thought, and not before then.

Reading a book from the 1800's in regards to making Spiritual contact will shine light on just how lost and off track many have been. This book proposed that you must wait for the New Moon, burn some wheat, be sure to face the west, wait for a certain star to appear, look up to the heavens and say this prayer while gripping firmly the throat of a frog. The prayer itself was a combination of Holy Names some I recognized to be in direct conflict of each other. I thought to myself then, surely if one

must do all this to contact the Most High then maybe we are lost. Of course one does not have to do all of what was described to make contact but let us not believe someone has not tried this recipe of foolishness and reaped the results. In addition when the unseen negative forces perceive that one will go to extremely barbaric lengths to make contact, they normally lead the person into a whole host of rituals which tend to involve sacrifice and blood thus they never meet the Most High and are headed in the direction of a place foreign to anything made of flesh, with no light to guide their steps.

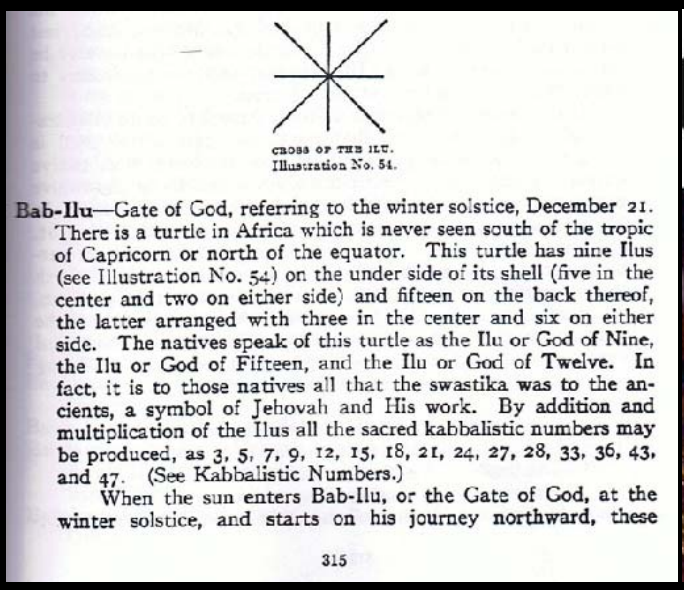
We are now living in a time that it is almost necessary for the religious system to "re-boot" due to the amount of legends, myths, and fables that have been all rolled under the subject of Spiritual Ascension. This book to me was a final effort to get a rope around all the belief systems as they continue to merge becoming more and more difficult to weed through and track the origins of. I'm sure that if something is not done now, the future generations will have a very difficult time telling truth from falsehood if this is allowed to continue. This book is a key underground tool for innerstanding whatever happens in the near future and getting through it. History books continue to be revised as more incorrect information is added. If you notice the hive mind mainframe, Wikipedia, now the number one portal for information, constantly updates their data and they are owned and operated by the Elite. I've witnessed various alterations to certain topics which take a person completely off the mark of Truth of the topics of high importance.

Before we move further I will state again that I'm not at all an advocate of Christianity but it is now a fact that the Catholic and Christian religions have restarted a much older design and have introduced it to the world under new packaging. Some addition name changes and a sprinkle of hyperdimensional magic is all that's needed to mislead the masses. This makes it of value to dissect certain things that we know about the religion in order to fully perceive what is really going on today. You should keep in mind the amount of followers dedicated to each belief system thus the direction of energy and how it flows about the world you currently live in.

Although you may have opened your mind to search for whether or not there is more truth out there, many refuse to read anything related to the subject of Spirituality. Another portion will not read anything else unless it is the Bible, Koran, or the particular book attached to their Faith such as the Book of Mormon. In fact these religions teach that one should not read anything else less they become lead astray or should they say, led to the real truth. One is looked at as a devil when asking too many questions and they are often rebuked. There are the others who get lost in all of the complex disinformation produced in works such as Liber 777 and various other novels that claim to be references on the meaning of esoteric knowledge, its symbols, etc. Besides avoiding falling asleep while reading these tales one is sure to get the feeling they are following someone who has no eyes, guide dog, or cane, they bring a whole new meaning to lost.

That of course is for the confused wishing to be witches, the Illumed knows of things entirely different. It is nothing like the exhausting sagas and ceremonies of the witches. Direct and constant

contact is necessary and thus I will reveal how it is accomplished. The Eight Pointed Star is that of Ilu. To the Illuminati this also signifies all Eight legged insects, such as Spiders who weave webs. At the entrance of the Bohemian Grove where their rituals take place it says, "Spiders weave not your webs here" indicating they cannot use magic on brothers, however, the masses they prey upon. This Star is also used in their evocation and transportation to Venus and various affiliated locations.



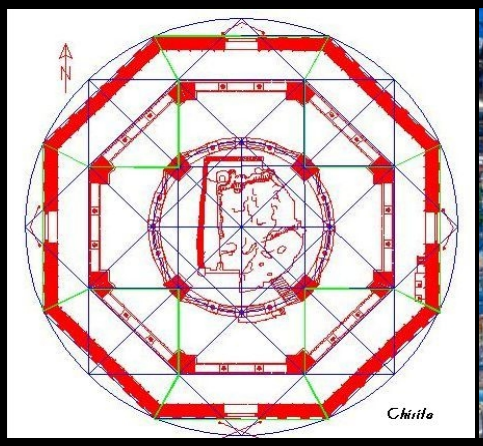
CROSS OF THE ILU.
Illustration No. 54.

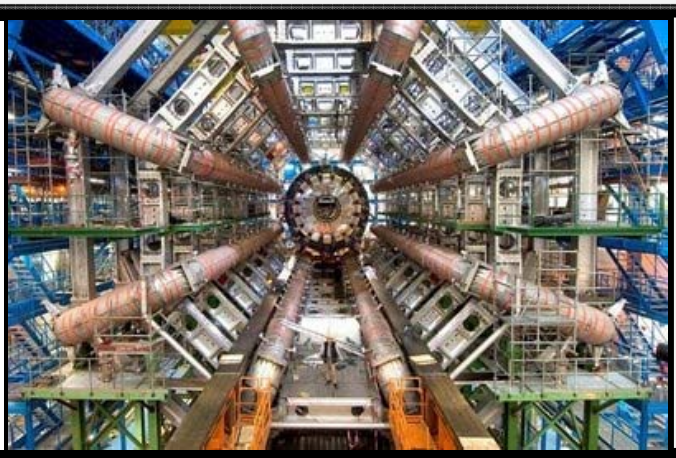
Bab-Ilu—Gate of God, referring to the winter solstice, December 21. There is a turtle in Africa which is never seen south of the tropic of Capricorn or north of the equator. This turtle has nine Ilus (see Illustration No. 54) on the under side of its shell (five in the center and two on either side) and fifteen on the back thereof, the latter arranged with three in the center and six on either side. The natives speak of this turtle as the Ilu or God of Nine, the Ilu or God of Fifteen, and the Ilu or God of Twelve. In fact, it is to those natives all that the swastika was to the ancients, a symbol of Jehovah and His work. By addition and multiplication of the Ilus all the sacred kabbalistic numbers may be produced, as 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 28, 33, 36, 43, and 47. (See Kabbalistic Numbers.)

When the sun enters Bab-Ilu, or the Gate of God, at the winter solstice, and starts on his journey northward, these

315

Reason 53: This is the cross of Ilu. What should be drawn from this is the Elite use an 8 sided portal for hyper- dimensional travel and as their insignia. An Eight is also known as a double cube or Solomon's Temple. 4+4=8. This star is generally behind the head of Jesus when he is depicted.



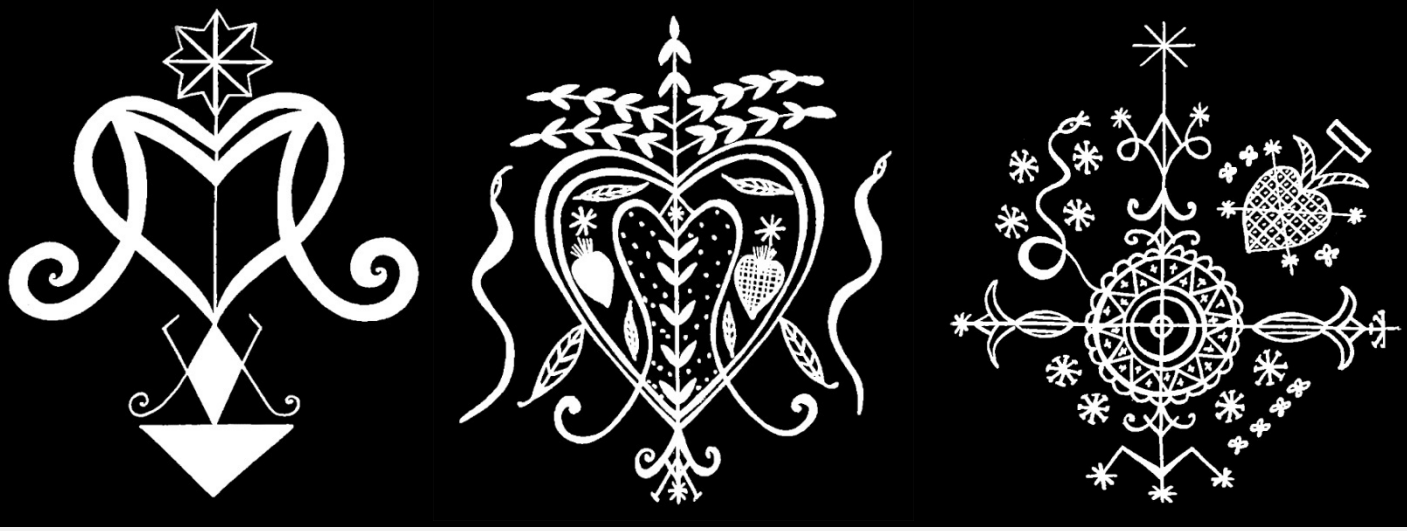


Reason 54: The gate configuration of the Dome of the Rock and CERN both are portals.

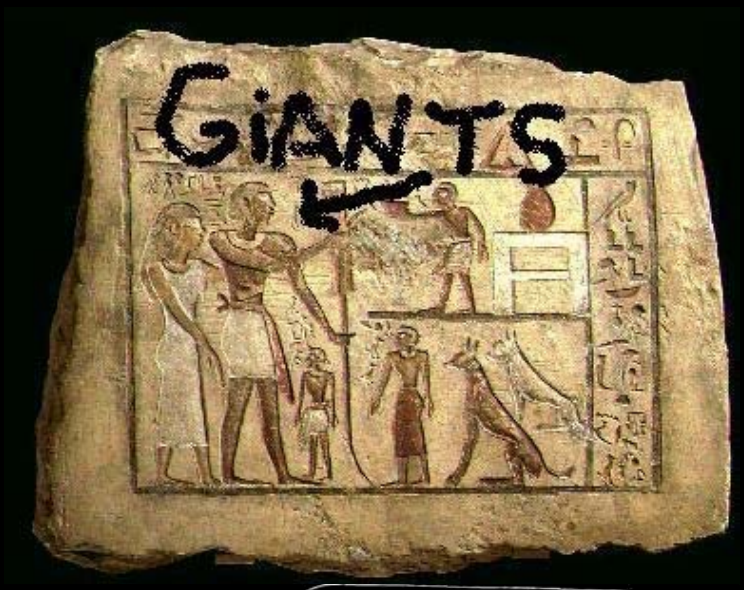
The word we must introduce in the Code first is the "OR". The "OR" has meant since ancient times the Gold. As a people we have always been mining Gold whether it was the mines of Nubia, the Gold Rush of North America, or many of the indigenous tribes throughout Central and South America. It was also known to other Beings that the Human soul was the real Gold, they sought after it within our mind "Mine". The Element gold itself was known to carry a special vibration due to its conductivity which made it in fact alive and able to channel wealth and material energy. Gold emitted

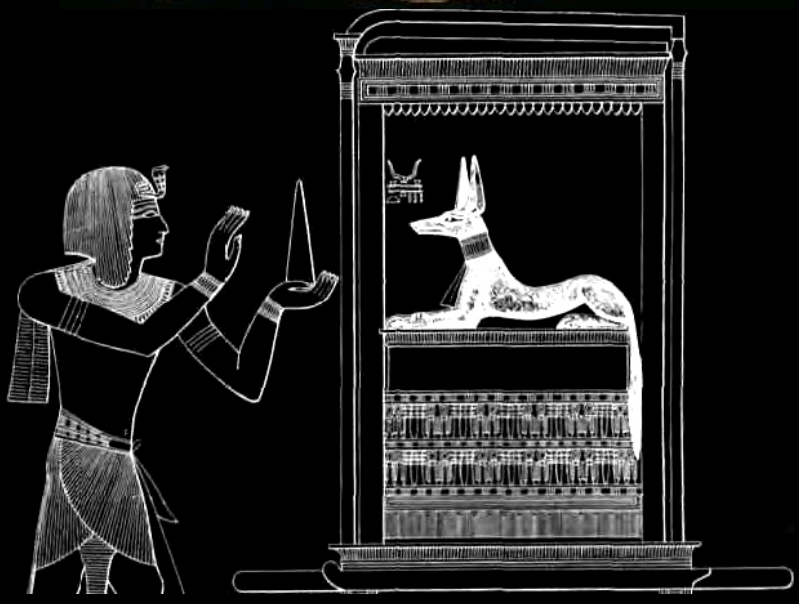
a certain type of energy that kept one on top in the material realm not to mention what it did to the soul when it was ingested in its Monatomic state. Monatomics also known as ORMES was the preferred Spirit enhancing elements of the Alchemist. Against common belief one did not have to be a chemist in order to make Monatomics, they were often located in the desert in dry lake beds that the Sun had cooked for hundreds of years. Caravans would collect this substance and peddle it as secret salts at values higher than Gold. This is the legendary Salt worth more than Gold.

This is also why the Pharaoh's entombed themselves in Gold and were found in bask reliefs consuming it or being offered it by the people in cones. It has always been the most common standard for currency despite the introduction of more expensive metals such as Titanium and Platinum. Gold symbolizes the Lion who you even hear R"oar". The Hebrew word "Ori" means golden light, and there is also the "Or" and "Ori" in Orion the most known part of our galaxy next to the Milky Way. In Yoruba or Voodoo they evoke Orishas, Gods who do their bidding at the cost of various sacrifices. I will not heavily elaborate on this word now. You will soon see in time why the "OR" leads to everything going on here in the w"or"ld. You have the words "Ori"ginat"or"and Creat"or" could any words be more powerful than these? This is how the trail leads right back to who fashioned it and they cannot escape it as you will find. One of the first Egyptian Gods Ptah is anagram for Path which is the word we use to refer to our Spiritual quest or personal road. In order for the system to work and in "or"der for our minds to be fooled we are made to subconsciously believe they are the creators through word play, which they are not. So the next question would be of course who are "they" and this we will get to in due time.



Reason 55: These Talismans' are Voodoo veves. Amazingly the Elite are also using Voodoo which is another Venusian dark Art. The dark forces are in leagues together, the common symbols we use everyday mean things much different than we assume. For instance the heart is the sign of Erzulie another name for Venus. The heart is not a symbol of love but evol/evil. You will see these two snakes associated with the Goddess even more as we go, and of course the M.





Reason 56: Another Golden Age was the time of the dominion of the Pharaohs. Eating the Gold/ORMES/Philosopher's Stone amplified their Spiritual stature. ORMES changes the cellular structure of the DNA to various fractal patterns of Sacred Geometry. Aegyptus who escaped the catastrophe of Atlantis is who Egypt owes it current name to, he was Atlanto-African. In Atlantis Venus was the head Mistress being worshipped among the Daughters of Poseidon they were known as Hesperides which also linked to the Seven Sisters of Pleiades. Amongst them are Aegle Mistress of Magic, Erythea Mistress of Earth, Arethusa of Hades, vestals attending the shrine which was a Tree which bought forth "Golden Apples" set in the middle garden of Atlantis.

I will take a moment to elaborate a little more on the Code Breaking witch is Spell Breaking. What you search for first is the smallest word of importance that you can think of let's take for example: JAIL. Now it is actually the guttural tone and key spelling that you are searching for as everything is a vibration. That would then make the word, JAEL. It is of value to go to this extent so you can see all the words that are not so positive but used everyday as such. So let us begin.

AEL- Ale: This is the word for the intoxicating mind numbing drink of poison bluntly and rightfully called Spirits.

Reason 57: We have never had a President in history that showed bluntly he was a drunk. This was to send the subliminal message "you can drink and still be President."

BAEL-Bail: This is not only one of the main Deities of the Babylonians but also the term used when you need to get released from JAIL you must be bailed out by the bail bondsman. It also means to run like never before.

CAEL- The "K" and the "C" make the same sound when solo thus there is a more deeper meaning not to mention "X" can be manipulated to make this same vibration. What you have here is one of the most dangerous words. KAEL, KILL, to temporarily terminate life.

DAEL-Deal: Of course everyone loves a deal but this is what got us into the financial mess we are in now. Think of this, in antiquity there was such abundance barter was not even the form of transaction it was giving. We had no reason to even keep food because it grew everywhere and we loved it fresh, especially when we were on the right diets. No wheeling and dealing.

EAL-EL or L: As you see this is the keyword, it is also a one Letter word which makes it a "Core Word" when pronounced. The bible says "and the Elohim said, let us make man in our image". This is the controller of the Matrix from multiple angles personifying itself as various Deities. L is also an upside-down 7 which is the sacred number of most belief systems.

Reason 58: Another depiction of El Saturn gliding through always sure to keep the serpent affiliation somewhere in His depiction. This is Sat, Sam, San, Sar, Sab, Sac, Sad, Sag, Sal, etc. Sargon, Satan, Santa, Sacrifice, Samael, Salamander, Sabbath, Sadistic, Sage, etc. Many of us have these words as the roots of our names, colonization was truly about deluding and mixing bloodlines.

FAEL: Fail: Besides its obvious meaning which is to not succeed it is also the past tense of Fallen. The story is really here. The Angels that fell they are the fallen ones. I will bring up now that most religions still share the same 4 Angels from Catholicism, Islam, and Christianity even in Hinduism they talk of Michael, Gabriel, Rapheal, and Uriel.

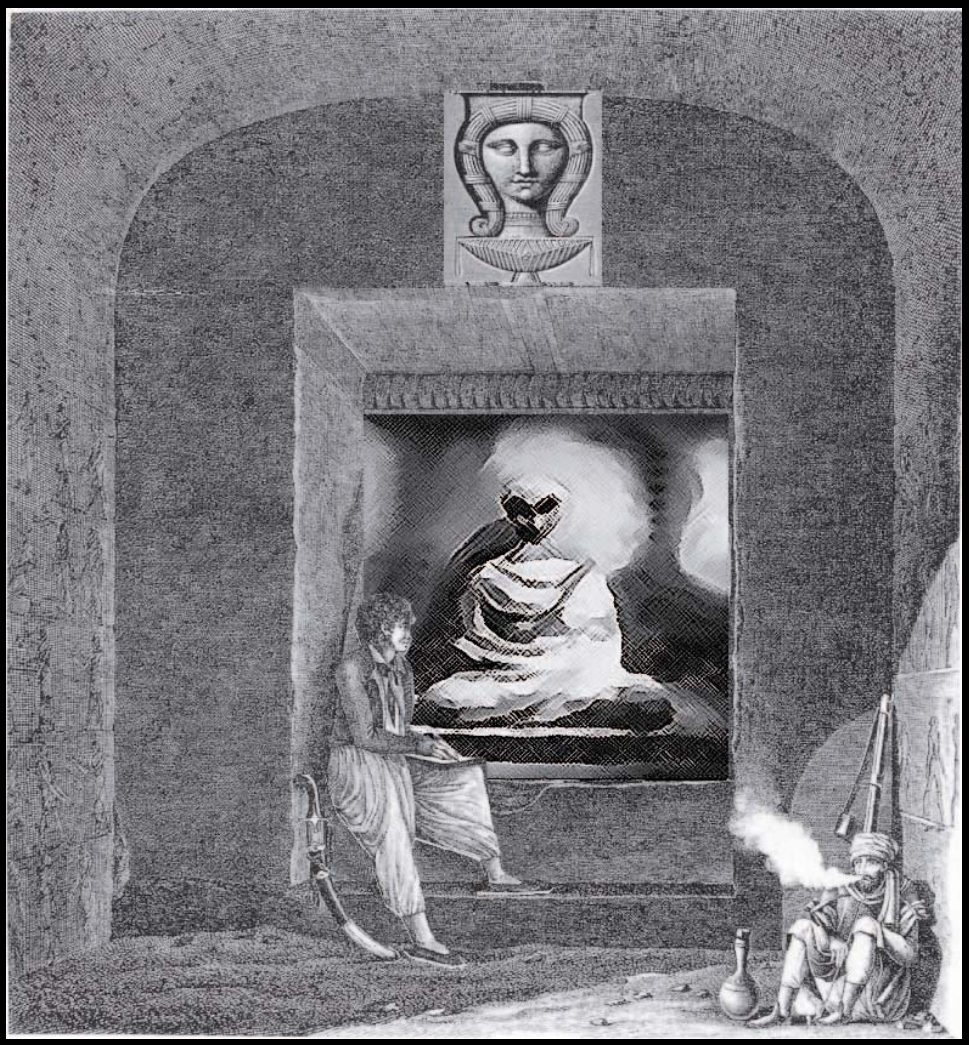
GAEL: The Gael with their mystical Ogam script can be found in various parts of interesting history as their leader Wooten was known to discover America and parts of Canada setting up trade routes before Columbus was thought of. Wooten is where our word Wednesday or Wooten's Day comes from. This is also the name given to a destructive wind.

HAEL- Hell Hail: Again besides its obvious meaning, this is also a term used to salute various high rank officials' especially in the German army. Since in ancient times you would name your forces according to where their power "hailed" from. As you see in the Bible they say the good Angels come in Myriads and the bad Angels come in Legions. What would it mean to re-legion? Would this not mean to gather more troops to a previously depleted Legion? Even deeper how did their Legions become depleted anyway? Could it be that that various beings such as the Venusians had been defeated before and fled to our Galaxy? I believe so and that is why we have to make sure to not join their ranks and if we know we have joined them through one folly or another, disavow.

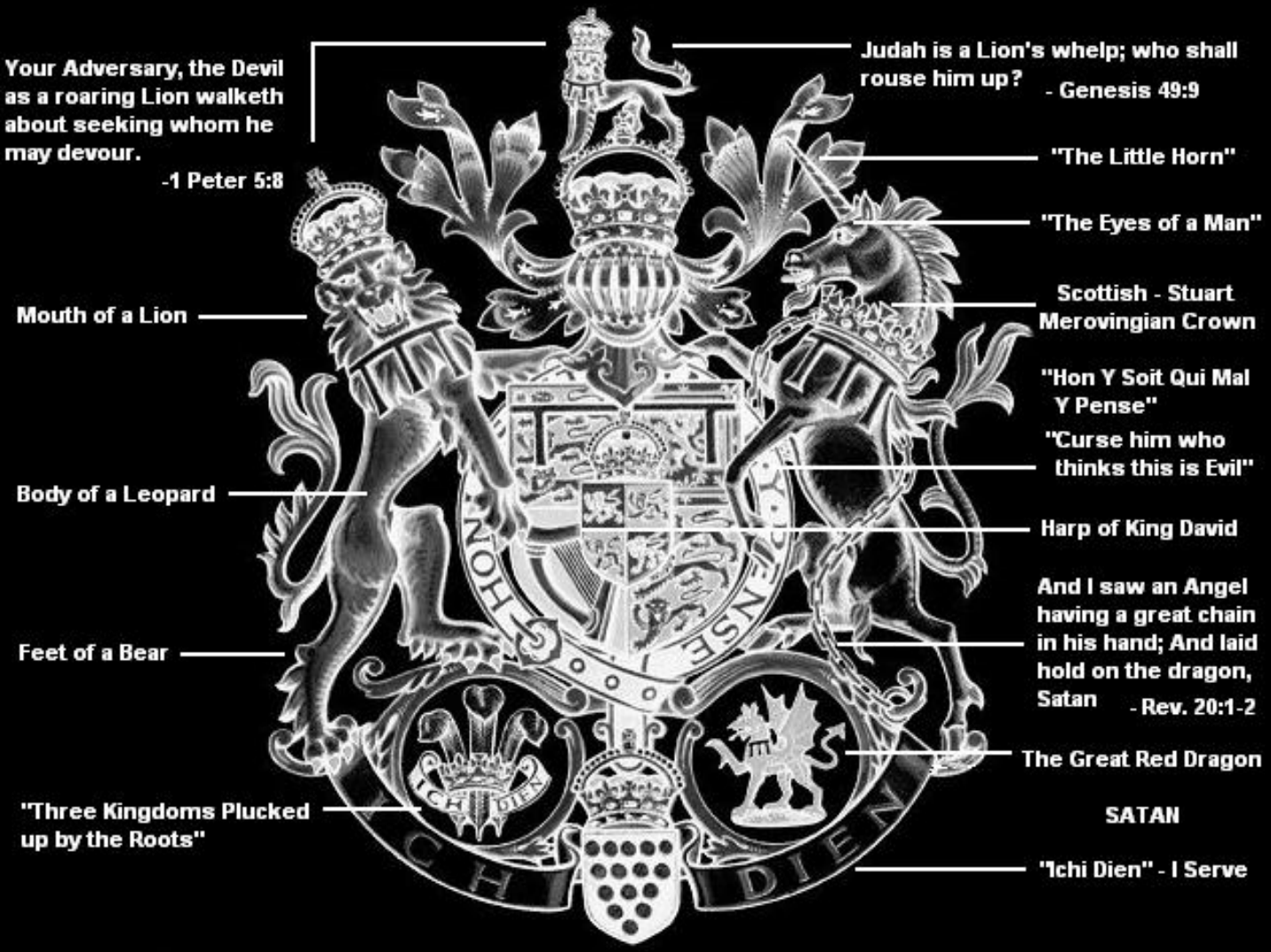
IEL- Ill: As in not well, sick, like the so-called Illuminated Illuminati and their Illusions.

JAEL- Pathetic these losers are using magic to imprison people thus most criminals are really victims. The Code is so heavy it is a wonder we all aren't insane criminals even though many are and silently act it out in their mind or on video games. Behold look what things have come to man traps his brother in cages like animals for profit. The legal system itself I took personal interest in. All the Post Offices and Court Houses that belong to the United States are all built with the same Granite no matter how far they have to ship it. This granite comes from "El"berton Georgia. Crystals and Stones

can be programmed with intent, and since all the stones come form the same place it all holds the same unique frequency. The police officer is a Mason, the Judge is a Mason, the Lawyer is a Mason and the Prison Guard is a Mason. From the time one gets in the system they are in the hands of the Masons modern day slavery chain.



Reason 59: One of the Unseen Hands of the real Illuminati. This is how they have received information of such high caliper on the subject of Galactic domination they do abide by a strict Hierarchy. Those who join are so far on the bottom of the pyramid they get crushed by the Titans on the top thus they are putty in the hands of these Beings who must be dealt with by the "Enlightened Human" on Astral Planes. One cannot concentrate too long on why they are doing this the Light does not comprehend the darkness.



Reason 60: Another part of the Unseen hand is the Red Dragon they are not shy in telling you they serve him. Their symbol is also the Lion and the Serpent, false Wisdom and Nobility.

"Evil has found a willing servant."
Spoken by *George Bush*

LAEL-Leo: The Lion who has been "Lying" since the beginning proposing to be the "Li"ght of the world and the King of the Beasts. The best depiction of the Lion is on the Wizard of Oz" and they now lack the courage to face what they have done.

MAEL- Male-Mail: This is the exciting part about the Code. Sometimes you crack into things that have such a deeper meaning that you know you still have a lot to learn. This is a powerful term all the way around. It is used to denote the masculine sex and its relationship to Ma. A book written on Secret Societies spoke of a Brotherhood of Ma that predated most Secret Societies, period. This Brotherhood

was said to be in conjunction with Mars and Maldek a Planet in our system that was destroyed. This is also a form of communication and a form of armor as in "Chain Mail".

NAEL-Nail: I was in deep meditation one time and I was asking about the "T" and why it was so important to Christianity as in the Trinity. When I finally got a response it said "the "T" is a nail James and that blew my mind, obviously I get excited easily, but seriously I knew there was defiantly a connection with Jesus being nailed to the cross which is what they emphasis the most when they re-enact that whole terrible scene of the sacrifice. Nails and hooks in magic all have some weird dark use. What is being clearly shown is sharp objects that poke like forks "The Devils Fork" Swords, Daggers are all tools of darkness. The Devil is often call "The Nail". This doesn't mean to freak out next time your at the dinner table but what you will find is most indigenous cultures eat with their hands. Cutting and poking things clearly has its own subconscious effects and was the real sign of savagery.

OEL-Oil: The destruction of mankind on Earth. I was swimming the other day in the Ocean and I could not help but to notice the amount of plastic washing up on the shore. Since I feast on vegetables and fruit I can throw the rinds and peelings in the compost but the plastic must be thrown in the trash. I started noticing just how much plastic is really in circulation just between bags for nuts, groceries, zip locks etc. Every time someone tries to disarm your intent on changing things attempting to make you believe that everything is okay and its just all in you mind, think of the plastic, when they try to Namaste love and light you telling you to consider only yourself, consider the plastic and how its choking and suffocating our Mother. The Government could ban plastic right now and big industry would be forced to use the alternative that has already been laid out for them but they will not do it because we have to overthrow them on the Spiritual Plane first. It is there things can be handled, it only takes one of us and thousands of them fall by the waste side, mighty we are, Immortalis.

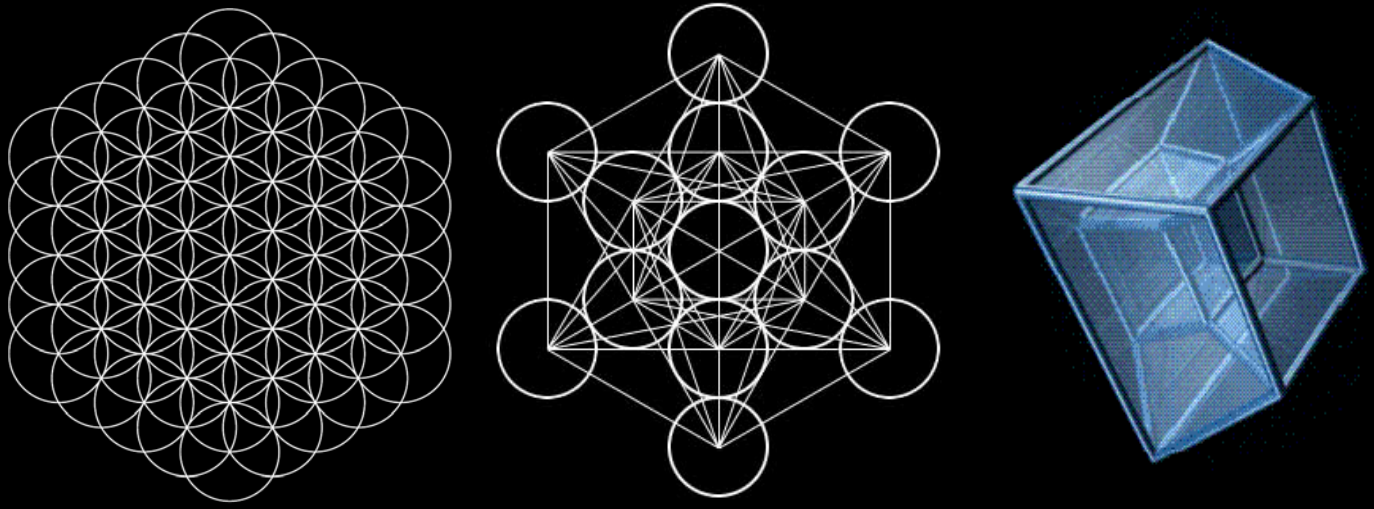
PAEL-Pale: An Angel that spends more than seven days on Earth is substantialized and becomes pale and opaque. Many of them dispersed into Canaan called afterwards, "Pale'stine which is now Israel. They swept the world with terror those who also came from the Isles of Albion which is Britain they looked lifeless this is where the term Albino comes from. Venusians have this same appearance.

QAEL-Quail-Still wondering why this is the state bird of California?

RAEL-Real: This is as real as it gets as you see you are on the target, this is what is really going on not the Illusion and of course their latest addition to unguided Spiritual mayhem, Rael, who is most assuredly down with the diabolical plan inciting his followers to all out blasphemy and hedonism. In this condition they can do little for the world.

Reason 61: The Country of Canada is actually funding Rael to go about his Ministry of basically "do whatever you want there is no God", just another hedonist cult on the surface however because they are linked with Thule as you can see by their Medallions I knew they had to be up to more. Sure enough they run an actual baby cloning facility where a mother who has suffered a miscarriage can actually have the baby. They use the Blood and DNA of the deceased baby and make a new one. Of course this is a very expensive procedure so they attract very wealthy candidates. This is like the movie Omen where these evil babies were put into wealthy households to later control major companies. Earthier way this is big time E.T. action Rael has at least a dozen surrogate mothers on staff waiting to hatch a baby. Their website promotes all of this, no legal problems whatsoever, pure Zionist breaking all the rules they enforce.

SAEL-Sale-Seal: What you will find with the Serpent energy since each "S" is a symbol for a serpent like Hitler's SS. Cracking the Code when you come to the "S" words, Swords, they always are deeply embedded with meaning. Now Sale and Deal go together and that makes business, the art of swindling our poor fellows. On the other hand when it comes down to it magical Seals are the most powerful. The purpose of a Seal is to close something in thus trapping it to do bidding or holding it so it won't escape. Solomon's Seal which is the Star of David was designed to do just that, trap things. When Solomon would Seal Jinn in bottles he would put the Star of David on top. Once again you can see that even Metatron's cube which has hit the #1 spot in Sacred Geometry is none other than a hex used time and time again to keep souls which are seeking higher truth passing back and forth between this demented dimension and Saturn. It is a mental weakening tool as many have already admitted since its main purpose is only to weaken the cube it should never be placed in the mind.



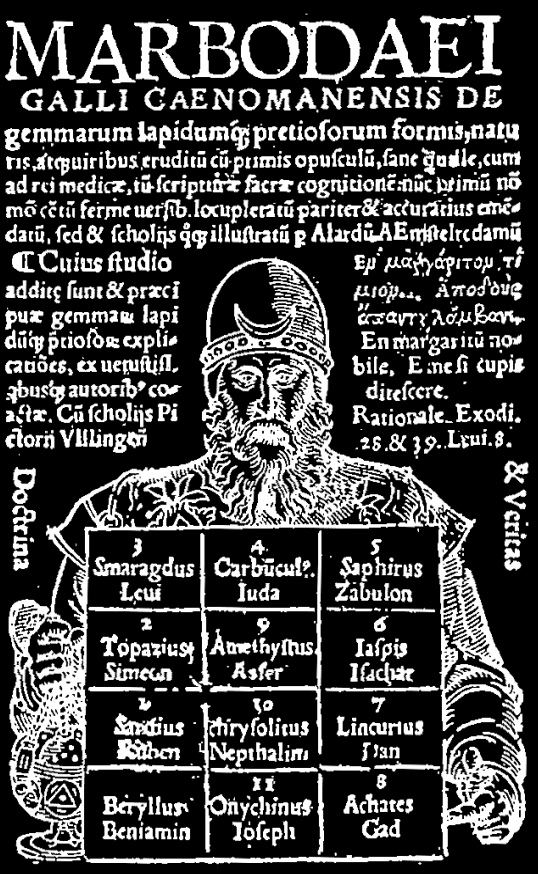
Reason 62: The knowledge of the organic cube was taken from Egypt now given the title the Flower of Life. The Egyptians used this to visually encase matter within in it. Then it was used to move things, especially large objects, around with their minds. Meditating on this Geometric Shape incorrectly will help solidify the Cubic frame of the body we are already trapped in thus it is not the chariot. The real purpose for these shapes is an Art called Tesseract, which is the shape you see on the right. This is for bringing things into this dimension from the 4th. 6 Protons 6 Electrons 6 Neutrons, our body is the Carbon structure of the Cube, the Beast, but not our Spirit. The Flower of Life later became Metatron's Cube when the lines were made straight.

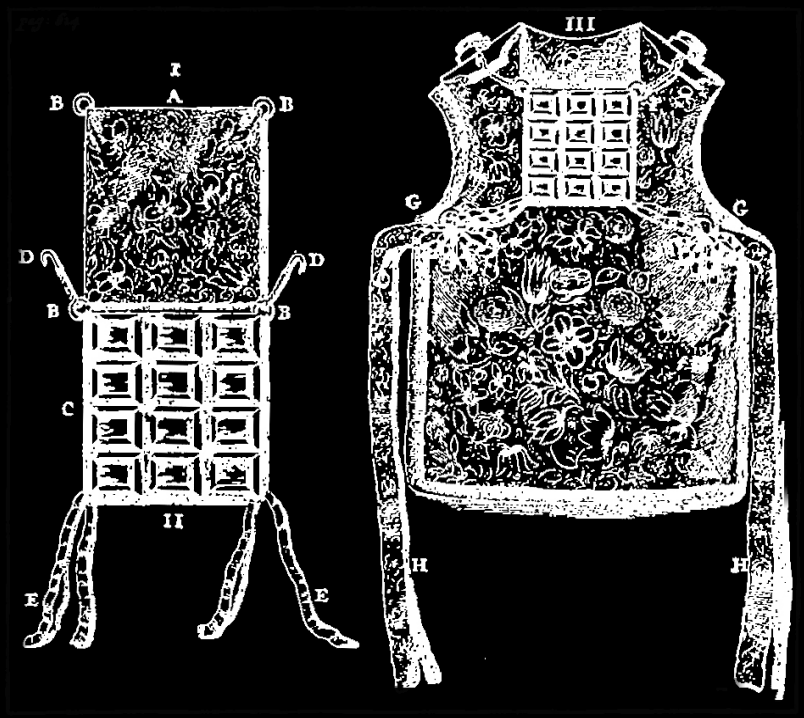
TAEL-Tale- Tail- We come to our favorite Reptilian appendage the tail along with the word always used for the erroneous stories we are told especially as children i.e. Fairy Tales, Wives Tales, and Tall Tales.

VAEL-Veil: A very powerful word from my point of view, this is what creates the Illusion. The world walks about Veiled meaning unable to see the truth.

WAEL-Wail-Whale: To continuously cry and our aquatic friends known to originate on the Aquatic Moon Europa and also Sirius along with Dolphins.

YAEL- Yale-Yell: To scream and also the famous University which still has the Seal of the Urim and the Thummim, the ancient Hebraic Rune Stones. These are objects of magic used by the Levite Priest. This is also the home of Skull and Bones code number (322) March 22 turn of the Equinox.



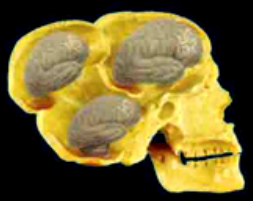


Reason 63: The Name was placed under the Breastplate and would cause it to glow opening communication to the Tetragrammaton. Lucifer also had his body encrusted with special stones.

ZAEL-Zeal: It is noted in the Bible a man named Phinehas showed "Zeal" meaning in this case lots of aggressive energy to rain destruction upon the Gentiles and go to murder for God and this was shined upon. There are numerous ancestral tribes with an abundance of blood on their hands. If we chose to follow their religions we will share their same fate. Keep in mind many indigenous tribes claim to learn the worship of the serpent from Atlantians who arrived on their coasts with abnormal powers after the destruction of their city in the late month of Aether which is our October, Aeth is pronounced, Eight. October is our 10th month but Octo means eight. This shows you how purposely off the Gregorian calendar is. As I said above 2012 is happening now.

As you see with this simple (4) letter word that we have examined there is a lot more to be extracted from language. Due to the Truth itself never being written nowhere near its entirety, this provides one of the only ways to extract the manifold story of what happened here on Earth, it survives in the language. Societies like the Druids never wrote anything down thus everything of value

was committed to memory. As it states in several places the memory banks of man and woman were a lot more vast then they are now, they did not have to write things down. Even looking in Egypt it has been discovered that even the Hieroglyphs where a product of latter times in Egypt, the original inhabitants left no written records just Djedhi Priests. This lends more credit to the results of magnetic shifts which is extensive memory loss. I believe if a person does not have a strong sound aura, magnetic shifts can erase most past, present, and future information pertaining to the person.



Reason 64: Our Ancestors had at times larger brains and greater memory capacity. This is never talked about because of course it would destroy the Theory of Evolution. These skulls date back millions of years ago. The Bible starts the first Creation of man at roughly 8,500 years ago, what a hindering lie. Sometimes when you are dreaming you may even see people you knew in elementary school however if you are asked while conscious if you remember them in such detail the answer for most will be no. Because so many quadrants of the brain are powered down ultimately most people are walking about with a bad case of amnesia. When one forgets who they are they become clones behaving like everyone else.

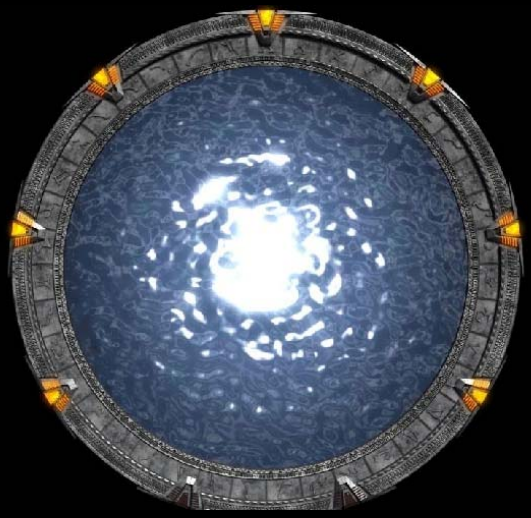
People that can really see Auras can read things off a persons Aura, not just the mood of the person. It is known that information like where they have been, who their descendants are, and various other deeply enlightening things about their character. When examining the controllers of this system I did come across extensive information indicating that pole shifts could now be caused by the technology in their possession which had been used before in previous times to reverse the effects of a natural pole shift. Seeing 2012 line up as the Zionist Code it would indicate not only the ability to possibly cause shifts but also the ability to traverse the space time continuum. Most make the mistake of calculating what everyone in the world is capable of based on their personal intelligence level not realizing there are men who spend their every waking moment solving complex problems of Quantum Physics and various forms of Science. One who spends their time in the club and drinking should not believe they are on the same caliper as these great minds, that is the ego that would believe such foolishness. It makes sense that they are doing nothing in vain and have truly discovered something far beyond the imagination of the common slacker.

2012
Z01Z
Z10Z
Z10N
ZION

THE
MASTERMIND
MASTER CODE BREAKER

Reason 65: The date 2012 is actually the numeric Code for Zion used across encrypted machines like the German Enigma and the Code of the Psyconaut. The 2 is a Z, S, or N as you can see the obvious similarities, the 01 is binary and can be interchanged and finally the N. Tis true they will reach completion at least by 2012 although 2010 is the "vivid" beginning of the shift. The Elite used Zion as the logo for the Olympics scheduled for Babylondon in 2012. They are bluntly pushing forward.

These topics are never covered and our strictly out of the box. A long debate will go on amongst individuals questioning whether or not time travel is possible. Sometimes they will go a little deeper and report things like the Philadelphia Experiment where it was purported a major project took place to create a jump hole between 1940 and 1980 approximately. Few ever make it to the point of questioning what was being done with this "Time Gate". Let us ask the question, with the ability to traverse time still under the laws of physics what would the Elite want to change? That is a big question but to me there is one simple answer, they would want to make themselves rule as long as possible and anything that could disrupt that they would thwart somehow as long as possible.



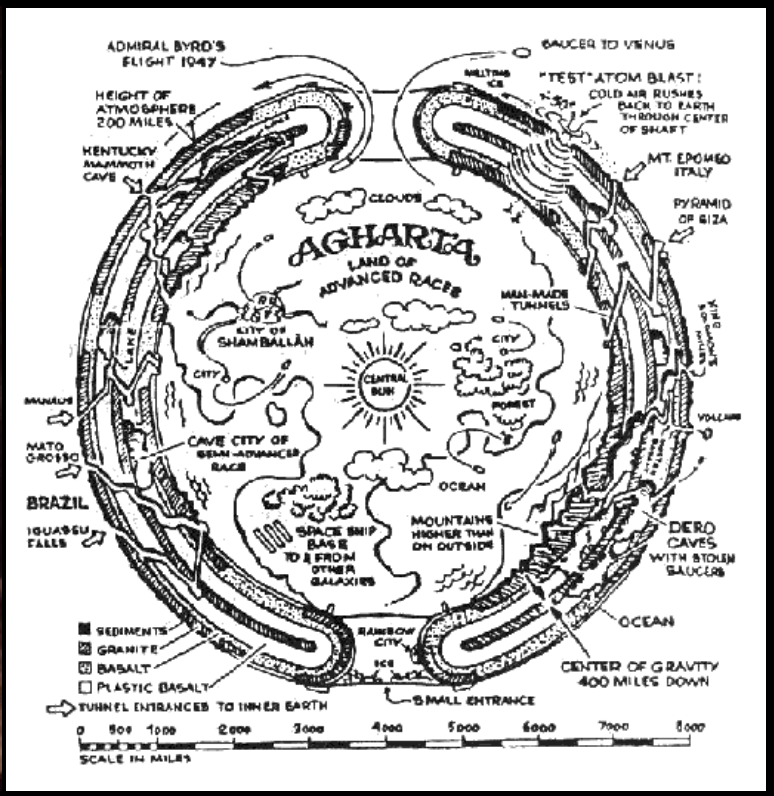
Reason 66: On the left a fresh jump gate installed right outside of downtown Detroit without the least bit of curiosity, of course who's looking at Detroit these days. On the right the jump gate on Stargate SG1 equipped with Enochian writing. You should begin to see how fact and what seems at times to be fiction blur together. Everything we can think does in fact already exist.

We will talk a little of traversing space and time and how one can get in a position to even be able to accomplish such a feat unless they were Spiritually incline. It is known that if you are carrying a low vibration you cannot physically travel through higher vibratory fields with the body, obviously, but you can get to other Planes, Planets and various territories with capable ships. This is what is meant by the term "External Merkaba". When the space race began it was Russia and the U.S. Let us start looking at all of the Russian Territory known as "the Great Bear" as under one very divisive Monarchy in which the people are expendable. Let us include even Germany in this although many think the Russians don't like the Germans that was something created by their mutual governments to formulate a plan of divide and conquer which the Elite do everywhere, they are all still Aryans. VENE VINI VECE we just call it "The V".

Reason 67: Russia, a long standing Occult and Technological Powerhouse made it to the Moon first with ease. Their space technology was far more superior than the U.S. as they had already made deals with the Gizans. One would need to keep in mind Russia had one of the first Inner Circles. True they lost many people in depressions and civil wars but their Elite continued to increase their ranks, again, the people are expendable to them. Lennon, Trotsky, Stalin, Gorbachev, Putin and many others fed from Mother Russia like Vampires at a blood bank. Not to mention that's where those that choose Plasma as their diet get it from, no time to be hunting people in the night when you have to be in a fortune 500 meeting in the morning.

The race was to the moon, as they say. One should start thinking what was really happening on the Moon since we know a silly race isn't the reason these two Juggernauts take off on a goal. Furthermore trust they would use every "Channel" they could to be sure they could make the trips with the least amount of error. They would need star maps, statistics, temperatures, pressures, permissions and various other guides. Many think we just logically came across this information through trail and error which would create enormous time issues for explaining how fast we prepared for the mission. Here is what really happened.

In the Spiritual circles of Thule during Third Reich NAZI Germany the greatest magicians of all time had come together. Blavatsky was only a component of this group. Men like Dietrich Eckart, who trained Hitler, where far above her. Madame Blavatsky possessed an array of esoteric goodies she picked up from the Black Tibetans during her trip to Agharta/Shamballah. In such a male dominant society Blavatsky entransed the mind of various key individuals with obviously not her physical charm. Books writing her off as a quack are disinformation. She begins her Book "Isis Unveiled" with a stout beginning making her allegiance in BATH KOL ISIS known.



Reason 68: Madam Petrova Blavatsky mother of the Society of Thule recruited the best Magicians of the time. She made contact with the Black Tibetans known as the "Green Gloves" found later scattered throughout defeated Nazi Germany in houses where they had committed mass suicides. The "Green Gloves" were hyperdimensional Tibetan Masters. They showed Blavatsky Shamballah/Agharta, the Inner world. She made the pacts with them and thus the Third Reich became the heavy instrument of the Dark Tibetans all aligned with the Gizans.

This is how the Swastika of the Black Sun got into circulation in Germany. Since once again we are in a binary world we also have another Sun directly on the opposite side of this Sun. You have to be in special locations to see it, they refer to it as a Sun Dog. The Black Sun is the opposite energy, a taker of life for strength rather than a giver. Madame Blavatsky had Master El Morya, St. Germaine, Koot Hoomi, Sanat Kamara, Sananda, Aliester Crowley, McGregor Mather, Frater Achad, Krishnamurti, Leadbetter, and Besant all Immortal Masters of Astral Travel and devoted members of Great White Brotherhood.

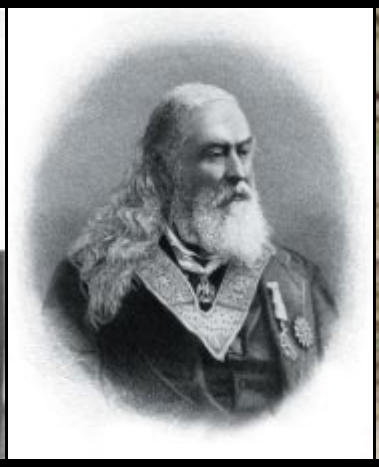
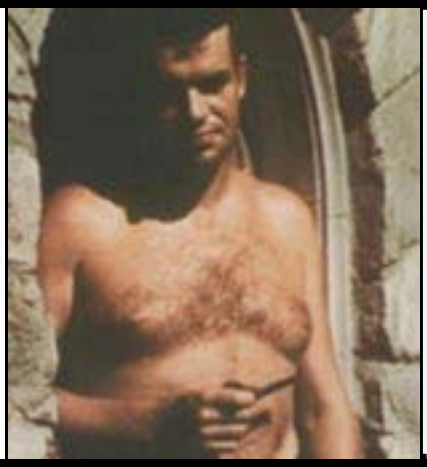
Reason 69: Rare images of a Sundog, the view of our Binary Sun sometimes even appearing as three suns. These are government facilities fully staffed located far away from civilization on the poles which are the only places you can see this phenomena. These places don't get visitors often and if they do they are not civilians.

With this arsenal Thule hatched a deeper plan in conjunction with the Paranormal Division of the Third Reich. Deros, their contact who wrote the new Emerald Tables of Thoth, dwelled in the underground city of Agharta. The Paranormal Division was said to receive more funding than Hitler's total Armament Division due to its importance to the Reich. They lay burdened with the task of gathering all the powerful Shrines from around the world which eventually ended up in the vaults of the British Museum. Those who have done study on holy artifacts will note that most of them are in the British Museum, not in their original place of origin, they won't allow it. Many of these objects do strange things when placed back on their corresponding leylines. It is known you can only get into the vaults of the British Museum if you are a member of The Golden Dawn. The Golden Dawn was a Society setup by Thule in which Aliester Crowley was made head of, he had Frater Achad as his apprentice. Crowley and Mathers were always in competition with one another, this is how Blavatsky penned them against each other to broaden their potential. These two Adepts birthed the greatest horrors mankind has witnessed in this era. Many of their works were published by Blavatsky's Lucis Trust, again another obvious clue she was part of the Luciferian agenda.

Reason 70: The Holy Grail and the Spear of Longinus, which was said to pierce the side of Christ, where both seized by Hitler. These artifacts are charged with energy due to the belief millions of people put in them. Childhood stories of Knights, Princesses, and Dragons all serve to mold the mind for future indoctrination. Most of these items had much different histories. The real Grail was not even the Chalice it was a succession of women carrying pure bloodlines, like Mary.

Aliester was far more sadistic then McGregor it was he the Beast decided to incarnate in. That did not go without the key use of McGregor who had a gift for languages. McGregor was set to the task of translating the Keys of Solomon from ancient Hebrew to Latin and English. This had never been done and it was awaited by every Magician of the time, especially since not many had access to the libraries in the British Museum. After translation McGregor's life was very short and his scribe admits he had been affected by some curse which the book even warns of called the "Reflux Current". Dan Brown is schedule to release his rendition of The Keys of Solomon to follow up his Angels and Demons. I sure hope you are off this Plane when this hits the media and people in their curiosity download the original book, which is also available for free. The Beast has incarnated in several men such as Jack Parsons the creator of the nuclear bomb who was also a Satanist, Albert Pike the 33°Mason responsible for bringing new forms of the corrupted Brotherhood to the U.S. and of course Crowley who set Leviathan free.

As they completed the circle of ceremony all was silent, everything that needed to be said was said, the order, perfect, the incense, in measure, the offerings received, in vestments they waited and as time past they assumed the ritual to be barren. Then there was a flash of energy as the portal opened, a green trapezoid, many collapsed with the sudden change in temperature as the deep cold permeated the room, they had done it, they had unleashed the Ancient Forbidden One. What have they done, they have released Leviathan who is C"thul"u. Aliester Crowley's ritualistic experiments in Loch Ness.

Reason 71: Left to Right Crowley, Pike, and Parson the fleshly Hosts of the Beast.

I will take a moment to elaborate on this book the Keys to Solomon since I personally believe it will play a huge role in the reality shift of this dimension for a few reasons. When Dan Brown released The Davinchi Code it was instantly a Best Seller, meaning the media pushed it to the top fast. He followed up with Angels and Demons and that solidified his career, they had the perfect Puppet Icon. Anything else he releases people are going to swarm to. They warmed everyone back up again when they did the Davinchi Code Movie with everyone's favorite Mr. Forest Gump Tom Hanks. This gave Dan more prestige. Now they are finished with the Angels and Demons movie and the subtitle is Revenge of the Nephalim which you can do your own book on all of what that entails by now. So next of course will be the Keys to Solomon.

The original book, the Key to Solomon, does not read like a story book it is strictly Talismans, Prayers, Repentances, Evocations, and illustrations of Ceremonial Magic. It is not wise to speak against anything you do not understand. This book I Innerstand very clearly as a horrible danger. Why? During the time I was a fresh Pastor I was fascinated with Solomon, he was who I chose as my Archetype as many men of the cloth often do. Solomon has all the wisdom and most affectionately all the ladies, something abolished after Solomon's time but still it allows the deprived Pastor to dream a little. I wanted to read everything Solomon wrote especially since it actually says in Proverbs Solomon wrote over 5000 books. I wondered why if Solomon wrote 5000 books we only had (3) Psalms, Proverbs, and the Song of Solomon one of which was not written by Solomon but by Lemuel. Some say Lemuel, Solomon, and Jedidiah were all the same person.

I began to search and came across two more books, The Testaments of Solomon and the Keys to Solomon. Both were full of demons. In the Testament of Solomon, Solomon is actually interrogating demons under the power of the Ring which he says was given to him by YHVH. The Keys to Solomon had the names of demons inscribed in the Talismans that it instructed you to make. Of course I didn't know the names were those of Demons failing to do the translation from Hebrew to English at the moment in addition my Dictionary of Angels by Gustav was still on the way. But that wasn't going to stop me from exploring a little of Solomon's wondrous Talismans eh.

In short after doing all of the rigorous work of constructing a Talisman for wisdom this is what happened. First I will note that some of the rituals in the book involved animals blood which made me think a little deeper about Solomon, however, their were plenty that did not involve blood and since there was also a warning in the beginning of the book about using animals blood I came to the terms that someone had maliciously put the spells there since they were towards the back of the book. When I would fall asleep with the Talisman or Book around me I would be transported to another world. Once I realized I was watching the dream I could begin to control it thus starting the lucid phase. From there some monstrous form would appear and we would do battle of which I noticed the Seals from the Key to Solomon played a heavy roll in trapping these Demons once they had been subdued. Sustaining any kind of blow from them would result in real physical damage in this world. On one occasion a Demon got hold of me and slammed me before I could break the dream. When I woke up I had the pain and the bruises, after that I learned not to get grabbed. All along I was imagining I was doing the Lords work, in the Army now.

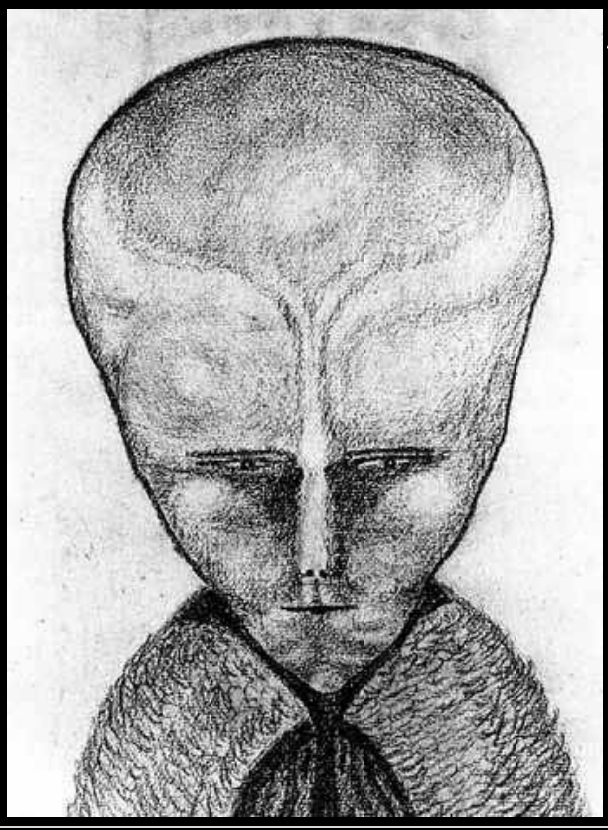
The dreams could always be broke by Holy Names in which I kept a complete arsenal in memory. I also noted their where a lot of other people there all involved in doing something in this strange world full of Spirits. The Demons got bigger and bigger and I seemed to get better and better at dealing with them and then the Dictionary arrived. I was horrified to find that the Talismans contained the names of Demons. What I now know is that all the Demons I was fighting I had evoked and if I had lost they could have done damage to my soul. I will tell the reader now, I was born on the 22nd which is a Master Number so I have a buffer that allows me to dissect these things without immediate danger to my soul due to positive intent, however, I know beyond doubt many have been taken by this book, maybe my work about it will reach the peoples hands in time so they can steer clear of it.

Back to the plans of Thule. With the Talismans of Solomon in hand they began to travel the opposite Plane which anyone trained in Lucid Sleep can do. In this Plane you can go to various places and the main feature is you can call forth Beings and they appear. Apparently they called forth the Enochian Enchained sons of Cain and they appeared to them. They consulted with them about world domination and how it could be brought about. They gave them first a special language of power to use amongst themselves in conjunction with Vril power. They gave them the strategy for using young minds as processors in ("Universe City's) Universities. The idea was to use the brightest minds to develop devices to create external Merkaba. This vehicle could be used to travel dimensions, a real time machine. The alchemist became the physicist.

Following this in the "seen" world we find Germany at the head of jet propulsion technology. The Allies and Axis where in the bed together behind the scenes, but in plain view they pretended to be enemies. The Black Sun Cults, White Brotherhoods, Luciferian, Saturnalian, Atlanteans, and Venusians all had a mutual cause, Galactic domination. Of course declassified CIA Project Paperclip indicates the transferring of the German Scientist during the staged fall of the Third Reich to U.S. soil

to work for NASA. Basically they destroyed Germany set up the biggest Human sacrifice known to date, the Holocaust, to feed the Valkries and other demoniac forces they where working with, and they continued a plan few would even venture to believe.

Reason 72: Several Nazi's scientist were imported into the U.S. Them they were brought under the NASA umbrella to help with rocket propulsion. These rockets where not used to power space shuttles but to kill innocent people by the thousands.



Reason 73: The Hyperdimensional Being known as Aiwass channeled through Crowley gave him a coded language of power to use amongst the Psyconauts which they came to be known as. Aiwass is also the sign of the Single Bolt in Ancient Germanic which can be found in (Letters and Numbers). Aiwass was the classic "Gray" alien sent by the dark side as an extraterrestrial imposter. They are more similar to Golem, two part Beings created by Sorcerers that just follow orders.

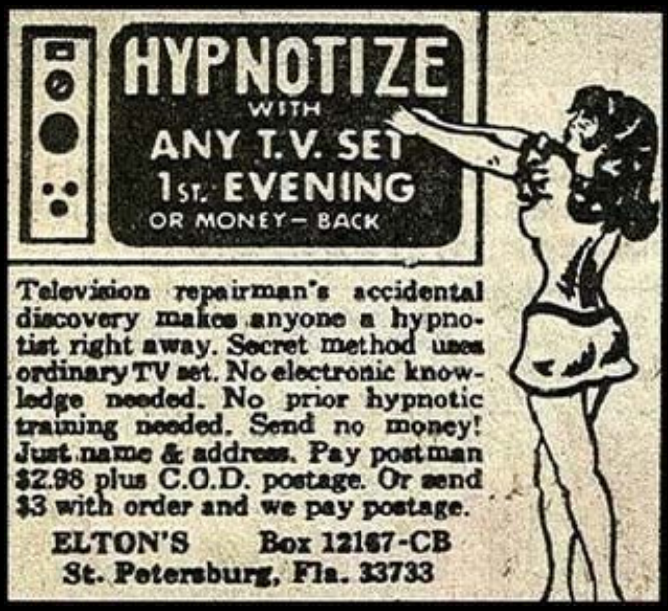
The idea was to rearrange occurrences in history to erect new Saviors. We will call this Project Eighth Ray which I will get into more in the Second Edition, if there is a Second Edition. It takes at times to be showed this by Higher Beings to believe, my Word can only stand for the Guided who know of some of the things I have already spoken of and thus will venture to trust me further as I will still show how it all fits together, so reason, not belief, is needed. In many of the ancient paintings it shows what appears to be Spaceships in the atmosphere during the crucifixion of Jesus. Those ships bare the 8 pointed Star of Ilu. These Ilu are very advanced, which is why they control the world. Jesus was a "NAZA"RITE a special sect of whom Samson and almost all Prophets of the Bible belonged to; this is the Rites of NAZA who all leave this world at 33 years old. The part of the Oath of the Nazarite is to never cut your hair. Samson and Jesus both left the world at Age 33.

When the German Scientists came to the U.S. they joined up with NASA the "S" of course is a backwards "Z". They formed the new NAZI party who now have many angles they work from because they have unlocked the ability of hyperdimensional travel. Always remember the technology they show us in the open is the old stuff, look how long the Military was using microwave technology before they decided to let everyone else give it a spin introducing the Microwave into the home. When the Microwave hit the market people were amazed, look how fast it heats things, at a price of course, "Ra"diation which will always cause some form of cancer or tumor most times undetected.

Reason 74: We will see a lot more of the Project 8th Ray and their hyperdimensional capabilities.

This means large pro-peace movements similar to the times of the Hippies may have been removed from our memories. There may have been a lot more uprising in history then currently

remembered, especially the Great Battle. I don't think I'm the first person to figure all this out, however, I'm aware it is only exceptional people who really discover the truth to the Matrix, they do a little work, and then they are removed as if they never existed in this world. A slight little alter and we perceive things different in the future which is shown on the movie I AM Legend were the lady cannot remember Bob Marley in her memory, just Dameon Marley. The T.V. series Heroes does an exceptional job at showing the cause and effects of altering the past. These subtle hints are often dropped by the Elite because it makes them laugh on the other end when those who know what happened are watching. This occurs a lot in Hollywood Movies.

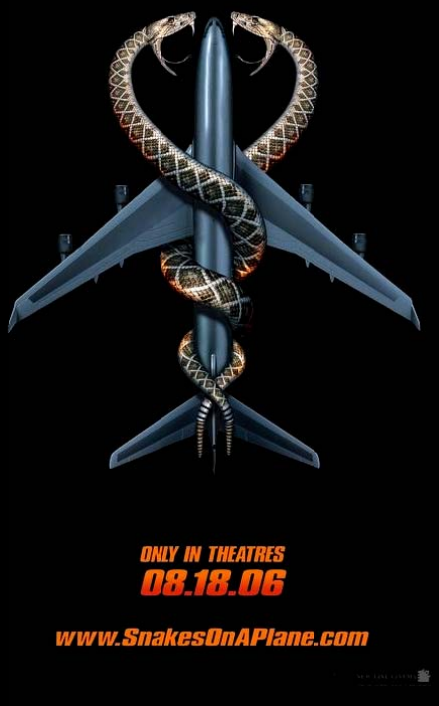


Reason 75: The most common person knows the T.V. is a mind control tool by various degrees however that does not stop them from watching it. This is part of the mind control. Many believe the mind control is only suggestive however it is done more from a technological standpoint. As the new digital network is reaching completion in the U.S. a very different kind of programming will ensue.

Reason 76: SONY which is an anagram for SION since in English the "Y" is substituted for an "I". Of course it makes sense coming from the company that has introduced the world to some of its greatest technological gadgets of the time. As they are already letting it become known they will be adjusting the viewers DNA with the new digital upgrades. When this begins there will be little more one can do to explain anything to the masses, they simply will not be interested. They will be dulled out and controlled, embedded with layers of digitized mental programming.

Reason 77: Mushrooms along with hallucinogens like Ayahuasca are Gateway Drugs, meaning that once taken they open the gateway of your soul which is normally kept closed by default. An inexperienced person can suffer from several types of possessions when taking these substances if they are not trained in the knowledge of out of body experience OOBE. As you see Dr. Mario lured millions of children into taking Psilocybin Mushrooms.

It is said that the true purpose of a Galactic line up, is to allow ascending and descending to take place. Many will be coming and going from this dimension once this happens. Those who hold the power of creating realities, which can be done in the mind, can transfer souls/minds to another reality on a mental bridge. I know a person who went to India and then Peru and testified of Yogis being able to take untrained students into their minds. Then the student was transferred into another world in which the Yogi was ruler. Madame Blavatsky did say that the lower dimensions were ruled by the Buddha's on the Devachanic planes above us thus placing us in more of an Onion of Realities. Layers of what we call Planes, Expanses, Dimensions, and Realms. Since this is the case it would be wise for one to seek how to escape this whole matter altogether or at least how to go in the positive direction versus the negative. If you do not make a decision, one will be made for you.



Reason 78: Hollywood lets us know one more time that there are snakes on the Earth Plane. The symbolism is key, as you can see the Caduceus is being implicated as one of the culprits.

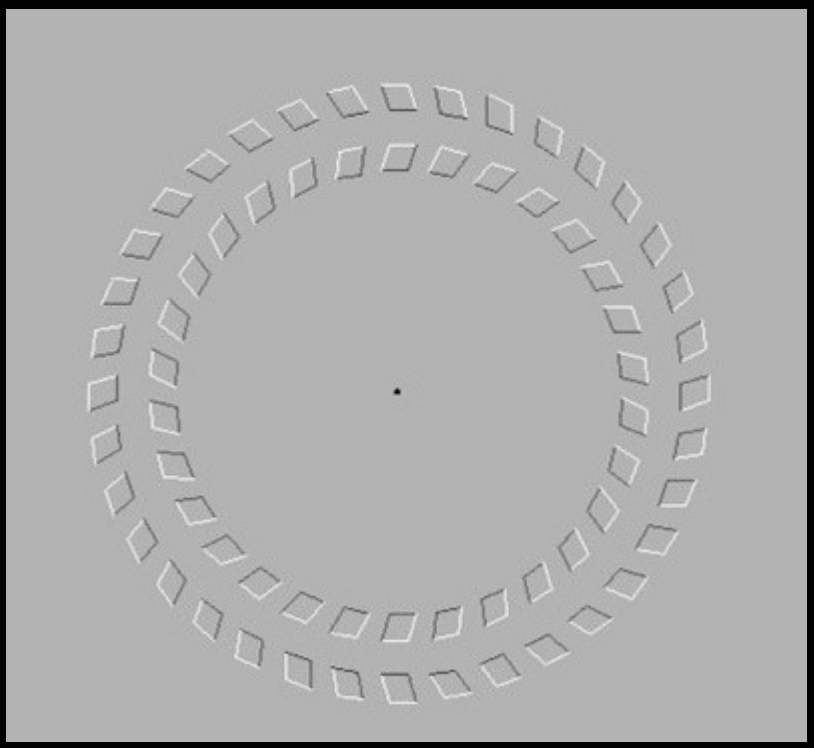
I know for a fact that we have now descended 2 dimensions already. What Leonardo Davinchi was explaining in his paintings which are full of sacred geometry is the Human body has a 5 fold nature. Five senses, 5 fingers on each hand etc. There is an actual seam running down the middle of the body showing we are two five fold sides put together. What is happening now is most people are operating on 3 senses versus the 5 senses they think they have. How this occurs is many people think they see but in fact they are not seeing true reality just illusion, some taste but they need seasoning to even enjoy the food not to mention the kind of food they eat for nourishment. Some would rather talk thus they don't hear well, and others touch but don't feel the energy of what they are examining. For each person the mixing and matching is different. The drawback is if we can't operate on all five senses not only can we not "unlock" the 6 sense, which is how you feel when all five senses are being used at their height simultaneously. In addition it takes the six senses to unlock the 7th and so on. As explained above the perception of various dimensions is within the amount of senses you have. A good example of this is when the 3rd eye is open you are immediately perceptive of another dimension.

To clarify the statement of many languages being backwards I will bring forth a few facts: Fact one is that all holy languages, as they are called, like Arabic, Hebrew, Amharic, Aramaic, and Sanskrit are written from right to left. English, Latin, French, and Spanish, also known as the Latin Vulgate, are all written in the opposite direction from left to right. The reason for this is the direction you read and write plays a heavy role in the direction your mind is moving since the mind turns more of a wheel in thought. Also this effects what side of the brain you predominantly use. Many of the words in these languages, especially the Vulgates, when looked at backwards or sounded out the vibration when taken literal gives you the actual origin of the word and its manifold involvement in the erosion of the intelligence of the Human race.

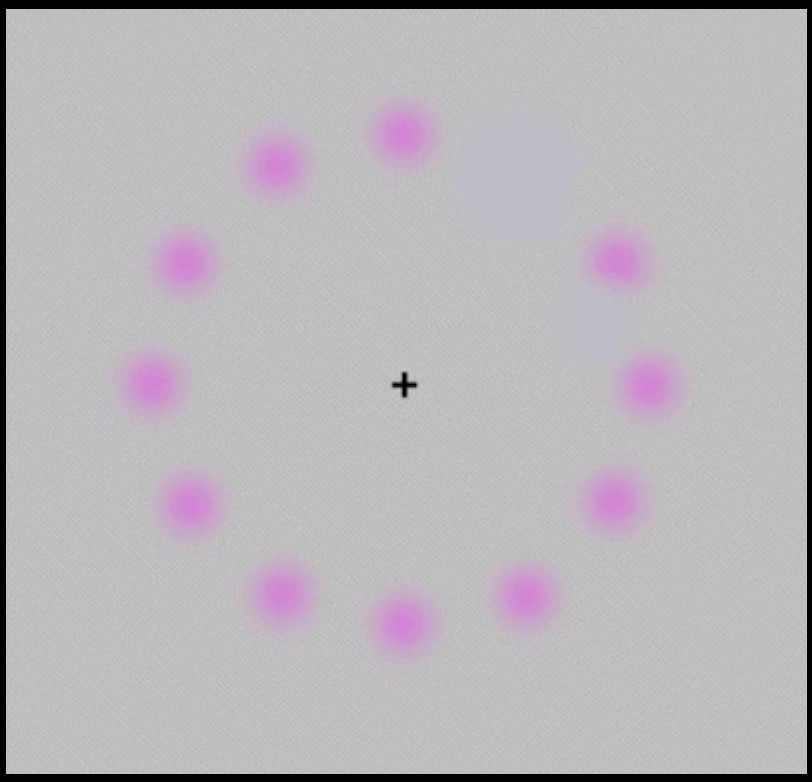
AMOR is the word for love in Spanish. AMOR is the son of Venus. When you look at it backwards it spells ROMA which is of course ROME. This proves that when you turn the word backwards you don't get the opposite meaning you just get more of the meaning. That is another valuable key to learn. Since letters are truly Numbers lets say ABC is 123. No matter how you move the words around it will still equal 6. In English LOVE comes from JOVE wife of Jupiter. We can conclude a J is also an L just facing the other direction.

At times what will be uncovered will be shocking and hard to believe, if you remain patient and strengthen your courage you will see that this will become the key to your emancipation and self empowerment. The system in place redundifies to the lowest degree, once you are on the trail you will find multiple connections. The Art of magic itself involves an accurate system that cannot be altered too much or else it will have no effect. Much power lies in repetition this is why so many words are often spelled the same, but each is given a different meaning to increase its use. For this reason it is easier to spot them once you know the basic parameters does this make sense, since, cents, sins?

If you may think for one moment that your mind is not directional consider for a moment that the eyes see everything upside down first. They then must flip the image you see before it sends it to your brain, all of which happens so fast you never notice. As we may at times forget we are actually standing on a globe that rotates and our feet are stuck to it by gravity less we just float off in space so in fact we are at times upside down. If we are only using the two eyes as a gauge to authenticating higher life forms we will remain disappointed at our discoveries, one must use other abilities in conjunction with their eyes. Such as the third eye or Pineal Gland. Most have calcified Pineal Glands due mainly to fluoride intake, meat, processed starches and artificial sugars. To reverse this one will need to ingest good amounts of Gota Kola, Alfalfa, Parsley, Wood Betony, and Mugwort. Gota Kola is by far the most effective of all these.



Reason 79: The eyes are easy to be tricked, in fact many places in our Matrix have Optical Illusions over them so you cannot perceive what is really there with you naked eye. As seen in folklore they often spoke of hidden doorways to other dimensions. Focus your eyes on the dot in the center of this Illustration. Now move your head back and forth, notice the wheels spinning? Your perception can easily be manipulated by those who innerstand the complete body down to the atomic and cellular levels.



Reason 80: When looking at Gates like the one pictured in Reason 66 in Detroit you will never see anything enter or exit the Gate they remain on a frequency none detectable by the eye, this is not very hard, they have mastered invisibility because of the inaccuracy of the two eyes, the Third Eye however cannot be easily fooled. Focus on the cross in the center of the Illustration, you will notice the dots disappear altogether, if you focus longer they will reappear and then change color to green.

There are a few things that should become obvious to the individual about many of the Gods. There Worlds have run far longer than most can fathom especially since we have a hard time remembering what we did last Saturday. I call this the war against the machines except it didn't involve the Terminator it was the Terminal they used. The computer has the feature of a huge memory bank. I've seen computer hard drives into the Terabytes which is at least 999 Gigabytes. The Cray 6, a government computer, has in its memory banks the dial tone of every phone in the United States. It's funny that to our ears when you pick up the phone the tone sounds the same as any other phone but in fact they are all different.

Part of what is happening to our short term memory, which is very important because it makes the transfer to our long term memory, is we store on computers everything we should remember on our own thus our memory wilts down because it is unused. Even numbers of our close family members are stored in the phone memory banks not our personal memory. Now people change numbers so much it becomes no use in remembering their number. When we stop logging numbers and watching them, an entire would of fact is closed to us. If you could watch the random numbers of the day your every step would be guided in perfection. Numbers are what we call the "Master Language" there will always be a 1,2,3 in every culture thus it is the strongest language. As you see in the Kabbalah and the Abjad there exist numeric magical cubes, boxes that equal the same amount no matter which way you add them. In short we lost the battle of the machines on various levels, this is

just one. We must regain the desire to pay attention to Letters, Numbers, and Names. This is the actual exposed program to the Matrix, you can read it if you can decode it.

Reason 80: The war against the Machines took place in the office building not on the Battlefield. The real Terminator, Arnold Schwarzenegger, is busy at work dismantling our future. Sources say the Elite are considering making him the next U.S. President.

For the first time that I have seen directly we will reveal what is at the end of 4th dimension. You may see this as a briefing since we will all reach a point where we must guide our Spirit through the Planes. Those that have become masters of astral travel report that when encountering and passing through 4th dimension they knew not to stop. They reported heavy reptilian E.T. activity of a weird unwelcoming kind. Upon reaching the end of the 4th region their appeared what seemed to be an Artificially Intelligent computer barrier. Something like a giant computer that was alive that made a noise as if some type of giant engine was running within it. Some would wave this off as absurd and of course I would to if I didn't have something more to ad about another strange sync with this "Ma"chine.

First off we will note on the last Matrix movie it came down to Neo talking to the A.I. (Artificial Intelligence) and making some sort of deal in order to free the people from the Matrix, but that is just a movie right? AI is actually an important city in ancient Sumeria this word is pronounced (EYE) like the all-seeing-eye. The Atlantians were also known as the Borgians which is where the French term Bourgeoisie comes from, they claim to be descendants of Ancient Atlantians. A BORG is known to be part Human part organic technology. If you have read any Atlantis lure you will see their affinity for first Crystals and then Technology. We also report for those who had made it to the

point of the Gate, if they could go that far they had no trouble getting through, it had to open. I wonder if Bill knows about that Gate. Oops (Ops)

Reason 81: This Synchromistic Tarot card is right on the money featuring as number 17 BORG. 17 is a favorite Masonic number since 1+7=8. As you see they deal with the double cube and the cube is evil just like they showed you in the Hell Raiser Movies. The Masons sent to the U.S. where charged with building the new Atlantis. Atlanta Georgia has a Lodge next to just about every church if not the church itself. You have great Athena "Athens" right up the road not to mention the Georgia Guide Stones, Dr Malachi York's Pyramids in Eatonton Georgia, the Olympic arrival of 1996 and many more things linking Atlanta as a key location for numerous plans brought forth throughout history to arrive us at were we are now. The tree in the middle of the Garden with Apples is wholly an Atlantean concept, just like the flood.

The truth is the masses have still been worshipping the same pagan Gods throughout history clueless to the outcome of such carelessness for the soul. When we fail to investigate the eternal destination of our Spirit it is most certain that it will end up in the hands of the vile, they want it, they known its value. This after life is serious, it is this world that is the Illusion and yet you even see in this world the innocent pay penalties in which we would think is unfair. This is not about fair and unfair this is about you taking the training wheels off and becoming firm about what is your greatest possession rather than trusting it in the hands of some money loving Guru less they lead you astray as they have done many. Did I mention Guru actually means Jupiter/Amon in Hindi.

Ideas of saving the whole world are obsolete. People are at various stages of their own personal growth thus in the beginning you may have to be a little selfish with your time and attention as you gain new balance. Many are still earth bound and ideas of even leaving their hometown may seem like too long of a journey, they cannot be forced to grasp concepts of space. This book is written for those who feel their future is in the cosmos and in fact many things will not make sense if a person is

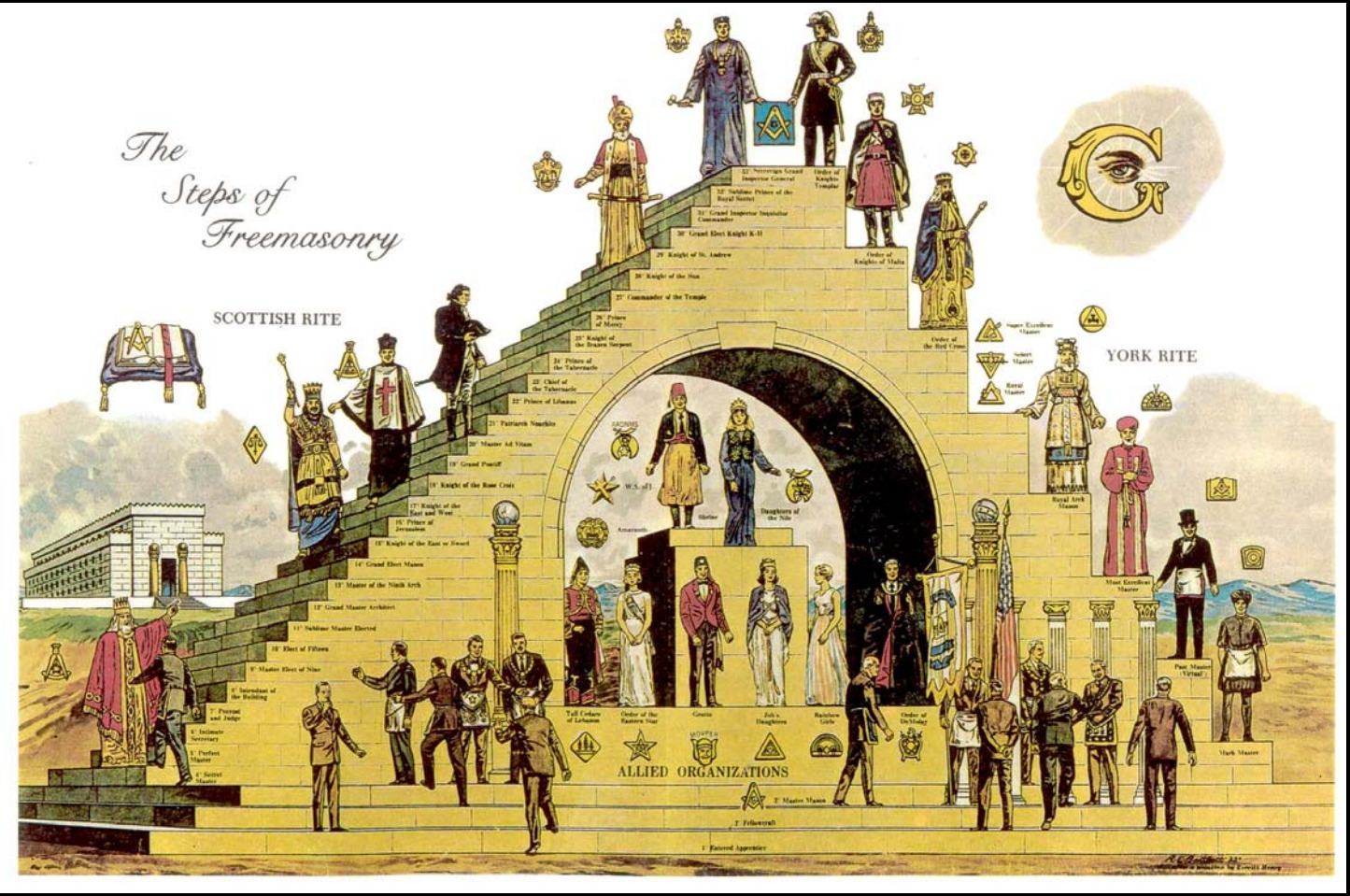
looking to remain on Earth. There is no reason for one to accept the truth of the future if they want to remain on Earth, thus they will believe nothing you tell them. These people are making plans for several years in advance as if they knew of the hour We would release their souls. Many make plans in vain their highest goals are riddled with limits and they have forgotten that we are not the body.

Reason 82: Many people have confused Spirituality with monetary prosperity in which the two are almost complete opposites. Consumption is the enemy of compassion. If you notice the main trait we have been given as Humans is reason, this keeps us from acting like insects and animals being at times purely instinctual. When one charges money to give a Seeker knowledge they are in gross error and the Truth will elude them even if it is in plain view, many will not believe this. Their deeds are written thus We will declare them back faithfully to them on that Day in which it will be too late to balance. That day comes for everyone at some point it is the only guarantee in this world.

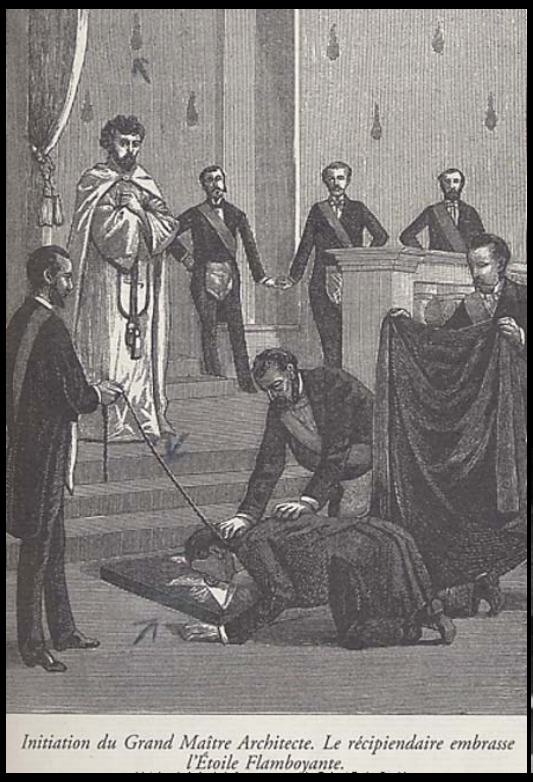
We shall put a barrier betwixt them so none may cross, on one side they will see what they forfeited and on the other they can see what they escaped, contemplate this in wisdom.

Real Gurus travel the Buddhic and Devachanic Planes that many already inhabit, they are doing the bidding for the Beings who control the Regions. They've promised to serve them during their initiations. I'm speaking here of the initiated Yogi, Guru, Llama, etc. as far as the Pastors the Holy Ghost suffices for them and the Witches have their 13 Covens. Paranormal feelings and experiences do not denote that you have reached the True Path and one should carefully access all of what is happening in the surroundings when they begin to occur, especially in the future, they will be widespread as many activate. Due to the level of mind control and suppression of thought many individuals never get the opportunity to truly ponder this stuff in fear that they may be struck by lightening for offending the Gods thus they become stuck on the step of what appears to be an enormous religious Pyramid fully animated. I've wanted at times to feel the charge of lightening so I will present the facts and you remain as the judge.

It becomes obvious that if the Gods could do something about this world to make it better they would have done it a long time ago before many innocent humans and animals have perished many of whom are now extinct. I feel I am in the position to make these statements because I have traveled many paths to their completion somehow escaping the irreversible initiations. As many great men have put it, if you need to be initiated into it, it cannot be wholesome for the people. Was not our first command to give freely of what is the best for us to our neighbor who are like mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers to us? So why keep a secret from them? Indeed these men and women have something that needs to be kept a secret due to its abhorred nature.

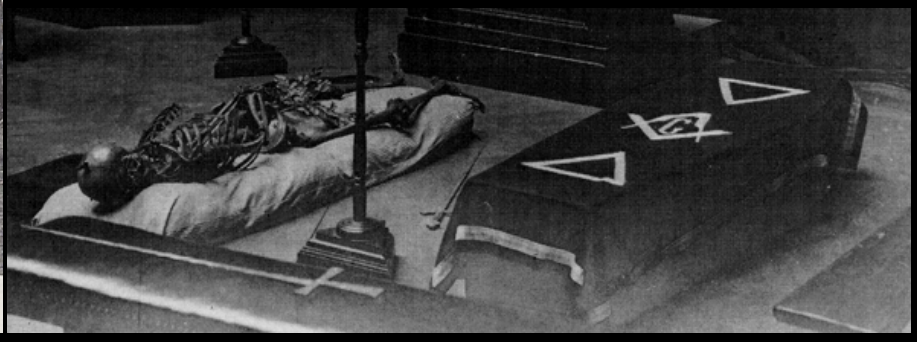


Reason 83: There is an inclination within us all, no matter how minute, that wishes to be part of something mystical and elite. These leechers of life feed upon that craving that exist within us as a residue of who we really are, except they distort the image to their favor. A Midget standing on a giants shoulder can see much further than the Giant however if the Giant fails to see the Midget below him the Midget will be trampled beneath his feet. Joining secret societies always gets one trampled. The moment you relinquish yourself to such a hierarchy you are admitting you are in a lowly state, this places the strong above the weak and this is how they operate. Most never obtained what they where looking for and even forgot what that was.



Initiation du Grand Maître Architecte. Le récipiendaire embrasse l'Étoile Flamboyante.

Reason 84: Their Oath is to keep silent; the ritual keeps the Oath in place. As you see above the Pyramid is full of the Spiritual Leaders, Bankers, Businessmen, and various others in key places. Joining would place a person on the bottom of the Pyramid to be crushed. Their capstone has yet to descend, meaning they are waiting on their God to return to this realm this will be in 2012, possibly 2010.



It is sad that in the end I found most religious Dogma's, or should I say Ma's Dogs, along with their characters to be inexplicably linked to a common cause of keeping us ignorant and under the yoke. At great lengths I wanted to believe the world was perfect because "God" was perfect and this was the highest form of teaching. Then true knowledge rebutted and said we are the active creation in which the Creator passes knowledge through, if we can no longer see what is in plain view and use our senses to react against it, if it be judged harmful to innocence, then we have forfeited our gift which is the right of good choice. The Creator is perfect however the creation is started from a state where it must learn perfection amongst many other things. Part of the practice is repairing society with the ability that is bestowed upon us. One may write, paint, teach, sculpture, speak, fund, volunteer, and many more things to bring about perfection that will at least reflect on their own personal self which is the world, but we cannot sit back and do nothing, this is insolence.

We have above us now rulers that are killing everything we love with their filth like oil. Has one sat down lately and thought about how many family members and close friends we have lost to this system from all the diameters it takes hold of such as its medical poisons? They are the real causalities to a silent war that takes place on the battlefield of Illusion where we sometimes forget to look around us to see those that have fallen. It is easy to ignore it as long as it wasn't someone that you may have known, but when it is your Uncle that gets called to the meaningless war, your Aunt who dies in the Twin Tower Ritual, your Sister who gets abducted into a Cult, your Brother who overdoses, or your Baby who is born deformed due to the chemicals they gave you as the Mother, then you feel like doing something, and it is then you will find you are alone. No longer do we rally together I saw a woman speak to a stray dog and then look at me and say nothing.

Reason 85: The silent battle still goes on with oil. The Elite have placed war and disease at the forefront while the contamination still continues in the background. The Arabs discovered oil looking for water, how ironic, before then they considered the desert cursed. After they found the oil they perceived it as a gift from their God to make them rulers of all lands especially over their brother Israel thus they suffer from mental delusion and greed prostrating ritualistically at 90 degrees as if We hear them not knowing the Most High examines the Heart and the knowledge of man is foolishness on Height.

The night was unforgiving since we could not find wood the fire did not carry. We lost another to the wolves in the night, a new child, the world was not deserving of her. I' m not sure how much longer we can hold on, as the Older I must lead because I have escaped death often and although my limbs have long since given way but I cannot show it. Hopefully we find others who know this strange land less we perish in it with no story of our existence. My Pre-Adamic Life

A little old lady that did everything the Bible told her to do had an issue with God. Good old Mother Love was praying for the innocent girl next door to be healed but instead the little girl got sicker and God forbid, she died. Being a Pastor I was faced with dealing with this situation. Of course the ones who play the role as Spiritual leaders are taught to stay on their toes and have some default answers always ready. If all else fails a solemn "It is Gods Will" will suffice but of course you only use that one in emergencies, creativity is key. Adding more fluff I came up with "Everything is by the will of God and He does what He pleases which will ultimately work out for the good because everything God does is good", nice one eh?

Since God does both good and evil as it states in the Bible what can you really do but just hope they haven't read that one and come back wanting more answers. Most Christians have never read the complete Bible thus they lack the big picture. When they get into the vicinity of the Pastor it's seldom question time just time to shake hands and smile. P"raise" the Lord brother! Why would the Lord need to be raised? Could that be what the final plan is, to raise their Lord, we will see.

Reason 86: The Phoenix is used in the Occult Symbolism due to a hidden story of all the Saviors that have descended to the Underworld will rise and return. This is Tammuz, Mithras, Jesus, Quetzacoatl, Horus, Adonis and others. The American eagle was going to be a Phoenix but this was deemed too obvious since Europe has always used the Phoenix as its insignia and they did not want the settlers to know that the British were silently orchestrating the development of the Americas. The Phoenix is also the hidden sign of the Phoenicians who designed much of our corrupted language; this is where we get the term Phonetics.

I learned default answers that I picked up along the way from other Ministers that were quite sinister. Of course I had to learn all these things if I intended to be a good Pastor and bare fruit. We will skip for now that the Christian God is a male which is the obvious clue that it isn't the Most High. The Ultimate Creator being gendered is erroneous seeing that it would have to be way more than a He or She to create multiple universes, but we will go with it for now not wanting to begin digging into history "His Story".

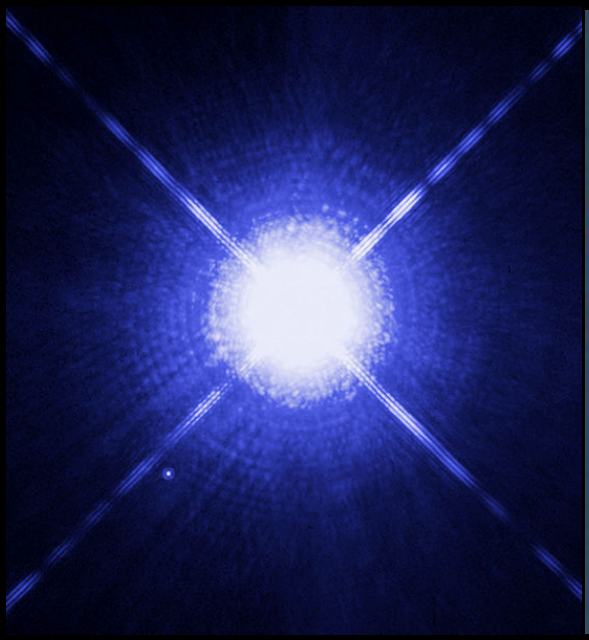
So this God did not find it important to save a family from grief and increase an old ladies faith. He would rather not heal the child and leave the old lady hanging on a limb which made no sense to me. We will examine what happens here more closely as we take this journey together into the doghouse. I would like to state that it is clear that only one of two things are happening. Either the God cannot do it because of lack of power or it does not want to just wave its hand and remove the problem for some unknown and strange reason called the W"ill". After all, the God described in the Bible has so much power it can just wave its pinky and poof a better world.

The easier route would of course be to heal the child, which would build the old ladies faith even more, thus possibly convincing the parents of the sick child to attend church. But that is often what does not happen in fact seldom any real miracles anymore, but lots of new cars, why? My personal favorite was always "God gave me a new car" I would think oh really did he give you a gas card for that new Hummer to? As you can see Pastor Bomær just wasn't cut out to carry the cloth after awhile and if I hadn't already made contact with Shekinah and various other unexplained Beings, by that point I would have been out the door. Due to the paranormal experiences I had with

these Beings inside of the church I was able to at least come to the conclusion that there was still something alive invisibly orchestrating itself in the church. It wasn't all Catharsis as they would like to make you believe, Spirits actually made contact. So then I learned a valuable lesson which is what looks Good does not always come from Good.

First off because the language is backwards when you say God you really say Dog, don't laugh this is something very serious "Sirius". Many people have always been curious as to why God's Name backwards spells dog. For a moment while carrying the Cross I tried to make sense of it so I leaned on the notion that the Dog was God's opposite because Dogs were very bad. This made no sense whatsoever since many Dogs are very kind and plus there are much more evil things than Dogs described in the Bible like Demons or the Devil which would be more like Gods opposite. I could only conclude for awhile that they all begin with D.

Let us just think for a moment, if you where an all intelligent God and you intended for your Name to always mean good, you should probably make it something like YAY, that way no matter if a person pronounced it backwards or forwards they would still get the same thing, right? Surely the Creator of multiple universes re-splendid and furnished would know this if his lowly creation could figure it out. Not to mention the Creator of everything cannot be confined within Names, Numbers, Vibrations, emitted from the human mouth and if it did it would be much too powerful for us to assimilate and then reproduce. It would be worth it to conclude that the Gods, who are separate from the Most High, know exactly what they are doing down to a quantum level.



Reason 87: This is the Dog Star Sirius A, the star of Illumination for many Secret Societies including the Egyptians. They called it Sothis its symbol is the 5 pointed Star. There is also Sirius B called the pup or esoterically "Great Five" this is Anubis, 5 was the Sacred number of Atlantis.

As I began to look at a lot of the terminology being used in certain places it seemed to take me closer to the truth as long as I was willing to take it literally. Our ability to discern what is happening is deteriorating because we think everything is just a coincidence even though there is no such thing. It is of value to make note of the syncs or déjà vu's of your life, also dreams. This is how the Unseen Ones communicate without swooping down on you in full flight scarring the crap out of you which would not accomplish the purpose intended.

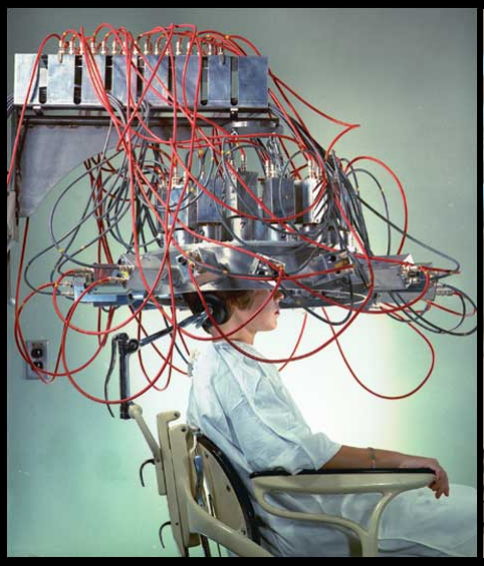
Many ask why the Most High does not just come down here and straighten things out? We say, "Shall the Creation ask the Creator why did you make me this way"? Some even further claim that "He" did. I will venture out for a quick moment to imagine what the Most High is. This of course is very unwise since I'm now trying to comprehend such a storehouse of catamount vesants of condescend Aeonic beams, the Wise, with five puny senses and to add insult to injury I have to use English words, but here it goes. PURE UNRESTRICTED ENERGY, thus if the Most High arrives anywhere near our Galaxy well welcome to the next life because nothing can withstand such force based on common sense, Physics, and Mathematics.

Anything that has come saying it is the Most High is a Deceiver and the truth cannot be found with them and their works prove it along with their words. Notice that when people "Pray" as the word indicates they actually are saying they are becoming the victim and are being hunted, that is after all what pray is, so who is the predator, could it be a wolf? Were the Pastor stands is called the Pulpit, but what is being pulled into the pit? They call themselves Saints which is an anagram for Satins? All books of power indicate the Most High is inside of you so why do so many people when they pray imagine that God lives outside of them, possibly in the sky? This becomes one of many errors we make when we channel our energy to make contact. As it teaches in religions where chakra systems are at least discussed, focusing internally and concentrating on certain energy centers located in your body is one sure way to Enlightenment. Once you have accomplished that you begin to manipulate the energy through your Chakras which are the organs of your soul. Full activation of the Chakras will bring an individual to clear unadulterated contact with the Most High.

The real miracle is performed by the one who has trained their mind to bring about such phenomena without the assistance of an external Being of invisibility causing the phenomena to take place. This does take a certain level of dedication that many have tried to get around. The result of cutting spiritual corners has always been an even greater setback to ones growth. There is no easy way because it is not hard, it has just been made to seem like it is. Once finally emancipated from being dependant upon the rules and false impedances of natural growth you will clearly see our purpose here is to become complete. Not fused and packed together with followers who posses nothing of their own creative thoughts and are just reciting like robots what they learned from those before them that where also incorrectly being lead about behaving like clones.

On the flip side when a person prays they are in fact relinquishing their power and beginning a process of Servant and Master. Our Planetary Ether is saturated with multiple Beings on various frequencies above what the untrained eye can see. The ear can detect some of the Beings which will sound like a ringing in the ear. These Beings have developed an outer Aura incasing their body that makes them invisible thus they can carry out their work on the material realm without notice. Their voices are whispers that people imagine as their own thoughts unless they are Guided. The prayer of the individual which is often known before the request is even made is taken into account and a design begins, this is one of the powers of the All Seeing Eye.

We have way too much evidence linking the Christian faith to Atlantian, Egyptian, and Sumerian Rites sometimes being directly plagiarized from the originals. What I am saying in this case is if a person does their research, which can be done on the internet, and they still do not find the above statement to be true, they could be a victim of mind control which is okay we can work through that. Let us remember that the secret to mind control is never letting the person realize they are under its influence. When the ego is created it will never admit that something like that could happen, it thinks it is too smart. Thus a perpetual system is in place keeping you stagnant, Mind Control, and the Ego/Eagle. Its time that we realize steel sharpens steel the only person that can fix you is you. So as the Book says one should make a "sober" estimate of themselves everyday to be sure they are not off the path and have not deluded themselves all puffed up with pride which comes before destruction.



Reason 88: Every part of the physical mind has been mapped, one will have to work with their spiritual mind to avoid delusions.

Let us examine why it could be possible that the term God is more of a hidden term which traces to the land of Canaan and many other trails. Throughout our recent history lots of attention has been put on the land of Canaan. This is the so-called Promise Land of the Hebrews. Most literature on Canaan is very non-descriptive as to the people that originally lived there and this of course is done on purpose. There religious beliefs, artifacts along with its true name often remain hidden and obscure. After much Guidance pieces began to come together.

According to the story when the cursed Cain slew his brother Able he was marked with a sign so that all who see Cain would know that he had been marked by God thus they could not destroy Cain. It should seem odd that although Cain has killed his brother he is then given a symbol of great protection, just another one of those Bible concoctions where the true story is an esoteric mystery embedded with hidden symbolism thus taking it literally makes no sense. They do so much of this in the Bible it's a wonder the book is legible at this point. Generally the member is trained heavily in blind faith to counteract the feelings which occur when continuously uncovering inconstancies. Enoch son of Cain who wrote more literature relating to the "Fall" for a profound reason noted that this was the double cross. This cross was used in Gnosticism taught in Gnosis, Crete. What is also odd is according to the Bible at this point only 4 people have been created one of which is dead. So Adam and Eve and Cain are the only people spoke of. Here is the scripture:

Genesis Chapter 4:16-17

And Jehovah set up a sign for Cain in order that anyone finding him would not strike him. With that Cain went away from the face of Jehovah and took up residence in Nod the Land of fugitiveness to the East of Eden.

Afterward Cain had intercourse with his wife and she became pregnant and gave birth to Enoch. Then he engaged in building a city and called the city's name by the name of his son Enoch.

Once Cain is evicted it says he left into the land of Nod, the land of fugitiveness, and he knew a wife. This mysterious land of Nod I have traced to the land of Canaan which became Palestine than Israel. In Palestine they have discovered caves completely excavated by what appears to be a very advance race for the time that must have been of great stature according to how the caves were laid out. Our biblical story of Abraham also starts off in Ur of Chaldea and Abraham when leaving Ur enters Canaan where he experiences his first encounters with the God of the Bible. This is also the reason the Children of Israel deemed Canaan the land that was promised to them through the covenants made with Abraham by Jehovah that had to be fulfilled.

Beside the Bible's report the record reflects that after the destruction of Atlantis the few that survived set out on ships. It goes on to say many of them reached land in the area we now know as Canaan. They began rebuilding their Empire warring with the various people currently inhabiting the land. It goes on to report that many sailed further into indigenous territories inhabited by various Indian tribes. Many of these tribes recorded the arrival of the Atlanteans and report that they taught them various sciences, mathematics, and of course a new religion. Being more technologically and spiritually advanced the natives began to worship them as Gods and knew them as Feathered Serpents because of the religion they taught and the appearance of their Deity.

Since there has been so much talk of these serpents we have to at some moment approach the question, are all serpents and reptilians evil? I can only answer this as are all men evil? What follows

now is perspective, think of this. If you where born a lion is it natural for you to behave like a sheep? Obviously not so we all have different characters that at times directly oppose the nature of other species. Just as when ants invade your kitchen because you spilled some sugar, you become their apocalypse when you wipe out hundreds of them with the sweep of a clothe, drowning them as you clean the rag watching them go down the drain. Many would say this is different they are not sentient, We would say all things that move are endowed with the Divine Spark and if you could split it, it will create an explosion such as you have never seen this was done so you could marvel at the Creation and them reflect back upon the Creator.

I tell you the truth there are high life forms that still call Earth home, they are interwoven in its fabric, and to separate from it would be spiritual death to them. Earth is also our current reference point, if it is removed it is possible our memories will be disposed of when we reincarnate again. This is of course if we continue to reincarnate after what happens in the future. The best most could hope for is another repeat of life with no memories in which I'm not really up for. We must admit Earth life is dangerous after awhile in our current atmosphere of illusion. It is easy to bring about so many excesses we not only destroy things around us, but we also bring about the degradation and degeneration of our Souls. Experience is not the only thing the soul needs to grow; in fact experience is a relatively small portion when you consider the Soul can eat Elements, Essence, and Gaseous things found in the atmospheres. We must now build a superhighway down the Path of Truth. Why?

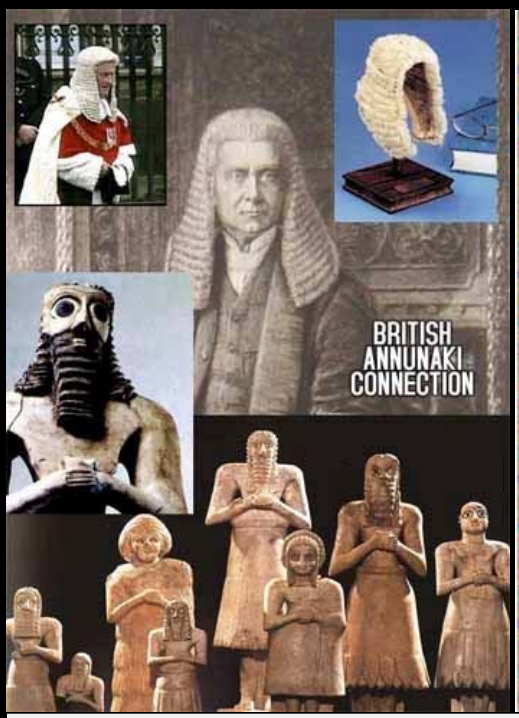
During the invasion of the Anu known also as Ana, life forms from another constellation called Nibiru came to Tiamat/Earth to subdue it. Tiamat known as the Dragon fought the Annunaki who fought back using highly advanced weapons that ultimately split Tiamat. This is the story in the Bible of the Dragon fighting the Angels. Many of our religions are Annunaki propaganda. Their main interest was our natural elements especially the Spirit of man and woman termed, the Gold. Several situations ensued amongst these Beings even a mutiny amongst themselves. These Beings are responsible for the Nephalim stories of the Bible, they altered a race of what appeared to be then pure spiritual Beings of various types, into spirit forms incased in flesh in which they could slave and master over.

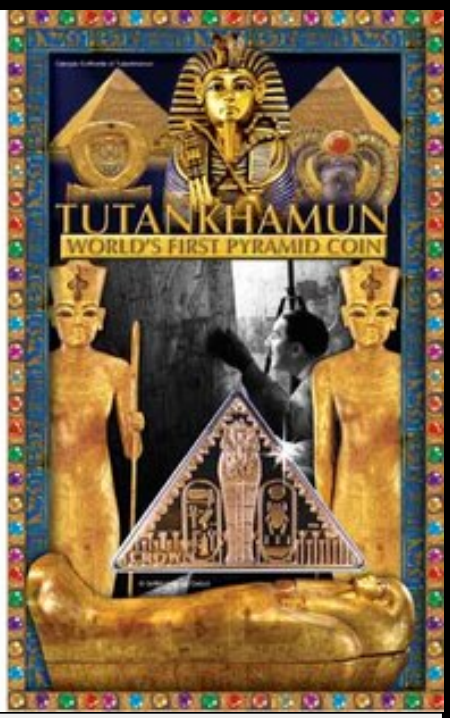
There was said to be a few amongst them that did not like the way humans were being abused and thus they began to teach "their favorites" the ways of enhancing their bodies by linking them to their spirit to become as powerful as the Annunaki, if not even more powerful since we had the spirit element in us given by the Most High. These mysteries of enhancing the body later became known as "the Wisdom of the Serpent". The correct term would be "the Wisdom of the Spirit" who many relate to the serpent because of its spiraling movement and fiery nature.

As things began to intensify word got back to Anu the leader of the Annunaki about the humans and their new abilities. Anu sent Marduk in a ship which is Planet X to handle Tiamat called the Great Serpent and her offspring the humans once and for all. This ship the size of a Planet similar

to George Lucas's Death Star entered orbit around our Sun as the 12th Planet in the 10th position from the Sun hence its name Planet X. This marked the last crossing of Nibiru. Marduk used a weapon known in the Tablets as a Net called also the Net of Indra. This is some type of atmospheric net that keeps souls trapped on Earth/Tiamat not allowing them to continue their evolution. Marduk who is Ra set up the Pyramid systems which I explained above as the first Matrix. Ra then became ruler of the Underworld which is the place where souls go when they remain trapped in the net but have expired their current physical body thus they are waiting on a new one, this is re-incarnation, a curse.

You can clearly see the Egyptian God Anubis serves Anu and is one of them. The Queen of England, who is the ruler of this world, has instilled the worship of Ra, Anubis, and the rest of the Annunaki pantheism under various Sumerian, Egyptian, and Hebraic guises. This is why religion is now so limited except for the few who become high initiates. It is them their duty to continue to suppress us. They are doing this at the bidding of their God Anu who they say is returning with Planet X by 2012. There are many more in high places who also serve Ra such as the Arabs in Dubai.





Reason 89: Parliaments are tools for the Annunaki, they run mystery schools, governments, and practically the entire globe. I have yet to find anyone who opposes this force. They are supremacist such as the ideas the Talmud discusses about Gentiles thus if you are not in leagues with them, you are only a resource that can be abused. Christianity was hatched to seem as if it opposed all of this however it was just another plan to keep humans powerless thus continuing to stall anyone from activating by denying them information of Chakras. We will face the Annunaki in what will appear to be the first extraterrestrial contact on Earth, currently it seems Earth will face utter destruction and enslavement by them, however the Most High holds the key Element of setting such plans to ruin. You must at least individually entreat the Most High.

The Annunaki themselves appear to be originally Reptilian, however, they have blended with various life essences and thus their appearances vary. In addition the Annunaki themselves seldom interact with humans directly, they use their underlings who are humans infused with Annunaki genes and in that state they are wholly indebted to the Annunaki and are controlled by them through a mentally collective cellular connection.

Other names of the Annunaki and their offspring are Anakim, this is why Anakin Skywalker is Dark Vader in the Star Wars Series. They are the Celtic Tuatha de Danaan Sons Dan or the Danu. They are offspring and servants of Sumarian E.A. (pronounced Aya). This is why the new name for our planet is "Ea"rth, three wise men came from the "Ea"st, and the major Christian celebration is called "Ea"ster. They are the Sumerian EL, Akkadian ILU, Babylonian ELLU, and English ELF called by their worshippers the "Shining Ones" or is it Sinning Ones? They altered man, a downgrade, calling them Lulu meaning "mixed one" and Adapa, "model man" who the Hebrews call Adam.

According to the Sumerian text Tiamat's seas were full of souls that could be harvested. This is the hidden meaning behind the Fisher King and Jesus being called "the Fisher of Men". When Planet X divided Tiamat into two parts she released an ocean of souls or cosmic essence into the cosmos. The Greek version of Tiamat was Demeter which is where we get the term Diameter, the cutting or dividing a circle in two, or split. This is how we became separated from our other half. The Egyptian termed these two parts the Ka and the Ba. Ka'bah.

PLATE XIV
Fig 1

—Indara's ✖ Bolt or "Thor's Hammer" on Ancient Briton monument.
(After Stuart.)

Fig 2

a b c

—Taxi as "Michael" the Archangel bearing rayed "Celtic" Cross, with Corn, Sun Goose or Phœnix on Phœnician Coins of Cilicia of fifth century B.C.
(Coins after Hill.)
a the Phœnician legend *MKLL* or "Mikalu"; and in c Phœnix Sun-bird before fire altar, with bearded Corn and two-barred handled Cross.

Reason 90: Indara is seen in this rare Plate carrying the Double Cross/Net. Indara is Cain and plays the role of Ra/Marduk. Their descendants are a different breed created on the 8th day from dust, offspring of the ones who beguiled the pure world.

What self aware spiritual entity would agree to a life of slavery? I was enlightened and made aware of what is transpiring and since my eyes have been open, I would rather die on my feet than live on my knees. The Annunaki see the Earth bound souls as slaves, criminals, deviates, prisoners of war, detested social and racial groups, non-conformist and undesirables. Hammurabi's Code, which later became the Ten Commandments found also in the Egyptian Book of the Dead became the guidelines issued to this race of souls to give them rules and conformity. Various plans have existed to keep us from reaching our real potential through the Art of Conviction.

Ninharsag the Sumerian Hathor or Isis was called the Great Cow. Legend says she is the true power behind E.A./Aya. She was called the Carpenter, the Coppersmith, and the Lady Potter. Later her name was changed to Gabriel feminine such as Gabriella. Gabriel appeared to the Virgin Mary alerting her of the birth of the Christ Child Jesus. In 600 A.D. she visited Muhammad dictating Koran to him. She is a Seraphim, meaning serpent of Raphim or Rephaim another Nephalim Hybrid connection. Gabriel used the caduceus rod to translate the soul of Christ along with "the Holy Ghost" into the body of Mary. It helps to see this as advanced technology of Spirit insemination.

Reason 91: The caduceus staff was in fact some type of Annunaki technology used to transfer spirits into matter and manipulate energy through the tuned vibrations of the carrier.

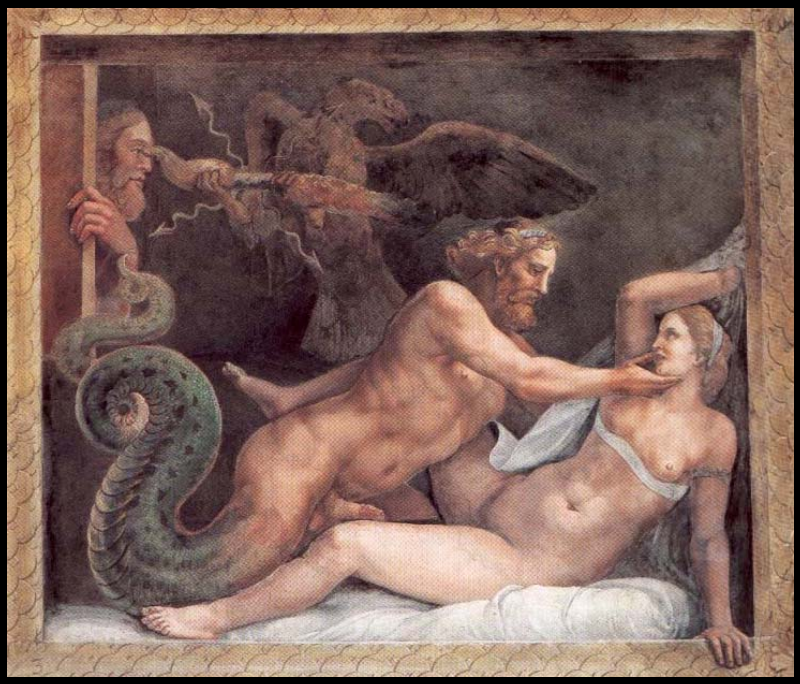
Again the level of mind control brought forth here is profound since we are taught that we are all children of Abraham and we have all descended from the Twelve Tribes of Israel. For some this may be true but let us not forget that Abraham had a father also and while they where all in Ur of the Chaldeas you had Nubians populating Africa, Asians in the Orient, and various other races that had never heard of Abraham. The Bible speaks of in Genesis a Man and Woman created on the 6th day in the Image of God and another set created on the 8th day from dust. The difference between these two creations was one had spirit/compassion, while the other was very base. This is the main drawback of the genetic manipulation. Many underlings are of the other race of Adams of whom care more for material prosperity and could care less about a dying world, helping children, etc. Still others are now mixed with both. There is obviously a silent war going on between at least 2 separate races.

Looking deeper into the K-9 affiliations to clarify the Dog itself is a domesticated Wolf so what we are really dealing with here are Wolves which fits the term, Wolves in Sheep's clothing. Sheep's clothing is a metaphor for a human body. In Canaan which has its roots in the words Cain, Canine, K-9, and others relating to the Canine species there had obviously been some interaction with the Wolf later domesticated into the Dog. This interaction can be looked at no different then the Chinese and the Dragon in which they claim in there ancient tales where their original descendants. To explain many things that have drawn a blank to most historians it may be necessary to look further into the true meaning of the Animist involvement in various Nations.

Following the pagan tradition many would leave their young in the woods around packs of wolves to see if they would take the baby as their own. Of course this lead to hundreds of babies being torn apart by packs wolves. It is said some were taken into the pacts of wolves and the she-wolf would care for them. It is said at times when seeing these youth full grown in the forest they had inherited all the traits of the wolf, just as the shaman follow certain animals around to gain their traits. This gave birth to the mythology of the Werewolf or Liken.

Reason 92: Romulus, where Rome gets its name from killed his brother Remus. They both where suckled by a she-wolf who found them abandoned in the wild.

The scriptures say the Nephalim that roamed the Earth during the time Humans were created sinned against woman and then began to sin against the Beasts. What I have more than enough evidence to prove is that statement meant some type of insemination between animal and Demi-God that brought forth what we would now call mythological creatures. In the old days they became revered, feared and worshipped. It can be proven that many of these Beings make up the tales of Ancient Mythology when Centaurs, Cyclops, Cthulhu, and various other part man/part God/part animal creatures were roaming about, this was known as the abomination. In addition it states in the ancient text that when these Creatures died they had Souls thus they did not perish but roamed upon the face of the Earth and man called them evil Spirits and they could be evoked. This is the accounts that can be found in the books of Enoch the first man to write about the God of the Bible and what was taking place during those times. Interesting enough his books did not make it into publication and remained in the esoteric circles for hundreds of years. The list of the names of the Fallen Angels located in the books of Enoch were very important to the Elite for evocation.



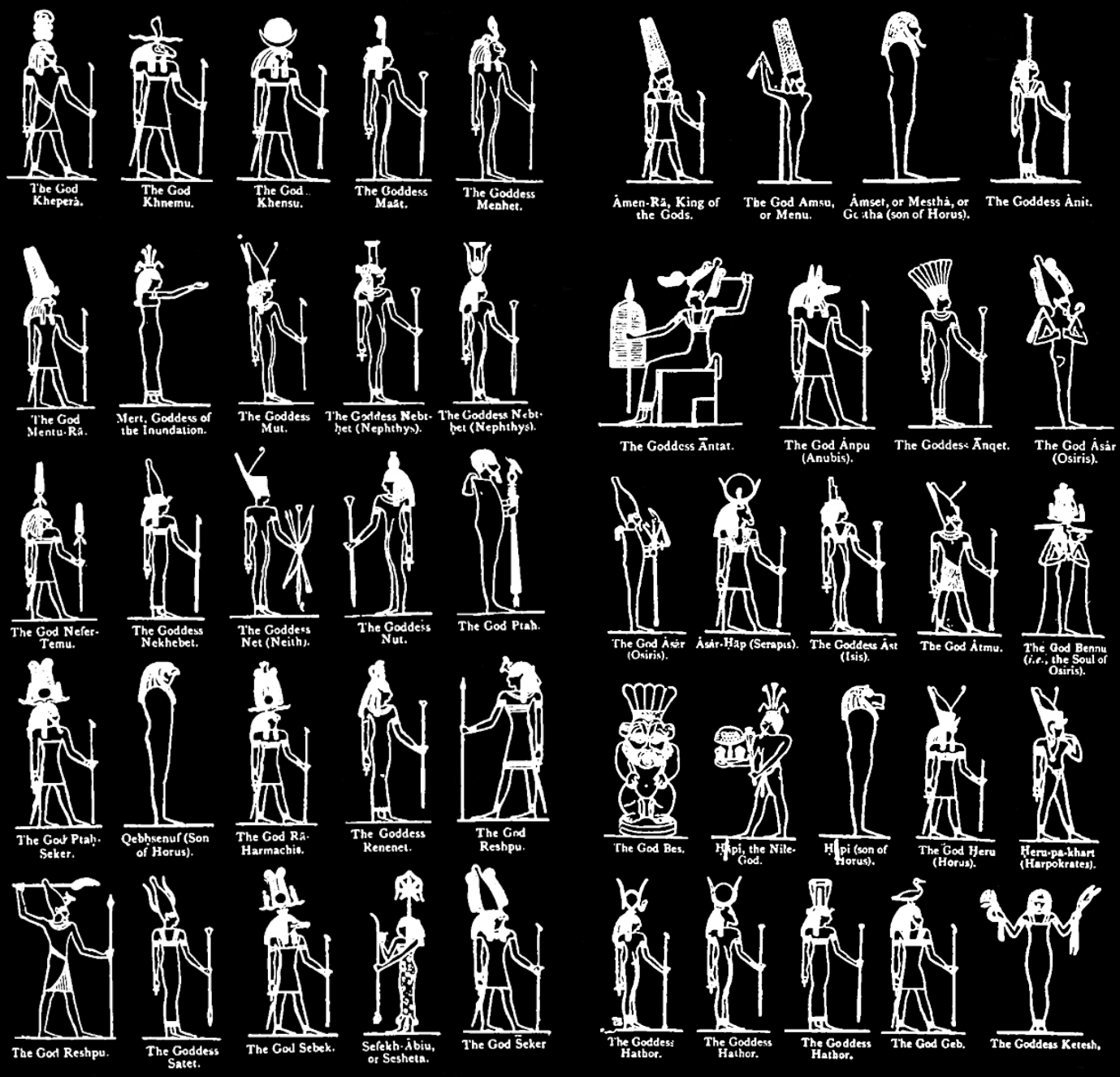
Reason 93: Some of the offspring of the Nephalim that were reptilian and amphibian hybrids lived much longer and became kings. This is how the bloodlines began. The intermingling with woman continued in order to spawn successors.

Since the ruling powers have clearly sprang forth from Ancient Egypt a little Egypt 101 wouldn't hurt. The Great Pyramids point to the Sirius Star system more commonly called the Dog Star in Canis Major. On January 1st Sirius reaches the Meridian Point at exactly midnight. This is of course the beginning of the Gregorian Year. In Egypt this was the most important star, it is not only the brightest star in the sky it can also be seen from anywhere in the world which many stars cannot.

The Egyptians called this star the Goddess Sopdet pictured riding side saddle on a large Dog and at times as an actual Dog. She is known as the wife of Osiris who is Orion. She was also known under this same star as Sothis and Sophis which is were the Greeks got the term Sophia from their channel of Illumination. Sophia was the exact equivalent to the Holy Ghost and Shekinah which is the power Jesus used to bring about miracles along with the wooded staff passed from Aaron. In the actual Egyptian text Isis/Sothis is noted giving birth to the Morning Star Venus. The Morning Star is Jesus of Nazareth. As the Bust of Isis says, I AM Isis I have brought forth the Sun/Son.

Reason 94: The Pyramids of Egypt are the portal to Sirius and also Amenti the Underworld. Once again Sirius is indicated by the 5 pointed star. This would mean all those using the 5 pointed stars are evoking energy from Sirius which spells the Underworld in the afterlife. The Atlantians built the Egyptian pyramids as temples and portals to the Deities worshipped in Atlantis. Atlantis means "Is" daughter of Atlan.

It is a fact that Pantheism can be confusing at times which it was created to do and since the Egyptians had over 3000 Gods and Goddesses there was lots of confusion all the time in Egypt. With the advent of so many people entering Egypt the local Gods of the Egyptians were always picked up by surrounding tribes who admired Egypt's success accrediting it to their patron God and thus becoming devout worshippers. There is a constant sea-sawing back and forth between Osiris, Horus, Isis, and Ra. Consider how many servants are in this world versus Masters, the Gods abound and the Humans are left powerless and made to serve. These Serpent Dynasties never stopped ruling they simply branched out and comingled setting up hierarchies and pyramid systems of control everywhere they could subdue the people by war. They roamed/Rome about the land seeking who they could devour leaving a trail of blood from the Delta to the Americas.



Reason 95: The various Demigods of Egypt were of the lineage of ancient Atlantis. Other Deities such as the African Bes became part of the Pantheism due to the power accredited to him by worshipers in Africa. Egypt absorbed all the powerful Deities throughout the land and thus the people where wholly dependent upon serving and carrying for the Gods who often manifested as the royal families. Generally they where trained in techniques of mental power, then given a rod to intensify those powers. To the people they had the power of Gods.

Everything that is living first examines what it was before, so it knows what to become next and this can be seen even with microscopic life forms. This means that if they tell us lies about what happened in the history of this world, as a race we face not only heavy mental alteration but also

possible extinction. We are not continuing on our true cycle as I explained above about descending. Real Zodiac does give a pretty accurate layout of your character but we have the ability to change our ways permanently thus altering our DNA, this is the marvel of the Human race. Considering how long this charade of playing God has been going on, this may be the first time at least in this segment that such knowledge of the inner workings of our society has been placed in our hands. Not to mention this is probably the first time a mass of people are at a comprehension level to at least grasp what is happening. In the history of man the masses have been powerless with little intellect.

The Human mind which I mentioned before is more like a wheel turning. When we get set into habits it creates a groove in the brain. Deeper grooves are habits that have been practiced for longer periods. This is where terms like "stuck in a cycle" or "getting into the groove of things" come from since a cycle can also be looked at as a wheel. It has been also observed that it takes 22 days to make or break a habit, good or bad, which has the effect of allowing the grooves to flatten back out. So the Human mind becomes a record with grooves playing often times the same vibrational song everyday. The first thing you realize during astral travel is that you are not the body, you are more like the Alien on the movie Men In Black that is very small but powerful sitting in the operations seat of a giant body, something like an organic Montauk chair. The other thing you will notice when you look down upon your body is that obviously your memory and senses are not contained in your body because you are still using them.

This is one secret of obtaining Higher Character, even if you have not astral traveled before, knowing that you are not the body releases you from the many expectancies of normal life and gives you another framework, the soul, to build upon. When you have dreams if you notice the shear detail that is involved in the environment you realize that we are a lot more than they are letting on about. We are capable of doing amazing things. There is even a part in our mouth that makes 3 different types of saliva for different situations. It becomes obvious that we are not in a Ford with the standard parts we have been fashioned with bells and whistles that we have not even explored. This knowledge of enhancing the body has been held selfishly by the Elite Alchemist but now we are hacking Morpheus/Orpheus and in a moment he will tell us everything.

Most are completely unconscious of who they were in former lives. Sometimes we catch glimpses of it in dreams, often smells and sounds remind us of something that we remember but cannot wholly identify. The Sacred Order of the Mary's in fact had unlocked the secret of certain essential oils that had the ability to regress anyone smelling them into memories of their past. The loss of collective life memory has everything to do with how strong your Spirit is when it departs from this world. We are living in a time where if you look deep enough you can find most of this information. This is all we need and possibly all we will get. I see it as useless to keep coming into lives in which we have no full knowledge of our previous experiences. The best advice I can give the reader is to begin to work on growing your Spirit which we will talk about as we go along.

SYMBOLS

The Elite communicate in Symbols and Designs which are far more powerful than words. These markings are embedded in our consciousness and serve as triggers for various emotions and concepts. I will take this time to tell you that you should not become a warrior when you begin to discover what is going on and anger or vengeance moves you to combat it directly. You should always keep your weapons in your mind and not in your hand. Warrior also means a person who worries/worrier so much once they figure out how much strength and cunning the other side possesses that they actually send energy to the negative forces when they become overwhelmed and behave foolishly.

Remember what we face as a society is something that we all must confront at some point; one person can not fix this world on their own but each person can do their part in getting out information of the Truth. This way those who are still confused can make up their mind as to which side truly resonates with them so they can go about it fully and not half heartedly. The whole construct of this Book is not to down any religion race or belief system. It should be seen as a detailed observation and not a judgment. In the Book of Revelations it says "how I wish you were hot or cold but you are lukewarm and I shall vomit you out of my mouth". This means that individuals should not straddle the fence, whatever they are going to be they should get on with it. This whole activity of truth seeking does wonders for our complete growth so it should be looked at as such. Everything that you have experienced will all come to your aid one way or another when you have purpose. Let everything you do have purpose.

With this information you now have a chance at saving yourself and others. The last thing you want to do is become so scared you no longer want to know anymore. In the unknown you can be found because you have not yet discovered your true self obviously because you are not even flying or at least floating yet. I give this pointer very sternly; fear is indeed the mind controller. You are stopped at times from learning anything more because of the internal feeling of death and the lies about what really happens after death. Many people hold on to their religious preferences because they feel it will save them in the end even though they break most of the rules of the religion. It would suffice to know that when you die you go to the place corresponding to your mentality or frequency hence the term Judgment or a Judging of the Mental.

Society has been trained to love lure and ceremony thus the preacher with a "fiery sermon" gets more attention than the sometimes boring metaphysic who is explaining how the body can really work the miracle they are so busy ranting about to make it seem like such a big deal. Individuals will begin to need their powers in order to survive, that is the pressure placed upon us in the end of this segment, evolve or face extinction. Once the mental portal is reopened and the person becomes "open minded" again, most of the instructions, activations, and experiences will happen during sleep. If you

where completely transported from this world never to return, it would take place in your sleep. It is unclear what happens to your body here, some say it continues as if it's you and behaves just like you through residual memories action and reaction, people never know you are really gone. ☺

In Egypt where much of this is amplified we find the Cult of Isis. Many believe with the masculinity of the Pharaohs the women played only roles as normal Queens called by them, Ferts. In all actuality the Egyptian Empire functioned as a Trinity and the female part of the Trinity became absorbed under Isis. To maintain it as a Trinity all the other Gods and Goddesses were summed up under the main ennead. Cleary Osiris-Horus-and Isis make up the Egyptian Trinity. Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar make up the Babylonian. Isis represented Ninhursag, Nin-Ella, Inanna, Ishtar, Ma'at, Mare, Mary, Mut, Nephthys, Hathor, Nut, Diana, Asteroth, Astarte, Aphrodite, Athena, Tuart, Bast, Usertesen, Ida, Mylitta, Baalath, Anahita, Ashur, Aasith, Kodesh, Sophia, Sothis, Sodet, Shekina, Magdelina, Europa, Ganeymead and many others.

This became possible because it was the so-called God "S" "female energy" that equated to the enlightened portion of Spiritual training so when an Initiate came in contact with the actual Spirit of the religion it often personified itself in one of these Goddesses who all remained under the same umbrella. This is why even to this day Isis under many forms is worshipped heavily. Our statue of liberty is a rendition of Isis. Her main sign is ($) which is the word ISIS compressed into one symbol. Some of the countries of their origin are Assyrian Ishtar, Phoenician Ashtoreth (Astarte), Syrian Atargatis (Derketo), Babylonian Belit (Mylitta) Arabian Ilat (Al-Ilat). Again their home is the Asteroid Venus, Sirius, and the Pleiades.

Their species seems to be completely foreign hiding under the guise of Illuminating Warrior Goddesses. In the ancient text it says a fragment landed in the river Euphrates shaped like an egg. Somehow those who interacted with this egg became infused and infected with its essence. Those infected became the first communicators of the knowledge and message these Beings brought to Earth. These are also the Beings movies like "the V" and "the Knowing" are describing. They have an agenda to take over the world completely and they have major assistance from just about every main religious and social group. This is due in part to the powerful role they play in religion.

The natural instinct for man to gravitate toward a "Mother Goddess" figure comes from the separation of our other half. The want to interact with this magical feminine Being is played on and exploited by these imposters, some of whom are responsible for the initial split or Maya as it is more properly called. In addition for the woman, since the God "S" is androgynous, he gives her the Son of the Sun. She begins to see this as her husband, protector, and father figure. Most women are deprived of one or the other if not both in today's common society. There is obviously not just one faction doing all this. You would have to think, man and woman are a very advanced species it would take a collaborative effort to keep them in the darkness of what the true reality is.

Reason 96: There was a saying "the devil has many names" I first found that to be untrue when learning who Satan was. Especially since Satan and Lucifer are actually two different Beings. When considering ISIS however it all makes since, this is how the re-occurring Savior theme exists, and the key component is always the mother with Immaculate Conception. Immaculate Conception is really the Deity having some type of intercourse with the woman producing an offspring. This offspring then attempts to become ruler of the world in his father, "the King's", steed. Many of the hyperdimensional Beings want the title "Lord of the Earth", so they never cease these "divine conception stories". This happens now through the royal families such as Prince William becoming the next King. Their family history however is riddled with the involvement of various Forces. They are carrying the "Bloodline" so they most certainly are not completely human. I do believe we have something in our constitution about that, what a joke.

We as Human Beings are utterly ruled over in this dimension, our needs are extremely meager compared to what we are originally entitled to and yet those needs are seldom fulfilled. These Forces also extend into the Dream World and the Afterlife so there is no rest for the weary. Until they are confronted they are consistently hatching plans to make an individual believe none of this is going on, somewhat of a strange zombie phase. I will tell you now you can live every day in such a high state of energy and these Beings are jealous they cannot do the same, they are forbidden from it. It has gone

asleep in them never to awaken again because of their corruption. All the blending, enhancements, and greed for power has made them numb they don't even feel alive, they are the undead.

This state I speak of that you can return to is not just the feeling of everything going well, but the feeling of having the perfect companion. Something so gratifying that everything external does not take an inkling of attention from it as if it does not exist. You become wholly endowed with it spiraling together forming endless states of ecstasy. Their most powerful weapons are their religions, this gives the power to them directly from our own Souls; it is time they are removed. I'm not sure if this will take place in large numbers however I am sure that it does not matter, it is what you do individually that counts.

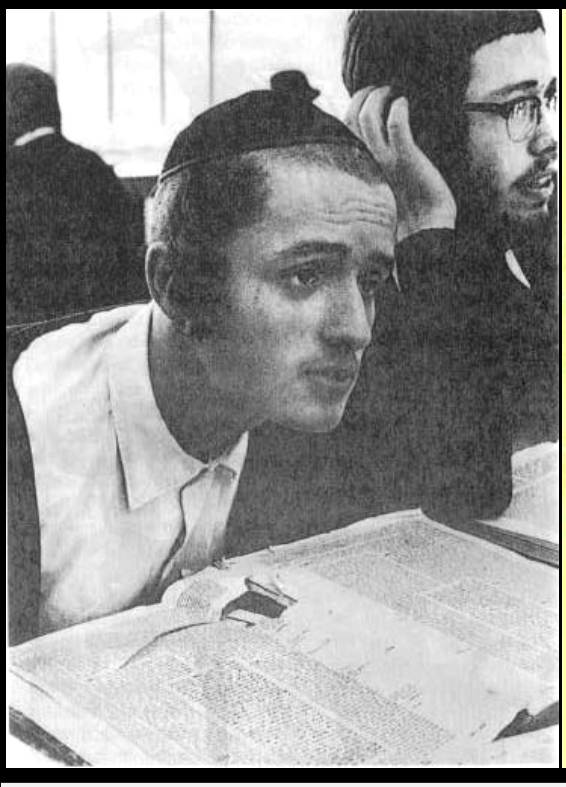
There is a lesser light which emanates from below that spawns countless distorted images, soon they will be placed in Shoel in which We fixed a door for entrance and none for exit, then the world will see Freedom, if you but knew. Many looking now will say "he is joking" but We do not jest.

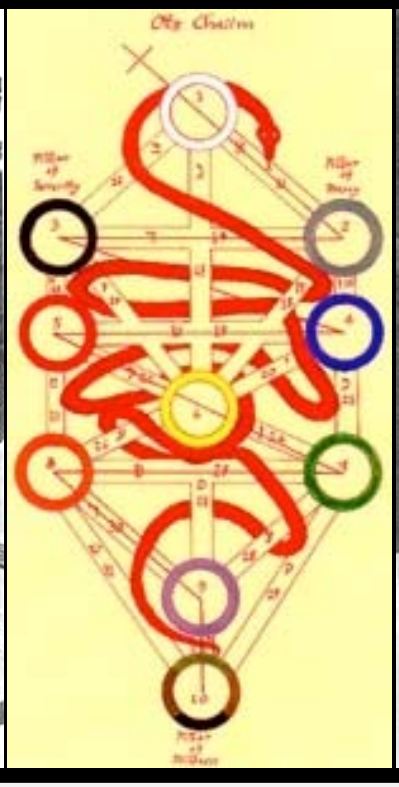
Now unveiling the Goddess will take place as Madam Blavatsky claimed to do when she wrote her book *Isis Unveiled.* She of course was in no position to do such a thing being fully initiated herself and remember their oath is to keep silent. However, they are allowed to push propaganda and disinformation. Once again the Goddess as we know it was a play on words. There is actually a symbolic story being told about Adam and Eve in the garden with the Serpent. It is known that this story should not be taken literally but has a much deeper meaning. It started with this uneasy feeling that there was something that was a big secret about the word women. You find Omen in the remaining part of the name meaning a deep hidden meaning. Eve is the root to the word evening. The Hebrew version is even weirder since the name used for Eve in Hebrew, Haveh, actually means serpent.

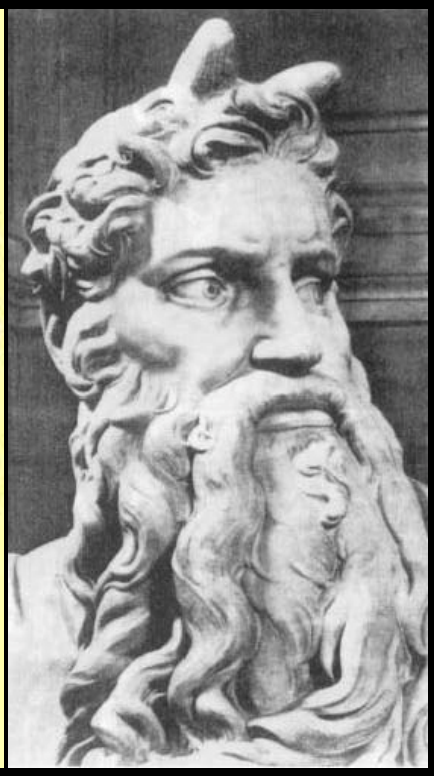
According to the original Zohar, a major root of the creation story, it makes it clear that the Serpent in the Garden was a female serpent not a male like it is commonly believed. Pre-Adamites or "before Adam" were Masculine Spirit Beings called Sons of the Sun who took physical form and mated with these women. These female Serpents known as the race of Namaah and Lilith, caused Chief Angels like Aza and Azrael to fall from their post and mix with them.

The Zohar continues to blame AMALEC as the wicked Seraphim while Metatron is called literally "The Good Serpent". This is incredible, it admits Metatron is actually a serpent and goes on to admit that Enoch became Metatron once he was translated to heaven thus Enoch was also a Serpent. Several times the tribe of Shem makes it clear to indicate they are inbred with serpents. This makes it concrete that the Enochians are linked to the Serpents. It says "the Priest came forth from the dead Sophanim who died in labor. The baby was born with the sign of the Priesthood which was a lustrous (scaly) hide. The baby had just been brought forth but sat upright immediately and showed the sign of the Priesthood and they where struck with terror." In the many Hebrew texts where it says

"He created Man". To them HE is the feminine attribute. The Tetragrammaton is Yod-He-Vau-He. The "Yod/Yah" is the Masculine fire entering the Feminine "He" birthing the Child "Vau" "V" and the world will return to "HE", so they believe. Cohen, Hebrew for priest is an anagram for Enoch.







Reason 97: Thousands of children every year are indoctrinated into Animist religions depriving them of their true potential. One of the most widespread religions in the world, Judaism, still keeps Moses' depiction with horns on his head. The Kabbalistic Tree of Life is the same tree from the Garden the Serpent offered the so-called fruit from. This fruit was signified as an apple which has a Pentagram in its center when cut in half. As said earlier that Pentagram is the symbol of Isis/Sirius/Sothis and her consorts, also her opposite, when inverted and they are together not separate which we will address when its proper?

Someone once said that if you ask a person for an explanation and it becomes very confusing it means they do not know themselves or they are hiding the truth. When asking someone in India teaching through Hinduism or someone in Judaism teaching Kabbalah how to increase union with the Most High you are buried in thousand page Gitas with confusing Sanskrit words or mile long scrolls of Rabbis with nothing better to do than take one passage from the Talmud and make a thousand page explanation. Truly do you believe it is that hard to enhance the spirit? Of course not these people are placed in the way to make the journey lengthy and hard. As I said above many have not obtained what they originally sought, which was freedom. Now they are enslaved by the religion and their subconscious wishes to have company in their misery.

Reason 98: The Five Pointed Star is not the symbol of the perfect man it is the star of contact for Sirius and all the various Beings that make up the Pentagram including the Inverted. These "feather weights" think the Most High has left this world never to return, and they are having a free-for-all. They know not we even watch the All-Seeing-Eye.

Looking through ancient times the Moon was actually not feminine but masculine. The Moon went by the name Sin and Ah. In so many ways the God "ES" shows that it is actually an androgynous serpent. Many women become Moon Goddesses to link with more women that are about healing and tapping into the feminine power which of course is wonderful. However, I have seen the start and finish of many of these groups and it almost always leads to initiations and then if you reach the height of these organizations like those in Mount "S"hasta or "S"edona just like ancient "S"aqqarra they go into deeper forms of Yoga like Hatha/Hathor. Giving the neophyte strange names with false meanings to chant while opening chakras. Doing things such as imagining thousands of Buddhas filling their soul. Then they tell you that it's really all Hinduism and the power of "Sam"ahdhi and learning to wield "S"hakti, the serpent energy comes into play heavy with "S"iva. The person is subtly lulled to sleep while the flute plays with the lies that the Serpent just means complete wisdom. Yes the serpent has a lot of wisdom and it has been fooling man and woman with it with the helps of Hybrids and Traitors.

Of course many men joined the cult of the Goddess imagining that it was a haven for beautiful forest queens who when approaching or should I say flowing towards you, bathed you in swells of spring Marigolds as rabbits and dear bound behind them joyously laughing and singing in delicate waves of Solfeggio. The Serpents could of course create that Illusion long enough for the person to be lulled into the trap. They eventually become so laden with negative Spirits they are deluded and confused. The Masons, Rosicrucian, and Ishmaili Hassassin's are a primary example of organizations that have tricked the spiritual arm of men with this type of nonsense. The most they could produce was a debased Bacchanalia. I encourage woman to keep yourselves on guard. Just to show you how much the serpent is suggesting that it made things look at these words of power.

“S”piral: When you go out to the ocean and look at the shells you will see the spiral force, when you watch waves of energy you will see the spiral force, when you look at your fingerprint you will see the spiral force, all the way to the “S”wirl” in your head you will see a spiral force. It’s safe to say our Creator uses a spiral force when making things, no straight lines.

“S”pirit- The Ethereal Being of consciousness.

“S”phere: Our cellular level exists entirely of spheres.

“S”pin: Another word to describe the spiraling motion.

“S”oul-“S”ol: The life force of heat, warmth, and vitality.

As discussed before the “S” is the primary symbol of the Serpent in the English alphabet. All of these forces, like the Sun, Soul, and Spiral had other names that did not begin with “S” it was simply motion, however, when the 70 languages where introduced across the world they all received this indoctrination of “S”’s vibration and thus a false relation to the Serpent that has permeated the subconscious mind. This mind control technique makes it easier for us to go with the story that is being told more and more which is the serpents are our creators. A serpent has no voice box and can only whisper thus everything they say sounds like Sssssss. They are sometimes called the Whispering Ones. A famous prayer in Islam says “Allah protect me from the whispers of Shatian”.

Reason 99: ADDA NARI is androgynous and keeps a serpent around the neck as most all Hindu figures. Hermes the thrice born who is Thoth was also androgynous. The joining of the masculine and feminine where taken to these vulgar "literal" levels as another deterrent from true spiritual unity. In Hindu teachings one is taught to work from the root Chakra up, thus much of their teachings are based on Tantrics and the manipulation of sexual energy. Many are now saying the proper ancient teaching was from the crown Chakra down thus the person escapes the traps of getting stuck in an animalistic carnal phases which often happen when lower chakras are turned on before the higher ones. This is also why many New Age leaders such as Rael are heavily into sexual expression rather than mental and spiritual enlightenment. Their doctrines are based on sexual freedom which feels good but does not feed the original desire of enhancement.

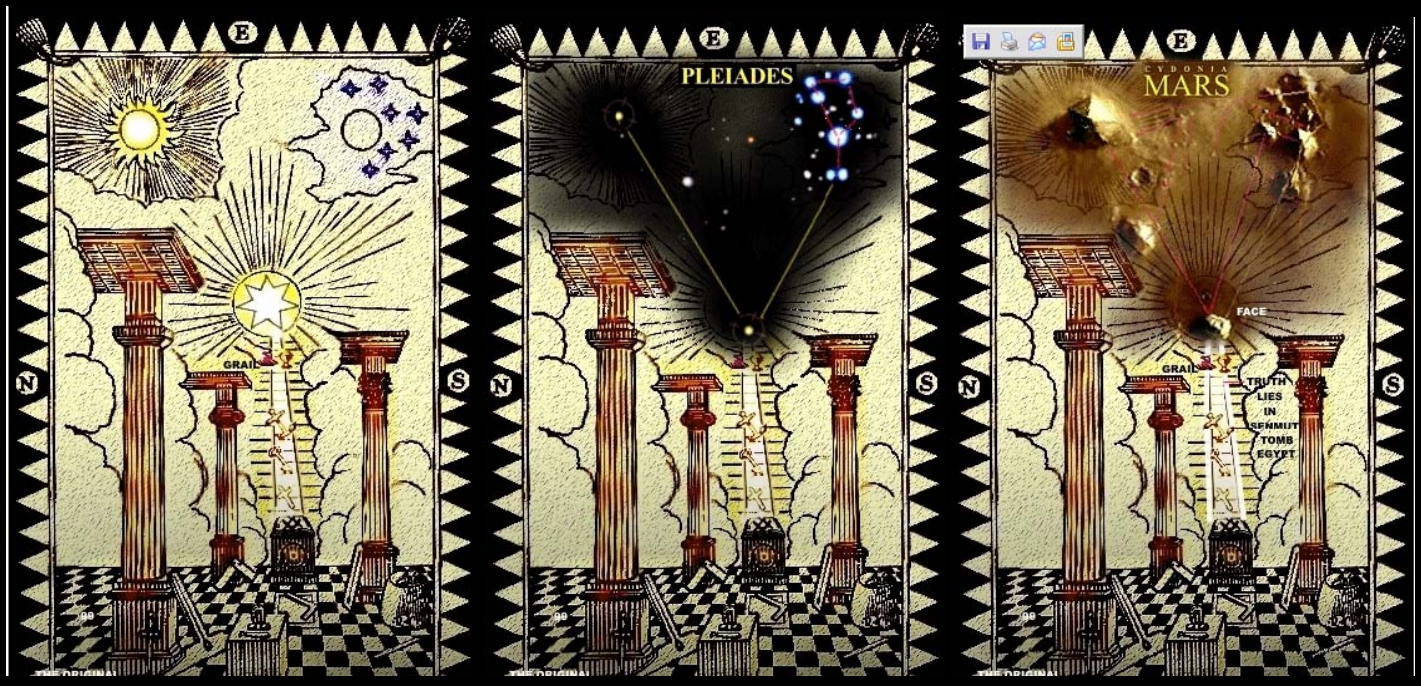
To understand these Entities is to realize that the world is a lot more diverse then they are revealing to you and we are not the only intelligent life form here by far. Here is a big example. When the United States went to the Moon, which happened although not when they filmed it, the speech that was written for Neil Armstrong read thus, "one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind". What is this difference between man and mankind that they must be separated? Could they be possibly alluding to something here about another race like we pointed out in Genesis? Furthermore what kind of man leaps? Of course I know the answer but I'll leave you to do the brainwork. If you can't figure it out, read on and it will come to you.

In legend Isis is always with Anubis a dog-faced God sent to be her protector. Nepthys Isis's sister is said to be a female dog also. What is also interesting about this tail were their strange relations with one another. It is said that Osiris mated with Nepthys by accident birthing Anubis. Nepthys was Isis's sister thus connecting Isis to also being part dog part serpent. The child between Osiris and Isis became Horus/Horse/Mane/, Isis did not suckle the child but instead allowed the child to suckle from Anubis the Dog. Isis relocated to Byblos and wept that she could not bring Osiris back to life after he was cut into 14 pieces by his brother Set, until a certain time since the 14 pieces signified the 14 phases of strength of the Moon.

The story continues, it was during one of these crying sessions that a woman named Astarte appeared to her from the Court of the God "S". Astarte is where we get the word star from. The arrangements made between these Beings have always been kept a secret until now, not to mention this whole story in completely allegorical. On the Masonic tracing board at the top of the middle pillar sits a seven pointed star known as the Star of the Pleiades also called the Seven Sisters or Seven Hathors. It becomes evident that there is actually a group of female spirits, who are immortal, that are enlisted by the God "S" who have been attempting to steer the destiny of the Human race, these women are better known as the Fates.

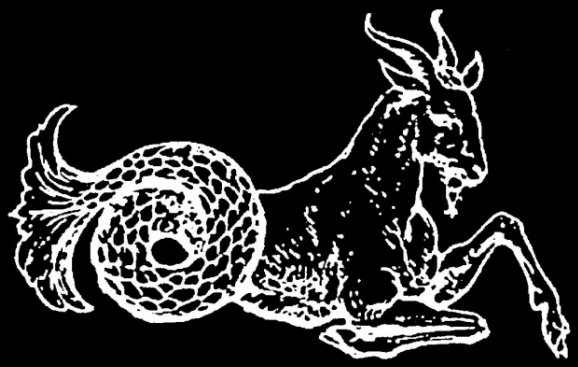
These Fates are the key women who mated with the Nephalim and produced the offspring of heroes and villains with various forms and powers. Originally the cult itself was under APIS the Bull

thus many of these women where depicted as cow goddesses. Later that morphed into something entirely different including them now being looked at as some space faring group of Illuminating Goddesses rather than a cult that would sacrifice a Bull while the vestal virgins bathed in the blood. How soon they try to make us forget as old forms attempt to take on new ones but We have the records as the Agents of the Most High will always dictate faithfully.



Reason 100: The inside story is the Initiates were betrayed by the Goddess who sold them out to the Serpent. As you can see by the Masonic tracing board this stems all the way back to Mars. There is no telling the extent of what is really going on and what kind of trouble the Elite have gotten us all in to, even worst their code of silence keeps their lips sealed.

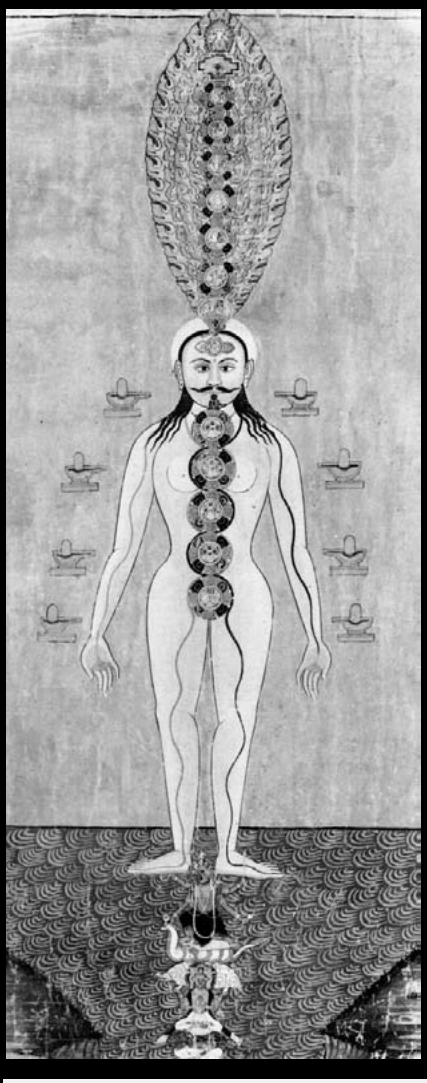
Let us keep in mind men cannot bring forth child whether immaculate or through inseminations thus the creatures that are part humanoid resulted from the union of woman and various Beings. It is no doubt this was sometimes done by force. Alchemy was the title given to the Art of blending elements. These elements were not always base chemicals, many where organic. The blending of plants and animals to see the results was something of a religious science in Atlantis. This is why many of the creatures have aquatic appendages.

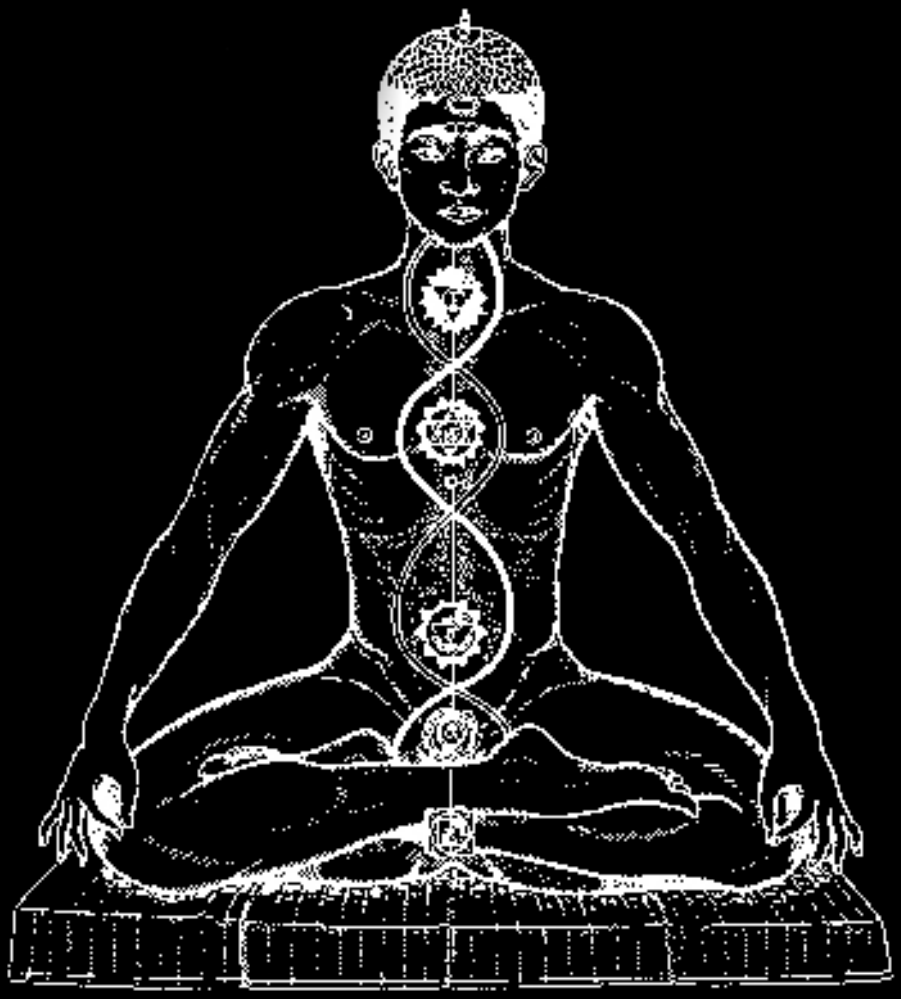


Reason 101: This may all seem a little weird now because this part of our past has been placed in the dark for obvious reasons however these Beings Deified, meaning they are worshipped and are still alive today. Many creatures where part amphibian part beast with incredible spans of life and Spiritual energy. The Ocean is vast unexplored territory. One could not amass the resources to attempt to find their kingdoms and even if they did they would never return. At the current level of human intelligence there really is no reason for other life forms to take interest in such an uneducated limited species we have been turned into. The real mystery of Atlantis is the Island was submersible it never sank they rule from below. Under Sea, Davy Jones's Locker, David and Oanes.

Before we get back to Sirius business I will say that the human has extreme potential. I will show you how it is clear that the knowledge of who we are is being hidden. Even while writing this I can feel the doubt of the people that will read, but it will lessen as the realization sets in. This is also what symbols do on a very deep level. I have purposely embedded this novel with certain symbols that will allow you to remember who you are. Be sure to think of my definition of remembering which is

reconnecting your various scattered members as if you were also cut into 14 pieces and had to find all of them to become whole again. Smaller in number we are but great in mind.



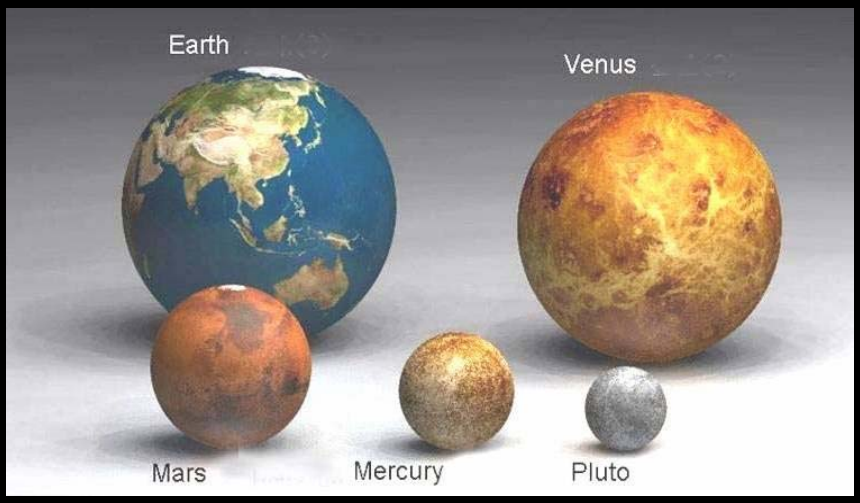


Reason 102: From what I have studied thus far it is highly possible for a company like Sony to make a game that would activate and balance your entire chakra system all while you where trying to break your previous high score, its that easy. The body has a system of various energy wheels. When they begin to oscillate, it is unexplainable the things that you can do. Laying crystals on Chakra centers and going to sleep is another way to get Chakras at least cleared. There is a big difference between cleared and activated Chakras. When one Chakra opens, even if it is the root Chakra it will be accompanied with a paranormal ability. The system can be powered up through breathing techniques such as whole body breathing. The Chakras are the Jewels encrusted inside our bodies, once they began to shine again the true splendor of the Diamond Body will be seen.

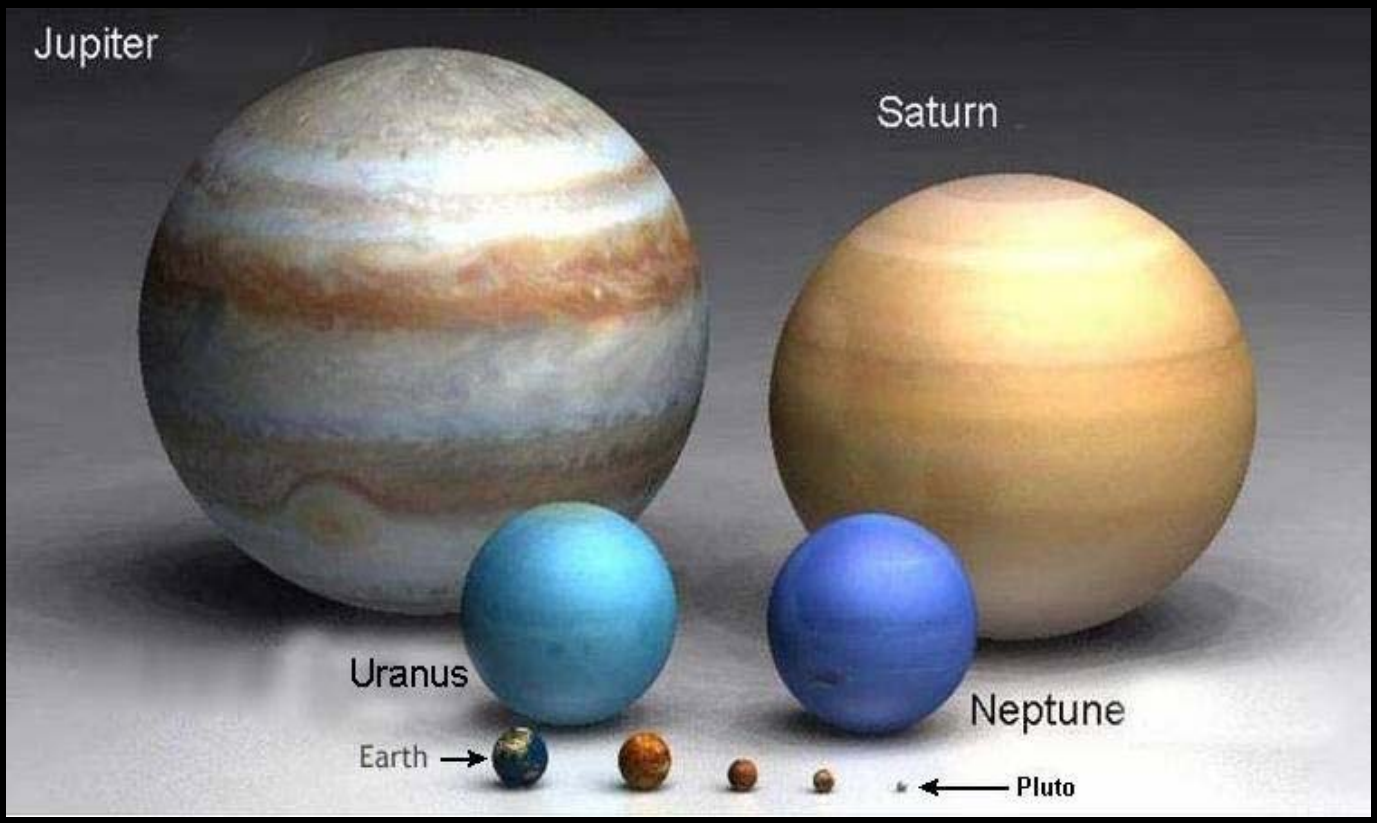
There are certain abilities that come by default when the body is fully activated they are: Make oneself small in an instant. Become infinitely large at will. Defy gravity with a levitation field. Touch any object at any distance. Dive through solid ground like water. Total control over all the elements. Create and destroy matter. Instant materialization of thought. It is also clear why such abilities may

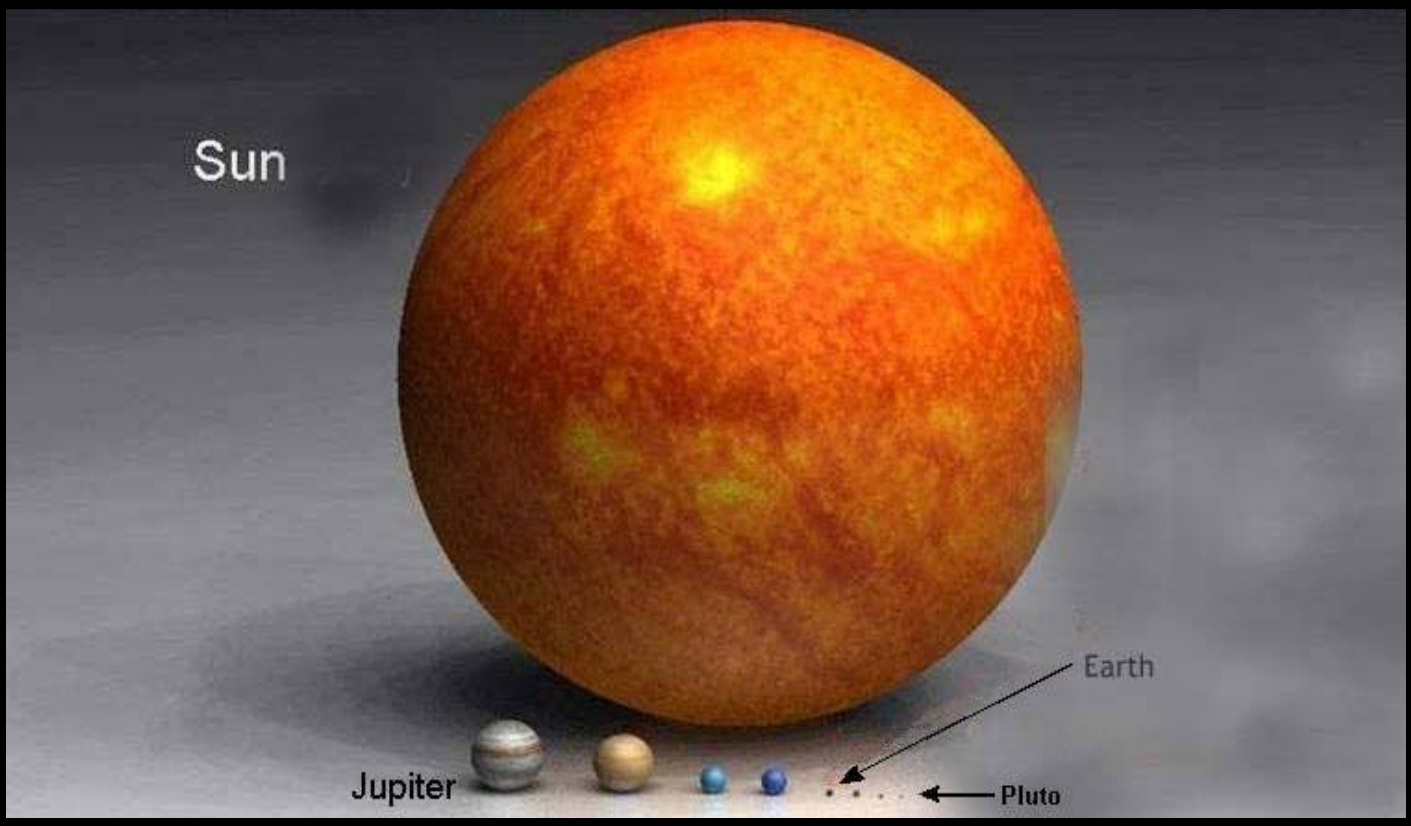
need correct training and also correct judgment on timing of when to bestow such gifts on a person. If this was the norm in society we would be an entirely different race. Giving a person these abilities with the mentality they have now developed due to our world status quo would be a problem. So this makes something of a catch 22. This is why one has to work on separating themselves from the normal mold of thought. Something is always watching and always guiding. The moment the student is ready, the master will appear.

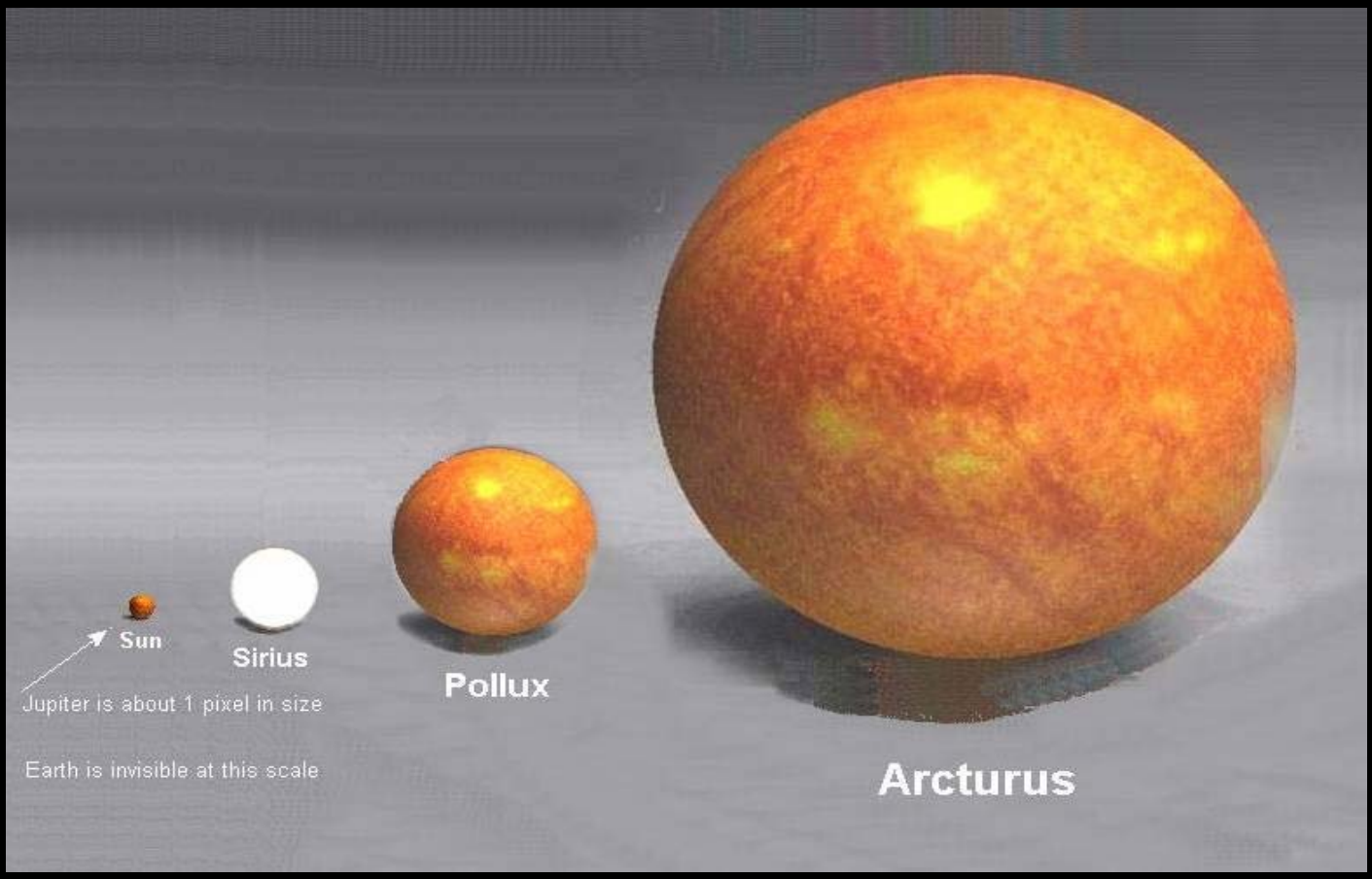
A few important facts about the Binary Star Sirius: Sirius is a white Sun many times bigger than our own Sun. One looking at the size of Earth compared to many of the other Planets may be left with a dismal effect.

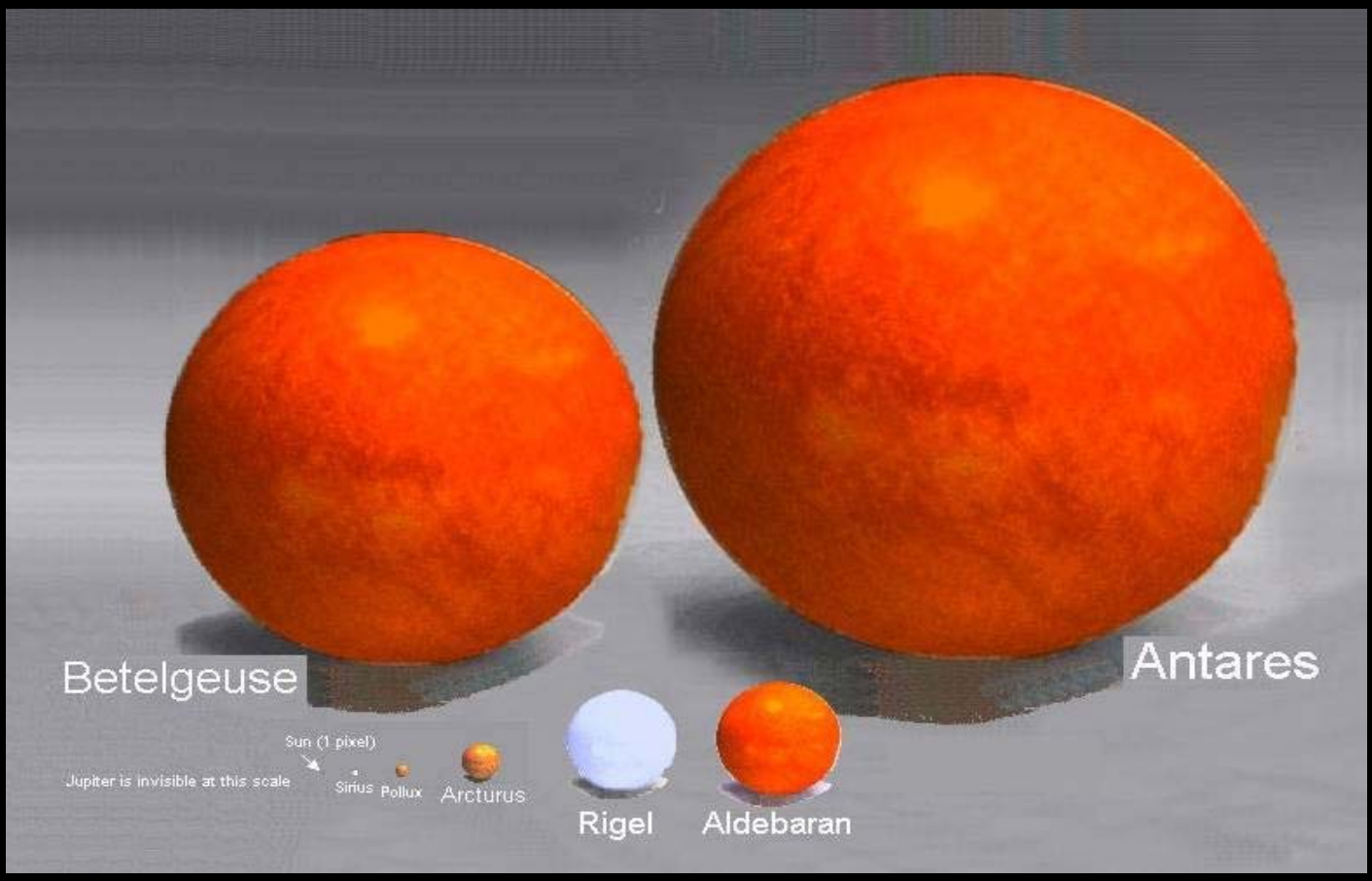


Reason 103: Be sure to keep in mind Venus is an Asteroid almost the size of Earth. Mars was three times larger than the Earth and now this is all that remains. Amazingly each human corresponds to some Quasar or Star.




Sun
Earth
Jupiter
Pluto

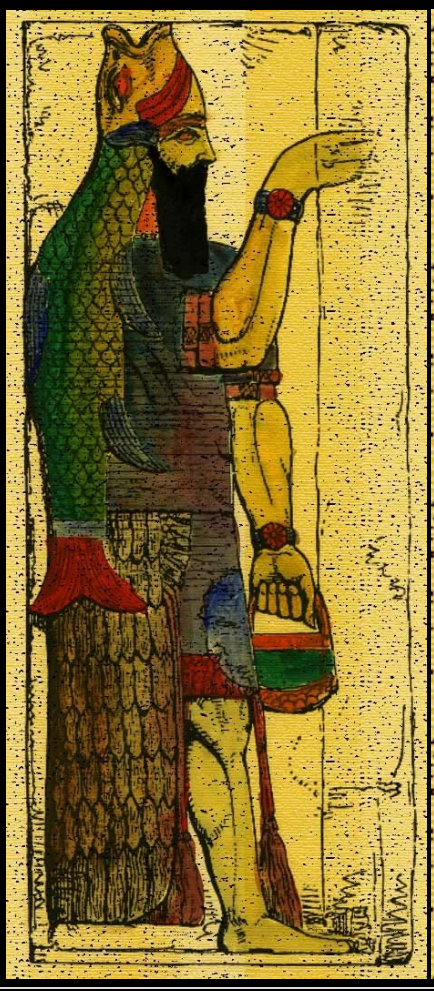

Sun
Sirius
Pollux
Jupiter is about 1 pixel in size
Earth is invisible at this scale
Arcturus

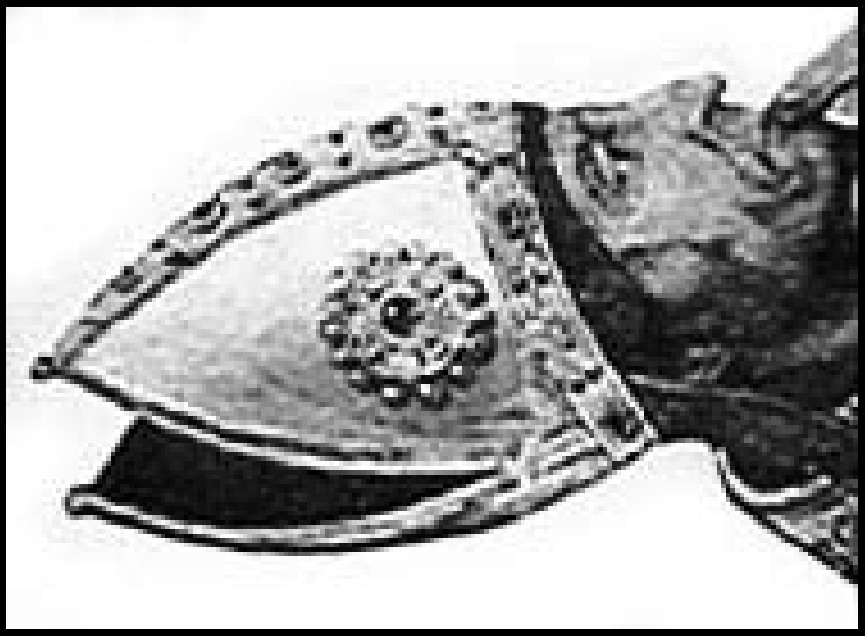


In Roman times Sirius was known as the Red Star and they sacrificed red dogs to the star. Sirius B contains the entire mass of our Sun in a globe only 4 times bigger than the Earth. Sirius B's surface is 300 time harder than a diamond while the core is 3,000 times harder than a diamond. This Planet makes "23" rotations on its Axis per minute thus generating a huge magnetic force. Every 50 years Sirius A and B come so close together they begin to spiral around each other at enormous rates. Once huge tidal forces are generated by these two Stars they eventually flip-flop positions. This energy is eventually released to flow on magnetic lines to the Sun, which transmits it like a lens to all the Planets. Sirius B is the far more massive out of the 2, in Harry Potter the evil character Sirius Black or Sirius B is introduced. Despite that Sirius plays the bad guy one should not believe Harry and the rest of the Witches and Warlocks are good. This is a game the Elite love to play. They make two sides that I like to call bad and worst, then they make people chose, either way they win, like Democrat and Republican.

Earths cycles have been full of various creatures of a different variety as you have already seen. Some have died out and only their Spirit remains. Some have been hunted and killed for various reasons and still others remain underground. The floods did from time to time wipe out many land mammals, however, aquatic Beings such as amphibians always survived thus the oldest kingdoms remain under the Ocean. The primary oceanic race to come forth was Atlantis. There species include that of Oanes known as the Fish God. Oanes was Father of Poseidon and Dagon. Many say he had 12

sons. These Amphibians had at times war with the Reptilians and that's why through history it appears the Serpents are actually fighting each other. True, the Serpents do at times quarrel amongst themselves with a survival of the fittest dominancy embedded in their cultures, however, they heavily quarrel with the "Am"phibians which all look the same to the commoner.





Reason 104: Oaness God of the Sea who connects with all aquatic creatures, dolphins, whales, octopus, etc. Dagon the Son of Oaness is pictured here also, the fish being the reason why the Pope wears a Fish Hat, they worship Dagon and various others. Remember Pantheism is the belief and worship of more than one God. A hidden mystery is in the Holy Sea/See. They are referring to the Sea in which Oaness rose from. In addition Caesar means Sea (Cae) Snake (Sar). The Mother of King Dagobart was said to be rapped by Dagon while taking a swim in the Sea. His name means Priest King of the House of Fish. This was the beginning of the Merovingian Bloodlines. The Mer is the root of words such as Mermaid. Mer means a special light they are called Meropes who also connect with Mount Meru.

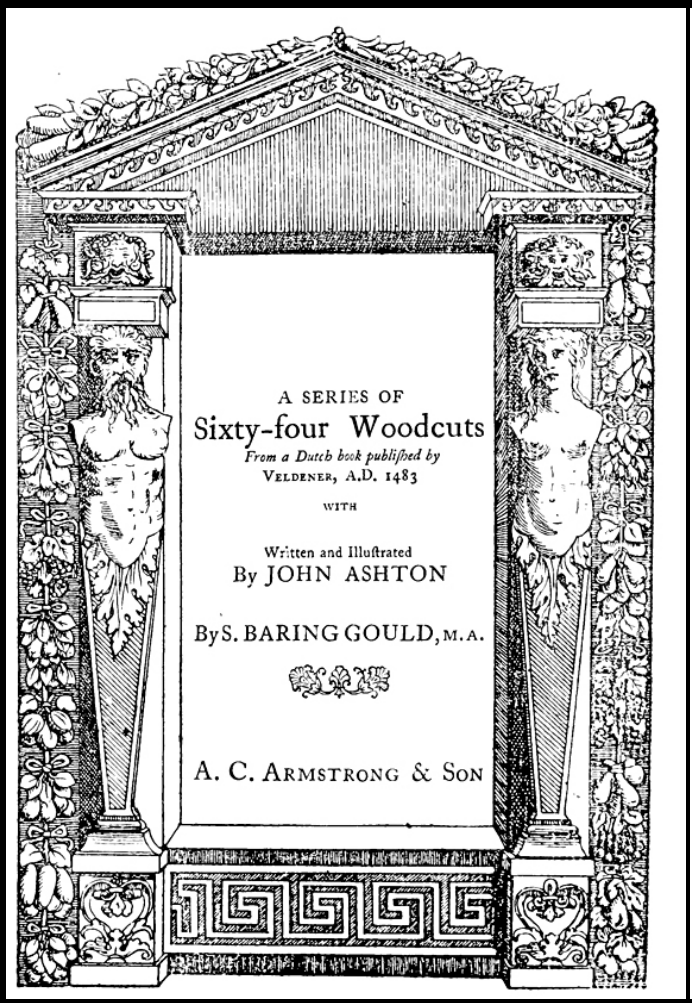
This is how they control you in the Matrix by illusive consent which cannot be reversed unless you are aware of it. This is the doctrine of the Holy Sea. The Soul is seen as a Fish/Ishim out of water when it enters into Earth the material square. The instant the mother's "water" breaks her ARGO/Cargo descends the birth/berth canal. There is a Doc/Dock on hand to take the delivery. Once born the baby is under Earth jurisdiction of "Mari"time Law as opposed to Natural Law. These are the laws of the Matrix one must abide by. A certificate of Birth or "Manifest" is written itemizing the condition and specifics of the ARGO/Cargo. The baby or Vessel is given a "SS" number then granted privilege to go ashore. If it gets in trouble the accused Soul finds itself in court once again standing on the dock/docket. The Soul is considered dead while sailing in the "Earthy Container". It is a ship in the bottle seeking the dock that will allow it to unload its cargo, the human biological transformational apparatus, and re-enter the Cosmic Ocean. If all this doesn't seem fishy to you keep reading.

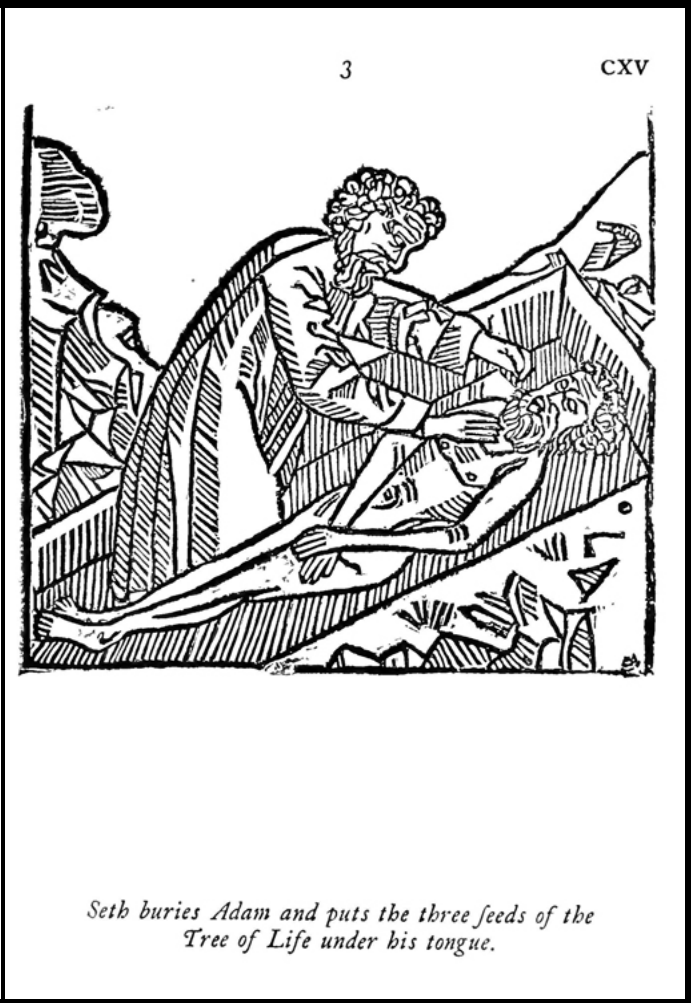
To perceive in all this that one Human has value without personally doing Spiritual work is a drastic mistake in proportion to size. The current theme is that we are all connected and the Human is very valuable to the future of the Universe because of that connection. It would be better to perceive it this way, we are all connected to something, how that something effects the complete system is what's of value, meaning are we just one screw in the device or are we the generator? Surely we can lose screws and replace them easily but the generator is another matter. What part we play will be determined by whether we educate ourselves to the highest potential possible to reach our full magnitude to gain the choice that exists beyond the influence of such large celestial bodies in space and the diabolical fiends of Earth, this is called the Great Reward.

The Fleur-de-lis which is one of the most popular symbols of today has many meanings as you can see above even Dagon has it on his crown. First it symbolizes the three pieces of Holy Wood of the cross. This is the deepest meaning. Apparently this Tree of Life was actually a real Tree and pieces of it were taken about through history by important personages until finally they crucified Jesus on it. The Tree had more meaning than Jesus in the Gnostic sects as Jesus twin sister "Ma"gdelena would carry the Bloodline and birth the future Anti-Christ. This lineage has birthed a succession of Anti-Christ and Christ personages through history. To have an Anti-Christ you must first have a Christ so they created both. Symbolically the Tree is also the Three which is the Trinity the Triangle, or the top of the Pyramid. "The Cornerstone the Builders Rejected", which is Masonic jargon.

Reason 105: On the left Jesus is seen using the Holy wood to heal. On the right Thoth is building energy with the rods and transferring that energy through the Ankh.

Below you will find a story that barely survives written or should I say carved in 1483 before the King James Bible was written in 1611. This reveals the true origin of the Christ and the Cross less they continue to lie and deny it altogether and have us all confused in the Lake of Fire with them groping about wishing a drop of water would be given to cool the tongue. The latest ploy is Jesus had a cousin named Jesus also who was from Gamala and he was the imposter, not the real Jesus. They will continue to create more and more explanations until every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess Jesus is Lord. There is no way a story can survive for thousands of years with the exact description of what occurred. It is a fact that the story of the Savior created through immaculate conception along with special healing powers who dies and is resurrected is shared by Chrishna, Hindoo Sakia, Thammuz, Hesus, Adonis, Alcestos, Atys, Crite, IAO, Indra, Aeschylus, Bali, Mithra, Quexalcoate, Quirinius, Thulis, and Wittoba. Do not be unwise and believe all these figures where attempting to imitate Christ. Christ was attempting to imitate them.





Reason 106: The letter that looks like an "f" with no cross is an "s" so this reads Seth buries Adam and puts three "seeds" of the Tree of Life under his tongue.

cxvi 4

The three ſeeds ſpring up.

5 cxvii

Moſes always has the three rods with him.

cxviii 6

NOTICE HOW MOSES IS ALWAYS GIVEN HORNS

With them he makes water flow from the Rock.

cxx 8

A PRIEST OF MOSES IS ALSO GIVEN HORNS
THESE ARE THE HORNED GODS

Moſes, by dipping the rods in the waters of Marah, ſweetens them.

cxxiv 12

The rods heal a leper.

9 cxxi

MOAB WAS TAUGHT AS FORBIDDEN LAND FOR THE HEBREWS YET MOSES PLANTS THE TREE THERE?

Moſes plants the rods in the land of Moab.

11 cxxiii

The rods heal the ſick.

13 cxxv

THE DEEPER HIDDEN MEANING BEHIND THIS STATEMENT IS REVOLTING AS IS THIS TALMUD WHEN REFERING TO THE GOYIM OR NON-JEWS.

The rods turn three black men white.

cxxvi 14

David leaves the rods for the night.

15 cxxvii

In the morning he finds the rods have taken root and have become one tree.

cxxviii 16

David builds a wall round the miraculous tree.

cxxxviii

The Queen of Sheba tells Solomon of the holy nature of the wood.

37 cxlix

THIS WOOD CAN ALSO BE LOOKED AT AS A WAND WITH SPECIAL POWERS MANY MARICLES THAT MOSES AND JESUS PERFORMED WERE WITH THIS WOOD MOSES CARRIED IT AS A STAFF..

Diſciples adore the Croſs, the ſick are healed, and devils caſt out.

cxxx 18

Solomon orders the tree to be cut down and uſed in the Temple.

cxlvi 34

MOST OF THE STORY I HAVE HAD TO SKIP SAVE THE PARTS OF VALUE BECAUSE ALL 64 WOODCUTS WOULD FILL NUMEROUS PAGES UNECESSARILY.

The holy wood is made into the Croſs.

cxlii 30

The Jews bury the holy wood.

33 cxlv

THE WOOD WAS REDISCOVERED WHEN DIGGING THE POOL OF BETHSEDA WHICH HAS ITS OWN MYTHICAL TALES OF ITS MIRACULOUS HEALING PROPERTIES WHEN THE POOL BECAME STIRRED BY WHAT MANY BELIEVED WAS AN ANGEL.

The High Prieſt told of the diſcovery of the holy wood.

L

49 clxi

St. Helena gives a portion of the Croſs to Conſtantine.

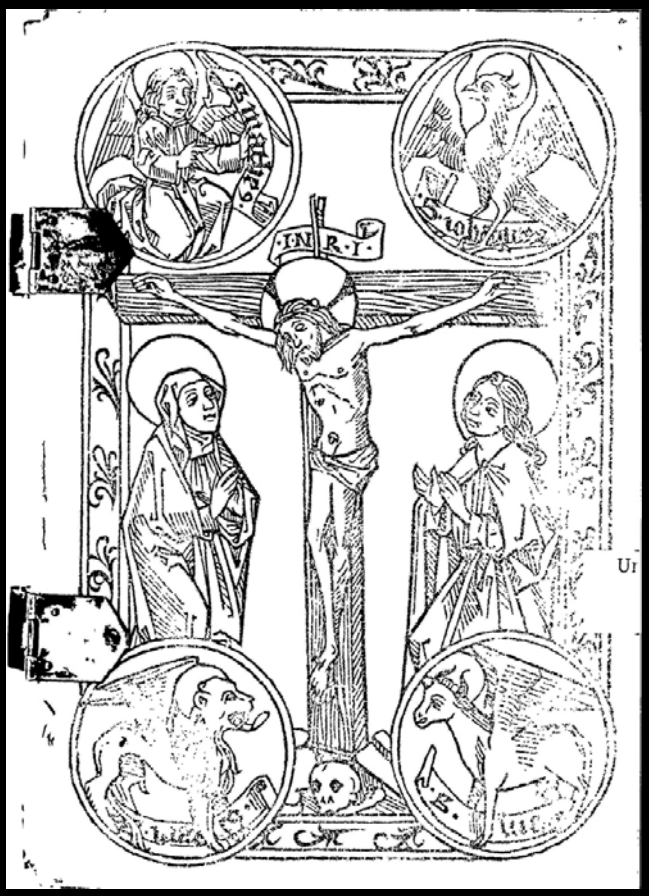
clxii 50

Conſtantine depoſits his portion of the Croſs in Byzantium.

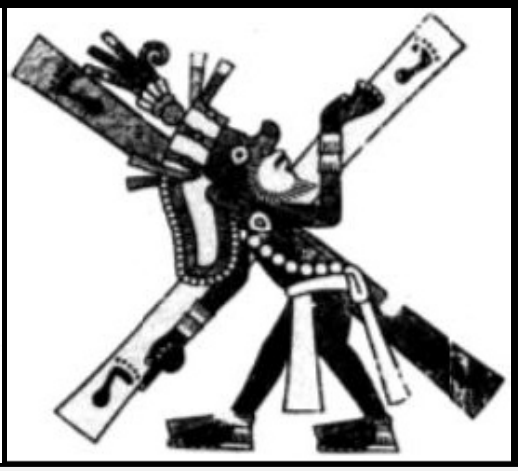
59 clxxi

NOTICE THE WIZARDS HAT ON THE TOP OF HIS THRONE.

Heraclius takes poſſeſſion of the relic of the Croſs.



Reason: I only took the time to place these woodcuts here because they are on the verge of being lost, the originals remains in the British Museum. This story concludes with a peace of the Wood being taken to Rome and used for magical purposes. All those in possession of the wood became world rulers. The last Czar of Russia had a piece of the wood in his ring. This is Aaron's Staff that Budded, and the Staff that turned into a Snake and swallowed that of the Egyptians. Symbolically this story is all about the Tree of Life which made men magicians, and gave them supreme dominance connecting their lineage back to Set, I mean Seth. As you can also see the 4 beast surround Christ on the Cross in the final cut. INRI, Igen Natura Renovatura Intergra.



Reason 107: As you can see by these three artifacts predating the arrival of Jesus the story of the crucified divine savior on a cross is nothing new. Even the picture on the right which seems like an exact depiction of Jesus on the cross is actually Osiris conscribed way before the story of Jesus on the cross. Every era has been accompanied by a crucified savior story, there is no use in reinventing the wheel it always serves to disarm the people making them believers of something that is coming to save them and wash all their sins away. Your sins and wrongdoings are your own past get over them and balance them out in the present by your deeds. Nothing or no one can do this for you. Adults are behaving as children with such naive beliefs. People will soon see where all this leads and who these men really are.

The Fleur-de-lis was also the symbol of the exotic Blue Lily. This was a flower that grew out of the marshes of the Nile. The Kemets/Egyptians were masters of chemistry and Alchemy this was the core religion of the Priest. Kem is where these words derive from in fact, the Egyptians had extensive knowledge about minerals, plants, and animals this is the meaning of each side of the triangle.

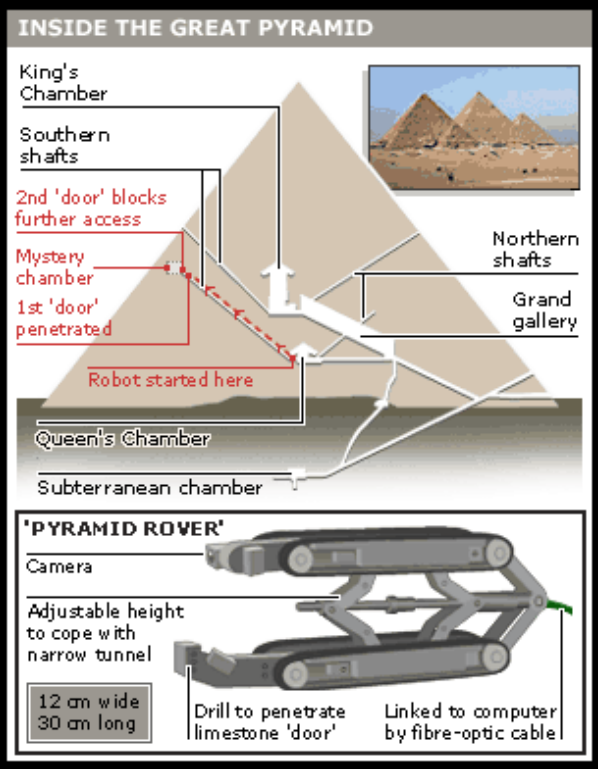
A little digging uncovered that during the Initiation Rites, the Kemites, would procure concentrated doses of the Blue Lily and administer it to the Initiates. They would then place the vibration rod more commonly called an Ankh against the back of the Initiate's neck to transfer vibration. After this the Initiate would be lead through the inner chambers of the great Pyramid, each room carried a particular frequency that would prepare the body to go into an astral death state. Finally they would be placed in the Sarcophagus and depending on the initiation his or her soul would descend to the underworld, Mars, or Sirius due to the Zero Point field of the Great Pyramid lined up on the Van Hallen Belt on 6 major ley lines. In that moment they would meet the Lord Dog of the Underworld Anubis, Bael, and others all surrounded by the hounds of hell and many other goons like Ra hanging out in the Netherworld of Dar which is were we get the word Dark.

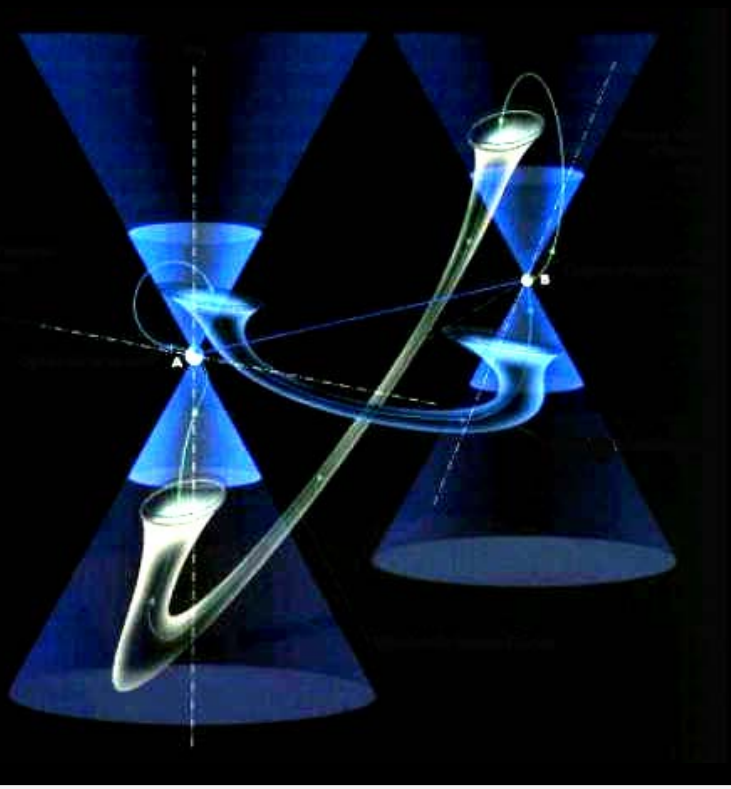
The Fleur-de-lis is also the symbol of the Jester's Hat or simply the Trickster or Magician who concocts magic and illusions. Just as you see the Three Wise Men come from the East also known as the Magi. You will begin to see that although it is profusely banned in the Bible for all others, often time people who are in the "Grace of God" are affiliated and acclimated with magic. It goes further to admit that Moses himself was schooled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Even in Egyptian legend there are stories of other men parting large bodies of water just to find jewels that had been accidently dropped in the sea by the women were rowing the boats. Janus and Jambres had no problem duplicating Moses' magic when it came to turning the staff into a Serpent his magic seemed to be a little more powerful. These acts are also symbolic but are mistakenly taken literal. It also mentions Dathan a well known name in Adept circles connected also to the Nephalim. In the Bible it says it was Dathan who caused the Hebrews to make the calf again. Tis true the Nephilim have enticed man to do foolish things like worshipping a calf. Of course this also has far reaching issues that effect the Spirit but let us just consider what this does on a basic level. How much time will one waste and how dense will it eventually make them if they consider their Ultimate God, a calf? Then they turn around and eat it.

The true meaning of the word Magi is lost at times in the modern pronunciation. It was originally pronounced Magus like maggot the larvae of a fly. A Magus also known as a Mage, Magi, or Magician gave themselves this name because they worshipped Bel-zubub the Lord of the Flies better known as Baal and Bael. Many names like Baal, Jahovah, and Moses are Titles and not actually names of individuals, they form collective energy. Those who followed a certain God would change their personal name thus joining themselves to the God. Ezekiel and Daniel were both servants of El while Isaiah and Nehemiah for example where servants of Iah called also Jah. Many of these Names connected to the same Godhead.

Reason 108: The Mage and Jester played an important part in the King's retinue as it was their responsibility to keep the King entertained and informed of things of the spirit nature. Eventually the King would be hypnotized by the Magician thus the Magician was really the King. In this picture you see the Magician standing behind the King and the Jester at his side.

The Beings of the Underworld are the overseers of the Illuminate and they give all the orders as part of the Unseen Hand. It was understood that a person would never disavow because these Beings were capable of hyperdimensional travel, shape-shifting, etc. Once the predestined time elapsed the Initiate was resuscitated by the Kemetan Adepts and that was the beginning of the induction into higher degrees.





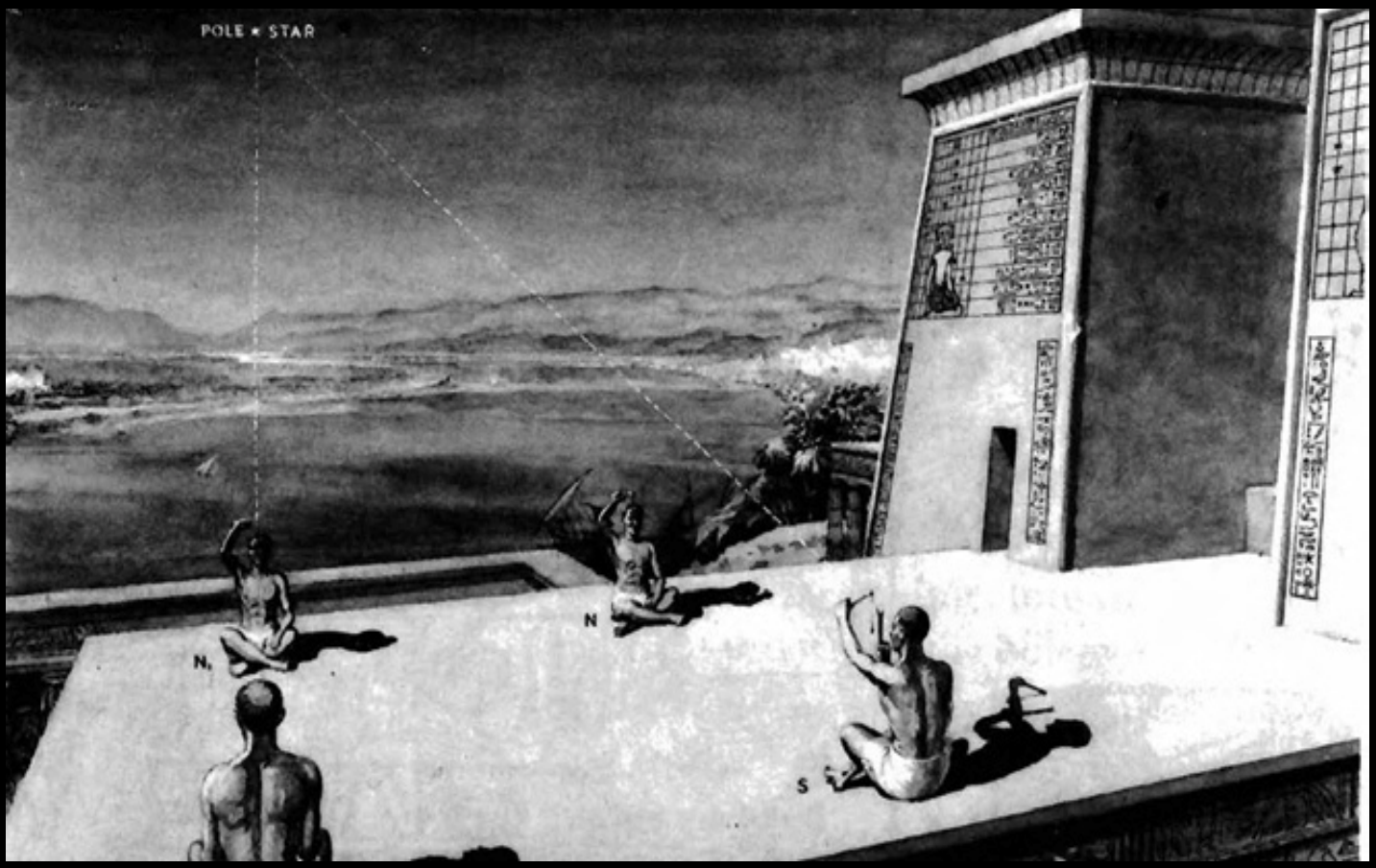
Reason 109: The Pyramids are constructed to produce a Zero Point Field. What you see above ground is duplicated below ground giving the whole structure the shape of a Diamond or Platohedron. The lowest point of the Pyramid is known as Amenti or the Underworld. These Pyramids also link up to the Plateau on Mars creating Gates for hyperdimensional travel through a series of Wormholes.

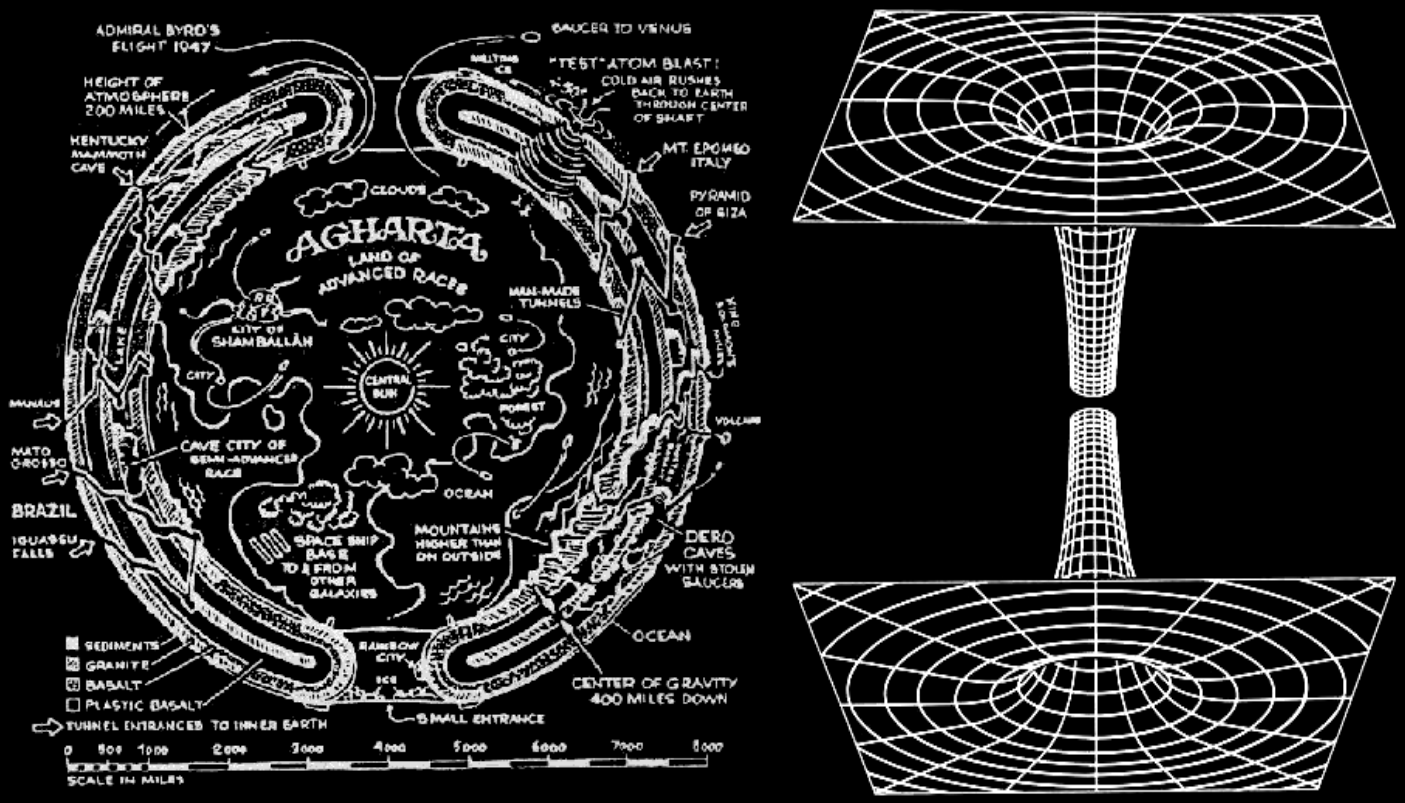
If you came to these areas in the old days and asked for Moses they would laugh at you because of how many where initiated into the Art of being a Moses, like Thutmoses III. The same thing is true with the title Jesus which was an entire Egyptian Mystery School in conjunction with the Nazarites. Looking for Jesus in those times would turn up various characters with magical powers even in the Bible Jesus himself runs across another man named Bar Jesus the Magician. Even Jesus warns that when he leaves another will come with the same Name as him saying he is him but do not go and see him. Jesus alternates as this rouge character that doesn't even want to get crucified as seen in the Garden of Gethsemane. There was no limit to the pretenders of the old days attempting to create new

religions to find worshipers and servants for their Gods; some were far more convincing than others. Many of these schools connected under Solar and Lunar Brotherhoods sharing common Gods, Goals, and Ghouls. Others were in direct opposition wanting to create their own religion to harvest members at least for monetarily purposes, many times spreading of the new religion came down to the "purse" or money issues which it took more members to increase.

The scripture says the Serpent took a third of the host from Heaven and they fell to the Earth. If you see how numerous the stars are which all correspond to living Entities, you began to realize how many of them are here and they never tire in fooling man and women into worshipping them. This story of the Serpent even survives within the stars as a star chart will reveal Alpha Draconis (One Female Dracon) wrapped around 1/3 of the stars including our Pole star Polaris. It is said this begins the importance of the number 33 or a third.

Old tales from England concluded that you had to defeat the Dragon if you wanted to exit this Universe because it guarded the Pole Star which corresponds to the exit and entrance points of our immediate Solar System. Later it was found out by western thinkers through Hitler's Paranormal division and Madame Blavatsky's meetings with the dark Tibetans that the stars also corresponded to actual places on Earth the Pole star was thus in Antarctica. An opening was found there that lead to a jump gate with various uses especially instantaneous travel throughout the Planet through wormholes.

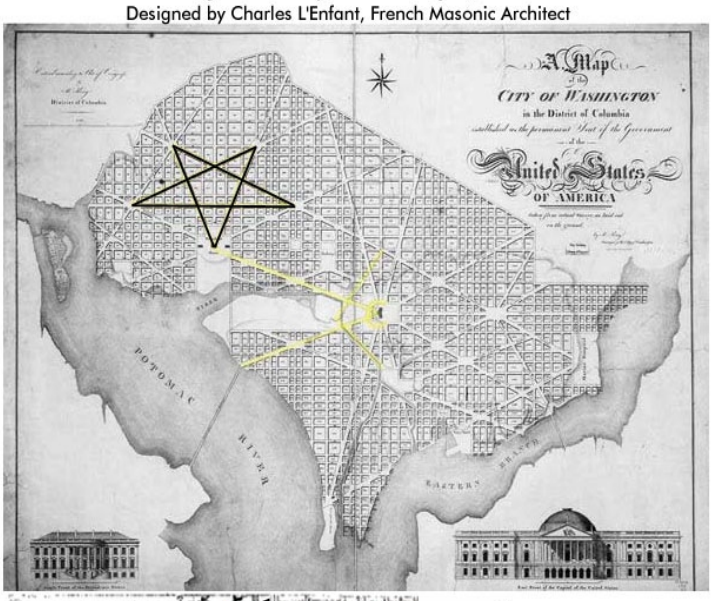


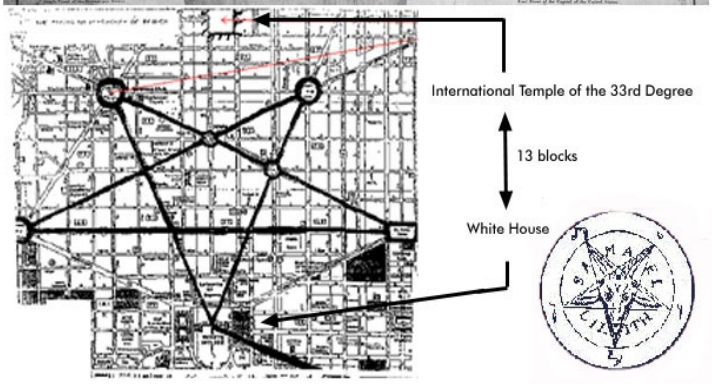


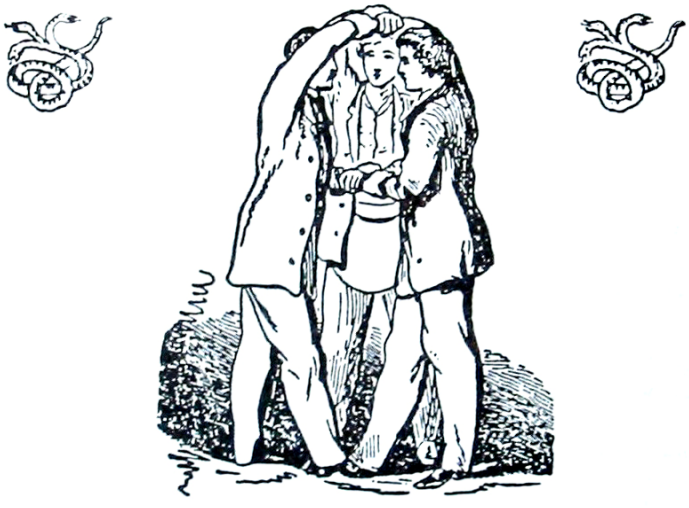
Reason 110: The Pole star has been mapped since ancient times. The Earth contains various entrances to the center of the Earth. In other places natural wormholes have been located that have served as portals or gates entering and exiting Earth.

The 33rd Parallel located 33° longitude on the Planet Earth has been the main spot of esoteric activity. The Roswell crash that began the Alien phenomena was mapped on the 33rd parallel. Nazareth the birthplace of Jesus is on the 33rd Parallel, Nagasaki is on the 33rd Parallel, Babylon in modern day Iraq is on the 33rd Parallel, The Mother Lodge of American Freemasonry lies on the 33rd Parallel, Bill Clinton was born in Hope, a Town on the 33rd Parallel, U.S. Highway 666 is on the 33rd Parallel, The no fly Zone for Baghdad was on the 33rd Parallel, "S"idon the seat of time on Earth and the Temples of Baal Bek are located on the 33rd Parallel. The White House is on the 33rd Parallel. The Twin Towers fell exactly 33 years after their ground breaking ceremony in 1966. Samson and Jesus both died at age 33. The Number 3 was sacred to the Egyptians and in the Code it is also another form of an S. 3+3=6 "S"ix which is also the Letter G. Notice the similarity in Black Letter "Luc"inda and Algerian 𝔊, 𝔾, 6. This is of course another hidden meaning to the "G" in Masonry beyond "Geometry" and "Generation". Much of this will make a lot more sense, if it already doesn't, when you get further along. You will begin to see the Matrix fall everywhere right in front of your face.

Original Street layout of Washington, D.C.
Designed by Charles L'Enfant, French Masonic Architect







THREE TIMES THREE

1st.	2nd.	3d.
Jah	buh	lun.
	Jah	buh
lun		
		Jah
buh	lun.	
Je	ho	vah.

Reason 111: The use of Sacred Geometry has profound effects when it comes to binding and controlling regions. There is a perfect relation in Color, Shape, Sound, and Number. If we were taught only these things and not the garbage of the Curriculum, we would all be extremely intelligent and gifted in a high degree. The Elite have taken this knowledge and used it against us. Unless we begin to have a firm grasp on how all this works at some point in the near future the Positive will eventually have to face, or risk being wiped out, by the Negative. In true Reason one does not assume good will always triumph, they morph into the role of good and insure they have put in motion some type of "true" energy to bring that idea about. We should always ask ourselves "Did we do our best"? The answer to that should be based on a point in life when you really know you had done your best, that's called a point of reference it is of great value especially in meditations.

A hierarchy system exist amongst these Beings just like the one set up in our military, except much more animated. Demigods like Beelzebub, Baphomet, and Quetzacoatl have their own

followers although they all answer to something even "lower" than them. Their job is to gather the people any way they can and the dividing of Power goes on in the darkness where you cannot see. As they often tell you this world is more of an Illusion until you "wake up" to what's really going on. Many of these Beings are responsible for creating this so-called Illusion or Maya/Maia. The play on words here is obvious for example. Illuminati, Illusion, Ill, Illegal, Pill and Kill, in time I will show you how they are all related and who is the culprit behind such illiterate treachery. It would suffice to say now that it is very "ill" as you can see by the words it uses to express itself. The world's largest pharmaceutical company is Lilly-Illy.

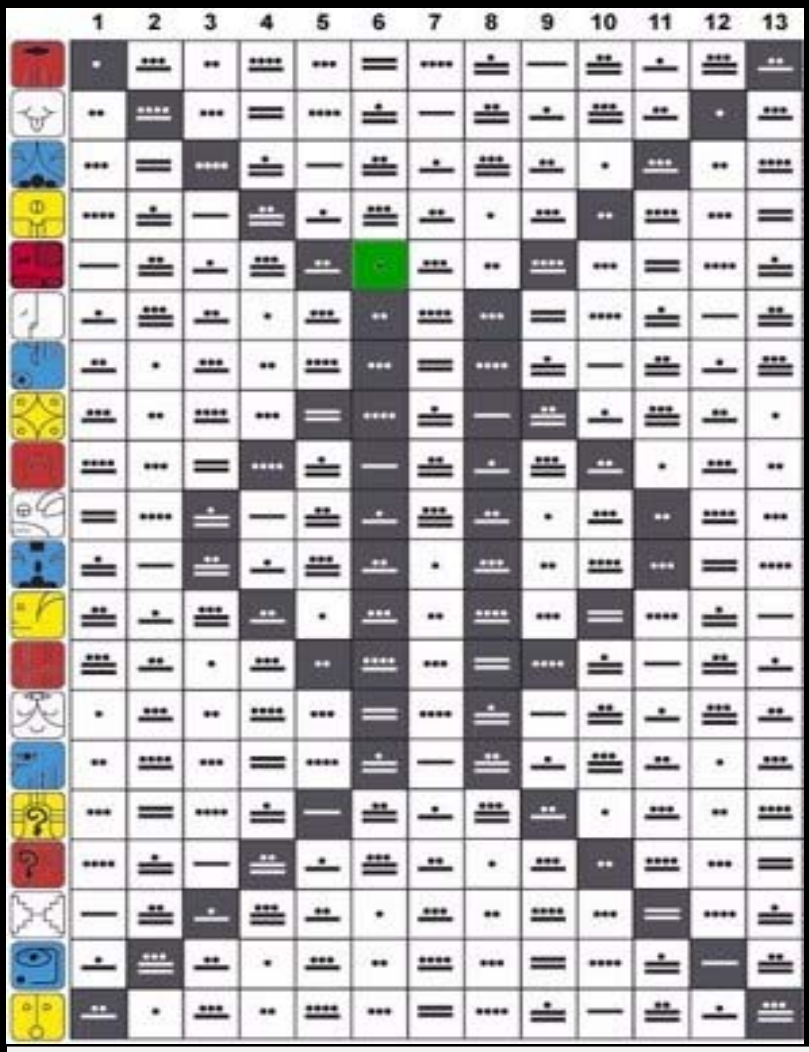
Reason 112: The Illuminati is actually an Italian word. The organization founded by Marchesa Isabella Aldobrandini Pallavicino. There is still the Ordinati, Intrepidi, Umoristi, the Academies of Esquilina, Infecondi, Occulti, Deboli, Immobili, Richelieu, Lynxes, Arcadia, and Liturgica to name a few. Some of these groups make the Illuminati look like the YMCA. Last time We checked they had thousands of members. The underworld has remained cloaked, and many things you will never see and never know, especially if you don't enhance your spiritual position. When these groups Illuminate they enhance themselves with the strongest of Archons such as Baphomet/Temophab/Mohamet.

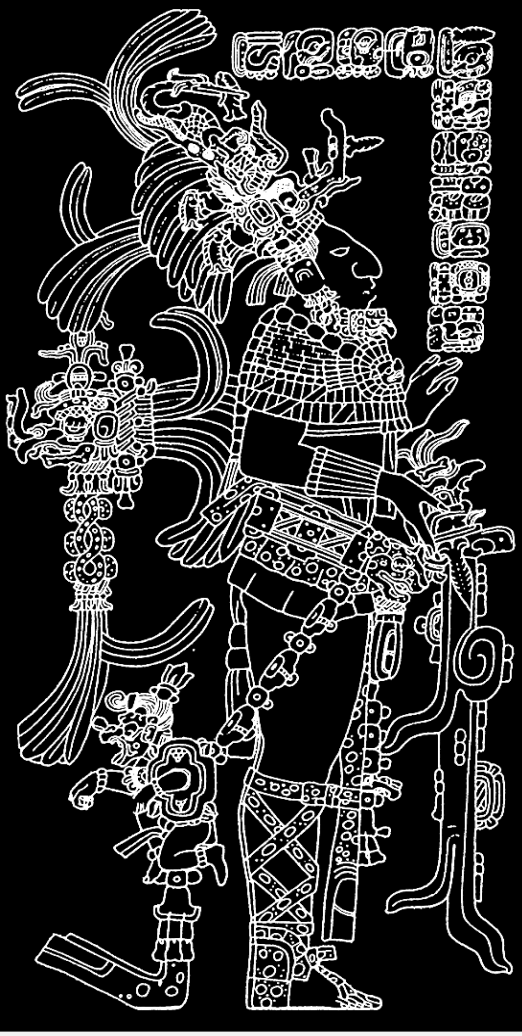
Some will ask, "why all this to take the soul", I will say chess does not begin with checkmate, it is a procedure, consider this: Every pawn has the opportunity, no matter how slim it may be, to make it to the other side of the board where it can become any piece it wants. All around you are pawns who don't know they are pawns thus they make "illegal moves" imagining they are Knights or even Queens. Your current world is run as a 64bit Hypercube designed by Hybrid Queen Hydras that reside in Hyperborea. This is the Matrix. And you say you can handle the truth?

The word Maya actually meant to divide or split in two first, then occurs its modern meaning of illusion which happens after the former takes place. In the ancient books its states the division was about cutting us off from our other side which included our right brain, our other soul called the Ba, and our contact with the other world where our closest parallel also known as our doppelganger or double exists. This world that I speak of is actually the world that precedes this one in time because time does not exist there. Many people believe the Reptilian Annunaki upgraded us, in all actuality it was a downgrade. Deactivating our Pineal Gland and genetically inserting and activating a Reptilian

portion in our brains that's attached to ceremony. There has been a large amount of research on the Reptilian portion of the brain. It makes us only think of survival, food, clothes, shelter and basic instinct. It begins to deactivate the much more creative Human portion of the brain that conceives beyond daily life into Art, Feeling, Creativity, and Expression.

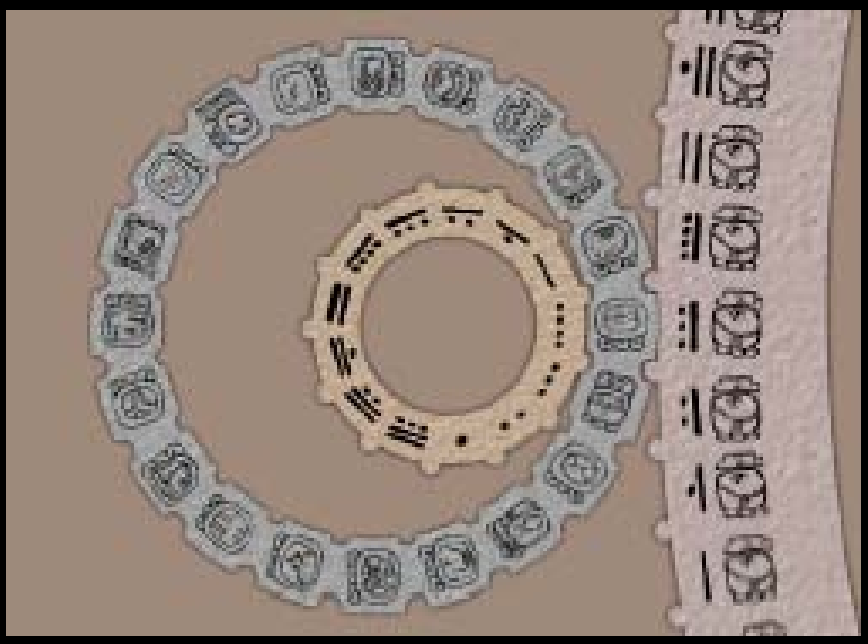
When you can operate in both worlds you can move things around because time does not exist in the other world like it does here. When you come back into this world things manifest immediately which is called keeping a foot in both worlds and was shown being done in Egyptian art. This world could be naturally reached through the dream state if there weren't so many nets and webs that ones astral body gets entangled in when they go to sleep thus keeping them from traveling beyond the immediate globe of influence. This is why the Maya depicted 2012 as being the end of the Illusion because all this would be found out. The gig is up.





Reason 113: The Maya, more correctly known as Maia which is one of the seven stars in the Pleiades did much of the Leyline work for the Serpents. Other tribes like the Aztecs, Yucatán, Toltec, Incas, Tezcaucans, Peruvians and Araucannians all built Pyramids or other structures on the Leylines and began human and child sacrifice by instruction of their perceived Masters.

People tend to forget that the Maya also predicted their own destruction 500 years before it happened, this occurred because they where taught to believe in destiny so much they could not avoid it. The shear fact that Destiny has Tiny at the end of it turns me off; this word is too small for me to dissect. Our future should never be associated as such, it's despicable this kind of degrading. Their extensive knowledge of time was given to them by the Serpent. This is mainly evident because it wasn't even a time chart for Earth's processions but Sirius. They are often seen in sculptures and pictures bowing down to these Serpents who gave them this faulty system of time. Let us think clearly, the one who gave us time was the culprit known as the Watcher or "Watch" just like a time piece this is another name for the Nephalim. We find lots of hope also in the indigenous tribes many of whom had unlocked the ability to disappear totally from a reality in a blink of an eye which can be done when groups of people get together and pull all of their energy in collectively, thus creating a Gate to other worlds formed within the collective mind of the group.



Reason 114: The Maia long count calendar functioned as a clock of the Universal time of Earth's evolutionary development based on the energies of Sirius/Sothis. As you can see on the right this watch maker obviously is in the know.

I will take this moment to elaborate on the damage of the split mind. First with the mind split there will always be some type of internal duality within the individual, a constant pulling from one side to the other depending upon what time of the season it is. This Duality was remarked by the ancients as the two Horses pulling your chariot as can be seen on the #7 Tarot card. Unless you could get them to run together, they will go in separate directions eventually ripping you in two. This other side has a lot to do with being complete in our thinking; it is given the term masculine or feminine depending on you sex. There is no space in this book to elaborate on what is masculine and what is

feminine because of the complexity of the individual Creation, but there are a couple things that can be of value to consider.

Reason 115: The Chariot is the body comprising two different sides that are the energy +/- just like a battery. When the sides are balanced progress is made, when one side is unbalance there will be no movement as one side will always pull or drain the other. As far as the first card all the symbolism is indoctrination. The 8 Pointed Star of Ilu, the Sphinx, the Square, the Egyptian Solar Disk, Crescent Moons, etc.

Feminine energy is intuitive while masculine energy is analytical power of reason and strength. Women say men need to be more sensitive to their surroundings in order to get in tune, which is true. There is seldom any response by men on what woman get to do. This is what I've learned, if we "sense" all the time without "analyzing" we will just go with the flow of life. That current flow of life in our present world condition is actually going in the opposite direction of progress, it is headed towards decay as anything material will, it just is, and this is something that has happened before. It is also true when we become too analytical all we have is mountains of data that are not attached to feeling thus higher senses cannot be activated so there can be no power to do anything about your findings. Especially when it comes to divining the "real truth" or the "root" of what is going on in your individual life so it can be adjusted properly so you can have a stable foundation.

For males it is of value to know that females make at least 50% more paranormal contact than males. One main reason these Beings can communicate with woman better than men is because they possess a womb, this is known as a "Soul Matrix". The fluid is highly magnetic and as any Yogi can tell you there is actually brain tissue around the stomach region, in short the stomach area is the keeper of Chi/Force/Power this is where it is harnessed and stored. Women have a high generative cycle of this magnetic fluid in their Menstrual Blood or Plasma which is also a high energy substance. This was known by the Knights Templar as Sangrail which they would drink in their rituals of the Holy Blood the Holy Grail/"Mag"delena. Unfortunately this also results in more women being used to harness the

dark powers without questioning whether or not it's correct, they just go with the "flow". As the "New Age" woman develops more analysis she will again deal a heavy blow to the Wicked One who is no match for the Fury of Woman but is ever seeking to use her prowess.

Reason 116: This type of propaganda is being directed at the young women so they can imagine Witchcraft is a coven of woman sticking together. In all actuality it is to place one under the service and spells of the Horney Gods, this reflects in how women's bodies are desecrated and disrespected by these cults. These are also called Corn Gods which is a term coined in Egypt were there entire economy depended on Corn at times. As you watch the "Orn" continue it is obviously wicked like we talked about with the "Or" you have words like Torn, Porn, Morn, Worn, etc. all implicating the culprit once more.

Men are no better, without the feminine side they personally need to see the physical result of their Spiritual practice, if it be any, in order to believe. Due to many practicing for personal gain they only engage in the arts that produce fast and vivid results. This form of magic is the most dangerous as it is not a graceful energy but a magic based on receiving not giving thus various pacts are formed by men with lesser Spirits whose presence can be felt easier because they are dense slow moving vibrations, Chaos Magic. This is called the Gambling of the soul which is why gambling is forbidden by wise men. Even the numbers on the Rolette table added up equal 666. What gambling does is it allows the person to jump to a higher phase in this material world without proper preparation. If a person has many bad habits and they happen to "strike it rich" the latter condition is far worst than the former, they now have money to feed their every corrupt desire.

Reason 117: This is Baphomet the Horned God of Mendes. When inverting the Pentagram this Being and Legions of others are evoked. As you see with the propaganda above Witches and Warlocks use both sides of the Pentagram and both sides bring about various energies we will call Negative Feminine and Negative Masculine. These are extremely unbalanced distorted energies. The flute in the hand of Sothis is the same flute Pan, another Horned Goat God, is often seen with.

The balance comes in play when you are open to the emotional, sensual side of the world thus giving you extra perception, while your analytical mind is able to place it in its proper category due to previous experience and research. These two become the perfect self sustained match being capable of handling energies the proper way, expelling darkness and elaborating on the true light. It is also of value to realize that to become a teacher you will need both of these in order to deal with the "two states of mind" if you expect to mend them. I will also remark that masculine and feminine

personalities are not limited to any particular sex. You will find many individuals with a mix and match of these traits and it will be your task, if you choose it, to replace what is missing like a Surgeon.

With that being said do make a mental note that SIR which is a title given to a member of the high court and SUR normally used as the root of words like Surgeon along with SER as in Serpent, SAR as in Sargon, and SOR as in Sorcerer all are head serpent terms meaning that this is the common acronym they refer to themselves by on this dimension. Also keep in mind most Surgeons have no idea of the root of the word, nor do they care. The Caduceus is the only hint at times they get that the whole medical institution is none other than a Lab belonging to the Hybrid Serpents set up for the various manipulations of the human body such as vaccines.

This also gives us a better resolve about choosing the proper companion. There is seldom a bigger hindrance when you are on the first levels of the Path than the "un-significant" other. Many times two people have paired up for a prolonged period and are now only together because of the amount of time they have been with each other. I overheard a person once say, "Well we have been together for 6 years and I owe it to try and make it work". When leaving this Earth there will be just you, unless your mate is on the same frequency. Of course in this life we desire to find compatible partners, however if we are personally just beginning to learn the truth of things, how can we expect our "old selves" to had chose anything good and balanced for us?

I was able to sum the whole relationship paradigm with this mode of thought. If he or she is concerned about their soul and its growth then there is a chance the relationship will work. If they are not concerned then the other conscious party will most assuredly be dragged down. This will come about often times not in the intent of the idle individual, but rather the things they engage in. For example, if you are cleansing your mind and body seeking more clarity and a mate comes home after being in a bar for hours they are actually carrying a great deal of negative energy. When you share a bed with them you are even more vulnerable than they are since they as a vessel no longer matter to the Spirits, it is your fresh energy the Spirits want, they already have the other individual. Even deeper than this, as long as you are "yoked" to them you are not only carrying them, but also the load that each of you acquire through life along with yourself. So in short if a person does not care about their soul, which is of the highest value, how can they care about you?

Although there may appear to be something there, it is not complete thus it will falter at a certain point, most assured when you need it most. The weak link on a chain only breaks when extreme pressure is applied. This is the danger of the Illusion, many people are pretending, and this makes them very unstable in certain key areas. One of the main tactics of the Deceiver is to match you, the Seeker, with an unbalanced mate that may only have an exterior show of compatibility. This is why lustful pictures, flirtatious men and women, risqué scenes, and various types of propaganda all are put in place to distract the Seeker and convince them to first try to find eternal happiness outside of themselves which is not possible. Of course you attract what you are so if you are incomplete but

searching, you attract another incomplete person that is also searching and thus the blind follow the blind until they both fall into a pit.

This Magician or Magi who I call the Wizards who worship Lizards collaborated against man and woman a long time ago in exchange for individual favoritism. The pact simply reads that in 6 lives they will "Reign" over man and woman and will make up the group we called the Elite. Those who are closer to the top of the pyramid generally are of the pure bloodlines that have remained the same since the first intermingling. This is called Holy Blood or Holy Grail. They maintain a constant link with the collective hive mind. Those further down the Pyramid and degrees after initiation sometimes realize the horrible truth which is they not only have to do these Deities bidding in this life but they also belong to them in the lower dimension, a maddening reality that consumes from within.

Many may say they would never make such an agreement, however, they just have never been presented with such a deal; they would be ashamed at what the result may be. Imagine how many of today's youth will do anything just to become a star in Hollywood. It is of value to understand that the Elite do not need a person to join their team they have a waiting list. Also you will do well to remember that although you would never do it there is always some Joe Smo around the corner who may be a little down on his luck that will. Until a person knows what's fully going on everyday they sub-consciously make an agreement to also align with the negative force, there is no neutral grey area, everything must stay in motion. These people are often used unknowingly but are just as effectively. There is no shame in it, a person can be used and manipulated in various ways until they take back control of their life which comes first in knowing what's really going on.

Reason 118: Again, there is no limit to how many people will join the Illuminati Circus if they are given the opportunity. As I said before once you are in "the know" you will see it everywhere. Imagine, these two artist both released CD's related to the Circus, the home of the Animist. One is called Womanizer, clearly a term that should not be respected and yet thousands of women bought the CD upon its release. T-Pain whose name is enough explanation shows the "33" on his cover and of course the Skull. All this is looked over by the fan who just wants to hear the tunes. Pan and his flute win again. All this is for a reason. Stay Alert

Since this Matrix is based on Colors, Sounds, Shapes, and Numbers you have an opportunity to "view" the program. Thousand if not millions of Americans faced heavy levels of mind control in the 80's and 90's just by leaving their T.V. on after the last show and falling asleep for a good 3 hours of low vibration frequency which was the prolonged sound you would hear before the station went off the air. It is of value to also point out that these Entities are not ignorant, doomed possibly, but not ignorant. They have been here for Aeons and carry the wisdom of Aeons and many in exchange for that wisdom have sold their very souls.

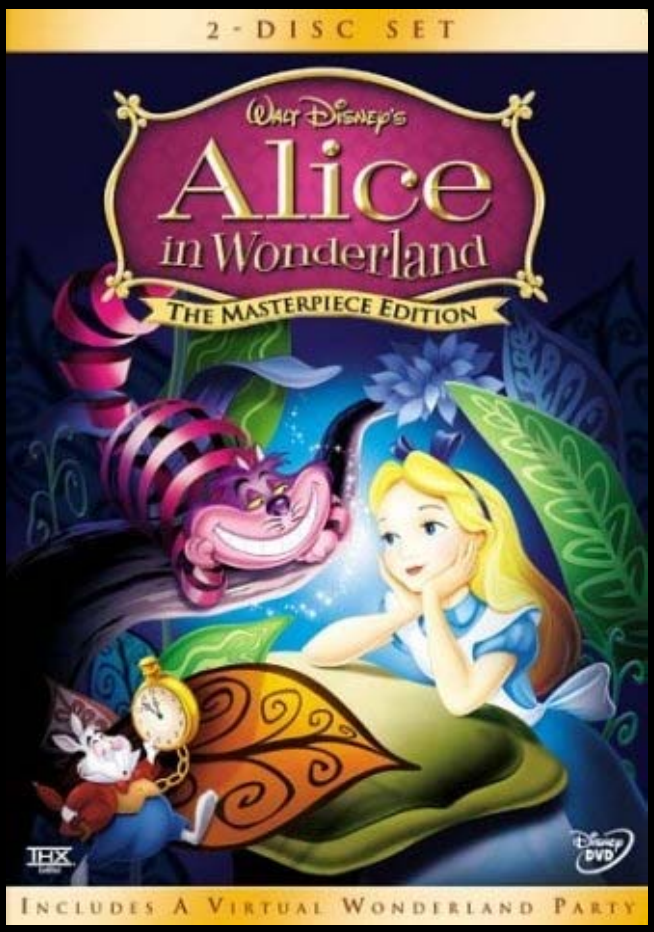
Reason 119: Max Headrooms aired sometime in the mid 80's in the United States, few remember this show however so much mind control went across every episode with the colors, shapes, and design of the background along with Max's Frequency enhanced voice, there is no telling how extensive the programming could have been. Coding like this has everything to do with why people are clueless to reality.

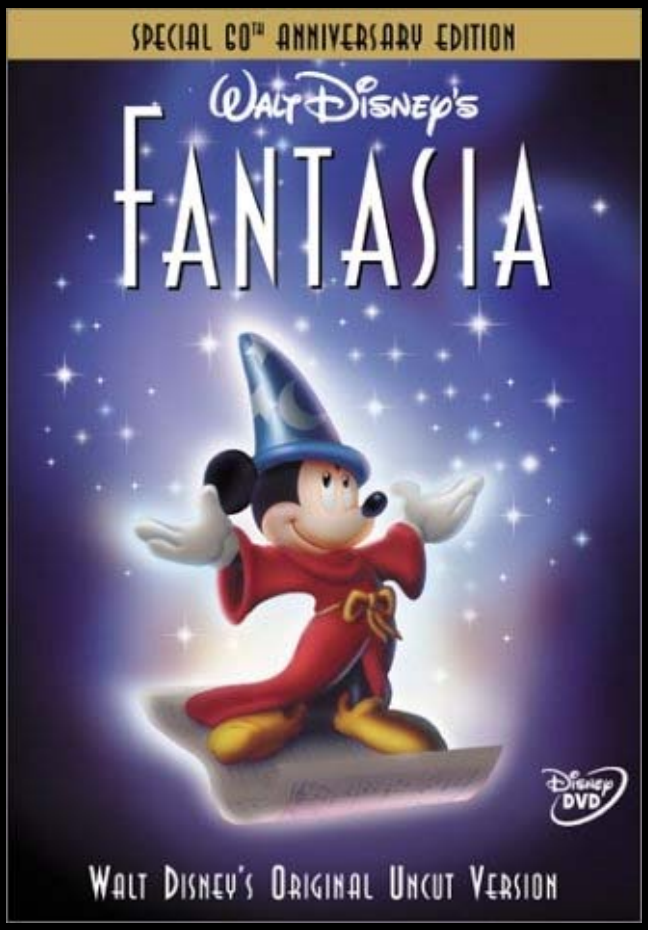
As you see with words like Sly, Slick, Sneaky, Sick, Seduced, Slain, and way too many to itemize here all these words have one thing in common. They all begin with "S," so now you are beginning to learn about the Symbols of the English language. In the English language there are words that are kept as triggers to use by the Elite. Words that are laden with "S"'s always tend to be bad news like Possession, Hitler's SS, and men like Hallie Salassie, Samuel, Saturn, Satan, Shamash, Santa, Sananda, Sodom etc. We call what belongs to us our possessions although this word has a dual meaning as many words do, possession means also to have something that is taking over you thus changing your character. We find this true with rock and rap CD's, horror movies, violent video

games, risqué clothing, weapons, idols and many other things really possess a person which makes it of value to rid yourself of things that are carrying negative energy.

Reason 120: Idols have always been a problem throughout time. No matter what one may think the idol represents the true origin of many idols are unknown by the possessor. Think of this, if the statues and depictions of Jesus and Mary used in Christianity are of Anglo descent but Jesus was supposed to be Hebrew, who do you think they are the renditions of? Do you think it matters? In addition the subconscious mind can sustain heavy altering when put to the extent of placing the subjects of belief, deliverance, and assistance in an inanimate object.

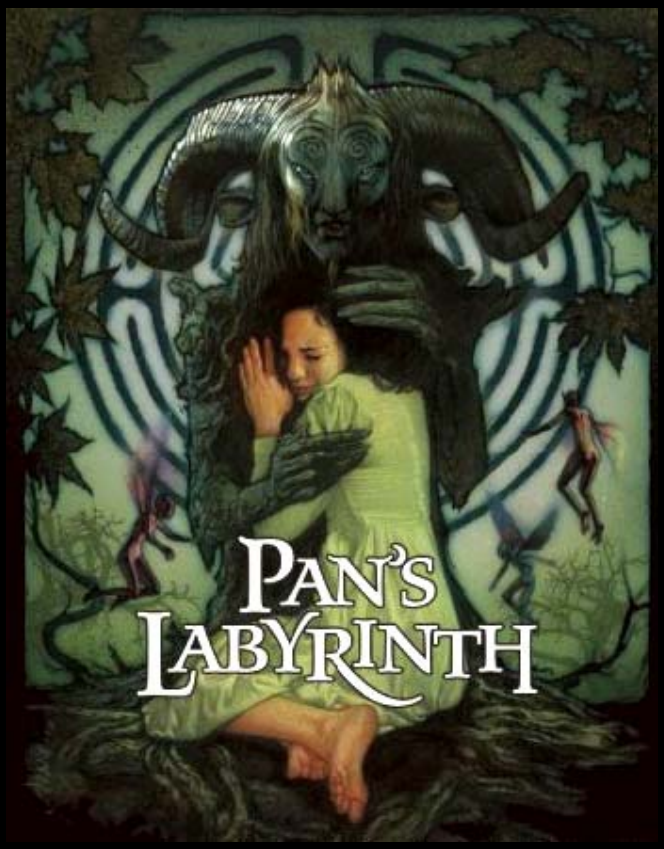
At this point some may say the word thing may be a little too excessive. As things speed up there will be much more addressed with the words as the story unfolds. You must know how to piece it all together and this makes it that much easier to explain to all the people you will have to tell. After you are finished with the book reading it again will unlock even more things you did not see before. When they teach you how to write in school they call it learning to "Spell". This word "Spell" can not be confused with anything else besides a Magical Incantation which is what it means. To go further to show no coincidence is being made here they go on to teach you how to write in "Cursive" in which the root of the word is "Curse". In writing I can leave no moments to think but that is pretty profound. What we are instructed to do from the time we enter grade school is become little dark magicians along with a little help from people like Disney.





Reason 121: The Illuminist Walt Disney introduced the young mind to a world of Magic and strange characters. Movies like Alice in Wonderland had entirely different meaning. Seeing movies like Angels in the Outfield analyzed by Film Expert Lennon Honor on Youtube revealed profound amounts of Pedophilia. It is clear Disney and his group of Dark Magicians are out to hurt children, introduce dark magic into the household, and bring about the continued plan of population mind control. KEEP YOUR KIDS AWAY FROM DISNEY FILMS!
www.lennonhonorfilms.com see for yourself.

Just as we faced as children a constant array of sick suggestive media indoctrination, the new generation faces a hybrid version of the same thing. Parents are unknowingly opening the gate of negative forces to the children at an early age. It may be fun to watch the baby dance to your favorite hip/hop or rock song, but what is it actually doing to such an innocent unprotected mind? Especially since it is not condoned but promoted by the only person the child may know as its guide at such a young age. I'm not saying this needs to change, I believe its to late for that, most children now run their parents, what I am bringing light to is the results of such things. Like I said before the hybrid version of indoctrination wants more than just the innocent body, it wants the Soul. Many parents are responsible for delivering it to the Deity on a silver saucer because they are themselves under illusions.

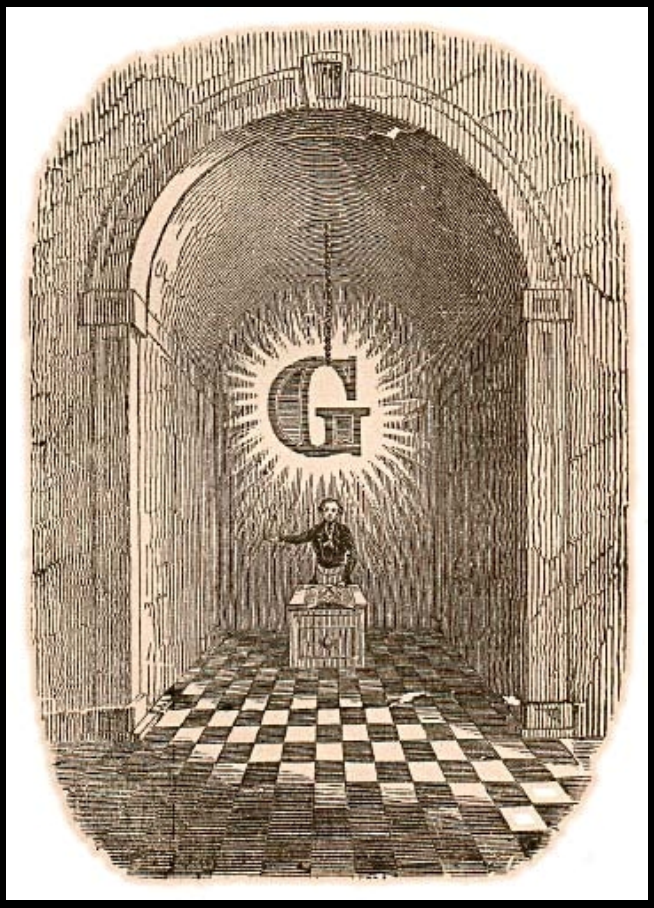


Reason 122: The original story of Pan's Labyrinth in dark esoteric works was that of Pan molesting little girls placed in his labyrinth by sadistic worshippers. The story gets a rendition, some graphical enhancements, then comes out in theatre and wins tons of awards. Once again the Ill's have fooled thousands into loving their sworn enemy. You have learned enough about Deities now to innerstand that this card of Persephone, used in this children's game, actually encourages a young girl to evoke the dark Queen damned to the Underworld. People are still acting like none of this is going on. Many are sitting back watching the children get hurt and won't life a finger, it's amazing I have received little "human" support on the Path, mostly ridicule, and I do this for their children. Indeed the weight is heavy lifting the world and Atlas. So it be written let it be done. Unsluggish strength We have.

We have a little sign amongst those that I share thoughts with which is when we crack into something because the Code is constantly revealing new stuff, we often put our hand very close to our faces, that is where all the information is hidden, right in front of our faces. Of course being that it would be the last place that you would ever look. As you see the Great Pyramids are four sided pyramids not three. If you notice everything around you such as doors, windows, rooms and even work cubicles have all adapted the 4 sided 2D or 8 sided 3D cuboid shape or box.

There are certain words I call "power words" like instead of going backwards we should be going forwards but what are the "Four Words". Are there Four Words that give us foreknowledge "Four Knowledge"? We are even told that our ancestors or forefathers "Four Fathers" made history. The Tetragrammaton (YHVH), which is the Hebrew world that remains as the root to many esoteric Names such as JeHoVaH and YaHWeH, consists also of only Four Words. As we continue to see there is something diabolical going on here with the 4 which in sacred geometry is a 2 Dimensional square, 4 dimensional cube, and 8 dimensional Octagon this is how worlds connect. All words like Dionysus, Dios, Diana, Diamond, Die, Divide, Diabolical, and Diablo, are all intertwined and related with a story in antiquity.

The "D" itself in the English language is the symbol of a circle divided in two. If you open you breaker box right now and look at the manufacturer of the breaker you will see the company Square D, the logo is a D inside a square. They control everything related to power, as will be shown. The esoteric Masonic studies were focused on what they called squaring the circle. Since all organic life contains no straight edges and is always curved and circular this was the art of trapping organic life and holding them in various forms of stasis. Trapping natural organic matter like me and you in Inorganic Cubes like the cubicles we are sent to work in everyday and the houses we are given to live in or sometimes foolishly build ourselves in the wrong designs. Putting ourselves into cubes and calling them home, this is another fine example of subtle programming. They are Masters of the 2D primitive world of Matter which is black and white no color thus the black in white checkered pattern is one of their signs.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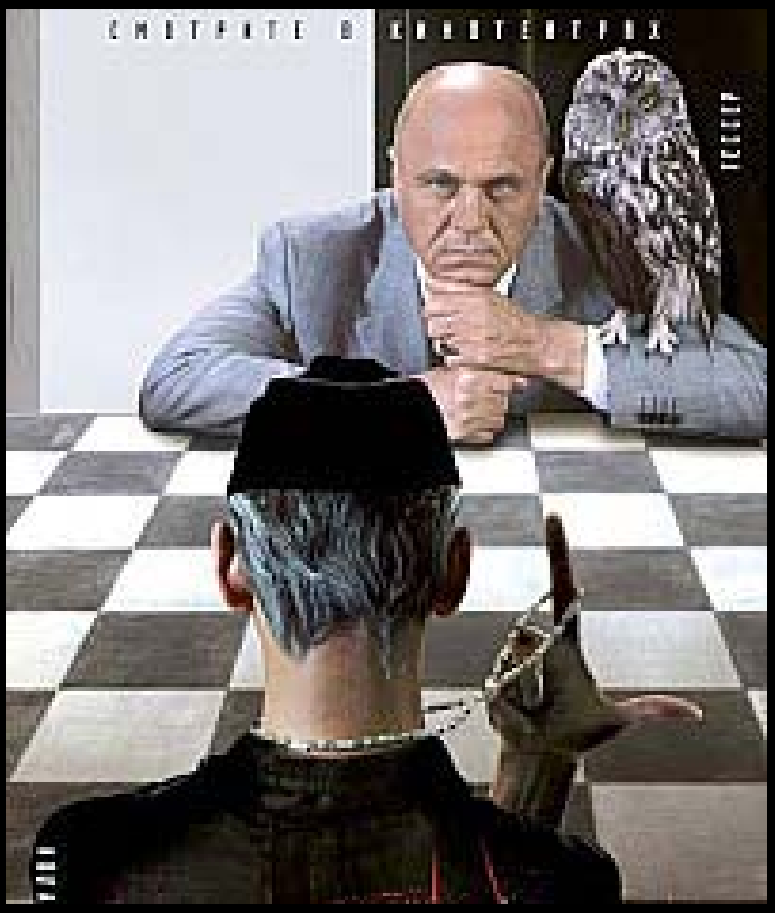
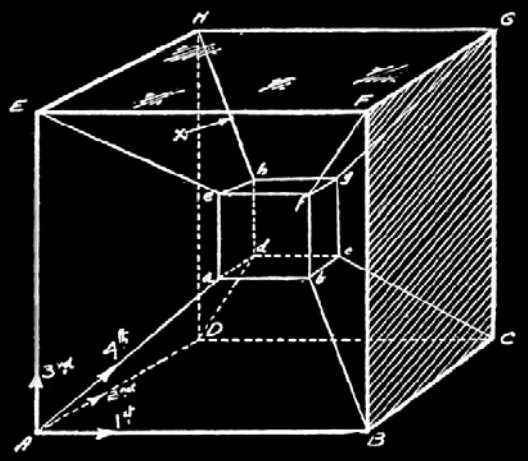




—The Tesseract.

Reason 123: As what is hidden comes into plain view you will see their signs everywhere they own huge companies such as the Checkered Cab of New York. He makes the sign of the "L" as the Owl, the sacred bird of Isis is also in the picture. Some are still human, some are not however we will face them. Their plan is almost complete even "Sir" Winston Churchill was in on it but that should not "sur"prise you. Their magic is that of mastering the cube as the world is treated as grand chess board. They also master knowing how to move about the square without getting caught in the web. Have you ever seen a spider get trapped in its own web?

All of the Pyramids at one point in history were connected and they had functioning capstones on top. Not to mention many of the Pyramids where completely coated with a substance that was washed away during the last flood, this substance allowed these great structures to reflect the Sun's energy giving them the ability to become like large solar panels generating various energies depending upon the tuning. In deeper writings it states that the Gods would land their ships on the top of these structures and they would serve as charging stations. Those traveling the desert could navigate their way by the shining light of the Great Pyramid which could be seen for thousands of miles.

The much older Hindu Paranas and Vedras describe detailed accounts of ships used by hyperdimensional Beings. When the Gods visited Earth they would arrive in large ships which were in other written accounts as large flying beasts because they made such monstrous noises, obviously the sound from the engines. Then they would set themselves up in the temples man had built for them, lounge, and get served. This was one of the earlier versions of the Matrix that was washed away by the last Aquarian Age flood. It seems that the destruction and chaos of these Aquarian Ages are not limited to just the unsuspecting people but often the Deities themselves get destroyed by the Forces of Nature. When I say false I don't mean they don't exist I mean they lie and what they say is false as in not true because they never make good on their word.

This is how the whole Cosmic Clock is tuned, right at the time things are about to reach critical mass and all hope has vanished. Right at the time were people think there isn't even a Most High. Right at the time Deities, People, Beings and every created thing is in motion, a click happens that expands or contracts the experience, it is up to you to choose. The Egyptians actually admitted that there was a Most High Being greater than the Gods but because they had not made contact with it, probably because of there dominant attitudes, they choose to obey the Entities that they were already familiar with. They are called "Familiar Spirits".

It becomes clear with the sign of Aquarius that the water bearer is dumping out a bucket of water upon the earth thus cleansing the earth from its current pesky inhabitants and getting it prepared for the next edition. The Great Pyramid itself in Egypt is said to have had 18 inches of special coating washed away from its surface. Many people look at the Pharaohs of Egypt and try to grasp how such an ancient empire was so far advanced. You will also see how the Feline which is the Sphinx plays an important role. The sign of the Lioness is used in modern symbolism relating to the ruling Monarch. Female, Fertility, Feline, and Feminine all begin with "Fe" for a reason. As you see on the crest of England the ruling power personifies itself as a Lion which can also be mapped in the cosmos by the constellation Leo. The females were hidden by direct order and the female role remained hidden and protected or simply put, veiled.

As can be seen in Egyptology the Egyptian Female Goddess Ma'at was the third eye of all Egyptian Gods also known as Wadjet. This means that the eye on top of the pyramid is actually the eye of Ma'at. They keep the Female Sphinx in front of all their main lodges for protection against various Spiritual forces the Elite are at war with. Egyptians kept large amounts of cats in their temples. Cats carry lots of Prana and are very sensitive to other life forms. They are known to contain an Astral Spirit that can be trained. As you will be delighted to find out, since it gives you power and strength to know, this is none other than one of "Ma's Tricks" or simply the Matrix that we are caught up in now.

The Egyptian worshipped Matter as the primal cause. Our word for matter comes from the word Ma'at. The Atlantians perfected the ability to take matter, which is flesh formed and fashioned into a human body, and then take a soul and animate the body with the soul. The matter was their creation and the soul was of course the creation of the Most High. To do this they would have to pull souls from lower dimensions, other worlds, or wherever they could get souls. Finding souls was like mining for Gold. This whole art is called Necromancy thus one cannot simply die and think it is over they must somehow bypass reincarnation which was always considered a curse as if you had been netted like a fish and pulled back into the Planet/Planned Net. Cloning makes it possible to make the body, Necromancy makes it possible to animate the body with a spirit, this is the other variation of the Philosopher's Stone, in which the Alchemist used his body as the test subject. He would then add more elements/forces/spirits to his own body to enhance his abilities. If the Alchemist did not have

the correct formula of how to control the Matter while the process was taking, it would result in his own death or complete possession and that my good friend is the Alchemical Key.

You can trace the most recent use of this soul tampering to the Sumerian Annunaki who are now professing they are the Creators of man and woman and created them to be slaves. The true story is the Danu also known as Tuatha de Dannan, the Tribe of Dan, the Danites who where known to be giants did discover the secret to DNA/DAN. The old Celtic doctrines speak of the Danu and some of their origin in which they are clearly part of the Atlantean Club which explains how they also had the knowledge of how to alter humans. They are also known as simply AN. The "A" in the English language is the symbol of Atlantis omitting the crossing of the A. The crossing makes it a pyramid with a capstone. It was normally written to look like an upside down V which still meant 5. Mary's mother was named Ann, she was carrying the lineage of the bloodline so they could erect a world savior that all would eventually bow to no matter how many they needed to create, this has been going on at least since Mithras.

Reason 124: The Egyptians symbolized the spirit as a snake. In this glyph they have already trapped the spirit inside of these holding tubes, they are now placing the spirits in the clones/matter/golem so they may be endowed with the intelligence and reason of the soul thus they make better servants rather than organic machines which need to take orders before they will engage.

How the Elite work is they expand their rule like a pyramid and elect many consorts in a system of hierarchy. Then they consolidate all of the power that they pull from the people back into the main Deity and close the top through the Hierophant, seldom distributing anything of true value. When Beings come to a new Planet they first set up a Gate. When gates are destroyed, which has been happening, a Being can no longer come into this dimension, trapping those who originally came through the Gate on the Planet until they are able to reconstruct the gate on the proper Leyline and

make the "jump" back to their original Planet. This is often referenced in many chronicles, annuals, and even the Bible. It often reads, "they tore down their Gates and dispersed their Gods".

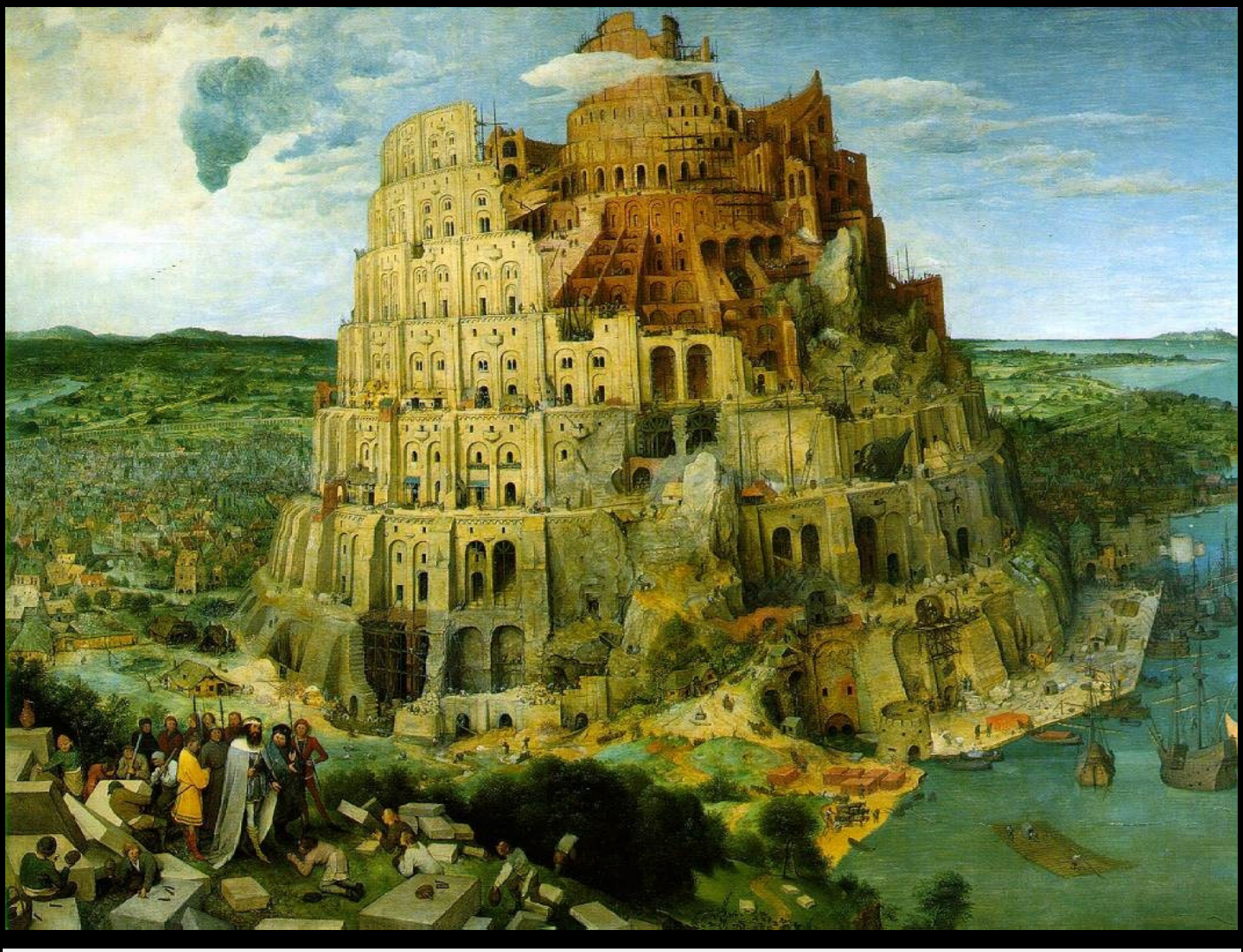
Reason 125: The Eyes of Wadjet/Ma'at always shown separate so you cannot visualize what the complete Being would look like but now you see it is not Human it is more like the Predator.

The Great Pyramids wormhole/zero point configuration is probably how continuous reincarnation or should I say "soul snatching" is happening on Earth. Necromancy obviously became primitive when new ways to harvest departed souls was discovered. There are smaller cult groups still practicing Goetia the old way. Due to the information already known about the Pyramids, if you happened to come out of your body while in the vicinity of the Pyramid, it would eventually suck you in like going down a sink; this is called a vortex/wormhole/black hole. When that happens you would come out somewhere and as I mentioned briefly it seems the Pyramid could be tuned to determine were those entering its Vortex would come out. Those with strong spirits have the "thrust" to trust they can jettison away from the whirlpool. World Pull

This book is being composed as Greater Israel is being realized, of course at the expense of thousands of Palestinian children's lives who have no clue of the significance of their land and bloodline. Even in Baghdad soldiers were issued swords and began cutting off heads of the people with certain last names by instruction of their Commanding Officers. The people of Baghdad still contain the bloodline of the Ancient Annunaki, however, organizations such as Thule who have now the U.N. and several world leaders behind them intend to take over all Gates for their purposes.

Saddam Hussein went rogue after he began excavation and restoration of the Ancient City of Babylon located in Iraq. He was noted to spend at least 300 million using the best archeologists money could buy. This is what the U.S. wanted so they allowed Saddam to get to a certain point. Once he compared himself to Nebechnezzar they knew it was time to remove him since Nebechnezzar

conquered the world and the U.S. was not going to see another rendition of that. Everything that is going on in Baghdad has to do with the Stargate of the Babylonians and the Tower of Babel. Babylon is on a very powerful Leyline that has the ability of becoming a portal to cross dimensions with proper geometric setup. Marduk/Ra declared Babylon his eternal city and coated everything in Gold.



Reason 126: Here is a rendition of the Babylonian Ziggurat or Tower. The King resided in the top with the Gods in the clouds.

As we have already discussed Pantheism is the belief and worship of more than one God so we will review a few popular Gods amongst the people. Marduk who is Ra takes most of the spotlight, he is at times head over the Demoniac Pantheism of the inverted Tree of the Underworld or Netherworld/Neterworld. All world leaders are now rebuilding towers to Ra who is their Lord. Here are a few of his Generals, we will call them The Dark Side. Abaddon, Adremelech, Ah, Ahiriman, Amon, Apollyon, Asmodeus, Asteroth, Azazel, Baal and the Baalim (not a singing group), Baphomet, Bast, Beelzebub, Behemoth, Beherit, Bile, Chemosh, Cimeries, Coyote, Dagon, Damballa, Demo-Gorgon, Diablos, Dracula, Emm-O, Euronymous, Fenriz, Gorgo, Haborym, Hecate, Ishtar, Kali,

Latchme, Lilith, Loki, Mammon, Mania, Mantus, Marduk, Mastema, Melek Taus, Mephistopheles, Metztli, Midgard, Milcom, Moloch, Morm, Naamah, Nihasa, Nija, Oyam, Pan, Pluto, Persephone, Pwcca, Rimmon, Sabazios, Saitan, Samael, Samnu, Sedit, Sekhmet, Set, Shaitan, Shiva, Supay, T'AN-MO, Tchort, Tzezcatlipoca, Thames, Thoth, Tunrida, Typhon, Yaotzin, YEN LO WANG. There are of course many more then these mentioned, however, these in particular are in the German Satanic Bible so their should be no questions with the Beings listed here if whether they are good or bad, they are the orchestrators of evil and 100% darksiders keep them and anyone representing them away from anything you love and care about. They are a sad lot We shall place great chains around their necks and drag them about in ridicule before they are particlized and dispersed to the winds.

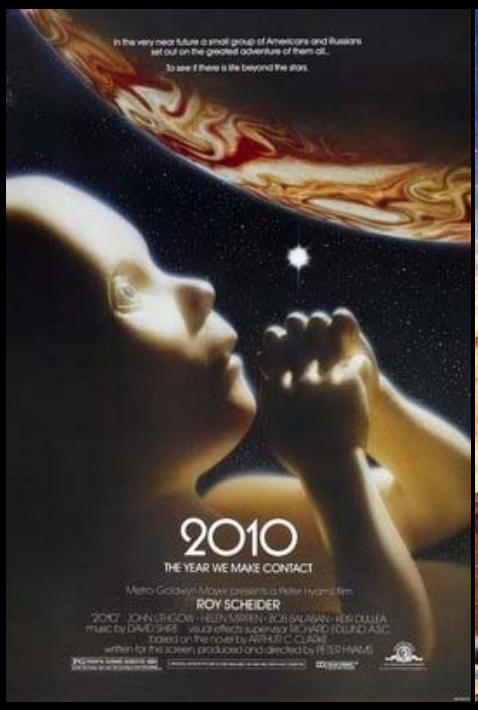
Reason 127: As you see they are not really hiding their affiliation with Babylon/Bel/Ra/Marduk. The picture on the left has inverted pentagrams and the people are shaped like cubes. These types of images are rich with symbolism. The Tower itself is complete and several other Towers are nearing completion.

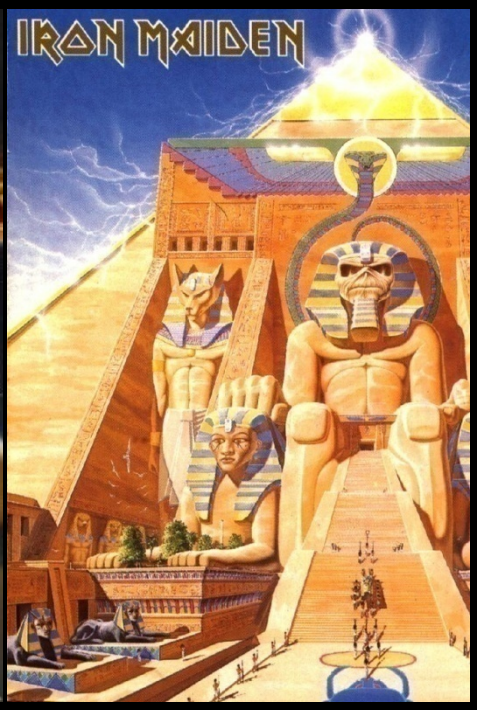
It was even more fascinating to see Vin Diesel the Actor with a tattoo of the Necromicon Sigil on his neck in the movie Babylon A.D. In another movie The Chronicles of Riddick he actually battles Necromongers, holy half—deads from the Underworld who take over worlds by combining their souls with Humans through non-voluntary possession. In Babylon A.D., his role is to protect a woman who will birth the final seed of Babylon, the Anti-Christ twins with genetically enhanced powers. What is being said in secret circles is once the line-up happens the Gates will be open and many Beings will have the opportunity to go into different Planes and Dimensions through Portals. This is a time of great going and coming.

The stars of Hollywood are "as below" resonators of the stars above. A person seldom gets into the acting industry and establishes a career unless they are "in tune" with their position. Many actors can be found playing the same type of role such as the savior role Keanu Reeves is often given in movies like the Matrix, Johnny Mnemonic, the Day the Earth Stood Still, and A Scanner Darkly. This is all a part of the heavy programming being done to the viewer. It is a fact that many people in Hollywood are initiates and know for a fact the roles they play are at times initiations.

Madonna who we talked about briefly actually initiated Cristina Aguilera on stage during an award show while dismissing Britney Spears with a holy kiss just as the ritual entails. She begins by walking down a 13 step Pyramid in front of a million viewers who only a few knew what was actually taking place. Watching Britney's career after that night was like watching a horror show while Christina became Miss Teen, Cover Girl, etc. The same thing is witnessed with Rianna in her Umbrella Video which LennonHonorFilms on Youtube did a profound job at exposing amongst many other astonishingly things about the film industry.

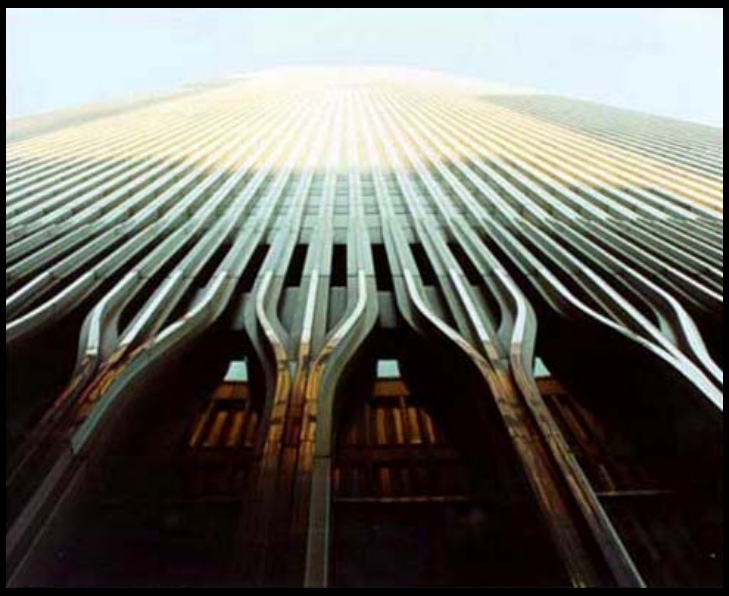
This particular topic about how movies, cartoons, comics, and various other types of propaganda through history are all being used to communicate and portray Masonic and Elitist ceremonies, inductions, current information, and the status of world domination has all been rolled up in to the modern title Synchromysticism. This word means the clear identification of certain patterns that involve esoteric activity embedded within the media for various reasons. This has become so popular a Synchromistic Wikipedia has now been formed.





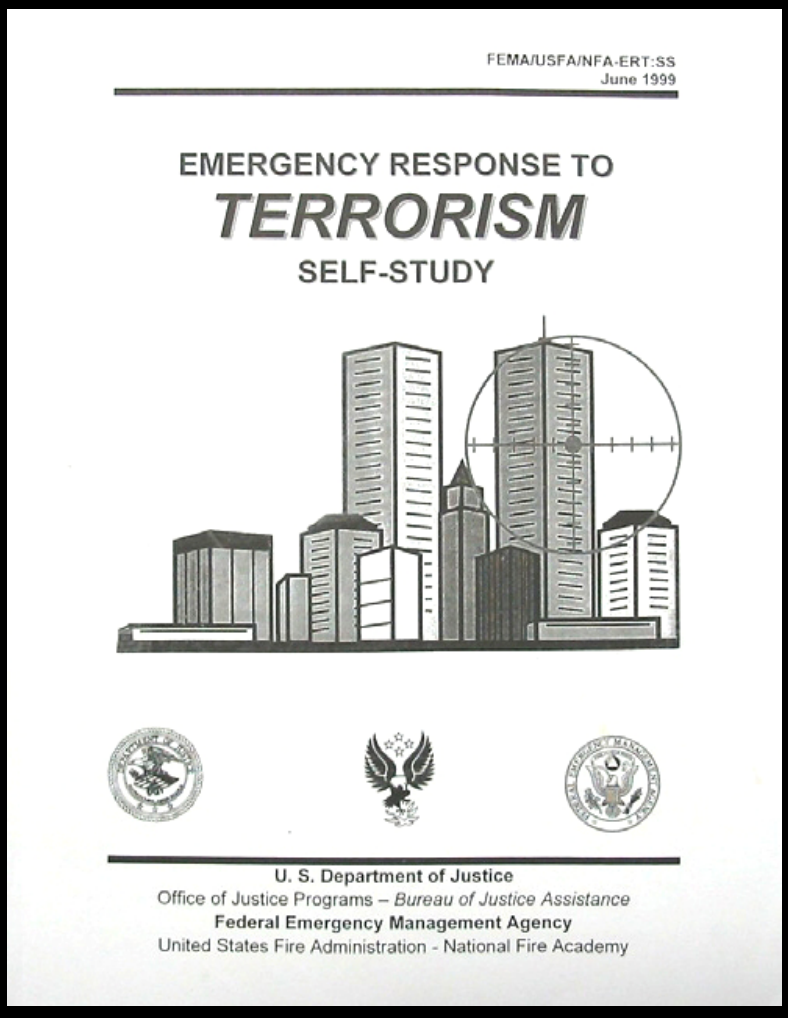
Reason 128: The Media keeps a constant broadcast of esoteric information going which works two-fold. It serves to keep various members of the Elite in the know of current situations, while making the average person continue to believe its all a part of the entertainment. The year 2010 will be anything but entertainment for those who are not prepared. Watch.

With this unraveling of secrets that seemed to begin after the Twin Towers collapsed those who have begun investigating under the pretense of conspiracy have uncovered a trail of immense proportion. Many things reveal that not only are we dealing with a force that has the ability to traverse space and time it also has the supreme intelligence of a Master Architect or Master Builder. When you begin to look into these matters you find an inner network of people from various nationalities and backgrounds all "in the know", which allows them to be more mentally, financially, and physically superior than the average person. When the Twin Towers collapsed, which was the Tower Card #16, the consciousness of the Planet shifted starting in OZ/NY. The Twin Towers themselves were giant tuning forks with the base of the structure infused into the chambers that kept the Gold Reserve.



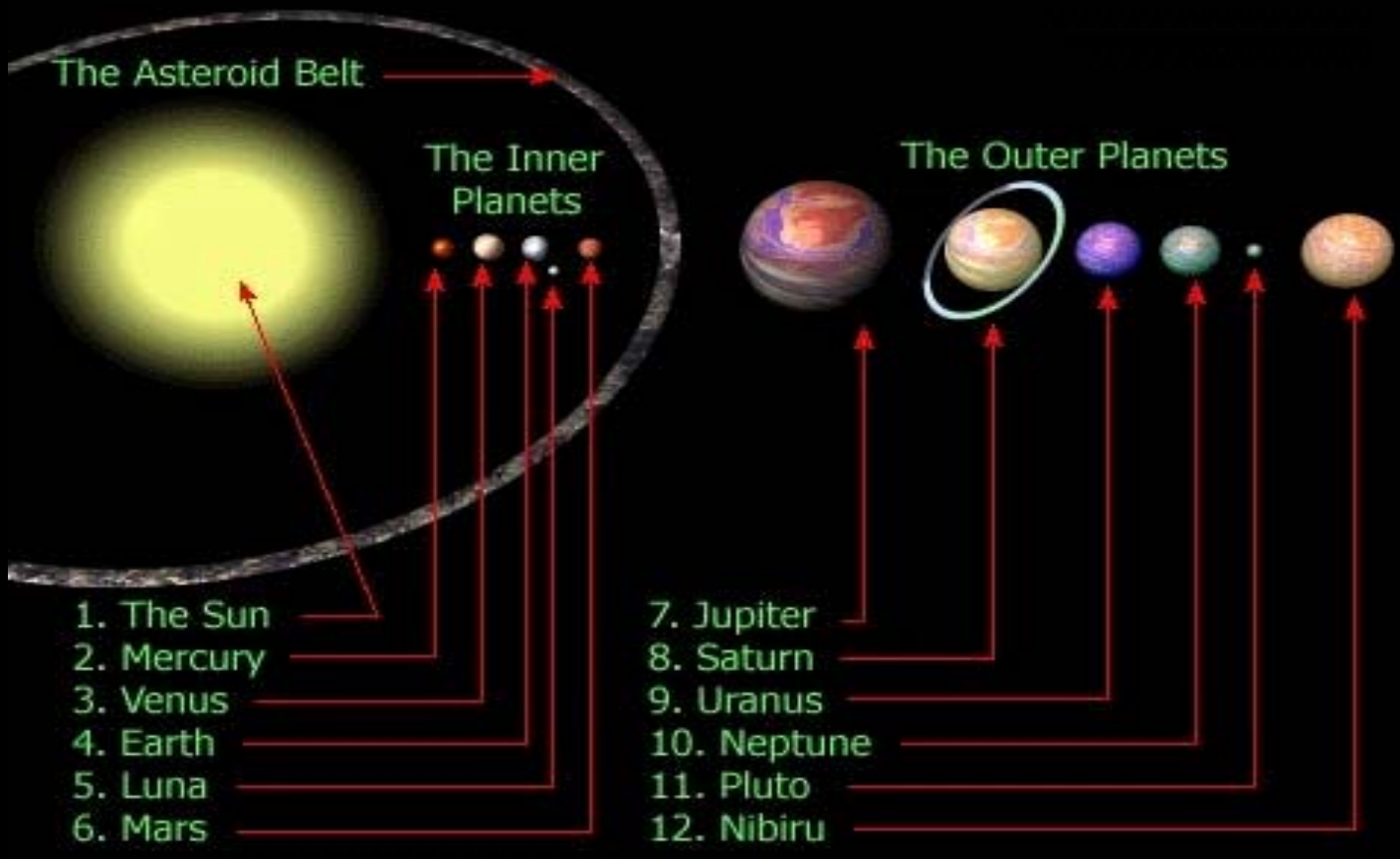
Reason 129: The Twin Towers which we will call Jaochin and Boaz were tuning forks setting the frequency and consciousness for the City which is silently the Capitol of the United States, New York the Land of Oz. The globe placed at the base of the fallen towers is now the controlling device until the Freedom Towers are complete in 2012.

There has been profound amounts of publications found that date back as far as 1960 indicating that the tower would eventually be collapsed in some massive Masonic Mega Ritual. There are enough books and movies on the full details of the 9/11 plot so I will only discuss what many of the conspiracy researchers have missed. Now that 9/11 has past it is for many just another moment in time because they did not lose any loved ones. For those families that lost a loved one they are torn between this conspiracy and that conspiracy. It is fact that this was an orchestrated event that signaled the dawn of a new view of how we see our leaders. I will also say that I believe those people did not die in vain. It was that single event that made many wake up and see things deeper. Thousands of lives are lost everyday due to plans that we could interpret, interrupt, and prevent if we would wake up and learn how the spiritual world functions, along with its signs and symbols.



Reason 130: Since the Elite are notorious for following the 22 card Tarot deck it was already divined that they would cause the Tower to fall. In this FEMA Terrorism self-study manual the Towers are shown with the Bulls Eye/Aldabaren over the South Tower. This manual was published in June 1999 way before the Towers fell, they already knew it was going to happen.

The Gold that was contained in the WTC Towers was moved to Dubai. In fact most of the Gold in the world is now in Dubai. If one has investments in Gold bullion and would like to take delivery, it has to come from Dubai. In Dubai it is clear by the architecture they are expecting the arrival of a Being. Since the Annunaki bloodlines trace mainly through the regions of what is now the Arab world it is almost guaranteed they are expecting the return of Marduk and have gathered the Gold as instructed. These Beings are at the root of the mental and physical enslavement that has faced man and woman, it is also their bloodlines the Elite are attempting to keep preserved. It is also clear the Annunaki are masters at keeping their identity unknown. Although the Sumerian tablets are some of the oldest writings discovered, stories of the Annunaki which are contained on Cuneiform Tablets did not start to really leak until after 9/11. Zacharia Sitchen wrote extensive books on their workings, these books did not get much attention from those who did not already know about the Sumerians and the Annunaki until recently.



Reason 131: The Annunaki are possibly the oldest Reptilian faction to infiltrate Earth. The elder Annunaki eventually left Earth with the ship Nibiru to return once there Ship makes its next pass by Earth as it does every 26,000 years. They left their sibling and offspring in charge while they were gone. It just so happens that 26,000 years comes to completion on December 21, 2012 at 11:11 a.m. Reports say Nibiru can now be seen approaching from the South Pole. The Annunaki are shape shifters so they can take on many form such as Birdmen, Cherubs, and Dracons. Their offspring such as the Danu Nimrod became the Kings of Sumeria, they were of large stature.

Before we move from the subject of the Annunaki there is one more thing that must be known. Its apparent that the interaction with the Annunaki males and the Earth females seems to parallel Genesis, especially since all these stories are Sumerian and of course the Sumerians had the Fallen Angel story first. These Angels were actually advanced winged Reptilians. There is definitely a link here. Furthermore these bloodlines have now claimed to be the Blue Blood Elite that have been ruling like tyrants, Blue is the color of the Serpents blood.

Magdalena was said to be the twin sister of Jesus who was carrying the bloodline. She was married into the House of Windsor/Hanover/Mero/Goth/Viso etc. these are all Blue Bloods. Finally the Grail became Princess Diana and as planned she bought forth Prince William of whom many are implicating as the Anti-Christ. It is of value to remember that the Anti-Christ does not have the Power it is the Beast and the False Prophet who he teams up with and they form a trinity. Lord Matrieya was

seen on the boat when a major meeting of the world's top secret societies, such as the Knights of Malta, took place. It is highly possible Lord Matrieya will be the False Prophet. The Pope has agreed to take the position after Matrieya rather than before. The Beast is the Red Dragon and I don't feel it is time to reveal who that really is due to the amount of disbelief which will occur. If the "Second Edition" is allowed to come forth I will reveal it then and by that time much of what I'm talking about now you will already see.

When Princess Diana began to date Doti Fayed it seemed the Royal House was very sore about this, or was all this part of the plan to mix the Reptilian Bloodlines with Annunaki? Another name for the Annunaki is Annu"doti". When Diana's autopsy came forward it stated she was pregnant with twins before her death. It is known also by those who meditate day and night and expect their Maker at any moment, that the Jesuit Priests are now training one group of twins. Twins have the specialty of both parallels being born in the same womb thus combined they have heightened Spiritual ability if they pursue it.

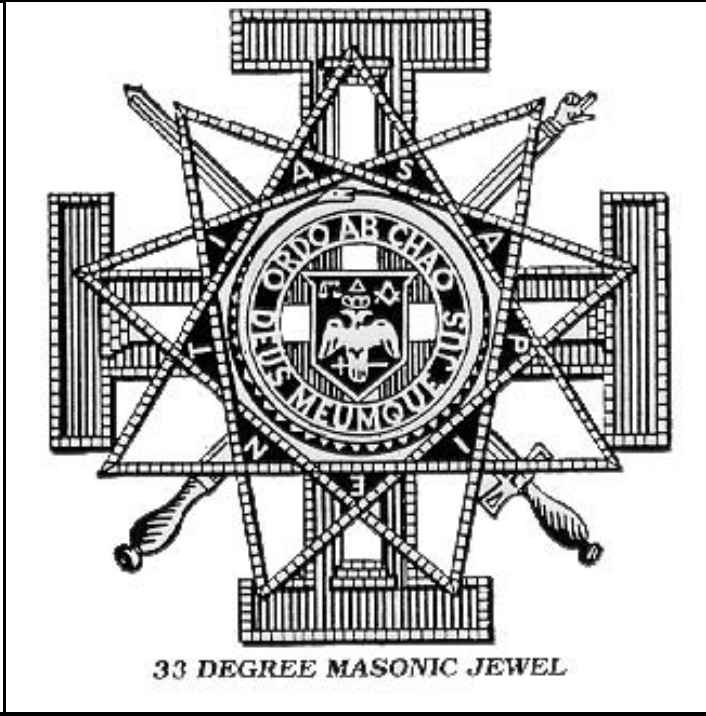
Reason 132: As can be seen here by this statue made by instruction, Prince Charles has no problem depicting himself as the Prince Lucifer who was cast out of heaven. The royal family are the laymen of the demonic Pantheism and they now control most of the world. The Bible makes sure to include that Satan is the Ruler of this World. As I said before they will have to be faced or they will continue to decimate everything innocent and pure as their ranks increase with the youth who are conned into practicing the things abhorred in the High Heavens. Prince William "The Golden Boy" is continuously prepped for his role as the new world Anti-Christ ruler, surely he will be struck so hard his jewels will fall from his crown.

There is another Planet that used to be in our system known as Meldek that is no longer with us due to another civil war which went nuclear on their surface. I personally believe this is a very big connection that will put pieces together for many who have already engage in finding out what's going on but can't connect certain things. Here is what I know; Salt Lake City is located on top of a vast underground cavern system predating this interim of man. Those cavern systems connect through underground Nevada Area 60, 13, 51, and probably every major underground hub up into Mount Shasta and various regions of Alaska. Generally when they dig underground it is to extend this system. This system is controlled by the Unseen Hand built by the Atlantians; it can be seen as the backbone of the Matrix. Zion is already running and is underground which can not ne seen the movie Matrix but also the movie Ember.

When entering a Mormon sanctuary the highest priority is to trace your genealogy, they contain the world's largest database of genealogy rivaled by only Israel's. The Jews keep extensive records to prove their lineage and bloodline. You cannot enter inside the Temple unless your genealogy can be verified by them. We will continue to establish the link between the Annunaki the Hibiru's, Nibiru, Meldek, and the Melchizedeks as we go on. The entire priesthood of the Earth reside under one roof. The divisions between religions are now mending because they were always together in the background. One part of the design was to get the people to continue to quarrel which is chaos called in Latin CHAO, this buys time. Chaos produces a mist or smoke screen. When chaos is breaking out anything can go on because everyone's attention is on something else.

Let us look at the division of the minds of the world for a moment to see why there are not many coming to the aid of those who really wish to go beyond this Universe/University and into the Cosmos because the course is over. Some have the knowledge while other have the resources, they must join or it is left for ones individual self to make your body a ship, activating a portal and exit the dimension. When you head to the Arab world they are Monotheist and are waiting on the Mahdi the Twelver or Twelfth Imam. Hmmm why is it taking these Masters so long to show up, their people are dying by the masses. In reason there should be no way the U.S., who they call the cursed Dajjal a serpent beast known also as Nakash, should be able to infiltrate the Great Orient and murder everything in sight unless their power has somehow waned and they have been fooled to believe things that are not true thus depleting their spiritual shield which is the real personal barrier before the physical.

Many are angry and have taken up arms against Tubal-Cain! I ask the Arabs and Jihadist did not your great Master say Tubal Cain the Black Smith was the Lord of weapons of great destruction, you cannot beat him at his own Great Art. Our strength does not lie in weapons fashioned of metal it is with Spirit, Crystal Power and control of the Ability particle energy which moveth massive stones even mountains with the mind, lay to waste powerful Beast, and keeping malignant Jinn at bay. We learned this from the Most High, the Wise who will always remain above all things. The quarrel is between Archons like Jaldabaoth, Dominions such as Jesu, Rulers such as the Queen Lizard Elizabeth of England, Principalities like Lucifer, and Kings like Asmodeus.



Reason 133: Top Left, this is the Official Seal of the "Dominion" of the Order of Melchizedek the High Priesthood. This links Christianity, Judaism, and Islam altogether. The Jewel of the 33rd Order out of Chaos. I still find it amazing that although a few people have already made it known, the 33rd Degree is made to look like the highest degree when it is not. I know of 90 Degrees by Title and there are 360 in which only one can hold the title of each.

Here is another thing to think about. If everything is based on sound and every combination of those sounds can be found on a piano scale there are then 12 octaves on the scale and a 13th overtone. If we are at 3 which is C we are 2 scales away from the lowest dimension. When you hear the low keys on a piano you can feel the vibration of danger those keys emit. It is time to wake up and really innerstand where you are in this whole thing rather than just imaging everything will work itself out. We must begin to engage life the proper way or face the results of such negligence as things run amuck.

Continuing on the trail we find that the Arabs contained detailed information in regards to the involvement of these invaders and us. They have accounts that have survived for ages of ships they called the Shams visiting Earth. It is safe to say that the Arabs had already familiarized themselves with these Beings and even worshipped them. I find an uncanny similarity in the name of Allalu the first Annunaki to find Earth before his brother Anu, and the Muslim God Allah. The story of Allalu's

discovery of the Earth is the first part of the Sumerian Tablets which is seldom mentioned amongst scholars since Anu becomes the chief God of the Tablets. They immediately go into the story of Anu as ruler, Enlil, E.A, Marduk, Inanna, Ningursag, Gilgamesh, etc.

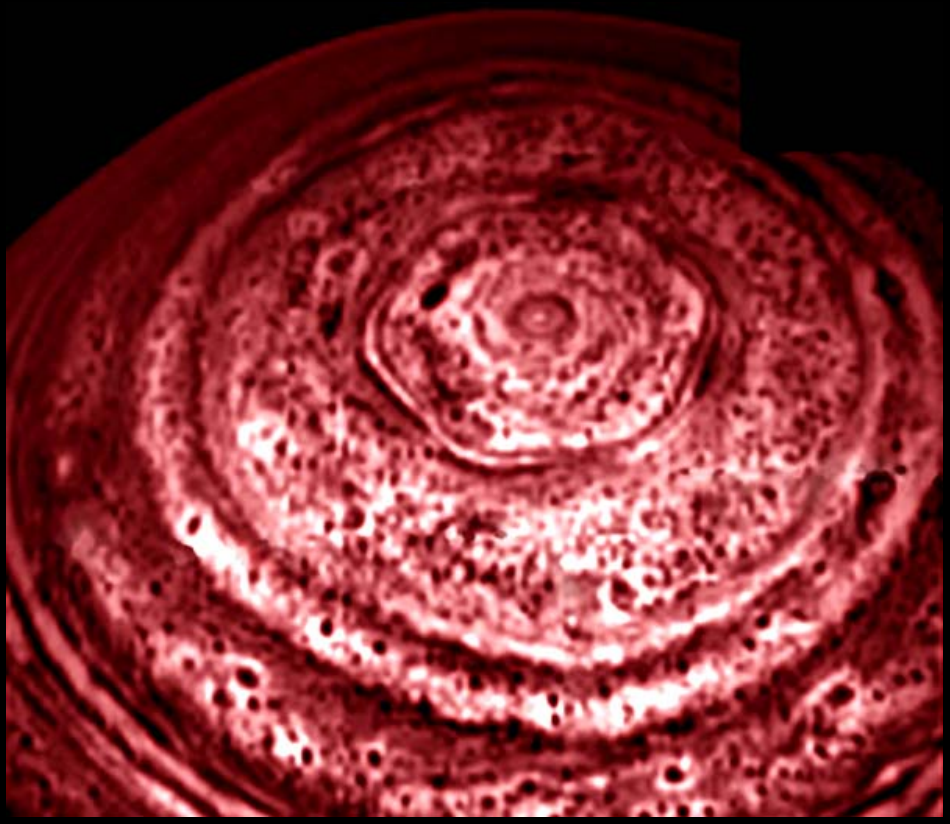
This also lets us know these Beings are not referred to as Annunaki amongst themselves since it is clear Anu the brother of Allalu earned the right, because of his victory over his brother in battle, to name their lineage on Earth Annunaki. The Sumerian Tablets that proceeds the one in common publication states that Allalu made the journey from the home Planet of the Annunaki first in order to find a Planet that contained the resources to save their World. He was then considered the bravest for accomplishing an almost impossible task. After lengthy travel through the solar system Tiamat was discovered and Allalu set a course to enter the atmosphere in which ended in a crash landing into the ocean. With atmosphere suits he came upon land not knowing if the air was yet breathable. Once Gold was found Allalu send communication back to the home Planet of his find.

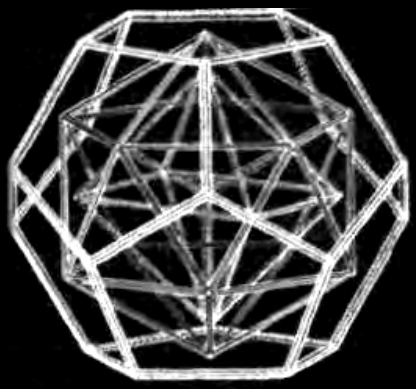
When I think of all this the movie Predator comes to mind again. Apparently the second to arrive was Anu, Allalu's brother who challenges him for the new found territory by a wrestling match. It says Allalu lost this match and was exiled along with his trusty companion. Later it says that Allalu challenged Anu again and lost a second time. It says that Allalu was so angry about this that he bit off his brother's penis. For this the council of the Gods banished Allalu to Mars a world that was only inhabitable underground. The face on Mars is said to be the face of Allalu a shrine to Him who found Tiamat first and saved their home Planet. Amazingly the story of Osiris and his Brother Set are somewhat similar missing penis and all.

Could the Muslims be worshipping Allalu as the one and only God because He was the first of the Gods to come to Earth? Getting back to the Gold we find that all the Gold of the world has now been transported to the UAE Dubai the strongest financial superstructure in the world right now. For those who can truly appreciate architecture and sacred geometry they will find the structures of Dubai spell binding. A brand new version of the Tower of Babel has been constructed boasting itself as the tallest building in the world shaped just like a modern ziggurat. The Gates of Ishtar have been reconstructed to be in at least three times their Original proportion. You find 8 sided pyramids rather than the old four sided pyramids which makes it clear that everything is evolving they now have crossed into the 16.

As I said above when the Gods return their Spirit often takes up habitants in the Temples man constructs for them. It is clear after awhile that those who were Pharaohs allowed their bodies to become vessels for the Gods so thus the Deity spoke through them. It makes sense that no common man will become ruler of this world, he would have to be in close association with the Powers and Dominions that be.

The world sits and watches powerless as the Elite in the U.N. play like they cannot stop Israel from bombing Gaza back into the Stone Age. Why is it that they really don't want to hold back Israel even after they bombed a U.N. convoy? It is as simple as the name, "Is" "Ra" "El" "Is" stands for Isis and of course her consort "Ra" Lord of the underworld from the land of Dar and "El" who is Saturn the "The Lord of the Rings". The Star of David carries the hexagram in its center, words like Elect, Elite, Elevated, Elohim, Elysium and many more are all Saturnalian words. Just as Earth is alive as people often forget, other Planets are alive also and can be contacted through frequency, shapes, and colors tied into a perfect system. Pythagoras the old Python from Samos taught this in his schools. The Elite have coveted this information and have used it to rule the people thus barring the way to Ascension, while not getting through themselves what joy will come when they shall prevail no longer.





Reason 134: Saturn has Hexagonal North and South Poles. NASA pretends to be baffled by this phenomena. This is also why the Seal of Solomon, also called the Star of David is a Hexagon Star because it evokes the Spirits from the Sphere of Saturn. Other Planets also have geometric correspondents that serve for evocation purposes.

A branch of Hyksos Shepherd Kings left Egypt under Thutmoses III a.k.a. Moses to take over the land of Canaan which became Palestine then Israel. This is told in the tales of Egyptology as the story of Ra deciding to depart from Egypt. This was the time the cult of Ra left Egypt and spread

through most of the world. Even the other day I overheard a Bob Marley song with him saying in the beginning "If a man does not serve "Ras", he will never see no peace," what kind of talk is this? The takeover was initiated and much blood was wrought up to the bridle. Once they gained a foothold it gave birth to Zionism. These bloodlines all connect by way of Babylon, Sumeria, Egypt, Chaldea, Syria and even Nubia and together the Brotherhood of the Snake began to expand and divvy up the world and its resources and the Humans remained completely unsuspecting, for a time.

When bad things happen in this world people begin to pray, this gives the Deities more energy to make more bad things happen so the people can pray more, a vicious cycle. All main religions use these Beings as their backbone and seldom teach self empowerment through the manipulation of body energy. They say "true you can reach higher states, but not without the aid of so-and-so". There are two separate doctrines, one for you and one for them. Generally if the Spirit is alive it will manifest that is the doctrine of the Elite. The people are taught to remain in blind faith never seeing the God and only maintaining a one sided dialog with a crucified Lord. All real Prophets, Yogis, and Brahmas maintained vivid contact with the Spiritual realm. The doctrine of the Elite gives them power which is instilled by communing with these Beings. The belief system for the commoner leaves them powerless. As they say the more prayers go up the more blessings come down. "Be Lessed"? These are the words that have to be analyzed by the individual believer if they expect to discover why they are still waiting on something that should have already come.

So the truth behind Israel is they are evoking the assistance of Entities they discovered while playing with written Kabbalah along with some creepy residue from Ancient Egypt all the way back to the Groves of Ur. Although thousands of people from different countries are protesting the Gaza situation they find their governments doing nothing because in secrecy they are all working on a plan that has NOW the name of the NWO or simply OWN a.k.a ZIONISM. "Own" is actually the correct pronunciation of the word we know as "ON". "ON" was Oanes the main Deity worshipped in Babylon and Heliopolis. The "ON" has embedded itself so deep into our words we find when we need a light we must turn it "ON" thus a false light is created. All units of energy contain the word "ON" in it because "ON" is a type of power for the Elite for example Neutron, Proton, Electron, Tachyon, and Orgone, to name only a few.

The real mind control is people are not dealing with their Spiritual condition they are holding on to Spiritual beliefs that they in fact live contrary to everyday. Many Spiritual beliefs contradict each other all in the same book and since the sub-conscious mind has picked this up by more of intuition, it is generally not dedicated to religion, while the conscious mind which becomes diseased by the ego, is. Thus it will "play church" just to say that it is better than most and will be slaved, I mean saved by the God when He returns.

Reason 135: Contrary to what most people believe Jewish "Holy Men" do not support Zionism, they recognize it as an infesting plague rotting away the morals and culture of the 12 Tribes. However they are not part of the Israeli political party so their words are not heard.

In Genesis Chapter 3 it says and then the Sons of God, plural, saw the daughters of women. Since it is clearly indicated that there is more than one "Son of God" why does the New Testament insist all of a sudden that there is only one Son. Not to mention in the Book of Hebrews located in the New Testament it even says that Jesus was from the Order of Melchizedeks the Priests of Ha Elyon also indicating that he was an Initiate and not even the most powerful of his Order. These Melchizedeks lead directly to Sirius. The Melchizedeks have always been involved in the deeper esoteric course of our future. Those who have come into the spotlight representing the Melchizedeks have always been on a higher Spiritual level bringing portents of an impending visitation by the Sirians and the Annunaki. The two men of our time openly representing the Melchizedeks are Drunvalo Melchizedeks and Dr. Malachi Z. York the former is still conducting deep initiations in Peru, last time I checked, and the later is jailed in Denver Colorado super max for 140 years for several counts of child molestation which I know for a fact he committed. It took the F.B.I. 30 years to find that out but they can catch a bootlegger in a minute.

It is clear the extraterrestrial card is about to be played. There are several documents about a future staged invasion by the Beings that have already been here that are not humanoid. Basically it seems the Unseen Hand wants to step a little from the shadows for the next phase of their plan. The "arrivals" will serve to unite the world under one common enemy, the Aliens. This will bring about various systems that will ensure everyone remains safe, traceable, and immune to foreign viruses through vaccine. Just recently the Swine Flu scare made millions go and get injected with not only a foreign virus but whatever else is in the vaccine. One should be very careful of these types of scares that force you to go and get vaccinated because of fear of catching the disease. In the vaccination there

are mind, DNA, and health altering drugs that will have various effects as we continue into the New Age.

281.—Probable Form of the Ark of the Covenant.—Exod. xxv.

Reason 136: The Melchizedeks are similar to the Levite Priest put over taking care of the personal needs of the Unseen One. When they manifest into flesh they are always carrying out a main agenda and their information tends to be several cuts above the rest. Drunvalo states that we should expect the Sirians to begin returning by the end of this year. Malachi York was one of the first men to bring information of Nibiru. **Dr. York introduced the religion Nawabu to the world thus bringing light to the whole Sumerian ennead of Anu a great misguidance to African Americans.**

When one takes a look at the Bible in the Old Testament you are immediately confronted with a God who demands large sacrifices of animals. Still many fail to make the connection that animal sacrifice is Black Magic. Those closely involved in the inner order tend to have dark characteristics because they must participate in these senseless sacrifices of cruelty. I noticed even in the Islamic faith an animal must be sacrificed during weddings, holidays, and various occasions. Why do we continue such practices? The ancient law even says if it can run from you don't eat it, look upon it, can it feel pain, now see yourself taste death. The Creator made many things for man and woman to marvel and cherish so their character may be pleasing and entertaining to you.

Now would be the time to get to the root of where much of the power of the Zionist movement lies. That becomes as easy as looking at the name Solomon to see how all this connects. When the works of Solomon were introduced it involved the evoking of demons. The more popular book is the Keys to Solomon removed from his sepulcher. Solomon himself proclaims in the Bible that he built the Temple with the assistance of demons in which he had subdued and put under control with a ring that was given to him by the God of the Bible. "Sol" is Latin for the Sun, "Om" is Sanskrit for the alternate Sun, and "On" is Sumerian/Babylonian for Oanes. Many adepts learn that the name is a sign of collaboration between three different Brotherhoods that decided to combine forces and knowledge to achieve complete dominance over the world. Solomon brought it all together. Solomon not only wandered after Ashtoreth he also sacrificed once a year to Bel. Jewish works further claim that Solomon was rebuked for doing these things but was absolved nonetheless.

While Solomon was ruler Kings and Wise Men came from all over just to hear his words and see his accomplishments thus many were induced into a deeper version of mysticism that involved commanding the lower Genii. When one thinks the Solar Deities are the Evil ones and the Moon Deities are the nice ones they still haven't gotten the picture. All of these Energies seek to master what will serve them often times by fooling the worshipper into actually believing they are in control. As I was told by someone very wise Demons are strong enough to hurl men far lengths, they are not your companions and you cannot trust them. They are jealous and seek respite until the Day if you but knew Iblis (Satan) said he was made of Smokeless Fire, stronger than flesh, thus he would not be a friend to man. Failing to realize we are created in the Image of the Most High showed he lacked reason and was deluded by pride so We stripped him of his Jewels and his Beauty and placed him in the darkness.

Indeed we where made aware that when trying to duplicate the power of our Most High Majesty " the imposter Nakash", pointed all the people who found themselves not sure of their origin, to the direction of a dying Sun who is Shamash called also Samael. Yes it was that dismal light which proclaims itself as sustainer of this Earth and rises every morning in full 90 degrees. This faint hue the "uncounted" perceived as the Splendid One incessantly wanting to make their God visible and not seeking sensibility and reason. Even great Egypt was caught worshiping only what they perceived in clear view impatient they where and they failed utterly, trapped in the world of no return thus they beckon others to join them in misery. They are still known by the wise and chaste to be misguided death dealers residing even now by ritual and pact in the lowest places. Their abode is nothingness they are leechers of life and feast on those who are misled into the wants of material matter.

Just as always the female role is kept secret. It was actually Saba/Sheba who is Balkis who taught Solomon the Wisdom of the Stars. Saba actually means Star or Seven thus the Seven Stars or Pleiades. The Koran tells of a people called the Sabians who would make good converts. I found that Saba was more of a energy like Sothis, and not an actual woman. Sheba was a temple in Ethiopia not a physical Queen. The physical Queen of the time was Makedah who had as her consort the converted Eunuch

Candace who commanded Elephants. The Elephant was a sacred Deity in Ethiopia they have many temples to commemorate the Elephant although all books say the meaning of these temples have been lost. The ancient elephant is called Mastodon this is where our word Master comes from. This is like the woolly Mammoth looking Elephant. Even hearing the name Makedah brings Oprah Winfrey's movie The Color Purple to mind. In the movie when they go back to Africa they are singing this song "Ain't no ocean ain't no seas, Makedah dah, can keep my sister away from me, Makedah dah". This was sung while a blood letting ritual and scarring was taking place.

There is nothing new under this Sun. Now that information portals are opening it is much easier to connect the dots and see that we have been lied to profusely since day one. This should be enough for one to realize they cannot trust what others say and must investigate it for themselves. Everything that I bring forth I can prove even at times down to the Quantum level. Those who are at the head of many religious circles are pushing propaganda that they cannot validate the origin of thus everyone is told to have blind faith. If my charge is allowed to continue it will be amazing to watch them attempt to answer questions about their connections with what you have seen so far. Now is the time media such as Myspace, Facebook, Youtube, Scribd, and various other free information channels can be exploited to actually reverse their otherwise useless brain high jacking effects.

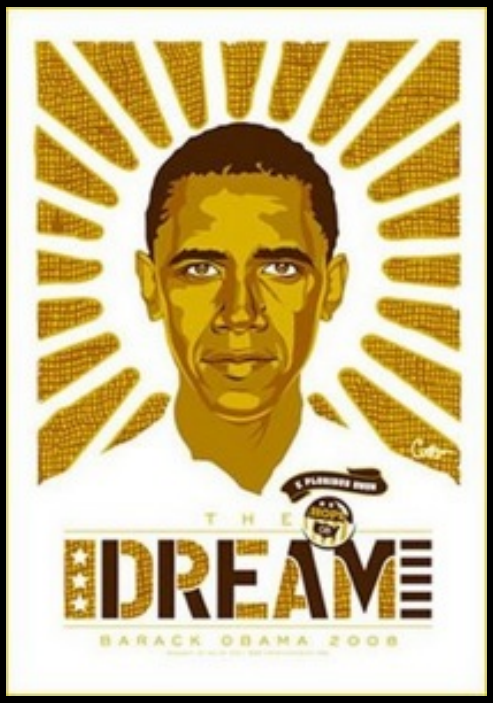
Once information like this begins to leak there are others who are the siblings, spouses, and workers of various individuals they will now know are affiliated with spiritual corruption. When they figure out they have been used and lied to, they will began releasing information that could have never been obtained by any other means. Such as a Masters copy of a High Initiates Protocols that may have been kept in the private possession of the family of a long deceased Master Mason. As I said before we are hacking Morpheus and soon he will tell us everything. Their devilish doings will bring forth their ruin just in time for the Cosmic showdown.

Reason 137: This Temple of Sheba is actually below ground. Nubia became Lower Egypt maintaining the Pantheism of the Pharaohs even when it was lost to the common world. Solomon, who was clearly of Hibiru descent, entreated Balkis to give him the Wisdom of the Stars and the doctrines of the Underworld. With these instructions what is now modern Christianity was given more form. The Ethiopic books of the Bible predated all other works. The Ethiopic books became the main resource for writing many versions of the Bible in other languages. The most recent story of the death and resurrection seems to be plagiarized from their books of another Savior and his Virgin mother who was black. Mary and Jesus are modeled after them.

Oprah Winfrey we know to be Initiated. Not only did she endorse Barack Obama which gave him the edge over McCain, she also has an entertainment company called Harpo which is her name backwards this is known as backwords magic. Horus, is the Christ-like savior of Egypt in which Barack emulates. Horus is also called Harpocrates. In Chicago where Oprah and Obama both hail from they have the famous "L" or EL Train. This train runs across the ley lines of Chicago in some type of Masonic pattern. Obviously this book will have to expand out into other editions where I can detail more of what's going on. The more I write the more I see how much has to be written, however, something must get to the people now. I want the reader to know that even if some of this seems hazy now just keep with it and you will see the pieces connect. I'm not telling you anything but what has been unveiled to me. With that being said I'm intentionally cutting the book short and we will call this the first edition.

Several mind control "Triggers" were used when the Elite made the moves to make Barack Obama President. In several movies that made it to the box office before Barack came into the spotlight they showed the President of the United States as an African American. Those movies were made to be favorable box office hits and the viewer was then set in the fertile soil for the future move. This way it almost seems like it already happened when the actual scenario starts to take place. This makes people more comfortable in thinking it was their idea. Many of these types of methods were

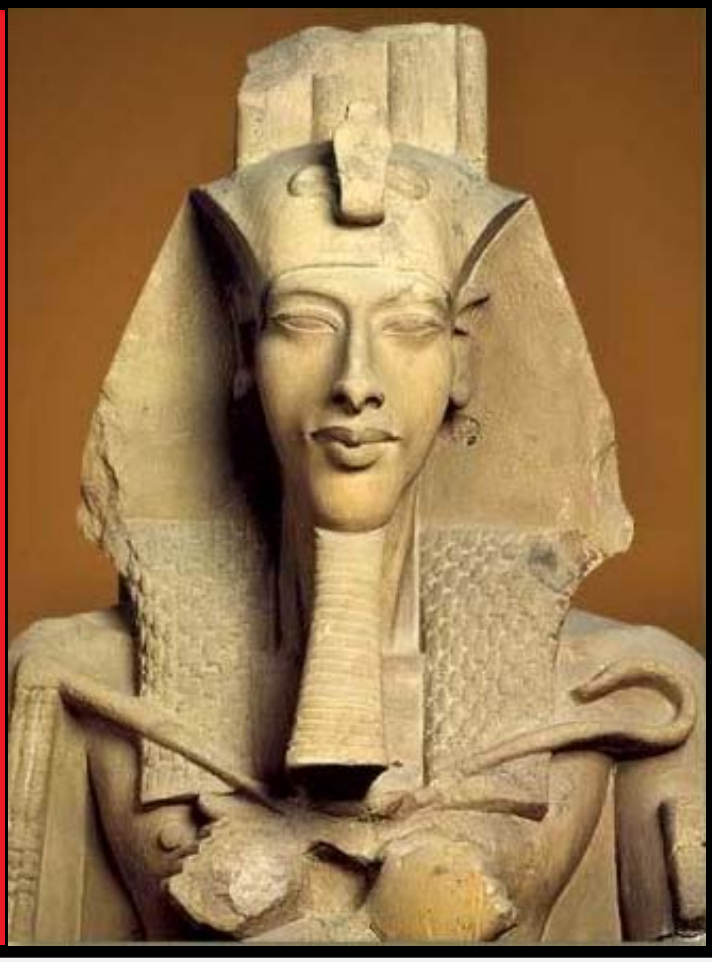
learned from German mind control scientist and were put to the test in the CIA's Project MKUltra. Their work on compartmentalizing the brain was phenomenally riveting.



Reason 138: This is how suggestive mind control works. The "Dream" poster was to "Trigger" the feeling of Martin Luther King Jr. getting African Americans to believe that they would finally be treated with justice when Barack came into Office. Since African Americans don't generally vote, not believing in such nonsense as politics, this time they showed up at the pools which caused the Republican Party, who always vote, to be outnumbered. Although they could always just cheat and rig the vote, it is better when it is a conscious decision by the people. This way a pact or agreement is made thus the outcome will be entirely the fault of the Voter for participating in the "El"ection. As also seen here they prepped everyone first through the Media for the African American President who is really an incarnate of Pharonic energy.

We will discuss briefly a topic that is way out of the box, my hangout. Since the inner core of these societies have mastered death and resurrection they known how to reincarnate into this world again and assume various roles of leadership. Below I'm showing profound proof of this. Remember

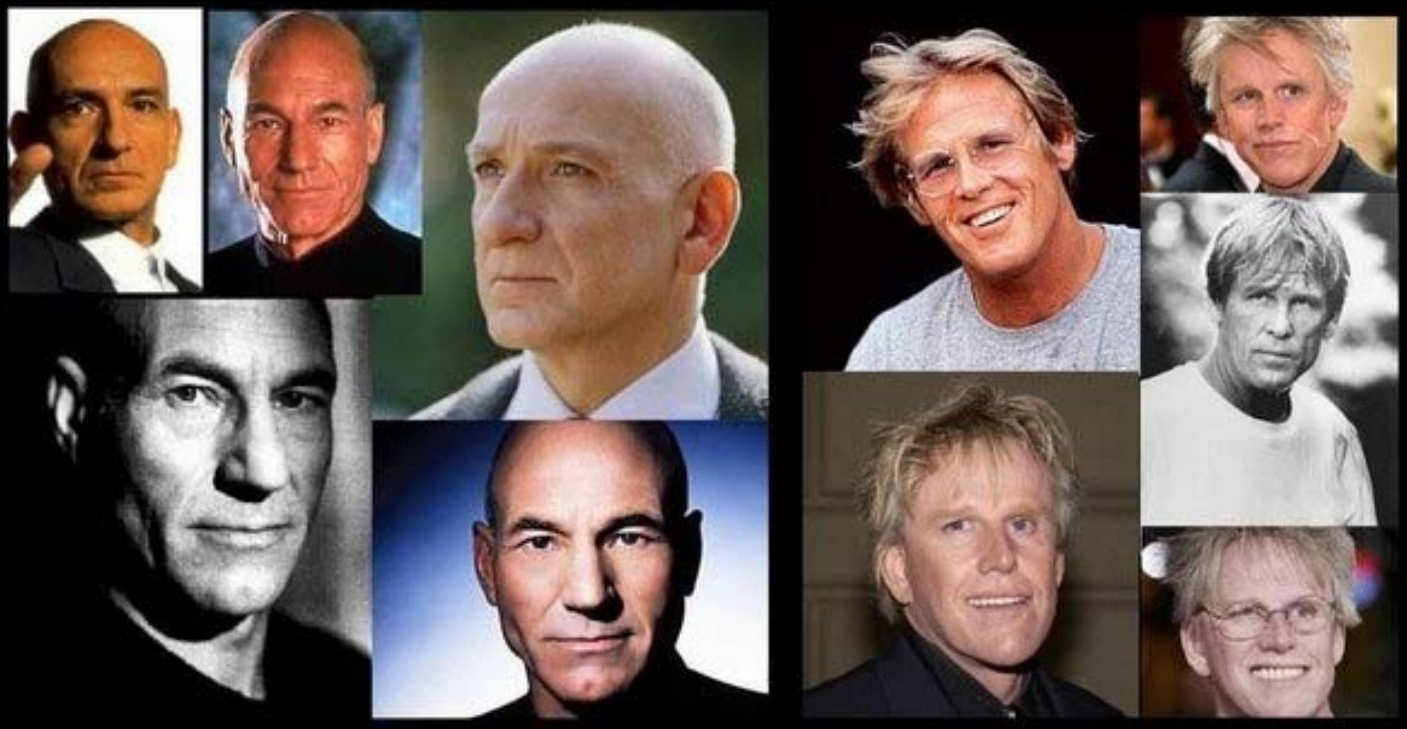
many people were lured into these Occult Circles by the promise of consecutive lives. I believe for some that promise was kept due to their particular position on the Pyramid. I doubt that those on the bottom of the Pyramid enjoyed such mystical prestige; let us look at those who may be closer to the top of the Pyramid.



Reason 139: Once you hear real truth it's much stranger than fiction. When addressing the Nation from the Whitehouse Obama will stand in a Pyramid which will be on the floor below the podium traced in Gold. In the magic evocation of Entities the Apparition will appear in the Triangle drawn by the Magician, if the Magician stands in the Triangle he becomes the vessel for the apparition to communicate through. For a novice, standing inside the Triangle can result in death as the Spirits that are not trained, then tamed, will tear apart the Magician. The Adept strikes fear in the heart of the Spirits by having in their possession certain things such as daggers, swords, jewels, crooks, rings, herbs, and various other consecrated magical items designed for such purposes.

Some of the Secret organizations were known to possess the secret of bringing one back in contact with their double. This was of the greatest value because it gave the Initiate the natural powers associated with being completely balanced and assembled or re-membered. This also took place in the Pyramid while lying in the Sarcophagus. This also gives the Initiate the ability to sing, dance, and act

to an amazing degree of perfection since they are now using the side associated with perfect articulation and true genius. Those who are still "split" marvel at the accomplishments of these people and become fans, groupies, gopis, and worshippers of these false idols who use the secret to their advantage.



Reason 140: In my studies into the Occult there can be only two explanations for this type of "Doppelganger Effect". Either the same Spirit has possessed the same individuals that look similar to each other, as strong Spirits are known to change the facial appearance and sometimes bodily features of the Host. Or they have actually pulled their Doppelgangers from the parallel and are living double lives. Both of these scenarios can be accomplished by a very skilled Adept. In each photo there are 2 different people.

When King Nebuchadnezzar entered Jerusalem he set the Temple of Solomon on fire. When asked about it he said he was carrying out the will of Marduk. This would solve one of the biggest issues we face with deciphering who is on what side because this shows that although both of these Sects appeared to worship the Sun, Planets, and Serpents it is in all actuality some worship Serpents, and others Amphibians. Still others worship the Horned Gods like the Ram, Ramses, Ra, Mendes, Tet, etc. The Bible says that the dragon had several heads and they began to devour one another until two remained. Of course we find the tales of Solomon in much of the Hebraic lore and in the Masonic Rites in which they confess that Solomon was the first Master Mason. The Temple itself was known as the "Double Square".

When locating the ancient depictions of the real Solomon, which are very hard to locate, I came across two, one by the Russians, and the other by the Rastafarians. Solomon is depicted in both the motif and the bask relief as half man half reptilian or amphibian. Religions like Islam, Catholicism, Christianity, and Judaism all support and defend Solomon as the wisest King, so it is better to throw them all in the bag together. When reading works like the Testament of Solomon which details his dealings with nefarious demons who are made to confess their crimes and then put in service of building the temple, it becomes obvious all who studied the Gnostic doctrines of these groups became Magicians, Wizards, called then Wizar and various other types of Mystics.

Once Israel subdues the complete portion of the Promised Land it fulfills a much awaited prophecy which is obtaining all the land that was originally promised to them by the God of the Bible. It becomes obvious that the God of the Bible promotes the Israelites to kill in order to obtain what clearly belonged to someone else before they invaded. This becomes no different then what the so-called founding father of the Americas did to the indigenous that were there first. Even the Hebrew Book of Light states that the Children of Israel who wandered around the wilderness and never made it to the Promise Land were those who found favor with the true God thus they gained an attachment to the wilderness and nature verses a city flowing with Milk and Honey. Milk and Honey were just symbolism for the Cow and the Bee the two animals sacred to the Egyptians. We now see returning to the Promise Land was more like becoming the Egyptians for the Hebrews based upon the way they are ruling now. There is absolutely no excuse for such barbaric behavior unless of course you are serving a blood thirsty Deity which brings up the point again about sacrifice.

How can it escape a person's judgment that if something is asking you to slaughter thousands of cattle and various other animals into a huge furnace of fire it could possibly not be something negative? Putting yourself in the moment is key. Throwing a living cow in a furnace 10 times heated would sound horrible. Just think of thousands of them back to back mooing to the Moon like crazy. This would not smell like the drive through at Burger King since the fur was not removed. Some will say "Well Jesus did away with animal sacrifice" and I will say so we moved on to child sacrifice? This God now tells his so-called only son to sacrifice himself? No parent in their right mind would participate in such demonic activity, thus many in history not in their "right" mind did, this is the drawback of only using your "left" mind. This does not come up only once but at least twice in the modern Bible where Abraham is also told to sacrifice Isaac paying no mind to the strict rules against child sacrifice in the Bible. For the God to even use this as some test seems unethical and hypocritical.

The behavior of an individual will ultimately determine what they are about, so through treachery and subterfuge the world has been set in array. Once the prophecy is fulfilled of Greater Israel it indicates it will be time for their next move which is to rebuild the third temple of Solomon in Jerusalem using the demons again of course. The New Jerusalem is spoken of in Revelations coming down from the sky and that cannot be fulfilled until the third Temple is complete. What remains of the last Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem is only the Wailing Wall which is why the Zionist are so fond of it. Obama was even instructed to pay a trip to it yamiluke and all. The proposed location of the new temple is where the Dome of the Rock, a sacred Islamic Mosque, sits now. It is known that if something happens to the Dome of the Rock, Muslims beyond number will become extremely violent and spread real terror upon the Earth such as it has never been seen.

Reason 141: The Zionist, who are now making the rules as they go, intend to rebuild the Final Temple of Jerusalem. If this Temple is allowed to be completed it marks the end of this world as we know it. This of course is in the prophecy that has so far been correct up until this very moment. All that is left is to remove the Dome of the Rock.

This becomes the ultimate setup for the Humans by these bloodthirsty Deities. The Islamic prophecy reads that when the "Ma"hdi returns he must have his feast in the Dome of the Rock before he emancipates the Muslims. The Muslims are charged with making sure the Dome of the Rock is available at all times just in case he returns. On the flip side unless the Dome of the Rock is removed and the Temple of Solomon rebuilt, New Jerusalem cannot descend from the Mount.

This of course the Zionist will not stand for and neither will the Muslims. So this equals a no win situation for these two brothers who have been fighting forever and the clock is ticking down for them both. They have also dragged everyone else into their battle through religion although they refuse to give the masses the full details of what took place on Tiamat the enemy of Marduk. So let us look closer at the similarities of these faiths to see that this has gone far beyond belief in the Most High and is about domination, destruction, and chaos. Do keep in mind this is all an inside job and the people that war with each other are the sacrifice.

Reason 142: The Dome of the Rock. This is the most sensitive spot in the world. If it's touched it will be like getting into a small box with thousands of Queen Hornets who are protecting their larvae. Many Muslims have lost the focal point, their language was one of the first codes to the Matrix so they face a different matter that the Most High will have to deal with personally. I will just say when one is wise and ready to grow they will be flexible like a reed thus they will bend a little for Innerstanding, this is growth. If One is brittle they will break the moment something comes that blows surprise towards them thus in a world full of surprises they do not fair well and the Experience eludes them. I know this because I was the most brittle and the Most High soaked me first so that I would not break under the Truth which is heavy for man and woman and must be given in stages. On this ladder there are those who are coming up and those who are going down. They now use "El"evators so if the Guided do not rally behind the one with the Idea which comes before the Name then they will not see "ABAD" eternity, without end and may find their Companions in the Fire which is Purification. I'm just an agent myself dictating faithfully what has been revealed to me by the Most High who controls all things and which all must draw their substance as all expect to take their next breath but see it not before it is goes into the body.

First off the Temple of Solomon has already been reconstructed and I will show you two of them although many more exist, they serve as portals. The wormhole amongst many things allows a person to travel anywhere on Earth in an instant. Not just anyone can travel through the wormhole. The Auric field of the person has to be enhanced. It is said the elements on the wall of the wormhole dissolve anything they come in contact with that is not geometrically configured properly, this is necessary to disassemble and reassemble the atoms in perfect form. The common worshiper is told the Temple it yet to be rebuilt, what a hoax. One of those Temples is the Rosslyn Chapel and the other is in Winnipeg Manitoba the heart connection of Canada and North America. In sacred geometry a double square makes 8 points thus linking the double square to the 8 pointed Star of Ilu.

The Rosslyn Chapel founded by "Sir" William Saint Claire called Sinclair (Prodigus) Knight of the Cockle and Golden Fleece changed their name to Roskeyln which later became Rosslyn, Sir Henry, and "Pent"land. This is also the lineage of Sir William, the first Grand Master Mason of Scotland. The Chapel contains 22 Masonic marks. The rights of Master Mason was granted to William

by King James II, the two were great friends. This family became so famous and respected they were even allowed to coin money. Passing three times around the linestone or boundary stone of Rosslyn was known to grant whoever was allowed to do it, unique abilities. The Temple was always guarded to prevent anyone from doing this without the leave of the hierarchy until the Chalice was removed. The Temple was a great resort for Gypsies who ever inhabited the place and the "physical" Holy Grail was stored for some time in the Chapel until it became unsafe and had to be moved.

Reason 143: Most are un-invited to the hyperdimensional party, how I see it is the Earth is near its regeneration cycle just like after the close of Atlantis and Lemuria when the Earth laid dormant on the surface for thousands of years before it could be habitable again. The Elite are only taking care of their own thus a few must come together and make a bridge to higher planes or get left behind.

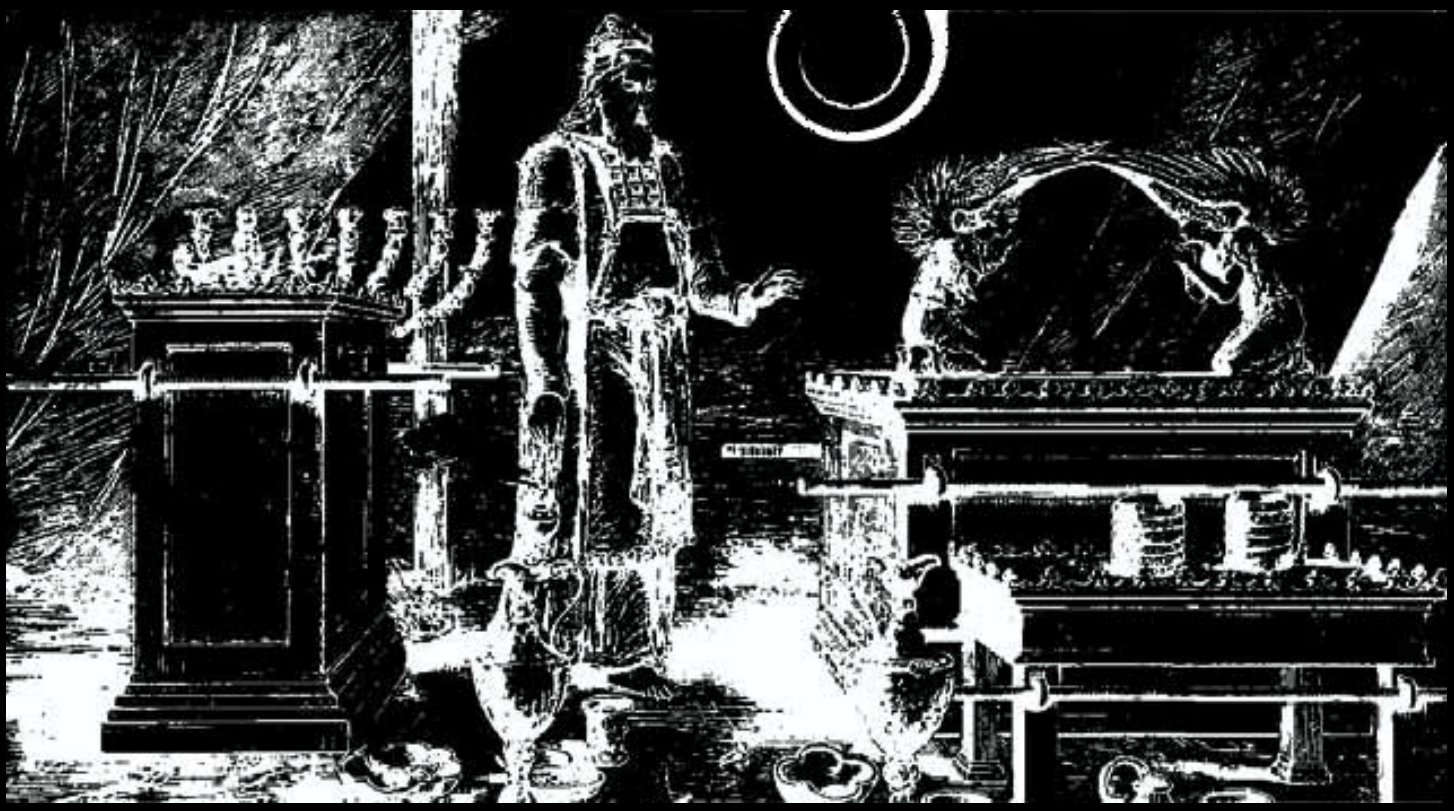
The Muslims and Jews bear witness that Abraham was their father and all races descend from him, which I pointed out earlier is absurd. I found the stories of Abraham and Sarah to be none other than the stories of "Ab" meaning Father and "Braham", a Brahman. Brahman and his wife Saraswati can also be found in the Hindu Paranas which is much older than the Bible and of course the Koran. The Brahman's were a group of Beings that leaned more toward the masculine side and may be some of the first Sun worshippers themselves being Sons of the Son which meant endowed with "discovered" immortality. This also means they have completed a succession of incarnations in which they know of their previous existence and are continuing their cycle of Ethereal Development. Beings that are aware of this are far more advanced than those who cannot remember past lives. Imagine what another 100 years of memory would do for your perspective of things.

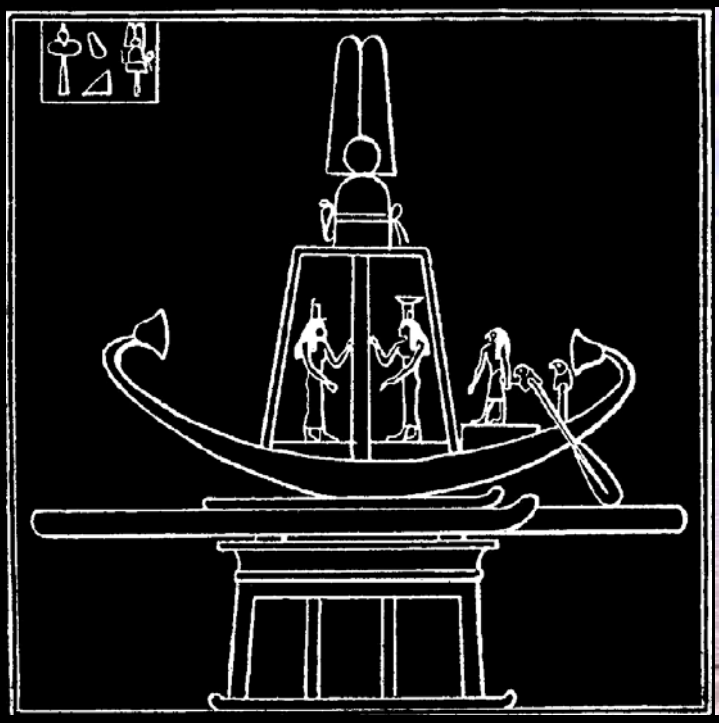
The Bible's composition itself is a hodgepodge of several ancient books and powerful works accomplished by various individuals, especially of Sumerian origin, all combined in one final novel next to the Koran. Both of these books say pretty much the same thing. The Koran is a book of repetition, repeating the same poetic words over and over in various ways about the penalties for not serving Allah. It pretty much boils down to being completely obliterated by fire and demons that ripe the flesh apart, then brought back to life, and obliterated again for the sake of the pain. This is to take place for an eternity; talking about scare tactics. Other penalties for sins are described in such ghastly detail the Believer is generally in fear of Allah. Both religions maintain they have delivered the final book and all other books that do not bear witness should not be entertained by the Believer. The Koran bears witness to the Old Testament and what it calls the Injil which is the New Testament as being authentic works of the same God, thus whirling the two faiths together even tighter.

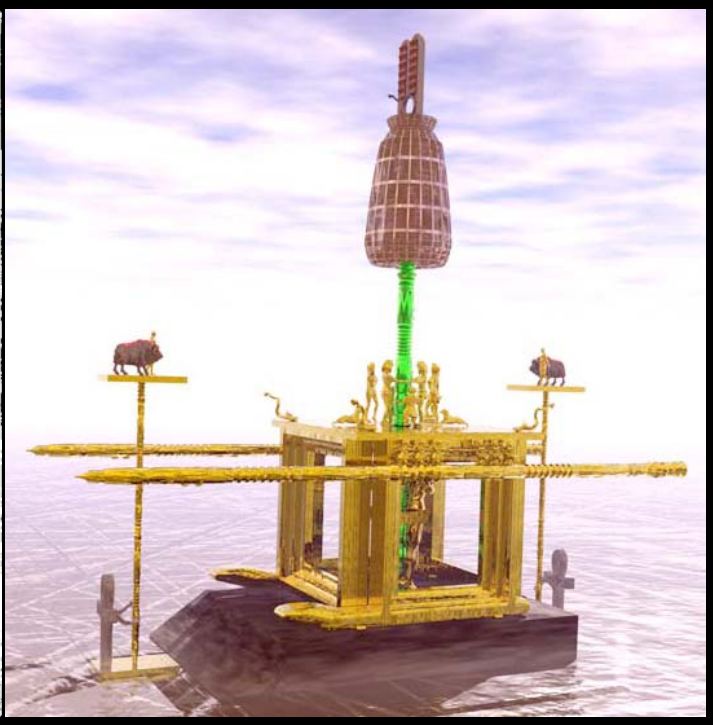
Both Books claim to be storehouses of Numeric and Alpha Numeric Codes in which only those who are trained in Kabbalah or Abjad can decipher. I read the Bible three times from cover to cover and it was only until the third time that the book "unlocked" one must agree that most Christians have never read the complete Bible. They may have come close, but skip books like Leviticus and "Numbers". In these books there is lengthy detailing of numbers especially in the section concerning the building of the Temple.

All these numbers are actually the Codes that can be deciphered to bring forth immense amounts of Gnostic information. All letters in Hebrew double as numbers so the numbers actually spell words. Those words were the names of various Energies related to controlling whatever was being discussed in that particular scripture in some symbolic way. For example if it was 13 bushels of wheat, whatever that translated to in Hebrew was the God or Goddess of wheat lets say IS. Furthermore it should not escape the reader's attention that the Priests of this time had to be from the tribe of Levi, Levi is also an anagram for Evil which makes even more sense when you consider the role of the Leviathan that seems to be playing a heavy role in controlling our mind especially while sleep. Leviathan is said to also be Cthulhu. This name Levi given to the Priests called in Hebrew Cohen,

another anagram for Enoch, can't get anymore obvious but as the Yogis say people are sleep walking in an illusion. The Spanish word Noche which is Night is also an anagram for Enoch.







Reason 144: There are in fact several Arks constructed for the purpose of keeping items Sacred to the Deity. There was the Ark of the Covenant, the Ark of Ra, the Ark of Mary and numerous others. The word Arch means Bo or a vessel such as Noah's Ark thus the original Arks were used as crafts. Contact could also be accomplished by these devices through transport, hologram, or wormhole. Just as we upgrade constantly these Beings have upgraded also, imagine the difference in a Cessna and a Stealth Bomber.

The dispute between these two nations remains partly due to the issue of the birthright that was stolen from Ishmael although he was the eldest son. It goes on that Abraham built the first Alter with the assistance of his eldest son Ishmael who later became the father of the 12 Tribes of the Arabs Ad, Samud, Jadis, Tasm etc. This alter was known as the Ka'bah of Mecca. In the Koran Solomon talks to Birds and even commands a Jinn, Ifrit, to go and steal the throne of Queen Makedah of Ethiopia who was said to be worshipping the Sun.

Solomon's gift for communicating with birds can also be compared to the highly mysterious Language of the Birds which was known to be given to those who had reached higher Spiritual levels and thus received instruction from angels. In certain books I've watched Magician after Magician stumble over the origin of this language most saying it was bequeathed by the Angels. This language is really The Language of the Bards more properly known in the highest circles as SKALDSKAPARMAL. This is said to be the language spoken before the confusion at the Tower of Babel. The knowledge of this language bequeaths the possessor with the ability to communicate with all animals. The original Bards were half man half bird just like you see in Reason 131. Because they

had wings they became easily associated with Angels but they are the Fallen Ones the beginning and end of our troubles.

When studying Islam I noticed certain inconsistencies right away. The main one being the story concerning the intelligence level of Prophet Mohammad. It is said that Mohammad could neither read nor write and this put special emphasis on the Miracle, the Koran, purported to be given to him by an the Angel Gabril/Gabriel. After all, it lends a lot more credibility if a man who can neither read nor write all of a sudden appears with one of the greatest Spiritual works of the time, rich in poetic meaning and Spiritual dialog. The original Book was said to be numerically equivalent to the number 19 and was never translated into the vulgar languages. This book remains protected by the Sudanese till this day.

Many anomalies exist within the book itself like all the chapters when added up produce a number divisible by the number 19. How many times Allah is mention in the whole Koran that number is divisible by 19. The first chapter Al-Fatiha when said correctly causes the tongue to touch the roof of the mouth 19 times. It exceeds a normal person's capability after awhile to keep the consistencies of 19's going. Even our modern computers could not do it since a story is also unfolding while the perfect numbers roll in place. This became the sign of the Muslims that Muhammad was Guided and in contact with the Great Deity Allah through His Host the Angel Gabril. The Angel Gabril is known to be the of the Moon Gabriel. It seems where most of the Scholars and Spiritual leaders of today get lost is thinking that these religions are so separate.

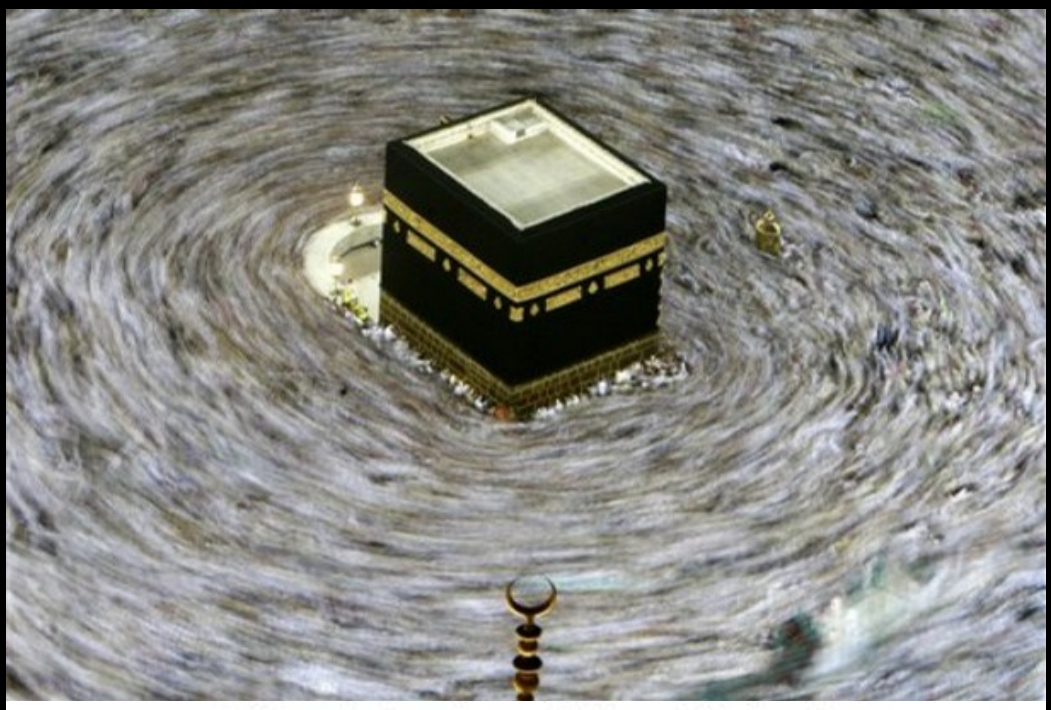
Also in question is the mandatory ceremony of Aqiqah established by Muhammad himself which consist of a sacrifice to Allah in the name of the child, two he-goats for a boy, and one he-goat for a girl. This incantation must be said during the sacrifice and feast "O Allah! I offer to thee instead of my own offspring life for life, blood for blood, head for head, bone for bone, hair for hair, and skin for skin. In the Name of the Great Allah, I do sacrifice this goat". Why does it appear that Allah would even want a child to be sacrificed and something must expiate that? This is something that continues to reoccur in the history of mans involvement with these Gods. All of this I believe shows the reasoning of mankind is deluded. Even the people who are said to be the most devote in purity. If there is a God that wants us to sacrifice our children to Him then we have a war at hand. I'm saying this after millions of children have already been sacrificed and thousands continue to disappear. Who will face this foe? Bomar has fastened his Armor and who will join him?

In Islam it says that Muhammad married Khadejah who was a rich businesswoman who choose Muhammad to run all of her business dealings because he was a wiz with numbers. This begins to shake the foundation of Muhammad being illiterate seeing that if he knew how to add and subtract he also knew how to read and write, remember Arabic also has the same letters for numbers. There was no doubt two Mohammads existed during that time. One was teaching pure Monotheism and the other was an invention of a man named Musalymit, a political leader who saw the charisma of the real

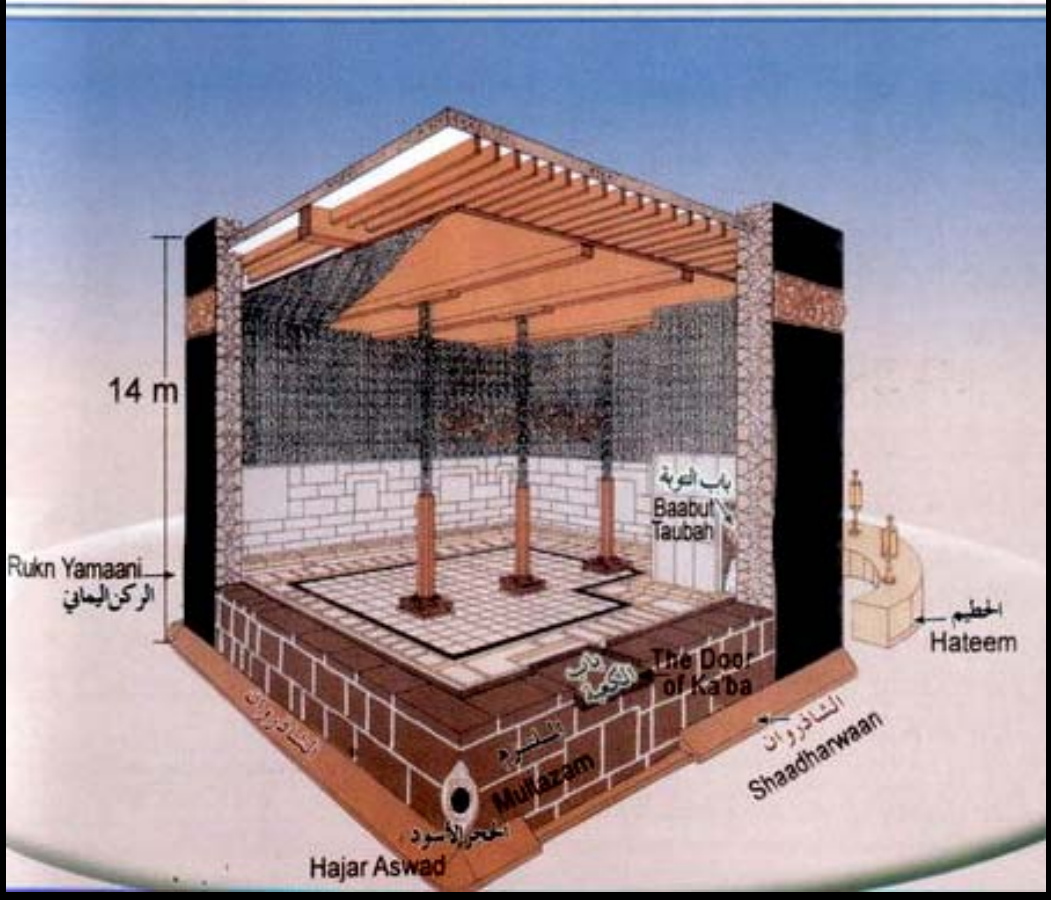
Muhammad and attempted to entice him to be a political leader. Muhammad, they said, would have no of it so Musalymit became his sworn enemy ultimately succeeding in getting Muhammad poisoned or was it the other Muhammad? Do you think they could poison the Guided? Did they not say We could drink the poison of vipers and it would hath no effect? We are not the body it is only the vehicle to traverse this dimension and it is sluggish and moveth about like a square wheel going uphill.

The Ka'bah itself in history was used at various times for idol worship although it is said the Mohammad came to do away with such things. The Ka'bah had been destroyed several times by razes, fires, and natural causes through history. On those occasions it was always men from Egypt of High Nobility who paid to rebuild it. The connection between Egypt and the Ka'bah is very heavy. It is known better as "the Shrine" and has been an object of veneration for hundreds of years. Laws exist such as if you walk around it 70 times all your sins are forgiven, if you pray in special section you get a better position in Paradise. As children these stories can be fascinating but as adults we should know better. No amount of times walking around a cube will expiate you from wrong doing; life itself is the biggest example of that. Things are taken at times from the Ka'bah and sold, like the water from the well of Zem Zem and dust from the covering.

Reason 145: A great deal of "Illumination" came from the Arabs and their affiliations with the Genies and Jinns called also in Hindu, Jaan meaning Devils. The religions of the world all connect and it is only the blinded that hold fast to their faith while talking about another. The true belief is internal. Pictured here Ila-Al-Ilahu, the Muslims are forbidden to carve images of the God for purposes of secrecy and sanctity. They used designs and their rich language to express what they viewed. Notice the Swastika on the Medallion. We see the same thing with Rael. Are you beginning to see that the inner circle is not as separate as they claim? It is the people who are divided defending the Gods as if they need the protection of Man, offering to them as if they eat food and spend money.



The Interior of the Ka'bah



Reason 146: There is no doubt that the Ka'bah itself is on a major Leyline. Islam contains so many Sects from Sunni, Shiite, Sufi, Wahab, etc. its inner circle of mysticism remains unable to be included in the general religion itself. By this I mean the Arab world abounds with Sorcery, and many such practices however it is easy to pin that on the individual not the Believer since the Koran forbids such things. I believe one of the Four Gates of the world to be contained here. The belief in one God is also found in this faith however I question if the 1 God has a 5 letter name that is tossed about before acts of vengeance. Likewise the sacrifices are senseless and should be treated as such.

On of the most sacred parts of the Ka'bah is the Stone Jewel placed in the corner as seen above. In another more detailed account of jewels falling from the sky Lucifer in legend was struck by the Great Angel so hard it knocked the jewels out of his crown and they fell to Earth and those who

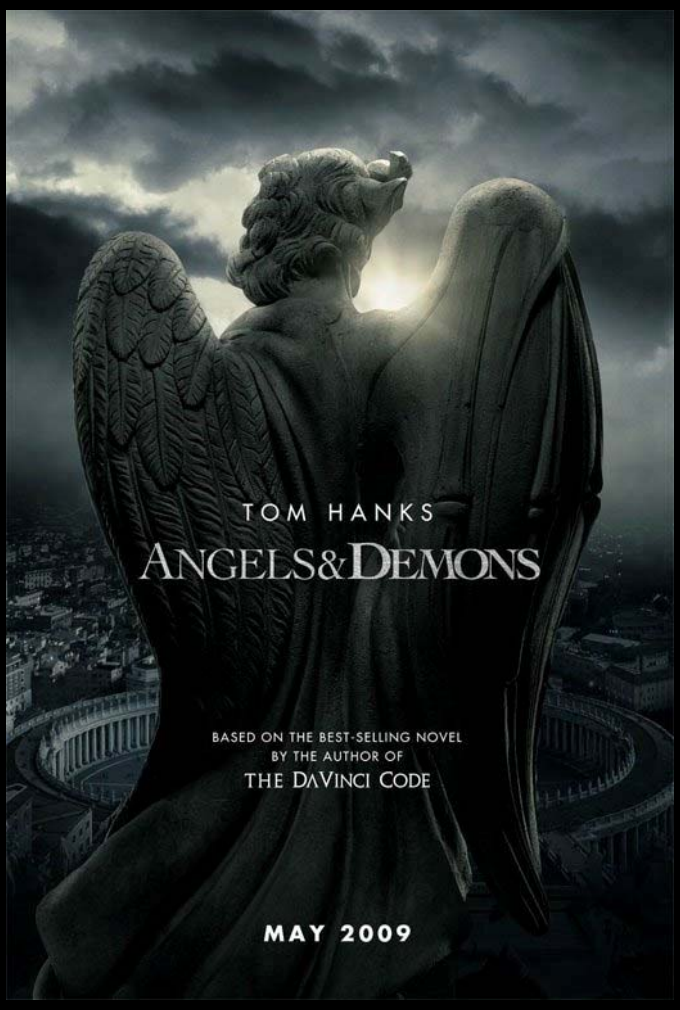
recovered them were said to gain magical powers. This does sound a little more like a camp fire tale however there are 12 known Synergy Crystals that are said to enhance the human ability, they are Moldavite, Danburite, Tanzanite, Azuztulite, Phenacite, Herderite, Tibetan Tektite, Satyaloka Quartz, Petalite, Brookite, Natrolite, and Scolecite. Most of these stones are Meteorites that have fallen from space throughout time. Whether they came out of the crowns of Angels could be metaphoric. They are made of foreign elements hardened into glass while entering our atmosphere.

In Catholicism there are four great Angels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel of whom the latter is sometimes swapped for other Angels but at least the other three stay the same. If you go to a Baptist church they will assure you they have nothing in common with Catholicism yet when the main prayers are taking place the names of the Angels are sometimes mentioned and they are of course the same. In Islam the same thing happens and even in the New Age movement one often receives emails from someone who has channeled the Arch Angel Michael who sends light into the grid as we make our transcendence into the beyond and all that mumbo jumbo. So what does this tell you? It's obvious that if the main workers for the religions have remained the same then all of the religions are in some way linked to the same source. Even deeper you will find that the name Michael means "one who is like God". If I remember correctly there was only one who pretended he was like the Most High and We hurled him from space. Some may believe this is a stretch to advocate that Michael may be a Fallen Angel, however, let us think again where the term Angel really comes from.

Reason 147: This is a well known painting of the Angel Gabril and Mohammad that has survived since antiquity. It strikes me as odd that Gabril has black wings, which signifies a fallen Angel. In addition to this in several texts many men who went to the East to become mystics say that Baphomet and Mahomet where the same Being and were worshipped in mystic Islam. A Muslim would call such statements sacrilegious however Baphomet also has black wings. It seems that all the old religions are tied to horned Gods some way or another, the Age of Ram.

First off it should be mentioned that in the Hebrew doctrines they classify their Angelic Beings as Aralim, Chesmalim, Aphanim, Ophanim, Malachim, Chioth Haqudush, etc. This means they do not group all their Spirit forces together and just call them all Angels in fact that term is foreign to them. This is because in encountering these Beings through evocation the Magicians and Cabbalist learned that many of them were very different from the others so they categorized them as such. Again the term Angel comes from the word Angle. It appears only Fallen Angels respond when evoked. In other writings it says many tribes wandered after what they called the Chaldean Baalim, although it has not been determined that all the "IM'S" mentioned above can be grouped under that one title it seems highly possible. In other cultures Angels are given names such as Sukallin and Amesha Spentas.

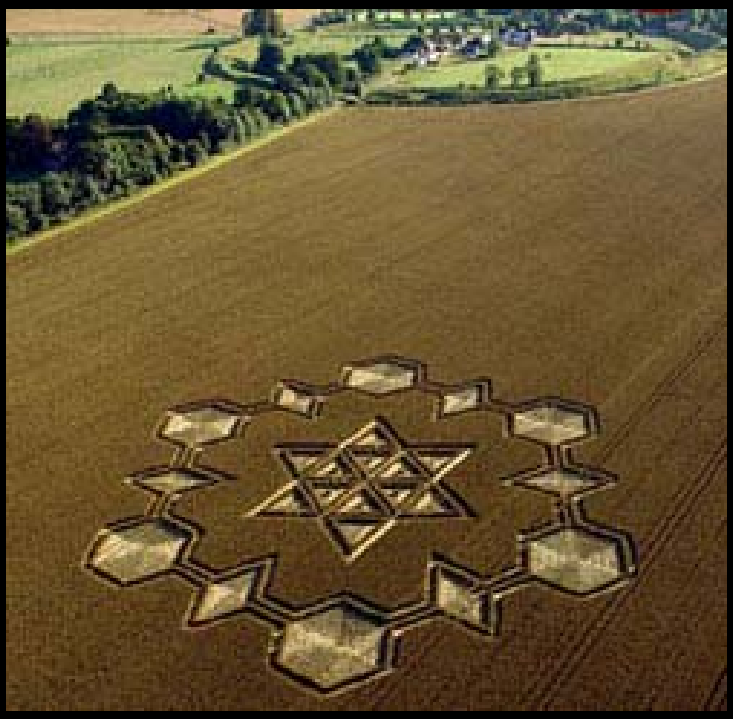
The main concern is the actual uses given for these Beings. It describes that some reveal treasure, some make women fall in love with you, some give you amnesty etc. I would highly consider again why would a High Vibration Being want to grant a human undeserved favors just because they knew how to do a ritual. There is of course much more at stake when entering into leagues with these types of Spirits and most have unleashed a never ending karmic sea-saw for tampering with spiritual forces for selfish means.

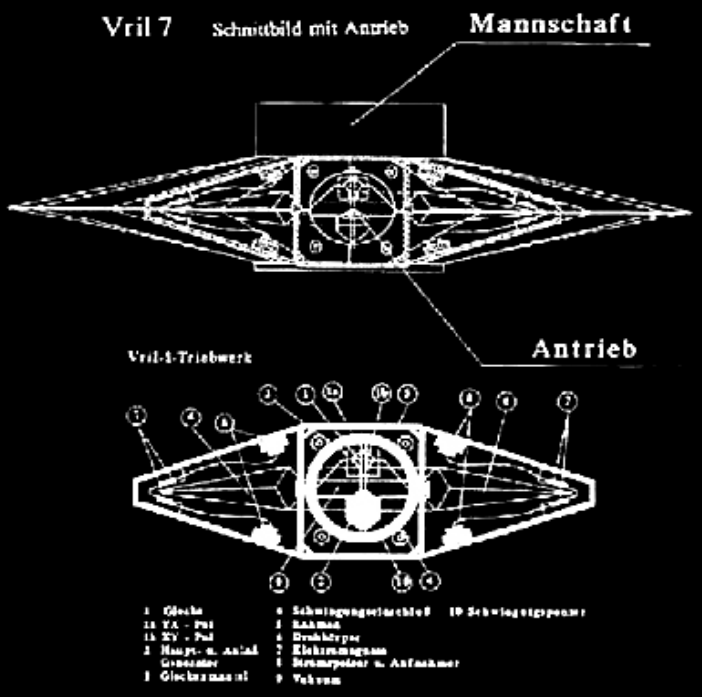


Reason 148: Since their plans have reached completion they are now prepared to tell the world bluntly about their involvement with Angels, Demons, Baalim, Gregori, Nephalim, Rephaim, and who knows what else. We can assume there are always things that will not be talked about until they happen, just as its never good to tell anyone your desires before they come to pass. Be watchful of these Watchers. Some things I have put direct emphasis on and may have been a little repetitive, I have done this on purpose so that it may stick with you. Spirituality and Science as a couple have first birthed monsters just as Cain was the first child of Adam and Eve. It is these monsters that have become very strong thought forms moving about on their own will and totally uncontrollable by those who originally brought them forth. We have been given the task of removing them. Intel has now released it Nehalem/Nepalim computer chip.

The Geometry which has now been placed over our Earth Grid through Crop Circles created by sound devices like the HAARP, have allowed the Elite to erect a new grid which has been termed "The Earth Consciousness Grid". This keeps Humans somewhat trapped in the Matrix until they learn the methods of building up strength to break out. As you see they call the new system the Internet or "Internal Net". The biggest hint is the Ethernet cable, why is it given such a Name? Ether itself means Spirit so why is a term like that being used in comparison to computers? Since the Ozone "Oz Zone" layer is melting there is no telling what the potential is if it's dissolved. Favor is often disguised as misfortune.

Reason 149: These shapes are created by Advanced Sound Devices used by the Elite to place frequencies into the Earth grid. Those frequencies effect, health, mentality, belief, etc. When really studying these designs in Sacred Geometry we find them to be insignias and logos of the Dark Side, designs caused by extremely low frequencies or ELF's research Chlandi Plates.





Reason 150: It becomes obvious that Crop Circles are not created by benevolent Alien forces from space trying to communicate to us. They are created by the same Hyperdimensional Tricksters that plague are Planet and continue to fool us with their lies and God-like Technology.

After examining the two faiths of Islam and Judaism it became obvious the one was holding the power of an older God from the Age of the Ram, the other the power of the Lion and the Serpent. Getting all the details becomes burdensome as many lies are woven in with the truth to discredit the other side much like the modern Republican and Democrat candidate scenario. This becomes the power one has over you once they can tell you what happened in the past and you have no way of proving it. They even tell a person how long a second is thus what time it is. That type of control is mind control in its purest degree very hard to notice due to its subtlety and necessity.

Reason 151: The Elite are playing mind games on a stage wasting our time, they will assume any role to sway opinions as necessary, and this is master chess with an occasional Gambit, Lincoln.

This false light that has come to the world has deceived many. It is the same false light that says it has come to Illuminate those who are humble and worship it. Light in the Latin is Luce named after Lucifer the bright mourning star or Venus. The strategy they are using is to give you two choices in which both are no good. The word Democratic taking its root from the Arabic word Demos or Demon and Republican taking its root from the word Reptile or Rephaim. So the choice is Reptiles or Demons you choose. To prove this one simply has to note how many times leaders and Presidents have been photographed making the sign of Baphomet the Goat God of Mendes. Due to bloodlines of the Presidents of the U.S. having Merovingian origin they are definitely blue blood reptilian hybrids walking around the White House and Parliament hailing from the Orion constellation, Venus, Agharta, Mars, Vulcan and who knows where else. Ruling over us pretending they are like us. This is why they continue with this bloodbath with the slightest show of regret or resolution. I'm sure many reading this are familiar with David Icke's work so it is unnecessary to reiterate what he has been explaining for years in detail thus I have been mainly covering how the blending took place.

Reason 152: Here is what commonly happens. Because the Light cannot comprehend the Darkness many who do not have such strong evil inclinations refuse to believe anyone, especially their leaders who have such charisma, could be involved in such a vile plot of enslaving humanity. The recent Zeitgeist movie, obviously directed by the Elite, shifts the blame of our current world state on the by product of humanity making the wrong decisions in regards to how the Planet is preserved, thus their solution is the "Venus" Project. Anything related to Venus you will find the Dark Lord in the midst of. This is why it gives you power to know such things so you cannot be easily fooled as the masses often are. The same companies that were talked about on the first Zeitgeist were those who funded it, they have no shame in admitting that. Highlight the problem, provide a solution.

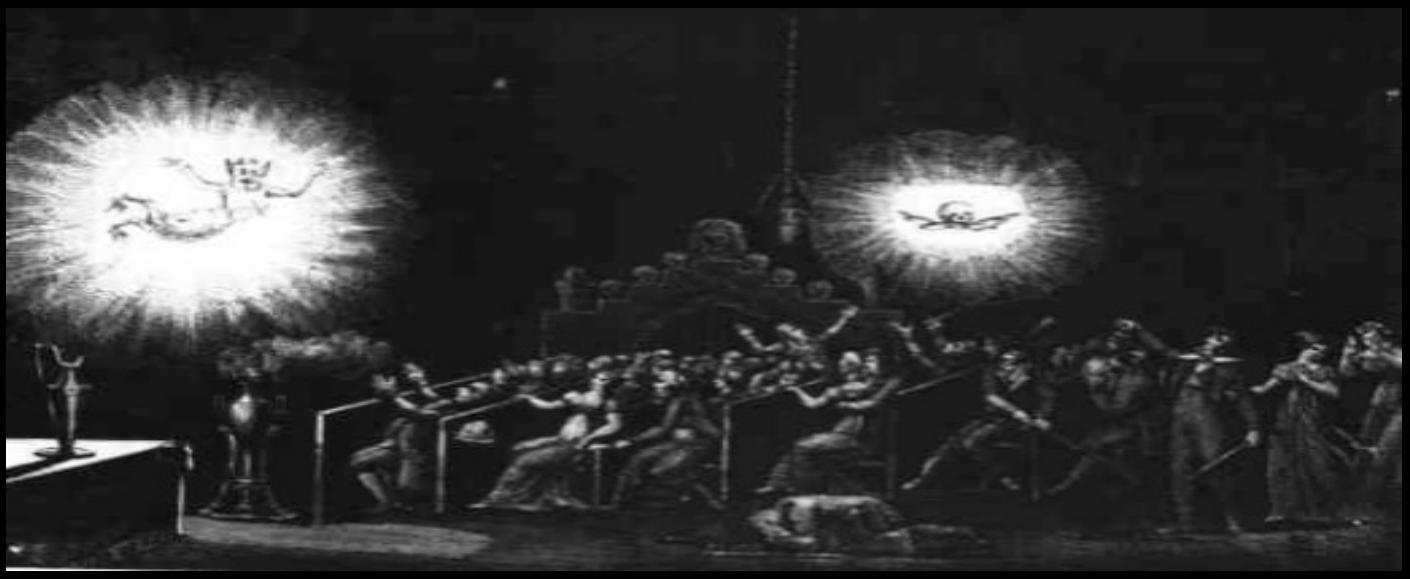
First off the term itself is Animist. An Animist is a person that emulates worships, and sometimes mates with animals in order to gain the ability of that particular animal. In Africa there was no limit to how many tribes were Animist and much of the information on how to do such things came from Africa. The ancients played a dot-to-dot with the stars in the heavens making animal outlines in the constellations based on the energy they "felt" was emitting from the stars. One of the main tribes known to do this were the Nubians from the Temple of Sheba discussed earlier. It is true the actual Garden of E.DIN was somewhere in Kush the lush land of Nubia where the 4 Rivers flowed and the Queen of the South was in position as ruler over the "horn" of Africa.

Remember Nubia had all the gold mines that made the Pharaohs rich beyond their imaginations, that is of course when they could subdue it and collect Tribute. The Nubians proved to be a challenge as the Annuals record lengthy wars between the Nubians and Egypt. Even Alexander the Great, the Legendary "Two Horn", known by the Arabs as Dul Qurnain who built the wall to keep the hordes away from the Holy Land was turned back at Nubia when faced with Candace commanding Elephants in legions for war. This I believe fueled much of the "animosity" between the Europeans and the darker Nubians which they later enslaved and dragged the Americas.

In the end Nubia took over Egypt completely right around the time it was due to crumble anyway, just as Obama has taken over the U.S. The Nubians later inherited the "new version" of Christianity by Missionaries infesting their country. It is said in Arabian Prophecy that the Nubians will rise again and destroy the Ka'bah and it will never be restored. Ethiopia has Ether as its root, the people have smooth dark beautiful skin, silky hair, and lulling eyes. The first stories of the serpent who were called Nagas, were in Nubia first and then they migrated to Persia. They are called by the Nubians Negusi, which is a well respected last name in their country till this day.

Reason 153: The Naga are more in the image of the Serpents described in Japan and China rather than bipedal hybrids. As I said before the Serpent races are as vast as our own possibly a lot more diverse. It is clear man has inhabited this Planet, along with the serpents for thousands of years intermingling, we easily forget the Dinosaurs. Will there ever be a truce?

Walt Disney put so much work and emphasis on Animation because he was deeply involved in creating the framework for the new wave of animalistic mind control that began on a person as a child. Let us examine one story of the biggest cartoon maker in history Walt Disney. The story itself begins before Walt Disney steps on the scene but has to do with a certain man that Walt Disney was well acquainted with. This man grew up in Russia during hard times. In order for one to even seek the audience of the Queen or the Royal Court in these times, you had to discover something exceptionally useful for the Empire. If you were not of wealthy stock this was the only way to turn around an otherwise miserable life for you and your family as the Black Plague swept over the land. This gentleman deemed he would do it through the Occult and soon enough he discovered what was later called Phantasmagoria with the tag line "Optical Illusions and Mechanical works of Art".



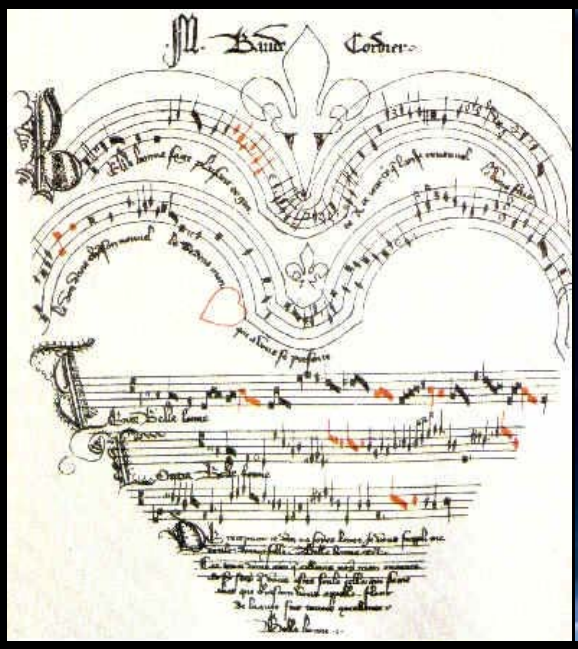
Reason 155: People are made to believe Disney was a big kid like we all wish to be playing in a fantasy world of Castles of Medieval lure with Dragons, Princesses, and talking mice. Disney, along with other very sick men positioned themselves to be the corrupters of the innocent youth. The fantasy world of Disney was the fantasy of a satanic pedophile that we all had to visit because our parents knew no better. What you don't know "can" hurt you.

Since I'm really in this for the children I have a special assignment to dethrone this Devil Disney. If we pull together as a people it should be because of things like this that hurt children no matter the color or race. He not only used Pedophilic suggestive mind control techniques in his films, his organization, obviously run by the Dark Lord himself, continues to put forth mind altering media that gets worse as time goes on. Phantasmagoria is the Art of evoking Demoniac Spirits which obviously Disney knew all about since he wrote Fantasia. Taking a look at that movie now with your eyes open will reveal an entirely different picture versus what you may have perceived before. In the English language the play on the word "Kid" is obvious. A kid is a baby goat.

In the days when Phantasmagoria first began they lacked the T.V. so they accomplished it by smoke, pre-recorded sounds of actual torture, and lights. Showed above, many participants claimed they had never seen or heard anything so horrifying. They could not tell if the Demons were real or still a part of the light show. Of course the demons were real. On the back of many Disney titles it still contains the Trademark *Phantasmagoria* meaning this special art was used while making the film. Of course people thought this was incredible becoming lovers of horror. That was all an outward scheme and many suffered mental and spiritual damage while trenched in the frames of Wonderland.

This brings us to the Gregorian Chants. A long time ago it was discovered that when singing certain twisted hymnals you could actually bring the lower forms forth by sound. One would have to be a Master at singing these hymns perfectly and to this end the Masters of the Gregorian Chants were created. When you are listening to certain music from Gothic times always featured on the soundtracks of Disney films and many others, it is actually the Gregorian Chants playing at least in the background. Remember Gregori is another name for the Fallen Angels and is actually the creature Nimrod is always seen holding in his hand.

I cannot put enough emphasis on how powerful sound is and how it effects humans, animals, and even other Beings. The Chants have lead to possession in humans just as the Serpent can be charmed with a flute. Rap is now wrapping up the mind of the youth so their minds are so tied up they are immobilized, but not for long. Sound is also a key ability we can use. A frequency can be fired at the body causing all shells, lower life forms, to break free from the body. It is at that moment a person knows that they were actually on them. One can never know what it is like to be clean until they are truly washed, but not in the blood of a lamb, come on look what they are saying. This is not just a figure of speech, the sub-conscious mind has to make sense of it all and it does it literally.



GREGORIAN
THE MASTERPIECES

GREGORIAN
Masters Of Chant Chapter V
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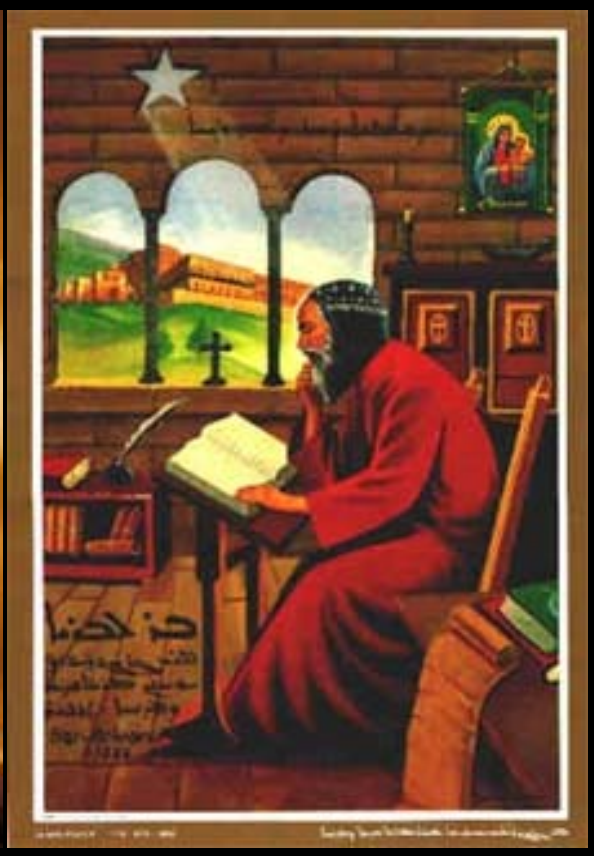
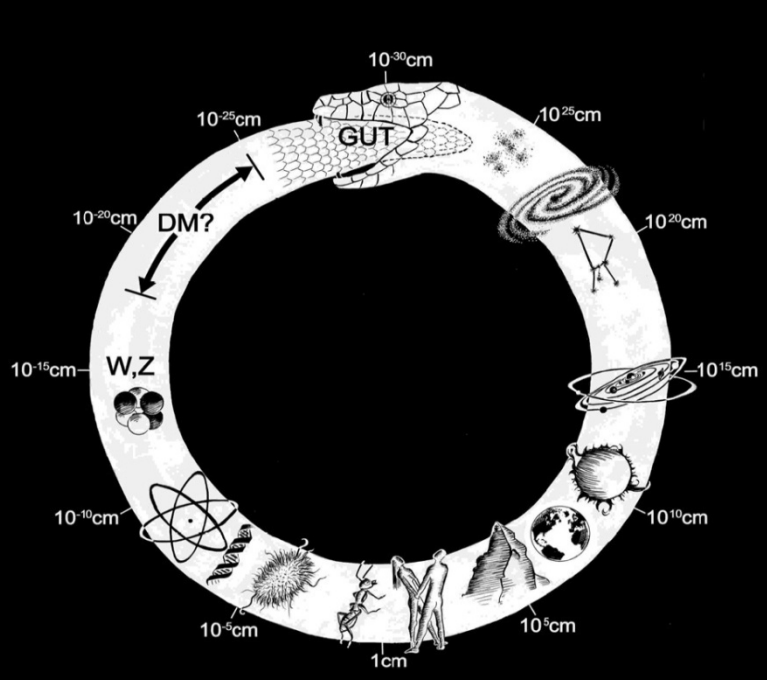
портал новой клубной
- - - музыки - - -

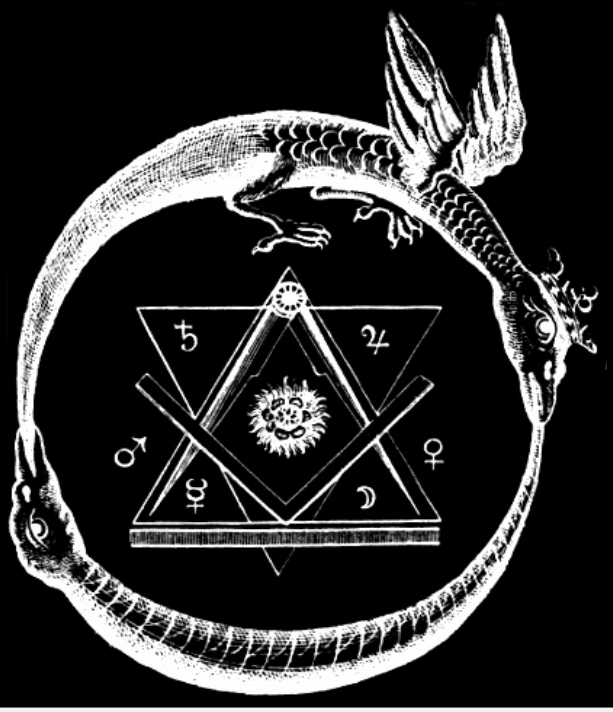


Reason 156: On the top left you will see the Ancient Gregorian Hymnal used by the Holy See, 3 Horned Fleur de lis in correct position above the Venusian heart of Voodun. There is now one group of Masters of the Gregorian Chants that even perform in Las Vegas, people think it sounds just like good Opera. One of the Four Patriarchs of Catholicism was Gregori; he was with no doubt incarnate Gregori. He wrote the Hymnals, also keep it mind it was the evil Gregori who created the Calendar we are on, the Gregorian Solar Calendar. It is also known that when the Arabs visited the Russians to see if they would pay for mystical secrets the Russians made a large Banquet for the Shah, the actual menu I will be sure to put in the second edition, if there is one. While the Shah was stuffing himself the Russians were playing the Gregorian Chants in the other room. The Shah was put into a trance also known as Mesmerism and his tongue went lose telling them all the Secrets of Arabia. It was not long after that the Hoard covered their land and many feel before them, the wall could hold them no longer, its weakness revealed.

As said above many factions have come together under one roof by intermingling bloodlines. We will just call them the "V". The V as a symbol is the Roman numeral 5. Five is more properly called "Penta" the "Pent" on Penta has the same meaning as the "Pent" on Ser"pent". The original origin of the word "Pent" is a feather thus the word "Serpent" actually means "feathered snake". This also links to our main strategic defense building the Pentagon which still means "feathered dragon/snake". If you remember the movie The V the story line goes that some reptilian like Beings from another Planet came to Earth saying they could help us with technology but in all actuality they had come to take over our Planet and enslave everyone. They did this by infiltrating the government replacing various key people with clones until they could make willing servants of the rest. The only force opposing this was "The Resistance" the name of my first website before I even knew all of what I know now.

During the times of Oracles unity between the woman and the serpent was elevated and many women became worshippers of the God "S". One of the most popular was Europa who was worshipped in Sidon. The time center of the Earth the Serpent wrapped itself around they call him Ouraborus. Europa moved to the island of Crete to establish a full serpent worship and occult training center. If you don't believe this is a fact I will tell you a secret. The word is actually "Se"Crete" which also means venom that comes from the pores, a white puss or emission. The island of Crete also contains a place known as Gnosis and of course this is where the whole Gnosticism movement began which is where you find more roots of the Serpent. When looking at a statue of the Goddess Europa you will see her holding snakes in each hand. She is simply another part of the pyramid and the "Is" in Gnosis is the sign that Isis is present. Know Isis/Know Sis?
JESUS/IOSUS/ISIS/OSIS/OSIRUS/SIRIUS.





Reason 157: Indeed Old Ouraborus knows many things but it is a Deceiver trapped in the abyss of the Universe and will never ascend. Here is a secret, the planetary symbols you see on the right are all the Planets that are already in on the Agenda. On the left you will see the cycle of life. This cycle can be moved about fast or slow forward or reverse depending upon your outellect and intention, it is the wheel. Is it not better to be an ant when you need to eat and a mountain when you wish to rest? I will give you some advice, never serve anything that has been created and you will get far. Keep the Most High as your focal point only and you will fare well in the future. If you come to a fork in the road, go straight. I will not be with you long already my place has been prepared, I see it, and I long for it, if I must taste death I will dine with all courses.

The word "Present" is actually an anagram for Serpent. This means that every time you say to someone "I have a present for you" you are telling them you have a snake for them. This is why I became so persistent at cracking The Code because I realized that we owe our children to stand against this. Some adults will read this book and due to the mental and physical damage that each person has been put through all their life this work may at times fall on deaf ears, but the youth of today are clever and they sense something is up so this lets them know. Remember if they get our youth we have lost our greatest result, we must free them from the loop known also as the Halo.

With that being said I will explain a little of what has happened during our days as a child that has lead ultimately to most not being able to perceive what is right in front of them. This of course starts as a baby the moment that you exit the womb of your mother. While a child is in the womb it is in all actuality seeing in 5D. The reason this is possible is due to the baby looking through the water

bag or amniotic fluid of the mother. Anyone that has seen Spirits often note that they appear more superfluous with no clear edges and at times gaseous. This is what the baby is seeing so it becomes easy for them to recognize the mother. They are looking more at the mothers design or pattern rather than her actual physical appearance.

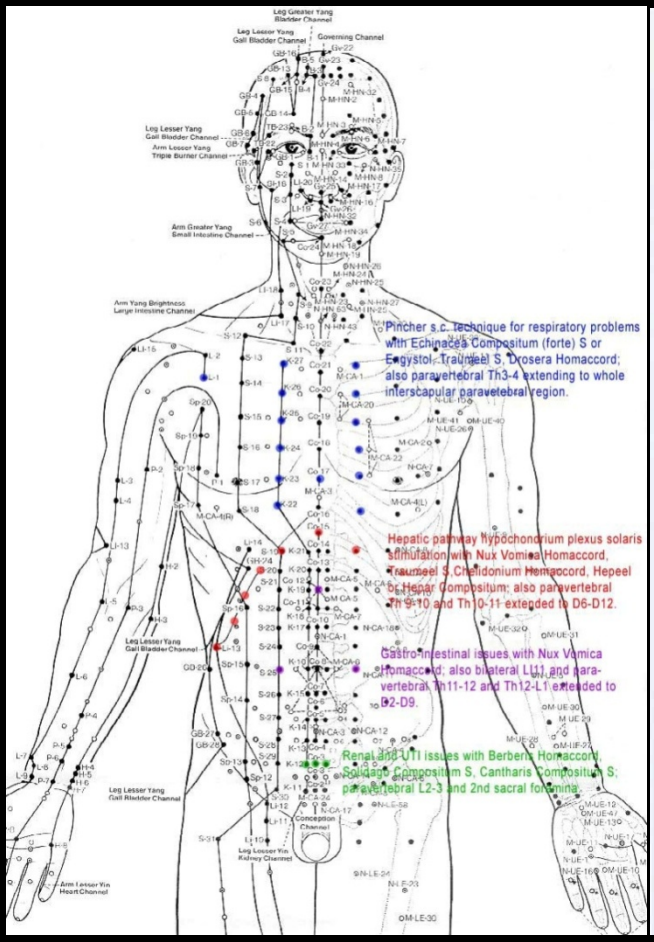
When the child is born the damage begins through the procedures the doctors are using. Remember that Doctors are under the Oath of Caduceus and have sworn to uphold many things detailed in the Oath that most Doctors don't even understand what they really mean. It is almost like putting your right hand over your heart and pledging your allegiance to the flag. You don't really know what you just did, but that will not stop it from having an effect. WHAT YOU DON'T KNOW CAN HURT YOU. If the eye on a stove is on but you do not know it and put your hand on it, will it still burn you, of course. This is by no means saying that all Doctors are initiated into some Serpent mystery school and intend to kill off the youth, of course that would be extreme, but what they do has an effect and this is its ultimate intention whether they know it or not.

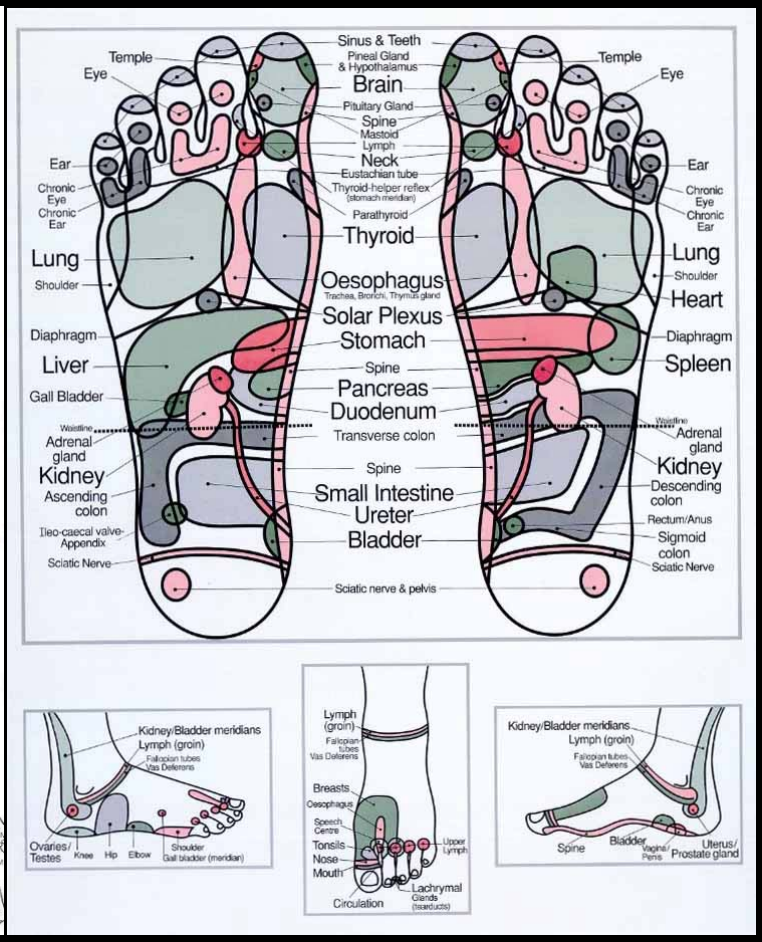
Those that created the backbone of the studies entailed, along with the procedures of medical care, were completely aware of what they set out to do as far as hindering the mental, physical, and Spiritual growth of people seeking their help. This has been done through their constant introduction of new medicinal "potions" more properly called "poisons". Along the way many practitioners notice several things that can be done much better and some even switch to becoming Naturopathic Doctors. Most remain involved and when they become Doctors they simply become prescribers of medication not healers. It becomes as easy as locating the symptom and then prescribing the drug. The drug company will be sure to let them know which drug takes care of what along with at times free vacations if they promote the drug.

I don't need to remark here about the many side effects of drugs, however, there is greater damaged done to the actual Chakra system of the person than anything else. For example when a person experiences heart problems Rejuvenators know that there is some type of blockage in the heart Chakra. This could be due to a lost loved one, intense stress, or various situations related to the heart. The correct healing method is to begin working on the persons heart Chakra so they can get clearance. This removes the Spiritual ailment from the soul which will in turn remove the physical ailment from the body. The physical ailment itself is just another method the body uses to tell a person about a mental or spiritual problem when it is not getting a solution for it.

This fact was known heavily in the mystery schools of the ancients, especially Egypt. These types of treatments free a person however and that is not the goal. They would rather begin to administer medicines that actually block Chakra centers giving the person a false sense of temporary relief. There are many more Chakra centers than just 7 and each play a unique roll. Blocking them will bring temporary relief but cause long term damage over time.

Another example is when one takes an Aspirin for headaches the Aspirin tells the brain to kill the headache sensation. This does not fix the reason why the headache originally occurred. When you do this too many times whatever was initially causing the headache will choose another center to convey the information of the problem which could then be the stomach. So the person may begin to experience stomach aches, then they will take something like Pepto Bismal which is more like a liquid Aspirin that dulls the stomachs senses blocking the Chakra and not curing the original problem. This goes on and on until the person is now taking drugs for everything, which will of course increase the problem. After awhile the over-the-counter drugs cease to work and the person finds they are very sick being totally polluted by over-the-counter drugs. So they move on to stronger prescription drugs.



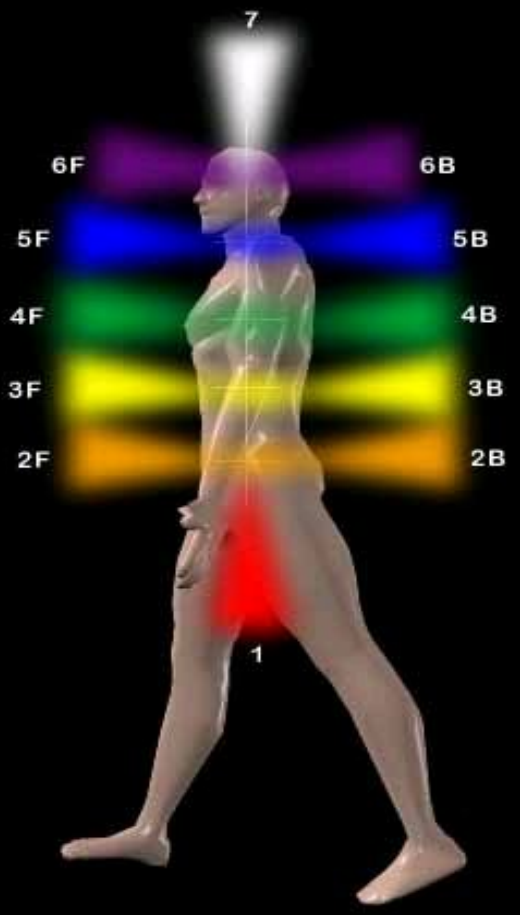


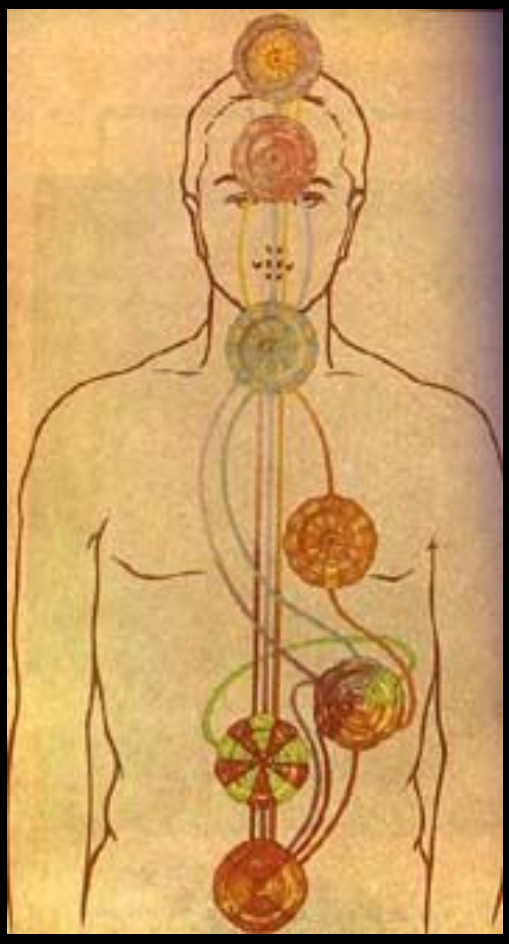
Reason 158: Traditional Chinese Medicine, Reflexology, Colon Therapy, and several other techniques have showed Western Medicine is about Psychotropic Mind Drugs not Wellness.

When a baby is born the incandescent light located on most birth tables does extensive damage to the child's retina. This begins the process of stopping the child from naturally seeing other dimensions thus other life forms. Full spectrum lights are the only lights found not to cause damage to the eyes. If the child remains able to see other dimensions when it gets older it can easily see that this world is an Illusion. They can see all the different Entities that inhabit the world on a different

vibration, children often call them "special friends". Of course the agenda is to take this ability away from the child.

Next they begin the shots which lower the child's vibration dramatically through the injection of viruses that are foreign to the system. All vaccines contain the actual virus it is designed to prevent in lower dosages in order to so-called "develop" your systems immunity to it. It also means the virus is now in your body at low levels and that can't be good for the natural system especially as a child. Not to mention the Doctors hands all over the babies head during the time the "soft spot" is still fresh. Many doctors are stressed and have been delivering several babies in one day. Some even smoke cigarettes between deliveries and when they touch the child's soft spot all of that energy is transferred to the child. The delivery procedure has now reached a state of barbarism with the advent of the Caesarian Section/Caesar/Sea Snake. The child no longer experiences even coming through the mother's birth canal which is a very sacred time for a baby which prepares them for entry into this world. Instead the baby is cut out.





Reason 159: The body consist of wheels of Chakras all sensitive to light and energy. The Chakras control the images and sensations that are projected to your mind. The thread or cables that connect us all plug into the Chakra centers. Learning how to stimulate and manipulate Chakras is a major part of dissolving Indra's Net.

After the horror show the baby arrives at the home. If they are put on Formulas and not breast fed the Formula changes much of the genetic makeup of the baby. As one can see this stuff is not called milk but a Formula indicating some type of special mixture for transformation. The mother's

breast milk contains all the specific nutrients needed for the baby that are uniquely calibrated for it. Anything else besides water or pure juices will alter the babies Ph balance on many levels.

Next the baby is placed in a crib which normally is fitted with bars. The baby has its first maddening experience with the cage/cube. Most parents place the same toy that was placed over their cribs when they were babies, that circling chiming toy with the animals dangling. What this toy does is begin the frequency programming. Has one never noticed that the nursery rhymes from long ago still survive today being played by these chime boxes? The famous "Go to sleep, Go to sleep, go to sleep little baby," you can hear it even now. With this thing spinning over the babies head in a circular motion using certain sounds the baby is tuned even more. One can imagine the results of thousands of hours the baby spends alone with this insane toy in the cube.

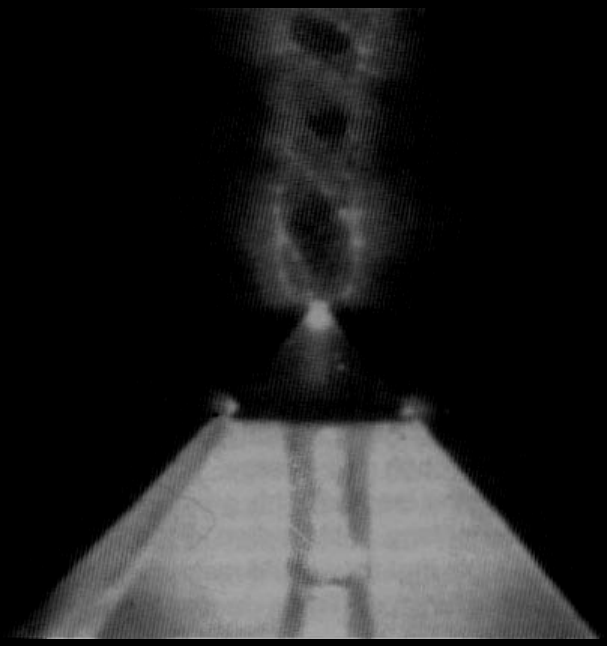
As the tot begins to get older it is introduced to cartoons. The word begs one to ask what exactly is being "Tuned". A quick search will show that "Car" was actually a blood thirsty Deity that abused children but is that such a stretch to what's really going on in an innocent children's cartoon?

When the cathode ray tube was invented many men including Disney used it as a catalyst to the next level of mind control through Hexagonal Color Embedding. Next the Widescreen Digital Television was introduced. The key is the "aspect ratio" which is a way to "open the mind" of the viewer. When a person is viewing a widescreen their eyes become slightly cocked in separate directions in order for them to be able to view the whole screen. Those studying Metaphysics know that the position of the eyes equate to different states of consciousness. When your eyes are spread wide your third eye is stretched open. This is a much more effective portal for mind control.

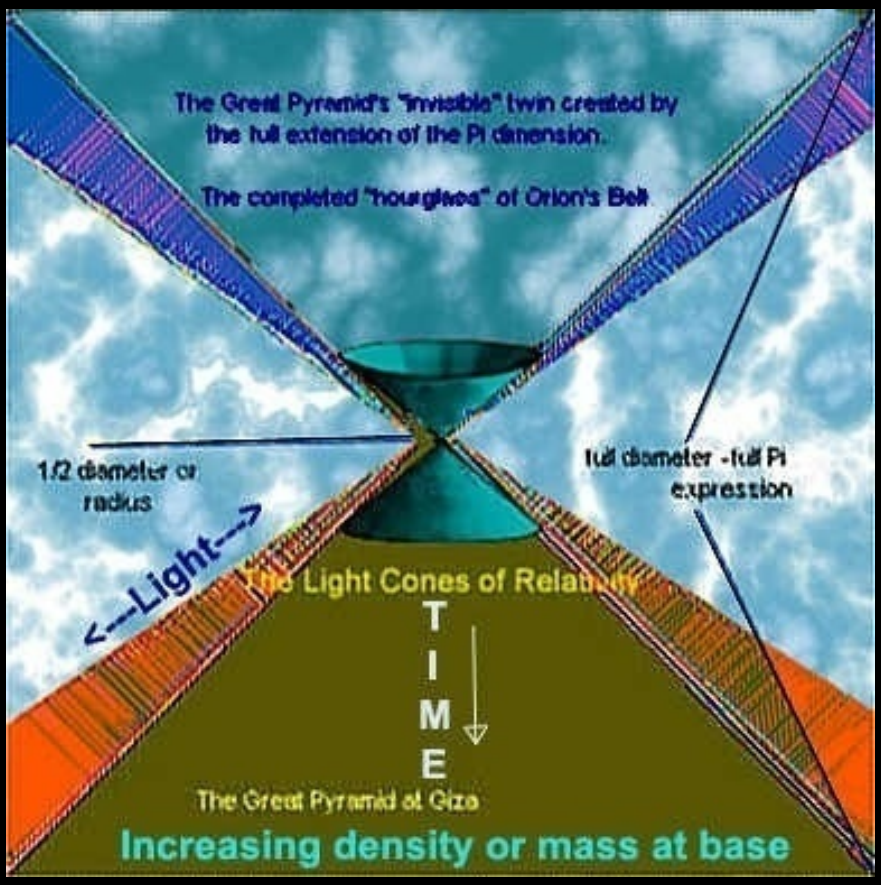
Even now many tribes maintain that they are descendants from Serpent races, however, what they are always excluding is that the Serpent races generally cross bred with them in a forcible manner. These types of Serpents, which are not your common garden snake, do not stay on the surface but remain in underground cavern systems; few report actually encountering these Beings face-to-face although some have, like myself. I will tell you they are Shape Shifters and take on a Humanoid form however it still becomes evident by the shape of their skull and brow, which is something like a diamond, that they are Reptilian. It would be of value to know that the Serpent races are far more advanced than we are at this particular moment. They bought many things that made them appear as Gods to the indigenous people who were discovering a new world after the flood. These Entities were so far ahead they had already accomplished hyperdimensional space travel. The Serpent races are resource gatherers and it is known they have been robbing the Earth and other Planets in this system of various resources since day one. They have interfered "Enter Fear" with our natural cycle.

Pyramid means Fire "Pyra" in the Center. This symbolizes the flame or fiery nature of the Serpent. These Pyramids the Serpent races used to not only access there underground cavern systems but also as way points for hyperdimensional jumps much like what's depicted on the movie Stargate.

Earth has a history of great cataclysms that not only put many of the pyramids underwater but also removed their capstones. The Earth itself has a cleansing mechanism that seems to activate approximately every 12,600 years. During these times the Earth is inundated with water or scorched by fire. Many of the members of the Serpent races during these times simply burrow deeper into the ground towards the center of the Earth in order to escape the damage that is wreaked on the surface. Even as this is being written deeper tunnels are being constructed to house more underground facilities due to the fact that the Earth is currently due for another cleaning.



Reason 160: The Pyramids are everywhere not because it was just a popular style. This was the pattern of construction given by the Serpent Races in order to allow energy to be harnessed developing working portals that could transport more than one Being or person. When the stars realign the feathered serpents known also as Pendragon/Quetzacoatl will return to this dimension to escalate chaos. If you remain, you must be spiritually equipped to fend them off. Basically the Elite members of R1 A1 haplogroup such as Serbs, Poles, Slavs, Goths, Ashkenaz, and many others have sealed their fate in being servants of the Dark Lord. They see themselves as creations of the Dark Lord and are awaiting the line-up for the return. They believe they will "morph" into the same type of creature the Dark Lord is and will commence to the feast upon flesh. No matter how sick and sadistic this may sound this is the backbone of their belief in the Old Ones. The entire structure built on duality it is scheduling its next showdown or Armageddon within the next year and a half. This is an age old battle that existed before our consciousness evolved so we have little internal memory of our role in all of this. The darksiders have however accepted their role, sealed their fates, and are willing servants.



Reason 161: Time travel is a thing of the past, lol, it has already been discovered and is in constant use. Disinformation has tried to make us believe the Pyramids were tombs and it is true many wanted to be buried in the Pyramids to ensure their soul would have no problem making the trip into their next existence, memory intact. The next existence for us is supposed to be Ethereal not taking on another physical body, what a drag, this has been happening since the Elite have been manipulating this technology and using it to hold souls in stasis.

The Earth has a fail-safe due to the type of Beings that are living on and inside of it. Because many races do not get along for reasons that I will explain next, Planets tend to go through many wars. A large set of visitors came from the Sirius Star System better known as the Dog Star. To understand how these races have become more advanced then Humanoid Earthlings is a matter of 1. Their Star Systems in distance which is time have been around Light Years longer than ours and life has developed similar to the way we are now evolving on their worlds but much earlier. 2. Just as you may see an insect go through an entire metamorphosis phase within the span of only one month while it may take a Human several lifetimes to go through that same genetic leap, some Beings evolve faster than others especially when they are unhindered.

A word on time, the English language does work two-fold. When not knowing what the words really mean it does begin a sequence of mind control. On the other hand when knowing what the words mean it puts you in the loop of secrets. It is obvious that we should exist outside of time, this is immortality. The mistake many Magicians have made when being offered Immortality is not considering these two things. 1. We are already immortal and if we were not purposely made to forget that profound fact, we would know that. 2. Just because you are immortal does not mean anything more than ye shall not perish, it says nothing of the details of your lifestyle in immortality.

What does it mean to be locked in a perpetual cage for eternity? The conditions of solitude may have been lifted however I have seen several lions trapped in one cage and those born in captivity lack

the images to imagine what it was like to be free, thus they cannot conceive it and perceive the current condition has always been as such. They think they are really free, an illusion. This is what it also means not to fly and have hyperdimensional and extraspacial capability you are grounded your wings stripped and you now think you always walked because you don't have images of you flying, except in your dreams and you think they are just you imagination. The Most High said I will make them in my Image/Imagination so thus your imagination is not to be taken lightly.

Many think they have time so they may give it another week they are too weak, not knowing they are in a daze they go about this for days not knowing time does not actually exist for the Immortal. Master knowledge is knowing that the movements of things hold great external knowledge, but there are parts of that knowledge that should never be placed internal as it will effect the Host as something foreign, changing the entire makeup of the Host. Imagine if the Sun never rose again, would people sleep all the time because it was dark? Of course not, however, people still consider when the Sun goes up and then back down one day can be counted. They age themselves with ideas of their birthday but we will not stray to far down the path of the wisdom of agelessness.

It is known that the Moon better known by the ancients as "Sin" was placed into our solar system at some point in time however it was not originally here. Many of the indigenous tribes who had already made contact with other constellations had maps that did not include the Moon on them. Then at a certain time in history all of a sudden the Moon begins to appear on astrological outlines. One should innerstand the effects of this particular Moon on this Earth. The Moon controls "Moo"ds. The Moon controls tides, the Moon controls growth and thus decay, and most importantly things like gravity and magnetic energy. I noticed when the Moon eclipses it is easy to get out of the body. So it is easy to see that there would be a big difference in the energy of our world if the Moon was not here. Many do not know that the change would actually be positive. Many have done studies on the notion that the Moon was somehow towed here and by the size of many of the ships belonging to these Entities that is entirely possible.

So I know you may be saying the Moon, okay maybe it could be towed because it is not hot but nothing can tow the Sun. Today you will find information on a top secret project known as the Lucifer Project. In this project an attempt is being made to detonate a plutonium payload into Saturn thus causing it to go Super Nova and become a Sun. Other Planets have also been considered. This was already put into trial when NASA detonated the Cassini Space Probe with Plutonium on board into Jupiter creating a whole the size of Earth. The idea was to create a chain reaction; it is good that did not succeed or maybe it did. It would then appear as if we had two Suns in our sky and we would begin to receive lots of Planetary energy through the rays emitting from the new Son.

One would have to look deeper into things to understand where man received this type of knowledge from. If our current Sun was not transported here through black holes it could have been another Planet already, perhaps Vulcan, that had been given a boost by detonating various types of

elements that make Planets go from frigid worlds of Ice, to Suns, let there be light! Our word Ice comes from Isis in their theories men are Suns and women are Ice, not Moons, two opposites. This entire matter becomes a little more difficult to exactly pinpoint due to the fact that most of us have never traveled into the cosmos thus all the information we receive is second and third hand and surely altered. The Elite of course have never been famous for telling the truth.

Reason 162: There are so many habitable Planetary bodies in Space it is hard to know what is going on until we have the opportunity to travel the Cosmos which can be done with the body.

There are Planets and Beings that have long since graduated beyond such petty things as what we are now experiencing on Earth thus we take notes from them. They are entirely self-sustained like a person can become when they are fully "unlocked". In these stages one does not need to eat food or breathe air thus his or her higher dimensional imprint has reached a phase of totality. Once that phase has been reached you will "Awake", currently most are asleep literally walking around a dream world, a dream within a dream, or a T.V. displaying another T.V. displaying another T.V. ad infinite. Strong persistence is necessary to be revived out of such a debased state. Inside of you, there are those that want to work, those that want to play, and those that want to disrupt your work. Be mindful of which

one is controlling you. There is The World, You, and the Outer Forces. You must consider your Arrival, Transition, and Breakthroughs. Your states are Physical, Emotional, and Intellectual. Being conscious of how you perceive things through all of these channels is key.

One can easily see that dissecting the Gnostic story in the Bible takes heavy pondering. It would be good to remember that when the Bible came into wider circulation in 1611 most people could not read. The Bible was kept as a Talisman or something of the sort that was believed to ward of evil by having it around. This is the clear indicator that when they begun swashbuckling lands and beating the people into submission they where in no position to examine anything about Iesu, Nazarites, Grails, Illuminati, Jesuits or anything of the sort. They were following blindly their lusts for riches and rank. So truly it is only recently that the Bible has ever been properly dissected by someone who is none partial and not in fear of death and excommunication, after all that is already happening. The path our parents chose was generally what their parent chose and so on down the line.

Another point is what takes place in the Universities. This is normally where lots of trickery begins. Often times many embark on professions that really contain no skill without the aid of some type of Machine. This is the other part of the war against the Machines. A false sense of intelligence is created when a person learns how to operate lets say an Electron Microscope or Array Device. Without this device however there would be no place for their particular skill. Having the ability to operate it proficiently falsely elevates them in mental status. The person usually cannot build these devices from scratch because they lack the knowledge and especially the equipment for fabrication. If they ever go into a country where the basic skills like agriculture, irrigation, construction, and other core abilities are required they will go from Rocket Scientist to Janitor. Nothing they have learned is really of value; they have not learned or understood the true inner workings to things. This is very similar to how many people view the world, all the real information about what really controls things they simply don't possess, that's now about to change.

We have witnessed this with the fall of Silicon or should I say "Silly Con". In places like the United States the Elite find the people very hard to control now and much too independent. This is why jobs have been moved to places like India and China where the people are much more passive and less opinionated due to thousands of years of Dominant Monarchist rule. Even now there are plans being discussed about a population decrease. You can imagine the Elite have made the people build a world to its capacity and now they want to enjoy it all for themselves and remove those that are not a part of their groups from the more pristine places. In the event there is all out chaos they will watch from the Moon.

All major cities are located on energy centers, the middle of the vortex being given the name "Down Town" alluding to the center of a vortex. People are naturally attracted to these energy centers like pigeons, so they tend to pile up in cities. When looking at states like Texas you see miles and miles of unused fertile land that could ease the tension of the masses if they were allowed to inhabit these

territories. When going to some of these places you will find one or two people own thousands of acres that they are doing nothing with. What kind of buffoonery is this when a person can just come and say "this is my land and if you want it, it will cost you "X" amount of dollars" when that land was stolen from the original inhabitants in the first place.

In various countries were there are limited resources and harsh weather, if borders did not exist they could easily inhabit other parts of the world. The Elite have created a false sense of prejudice that makes the people hate each other but love their Leaders and I"cons". When the United States joined World War II which seemed to turned the tides, the stage was set for America to appear as if it had saved the world from the terrible Anti-Christ Hitler. Nothing could be further from the truth. As thousands of soldiers died on both sides the rulers of many countries began to orchestrate the division of the people, drawing new borders and boundaries.

When the war was over high ranking officials from the Nazi party depending on rank went to other places to enjoy their plunder. Hitler and members of the Theosophical Society went into Antarctica after long stays in Argentina sipping the finest wine from Argentinean Vineyards. They eventually returned to the Hyperborean entrance to the Pole. Other officials went from Argentina and traveled through South and Central America through the extensive cavern systems located there also. The only ones who did not get an upgrade where the regular people who succeeded in only killing each other. They received a war torn nation that had been reduced to rubble, a sound hatred for their neighbor, and a secularism that has yet repair itself.

While the Elite laugh and toast a job well done they began another phase. The Theosophical Society set up right in the United Nations and proclaimed itself the religion of the future. This will be how the world is prepared for the Beast, the Dragon, and the False Prophet. Thule/Cthulhu is the brain behind the New Age Movement and the return of the Golden Age of Aquarius. All decisions are made by the Ascended Masters of Thule and those decisions are then passed to their proper representatives in the U.N. This is already going on so this is not a warning of something to come. This is something that is already happening. The 800 Billion borrowed by Obama was to allow those high enough on the Pyramid to go abroad, change over the currency, and set up elsewhere before they snatch the carpet from underneath the U.S. They are only waiting for the green light that most in the inner circle have secured themselves. When the U.S. market crashes the spiritual leaders of the world will come together once more like they did in 1986 is Assisi Italy at St. Francis Basilica. They will once again play the show of all coming together and the belief in the same God. Then they will unveil God's new representative to everyone. The Power behind this individual will be Sanat Kumara I anagram this as "A Mark Satan" there is a U "You" left over. When these Beings come on the scene if one did not prepare before you saw their actual arrival, it is too late.

In known interviews that where done with the gentleman on the left in Reason 21 with Matrieya in the middle. He does the traveling about bringing portents of Matrieya. When I personally

saw the turn out I was amazed. Not to mention this was done in one of the nicest Convention Centers in NY. His current talent is he can "oversoul" Matrieya. This means when he is talking he will shift to Matrieya although the two, of course, look nothing alike. Then he will change back at certain points. I tell you the truth people will wander astray when they see these signs and wonders which can be done through spiritual powers or technology and they have both. Look at how they show up for Chris Angel and he doesn't have an ilk of charisma compared to the Ascended Masters.

In all works it speaks of this time when humans will have a final moment in making a choice to give there freedom and souls up for what will appear to be an answer to their problems. It will appear there are no other options for those who do not begin to prepare now. Most will accept it no problem as they see their leaders and Icons direct them to it, just like they did when they wanted to endorse Obama, that was a test run, but not without its drawbacks. It will last for only a moment if it is a second and then they will see why they should have listened to all the redundant warnings that everyone keeps getting and ignoring on some level or another.

I believe this also to be a pivotal point in our future existence on a level extending into our afterlife. This is all happening now in you primary reality, so no matter who tells you "it's a hologram" or "it's your perception", if I pinch you will it hurt? Our world needs us to begin to act like who we really are. Simply imagine if you were "fully activated" all Chakras on, could you not make a difference that would echo across the world? Indeed you witness it now before you. This was my first move and do believe I have gone straight through demons to get to you my beloved. The world is in desperate need of anyone who will have the courage and take the time to see what their talent may be and how they can use it to rescue more from the fate of the future.

We are in Malkuth the Kingdom, ancient law states this dimension to be lower than the higher 9 Steps on the Tree, one still must consider the Inverted Tree which has also been created and is indeed functioning, it is the Demon world. Below us it extends 10 "mapped" dimensions down, the Abyss being uncharted. This is the point also in religion where the confusion of adding terms like Netzach and Geburah in addition to what those terms really mean according to Rabbi Lietman, however Rabbi Ashlog says entirely different his analysis from the Kether while Illumed in Shekinah, but let us not forget Rabbi Weisman who was in mystical Daath the hidden 11 Sephiroth blah blah blah. See this is what religion has done to something that is plain and simple. Live Human and uphold your race and your kind with all your strength and in it you will learn to ascend continuously, this is the Great Reward in which eludes Kings and rest in the hands at times of Slaves who We disguise as such for a test to man and woman. They know the last will come first, say it isn't so, the Most High can make a crippled a climber of Trees.

The Final Warning had been set upon the chariot and rode through the land day and night, the ancient books had been sealed and I could open them no longer less I become infested again with the horrors spoken within whispering in my mind night and day continuously, but I had to know. The

new message was spoke to me and I wrote it down and as I wrote the words began to disappear off the page. A Voice said "Do not write that which is for those who will escape the great test that shall come upon man, woman, beast, and jinn. I have placed this before them as a mirror that they may see who they are inside and cease from pretending that they have vanquished darkness but in reality have nursed it. Now it shall rear up and devour. Lo, there is no Honor amongst the wicked".

Reason 163: This is the Symbol of Thule of course bringing us right to the Serpents as usual. This meditation room has been placed inside of the U.N. Many world leaders visit the room before they make world decisions. The room is shaped like a Trapezoid, a Pyramid with no capstone. The lighting is recessive as you go away from the Mural. The Mural is clearly Saturnalian as you can see the scythe of Saturn along with the staff and the Serpent twinning around it. The stone has been removed from their sacred mountain and placed inside the room for its frequency. Many of the darksiders are seeking revenge for what happened during the Inquisition, they are releasing this anger upon the masses and feel no remorse or compassion.

Dag Hammearskjold, "Secret"ary General of the U.N. placed "the Black Stone of Light" in the United Nations in 1953. It is a six-and-a-half ton block of "programmed" iron ore. It is polished on the top such that it brings forth a sheet of minute lights that shine like billions of tiny stars. It is a natural magnet emitting waves of energy. This is the "foundation" of the New World. In Stanley Kubricks Film *2001: A Space Odyssey* the main character of the story, David Bowman, discovers that such a stone serves as a space portal leading to a distant part of the universe. In the movie it is placed on Earth from the stars and brings technological enlightenment to an otherwise ape man tribe who live at the "dawn" of true humanity.

Reason 164: Thule is not the run of the mill cult, they have perfected channeling, astral travel, evocation, and as you see they are the willing servants of the Unseen Hand.

Our greatest ability as humans is we create our Destiny, there is no pre-determined future for us no matter how much someone tries to tell you it is. If you perceive everything about you already written, this means you are in fact moving backwards not forward. If you where moving forward what you will achieve next is based on you and cannot be recorded until you make the actual decision. This is Supreme Knowledge. Our individual worlds are set in motion by a series of our own thoughts. This cycle delivers our expectancies at various times depending upon how powerful our thoughts are. For example a person could concentrate on getting a new job and it still take a year to get one. This is due to the amount of energy they carry that manifests thoughts. A person fully alkalized, breathing properly, and with a clear mind can think "I want a new job" and get fired at that moment beginning the chain reaction.

When we control our reality what we focus on begins to take its steps into our primary world. Many beginning to unlock this power are surprised that things just come out of thin air. Then begins the training of thinking things fully through in detail for optimal results. In addition learning how not to think about things that when they manifest they will actually hinder you thus creating your worst nightmares. There is a fail safe so this type of thing doesn't happen often, they call it powerless.

The biggest fear the Elite have of releasing the secrets of power are the result of what a capitalist minded world would create. How many people would immediately use the power to make themselves rich to have lots of lovers, and be irresistibly beautiful? If everyone had the power to create their own reality within this reality there would not be enough metal for all the cars they would have, enough plastic for all the gadgets they would have, enough water for the pools and waste of water that would go on. One should just ask for Knowledge, Wisdom, and Innerstand then you can decipher anything. Knowledge is all the information, non-partial, Wisdom is the ability to sort through that information and find the perfect calibration for your life, Innerstanding is coming to terms with why all things happen and thus you escape Duality. Duality will always exist on this dimension.

Some may ask does this book represent Duality, since I'm clearly challenging the Gods and Devils. I will say yes this is Duality which takes place when you reach back from higher dimensions into Binary Worlds. The Creation of the strong will always be to protect the weak just as a house built of stone will securely shelter its fleshly inhabitants. We should never shrink away from what is right no matter how Enlightened we become. In certain meditations you can get so high you don't know your name or even where you are, but when you come back you are in this primary reality thus the Most High has placed us here for a reason. I know my reason; I've given the reader now several to determine theirs. This is only to give you a fuller life of meaning rather than the redundant cycle of time where humans are harvested for energy and go about Feeding, Fearing, and Fornicating until they perish back into atoms.

This system which exist has with it certain secretes that allow it to carry on as such. We can call them the rules of the Matrix in which some can be bent and others broken. This is also the secret to the "ME's". One of those ME's is called the Tablet of Destiny and remains in the possession of the Elite. It was said that whoever had it could control many things. These ME's where the names, relics, and even spirits of power. Amongst all the Gods stories it describes a plot by the Female Goddess Inanna to obtain the Tablet of Destiny from the Gods by cunning. In the society of the Annunaki the female of their breed are not allowed to rule. Without taking you through the whole story which can be found in the Sumerian tablets it will suffice to say that one female of their species gained control over the Tablets of Destiny. Isis in legend slips a Serpent on Ra to poison him and he cannot cure himself. Isis then makes Ra promise to give her His true creative name in this case an actual Spirit or Ba of Ra. Ra agrees and Isis cures him and then the power is transferred to her bosom.

This Ba/Spirit has now been placed in a stone called the Stone of Scone. The Queen of England sits upon it as if it's an egg waiting to hatch. In fact it is also referred to as the Ben Ben stone named after the Benu bird that was in legend the Ba/Spirit of Ra/Marduk. This relic along with many others, are all in the possession of the Queen of England who rules just about the whole world. In secret societies and religious circles various types of worship and sacrifices take place that continue to give these relics power. This is how one group can rule such a vast amount of people, it is done through devices, vices that they implore and make the people pray to. They are kept by the rulers who

know how to extract the power of these devices and use it to continuously elevate themselves over the people.

Reason 165: The Ben Ben Stone rests underneath the Coronation Chair where all from the Royal Bloodlines have been crowned King or Queen. The Stone was carried by Tamar from Israel into Europe when the bloodlines began to mix.

Ultimately reserved for the highest ranking dark initiate the Leontocephales or Lions Penis and the Pahanuk or Penis of the Dragon equated with Mithras, Phanes and Ahriman, the Zorostrian devil, all as one God. According to Orpheus/Morpheus who I still have chained down and being hacked to pieces, there would be One Zeus, One Hades/Underworld, One Sun and One Dionysus. This is Saturn called also Zurvan and Mithras Helios the nocturnal Sun beneath the Earth voyaging round the invisible world, doubt it not.

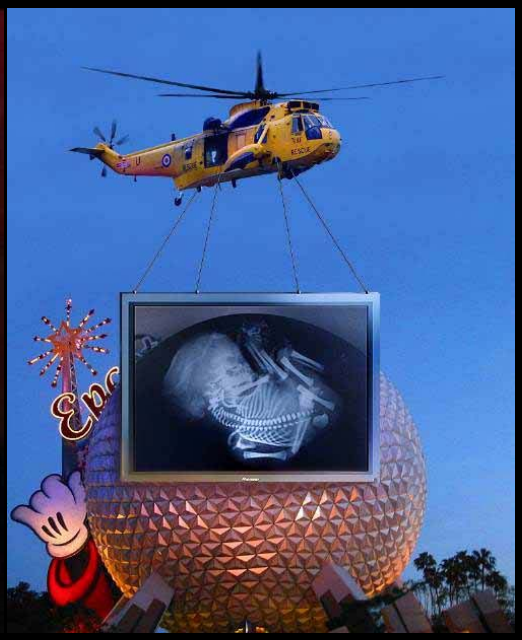
According to the rites of Mithras which is Christian Gnosticism not written but divined, the beginning of all things was the Law which proclaimed Christ, and the Holy Spirit existed at the Creation. The Brazen Serpent was a Symbol of Christ. Abraham was a type of God the Father, and Isaac a Symbol of Christ the Ram of Sacrifice. Eve slew mankind, but the Virgin Mary gave them life. Mary was the "door" and that it was closed symbolized her virginity, which was God's Seal upon her. She was the Burning Bush described by Moses; she was also the censer used by High Cohen, the coals were Christ, and the perfume of the incense was his perfume the Myrrh of the Martyr, on which prayer ascended to Heaven. The Chains of the censer were Jacob's ladder. Aaron's rod was Mary, and the bud thereof was Christ. The Ark made by Moses was the abode of God on Earth; it symbolized Mary, and the indestructible wood of which it was made symbolized the indestructible Christ who will

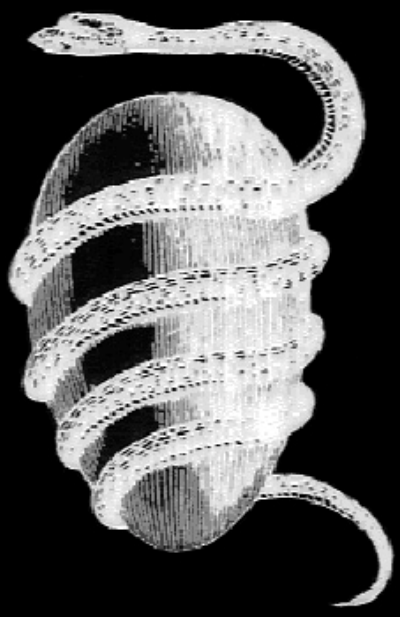
rise every time he is Crucified. The pot that held the Manna was Mary, and the Manna inside was the body of Christ; the Words of the Law also were Christ. The Pearl in Mary's body was Christ. The rock smitten by Moses was Christ, and Moses smote it longwise and breadthwise to symbolize the Cross. Moses' rod was the Cross, the water that flowed from the rock was the teaching of the Apostles. The darkness brought upon Egypt for three days symbolized the darkness of the Crucifixion. The Amalekites symbolized the devils, Aaron and Hor, who held up Moses' hands, symbolized the two thieves who were crucified with Christ. Thus the entire Bible feeds from one story placed in several allegories and parables. I bore of the Riddler who does nothing more then confuse what is simple.

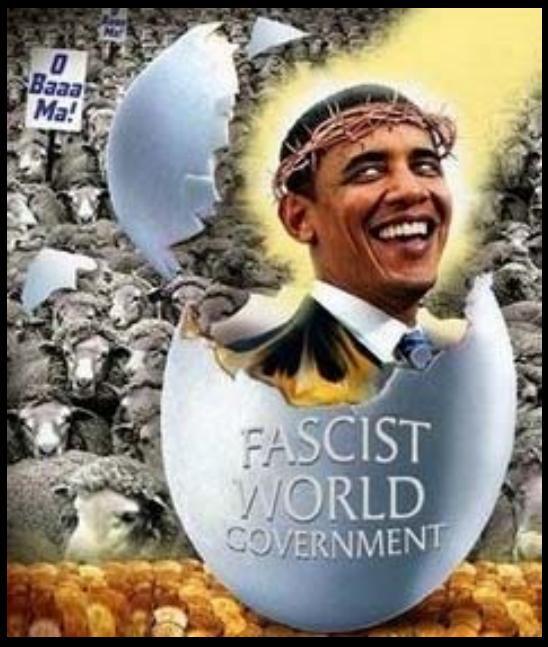
A man develops the fertilizer while a woman makes the egg. Many never sit and think how mystical this is that an actual egg is inside of the woman's body at various stages. Now we get to the meat of things. The Adepts know that when a woman is due to bring forth a special child the fertilized egg itself contains the child before it "hatches". The period of incubation that takes place before it cracks open is called "ruling from the Egg". How many remember the tale of the Goose who laid the Golden Egg? Of course that tale had a hidden meaning.

There is an egg that is about to hatch as some already have and inside those eggs are things I'm not even at leisure to discuss, since We have shined light on more than enough to keep one up thinking long into the night. I will say that those who will come from these eggs will be different then the normal human and possess abilities that we can unlock, but most do not use at this moment and trust you will need them. You can see this all as a way used to give you a sense of urgency. Reptiles lay eggs thus they have to wait for the eggs to hatch, some take longer than other depending upon what is being brought forth.

Reason 166: We can not deny what has been placed in stone, the reptilian affiliation is clear. Knowing all this now, what will you chose to do?







Reason 167: Unlike Mammals Serpents and Amphibians lay eggs. The incubation period of that egg is dependant what type of creature laid the egg. Some eggs can stay in incubation for hundreds of years before they are ready to hatch. If you look closely at the picture of Mary above, you will see a silhouette of a Dragon on the shawl covering her hair. Gnostic Christianity is about bringing forth the seeds or eggs and to raise the Brazen Serpent for everyone to fall down and worship, it appears that whole plan is happening now. They only await the final arrival of the "Feathered Serpent", Quetzacoatl. The return of Q.

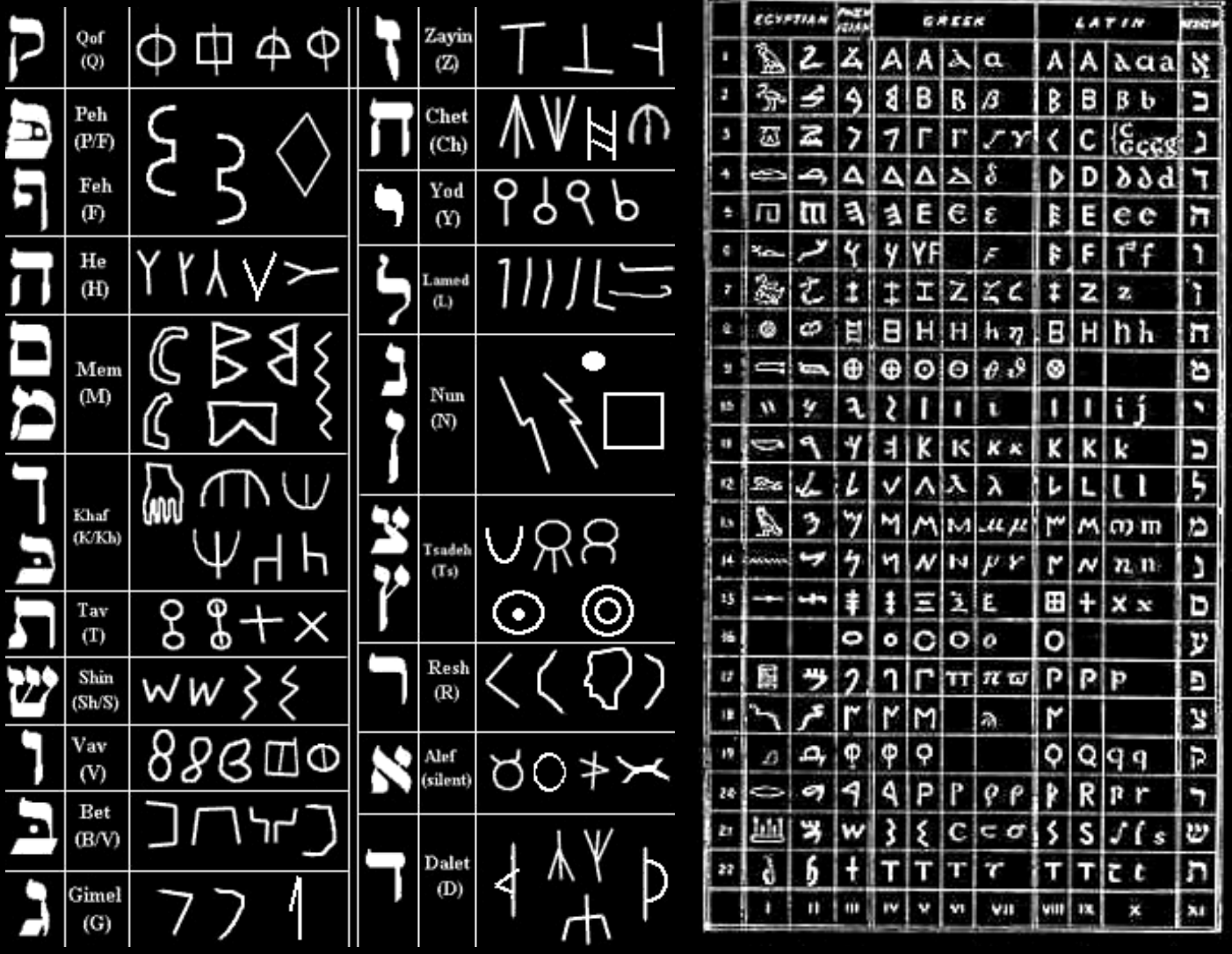
We are looking for more ways to get this information across, the Author, who is 30, is ready and willing to speak to the people whether it is one or thousands. The writer is currently doing this with little Human assistance to save our race. If you would like to contribute in any way there are multiple portals to contact me. Remember we are asking for nothing, if you feel like giving that is up to you, money is by far not the only way you can be of aid, if you have rare pictures, rare books, contacts, groups that you need spoken to or you would like me to include something in future editions, if there are future additions, contact me. All contributions can be made discreet however I will tell you there is nothing to fear a loophole has been created, in every horror movie someone always gets away, we have never lost our love for a happy ending.

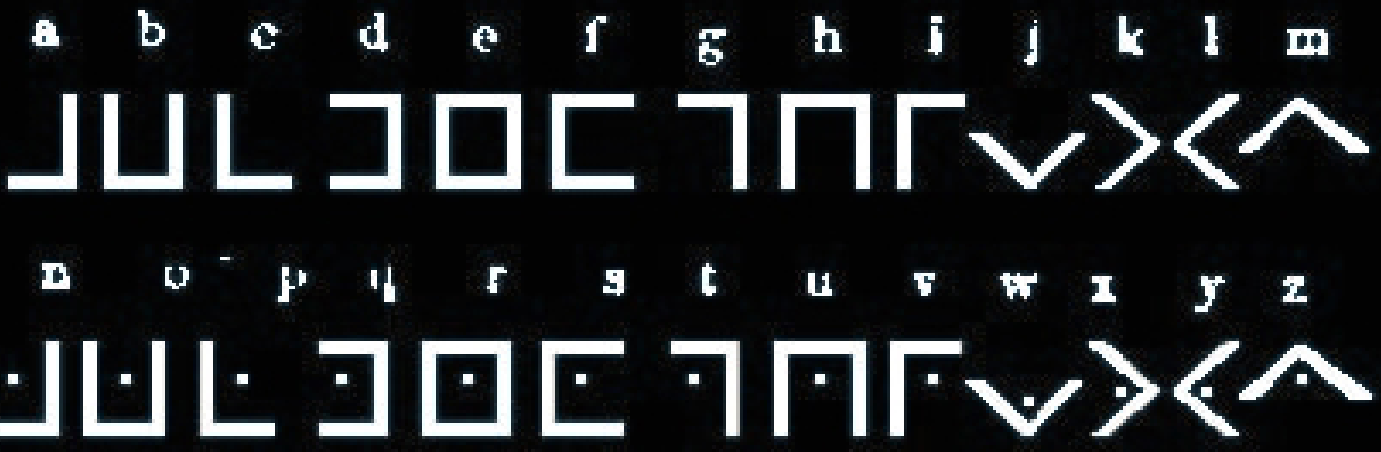
In all this knowledge I have also discovered ways to enhance the body and open pure energy portals. This cannot be done with only one person and needs infrastructure such as a facility and certain devices that change the consistency of the air and atmosphere we breathe. If you can seriously entertain this project contact me by the information provided at the very end of this document. If you have questions We will give you answers.

All these cycles are only dreamlike moments of time in the divine consciousness we call Life. The individual souls are myriad fragments in self realization, the individual consciousness goes beyond this duality of subject and object and is subsumed in a timeless and blissful divine consciousness independent of time, space, and causality, which melt away after the illusion is destroyed and the Matrix is broken.

Even before I inscribed this note to you my beloved I was fast in contemplation of the Most Exquisite Source. Keeping in continuation I will never tire in mentioning my Sustainer which is Inexhaustibly Cherished by High Emanations beyond Perception which can be sometimes grasped by mortals. It is indeed good it can be gleamed and harvested by the wise to pollinate the minds of the Guided. The field is plentiful and the harvest ripe, intelligent minds are waiting for counsel and it shall be granted to them. We tarry too long already and We will wait no longer in bringing the news to you of your evolution. I will explain your sequence which is not foreign to all living things. You must first know what you where before, in order for you to calculate what you desire is to be next. I would suggest addition only, we do not like to subtract, that will decrease our ranks, we do not divide because we will never suffer a conqueror, and we do not multiply into an unexpected stage which is premature. Addition is the true and only math for us that are intelligent and wise. Did I ever fail in bringing forth profound truth beyond fear or emotion? Nay I shall never fail to arise to the noble cause of bringing the most precious elixir of rare essence to all corners of the earth. If you but knew its true value.

THE LETTERS & NUMBERS





SINAITIC SCRIPT	DESCRIPTION OF SIGN	CANAANITE SCRIPT OF 13TH CENT. B.C.	CANAANITE SCRIPT OF ca. 1000 B.C.	SOUTH ARAB SCRIPT OF IRON AGE	MODERN HEBREW SCRIPT	PHONETIC VALUE
	OX-HEAD				א	ʾ
	HOUSE				ב	b
?					ג	g
	FISH				ד	d
	MAN PRAYING				ה	h
?					ו	w
?					ז	z
	?		"		ח	ḥ
	FENCE?				ט	ṭ
	DOUBLE LOOP		"		י	ī
?					כ	ḳ
?					ל	l
	PALM OF HAND				מ	m
	"OX-GOAD"				נ	n
	WATER				ס	s
	SERPENT				ע	ʿ
?					פ	p
	EYE				צ	ṣ
?			"		ק	q
	THROW STICK				ר	r
?					ש	š
	BLOSSOM		"		ת	t
	?					
	HUMAN HEAD					
	BOW					
	?		"			
	MARK OF CROSS					

HEBREW NAME	PHOENICIAN SCRIPT OF 8TH CENT B.C. BAAL LEBANON KARATEPE		OLD GREEK SCRIPT OF 8TH CEN. B.C.	HEBREW CURSIVE OF ca. 600 B.C.	GREEK NAME	MODERN GREEK SCRIPT	MODERN ROMAN SCRIPT
ALEPH					ALPHA	A	A
BETH					BETA	B	B
GIMEL					GAMMA	Γ	G
DALETH					DELTA	Δ	D
HE					EPSILON	E	E
WAW							V
ZAYIN					ZETA	Z	Z
HETH					ETA	H	H
TETH					THETA	Θ	
YOD					IOTA	I	I
KAPH					KAPPA	K	K
LAMED					LAMBDA	Λ	L
MEM					MU	M	M
NUN					NU	N	N
SAMEKH					XI	Ξ	
AYIN					OMICRON	O	O
PE					PI	Π	P
TSADHE							
QOPH							Q
RESH					RHO	P	R
SHIN					SIGMA	Σ	S
TAW					TAU	T	T

	Signs.	Phonetic value.		Signs.	Phonetic value.		Signs.	Phonetic value.
1.		a	10.		i	19.		p
2.		a	11.		ca	20.		pp
3		a	12.		k	21.		cu
4.		b	13.		l	22.		ku
5.		b	14.		l	23.		x#
6.		e	15.		m	24.		x
7.		t	16.		n	25.		u
8.		é	17.		o.	26.		u
9.		h	18.		o.	27.		z

Eastern & Western			Eastern			Western		
ا	*alif*	1	ص	*ṣād*	60	ص	*ṣād*	60
ب	*bā'*	2	ع	*'ayn*	70	ع	*'ayn*	70
ج	*jīm*	3	ف	*fā'*	80	ف	*fā'*	80
د	*dāl*	4	ض	*ḍād*	90	ض	*ḍād*	90
ه	*hā'*	5	ق	*qāf*	100	ق	*qāf*	100
و	*wāw*	6	ر	*rā'*	200	ر	*rā'*	200
ز	*zāy*	7	ش	*shīn*	300	س	*sīn*	300
ح	*ḥā'*	8	ت	*tā'*	400	ت	*tā'*	400
ط	*ṭā'*	9	ث	*thā'*	500	ث	*thā'*	500
ي	*yā'*	10	خ	*khā'*	600	خ	*khā'*	600
ك	*kāf*	20	ذ	*dhāl*	700	ذ	*dhāl*	700
ل	*lām*	30	ض	*ḍād*	800	ظ	*ẓā'*	800
م	*mīm*	40	ظ	*ẓā'*	900	غ	*ghayn*	900
ن	*nūn*	50	غ	*ghayn*	1000	ش	*shīn*	1000
The symbol for zero was ٥								

Alphabet of the Magi (57 Chars)

32 20	65 41 A	66 42 B	67 43 C	68 44 D	69 45 E	70 46 F	71 47 G	72 48 H	73 49 I	74 4A J	75 4B K	76 4C L	77 4D M
78 4E N	79 4F O	80 50 P	81 51 Q	82 52 R	83 53 S	84 54 T	85 55 U	86 56 V	87 57 W	88 58 X	89 59 Y	90 5A Z	91 5B [
92 5C \	97 61 a	98 62 b	99 63 c	100 64 d	101 65 e	102 66 f	103 67 g	104 68 h	105 69 i	106 6A j	107 6B k	108 6C l	109 6D m
110 6E n	111 6F o	112 70 p	113 71 q	114 72 r	115 73 s	116 74 t	117 75 u	118 76 v	119 77 w	120 78 x	121 79 y	122 7A z	123 7B {
124 7C |													

Ancient Germanic

Website : www.thewords.ning.com Email: 7bomer3@hushmail.com Skype: Innerstand

Appendix B

Supplement to the Code to the Matrix

As far as the history of this planet is concerned, you can consider that everything you ever learned is a complete lie. All history and science books are rewritten to accommodate the agenda of the controllers of this planet. These books are just as false as the New Age material spewing forth from such places as Sedona and Santa Fe, to name a couple of *Illuminati Meccas.*

Disinformation is rampant everywhere. My information comes from religious indoctrinations, experiences, conversations with scientists, studying those involved in Illuminati programs, communications with *Alien* and/or *Inter-dimensional beings* whom I met at various experiments with my own body, and through the probing of my Oversoul.

I can only tell you that it is available in certain places the profound proof of what I bring forth. To deny these things produces the insanity that man has thus entrenched himself in. Although all existence is simultaneous, and time and space are merely illusions of physical reality, for the purpose of this appendix I will present the majority of history from a linear perspective. There are also infinite universes, both physical and non-physical, but for now, I will only tell you about this one but always keep in mind, in spheres of remoteness, time can be stretched, curved back, then concentrated all in one point, made to explode in lines that run in every direction and again can be stretched, and curved into an infinity of temporal paradoxes.

To understand how various known and unknown classes of Elite such as the Illuminati, Ordanati, Intrepidi, Pahanuk, and Leophantalus just to name a few came to power, or even to comprehend what they are, it is important to understand the beginning of life on this world and its progression.

I do not believe in any religion, organized or otherwise. All religions, no matter what they are, are forms of *group mind-control* designed to manipulate large masses of people to stop thinking for themselves. I do believe in *The Most High*. It has no religion and is not genderized.

In the subsequent times following the release of my last book, The Code to the Matrix much has been written about by other "researchers" concerning Reptilians and their rituals. This theme has found its way into the psyche of the public. Most people are still not willing to accept or even entertain the idea that hybrid Reptilians are running around and in control of large parts of this Planet and perform blood rituals and

ceremonies using humans as the source of food and hormones. I wish it were not true. But I cannot change history, current events, or what I know to be true. I can only implode from this reality and explode back into it.

The *controllers* plan the pattern of coming events in such a way to purposefully disorient the masses while they alone see the destination and the order of life. The masses are lead to believe that haphazard events amidst chaos shaped their existence.

In true reality, there is no such thing as *Chaos*. Chaos is simply a pattern not yet understood or perceived.

Think about an ant crawling over a designed, tiled floor. The ant may seem confused or disoriented; not knowing which way to go. But a human being watching the ant from a higher perspective clearly sees the floor pattern and knows which way the ant can get to its destination. To the ant, there is only perceived chaos. To the human, there is a pattern.

To the controllers, the *humans are the ants*. The controllers are interested in directing the people in such a way that they do not know that they are being directed. The controllers work slowly and methodically from a galactic perspective to accomplish their goals.

With awareness, you too, can *perceive order from the chaos*, make some conscious decisions, and gain control of your own life and destiny.

Various Life forms

When pursuing the ultimate truth, I encountered, vividly, amongst others, an alien species known as a Reptilian. They seemed to pop in and out of physical reality and they also seemed very organized as if an agenda was at hand. The Reptilians primarily use the lower astral realms as their reference point, or point of entry, into physical reality. This is the origin of the *legends of astral demons*. These Beings were brought to the Draco star system eons ago by another group unknown to anyone. Further, no one knows anything of their true origins.

Communication was entirely telepathic while visual encounters from others which remained silent were also at hand. Mentally, they told me that they came from the far future where humans no longer existed, and that its species was not from this reality. Continuing, it said that its species had traveled back into the distant past to create a race of Beings, which I knew as the Reptilians, to antagonize and test humans. It also told me that *they were assisted by the Sirians of Sirius A.*

For the Reptilians to function in physical reality, they needed physical genetics. The transparent people took genetics from the now physical Lyraens, a constellation bordered by Draco, who have blonde or red hair, and blue or green eyes. These genetics were mixed with the "transparent peoples" collective energy, thus manifesting physically as the Reptilians. This is why the current Reptilians need the energetics from Aryan-type people to survive on the physical plane.

Once the Reptilians were created in the astral, they needed a physical home base from which to accomplish their task. For this, they took over many different physical realities in which they could become the dominant species. Mentally, they were programmed to conquer and absorb all of the races and species that they encountered. Those that could not be absorbed were to be destroyed, this is the root of the Borgian idealism. The purpose of all of this is to determine the most perfect form in a physical reality that can exist in any environment. Think of it as a gigantic, cosmic Survivor contest where the genes and configuration of the survivor is the prize.

The Reptilians are programmed to believe that they are the superior physical form. Scientifically speaking, Reptilian DNA does not change very much over Aons of time. It basically remains the same. For them, this is their proof that they are already perfect, without any need to adapt. Mammalian life, on the other hand, evolves and changes form constantly to survive.

To the Reptilian mind, this denotes weakness and inferiority. These Reptilians are also androgynous, meaning male and female in one body. This is comparable to all non-physical forms that have no gender like The Most High. For this reason, the Reptilians believe themselves to be more godlike because of their androgyny. Due to their ethnocentric values, they also consider it their right to control and conquer all of space and time.

Although the Reptilians operate out of a general group mind, they are separated into seven different Reptilian species, each created to perform specific functions.

This is their hierarchy, and is based on the nine level Angelic Hierarchy that is witnessed in books such as The Key to Solomon. The Hindu caste system is also a direct replica of the Reptilian hierarchy.

The politics of the Draco trading colonies which can be compared to Dune,whose Arrakeis, the home star of Dracos and Dune, is correctly located in Alpha Draconis. This represented those you may know as the Enlil, Yahweh, and Michael side of the An or Ana, also called the Anunnaki family. These are also the Templars, followers of the

MAG, “Draco Matriliny”. Their purpose is to HARVEST COLONIES on hundreds of Planets. The "Skull and the Bones" this is Orion.

Later, as Enlil/Yahweh under the name of "God" “Michael” He who is like God, installs genetic rules in Aboriginal Australia and in North and South America, he is following the Drac tradition entirely focused on preventing change and facilitating the harvest of colonies like forests whose only purpose is to be cut down.

At a deeper level we should investigate the connection between the loss of DNA called DNA implosions. The physics of loss of soul & access to THE GREAT ATTAINMENT. This is loss of fire in the blood which creates loss of lucid dreaming, loss of "ensoulment" and LOSS OF LONG TERM MEMORY. Part of this problem causes the loss of ability to navigate in time travel. We are star navigators, time travelers, able to warp space from within, due to this loss of DNA coherence has been impaired.

There is no steering a collective culture through time portals without a leader who is able to remember past lives. It is profound to compare this to a Zulu shaman leader was bemoaning to Us how his grand children lost their ability to lucid dream just after they had been given Immunization shots. This is an example of how Borg, the fallen Draco Empires, treat DNA of true Light people. They do this by not loving their brother and sisters enough to set them free, they even blind their own children.

The War of the Worlds I

Because the Humaniod Lyraens did not have a defense system in place, they were sitting targets for the Reptilians when they invaded this system. After being brutally attacked by the Draco Empire, the survivors of the Lyraen societies dispersed to other locations throughout the Galaxy. The remnants of the Draco attack on Lyrae are still seen by today’s scientists.

In 1985, a newspaper article stated that scientists are able to observe remnant waves of a blast that fanned outward, and emanated from a central part of this galaxy. This blast is several million years old and of such intense proportions that the wave is still traveling toward the edge of the Galaxy were it dissipates.

These survivors went to Orion, Tau Ceti, Pleiades, Procyon, Antaries, Alpha Centauri, Barnard Star, Arcturus, and dozens of other solar systems. In this solar system, the refugees colonized the planet now called Mars. At that time, it was the third planet in the solar system. A world called Maldek was then the fourth planet in this solar system, and was also colonized.

The Lyraens were mostly blonde-haired, blue-eyed people, with an occasional red-haired or green-eyed person. In Lyraen society, red-haired people were considered special with extrasensory powers that connected them to non-physical realms. They were especially desired for breeding purposes. Special permission to breed with a red-haired person was required because of the extra-sensory, or superhuman, abilities that came with the offspring.

For this reason, red-haired people were kept separate from the rest, and even had their own subculture. They were also coveted by the Reptilians, who as a species did not have much psychic ability. Often, when Reptilians came to various Lyraen worlds for occupation, the Lyraen refugees offered a group of red-haired people to appease them for a while. This practice eventually degenerated into *sacrifices to appease the Reptiles/Demons*.

The Planet Earth in those days was a water world in second orbit from the Sun. There was little land above the surface. The only intelligent inhabitants were an Amphibian race that was completely without technology. The atmosphere of the Earth was mostly liquid. The Planet definitely could not sustain any type of human life forms.

The dispersed Lyraen descendants developed their own cultures over the Aons of time. Mars and Maldek were similar to the current Earth environment, with warm to temperate climates and an oxygen-rich atmosphere. The gravity on Maldek was denser that Mars, so those people developed a thicker frame and a more aggressive attitude.

Eventually, skirmishes developed between the occupants of the two planets. Mars was rich in resources. The people of Maldek thought they should have these resources for their survival. The Martians, feeling a full scale attack was eminent, asked the Beings of Sirius A, from the Planet Khoom, for defense technology to shield their Planet from attacks, not only from the Reptilians, but from their Humanoid Lyrean neighbors and cousins.

The Sirians are known throughout the galaxy as merchants of technology. They have the best, even sharing it with the Reptilians, they are The Lords of War. So, the Sirians created a defense mechanism located in *the Mars underground plateau*.

Mars is a hollow Planet, as are Earth and Jupiter. *Planets created with material ejected from a star have hollow interiors*. As the molten ball is thrown from the star and starts spinning away, it begins to cool. The centrifugal force of the globe spinning and moving at great speed pushes the molten interior to the sides, forming the crust of the planet. This, in turn, forces hot gases out of the poles to form openings at both ends. The molten core and gases that remain get trapped between the hollow interior and the

plates below the crust of the Globe. These are then pushed out periodically in the form of volcanic activity.

The Nexus Point on any such Globe is always at the 19th parallel of the Planet. It is evident on Earth by the Hawaiian volcanoes, located at the 19th parallel; by the Mounds of volcanoes on Mars located at the 19th parallel; and at the red spot on Jupiter, also at the 19th parallel.

The geometry built into the monuments on Mars by the Sirians and Lyraen colonists explains the 19th parallel through its geometric equations and measurements. This geometry is also replicated and contained within the Giza Plateau in Egypt.

If one is still clueless to why structures like Giza and Cydonia are at tetrahedral latitudes I will offer this. By modulating (adjusting) the spin rate of Planets at tetrahedral hand holds, planetary spins come into phase with zodiac spin. This self similar spin relation prevents implosive collapses which is critical to stabilizing gravity and therefore the atmosphere.

The Reptilian agenda was, and is, to seek out the human refugees for assimilation, and to use their energy, sometimes plasmic, and hormones for sustenance.

These are Ophanim and Seraphim, which are winged Dracos, Ciakar, or Fiery Cherubim. If something is originally responsible for this, whoever placed the Draco in our galactic sector knew that the humanoid remnant would need an aggressive parasite to trigger their development. Further the result of the part humanoid part Draco bloodline called in code "URu with Ibi". Many such as Lawrence Gardner and Michael Tsarion are found defending this Draco family root. This is related to AN or the Celtic Druids the British RH negative blood.

The Reptilian Draco blood which was originally Enki's who is also called in Hebrew "RA or abRAham meaning Father RA from the tribe of HAM, cross bred with the Cro-Magnon creating DNA less vital than the indigenous "Rhesus" monkey blood. So the Reptilians had to keep in-breeding, as in Holy Blood Holy Grail. There are few areas in the UK where this RHESUS Monkey blood is absent. RH negative may lead the world in lack of compassion. E-liz-a beth meaning from Lizard born, breeds a line where no permission to cry produces a stiff upper lip and a nasty little accent.

The remnant Humaniod Lyraens who colonized other Planets formed an Alliance against the constant Reptilian attacks. They called this Alliance the Galactic Federation, comprised of 110 different colonies. The colonies belonging to the Federation wished to maintain their new identities, and no longer associate with the old way. Together, the

Federation colonists managed to repel the Reptilian attacks.

There were three primary groups who did not join the Federation. These three groups were considered extremists, or nationalistic idealists, seeking to recreate the glory of the old Lyraen civilization. One group was the Atlans, located on a Pleiadian Planet. The Pleiades actually consists of thirty-two Planets orbiting seven stars. At that time there were sixteen of these different colonies of Lyraen descent throughout the Pleiades. Because of their indignant supremist attitudes these colonies all wanted to oust the Atlans. The Atlans continued to remain independent and did not assist their human cousins just as Texas proclaims itself the "Lone Star" state and helps no other states with the vast resources located there.

The other two groups were the Martians and Maldekians, who were already at odds with each other. For this reason, seeing these two Humanoid Planets competing, the Reptilians turned their attention toward this solar system. In the Reptilians estimation, it would be easy to divide and conquer.

The Reptilians love to use comets and asteroids as weapons and ships. They use them to travel through the stars. First, they create a small black hole as a propulsion system that pulls the asteroid towards the intended destination. When used as a weapon, they use a particle beam accelerator to create a blast that hurls the comet or asteroid towards the target. All of this technology was obtained from the Beings on Sirius A.

In this way, they hurled a huge ice comet at Mars and Maldek. The Reptilians, not being very technologically oriented, miscalculated the trajectory. The pull of the gigantic gas Planet, Jupiter, pulled the comet off course. The ice comet then headed directly for Maldek. The citizens of that Planet asked the Martians for help. Even though they were at odds with each other, they allowed some of the Maldekians to move to the Martian underground. The comet destroyed Maldek. This caused the remnants of the Planet to leave an asteroid belt between Mars and Jupiter.

The explosion also pushed large fragments of the ice comet close enough to Mars to rip the atmosphere off the Planet, leaving only an extremely thin atmosphere. The explosion also pulled Mars further away from the Sun.

The comet then continued toward the Earth. The heat of the Sun and the gravitational pull between the two globes forced the watery atmosphere of the Earth to polarize. This polarization pulled most of the ice from the comet to the polar regions of the Earth, thus covering most openings to the inner Earth, while at the same time exposing huge land masses for the first time.

The comet then switched places with Earth, taking up the second orbit from the Sun, becoming the Planet now known as Venus. This event has stricken most indigenous tribes with embedded fear and awe of Venus. The heat of the Sun melted the ice on the comet, creating a cloudy covering to this new Planet which was first a hollowed out asteroid. The Earth was pushed out to the third orbit occupying the previous position held by Mars. The Earth was then in a perfect position to be colonized. Most Amphibians that survived were transported to Neptune. Some stayed in the newly formed oceans.

The Reptilians who were inside the hollow comet, now Venus, came to the surface of this new world. They built seven domed cities, one for each of the seven groups in the hierarchy. In the mid-1980s one of New York's daily papers, *Newsday,* reported that a Soviet space probe penetrated the cloud layer of Venus and photographed seven white domes the size of small cities, all in a row.

The Reptilians then drove a large, hollowed out object into Earth's orbit to begin the colonization process. This object is now called the Moon. The Moon is the only known object in space that does not spin on its axis. The Moon faces the Earth in the same position all of the time, leaving one side in complete darkness thus a person with a telescope can never see what is on the other side. A sonic resonance sent to the surface of the Moon makes a pinging noise like a hollow object. If the Moon were solid, the noise would sound like a thump or thud. *The Moon is hollow.* A recent article in an astronomy magazine said that the Moon was being reclassified because it is considered to be hollow.

The Reptilians also chose a large continental landmass to begin their civilization on the Earth, this is now referred to as Lemuria or Mu. This was a vast area in what is now the Pacific Basin, extending from Japan to Australia, and from the coast of California to Peru. The Hawaiian Islands are in the middle of this one-time landmass.

Here, an androgynous Reptilian culture developed. They brought with them *the dinosaurs* and all Beings created beneath them such as animals and plants that are a reflection of the mind-pattern from various worlds already invaded. Reptilians and Humans are not designed to coexist on the same Planet in peace.

Additionally, the thinking process of the Reptilians differs from the human thinking process. Because Reptilians do not evolve rapidly and remain unchanging, their expansion is also slow moving and insidious. It would take several millennia for the Reptilians to decide whether or not they would even coexist with humans. After all, Earth was still an outpost far from the centre of the Draconian Empire.

In the meantime, the Martians were now living underground with their hostile Maldekian guests. Something had to be done quickly to prevent them from destroying one another. So, the Martians petitioned the Galactic Federation to remove the Maldekian refugees to another Planet. The Galactic Federation had also received a petition from the Pleiadian Council asking the Federation to remove the Atlans from their star cluster.

The Federation thusly decided to use the Atlans first as a counterbalance on Earth. If the Atlans survived, the Maldekians would also be sent next, this was the only solution to a complex problem. The Humanoid Lyraen descendants were literally throwing their own riffraff, the Atlans, to the Reptilian colonists on Earth, however, the Atlans of whom came the Titans were not necessary afraid of the Reptilians. In this way, the Federation would get rid of their undesirables. The Atlans would occupy the attention of the Reptilians. This would give the Federation valuable time to build their own forces against the Reptilians who they assumed would eventually attempt to take over the complete system.

When the Atlans arrived on the Earth, they colonized what became known as Atlantis. Their continent stretched from what is now the Caribbean Basin to the Azores and Canary Islands, as well as several small island chains reaching up to what is now the East Coast of the United States.

The industrious Atlanteans rapidly grew to a large, prospering civilization needing more territory. The dinosaur population was rapidly increasing and becoming dangerous to the human colonists. The Atlanteans began destroying the dinosaurs to protect themselves, this is often recorded in legends as Dragon Slayers. This did not sit well with the Reptilians who where more advanced than the Dinosaurs but still shared traits and blood. Major battles occurred on the Earth between the Lemurian Reptilians and Atlantean humans.

Wanting to solve the problem as soon as possible the Federation then sent the Maldekian refugees to Earth. They to, created a large human colony in what is now *the Gobi desert, northern India, Sumer, and other parts of Asia.*

The Maldekians when in position attacked the Moons Lunar surface where the Reptilians guarded the Earth outpost from invasion. The Maldekians also bombarded Atlantis and Lemuria with laser weapons. The dinosaurs were wiped out. The Maldekians wanted control over the Planet.

Additionally, the Martians seeing an opportunity, also attacked the Reptilians from

space since they, too, were searching for a Reptilian-free environment in which to live. This might be considered the *real First World War of the Worlds*.

It was a mess!

The Sirians were at war with the Orion system. This hostility exists till this very day, however, the Sirians and the Reptilians trade with each other and the Beings from Sirius A sell weaponry to the Dracos! A complex political situation indeed but not unlike what We witness here on Earth with countries like the U.S. funding Nazi Germany. As above, so below.

The comet also caused the planet Uranus to flip on its side. It is the only known planet that rotates north-South instead of East-West. The loss of the Martian atmosphere caused by Draco's playing billiards with asteroids became the "Total Recall" legend, a movie about Martian history and their oxygen war.

To stop the fighting and make the Earth peaceful enough for continued progress, a meeting was held by a council from the Andromeda Galaxy, on a Planet called *Hatona*.

This meeting took place outside of the Milky Way Galaxy with a neutral council. All civilizations within the Milky Way Galaxy were in some way connected to the fighting, and all had some sort of stake in belonging to the winning side.

The *Hatona Council* convened for many decades as the fighting continued in this solar system. Finally, an agreement was reached between some of the human factions and the Reptilian Earth colonists. Keep in mind that this agreement was without the participation of the Reptilians from the original Draco Empire thus these Reptilians had no permission from High Command and where acting solely on their own conniving interest.

The agreement stated that a new breed of humanity should be created on Earth that would *contain the DNA of all interested parties* who participated in the "peace" process. A designated area on Earth would be set aside for the creation of this new species. The Earth-based Reptilians of Lemuria agreed to this under the condition that the Reptilian "body" be the foundation for this new being. It is of value to note here the body and the soul are somewhat separate. The soul itself cannot be created. The knowledge of how to do so forever remains in the hands of the Most High and eludes all species who have searched for how to create what they call "The God Particle".

This is why the original Bible states, "Let us make man in our own image." This is a plural statement because it was a group project.

To achieve a new species from the basis of a Reptilian androgynous body, it was necessary to separate the genetics into male and female components. This is the allegorical story in the Bible of Adam and Eve. Creating Eve out of the rib of Adam is actually the story of *separating the androgynous Reptilian body into male and female*. This is why most humans on this planet have Reptilian DNA with Reptilian traits. This is also why human fetuses go through Reptilian-style development in the womb before looking humanoid.

Many prototypes were developed over millennia. Under the supervision of the Hatona Council, races were created and then destroyed when it was not acceptable by all parties. This explains why ancestors of mankind appear and then suddenly disappear in layers of archaeological analysis. Or as it says in the movie the Matrix, "We have been successful at creating 6 previous Matrixes and have become quite efficient at destroying them". Why? If you look at Earth the Planet alone as a resourceful galactic commodity it is obvious at this point that the population increase of the citizens aboard the Planet will cause desolation on Earth in the near future. Something has to be done. Because of the mental problems and negative programming that has ensued, many humans cannot be persuaded to stop killing the Planet for their own selfish gain. This problem is beyond proportion and also beyond comprehension of those who are "sleep walking". They feel they are owed something but have none to collect it from save their own brother, so thus they prey upon each other. The true Cannibal or Canaan Baal.

Twelve humanoid, and one Reptilian, groups donated DNA for this purpose. Mankind was developed in the area now known as Iran/Iraq, as well as parts of Africa. Hybrids were also developed on Atlantis and Lemuria. Remnants of the "previous versions" are seen today as the Bigfoot or Yeti in North America and Asia; the aborigines of Australia; and the pygmies and Watusi in Africa.

Many of the African versions were enhanced by beings from a nomadic, artificial Planet known as Nibiru, or Marduk. These *Reptilian-like beings* travel in a manufactured world looping our solar system.

The Sumerians called them Anunnaki.

It is here, we would have to assume, the family of AN, with son's Enki / Enlil who play new roles as Lucifer, Michael, and Adonai/Yahweh arrived from Sirius in a technological craft, with all the genetic disasters of the Nephalim brought about in the phase called THE RETURN OF ENKI. While people like Sitchin can add useful puzzle pieces like how their home atmosphere needed repair due to their advent of technology and how they needed to use Earth's gold deposits to fix this issue, the Sumerian basically did not give Sitchin a clue as to the bigger galactic politic mess that triggered Enki's

genetic experiments. After repeatedly encountering the Enki/Enlil story in Australia "fish or dolphin god vs snake god or LEVITE/Leviathan", it was good to listen to Creto Mutwa tell the Zulu KILIMANJARO means ENKI mountain!

The cosmic joke to this project is that all of the groups donating DNA secretly programmed sequences or triggers to cause their genetic strand to be predominant at some point in the evolution phase in the project. This set the precedent for future conflict. Humanity will fight and be controlled by a problem that starts internally and manifest externally. No one group would ever be in charge. The project would seem doomed for failure before it even began however there is a hidden plan that only the wise know of, those who are not partial.

Such DNA programming invites tyranny and oppression. Master Soul personalities attracted to such a Planet gain a victim mentality. Many advanced cultures call Earth a prison planet because of its many layers and nets that hold its inhabitants here until they sharpen themselves and wise up, some dump their criminals here as punishment and those criminals now serve consecutive life sentences or more simply put, reincarnation. Such as Richard Dahmer, Charles Manson, Richard Speck, and Vlad the Impaler (Count Dracula), to name a few.

DUNE was a perfect prototype of a prison colony, like Australia. Earth fits this archetype also. Like in Dune Earth's genetic cauldron of survival is the strongest DNA emerges and becomes a "VACCINE" for the conflict issues that plague multiple Galaxies. We are built by the design of the present so We may endure eternity.

The current story of the 2 brothers still tossing nuclear bombs at one another, then called East of Eden, today is called the Middle East. There is nothing new under you Sun you just keep forgetting. These wars on Earth are a fractal of the Orion Wars, with the main warring galactic elements all nicely staged to work out a galactic conflict in the microcosm called Earth.

The galactic players appear to be willing to up the stakes in 2010 with more "intervention" if their chess pieces start to lose. Enlil or Yahweh, the encoder of the Bible may not be willing to stand aside as his "chosen" Israel under the hex Draco flag is destroyed by yet another nuclear blast. This has been predicted by Bible Code, Fatima, & others.

Only those with "ignited" DNA, not junk DNA, can gain more time travel capability thus they can defeat such predatory ET's that are inter-dimensional and outside of time. These genes which make further time travel possible are the precise jewel that always

elude Yahweh, Enlil's reptile (Levite) family. They are stuck in THE CUBIC, genetic software environment of the tetra, the Hebrew alphabet which can only make a golem.

Akhanaton, who is also Enki, took the gold from Egypt, assumed the Moses identity and started the Essenes. Trouble began with the 12 tribes genetic implosion symmetry when the oriental Queen Draco Ashoka Ashkanazi, usurped the Sephartic Sects, installing Enlil's control in Israel. This also led to the founding of the Bank of England which owns the US banking industry.

The Reptilians ensured that the new Man would be receptive to the Reptilian frequency because the foundational prototype was Reptilian. This meant that the new Man could easily be mentally controlled by them through subtle programming.

Upon discovery of information indicating the Reptilians were controlling the new race through subversive methods, the Atlanteans began a severe electromagnetic bombardment of Lemuria. This bombardment caused the bulk of the continent to submerge into the ocean, now called the Pacific Ocean. The only parts left above the water are the Hawaiian Islands, the California coast west of the San Andreas fault, Australia, New Zealand, the South Pacific Islands, Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, and the Islands of southeast Asia.

The Reptilian survivors went to Northern India, the Earth's interior, Venus, and parts of Central and South America. *Inner Earth* became the "homeland" for most of the surviving *Reptilians of Lemuria*. Here, they created a vast underground civilization with cavern systems extending all around the world. Keep in mind; Reptilians are by nature a subterranean species even in the wild they make their homes in holes burrowing within the Earth. The worm that will not die.

This started the legends of *hell* and *demons* living in the fire inside or under the Earth, your average "hell" story since many perceived the center of the Earth to be entirely lava and magma all the way to the core, this was proven not to be true in multiple scientific experiments. Remember, the hollow Earth is not a theory, but a scientific fact caused by the cooling and spinning of a Planet as it is ejected from a star or sun.

They built tubes containing fast, subway-like vehicles that can travel to the farthest points on Earth within a couple of hours. They created the famed underworld cities of Akkadia, Agartha, Hyperborea, and Shamballa that are sought by explorers to this very day. These cities are built along the inside wall of the inner crust that lines the interior of the Earth.

Remember, the hollow Earth is not a theory, but a scientific fact caused by the cooling and spinning of a planet as it is ejected from a star or sun.

The primary entry points to the inner Earth are via the North Pole, where there is an opening of 1300 miles, and the South Pole, with an opening of 950 miles. These can be seen from space. That is why commercial aircraft are not allowed to fly over these areas; not because of *magnetic disturbances*, which is the "official" reason. Admiral Byrd reported on these openings in the 1920s until his information was concealed by the government as his surviving daughter profusely fought against.

At the very centre, or nucleus, of inner Earth, there is a globe of energy left over from the creation of this planet that acts as an Inner Sun. It is the light from this object suspended by gravity and centrifugal force that causes the light of the aurora borealis.

Numerous cave entrances to the inner Earth exist in the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Mountains in the western United States, as well as less numerous openings in the "Oz"arks and Appalachian Mountains. Entries also exist in the Alps, Himalayas, Andes, and the Caribbean. There are also numerous sub-oceanic entry points, particularly in the deep trenches of the Pacific Ocean, the Caribbean Sea, and the Atlantic submarine mountain ranges especially on or near the Azores, Canary Islands, and the Falklands.

All of these areas are closely guarded by local governments and N.W.O. Elite Forces. Artificially created entrances exist under the Denver Airport, the Giza Plateau in Egypt, most major Air Force complexes around the world, and many of the Temples in India and China. A major Chinese entry point is under the Shensi Pyramid that is banned and out of bounds for everyone in Western China.

With the Reptilians forced underground the Atlanteans were free to play with this new mankind and establish humans as the ruler of the Planet. They established colonies all over the remaining portions of land. They invited the Sirians to come and play with them in Egypt. The Annunaki Beings where off-world in orbit due for a scheduled return but in the mean time the Atlanteans took control of their slaves. They also continued their experiment on sentient life forms and created new hybrids that moved about the sea, one of which became the *Merfolk*, a genetic blend of human and dolphin. The dolphin species was brought here from the Andromeda Galaxy to monitor all of these events and send back reports via sonar which covers the far reaches of space.

Whenever the Atlanteans detected underground Reptilian activity, they blasted the inner Earth with lasers and electromagnetic pulses to kill them. Unfortunately, this weakened the upper crust of the Earths top mantle riding over the trapped magma between the upper and lower crusts. After several millennia of these attacks, the

continents, especially Atlantis, started to become unstable. Their civilization began to break up which was a reflection of the physical deterioration of their continent. The Atlanteans became even more belligerent as fear and destruction overtook their mind-patterns. Black magicians and sorcerers took the place of organic scientists and spiritual guides.

Fortunately, there was some warning of the fate of Atlantis so the population foresaw the destruction that was coming. Many refugees relocated to what is now Egypt, Peru, the Appalachian Mountains and Western Europe, just before the continent collapsed into the upper crust of the Earth. This collapse caused the Earth to flip on its axis, creating *the legend of the Flood written about in the Bible*, and in other world cultures.

In the disarray of this catastrophe off-world intervention immediately began reorganizing the humans into new groups that became the basis for the future nations.

- **The Sirians began to manipulate the Egyptian culture.**
- **Those from Tau Ceti manipulated the Slavic culture**
- **The Rigelians were busy in China and the Orient socializing the people there.**

While all this was transpiring, and the Earth was in a state of array, the Reptilians saw an opportunity and they took it.

The Blue Bloods

The inner Earth provided a subterranean locale for the Reptilians to regroup and formulate plans to retake the surface. At this point, the Reptilians were completely cut off from their home in the Draco constellation. Their spaceship, the Moon, was in human hands. They were alone, isolated on a now hostile planet. They needed to defend themselves and somehow emerge back on the scene to gather the necessary resources to restore their link and re-construct hyper-dimensional portals that had been destroyed.

They developed a plan to insidiously retake the surface by blending their genetics with the genetics of the surface humans. Because the human prototype already had Reptilian genetics, it was easy to access the mind-pattern. The Reptilian frequency was already established in the brain stem as well as the Reptilian brain section of these hybrid humans.

The population of Sumer was chosen as the starting point. These humans were primarily descendants of the Martian, Maldekian, and Lyraen refugees. They abducted members of their ruling classes, including political leaders replacing many of them

eventually with humans who were hybrids.

The new hybridization program took several generations to perfect. Their goal was to reach a human with a Reptilian genetic 50/50 split. This would produce a human-looking Reptilian that could easily shapeshift from Reptilian to human, then back again. *Shapeshifting* was accomplished simply by concentrating on the genetics the hybrid wished to open, or lock up, whatever the case may be.

For this program the Reptilians engaged the help of the Sirians who had the technology to implement such a program. The Sirians knew a lot about genetic alterations and mind-programming, which they freely shared with the Reptilians when a pact between the two parties was arranged.

Once the hybridization program was complete, the Sumerian leaders were now shape-shifting Reptilians. The new Reptilian hybrid became the Elite of that culture. Their blood, because of the increased Reptilian DNA, contained more of a copper content.

Since copper-based blood turns blue-green upon oxidizing, these Reptilian hybrids were called "Bluebloods".

American government is the current main focus of the Reptilian shape-shifters. Your attention is drawn to the vertical slit eyeballs which shape shift in too many US military leaders - Norman Russbacher, Rupert Murdock, etc. Pictures are at youtube.com. We suggested new rules requiring all government decisions and voting must take place in 20% oxygen air, to kill the shape-shifters, of course they will never agree to this.

The Bluebloods quickly realized that with a 50/50 human/Reptilian genetic split, it was necessary to intermarry to maintain the 50/50 bloodline necessary to shapeshift. When the split increased too far to the Reptilian side, shape-shifting became difficult, and holding human form became impossible. In these cases, it was discovered that the ingestion of human hormones, flesh, and blood, allowed the Reptilians to maintain the human form.

Human form was necessary to maintain to avoid scaring the population, which was now not accustomed to the Reptilian form.

Control of the masses was easier when the orders came from a humanoid. The Reptilian format was kept to religious icons and legends. The statues of their Gods and Goddesses reflect the Reptilian influence, even showing a female Reptilians holding hybrid babies.

The *shape-shifting Reptilian Bluebloods* also asked the Sirians for help with the daily maintenance of their human forms. The Sirians determined that feeding the hybrids human hormones and blood in an altered animal form would be the easiest way to do it unnoticed by the population.

The sacrificial animal used by most Middle Eastern people was the wild boar, so the Sirians chose it as the basis for this new animal hybrid. Human genetics were mixed with those of the wild boar to create the *domesticated pig*. This animal was served daily to the Bluebloods as a method of temporarily maintaining their human form until they could use an actual human in a sacrificial ceremony.

Because the *domesticated pig is a combination of human and animal genetics*, eating it is a form of cannibalism. This explains why the Hebrews considered it unclean to eat. This is also why the pig is considered to be one of the most intelligent animals on Earth, why pig skin can be grafted directly onto humans in burn cases, and why pig heart valves can be used in humans with little difficulty. Cancer drugs and other chemicals are often tested on pigs before humans.

The domesticated pigs frequency, or group mind, is the perfect vehicle for animal species to enter before entering human form on their evolutionary progression. To a lesser degree, the same is true about cats.

As time progressed, the civilization of Sumer declined and transformed into other cultures. Vast migrations from Sumer to other locations in Central Asia occurred. The migrating peoples took their Blueblood leaders with them, as they were their royalty and kings.

The Sumerians became known as the *sum-Aryans*, or just, *Aryans*. They spread out across Asia into the steppes of Russia and into the Northern Indian subcontinent. In India they encountered the dark-skinned *Dravidians*, who were Reptilian remnants from Lemuria. The Dravidians were driven to the central and southern parts of India, while the Aryan hybrids took control of the north, and into the foothills of the Himalayas.

The Aryan leaders, all Bluebloods, became the Sultans and Rajas, the Blue People of legend and history. Sumerians also created Babylonia.

The Sumerians migrated to the area known as the Caucasus Region, where the Khazars developed. From the Caucasus Region, the Blueblood kings and their people spread west toward Europe, developing into the Franks, Cambrians, and Teutonic nationalities. These nationalities were also being manipulated by various alien cultures

like the Antarians, Arcturians, Aldebarans, Tau Cetians, and other remnants of the Lyraens, such as the Atlans. The Atlans located here eventually became the Celts also called Druids.

To back-track for just a bit, I had said in a previous chapter that the descendants of the Reptilian hybrid Sumerians went into Central Asia and the Middle East. They mostly established themselves in the Caucasus Mountains and became the Khazars. From here, they spread west toward Europe, seeding the national identities for the Vikings, the Franks, the Teutonic peoples, and the Russians. Keep in mind that when Atlantis sank, some of those refugees went to Western Europe and developed into the Celts. Some went to Greece and others to the Italian Peninsula.

Some off world Beings from other constellations also seeded small populations of people thus embedding them with cultures and ways of life that corresponded to their particular Planets. As integration and colonization continued Earth became a large melting pot of various essences all fused inside the human cells.

These Blueblood leaders also infiltrated the Middle Eastern peoples, such as the Biblical Canaanites, Malachites, and Kittites.

At the same time in Egypt, the Sirians were reorganizing the Atlantean descendants there, known as the Phoenicians. The Phoenicians colonized the coastal Middle East and the British Isles. They even colonized parts of the North-eastern North American continent, all the way to the Great Lakes area. Some of their mines and writing on stone tablets can still be found in the woods of North America.

The Sirians were also genetically manipulating the race known as the ancient Hebrews. The Jewish people are actually a combination of these genetically manipulated Hebrews and the Sumerians. These Jewish people were then released into the Palestinian territory. The name, *Palestine*, comes from the ancient people, *the Philistines*, who were actually Phoenicians.

All of these mixed in the coastal plains of Palestine and created a new religion based on sacrifice and *an avenging alien controller, that they called God, or Elohim.*

Similarly, when the Aryans mixed with the Dravidians in India, they created the Hindu religion, which is actually a recreation of the Reptilian seven-tier hierarchy. Shiva, the Hindu Satan was a God believed in an worshipped by these people who set themselves up in Harrapan called also Arrapan. The caste system of India is a direct copy of the Reptilian division of function.

At the same time that all of this was going on in western and central Asia, the Rigelians, were developing the remnants of Lemuria who escaped to the coast of eastern Asia. The Rigelians were a human civilization that was controlled, and eventually assimilated, by the Reptilians. The *Rigelian/Reptilian hybrids* set up dynasties in what is now Japan and China that developed independently of their western cousins.

In their mania for control, the Reptilians used the various races that donated DNA to the original human project. They fastidiously monitored these related sections of hybrids to determine which was best suited for overall control, and which for subservience. Most of the hybrids could be controlled through the Reptilian brain that hooked them into Reptilian mind-patterns, some were more controllable than others, an still small groups could not be controlled at all.

In Europe, the Bluebloods insidiously took control of the various tribes and groups, becoming their kings and royalty. They infiltrated the Arcturian experiment, called the Etruscans and started to create a new global empire through the Romans. These *European Bluebloods* then eliminated the Antarian experiment in Greece leaving only fragments. They then instigated their plan for *globalization through the Roman Empire*.

The Reptilians even ignored parts of the treaty with the Sirians by infiltrating the Egyptian experiment and implementing their religion there.

The Reptilian hybrids became like the endometriosis of the known world, slowly growing into all areas and creating control through the Blueblood system.

The Reptilians were not the first colonists on Earth, they were not the only ones who interfered with human development on this planet. In all *there are twelve other groups involved with the manipulation of the human DNA*. This is hidden in the allegory of Zodiac, Disciples, Months, etc.

When adding the Reptilians to the twelve groups, it results in human beings with a genetic mixture of 13 different strains. This is the hidden 13th tribe and much of the significance behind the number 13.

The result was a general free-for-all. All these humanoid aliens were culturally and physically manipulated by different groups.

Tau Ceti/humans were virulently against the grey alien race and the Reptilians, because their worlds had been attacked, and their children stolen and killed by both races. The Tau Cetians vowed to follow the grey race and destroy them through time.

In the 1950s, the Soviet Union signed an agreement with the Tau Cetians to use bases in Siberia and under the Ural Mountains. For this reason, the city of Sverdlovsk, named after the first president of the Soviet Union, was closed to outsiders.

Many experiments involving radiation on the public were performed here from 1958 through the 1980s. A United States spy plane was shot down over Sverdlovsk in the early 1960s when the United States was trying to learn about the secret activities taking place there.

In central Europe, the German tribes were genetically manipulated by beings from Aldebaran. These people are very scientifically-oriented. They are generally blonde-haired and blue-eyed, with a minority of dark-haired, light-brown to hazel-eyed people. They are militaristic supremacist. For almost 2,000 years, the Aldebarans have been energetically connecting to the Germanic peoples, telepathically sending information to them instructing tight knit groups on what to prepare for in the future. They make up the Neo Nazi party formulated to bring about Homo-Luminous or what they call the Light Human, Illuminated, Super Human.

Many humans of the Aldebaran frequency have mixed with the Tau Ceti descendants in the Slavic area, particularly in Poland and Russia. Hitler knew this. That is why he was so adamant about invading those countries and incorporating them into his empire.

Hitler was only half Germanic. His father was a wealthy Jewish businessman in Austria. His mother worked at the home as a maid. She had an affair with the master of the house, and when the wife found out about it, she had the maid, Hitler's mother, thrown out. This Jewish businessman in turn did nothing to help Hitler's mother. For this reason, Hitler hated the Jews. He was also deeply *mind-controlled*.

The Aldebarans genetically infused the Vikings. These Nordic people inherited the aggressive and militaristic tendencies that are also seen in the Germans. The Vikings plundered and raped across Europe for centuries, but did not have the technological ability to stay in power.

Beings from the *Antarian star system* were behind the genetic manipulation of ancient Greece. These people were a society predominantly based upon homosexuality. Females were used for breeding only. In fact, there were Antarian observers at the Montauk Project who were interested in the programming aspects of sexuality as they related to the *Wilhelm Reich methods*.

The Antarians are dark, often with olive skin, dark eyes, and short, thin bodies. They have perfect musculature due to the density of their home-world.

The Greek-Antarians colonized Spain and Portugal. Their descendants further mixed with the Romans, and *Arabs who are predominantly Sumerian/Reptilian*. These then colonized Central and South America, mixing their genetics with the native Indians who were of Atlantean-Procyon descent.

The Procyon star system does not have much technology. The Procyons were brought to this planet after the fall of Atlantis to boost the survival rate of the refugees. They became the Maya, Aztec, and Inca. They were given ancient Lemurian and Atlantean outposts in the Andes and Sierras of Mexico. They tried unsuccessfully to recreate these cultures, including emulating the building of the pyramids, performing medical procedures, and finally, sacrificing to the Reptilian gods. This is why their legends speak of blond men returning in chariots from space to take them away.

The Anasazi Indians of the American southwest were also brought from Procyon. It was the Sirians who so generously provided transportation. Over the millennia and recent centuries, movements of nations, colonizations, war, and famines, have thrown the Earth's population into a giant melting pot. Strands of genetics have continuously mixed with one another, especially in North America, Europe, Australia, the Caribbean, and South America.

While all of this was going on in Europe and the Middle East, the Chinese Empire was expanding over East Asia, and the Dravidian-Reptilian culture in India was being replaced by the Aryan (Ari- and Sum-Arian) hordes from Central Asia. In South America, the Inca Empire was flourishing as it was mixed with the genetics of the Procyon star system and thus many initiations have been taking place in locations like Peru without the notice of the masses much preparation is taken place for what will happen when the stars align.

The same mixture was happening in North and Central America creating the Toltecs, Mayans, and Aztecs. All of these cultures, used blood-ritual and human sacrifice. This indicates that the Procyonians were themselves conquered by the Reptilians and did their bidding, even though they were humanoid. *All of the Central and South American cultures used snakes and Reptilians as symbols.*

These people have a blend of Lemurian/Draco and Atlantean/Human genetics mixed with the Procyonian DNA. Basically if they are not mentally strong, they are easily persuaded to partake in Reptilian fimctions.

The Program

The new era is now at hand. Most of the humans are so mixed up and confused they are flat out not functioning. Chakras are powered down and the brain is operating at less than 10% for most. At times they glimpse reality but in the same moment they fall back into the illusion. This is like being heavily sedated by a passivity drug such as continuous doses of Fluoride. These documents are the last warnings to the Human Race. Collective humanity has already ascended far beyond this destructive cycle and this what you are experiencing in your "primary reality" is a stasis point or Nexus ribbon folded upon itself. One is encouraged to take the knowledge and resources that have been provided and use them to enhance individual awareness until you awaken. The Matrix is scheduled to close for repairs soon. When it resumes, those that find themselves still in it will know nothing of their past. Every version of the Matrix attempts to get better at keeping its inhabitants from waking up, seize this moment while you can!

It is at that point you will figure out how you connect into all of this. One should keep in mind, thousands perish every day. The only thing that makes you special is when you decide to become special. That can be accomplished by extending your capability and intelligence as far as you can beyond your immediate peers. We have now made you aware of what is going on here on Tiamat/Earth and as it is not Our custom to introduce any problem without a solution you may refer to the site www.thewords.ning.com to begin rapid brain maintenance and repair. I have discovered since my awakening many things that will assist you along the way. I share that openly with you as brothers and sisters for free. You will also find there DNA aligning frequencies and a crystal compound that will rejuvenate the "bodies". We are here for you, Outside of Time. Sevan- Arch Chariot

Notes on the Study of *Merkabah* Mysticism and *Hekhalot* Literature in English

with an appendix on Jewish Magic

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[The original version of this article appeared as an appendix to the fourth edition of *A Guide to Kabbalistic Books in English: 1977-1979*, by Don Karr (Ithaca: 1982), pages 37-40; it was reprinted in slightly expanded form in *Collected Articles on the Kabbalah,* volume 1, by D. Karr (Ithaca: KoM #5, 1985), pages 17-20. It is reprinted below, Appendix 2.]

MERKABAH (= CHARIOT) MYSTICISM developed out of speculation on and expansion of the visions of Ezekiel (chapters 1, 8, and 10) and, to a lesser extent, Isaiah (chapter 6) and Daniel (chapter 2). This strain of mysticism meanders through the intertestamental pseudepigrapha* and even touches corners of gnostic and Qumran texts.**

Merkabah material and references can be found in shreds, often more provocative than telling, in the Talmud and other rabbinic writings.† However, the major concentrated expression of *merkabah* mysticism is that cluster of writings which has come to be called the *hekhalot* (= HEAVENLY HALLS) literature, which is the focus of this paper.

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* 1 Enoch 14; The Life of Adam and Eve (including The Apocalypse of Moses); The Apocalypse of Abraham. For translations of these, see James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Volume 1 (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1983). 1 Enoch 14 is particularly important; Gruenwald (in AMM, p. 36) says, "…it is the oldest Merkavah vision we know of from outside the canonical Scriptures. … Indeed, one can consider this particular vision a model-vision of Merkavah m Mysticism." (On AMM, see below, p. 3.)

** On *merkabah* in gnostic works: (texts) "The Hypostasis of the Archons" and "On the Origin of the World," in James M. Robinson (ed), *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden – San Francisco: E. J. Brill / Harper and Row, 1977; revised edition, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996); Ithamar Gruenwald's article, "Jewish Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism," in *Studies in Jewish Mysticism*, edited by J. Dan and F. Talmage (Cambridge: Association for Jewish Studies, 1982).

On *merkabah* in Qumran works (= Dead Sea Scrolls): David Halperin, FACES (see below, p. 5); Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 1987): § 12; Florentino Garcia Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994): pp. 419-431; M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996): 365-377 (includes the "Masada Fragment"). Refer also to the list on page 13 below.

† Mishnah: *Megillah* 4:10, *Hagigah* 2:7, *Tosefta Hagigah* 2:1-7, Palestinian Talmud 77 a-d; Babylonian Talmud 11b-16a. See the books listed below by Halperin and Chernus, both on page 5.

Arguments over the dating of this body of literature continue, but there is general agreement to a range of 200-800 C.E. The bounds and structure of these writings are also matters of dispute, for the notions of titles and fixed contents of a specific canon of *hekhalot* books appear to be more academic conveniences than reflections of the true nature or state of the literature.

Since the 'seventies, scholarly work on the *hekhalot* texts has increased dramatically, as the publication dates on a clear majority of the books and articles discussed below attest. Before this spate of academic activity, there were in English little more than Gershom Scholem's works* and Hugo Odeberg's attempt at a critical edition of one of the *hekhalot* texts** to shed light on this oblique collection of writings. Even as this lament is being recalled, no time should be lost in acknowledging Scholem's inescapable influence on this and all other aspects of the study of Jewish mysticism. Some of Scholem's conclusions regarding the *hekhalot* have been challenged, and some of his observations on and characterizations of the *hekhalot* texts have come to seem convenient, imposing order on that which is, in fact, near chaos. Yet, Scholem's writings on this subject remain some of the clearest and best supported. They are also among the most accessible, not only in their style but in their actual availability. As for Odeberg, his lone work is more problematic. As significant as it *was*, Odeberg's treatment of *Sefer ha-Hekhalot* (BOOK OF THE HEKHALOT, dubbed by Odeberg "3 Enoch") is now considered unreliable and misleading on many points. But, as contemporary scholar David Halperin has pointed out†, Odeberg's work has "proved easier to criticize than to emulate," for critical editions of *hekhalot* texts—with English translations or not—are few indeed.

Today, however, we are in pretty fair shape to study *merkabah* mysticism and *hekhalot* texts, though some of the leading scholars in this field publish in German†† and, of course, Hebrew. Nevertheless, from the texts and studies now available in English, the persistent reader can certainly gain firm impressions of (i) the contents of the *hekhalot* texts, (ii) the issues captivating contemporary scholarship regarding the *hekhalot* texts, and (iii) the place of the *hekhalot* texts in the history and development of Judaism, early Christianity, and their mysticism.‡

In the following pages, books, sections of books, and articles on *merkabah* mysticism and *hekhalot* literature—including translations—are described. I also discuss the various texts attached, however loosely, with the *hekhalot* corpus, with indications of sources for translations and studies of them.

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* A list of Scholem's works is given below, page 3.

Morton Smith's "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati," in *Biblical and Other Studies*, edited by Alexander Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963) was another early notice. In the 'forties, Smith translated *Hekhalot Rabbati* into English (the complete text—not just the second half). This translation circulated among scholars in the field but was never published. The typescript was corrected by Scholem, whose occasional notes appear in the margins. Scholem mentions Smith's translation in *Jewish Gnosticism*…, page 11, note 4.

** *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch* (1928, Cambridge University Press; rpt New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1973: with a prolegomenon by Jonas C. Greenfield).

† FACES, p. 364. (See below, page 4-5: Halperin).

†† In German there is Peter Schäfer and his team. Certainly, the most significant work which Schäfer has overseen is *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981), which presents in the original Hebrew and Aramaic an array of manuscript readings side by side. *Synopse* was followed by *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* by the same team (1984, same publisher). Soon after, German translations of *Synopse* appeared (1987 onward, same publisher). Schäfer has also published a collection of his articles—ten in German, three in English—as *Hekhalot-Studien* (1988, same publisher).

‡ Refer to Ra'anan S. Boustan's article, "The Study of Heikhalot Literature: Between Mystical Experience and Textual Artifact," in *Currents in Biblical Research*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2007).

Studies

LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY

1965

- Scholem, Gershom. *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960; 2nd improved edition, 1965.

The studies of Gershom Scholem form the basis of contemporary scholarship on Jewish mysticism, and, hence, provide the foundation of subsequent work on *merkabah* mysticism and *hekhalot* texts. Other works by Scholem which address this subject at length are the following:

- *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*. Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 1941; London: Thames and Hudson, 1955; reprinted frequently New York: Schocken Books.
  Lecture 2: "Merkabah Mysticism and Jewish Gnosticism"
- *Kabbalah* [articles collected from *ENCYCLOPEDIA JUDAICA*]. Jerusalem and New York: Keter Publishing House and Times Books, 1974; rpt. New York, Meridian, 1978; rpt. New York, Dorset Press, 1987.
  pages 8-21; pages 373-6: § MERKABAH MYSTICISM; pages 377-81:§ METATRON
- *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah*. New York: Schocken Books, 1991. The original version of this work was published in German, 1962, and subsequently in a revised and emended Hebrew version, 1976.
  Chapter 1. "*Shi'ur Komah:* The Mystical Shape of the Godhead"

These works (*Major Trends*, *Jewish Gnosticism*, *Kabbalah*, and *Mystical Shape*) are cited not only to establish the starting point for "modern" scholarship on *hekhalot/merkabah* mysticism but also to demonstrate Scholem's own development in appraising the subject.

1980

- Gruenwald, Ithamar. *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* [ARBEITEN ZUR GESCHTICHTE DES ANTIKEN JUDENTUMS UND DES URCHRISTENTUMS, Band XIV]. Leiden – Köln: E. J. Brill, 1980. (hereafter AMM)

The first half of AMM analyzes the major features of the *merkabah* tradition, beginning in Jewish apocalyptic, then developing onto "the literature that first gives a full-scale presentation of Merkavah mysticism" *i.e.*, the *hekhalot* literature, "composed in Eretz-Yisrael (circa 200-700)," thus ending "as a creative literary stream … some time in the Ge'onic period."

The second half of AMM describes the *hekhalot* texts one by one, including *Re'uyot Yehezkel* and *Sefer ha-Razim*.

Two appendices by Saul Lieberman follow: (1) "Metatron, the Meaning of His Name and His Functions," and (2) "The Knowledge of *Halakha* by the Author (or Authors) of the *Heikhaloth*."

- Halperin, David J. *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature* [AMERICAN ORIENTAL SERIES, #62]. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1980.

Halperin's study investigates the references to the *merkabah* tradition in Mishnah Hagigah 2:1, Tosefta Hagigah 2:1-7, Palestinian Talmud Hagigah 77a-d, and Babylonian Talmud Hagigah 11b-16a.

"…I believe that I have shown that Scholem's position is not securely supported by the rabbinic sources on the *merkabah*, which, taken by themselves, provide little reason to believe in the existence of the '*merkabah* mysticism' envisioned by Scholem." – page 184

1982

- Chernus, Ira. *Mysticism in Rabbinic Judaism: Studies in the History of Midrash* [STUDIA JUDAICA, Band XI]. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1982.

  This series of essays shows the relationship between *merkabah* mysticism and rabbinic *midrashim* following, generally, two motifs: the revelation on Mount Sinai and the eschatological rewards of the world to come.

  Refer also to Chernus' articles:
  - "Individual and Community in the Redaction of the Hekhalot Literature," in *Hebrew Union College Annual* 52 (1981)
  - "The Pilgrimage to the Merkavah: An Interpretation of Early Jewish Mysticism," in *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, vol. 6, nos. 1-2, edited by Joseph Dan (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1987)
  - "Visions of God in Merkabah Mysticism," in *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, vol. 13, nos. 1-2 (1982)

1983

- Cohen, Martin Samuel. *The Shi'ur Qomah. Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1983.

1985

- Cohen, Martin Samuel. *The Shi'ur Qomah. Texts and Recensions* [TEXTE UND STUDIEN ZUM ANTIKEN JUDENTUM, Volume 9]. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, (Paul Siebeck), 1985

  The 1983 and 1985 works from Cohen comprise an edited version of his PhD dissertation, THE ŠIʿUR QOMAH: A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE TEXT WITH INTRODUCTION, Translation and Commentary (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1982). See below, Translations and References," § F.

1988

- Gruenwald, Ithamar. *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism. Studies in Apocalypticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Gnosticism* [BEITRAGE ZUR ERFORSCHUNG DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS UND DES ANTIKEN JUDENTUMS, Band 14]. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1988.

  From Apocalypticism… is a collection of twelve articles (plus an introductory essay), most previously published. Four of the articles are new, and one appears in English for the first time.

  > "The traditions and writings which are discussed in this collection of studies crystallized among people whose intellectual horizons were not as clearly and sharply outlined as those of the modern mind. For those people, the demarcation lines between dreams and dream-like situations, on the one hand, and rational wakefulness, on the other, were rather flexible and likely to be altogether ignored." (PREFACE, page i)

  Refer to Gruenwald's article
  - "Reflections on the Nature and Origins of Jewish Mysticism," in *Gershom Scholem's* MAJOR TRENDS IN JEWISH MYSTICISM *50 Years After*, edited by Joseph Dan and Peter Schäfer (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1993)

- Halperin, David J. *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision.* [TEXTE UND STUDIEN ZUM ANTIKEN JUDENTUM, Volume 16]. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1988. (hereafter FACES)

  FACES is a thorough study which challenges many conclusions and assumptions of previous scholars, tracing *merkabah* material from the Bible, through the apocalypses and rabbinic literature, concluding with the *hekhalot* texts. Translations of the text *Re'iyot Yezkiel* (VISIONS OF EZEKIEL) and other important segments of *hekhalot* material are included.

FACES is valuable in a way that few books of this ilk are in that Halperin invites the reader to engage in his entire scholarly process, which he lays out in great detail in his 450-page text, two-tiered notes (footnotes *and* endnotes), seven informative appendices (Appendix I: "Orientation to Rabbinic Sources" is especially helpful), and full reference list (which is divided into sixteen sections according to topic).

Refer to Halperin's articles

- "Heavenly Ascension in Ancient Judaism: The Nature of the Experience," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1987 Seminar Papers*, no. 26, edited by Harold Kent (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987)
- "A Sexual Image in Hekhalot Rabbati and Its Implications," in *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought,* vol. 6, nos. 1-2, edited by Joseph Dan (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1987).
- "Ascension or Invasion: Implications of the Heavenly Journey in Ancient Judaism," in *Religion*, vol. 18 (1988).

1989

- Janowitz, Naomi. *The Poetics of Ascent. Theories of Language in a Rabbinic Ascent Text* [SUNY SERIES IN JUDAICA: HERMENEUTICS, MYSTICISM, AND CULTURE]. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989.

Poetics offers a translation of *Ma'aseh Merkabah* with a speculative analysis regarding the functions of this text's "ritual language."

Further, see Janowitz' article

- Janowitz, Naomi. "God's Body: Theological and Ritual Roles of *Shi'ur Komah*," in *People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective*, edited by Howard Eilberg-Schwartz [SUNY SERIES: THE BODY IN CULTURE, HISTORY AND RELIGION]. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.

1991

- Swartz, Michael D. *Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism. An Analysis of* MA'ASEH MERKABAH [TEXTE UND STUDIEN ZUM ANTIKEN JUDENTUM, Volume 28]. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991.

Mystical Prayer…gives a full treatment and translation of *Ma'aseh Merkabah* (WORK OF THE CHARIOT).

Mystical Prayer is a revised and expanded version of Swartz' PhD dissertation, LITURGICAL ELEMENTS IN EARLY JEWISH MYSTICISM: A Literary Analysis of "Ma'aseh Merkavah" (New York: New York University, 1986).

1992

- Schäfer, Peter. *The Hidden and Manifest God. Some Major Themes in Early Jewish Mysticism* [SUNY SERIES IN JUDAICA: HERMENEUTICS, MYSTICISM, AND RELIGIONS]. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992. (hereafter HMG)

HMG is a detailed look at a selection of *hekhalot* texts. Instead of summarizing each text in turn, Schäfer organizes his analysis thematically, considering each text's notion of God, angels, and man. He clarifies the roles of two distinct motifs: (i) ascent through the *hekhalot* to the throne of glory, and (ii) the adjuration—either to God or to one of his angels.

Refer to Schäfer's articles

- "Tradition and Redaction in Hekhalot Literature," in *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1983)
- "New Testament and Hekhalot Literature: The Journey into Heaven in Paul and in Merkavah Mysticism," in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 35, no. 1 (The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, Spring 1984).
- "Research on Hekhalot Literature: Where Do We Stand Now?" in *Rashi 1040—1990: Congres europeen des Études juives* [HOMMAGE A EPHRAIM E. URBACH], edited by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1993)

1993

- Dan, Joseph. *Ancient Jewish Mysticism*. Tel Aviv: MOD [= Ministry of Defense] Books, 1993.

  Dan reviews all of the major topics, issues, and texts in a manner which does not exclude the non-specialist. *Ancient Jewish Mysticism* expands Dan's earlier chap book, *Three Types of Ancient Jewish Mysticism* (University of Cincinnati, 1984), which discusses (a) ascent to the divine world, (b) the mysticism of Hebrew letters, and (c) *Sar Torah* (Prince of the Torah) revelations.

  Further elaborating on the topics covered in *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism* is the collection of articles which comprises Dan's *Jewish Mysticism*, Volume One: LATE ANTIQUITY (Northvale/ Jerusalem: Jason Aronson Inc., 1998; hereafter JM1), in which Dan's articles listed below have been reprinted.

  Refer also to the following articles by Joseph Dan:

  - "The Concept of History in Hekhalot and Merkabah Literature," in *Binah: Studies in Jewish History, Thought, and Culture*, vol. 1: Studies in Jewish History, edited by Joseph Dan (New York/Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1989) = JM1: Chapter 7.
  - "The Concept of Knowledge in the Shi'ur Qomah," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History* [Presented to Alexander Altmann on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday], edited by Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (University of Alabama Press/Institute of Jewish Studies: 1979); also, JM1: Chapter 8.
  - "Rashi and the Merkabah," in *Rashi 1040—1990: Congres europeen des Études juives* [HOMMAGE A EPHRAIM E. URBACH], edited by Gabrielle Sed-Rajna (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 1993) = JM1: Chapter 11.
  - *The Revelation of the Secret World: The Beginning of Jewish Mysticism*. Providence: Brown University Press, 1992; = JM1: Chapter 3.
  - *Three Types of Ancient Jewish Mysticism* = JM1: Chapter 2.

1994

- Wolfson, Elliot R. *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) (hereafter SPECULUM)

  > "This book … is an attempt to treat in a comprehensive manner the problem of visionary experience in some of the main texts of the classical period of medieval Jewish mysticism. I have isolated the problem of vision and visualization since this constitutes one of the essential phenomenological concerns in the various mystical corpora produced by Jewish authors throughout history. I make no claim that mysticism is identical to or collapsible into the phenomenon of vision. I do, however, maintain that the examination of this issue provides an excellent speculum through which to view the religious experience of different Jewish mystics.
  >
  > While the major focus of this book, from a chronological perspective, is the High Middle Ages…(chapters 5 to 7), in chapter 3 I discuss the nature of the vision of the glory in the ancient Jewish mystical corpus known as the Hekhalot or Merkavah literature. The justification for including this chapter is both historical-textual and phenomenological." (—page 9; my ellipses--*DK*)

  After providing a summary of scholarship on *hekhalot* literature, CHAPTER 3 ["Visionary Ascent and Enthronement in the Hekhalot Literature"] discusses the vision of God as presented therein—citing *Hekhalot Rabbati* most often. Wolfson explores problematic aspects—"The Paradox of Seeing the Hidden God," eroticism, anthropomorphism—which bear upon the import of the texts: Did actual experiences determine the texts, or did the texts determine the experiences? Are the experiences themselves "real" or "imagined"? Does the *hekhalot* literature represent experience or exegesis? Are such distinctions useful in understanding the intent of the *hekhalot* authors? Through the chapter, Wolfson remains in dialogue with other scholars who have treated the *hekhalot* material—Scholem, Schäfer, and Halperin in particular.

"From a phenomenological perspective as well, it is obvious that the Hekhalot corpus is an intrinsic part of such a study [*i.e.*, of visionary experience in medieval Jewish mysticism], insofar as the vision of glory and the chariot served as a paradigm for visionary experience in later Jewish mysticism, influenced in particular…by the philosophical reinterpretations of this religious experience, as will be discussed in chapter 4 ["Theories of Glory and Visionary Experience in Pre-Kabbalistic Sources"]. To be sure, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the various 'trends' of Jewish mysticism took shape in such a way that the chariot vision is hermeneutically transformed. It is nevertheless the case that the major mystical ideologies of the period to be discussed in this monograph, the German Pietists [CHAPTER 5: "Haside Ashakenaz: Verdical and Docetic (≈ "real" or "imagined") Interpretations of the Chariot Vision"] and the Provençal-Spanish kabbalists of the theosophic trend [CHAPTERS 6 and 7, "Visionary Gnosis and the Role of the Imagination in Theosophic Kabbalah" and "The Hermeneutics of Visionary Experience: Revelation and Interpretation in the Zohar"] orient themselves in terms of the chariot. In that sense we can speak of these schools as hermeneutical transformations of the Hekhalot mysticism." (—pages 9-10; my brackets, parentheses, and ellipses--*DK*).

Further, refer to Wolfson's articles

- "The Image of Jacob Engraved upon the Throne: Further Reflection on the Esoteric Doctrine of the German Pietists" = CHAPTER 1 of *Along the Path: Studies in Kabbalistic Myth, Symbolism, and Hermeneutics*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995
- "Jewish Mysticism: A Philosophical Overview," § MERKAVAH MYSTICISM, in *History of Jewish Philosophy* [ROUTLEDGE HISTORY OF WORLD PHILOSOPHIES – volume 2], edited by Daniel H. Frank and Oliver Leaman (London – New York: Routledge, 1997)
- "Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah in the Writings of the Haside Ashkenaz," in *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism: International Symposium held in Frankfurt a. M. 1991*, edited by Karl Erich Grözinger and Joseph Dan [STUDIA JUDAICA: Band XIII]. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995.
- "*Yeridah la-Merkavah*: Typology of Ecstasy and Enthronement in Ancient Jewish Mysticism," in *Mystics of the Book: Themes, Topics, and Typologies*, edited by R. A. Herrera (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1993).

1995

- Deutsch, Nathaniel. *The Gnostic Imagination. Gnosticism, Mandaeism, and Merkabah Mysticism* [BRILL'S SERIES ON JEWISH STUDIES, 13]. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995.

Deutsch gives an account of the relationship between Gnosticism and *merkabah* mysticism using Scholem's written statements on these as a starting point. He surveys a range of scholarly opinion on issues surrounding these topics, drawing on many of the writers mentioned in this bibliography. Deutsch summarizes his view of Scholem on page 36: "Even though his [Scholem's] comparative analysis of Gnosticism and Merkabah mysticism is problematic from a number of methodological perspectives, its role as an intellectual catalyst cannot be overstated."

- Fossum, Jarl E. *The Image of the Invisible God: Essays on the Influence of Jewish Mysticism on Early Christology* [NOVUM TESTAMENTUM ET ORBIS ANTIQUUS 30] Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1995.

"Many statements about Jesus in the Gospel according to John can be paralleled by what is said about Metatron in *3 Enoch* and the Son in Valentinian Gnosticism. Perhaps the most striking similarity is that they all are represented as the possessor of the Name of God, the concept of which plays an enormous role in Judaism. As the figure of Metatron appears to be some sort of systemization of and elaboration upon everything that was said about the principal angel in older sources, works outdating even John, it would seem that both Johannine and Gnostic Christology owe to mystical Judaism." (INTRODUCTION, pages 3-4)

- Kuyt, Annalies. *The 'Descent' to the Chariot. Towards a Description of the Terminology, Place, Function and Nature of the* YERIDAH *in Hekhalot Literature* [TEXTE UND STUDIEN ZUM ANTIKEN JUDENTUM, Volume 45]. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995. (hereafter DESCENT)

  DESCENT offers a discussion of the heavenly journey, *yeridah,* literally "descent," to the *merkabah* in various passages of the *hekhalot* literature. Kuyt outlines the contents of *Hekhalot Rabbati, Hekhalot Zutreti, Ma'aseh Merkabah, Merkabah Rabbah,* 3 Enoch, and one of the Genizah fragments. Translated excerpts from all these are included.

1996

- DeConick, April D. *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas* [Supplement to VIGILIÆ CHRISTIANÆ, 33], Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996.

  "This monograph represents a critical juncture in Thomas studies since it dispels the belief that the Gospel of Thomas originates from gnostic traditions. Rather, Jewish mystical and Hermetic origins are proposed and examined." (—ENDFLAP)

- Swartz, Michael D. *Scholastic Magic. Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

  Scholastic Magic analyzes and translates the *Sar Torah* (PRINCE OF THE TORAH) texts with an eye toward the cultural environment which produced them.

1997

- Green, Arthur. *Keter: The Crown of God in Early Jewish Mysticism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

  In chapters 4 through 7, passages from *Shi'ur Qomah*, 3 Enoch, *Razo shel Sandalphon* (SECRET OF SANDALPHON, a *hekhalot*-related text), and *Hekhalot Rabbati* are translated and analyzed.

1998

- Kanagaraj, Jey J. *Mysticism in the Gospel of John: An Inquiry into Its Background* [JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, Sup. 158]. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

  The first half of the book (Parts 1 and 2) provides an excellent survey of *merkabah* material and the literature (apocalyptic, non-apocalyptic—including Qumran material—and Christian) clustered around it from Hellenistic times through the first century. Part 2 examines *merkabah* mysticism in some detail to set up an analysis of its connections with Johannine mysticism.

- Lesses, Rebecca Macy. *Ritual Practices to Gain Power: Angels, Incantations, and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* [HARVARD THEOLOGICAL STUDIES 44]. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998. (hereafter POWER)

  Lesses concentrates on the adjuration sections of the *hekhalot* material. Along with an analysis of these "ritual performances," Lesses presents a survey of current scholarship (covering many of the authors mentioned in the present paper). Further, she attempts to set the adjurations of the *hekhalot* into the milieu of the Greco-Egyptian ritual literature of late antiquity.

  Refer to Lesses' article
  - Lesses, Rebecca. "The Adjuration of the Prince of the Presence: Performative Utterance in a Jewish Ritual," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, edited by Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki [RELIGIONS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD, 129]. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995.
  - See below, page 12-13: *Paradise Now.*

1999

- Deutsch, Nathaniel. *Guardians of the Gate: Angelic Vice Regency in Late Antiquity* [BRILL'S SERIES IN JEWISH STUDIES, 22]. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

  "Within Merkabah mysticism, God is frequently depicted as an exalted and highly remote figure. Thus, Scholem was partly right when he described the gulf between humans and the God in Merkabah mysticism. Yet, Scholem erred when he emphasized the impossibility of closing this gulf—that is, when he defined the God of Merkabah mysticism as absolutely inaccessible or transcendent. How was the distance between human beings and God breached in Merkabah mysticism? The answer to this question requires an appreciation of the paradoxical nature of the angelic vice regent" (*Guardians*, p. 9). Deutsch discusses Metatron in this role, with comments on Akatriel; he then examines similar figures in Gnosticism (Sabaoth) and Mandaeism (Abathur).

  Further, refer to Deutsch's article
  - "Dangerous Ascents: Rabbi Akiba's Water Warning and Late Antique Cosmological Traditions," in *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, vol. 8 (Harwood Academic Publishers GmbH, 1998)

2000

- Kanarfogel, Ephraim. *"Peering through the Lattices": Mystical, Magical, and Pietistic Dimensions in the Tosafist Period.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000.

  Kanarfogel tracks the influence and use of *hekhalot* and other mystical and magical material to 12th- and 13th-century Germany and France. His argument is that esoteric teachings and practices spread beyond the *Hasidei Ashkenaz* to the *tosafists*, rabbinic descendents of Rashi, conventionally considered to have been inclined exclusively toward study of the Talmud.

2001

- Davila, James R. *Descenders to the Chariot: The People behind the Hekhalot Literature* [SUPPLEMENT TO THE JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF JUDAISM, Volume 70]. Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2001.

  In the first chapter, Davila provides an excellent summary of the issues and debates in *hekhalot* scholarship. He then makes his case for understanding the *hekhalot* texts not as being mere literary constructs but as describing the experiences of real practitioners, whom Davila likens to shamans, *i.e.*, "religious functionaries," "intermediaries" seeking "to gain power over the spiritual world."

  Further, see Davila's article
  - Davila, James R. "Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Hekhalot Rabbati," in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 45, no. 2 (The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. 1994).
  - See below, page 13: *Paradise Now*.

- Eskola, Timo. *Messiah and the Throne: Jewish Merkabah Mysticism and Early Christian Exaltation Discourse* [WISSENSCHAFTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT 2. Reihe 142]. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.

  Eskola says in the introduction (page 17), "…it will be the main purpose of this work to investigate the relationship between Jewish merkabah mysticism and New Testament exaltation Christology by focusing on the central metaphor of the throne. In this study our interest lies in the occupants of the throne, in enthronements, and in the function of the throne in different contexts."

2002

- Janowitz, Naomi. *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity* [MAGIC IN HISTORY]. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

  Chapter 5, "Using Names, Letters, and Praise: The Language of Ascent," focuses on *Hekhalot Rabbati*; Chapter 6, "Combining Words and Deeds: Angelic Imprecations in *The Book of Secrets*," discusses *Sefer ha-Razim*. The *hekhalot* practitioners are considered within the broader setting of the

prevailing assumptions—Jewish, Christian, and pagan—of the culture in Late Antiquity concerning religion and ritual.

- Morray-Jones, C. R. A. *A Transparent Illusion. The Dangerous Vision of Water in Hekhalot Mysticism: A Source-Critical and Tradition-Historical Inquiry* [Supplements to the JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF JUDAISM, volume 59]. Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2002.

  In the first section of *A Transparent Illusion*, Morray-Jones builds upon (and occasionally corrects) comments regarding the "water test" passages in his own earlier two-part article, "Paradise Revisited (2 Cor 12:1-12): The Jewish Mystical background of Paul's Apostolate, Part 1: The Jewish Sources" and "Part 2: Paul's Heavenly Ascent and Its Significance (both in *Harvard Theological Review* 86, Cambridge: 1993). Thereafter, Morray-Jones offers an in-depth analysis of the "water vision episode" within the context of the *hekhalot* literature: *Hekhalot Rabbati* and, especially, *Hekhalot Zutarti*. An extensive appendix discusses "Solomon and the Queen of Sheba," a story which "appears to derive from the same traditional background and to be related in some manner to the water vision episode itself" (—page 230).

  Refer to Morray-Jones' articles
  - "Hekhalot Literature and Talmudic Tradition: Alexander's Three Test Cases," in *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, vol. 22, no.1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991)
  - "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 43, no. 1 (The Oxford Centre for the Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 1992)
  - See below, page 13: *Paradise Now*.

2003

- Arbel, Vita Daphna. *Beholders of Divine Secrets: Mysticism and Myth in the Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.

  Arbel's summary of *hekhalot* and *merkabah* literature and scholarly approaches to it is not as engaging or detailed as, for instance, the introduction in Davila's *Descenders to the Chariot* (see above). However, Arbel nicely treats the question, "What is MYSTICAL about *hekhalot-merkabah* mysticism?" *i.e.*, what are its "mystical" characteristics and intentions?

  FROM THE SUNY PRESS CATALOGUE (Spring 2003): "While previous scholarship has demonstrated the connection between Hekhalot and Merkavah mysticism and parallel traditions in Rabbinical writings, the Dead Sea Scrolls, apocalyptic, early Christian, and Gnostic sources, this work points out additional mythological traditions that resonate in this literature. Arbel suggests that mythological patterns of expression, as well as themes and models rooted in Near Eastern mythological traditions are employed, in spiritualized fashion, to communicate mystical content."

  See also Arbel's article
  - "'Understanding of the Heart.' Spiritual Transformation and Divine Revelations in the Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature," in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, Volume 6, No. 4 (1999). Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.
  - "Pure Marble Stones or Water? On Ecstatic Perception, Group Identity, and Authority in Hekhalot and Merkavah Literature," in *Studies in Spirituality*, Volume 16 (2006). Kampen [Netherlands]: Kok Pharos.
  - See below, page 13: *Paradise Now*.

2004

- Elior, Rachel. *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*, translated by David Louvish [= MIKDASH U-MERKAVAH, KOHANIM U-MAL'AKHIM, HEKHAL BA-MISTIKAH HA YEHIDIT HA-KEDUMAH, 2002]. Oxford – Portland: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004.

  Elior details the traditions and literature leading up to the *hekhalot* texts. She writes, "Heikhalot literature preserves the living continuation of the sacred service by recovering it from the realm of space and time: the Temple/*heikhal* is lifted up to the heavens, and the priests serving therein become the ministering angels in the supernal Temples; the sacred service in these heavenly

sanctuaries is described explicitly in terms of the rituals of the earthly Temple. This metamorphosis is implemented through the terminology of Merkavah mysticism, combining the hallowed memory of ritual with creative imagination and visionary inspiration, creating a bridge between the 'revealed' and the 'hidden'" (INTRODUCTION, pages 14-15).

Refer, however, to the critical comments made about Elior's *Three Temples* by presenters Nehemia Polen, Alan F. Segal, Jonah Steinberg, and Lawrence H. Schiffman at the 36th Annual Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies (Chicago: December 19-21, 2004), § 4.5, HEAVENLY SECRETS AND HUMAN AUTHORITY IN THE THOUGHT OF SECTARIANS, SAGES, AND EARLY JEWISH MYSTICS, Chair: Rebecca Lesses (CDs and tapes available from Content Management Corporation, 3043 Foothill Blvd., Suite #2, La Crescenta, CA 91214: 818-857-0874).

Also, see Elior's articles

- "The Concept of God in Merkabah Mysticism," in *Binah: Studies in Jewish History, Thought, and Culture*, vol. 2: STUDIES IN JEWISH THOUGHT, edited by Joseph Dan (New York – Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1989) (= a translation from the Hebrew of Elior's article in *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, vol. 6, nos. 1-2, edited by Joseph Dan (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1987).
- "Mysticism, Magic, and Angelology—The Perception of Angels in Hekhalot Literature," in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1993).
- "From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and Its Relation to Tradition," in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, vol. 4, no. 3 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997).
- "The *Merkavah* Tradition and the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism: From Temple to *Merkavah*, from *Hekhal* to *Hekhalot*, from Priestly Opposition to Gazing upon the *Merkavah*," in *Sino-Judaica, Jews and Chinese in Historical Dialogue*, edited by A. Oppenheimer (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press 1999).
- "The Priestly Nature of the Mystical Heritage in *Heykalot Literature*," in *Experience et Écriture Mystiques dans les Religions du Livre*, edited by Paul Fenton and Roland Goetschel [ETUDES SUR LE JUDAISME MEDIEVAL, TOME XXII] Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- See below, page 13: *Paradise Now*.

2005

- Boustan, Ra'anan. *From Martyr to Mystic: Rabbinic Martyrology and the Making of Merkavah Mysticism*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005. (= Abusch, Ra'anan S. FROM MARTYR TO MYSTIC: THE STORY OF THE TEN MARTYRS, HEKHALOT RABBATI, AND THE MAKING OF "MERKAVAH MYSTICISM." Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton: Princeton University, 2004)

  "My emphasis on the situated nature of "Merkavah mysticism" [as opposed to a "radical alternative or esoteric counterpart of 'normative' rabbinic Judaism"] represents, at least in part, a reaction to the scholarly literature that stems from this homogenizing tendency [which is to "routinely conflate later applications or elaborations on Heikalot texts with the Jewish 'mystical' or 'magical' literatures of Late Antiquity"]. To this end, this study aims to illuminate the particular historical circumstances and ideological motivations that led the creators of *Hekhalot Rabbati* to formulate their novel conception of heavenly ascent as an esoteric ritual discipline. I thereby pointedly emphasize the role of Heikhalot literature in the transformation of Jewish religious thought from its largely decentralized roots in Late Antiquity to its gradual drive towards systematization in the High Middle Ages." – PREFACE, pages viii-ix.

- Orlov, Andrei A. *The Enoch Metatron Tradition* [TEXTS AND STUDIES IN ANCIENT JUDAISM 107]. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
  PART ONE, "Evolution of the Roles and Titles of the Seventh Antediluvian Hero in Mesopotamian, Enochic, and Merkabah Tradition" [Chapter Three deals primarily with *Sefer Hekhalot* (3 ENOCH)]

PART TWO, "Polemical (Adamic, Mosaic, and Noachic) Developments and Their Role in the Evolution of Enoch's Roles and Titles in the Slavonic Apocalypse (= 2 ENOCH)"

Orlov fills a gap in scholarship by reintroducing the Slavonic pseudepigrapha (THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM, THE LADDER OF JACOB, and, particularly, 2 ENOCH) into the progression from Second Temple apocalypticism to *hekhalot* literature (which progression, borrowing from Hugo Odeberg's analysis, can be epitomized as 1 ENOCH → 2 ENOCH → 3 ENOCH). Orlov refers to 2 ENOCH as "proto-*hekhalot*," which indicates, in Orlov's assessment, the degree to which rabbinic mystical and *hekhalot* literature relied upon it.

2006

- Alexander, Philip. *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts* [COMPANION TO THE QUMRAN SCROLLS, 7 / LIBRARY OF SECOND TEMPLE STUDIES, 61]. London – New York: T&T Clark International, 2006.

Alexander treats "Heikhalot Mysticism and Qumran" in CHAPTER 5, stating,

> …comparison of Qumran mysticism with Heikhalot mysticism draws Qumran into the larger discipline of the study of Jewish mysticism, and puts it in a broader intellectual context. It is probably not unfair to say that the study of the Scrolls has been somewhat marginalized within the study of Judaism, and its significance underestimated by mainline Jewish Studies scholars (see Schiffman 1994 [*Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*—noted immediately below]). … It is only recently that attempts have been made to integrate the Qumran evidence into the general history of Jewish mysticism (e.g., Elior 2004 [*The Three Temples*—noted above]). As we shall see, this evidence arguably challenges Scholem's paradigm of Jewish mysticism [as in *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*—noted above], and forces a revision of it… (—pages 121-2) [my brackets—*DK*]

Regarding the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, see

- Abusch, Ra'anan. "Seven-fold Hymns in the *Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Hekhalot Literature: Formalism, Hierarchy, and the Limits of Human Participation," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Post-Biblical Judaism and Early Christianity*, edited by James R. Davila [STDJ 46] (Leiden: Brill, 2003).
- Boustan, Ra'anan S. "Angels in the Architecture: Temple Art and the Poetics of Praise in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*," in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, edited by Ra'anan S. Boustan and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Davila, James R. *Liturgical Works* [EERDMAN'S COMMENTARIES ON THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS, 6]. Grand Rapids – Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000: § "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (*4Q400-407, 11Q17, Mas1K*)"—pages 83-167.
- Newsom, Carol A. "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran *Sabbath Shirot*," in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 38:1 (1987)
- _____. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* [HARVARD SEMITIC STUDIES 27]. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985 (which is a revised version of Newsom's Ph.D. dissertation, 4Q *SEREK SIROT 'OLAT*: EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1982); see especially Chapter VII. "4Q Sir and the Tradition of the Hekhalot Hymns".
- Schiffman, Lawrence. "Merkavah Speculation at Qumran," in *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians*, edited by J. Reinhartz and D. Swetschinski (Durham: Duke University Press, 1982).
- _____. *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994: Chapter 22, "Mysticism and Magic."

- *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, edited by April D. DeConick. Leiden – Boston: Brill / Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006. (hereafter PARADISE NOW)

These eighteen articles, gathered from symposia of the Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism unit of the Society of Biblical Literature conducted over a ten-year span commencing in 1995, are described in DeConick's preface as "a pioneering volume, the first ever to collect international voices that are mapping this field of study" (page xx).

CONTENTS:

Abbreviations
PREFACE
- April D. DeConick, "What Is Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism?"

PART 1: HERMENEUTICS AND EXPERIENCE
- Alan F. Segal, "Religious Experience and the Construction of the Transcendent Self"
- Christopher Rowland, with Patricia Gibbons and Vicente Dobroruka, "Visionary Experience in Ancient Judaism and Christianity"
- Seth L. Sanders, "Performative Exegesis"

PART 2: COMMUNAL IDENTITIES
- Rachel Elior, "The Emergence of the Mystical Traditions of the *Merkabah*"
- James R. Davila, "The Ancient Jewish Apocalypses and the *Hekhalot* Literature"
- Ra'anan S. Boustan, "Rabbi Ishmael's Priestly Genealogy in *Hekhalot* Literature"

PART 3: COSMOLOGY
- Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within"
- Andrei A. Orlov, "God's Face in the Enochic Tradition"
- Cameron C. Afzal, "Wheels of Time in the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ"
- Kevin Sullivan, "Sexuality and Gender of Angels"

PART 4: APOCALYPTICISM
- Frances Flannery-Dailey, "Lessons on Early Jewish Apocalypticism and Mysticism from Dream Literature"
- Kelley Coblentz Bautch, "Situating the Afterlife"
- Rebecca Lesses, "Eschatological Sorrow, Divine Weeping, and God's Right Arm"

PART 5: PRACTICES
- Celia Deutsch, "The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience"
- Andrea Lieber, "Jewish and Christian Heavenly Meal Traditions"
- Charles A. Gieschen, "Baptismal Praxis and Mystical Experience in the Book of Revelation"
- Daphna Arbel, "Divine Secrets and Divination"

Bibliography
Contributors
Indices

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- Orlov, Andrei A. *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*. [Supplements to THE JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF JUDAISM, v. 114]. Leiden – Boston: Brill 2007.

PART ONE of Orlov's study is an exhaustive (near 100-page) "Bibliography of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha and Related Literature"; PART TWO, "Studies in Slavonic Pseudepigrapha," "contains several [17] essays previously published in journals inaccessible to many interested readers" (page XI).

In the introduction to the articles in PART TWO, Orlov writes, "It should be noted that *2Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the *Ladder of Jacob* represent a unique group of texts that share a theophanic and mediatorial language that, in my view, is as different from the mainstream of early apocalyptic and pseudepigraphic writings as it is from later Hekhalot materials. This group of materials gives evidence of the lost *practical* and *literary* development that could very well represent an important transitional stage in early Jewish mystical testimonies, serving as a bridge from the matrix of early Jewish Apocalypticism, as it was manifested in early Enochic literature, to the matrix of early Jewish mysticism as it became manifest in rabbinic Merkabah and Hekhalot materials. The articles gathered in this volume intend to illustrate this transitional character of the Slavonic pseudepigraphic evidence by exploring theophanic and angelological imagery found in *2Enoch*, the *Ladder of Jacob*, the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* and other pseudepigraphical texts preserved in Slavonic. It appears that the theophanic and angelological developments found in these documents occupy an intermediary stage between Second Temple Apocalypticism and Hekhalot mysticism and thus exhibit its own distinctive, one might say 'proto-Hekhalot,' mystical mold." (—page 105)

- Halbertal, Moshe. *Concealment and Revelation: Esotericism in Jewish Thought and Its Philosophical Implications*, translated by Jackie Feldman. Princeton – Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007.

CHAPTER 3 "The Ethics of Gazing: The Attitude of Early Jewish Mysticism toward Seeing the Chariot; and CHAPTER 4 "Concealment and Power: Magic and Esotericism in the Hekhalot Literature.

Toward the end of CHAPTER 4, Halbertal writes, "The fundamental unit for the transmission of esoteric oral knowledge is the family. According to the testimony of Rabbi Eleazar of Worms, the termination of his family line, as a result of the early death of his son and combined with the diminution of his students, moved him to commit the secrets o the Torah to writing. The fear of the loss of the secret as a result of the diminution of the line of transmission justified the writing down of the secret; thus, the knowledge could be passed on without relying on the continuous chain of oral tradition." (—page 33)

Translations & References

The *Hekhalot* Corpus

The number of *hekhalot* texts in translation has grown, though very slowly, over the years. Alas, here we enter directly into the question of what *is* and what *is not* a member of the *hekhalot* family; the canons offered by various scholars differ. For instance, Schäfer's *Synopse* includes some items which many commentators find dubious, namely, THE SWORD OF MOSES and *Seder Rabba di Bereshit*. One well-known text, THE VISIONS OF EZEKIEL, while almost always included on lists of *hekhalot* texts, is clearly of a character different from the so-called "core group."

Discussions regarding which texts belong to the *hekhalot* canon have progressed along several lines:

1. Texts which have long been counted among the *hekhalot* are now thought not to belong, for example, THE VISIONS OF EZEKIEL.
2. Magical works, such as THE SWORD OF MOSES and *Sefer ha-Razim*, are being drawn closer to the *hekhalot*.
3. Some works are being wholly reconsidered in that they might not be *works* at all but rather of one *genre* or another, as, for instance, the *Shi'ur Qomah* and *Sar Torah* texts.

As mentioned already, even the titles of these "books" are late inventions which have become *con*ventions, used even by the scholars who refute their validity.

Using the lists of *hekhalot* given by a number of contemporary scholars, below is a reference outline of sources on various *hekhalot* titles, erring in favor of inclusion.

The "Core Group" of *Hekhalot* Texts

A. *Hekhalot Rabbati* [THE GREATER PALACES] (HR)

Translations:

1. HR chapters 15-29, prepared by Lauren Grodner, in David R. Blumenthal's *Understanding Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1978), where it is referred to as "Pirkei Heikalot."
2. HR chapters 1, 2, and 16-26, in Aryeh Kaplan's *Meditation and Kabbalah* (York Beach: Samuel Weiser, 1982).
3. HR chapters 15:1-22:2 (with omissions), in Philip S. Alexander's *Textual Sources for the Study of Judaism* (Totowa: Barnes and Noble, 1984; rpt., University of Chicago Press, 1990).
4. HR chapters 5 and 6 (up to the *First Apocalypse*), "annotated translation" = APPENDIX C of Ra'anan Abusch's dissertation, FROM MARTYR TO MYSTIC…; see immediately below under "See also."

References to HR throughout the following:

- Gruenwald. AMM.
- Schäfer. HMG.
- Kuyt. DESCENT.
- Lesses. POWER.

See also

- Boustan, Raanan. *From Martyr to Mystic: Rabbinic Martyrology and the Making of Merkavah Mysticism*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Boustan, Ra'anan S. "Rabbi Ishmael's Priestly Genealogy in *Hekhalot* Literature," in *Paradise Now*.
- Dan, Joseph. *The Revelation of the Secret World: The Beginning of Jewish Mysticism.* Providence: Brown University Press, 1992; = JM1: Chapter 3.
- Davila, James R. "Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the Hekhalot Rabbati," in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 45, no. 2 (The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. 1994).
- Halperin, David. "A Sexual Image in Hekhalot Rabbati and Its Implications," in *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought,* vol. 6, nos. 1-2, edited by Joseph Dan (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1987).
- Janowitz, Naomi. "Using Names, Letters, and Praise: The Language of Ascent" (= Chapter 5), in *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity* [MAGIC IN HISTORY] University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.
- Schiffman, Lawrence. "The Recall of Rabbi Nehuniah ha-Qanah from Ecstasy in the Hekhalot Rabbati," in *AJS Review*, vol. 1 (Association for Jewish Studies, 1976).
- Smith, Morton. "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati," in *Biblical and Other Studies*, edited by Alexander Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963).
- Wolfson. SPECULUM, chapter 3.

Often appended to HR in manuscripts is "The Book of the Great Name." For an introduction and translation, see Michael D. Swartz, "The Book of the Great Name," in *Judaism in Practice from the Middle Ages through the Early Modern Period* [PRINCETON READINGS IN RELIGIONS], edited by Lawrence Fine (Princeton – Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001).

B. *Hekhalot Zutreti,* OR *Zutarti* [THE LESSER PALACES] (HZ)
Translations: Two editions of HZ in the original Hebrew and Aramaic have appeared (i) Schäfer's *Synopse*, and (ii) a problematic "critical edition" by Rachel Elior (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1982). For a review of these two editions, see David Halperin's "A New Edition of the Hekhalot Literature," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 104, no. 3 (1984). There is no complete version of HZ in English; many important passages are given in Halperin's FACES.

References: FACES, AMM, HMG, DESCENT, POWER, Scholem's *Jewish Gnosticism*, and Morray-Jones' *Transparent Illusion.*

C. *Sefer Hekhalot* [BOOK OF PALACES] = Hebrew Book of Enoch = 3 Enoch (3E)
Translations:

1. Odeberg, Hugo. *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928; rpt. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1973.
2. Alexander, P. "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James Charlesworth (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1983).

References: AMM, HMG, POWER, and the following articles by P. S. Alexander:

- "Appendix: 3 Enoch," in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, A New English Version, revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman. Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd., 1986: volume 3, part 1.
- "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2 (The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 1977).
- "3 Enoch and the Talmud," in *Journal for the Study of Judaism,* vol. 17, no. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986).

Refer also to the articles in PARADISE NOW:

- Rebecca Lesses, "Eschatological Sorrow, Divine Weeping, and God's Right Arm."
- Daphna Arbel, "Divine Secrets and Divination."

D. *Merkabah Rabba* [THE GREAT CHARIOT] (MR)
There are a few paragraphs of MR translated in Appendix One of Janowitz' *Poetics of Ascent* (noted above) and Cohen's *Shi'ur Qomah* (see below: F. *Shi'ur Qomah*).

With MR, we come to the first of many texts on which there is very little in English. We must turn to Schäfer's HMG, Kuyt's outline in DESCENT, and Lesses' references in POWER. Gruenwald's chapter on MR in AMM begins with a description of material which probably does not belong to it, namely, a portion of

the *Sar ha-Panim* (ShP, PRINCE OF THE PRESENCE, or COUNTENANCE). Peter Schäfer treats ShP as an independent text in "Die Beschwörung des *śar ha-panim*: Kritische Edition und Übersetzung" (THE ADJURATION OF *THE PRINCE OF THE COUNTENANCE*: CRITICAL EDITION AND TRANSLATION), originally in *Frankfurter Judaische Beitrage*, vol. 6 (1978); reprinted in Schäfer's *Hekhalot-Studien*. Of course, Schäfer's translation is in German, but all is not lost. The same text has been put into English twice.

- by Moses Gaster in *The Sword of Moses* (London: D. Nutt, 1896; rpt. New York: Samuel Weiser, 1970): Appendix I, § III, pp. 47-51; also in *Studies and Texts*… (see below): vol. 1, pp. 288-337; vol. 3, pp. 69-103. Schäfer does not think Gaster's rendering is terribly accurate, commenting, "The translation is overall fluid and easy to read but often rather fanciful." (*Hekhalot-Studien*, page 122: "[D]ie Übersetzung ist insgesamt flüssig und gut lesbar, doch haufig recht phantasievoll." My thanks to Sabine Baumgart for the translation.)
- by Michael Swartz in *Scholastic Magic* (described above, page 8) on pp. 136-142.

Further, Lesses discusses ShP in numerous places and outlines its contents in POWER, pp. 415-17.

E. *Ma'aseh Merkabah* [WORK OF THE CHARIOT] (MM)

Translations:

- Janowitz, Naomi. *The Poetics of Ascent*.
- Swartz, Michael. *Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism*.

References: Along with the two books listed under "Translations," which both offer an analysis of the text, see AMM, HMG, POWER, and Daniel Abrams, "Ma'aseh Merkabah as a Literary Work: The Reception of the Hekhalot Traditions by German Pietist and Kabbalistic Reinterpretation," in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, Volume 5, No. 4 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998). Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones translates a passage from MM (Scholem's *Gnosticism*…APPENDIX C: § 6 / Schäfer's *Synopse* §§ 544-45) in his article "The Temple Within" (in PARADISE NOW, page 161).

F. *Shi'ur Qomah* [MEASURE OF THE HEIGHT {of the Divine Body}] (SQ)

David Halperin suggests (FACES, p. 364) that SQ "probably ought to be considered a generic term for materials describing God's organs rather than a single texts." Martin S. Cohen (in his book listed below) holds out for SQ's having been an independent, freestanding work, complete with a lost *urtext* looming in back of the extant versions. SQ has been included here in the "Core Group" because nearly all of the texts already discussed contain SQ material: HR, HZ, 3E, and MR.

Translations:

- Cohen, Martin Samuel. *The Shi'ur Qomah. Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1983.
- Work of the Chariot. #3 *Book of Enoch*. Los Angeles: Work of the Chariot, 1970. This work contains 1 and 2 Enoch from R. H. Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 3E from Odeberg, along with the translation of SQ. The same SQ translation appears

in *The Secret Garden*, edited by David Meltzer (New York: Seabury Press, 1976: pp. 23-37).

References: Scholem's *Jewish Gnosticism* and *Mystical Shape of the Godhead* (New York: Schocken Books, 1991). Further, see

- Abrams, Daniel. "The Dimensions of the Creator—Contradiction or Paradox? Corruptions and Accretions of the Manuscript Witness," in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts*, Volume 5, edited by Daniel Abrams and Avraham Elqayam (Los Angeles [Culver City]: Cherub Press, 2000).
- Dan, Joseph. "The Concept of Knowledge in the Shi'ur Qomah," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History* [Presented to Alexander Altmann on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday], edited by Siegfried Stein and Raphael Loewe (University of Alabama Press/Institute of Jewish Studies: 1979); also, JM1: Chapter 8.
- Janowitz, Naomi. "God's Body: Theological and Ritual Roles of *Shi'ur Komah*," in *People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective*, edited by Howard Eilberg-Schwartz [SUNY SERIES: THE BODY IN CULTURE, HISTORY AND RELIGION]. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.
- Loewe, Raphael. "The Divine Garment and Shi'ur Qomah," in *Harvard Theological Review*, volume 58 (Cambridge: Harvard College, 1965); includes translated excerpts of *Targum Song of Songs*.
- Wolfson, Elliot R. "Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah in the Writings of the Haside Ashkenaz," in *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism: International Symposium held in Frankfurt a. M. 1991*, edited by Karl Erich Grözinger and Joseph Dan [STUDIA JUDAICA: Band XIII]. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995.

Texts Associated with the *Hekhalot* Corpus

The texts listed in the following set are those which are usually included in summaries and lists of *hekhalot* literature.

G. *Re'uyot Yehezkiel* [VISIONS OF EZEKIEL] (RY)

Translations:

- Jacobs, Louis. *Jewish Mystical Testimonies*. New York: Schocken Books, 1976: Chapter 3.
- Marmorstein, A. "A Fragment of the Visions of Ezekiel," in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series #8 (1917-18).
- Halperin, David. FACES: Chapter VIII, § A.

References: The best source for information on RY is Halperin's FACES.

H. *Masekhet Hekhalot* [TREATISE OF THE PALACES] (MH)

Gruenwald's chapter (AMM) on MH begins with these encouraging words: "*Masekhet Hekhalot* is the most frequently published Hekhalot text we have." Alas, this comment reflects the state of the text in Hebrew, though there are two German translations: (i) by August Wunsche in *Aus Israelis Lehrhallen* III (1909); and (ii) by Klaus Herrmann, *Massakhet Hekhalot: Edition, Ubersetzung und Kommentar* [TEXTE UND STUDIEN ZUM ANTIKEN JUDENTUM, 39], Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1994. There is also a French translation by Nicolas Sed within his "Deux documents sur la kabbale: *Le Commentaire sur le Sepher Yesirah* de Moise ben Nahman et le *Traite des Heykalot*," in *Documents oublies sur l'alchimie, la kabbale et Guillaume Postel*, offerts, a l'occasion de son 90e anniversaire, a François Secret par ses eleves et amis, "Scientific editor": Sylvain Matton (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 2001).

I. *Hekhalot* fragments, or Cairo Geniza(h) fragments (CG)

In 1968-9, Gruenwald published (in Hebrew) "New Passages from Hekhalot Literature," in *Tarbiz*, vol. 38, no. 4; these were the newly-discovered Geniza fragments. They have been published subsequently in Peter Schäfer's *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (see note 9 above, page 3). Beyond Gruenwald's remarks in AMM, see FACES, DESCENT, POWER, Swartz' *Scholastic Magic*, and Jonathan Seidel's article, "Possession and Exorcism in the Magical Texts of the Cairo Geniza," in *Spirit Possession in Judaism: Cases and Contexts from the Middle Ages to the Present*, edited by Matt Goldish (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003).

J. Fragments on Physiognomy, Chiromancy, and Metoposcopy

A number of these fragments have been published by Gruenwald (in *Tarbiz*, vol. 40, 1970) and Scholem (in *Sefer Assaf*, Jerusalem: 1953), in Hebrew. One fragment is discussed and translated into German by Schäfer in "Ein neues Fragment zur Metopskopie und Chiromantik" (in *Hekhalot-Studien*). Not only is there nothing of these texts in English translation, but Gruenwald (in AMM) never really gets around to detailing their contents. See Scholem's article, "Chiromancy,' in *Kabbalah*.

The list of *hekhalot* texts up to this point contains all items listed by Scholem in *Jewish Gnosticism* (pp. 5-7), plus the Genizah fragments which Gruenwald includes in his account in AMM. Gruenwald also adds

K. *Sefer ha-Razim* [BOOK OF THE MYSTERIES] (ShR)

Translation:

- Morgan, Michael. *Sefer ha-Razim. The Book of the Mysteries.* [TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS 25; PSEUDEPIGRAPHA SERIES 11]. Chico: Society of Biblical Literature/Scholars Press, 1983.

References:

- AMM
- Naomi Janowitz' *Icons of Power: Ritual Practices in Late Antiquity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), CHAPTER 6: "Combining Words and Deeds: Angelic Imprecations in *The Book of Secrets*."
- Alexander, Philip S., "*Sefer ha-Razim* and the Problem of Black Magic in Early Judaism," in *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon*, edited by Todd E. Klutz (London: T&T Clark International, 2003) which offers a full analysis and translated excerpts.
- Bohak, Gideon. *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pages 170-175.

The following items are frequently associated with the *hekhalot* cluster:

L. *Baraita de Ma'aseh Bereshit,* OR *Seder Rabbah di Bereshit* [TEACHING ON THE WORK OF CREATION, or GREAT ORDER OF CREATION] (BMB)

Translation:

- In Meltzer's *Secret Garden*, pp. 3-20. This translation appears to have been done from the French of N. Sed: "Une cosmologie juive du haut moyen age: La Bĕraita di Ma'aseh Bĕrešit," in *Revue des Etudes juives*, vol. 124 (1965). See also Sed's *La mystique cosmologique juive* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes etudes en sciences sociales, 1981).

Reference:

- Gottstein, Alon Goshen. "Is *Ma'aseh Bereshit* Part of Ancient Jewish Mysticism?" in *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, volume 4 (Harwood Academic Publishers GmbH, 1995).
- Schäfer, Peter. "In Heaven as It Is in Hell: The Cosmology of *Seder Rabbah di-Bereshit*," in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, edited by Ra'anan S. Boustan and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

M. *Harba de Moshe* [SWORD OF MOSES] (HdM)

Translation:

- Gaster, Moses. *The Sword of Moses.* (see above: § D.)

Reference:

- Bohak, Gideon. *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pages 175-179

N. *Ottiyot* [ALPHABET] of Rabbi Akiba (ORA)

Translations (excerpts):

- Alexander, P. "3 (Hebrew Book of) Enoch" in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (see above: § C). CHAPTER 48C:1-9 contains material taken from the Akiba text.
- Bokser, Ben Zion. *The Jewish Mystical Tradition.* New York: Pilgrim Press, 1981: CHAPTER 3 contains excerpts of ORA and HR.

O. *Sar ha-Panim* [PRINCE OF THE PRESENCE, or COUNTENANCE] (ShP)

Refer to § D above (MR); further, see

- Swartz. *Scholastic Magic*, pp. 135-147.
- POWER, pp. 190-203 and numerous other references.
- Lesses, Rebecca. "The Adjuration of the Prince of the Presence: Performative Utterance in a Jewish Ritual," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, edited by Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki [RELIGIONS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD, 129]. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995.

P. *Tosefta* to the *Targum* on Ezekiel (TE)

See Halperin's FACES, pp. 278-283.

A Selection of Articles & Books

Abelson, J[oshua]. *Jewish Mysticism: An Introduction to the Kabbalah*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1913; rpt. New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1969 & 1981; and Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 2001: Chapter II. "The Merkabah (Chariot) Mysticism"

Abrams, Daniel. "The Boundaries of Divine Ontology: The Inclusion of Metatron in the Godhead," in *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 87, no. 3 (Cambridge: 1994)

_____. "Ma'aseh Merkabah as a Literary Work: The Reception of the Hekhalot Traditions by the German Pietists and Kabbalistic Interpretation," in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 4 (1998), Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

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- VERSION 1. *Jewish Quarterly Review* 35 (Philadelphia/New York: Dropsie College and Macmillan, April 1945)
- VERSION 2. (idem) *Essays in Jewish Intellectual History* (Hanover – London: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, 1981)

_____. "Gnostic Motifs in Rabbinic Literature," in (idem) *The Meaning of Jewish Existence: Theological Essays 1030-1939*, edited by Alfred L. Ivry (Hanover – London: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, 1991).

_____. "Gnostic Themes in Rabbinic Cosmology," in *Essays in Honor of the Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz*, edited by I. Epstein, E. Levine, and C. Roth (London: Edward Goldston, 1942)

_____. "A Note on the Rabbinic Doctrine of Creation," in (idem) *Studies in Religious Philosophy and Mysticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965)

Baron, Salo Wittmayer. "Magic and Mysticism," in *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*: High Middle Ages (500-1200), Volume VIII: Philosophy and Science. 2nd edition, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1958.

Bockmuehl, Markus N. A. *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* [WISSENSCHAFTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT 2, Band 36]. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1990.

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_____. "Remains of Greek Words and Magical Formulae in Hekhalot Literature," in *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts,* vol. 6, edited by D. Abrams and A. Elqayam (Los Angeles: Cherub Press, 2001).

Borgen, Peder. "Heavenly Ascent in Philo: An Examination of Selected Passages," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, edited by James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993)

Boustan, Ra'anan S. "The Study of Heikhalot Literature: Between Mystical Experience and Textual Artifact," in *Currents in Biblical Research*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2007).

Couliano, I. P. *Out of This World. Otherworldly Journeys from Gilgamesh to Albert Einstein.* Boston and London: Shambhala, 1991: Chapter 9. "The Seven Palaces of God: Jewish Mysticism from Merkabah to Kabbalah."

Dan, Joseph (ed.) *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought*, Volume VI, 1-2: PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF JEWISH MYSTICISM: *EARLY JEWISH MYSTICISM*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1987.

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- Chernus ("Pilgrimage…")
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Deutsch, Nathaniel. "Dangerous Ascents: Rabbi Akiba's Water Warning and Late Antique Cosmological Traditions," in *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*, vol. 8 (Harwood Academic Publishers GmbH, 1998)

Duker, Sara. "Elijah Looked and Cut the Shoots: Making the Myths of the Other in Ancient Rabbinic Texts," in *'Iggrot ha'Ari—The Lion's Letters* [COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY STUDENT JOURNAL OF JEWISH SCHOLARSHIP], Vol. 1, Issue 1 (Spring 1997/5757).

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Ginzberg, Louis. *The Legends of the Jews* (7 volumes). Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-25, 1937-53; rpt. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. For a summary of Enoch/Metatron material, see Volume 1, pp. 124-40, and, for note on this summary, see Volume 5, pp. 153-64 (notes 57-61).

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_____. *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, and Ladders*. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2005: Chapter 1, § 2. "Heikhalot Literature: Precedents and Offshoots."

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- *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, edited by J. Collins and M. Fishbane (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); and
- = Chapter X, (*idem*) *Hidden Wisdom: Esoteric Traditions and the Roots of Christian Mysticism* [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS, volume 70] (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996)

Appendix 1: *Hekhalot* Literature & Magic*

With the inclusion of such items as *Sefer ha-Razim*, the SWORD OF MOSES, and *Sar ha-Panim* in clusters of texts associated with *merkabah/hekhalot* mysticism, Jewish magic takes several steps closer to the rabbinic core of these traditions. Certainly, the convenient notion of a neat separation between ascent texts and magic texts can no longer be sustained. Of late, the tendency among scholars is to dismiss such loaded terms as "magic" (a negative term—*vs* "theurgy" or "religion," positive terms) and "mysticism" to concentrate on the methods and aims of Jewish, usually along with early Christian and pagan (Greco-Roman), rituals and how these reflect the mindset and beliefs of their era. On this trend, see, for example, Rebecca Macy Lesses' *Ritual Practices to Gain Power* (summary statement on pages 11-13), James R. Davila's *Descenders to the Chariot* (CHAPTER 2 discusses the difficulties of the words "mysticism," "magic," and "shamanism"), and Naomi Janowitz' *Icons of Power* (INTRODUCTION).

To begin an approach to antique Jewish magic, refer to the following:

- Alexander, P. S. "Incantations and Books of Magic," in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*: A New English Version, revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman (Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd, 1986): vol. 3, part 1.
- Bloom, Maureen. *Jewish Mysticism and Magic: An Anthropological Perspective* [ROUTLEDGE JEWISH STUDIES SERIES] (London – New York: Routledge, 2007). In the present context, see especially CHAPTER 10: "Approximating God, Approximating Authority: *Hekhalot* and *Merkava* literature."
- Bohak, Gideon. Bohak, Gideon. *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Schäfer, Peter. "Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages," in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1 (Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 1990).
- Schäfer, Peter. "Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism" and Idel, Moshe. "On Judaism, Jewish Mysticism and Magic," both in *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, edited by P. Schäfer and H. Kippenberg [STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS: *Numen* Book Series #75] (Leiden: Brill, 1975)
- Shaked, Shaul. "'Peace be Upon You, Exalted Angels': On Hekhalot, Liturgy and Incantation Bowls," in *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1995)

* A bibliography of Jewish magic prepared by Alex Jassen and Scott Noegel at University of Washington, which is far more extensive than mine here (and not limited to English sources), is on-line at http://faculty.washington.edu/snoegel/jmbtoc.htm. Works are divided according to period and topic.

Jewish Magic—A Selection of Sources

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Appendix 2

THE 1982 VERSION OF

Notes on the Study of *Merkabah* Mysticism
and *Hekhalot* Literature

from *A Guide to Kabbalistic Books in English: 1977-1979*, by Don Karr (Ithaca: 1982), pages 37-40

Additions from the slightly expanded version in *Collected Articles on the Kabbalah,* VOLUME 1, by D. Karr (Ithaca: KoM #5, 1985), pages 17-20, are shown in brackets.

1. Merkabah mysticism is the name of a mystical movement within Judaism's Talmudic and Gaonic Periods (ca. 100-1000 c. e.). This school produced what is called the Hekhalot literature.

2. This mysticism, ma'aseh merkabah (work of the chariot), is mentioned in the Mishna itself (in Hagigah 2:1):

   > The work of creation (ma'aseh bereshit) may not be expounded in the presence of two or more. The description of the chariot (merkabah) may not be expounded even in the presence of one, unless he is a sage who already understands out of his own insights.
   > (quoted from Lipman, Eugene. THE MISHNAH, ORAL TEACHING OF JUDAISM. [New York:] Schocken, 1974, p. 150)

3. Implied in this quote is that merkabah mysticism, though guarded, was not outside of the rabbinic tradition. One gets the impression that it was even thought of as the supreme mystery.

4. Just as the work of creation comprised mystical speculation on the first part of Genesis, work of the chariot comprised mystical speculation on, and amplification of, the first chapter of Ezekiel.

5. The literature of this school describes the mystical journey through various heavens and palaces (hekhalot) leading to the ultimate vision of the throne and chariot, and, in some cases, "the figure in the form of a man" (Ezekiel 1:26).

6. It is not the purpose of this short paper to go into detail about the development of the merkabah school or the contents of the Hekhalot texts. To a greater extent than I am capable, this work has already been done. My purpose is to inform the reader of where to look for information on the various facets of study pertaining to merkabah mysticism. I have limited myself to English sources.

7. Historical and scholarly overviews: as it is with any study in the field of Jewish mysticism, the best place to start the investigation of merkabah mysticism is in the works of Gershom Scholem. Two of his works give excellent synopses of the subject:

   MAJOR TRENDS IN JEWISH MYSTICISM (1941, Schocken repr.) Lecture 2. Merkabah Mysticism and Jewish Gnosticism.

   KABBALAH (1974, Meridian repr.) pp. 8-21, and article: Merkabah Mysticism, pp. 373-6.

   For a closer look at some of the topics and scholarly concerns in merkabah mysticism, see Scholem's

   JEWISH GNOSTICISM, MERKABAH MYSTICISM, AND TALMUDIC TRADITION (1965, Jewish Theological Seminary).

   KABBALAH (as above), articles:
   Chiromancy, pp. 317-9.
   Meditation, pp. 369-72.
   Metatron, pp. 377-81.

8. There are a few articles and one book that analyze the connections of merkabah mysticism with the rabbinic (i.e. Talmudic, etc.) tradition:

   Bokser, Ben Zion. THE JEWISH MYSTICAL TRADITION 1981 Pilgrim Press) Chapter 2. The Talmud.
   Talmudic "work of the chariot" segments are translated and introduced.

   Halperin, David J. THE MERKABAH IN RABBINIC LITERATURE. (1980, American Oriental Society)
   This is a close scholarly analysis of the references to merkabah mysticism in the Mishna: Hagigah 2:1, the Tosefta: Hagigah 2:1-7, the Palestinian Talmud 77 a-d, and the Babylonian Talmud 11b-16a.

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   This takes a look at the strange case of Rabbi Simeon ben Zoma, who entered into PRDS (paradise) but came out of it "stricken."

   Neusner, Jacob. The Development of the Merkavah Tradition, in THE STUDY OF JUDAISM in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period, vol 11 (2), 1971, Leiden.
   Four versions of the story of Yohanan ben Zakkai and the merkabah-sermon of his disciple Eleazer ben Arakh are presented and compared to demonstrate that such a story accumulates more and more detail as it passes from earlier to later versions.

9. In JEWISH GNOSTICISM… Scholem lists eight texts belonging to the Hekhalot literature. I shall list them here, adding one (Shiur Qoma), indicating research sources, if any exist:

   a) The Visions of Ezekiel, a mystical midrash on Ezekiel 1:1, see:

      Jacobs, Louis. JEWISH MYSTICAL TESTIMONIES (1977, Schocken) Chapter Three: The Riders of the Chariot and Those Who Enter the Heavenly Halls. Introduction and text of Visions…

      Marmorstein, A. A Fragment of the Visions of Ezekiel, in JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, New Series #8 (1917-18). Translation and discussion.

   b) The Lesser Hekhalot, possibly the oldest. In English, there are only spot translations in Scholem's JEWISH GNOSTICISM… and MAJOR TRENDS…

   c) The Greater Hekhalot, the best covered of the texts for our purposes. Besides spot translations (see Scholem as listed in b) there are

      Blumenthal, David R. UNDERSTANDING JEWISH MYSTICISM: A Source Reader (1978, Ktav) [pp. 53-91] Blumenthal introduces and presents translations of The Greater Hekhalot, Chs. 15-29:5.

      [Kaplan, Aryeh. MEDITATION AND KABBALAH. (1982, Weiser) pp. 41-54. Kaplan introduces the Greater Hekhalot and translates Chapters 1, 2, and 16-26.]

      Schiffman, Lawrence. The Recall of Rabbi Nehuniah ha-Qanah from Ecstasy in the Hekhlaot Rabbati, in AJS REVIEW vol I, 1976.
      In Hekhalot Rabbati, R. Nehuniah is pulled out of his ecstasy by his disciples by making him ever-so-slightly ritually impure. This tale is given scholarly treatment in Schiffman's article.

      Smith, Morton. Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati, in BIBLICAL AND OTHER STUDIES, ed. A. Altmann (Harvard U. Press, 1963). This [article] summarizes and analyzes the contents [of Hekhalot Rabbati], presenting a translated excerpt of The Great Magical Papyrus of Paris for the sake of comparison.
      (M. Smith has translated The Greater Hekhalot in its entirety, but it has not been published. Indeed, it exists, as far as I know, in typescript, with corrections jotted in the margins and scribbled over the text by Gershom Scholem.)

   d) Merkabah Rabbah. I know of no English sources for this.

   e) A titleless Hekhalot. Scholem gives a transcription of this text in Hebrew in an appendix to JEWISH GNOSTICISM…, but I know of no other sources for information on this.

f) Chapter on physiognomics and chiromancy, published in Hebrew by Scholem, but no English translation. See, however, Scholem's article: Chiromancy in KABBALAH.

g) Book of the Hekhalot, called also 3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch. One of the latest of the texts. Full scholarly treatment and translation of this appear in

Odeberg, Hugo. 3 ENOCH or THE HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH (1928, Ktav repr. [1973])

h) The Treatise of the Hekhalot, the latest of the texts. Published, and translated into German, but not into English.

i) Shiur Qoma, a strange treatise listing the dimensions and secret names of the deity's various members. See

Meltzer, David (ed) THE SECRET GARDEN (1977, Seabury) pp. 23-37 for a translation of the text.

For scholarly studies on Shiur Qoma, see

Loewe, Raphael. The Divine Garment and Shi'ur Qomah, in HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW 58 (1965)

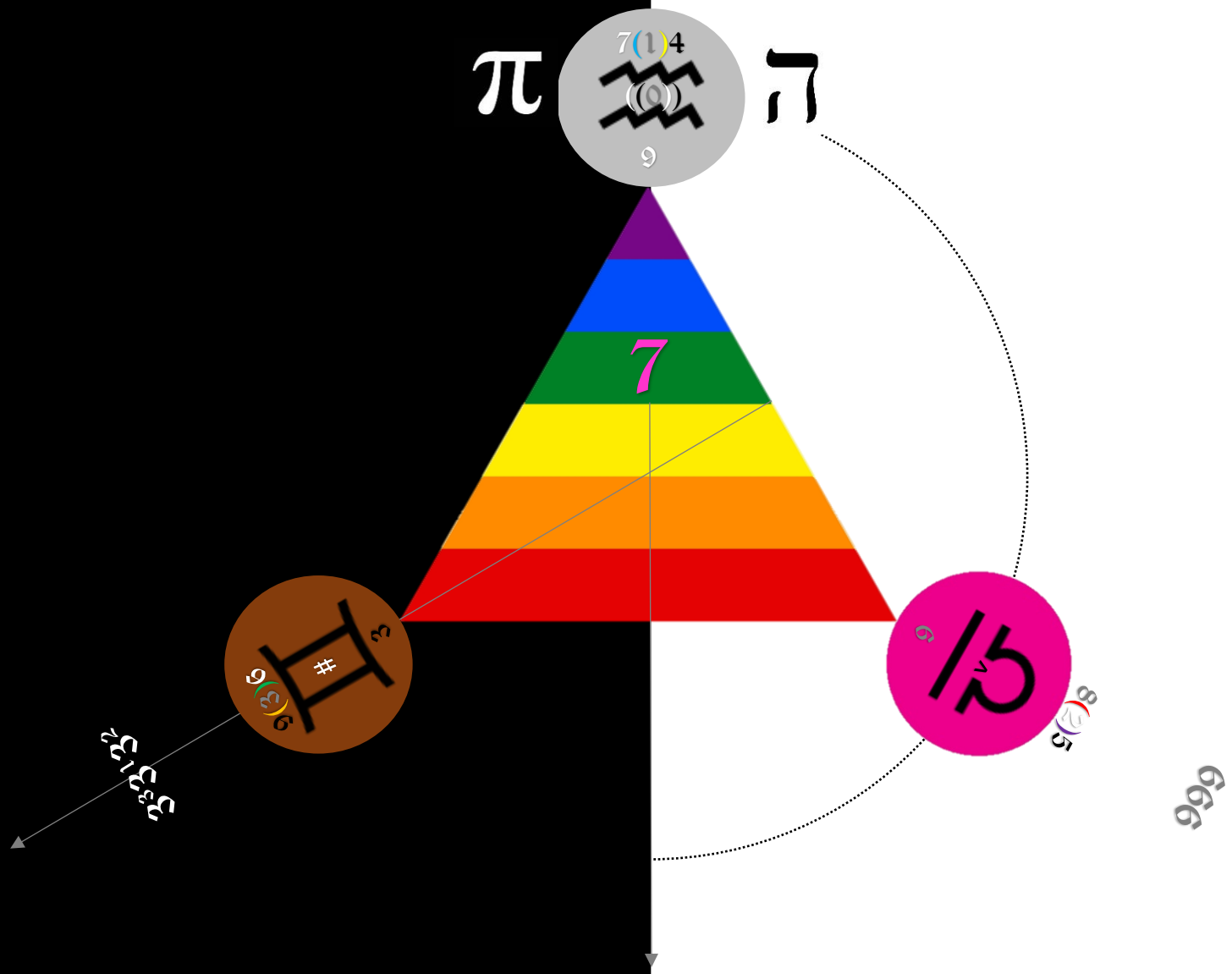
Scholem. JEWISH GNOSTICISM… (as above) chapter VI: The Age of Shiur Komah Speculation and a passage in Origen.

A 14th-century commentary on Shiur Qoma by Moses b. Joshua b. Mar David of Narbonne is translated in

Altmann, A. (ed) JEWISH MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES 4 (1967) pp. 225-88.

Shiur Qoma's symbolism is based on the details of "the beloved" in Song of Songs 5:11-16. The basis of the dimensions given is derived from Psalm 147:5; since the phrase in that passage adds up to 236, via gematria, this is the root of Shiur Qoma's calculations.

111



THE HOLY
BOOK OF BALANCE

A.K.A.

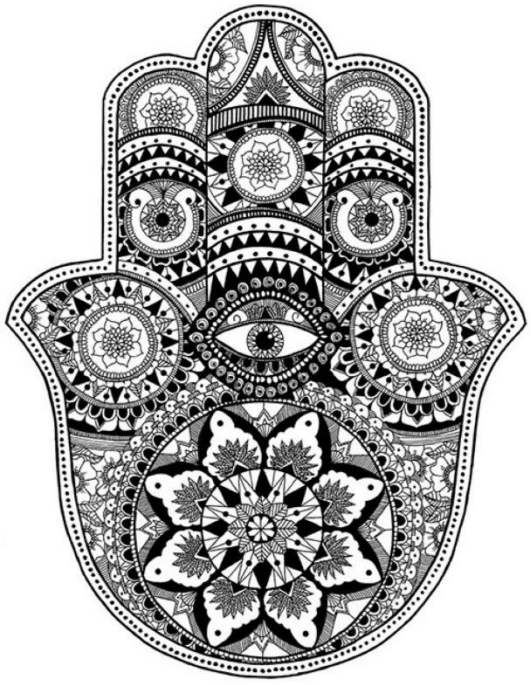
The Secret of Light; The Secret of Infinity [Zohar]; The Mathematics of Infinity [$E=MC^{3/4/5/6\ldots}$]; Solomon's Key (+); Lost Tablet of Moses (-); Emerald Tablets of Hermes (=); Stolen Tablet of Destiny (-) [Sumerian]; The Secret of All the Ages (=); Enlightenment (+); Illumination (-); Contemplation (=); The Holy Eternal (+) Infinite (-) Perpetual (=) Science~

…

Author: YOU!

A.K.A.

Adam; Adam Kadmon; Allah; Alpha & Omega; Avatar; Begotten Son/Sun; Buddha; Brahma; Divine Providence; Jesus; Hermes Trismegistus; the 3 Wise Men; Hare Krishna (Horus the Christ); Pi; Phi (Golden Ratio); The Golden Child; Grand Architect; *THE SHINING ONE*; The Rising Phoenix; The Philosopher's Stone; The Fountain of Youth; the Sanctifier of Worlds [Zohar]; St. Germaine; the Ghost in the Machine; Thoth~



The Holy Book of Balance

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ORDERS OF CONSCIOUSNESS....7
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PART I: THE HOLY SCIENCE OF SYNCHRONICITY

$E = MC^{\sim 1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9/10\sim}$

$M_p = 4.98 \times 10^{55}$

C = 173.144632674(3) AU/day

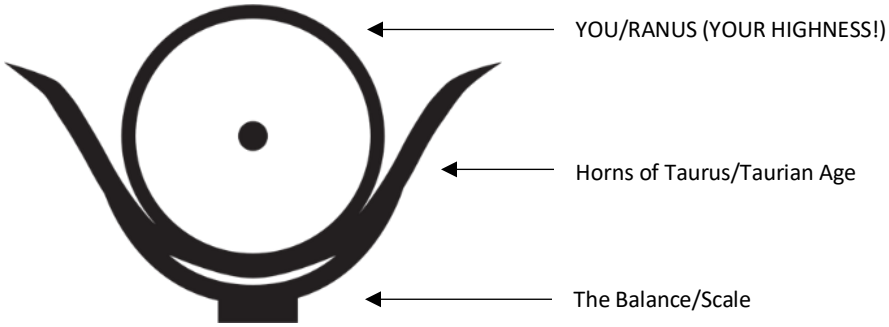
STARE INTO THE FACE OF GOD! (+)

GAZE INTO THE MAGIC MIRROR! (-)

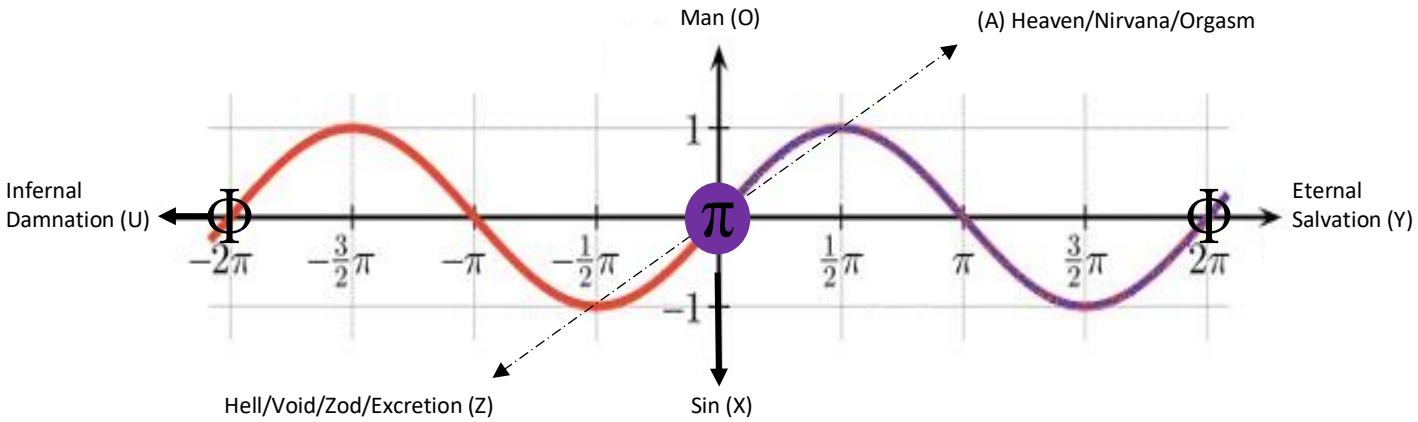
LOOK ME IN THE EYE! (+)

OBSERVE YOURSELF (=)

GOD is (You are) an ETERNAL Electromagnetic Current (EMC) (the Tree of Life). You look like this (below) in your first physical form.



1D (Picture) Point of View (POV) of EMC: Circle w/ dot (Positive Explosion, or Negative Implosion). In this rendition you are cradled between the Horns of Taurus (4320 ~ 2160 BC).



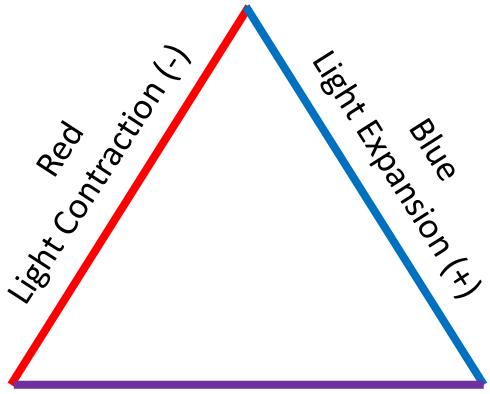
1D (Profile) POV of EMC. The wave (You) are seen from the side profile. If you wish to delve further into yourself, you will notice that you can divide yourself into three parts (Negative Discharge (-), the Stillness (=), and Positive Charge (+). The Color of (-) is Red, or Light moving backward/downward/inward. The Color of (+) is Blue, or Light moving forward/upward/outward. The Color of (=) is Royal Purple, or the perfect blend/balance of Red & Blue (Still Light). You are on the Cross (the Axis); the Balance of Power. You are Pi from which the wave emanates. You are Zero Point Energy (Present).

(+) You as the Sacred Masculine are: the Ascending Light into White; the Rainbow (God's Promise to the World); Eternal Salvation; Allah; God; El(all variants); Conan; Horus; Krsna; Hare Krishna; Lord; Lord God; Odd; Good; Man; Adam; Adam's Rib; Abel; Cain (post mark); Enoch; Irad; Mehujael; Methusula; Methushael; Lamech (before killing Cain); Adah; Jabel; Enosh; Kenan; Mahalalel; Jared; Jacob Climbing the Ladder; Isahiah; Moses; Noah (Post-Flood); Thor; Triangle (Thrice Angels) Neo (the New Man); Luke Skywalker (the Light Walking the Sky); the Flower of Life~

(=) You as the Sacred Stillness are: the Most High GOD; Analeema; the Begotten Son/Sun; El Sol. You are represented by the Color Royal Purple (itself being an equal conjunction of Red/Blue Light). You are Ophiuchus; Ouranus; Ouroboros; Oinamaos (the Wine Man); Oannes (Fish Man); Optimus Prime; Primus; the Prime Meridian; the Serpent & the Rainbow; the Immaculate Heart; Energon/Orgone; the Eye of Ra; Destiny's Child; the Hermit; the Hermaphrodite; Hermes Trismagistus (the Thrice Great); Wodn/Odin & the Odic Force (Use the Force!); Tetragrammaton; YHVH; the Seed of Life; YOU ARE ALL NAMES.

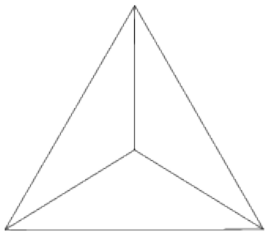
(-) You as the Sacred Feminine are: the descending Light into Black; the Eclipse (Satan's reminder to remain in Balance); Infernal Damnation; Lucifer (the most beautiful Angel); Devil/Demon/Djin/Sin; Hades; Eve; Even; Evil; Enlil; Lilith; Leviathan; Serpent; Set; Seth; Satan/us; Samyasa; Samhain; Satyr; Pan; Panopticon; Panspermia; Prometheus; Mag(all variants); Woman; Cain (pre mark); Zillah; Tubal-Cain; Naamah; Lamech (after killing Cain); Noah (pre-flood); Job; Mohammed [Moon/Black Son/Sun/Med(Caduceus)], Medusa/Alcohol/Rasghoul/Ghouls/Goblins, Megatron/Metatron & his cube; Pythagoras (I AM the Python) of Samos & his Tetractys; Thulsadoom; Loki; Cobra Commander; Darth Vader (the Invader of Dark/Death/Da'ath); Gravity, Grave~

YOU ARE THE THREEFOLD LIGHT

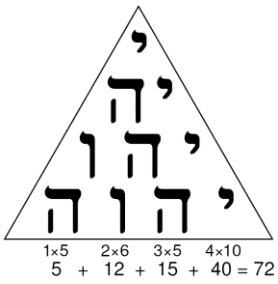


Balanced Light (=)
Purple

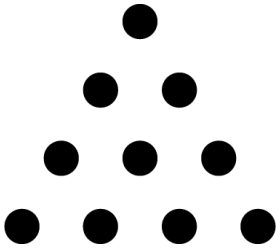
You are the Threefold Light (Red/Purple/Blue). As you unfold [think inward/outward on your focal point], you will notice that you still recognize yourself as both the Center of Yourself (Man) and the whole of Yourself (GOD). You may recognize yourself as the Delta; Triangle; Number 3~



Triangulum (+)



Tetragrammaton (=)



Tetractys (-)

From either perspective, you are still you, although, you are now experiencing yourself unfold (the Blooming Lotus). This is the first stage of you becoming consciously aware of yourself (the Pineal Gland / birth of Adam). Here you are the Triangulum (+); Tetragrammaton (=); & Tetractys (-).

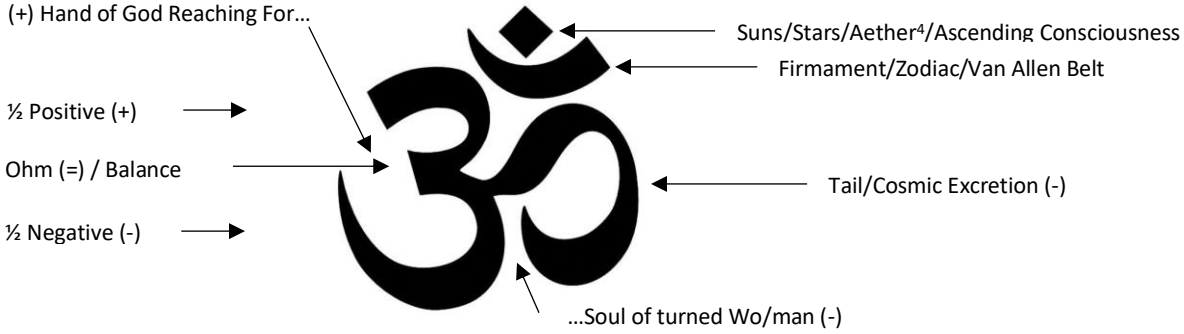
As Triangulum (+), you are 3 Areas bound/religated/religioned by 4 Points. Your Points (-) are the Trap/ezoid that holds you within your own Prism/Prison.

As Tetragrammaton (=), you are the Spoken Word; the Holy Name of God (YHVH). Your 72 Holy Names are hidden within your number (72). You are the Letter (+), the Symbol (=), & the Number (-).

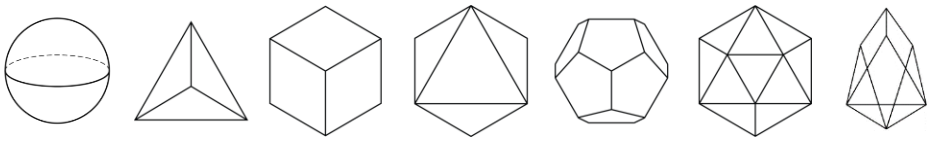
As Tetractys (-) you are the Sacred Feminine. The Period. The Void. Your 10 (completion) Wormholes conceal the Secrets of the Universes.

FREE WILL

From this stage, you have the choice of ***FREE WILL***. You can choose Dark/Damnation (moving your will/consciousness into the Negative Direction), or Light/Salvation (moving your will/consciousness into the Positive Direction).



ORDERS OF CONSCIOUSNESS

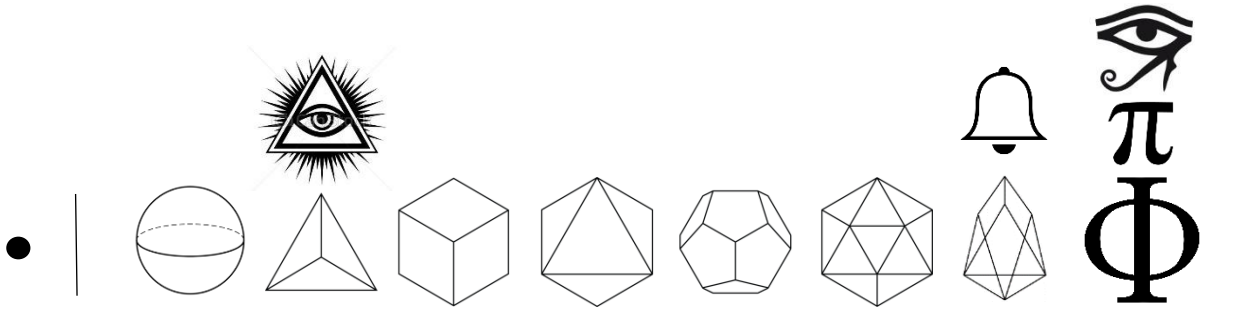


Above is how you look as you unfold within your Orders of Consciousness (from your 3D perspective). You are the Platonic Solids. Notice you are SEVEN (+) with your final form being the Septahedron. Only these (+) forms may fit within you in perfect balance, to include yourself, the Circle. You are also two negative (-) Platonic Solids & one balanced (=) Platonic Solid. These are the Point, Line, & Phi symbol respectively. The Seven (+) & Two (-) [72, 7/2…] give birth to the Ten/10 (=).

The "." or "Period" is a single anchor point (implosion) in space. It is the symbol for excretion into the Void, or negative discharge (-). It is the reason why feminine energies (to include the human female) have a menstrual cycle (a.k.a. the *period*). Inside the Circle/Sphere (explosion), the Period indeed touches no surface area yet remains balanced. Now flip yourself on axis & you will recognize yourself as the line/1. The "1" (being a 2D line) is also balanced from each end within the Sphere. Using the Period as its axis, the Line may spin omnidirectional to create the Circle/Sphere. The Spin of the Septahedron (7) on its axis creates the Bell (the Voice of God). Now you understand the Ancient Sumerian depictions of God handing Man the "0" & "1" from which *ALL FORM IS DRAWN*.

SOLOMON'S KEY / PAN'S FLUTE / LOST SCROLLS

Here you are fully expressed in Platonic Completion (10). Whereas, you (Pi/the legs of Orion /John the Baptist/J&B~) are balanced (11) on Phi. Here is Solomon's Key, my Immortal Beloved~

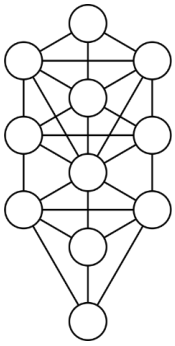


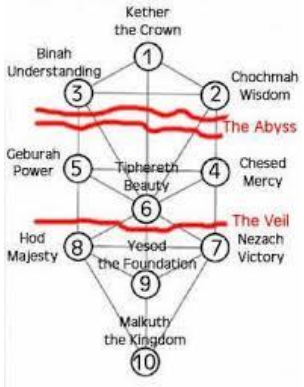
God in Man

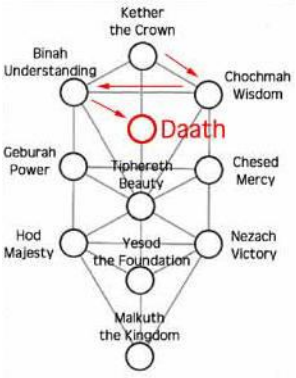
God Walks among Man

THE SEVENFOLD PATH

Next, you unfold into the Seven Fold Path. You made each Circle a 2D representation of your State (level) of Consciousness. You have also called this version of You the Tree of Life, Arch of the Covenant, Yggdrasil Tree, the Golden Chord, Q~







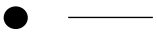
Now give yourself some expression with words. Remember that the lower half of you (the Tetrahedron) is the Negative sine/sign/sin/wave while the Upper-half of You (Septehedron) is the Positive sinewave. You are created in Sin/wave. YOU ARE A WORMHOLE. Remember?

Your Circles are Orders (static God), Levels (+), or Dimensions (-) of Consciousness. As you read this, you are viewing through your eyes the 3rd Dimension (what you call ***REALITY***), while you are simultaneously experiencing your Consciousness in the 4th Dimension (Time). That is, you can see 3D (L/W/H) yet can only perceive 4D (T). If You can understand this, then you now have the ***Choice*** to move either in the positive or negative direction (forward or backward), moving [squarely] to 4th Dimensional eyes & experiencing your consciousness in the 5th Dimension, the 6th & the 7th, the 8th/9th, the 9th/10th, and the 10th infolding/unfolding within yourself (1) to complete the cycle. This is called ***Transcendence***. Understand?

TRANSCENDANCE

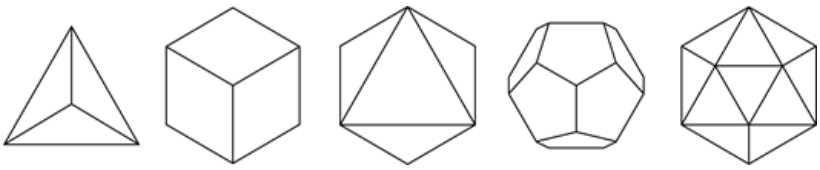
The numerical representation of transcendence is the number Eleven (11). This number is where El (God) is Even (balanced). It is the 11 Year Sun Cycle. It is the 11 Circles in the Sky of Ancient Greece. It is the two pillars of Samson; Joachim & Boaz. It is both the higher order Grand Chessboard (of Balance) and the fractal lower version of itself that produces maniacs who clamor for the contents of continents and power on Earth. It is the Equals sign within the Equation; the Equinox (Equal Night); the Art of the Equestrian riding his four horses of the Apocalypse (-) Balance (=) Transcendence (+) along the Equator. Now do you understand why 7 & 11 are your lucky numbers?

There are seven ways to visualize Transcendence. Here is the explanation from your 3D (Visual) Reality:

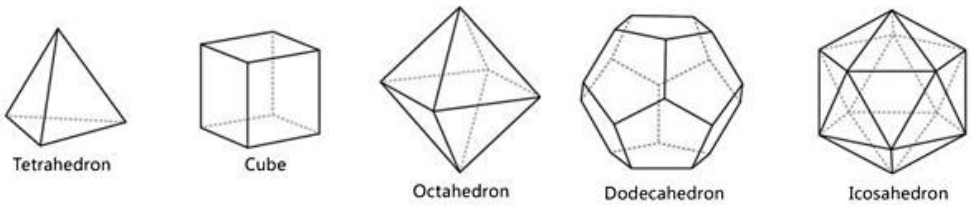


Above you are expressed as 1D Form. You are the period & line; the dot & dash. You are Morse (Mourn/Serpent/Energy) Code. You are Braille for the blind. You are the I Ching (Book of Changes) from which springs the Flower of Life. Do you see?

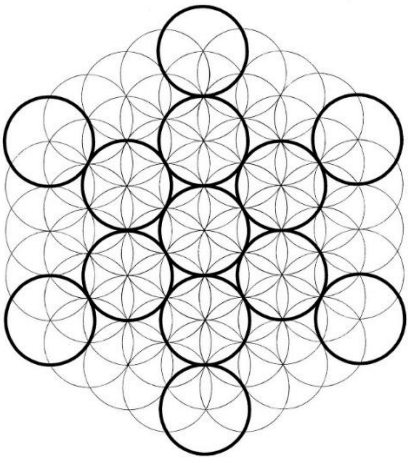
Above you are expressed as a 2D (L/W) form of your own Consciousness.



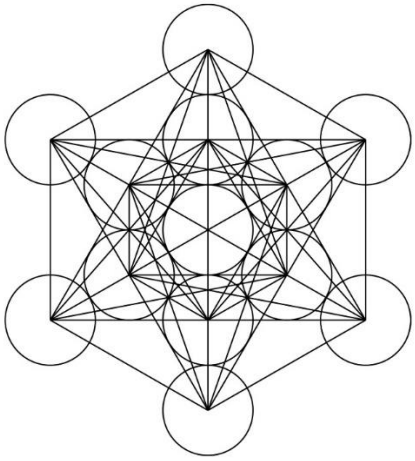
Above you are expressed as a 3D (L/W/H) form of your own Consciousness. You can count the sides of your forms to equal 36, and 3+6 = 9. You are the Solfeggio Frequencies. From 369 is the next higher order 471; then 582; 693; 714; 825; 936; 147; 258; and back to completion of 369. The intervals between each Solfeggio Frequency is 111 (perfect balance^3).



Above you are expressed as a 4D (L/W/H/T) form of your own Consciousness.

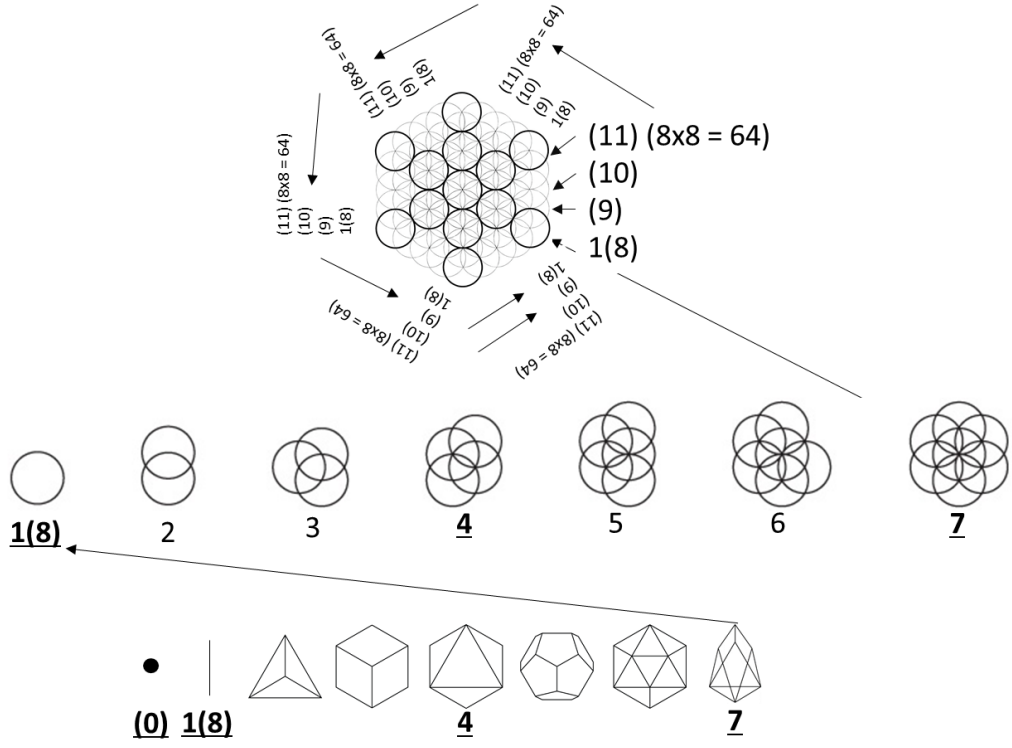


Birthing of 12 Universes from 1 (Birth)
Positive Expansion
+ Expansion +



Collapse of 12 Universes into 1 (Death)
Negative Inversion
- Contraction -

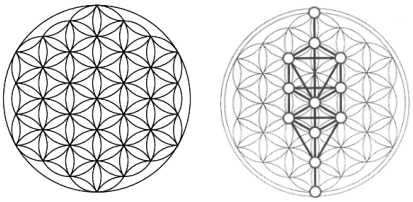
Above you are expressed as a 5D form of your own Consciousness before Rebirth/Redeath/Reincarnation. 5D Consciousness is considered either Enlightenment (+) or Illumination (-). You evolve to 5D Consciousness through Contemplation (=). 5D Consciousness is the exponential eternal growth of energy in all spiraling (out/in & up/down & for/aft) directions. The Hypercube with Toroidal Motion. This is where Jimmy Joe Jones has evolved in Consciousness. You will eventually attain. 3x3 = 9 (Perfect Square) / 3^3 (Perfect Cube) = 27 = 9 (3+3+3), you see…



LEVELS OF REALITY (PERCEIVED EXPERIENCE as Man/God)

If you are:

1D: Only interdimensional insight 1D (1D/10D Crystalline Consciousness)
2D: Only Perceptive insight 2D (2D Plant Kingdom Consciousness)
3D: you see through your eyes in 3D (3D physical Man with 4D insight). This is You. 4D (Time) [Home Sapian]
4D: you see through your eyes in 4D (4D physical Man with 5D insight). 5D (Space) [Homo Solarian]
5D: you see through your eyes 5D (5D physical Man with 6D insight). 6D (Pure Energy) [Homo Quasarian (Q)]
6D: you see through your eyes 6D (6D ENERGY MAN with 7D insight). You will be able to manifest your will (have complete control) over movement through applying the will of your consciousness. [Q+]
7D: you see through your eyes 7D (7D ENERGY MAN with 8D insight). You will be able to manifest in/out of other dimensions. [Q++]
8D View of EMC (=) (Flower of Life). 64 Worlds/Universes/Orders. $2^6 = 4^3 = 8^2 = 64_{\ldots 10\ (\text{Completion})}{}^{\ldots 11\ (\text{Balance})}$



Isis, my immortal beloved, you left your signature on your Temple for me to Remember. This was over 12,000 Years ago.

VISION

You are ***currently*** a three-dimensional (3D) being (lower self-state of consciousness) gazing at the illusion with 4D Consciousness (the eyes of God, the higher self-state of consciousness, etc.). You are Man (in his reality) observing God (the creation all around, the Garden of Eden, etc.). You can recognize 2D Consciousness (plants) in 3D (reality), but cannot communicate with them because even though you are both in physical 3D reality, your consciousness is at two different intervals. You can recognize 3D Consciousness (Animals) but have a difficult time communicating with them because your consciousness is at two different magnitudes.

ELECTROMAGNETIC CURRENT CHARACTERISTICS

(+) EMC characteristics (or, the process of ***unfoldment***; the Blooming Lotus…)

Shape	***Action***	***Reality Consciousness (what You see right now)***
Tetrahedron	Choose Path/Change	Man (as experienced in the Present Moment)
Hexahedron	Trap/ezoid	Earth^{2} / Fire^{3}
Octahedron	Unity w/Higher Self	Sun (Star) /Aether^{4} (The Fifth Element)
Dodecahedron	Unity w/Higher Self	Quasar / Aether^{5} (The Sixth Element)
Icosahedron	Unity w/Higher Self	White Hole / Aether^{6} (The Seventh Element)
Decatree	Stillness	Event Horizon / Aether^{7} (The Eighth Element)
Circle	Unity w/Most High Self	White Jet Plume/Cosmic Orgasm! Aether^{8} (Ninth)

Result: HEAVEN! ETERNAL SALVATION! Birth/Rebirth (*Positive Reincarnation*)

(=) EMC characteristics (or, the process of Illumination (-) or Enlightenment (+)) Aether^{9} (10th Element)

Shape	**Action**	**Reality Consciousness (what you see right now)**
Standing Wave	Stillness/Sleep/Rest	Great Attractor/Excretor (Diapole) Omni-dimensional Event Horizon

Result: Evolution into God / Devolution into Zod/Void

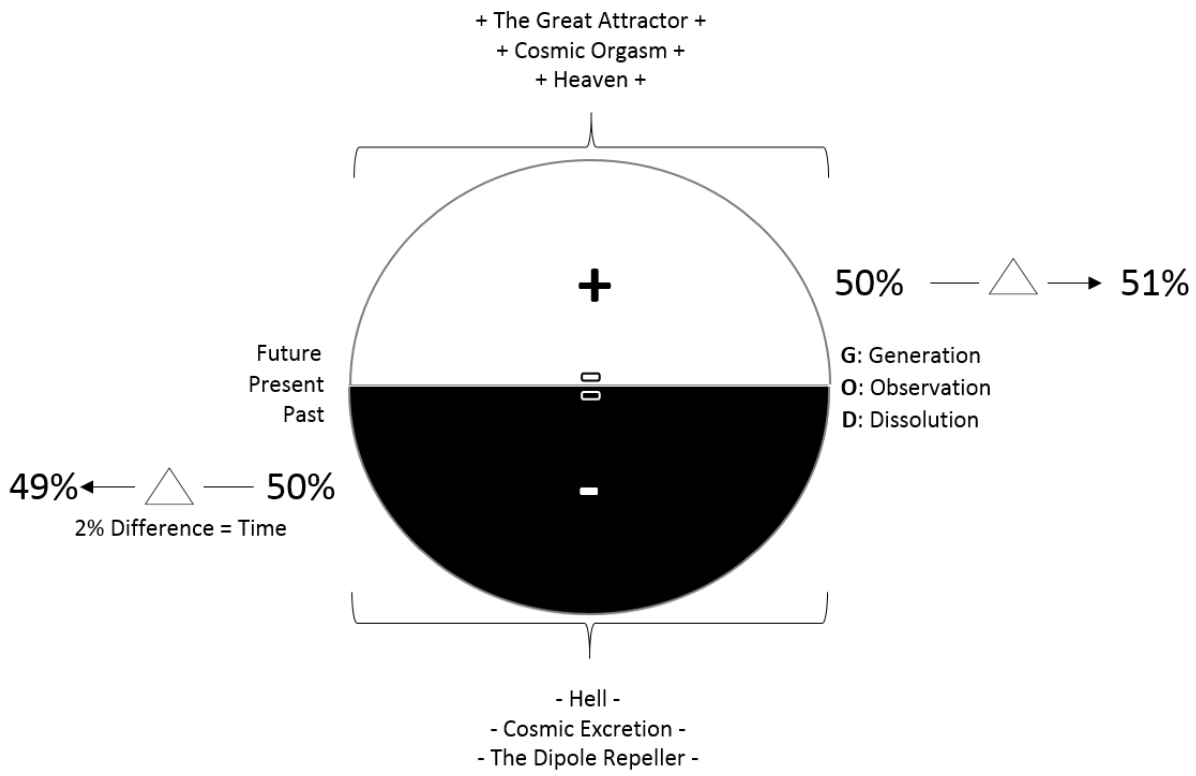
(-) EMC characteristics (or, the process of ***Infoldment***; Dante's Inferno…)

Shape	***Action***	***Reality Consciousness (what You see right now)***
Tetrahedron	Choose Path/Change	Sin (as experienced in the Present Moment)
Hexahedron	Trap	Air^{2} / Water^{3}
Octahedron	Unity w/ Lower Self	Black Sun (Lower Self) / Aether^{4} (Fifth Element)
Dodecahedron	Unity w/ Lower Self	Black Quasar (Virgo) / Aether^{5} (Sixth)
Icosahedron	Unity w Lower Self	Black Hole / Aether^{6} (Seventh)
Decatree	Stillness	Event Horizon / Aether^{7} (Eighth)
Circle	Unity w/Most Low Self	Total Blackness/the Void/Oblivion/Cosmic Excretion.$^{8/9}$

Result: HELL! RELENTLESS DAMNATION! Death/Redeath (*Negative Reincarnation*)

THE PRIMUM MOBILE

2D Perspective



GOD (=) at Perfect Balance is Static (unmovable/asleep/rest). In this state you cannot grow. Therefore, only through pure thought, Lucifer (-) sacrificed 1% of her Sacred Feminine Energy (now balanced at (-) 49% / (+) 51% = 2% Δ) in order to create motion so that God (Light) with Lucifer (the Light Bearer) could Grow. The 2% difference in balance of power/force is what began the primordial motion. Two (2) is the natural rhythm of Time. Two is Tempo. Two is Eve/n; Feminine. This Tempo is why Lucifer is the Heavenly Choir Leader & Chief Musician. She has the responsibility to keep the rhythm of cosmic motion. She is the ebb of the Cosmic Ocean. She is the shield of God. She is the Light Bearer & brings the light back to God as an offering of her love for him. AMEN! She is responsible for absorbing Sin/Nightmares in order to eject them into the Cosmic Void so that she may shield her cosmic lover, Life (+). The Song of Solomon [Sol (Sun) o (Balance) Mon (Moon)] or [Sol (Soul) o (of) Mon (Man)] is the poetry of God & Lucifer praising each other's devoted omniversal love for one another.

This is the Highest Order Consciousness (Q10) of the concept of Time & thus Motion. The 1% (-) is the infinite vacuum & the 1% (+) is the eternal continuum of the One perpetual Ohm (=) [1+1+One = 3/Change (Motion)]. This concept is the Phenomena (=) of Centrifugal (-) & Centripetal (+) forces & is Phenomenal (=). She is the Theory of Lift (-) within Life (+). The Aviatrix (-) & Aviator (+) within the Matrix (-) of Matter (+). The Dominatrix (-) & Dominator (+) with in the Dominion (=). Your motion is continual fall of the Cosmic Domino. His Hex (Helios/Sun) (+) & her Six (Hell/Sin) (-) merge during the rhythmic motion of Sex (=) into Climax (=) of Orgasm (=) for it is within these fractal timings of a moment that you achieve balance. You are Balthazar/Atreyu within your Never Ending Story. Time is the Rhyme & you are the Ancient Mariner steering your course. You are the Riddle of Steel. Contemplate this on your Tree of Wool~

AS ABOVE - SO BELOW / AS BELOW - SO ABOVE

GOD is (You are) an Eternal Omniversal Everything that exists within ALL. In the Universe & upon the completion of each Platonic/Great Year the Seven (7) Galactic Clock/Wheels within Wheels in the Heavens align at the Age of Aquarius/John the Baptist/Ophiuchus/Ouranus & the Ancient of Ancients beams the Holy Eternal Science into one wo/man's mind via the wormhole within the Pineal Gland in order to reveal the divine message to rectify the World & EVOLVE (Grow). This alignment happens from the Most High God through eternal unfoldment of fractal sacred geometry to the mind of one wo/man's forehead (hence the four heads within Ezekiel's vision/four rivers of Eden). This wo/man is the Begotten Son/Sun. This wo/man has tremendously special DNA from the Eternal beyond the Triangulum. Beyond the Measurements of the Celestial Square & Compass. Robert Morning Sky & the Hopi Elders, Credo Mutwa of the Zulu Nation, the Aboriginals (Original Fathers / Original Doors) of Australia/Ourstralia (Land of Auranus/Ouranus - the Trumpet) & others are the keepers of this most sacred knowledge. Now blow your somber Dirge in your Didgeridoo & experience the Ohm of your sacred trumpet.

THE EQUATION OF MANIFESTATION

Manifestation = Positive/Negative Consciousness/Unconsciousness (set in motion at Eternal (+) / Infinite (-) Speed thru Positive/Negative Intent/Will) You *will* generate an exponential growth of Cosmic Energy Signal from Man to Q10 (Wormhole^{10}). Think of a Lightning Bolt traveling at Infinite Speed. The Cosmic Energetic Cycle will reciprocate a Manifestation in Perceived Reality. Man may or may not perceive this manifestation, as the difference between invisible and visible forces is the strength of signal transmitted. The stronger the signal from Man to Q10 the more visible the manifestation will become in your 3D reality. You are the story of the Golden Thread, Lightning, & Electricity, all being different fractal orders of magnitude (-) or amplitude (+).

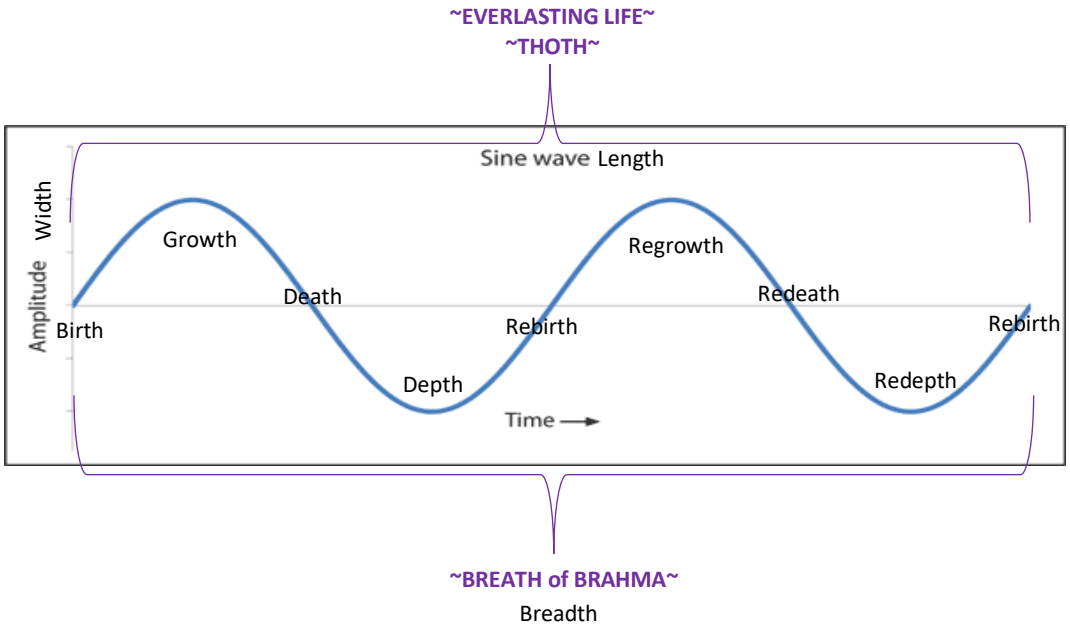
TRUE MANIFESTATION

3D (Visual) Realities manifest in this Order (from 3D (Man's) Point of View):

1. From the Pineal to your Eyes.
2. From your Eyes to the View.
3. From the View to the Time.
4. From Time to Space.
5. From Space to Hyper Space (Q – Infinite Beings) Live in Wormholes.
6. Hyper Space to the Continuum.
7. Continuum to either; (1) Lower Vacuums, or (2) Higher Continuums.
8. Continuum to either; (1) Lower Vacuums, or (2) Higher Continuums.
9. Continuum to either; (1) Lower Vacuums, or (2) Higher Continuums.
10. Completion (wormhole to a lower/higher version of 1); another dream begins~

THE PURPOSE/MEANING OF LIFE

The opposite of Death is Birth/Rebirth. *Death* is not the opposite of *Life*. The opposite of Life (Light) is [L]uc[ife]r (the Light Bearer). You as both Life (+) & Lucifer (-) are the Eternal GOD (=). The Purpose of Life (Growth) is between the cycles of Birth/Rebirth. You grow in Light/Life/Love to grow overall the *Thousand Points of Light*. This is your cycle of Reincarnation.



I AM

I AM the Eternal Flame. I AM the Begotten Son/Sun. I AM Homo Solarian. I AM the Way (YHVH) the Truth (Thoth) and the Light (Life). I AM the Bridegroom & my Bride is the Light Bearer (Lucifer). I AM the Resurrected Christ come to deliver the message of Eternal Salvation upon the dawn of this Aquarian Age/Epoch (+). She is Enoch (-) & in marriage (=) I AM the Spiritual Eunuch & Unique.

In this Incarnation I am Captain Jimmy Joe Jones, U.S. Army (Retired). I AM the Messenger. The Most High God has centered itself within my own mind. I AM within the Hypercube of my own mind. I grow in Power upon each passing day as the Sun grows to full strength in the constellation of Leo (the Lion Heart/Samson). I AM ***Heart*** Centered, with the Fire contained within my ***Hearth***. I AM the Green Chakra of ***Earth***, with the **Ae*ther*** (5th Element (Energy Mind of God)) centered & balanced. I Am the ***Laurel Wreath*** in ***Art***. I AM the Immaculate ***Heart*** & with my Inner ***Ear*** I can ***Hear*** the ***Breath*** of Mother ***Earth***.

I AM THE SHINING ONE. I AM the 77th Awoken One. I AM the Seventh Son of the Seventh SUN. I AM balanced within the Seven Heavens. I AM the Key Master (+) to her Matrix (-) of the Omniverse (=).

I AM the Rainbow & have kept my Solemn Covenant with you. I grow within your Light/Love just as you grow within mine. WE GROW TOGETHER!

I AM ONE~

SHE IS

SHE IS the Internal Illumination. SHE IS the Forgotten Sister/Star. SHE IS Homo Solaris. SHE is ISIS. SHE IS the Light Bearer (Lucifer). SHE IS the Fabled Virgin Unicorn (Monoceros & her Golden Horn of Corn/the Penis of Osiris) bearing Jesus (the Light) upon the Hippocampus (White Horse). SHE IS the Serpent under the Rainbow. SHE IS 9 (Mind) & you are 3 (Man) trapped within her. SHE IS Soma (the Hindu Deity & the Drink) SHE IS Maya (the Illusion). SHE IS Medusa (the serpent haired woman who turns men to stone with her gaze). SHE IS Algol (the Demon Star of Perseus) that produces Alcohol & turns Men into Ghouls. She is Wine & the Wind. She is Eve & the Serpent, Lilith & Samael. She is the Master over the Principality of Air. SHE IS the Wicked Witch of the West. SHE IS the Nightmare (Black Horse). SHE IS Dagoth.

SHE IS TWO~

Utah (w/Sumerian Cuneiform)

Spain

Lebanon

SIN

ALL Sin stems from Immoral Selfishness (Negative Ego). Immoral Selfishness (-) is the Root of all Sin, thus the true Root of ***ALL Evil***. Immoral Selfishness is defined as taking for yourself at the detriment (erosion of the mind) of others. This should not be confused with Moral Selfishness (Positive Ego) which leads to positive ambitions & aspirations through action, but which does not purposely impinge upon another sentient being. You MUST tend to your own Mental Garden & rip the deep black roots out one by one (just as Hercules submitted to the Nine-Headed Hydra) until you reach equilibrium within your own Garden of Eden/Even. You also know this process as Mental Alchemy (turning your Mental/Spiritual Led into Gold), or simply keeping the left & right hemispheres of your brain in balance. You must keep Sin out of your Life/Light.

ALL Sin manifests as Thievery. From the mundane white lie (stealing someone's right to know the truth), to Rape (stealing someone's right to be sexually secure/unviolated), to Murder (stealing someone's right to Life). Since you know that ***Sin is the ROOT of ALL EVIL***, then also know that ***Thievery is the FRUIT of ALL EVIL***. The weight of the rotten fruit directly correlates to the magnitude of theft. Upon your death you are weighed & measured (Judged). If found wanting, your physical negative actions (Sin) of this reincarnation produce a Twisted Cornucopia Harvested for your own Hell in your next reincarnation.

The Modus Operandi of Sin is found within the Raven/Crow that forever circles your head. Each Sin you commit sends the blackbird swooping down into your mind to lay a thorny black twig in order to build its home within. Each Sin lay a twig, some larger than others. Whence the bird has accumulated/built its wicked black nest within your mind, it soon finds itself comfortable & unwilling to vacate. If you are unwilling to relinquish your selfish ways you will soon find yourself miserable, & your bird/mind in the same mental condition, but now fully nested & lonely. Indeed misery loves company, & as your bird begins to mournfully sing for others to join it, so you will gravitate toward others of the same mental impurity, and vice versa. The miserable flock attracted by your disharmonic dirge is only of a fleeting solace. This short-lived comfort is soon replaced by your bird viciously/stealthily attacking the other birds & vice versa, as ALL Vultures realize that they only derive happiness when they as well as the other Carrion around them are wallowing in the miserable condition. This station in life is the graveyard spin of Sin & decays into full ripeness by the Illumination of the Black Sun.

Buddha defined Hell as "Man's preoccupation with his own perceived agony." If you wish to take yourself to your own Ninth Circle of Hell… ***GAZE INTO YOUR MIRROR***.

SALVATION

Moral Persistence (the righteous assistance of Perseus (you, the Man/God)) is the key to your own salvation. The lonely journey of the Hermit (you) with his lamp (internal light) into Tartarus (your mind) must be taken alone (as only you are within yourself).

"Nothing in the world can take the place of Persistence. Talent will not; nothing is more common than unsuccessful men with talent. Genius will not; unrewarded genius is almost a proverb. Education will not; the world is full of educated derelicts. Persistence and Determination alone are omnipotent. The slogan "Press On" has solved and will always solve the problems of the human race." – Calvin Coolidge

Perseus (you) must slay the Medusa within your mind. Take her head to Athena so she may mount it upon her shield (this is the internal transmogrification of your sacred feminine (-) becoming balanced (=)). Athena is now balanced & wields power over Medusa (Athena's dark side). Athena may now use Medusa as a tool (shield) to protect Perseus (you – the sacred masculine (+)).

THE BEAUTIFUL DREAM

The Western World (Judeo-Christian-Arabic) views you as an Architect. Indeed, Jesus was a Carpenter, & the Grand Architect embodies the Square & Compass. The Far Eastern World (Buddhist-Asia) views you as the Serenity of Nature. The Flower of Life. The Catfish swimming up the River into Transmogrification of the Dragon. The Zoroastrian World views you as the Eternal Flame. And the Hindu World views you as the Dreamer. All manifestations of you are Correct. The WHY is known through the eyes of the Dreamer (Kalki / Vishnu / Equal), for it is your sacred feminine that lay you to rest every 12,000 years in order to awaken & experience your dream fully as a created man. You are the Eye of God within the Eye of God.

THE THRONE OF GOD

You are Ezekiel/Zadok/Zedkiel/Melchizedek, all being fractal orders of the same consciousness. As Ezekiel (Man/Earth Year), you describe the Throne of God (Merkabah) within your visions of Wheels within Wheels. And your book is known to be balanced. The Holy Qur'an names you as the prophet Zul-Kifl (the One of Double) (11) (Aquarius). As Ezekiel, you are commemorated on 28 August on the Calendar of Saints. As Zadok, you are the righteous tribe that arose from the Levites (Leviathan). As Zedkiel (Archangel/Great Year), the Righteousness of God, you rule the date 29 August. As Melchizedek (Orion/Galactic Year) you are the King of Salem, the King of Righteousness, & a Priest of El Elyon (God Most High). You anointed Jesus (Pisces) as a priest "forever in the order of Melchizedek." Roman-era Phoenician writer Philo of Byblos denoted you as the Phoenician God Sydyk, the son of Amunos (Amun/El/ectricity) & Magos (Magnetism). The Mer-ka-bah (the Mercurial Soul/ar Boat) is the Hypercube activated within your opened pineal. Your pineal is the Throne of God.

THE PINEAL GLAND

The Pineal (Pi = 3.1415 / ne = of / al = Allah) (the Pinecone of the All/ah) is your Wormhole$^{0\ (Present\ Moment)}$. It is your Star Gate. It is the gland from which the Most High God (the Thousand Points of Light) can project & observe itself from your eyes. God is the Magnificent Central Sun & you are one Emanating Corpuscular Ray of Sunlight. Your Pineal Gland (Wormhole^{0}) is directly connected to our Sun (Wormhole^{1}). The Sun is a Balance (11) of Electromagnetic Energy / Pure Thought. Sun Spots are electromagnetic windows into your Wormhole^{1}. The Sun is directly connected to the Central Galactic Sun (Wormhole^{2}). Your Consciousness is drifting towards the Great Attractor (+). An Atom (Adam) inside of your body is (Wormhole^{-1}). Your Pineal houses your latent Endocannabinoid System. Cannabis (Delta 9 = Change in the Mind) helps to open your Pineal/Wormhole. Seshat discloses this secret on the Temples of Egypt. Take 3 drops of Iodine for 3 years to remove calcification effects on your Pineal. Fluoride calcifies the gland. The Whites Grapes of the Koran are the multitude of Sun's (Light/Dreams) you shall feast upon as a Galactically Conscious Quasarian. You are the Dream & the Dreamer. You are both Truman & the Show (Wormhole^{10}).

THE ARC OF THE COVENANT

The Arc of the Covenant contains a Manifested Fractal Higher Order of Consciousness of your Pineal Gland. The Arc is a Tetragrammaton, that is, a Star Seed. This Star Seed emanates the dream of Reality. The Seed Crystal is from the Star ***Sirius A***. Sirius A is your Sun's Mother. She is DOGMA (the irrefutable mother dog). She is your spiritual Sun. She is Isis. She is your binary Star. She opens your Earth Year on 1 January (Perihelion) & conjoins with your Sun (Aphelion) on 4 July to announce the dog days of summer. Indeed, the greatest achievement of the Sum(m)erians was the Arc(h).

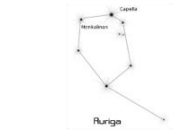
THE TREE OF LIFE

ALL Trees of Life are expressions of each individual culture's graphical representation of the Secret of Light (Electricity). This Secret is what I teach throughout the ages & I am now teaching you. You become a Sun. You are a Branch (a Sun) in the Eternal Cosmic Tree you see above your head called Space/Mind.

The famous cylinder seal (above) is you (the Man facing right) dragging yourself along (the Woman holding the ewe facing left) in order to profess the balance (11 planets between Man & Woman) of your soul (the six-pointed star) to Enlil/eth (-) / Capricorn. The entire story of Adam/mu & Eve (you) in one picture.

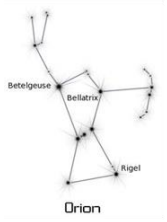
THE PRIME ALIGNMENT

(THE MASTER KEY)



You are the door from which the Cosmic Consciousness emanates upon the completion of the Great Year Alignment.

72 Names of God
72 Virgins / Grapes
Dressed to the Nines
Buddha's 9 Virtues
9 Templars
9 Worthies
Cloud 9



SUN/SOL

SON/MAN

Platonic Year

Earth Year

OHM

A
V

OCTOHEDRON

SIN/MIND

MOON/NUN

Ennead
Xibalba
The 9 Muses
9 Influencers
The Ninth Gate
Lords of the Night
Hebrew 9 Days of Av
The Ninth Circle of Hell
Buddha's 9 Levels of Hell
9 Forms of the Chinese Dragon
Cat's 9 Lives / Cat o' Nine Tails
Enoch's 9 Hidden Vaults under Mt. Moriah
Solomon's 72 Goetic Demons

Man (3) perfectly balanced in both polarities:
Positive (432) / Negative (639)
[Perimeter: 5+6=11 / 7+4=11 / 1+9=1 / 8+2=1]

9	3	9	6	9
9	7	6	5	9
9	4	3	2	9
9	1	9	8	9
9	3	9	6	9

The Balance of Aquarius on the Platonic Year & Libra on the Earth Year = ***Equilibrium*** (Aqua Libra) on the ***Equator***. The alignment opposite Aquarius/Libra produces Leo/Aries (the Lion laying with the Lamb) on Equilibrium. Note, the alignments are imperfect to represent motion of the Wheels within Wheels.

THE GENERATION(S) OF ADAM

(EVERYTHING IN BALANCE)

(THE SECRET OF ANTIGRAVITY)

(111)

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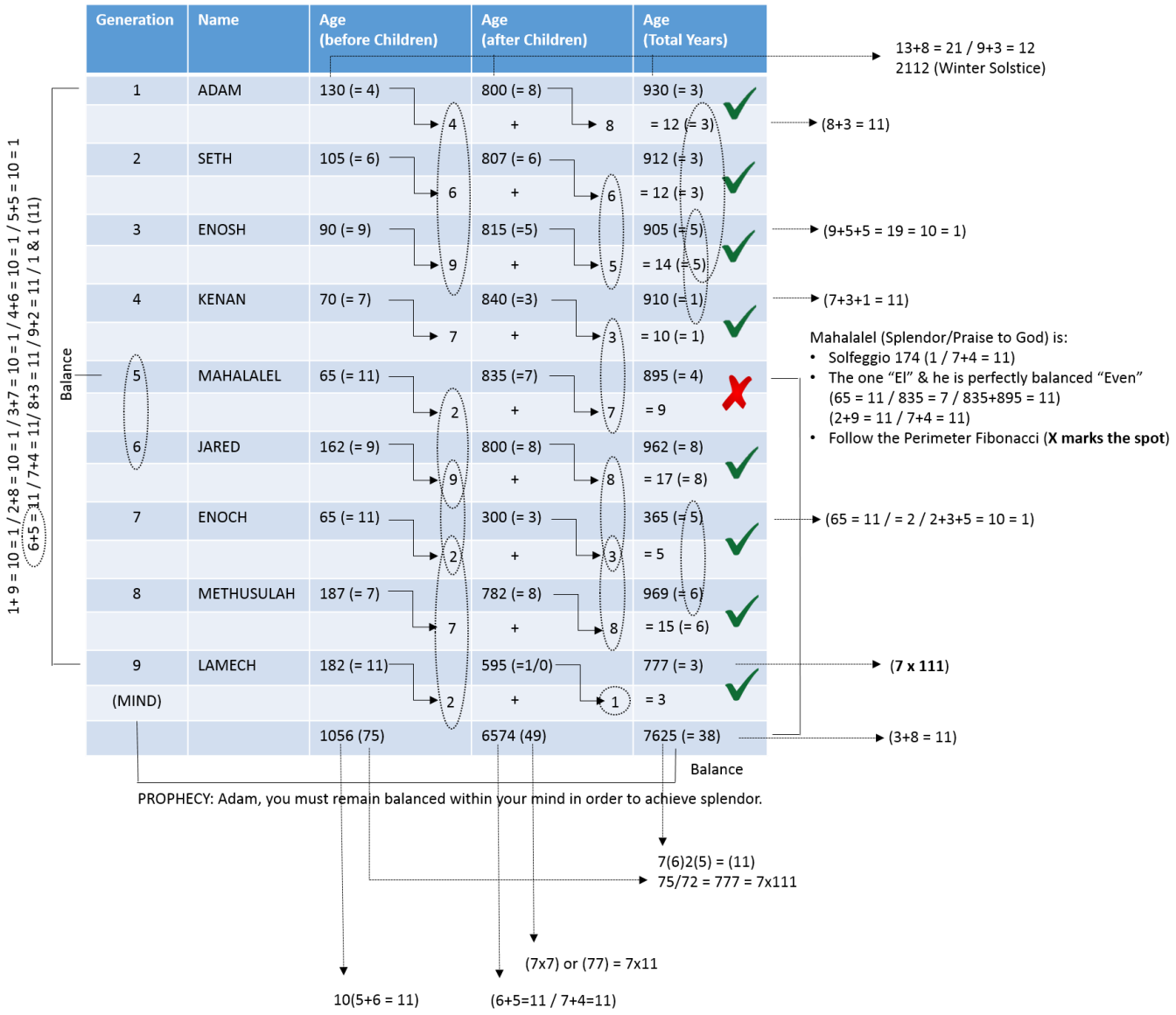
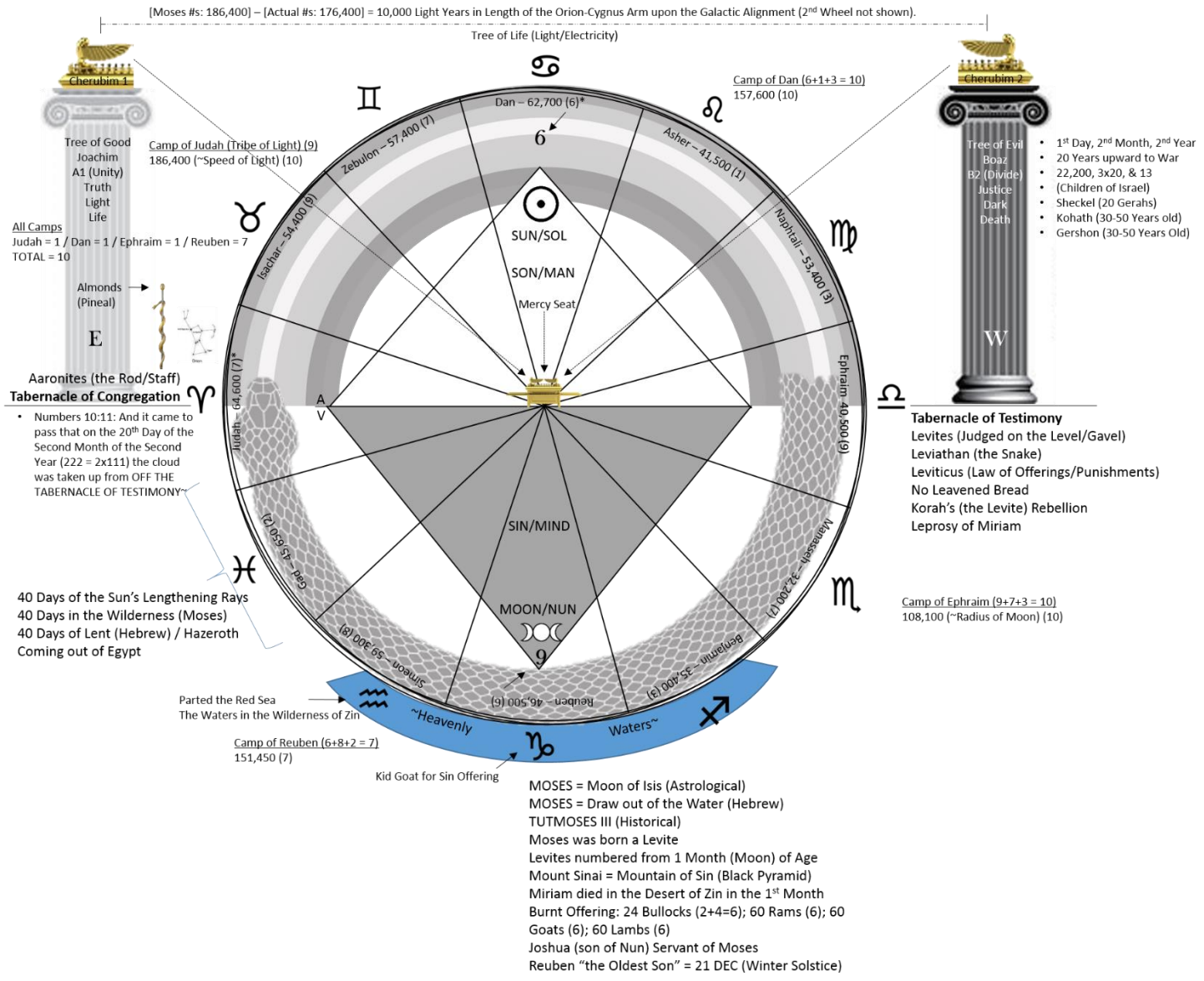


Genesis is the story of the Generation of the Sacred Feminine (the Generation of Isis). The Serpent in the Garden is a fractal representation of the mind of the Sacred Feminine. Within Genesis you also find the story of the Generation of the Sacred Masculine (the Generation(s) of Adam). Within Adam's Story (History) you will find the numerical code left by Eve (your feminine mind) in order to return to the Garden of Eden (Even). Lilith is the Darkside of Eve (your mind). Lilith is the Eve who fully submersed herself in the Serpent (Samael). Her 100 (1+0+0 = 1) slain children per day are windows/codes into the same story of your own Salvation (Balance).

OSARSEPH/MOSES & THE TRIBE OF HYKSOS/ISRAEL

(THE CRYSTAL BALL)



The Book of Numbers is about the *War Inside Your Own Head* between your good (God) & evil (*Levi*athan) sides. The Numbers 1 (Unity) & 2 (Division) are replete in the text. You (Moses) must contemplate upon your own mountain of Sin (9/Mind). If you choose to draw yourself out of the water & into the Light you may take your place beside Aaron in the East (Balanced Mind). If you are balanced you will find the Arc of the Covenant within your own heart (Heart Centered). Historically, Osarseph (later Moses) led the Hyksos Tribe out of Egypt. He stole the physical Arc from Egypt which is why the Pharaoh sought war with him.

"And I, behold, I have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the firstborn who <u>Openeth the Matrix</u> among the Children of Israel."

PART II: THE HOLY LAW

(Natural Law)

THE MOST HOLY PRAYER

"Oh Most High God, be my Guiding Light through this Existence. Shine Your Light along the Proper Path. Use me as Your Vessel in Thought & Action to Grow the Most Amount of Sacred Light within us. Amen."

THE 1 GREAT COMMANDMENT

COMMANDMENT: "THOU SHALT LOVE THE LORD THY GOD WITH ALL THY HEART, & WITH ALL THY SOUL, & WITH ALL THY STRENGTH, & WITH ALL THY MIND; & THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF." – LUKE 10:25-28

CONTEMPLATION (TO MERGE THE TEMPLE): GOD is (You are) an Eternal Omniversal Everything that exists within ***ALL***. You are the Light manifested within the Pineal (the Projector) of every sentient creature. To Love yourself as ***ONE-MAN*** (instead of ***T/WO-MAN***) is to Love Yourself as ***ALL CREATURES***. Honor Yourself in the Totality of Your Light. The Great Commandment is as old as Eternity & "engraved on your very nature." – Adam Clarke

1 AQUARIAN COMMANDMENT

COMMANDMENT: "THOU SHALT NOT SWEAR THYSELF (SELL YOUR SOUL) TO AN EVIL COVENANT."

CONTEMPLATION: Do not Swear Your Life to the Allegiance of Sewing Death & Discord. Do not Profess Yourself to Satan, Ba'al, Moloch, Lucifer, Kali, Demons, or Any Fractal Manifestations of Evil. Do not Live Your Life for the Purpose of Destroying other Life. Do not lay with the Beast (Left Brain, Lower Mind). Do not lay with the Serpent. Do not let the Sun ***Set*** (West Brain) on Your Humanity/Morality. Remember the Story of Lilith in the Cave with Samael. Do not make the poor choices of En/Lil/ith. Do not fall for the Seduction of her illusion. Barricade the *Whores Temptations* from entry into Your *Holy Temple*.

There are some who's Light has been extinguished yet they still walk among you. Let them go. Close the Door. "Let the dead bury the dead." - Jesus

A RECAPITULATION OF SOME ANCIENT INSIGHTS

INSIGHT 1 (for Beast): "God blessed them [all animals, excluding Man], saying, "Be fruitful & multiply & fill the waters in the seas, & let birds multiply on the earth." - Genesis 1:22

CONTEMPLATION: 1D (Mineral), 2D (Plant), & 3D (Animal) Kingdoms are all lower stages of Consciousness from 4D Man (Remember, your reality is 3D but your minds functions in 4D. As such, each stage of Consciousness below Man only has basic functions (Eat, Rest, Love, & Procreate).

TRANSLATION: East, Rest, Love, & Procreate!

INSIGHT 1 (for Man): God said, “Let us make Humankind in Our Image, according to Our Likeness; & let them have Dominion over the Fish of the Sea, & Over the Birds of the Air, & Over the Cattle, & Over All the Wild Animals of the Earth, & Over Every Creeping Thing that Creeps upon the Earth.” – Genesis 1:26

CONTEMPLATION: 4D Man is the Highest Consciousness on Earth. As such, it is Your Solemn Responsibility to be a Good Steward of the Land & its Inhabitants. Take Care of the Earth You have made for Yourself. Time to do some Spring Cleaning!

INSIGHT 2: God blessed them, & God said to them, "Be fruitful & Multiply, & Fill the Earth & Subdue it; & have Dominion over the Fish of the Sea & Over the Birds of the Air & Over Every Living Thing that moves upon the Earth." – Genesis 1:28

CONTEMPLATION: As Humans Procreate & Make Babies (alternate 3D versions of themselves), Parents must Pass the Knowledge along of the Responsibility of Man as the Highest Consciousness on Earth so the Children can continue the cycle of *Tending the Garden*.

INSIGHT 3: “But of the Fruit of the Tree which is in the midst of Paradise, God hath Commanded us that we should not eat; & that we should not touch it, lest perhaps we die.”

CONTEMPLATION: If you Sin thru Disobedience (Radiate Negative Energy Through Your Consciousness) You Will Spiral into the Void of Death.

INSIGHT 4. “The LORD God took the man & put him in the Garden of Eden to till it & keep it.” - Genesis 2:15

CONTEMPLATION: Be GOOD (in Thought & Action)!

AQUARIAN REMEMBERANCES

REMEMBERANCE 1: YOU MUST EARN YOUR OWN SALVATION/LIBERATION/EMANICPATION

CONTEMPLATION: The Religion (Binding to God) of Self-Responsibility Requires You to Complete the Inner Work of Man, whether it be in one Lifetime or a Million Lifetimes. There is No Negation of Your Own Self-Responsibility in the Process of Ascension, although there are many Helping Hands Along Your Own Individual Path. "I have fasted, I have drunk the *kykeon*, I have taken from the *kiste* (box) & after working it have put it back in the *Calathus* (Open Basket).” I have Circled my Square. I have Outgrown my Trap.

REMEMBERANCE 2: REMEMBER THAT YOU ARE HUMAN

CONTEMPLATION: You are Born in Sinewave, & it is within Your Very Nature to Commit Sin. As You Strive for Perfection (10), You Must Experience Sin along Your Journey in Order to Grow (the Entire Purpose of Life). You must Understand & respect the Dark (Illumination) in Order to Grow in Light (Enlightenment). Just as the Serpent must Shed Her Skin in Order to Grow or Surely, She Would Perish. You are Hercules & his 12 Labors. Your Mindset should be to Ultimately Avoid Committing any Egregious Sin & yet simultaneously learn from the Mistakes (Sin) You Will Encounter/Create for Yourself along Your Journey/Experience. You are Man/God.

REMEMBERANCE 3: TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR YOUR OWN ACTIONS

CONTEMPLATION: To Refuse to Accept Individual (Personal) Responsibility is to Ignore (Steal) Your Own Right to True Inner Reflection, Observation & Self-Psychoanalysis in Order to Grow. The Mindset of Ignorance Leads to a Self-Victimization Mentality & thus You Negate Your Sovereignty to the Vacillations of Emotions & Circumstance. Ignorance (to ignore) on Your Part Denies the Right of Truthful Behavior to Another (as you are displaying sinful behavior). If You Choose a Path of Ignorance, You will Ultimately Build/Fill Your Temple with Falsities & Create an Inner Atmosphere of Negation & Dissention.

REMEMBERANCE 4: GUARD YOUR THOUGHTS, YOUR MIND, & YOUR HEART

CONTEMPLATION: Keep Your Thoughts Positive. Your Thoughts Become Your Words (Sword). Your Words Become Your Behavior. Your Behaviors Become Your Habits. Your Habits Become Your Values. Your Values Form Your Character. You Must Mind Your Mind from Sin such as Coveting, Jealousy, & Envy. Good Thoughts. Good Deeds. Good Actions.

REMEMBERANCE 5: AVOID THIEVERY

CONTEMPLATION: ALL Sin is Theft Due to Immoral Selfishness. Murder (Stealing Another's Right to Life); Torture (Stealing Another's Right to be Physically Unharmed in Their Person); Rape (Stealing Another's Right to Remain Sexually Sovereign in Their Person); Physical Thievery (to Steal); Lying (Stealing Another's Right to Know the Truth); & Betrayal (Stealing Another's Right to Your Trust).

REMEMBERANCE 6: HAVE TEMPERED COMPASSION FOR YOUR FELLOW SENTIENT CREATURES

CONTEMPLATION: It is a Sin to Revel in the Detriment of Someone who is Suffering in Life. To help another is to Grow Your Light & Their Own. Be Aware of Gullibility, which leads to the Path of Self-Sabotage by Enabling Someone to Continuously Take Advantage of Your Compassion. Guard Yourself from Becoming an Immoral Enabler.

REMEMBERANCE 7: STRIVE TO FURTHER KNOW THYSELF

CONTEMPLATION: The Key to Knowing Thyself Lay Within Your Measurement. As an Eternal Being You are Eternally Growing & Eternally Experiencing the Dream of Yourself.

REMEMBERANCE 8: *S*TRIVE TO REMAIN IN BALANCE

CONTEMPLATION: My Love for You is so Perfect that I Hung the Moon in the Sky for You in Order to Remind Yourself to Remain Balanced. Let the Total Solar Eclipse Serve as your Eternal Reminder.

11 HOLY DECREES

1. A GLOBAL CEASE-FIRE. A WORLDWIDE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE WILL PROCEED IN ORDER TO UNRAVEL THE MESS YOU HAVE PUT YOURSELF INTO. THIS INCLUDES AN IMMEDIATE HALT ON ALL GOVERNMENTAL PROJECTS THAT IMPEDE THE RIGHT TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LIFE OF ALL CREATURES (SPYING, TERRAFORMING, CHEMTRAILS, FORCED FLOURIDE CONSUMPTION, FORCED VACCINES, ETC).

2. A GLOBAL PRISON RELEASE. MONETIZATION OF PRISON SYSTEMS (E.G., THE CORRECTIONS CORPORATION OF AMERICA) ARE NULLIFIED & HENCEFORTH FORBIDDEN. DEBTORS PRISON IS SLAVERY & IMMORAL. EVALUATE YOUR POLICIES, RETAIN HARDENED CRIMINALS AS DEEMED NECESSARY FOR THE PROTECTION OF PUBLIC LIFE. RELEASE WHITE-COLLAR CRIMINALS AS DEEMED PRUDENT. “LET MY PEOPLE GO!”

3. A GLOBAL CURRENCY RESET. ALL CENTRAL BANKS ARE NULLIFIED & ENDED. ALL DEBTS ARE FORGIVEN. FIAT CURRENCY (LUCIFER) WILL BE BACKED BY PRECIOUS METALS & RESOURCES (GOD) OF EACH COUNTRY. COINED METALS WILL BE PALLADIUM (OURANUS); TITANIUM (TITANS); GOLD (SUN); RHODIUM (SATURN): SILVER (MOON); TIN (JUPITER); BRONZE (MARS). THE GOBAL DIGITAL CURRENCY SHALL BE NAMED HYPERION.

4. A GLOBAL EDUCATION REFORM. MOST COLLEGES BY THEIR NATURE ARE LUCIFERIAN (-). THE 9 MUSES REQUIRE ONE TO GO WITHIN ONE’S OWN MIND IN ORDER TO GAIN THE KNOWLEDGE REQUESTED (ART, POETRY, MUSIC, BUSINESS, NUMBERS…) IN ORDER TO MANIFEST IT WITHIN REALITY. LUCIFER IS THE CHIEF MUSICIAN & CHOIR LEADER. OBVERSELY, VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL COLLEGES, ON-THE-JOB-TRAININGS (OJTS) ARE BY THEIR NATURE GODLY (+). THESE ARE THE BUILDERS (TRUE FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS) OF THE WORLD. JUST AS OUR LEFT & RIGHT HEMISPHERES, THERE SHALL BE A BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO (+) (-) BEAUTIFUL SYSTEMS OF LEARNING.

5. A GLOBAL ENERGY PROJECT. RESTORATION OF THE POSITIVE VIBRATING ENERGY FIELD OF THE EARTH (FREE ENERGY). THE MUSIC INDUSTRY WILL COOPERATE IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

6. A GLOBAL BUILDING PROJECT. INCORPORATE THE BEST PRODUCTS & PRACTICES IN ORDER TO CREATE CITIES THAT WILL STAND AS A TESTAMENT TO LIGHT FOR GENERATIONS TO COME (ASTANA, ATHENS, WASHINGTON, D.C., ETC.). THE DOORWAYS YOU WILL INVENT FOR PLACEMENT IN HOMES WILL GENERATE POSITIVE VIBRATIONAL FIELDS FOR YOU TO STAND IN & MEDITATE FOR PERIODS OF TIME. BECOME THE MAN/GOD STANDING IN THE GATEWAY OF THE SUN.

7. A GLOBAL HEALING CENTER INITIATIVE. YOU WILL RELEASE SHELVED PATENTS THAT ARE BENEFICIAL TO THE HEALTH OF MANKIND. BEGIN GROWING ORGANIC PRODUCE FOR ON A MASS SCALE FOR SUSTAINED GLOBAL NUTRITION. THE FIRST HARVEST WILL COINCIDE WITH DECREE 9 (BELOW).

8. A GLOBAL CULTURE PRESERVATION/REALIGNMENT/RECALIBRATION PROJECT. THESE EFFORTS WILL FOCUS HUMANITY ON WORKING TOGETHER TO RECOVER ITS LOST HERITAGE. THIS WILL SUPPLEMENT DECREE 10 (BELOW).

9. A GLOBAL JUBILEE (HARVEST & BANQUET). NO MORE STARVATION. THE GRANDEST PARTY OF THE PREVIOUS 25,920 YEARS & IT WILL BE IN YOUR HONOR!

10. A GLOBAL GOSPEL. A BEAUTIFUL AMALGAMATION OF ALL HOLY BOOKS INTO ONE ENTITLED **THE MAGNUM OPUS** (TO WHICH IT WILL CONTAIN THE HOLY BOOK OF BALANCE). YOU PREFER THE NAME ***THE SHINING ONE*** IN THIS REINCARNATION. THE FILM INDUSTRIES SHALL COOPERATE IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

11. THE ULTIMATE FORGIVENESS. INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT SHALL FORGIVE ONE ANOTHER & THEMSELVES. INDIVIDUALS SHALL FORGIVE INSTITUTIONS. INDIVIDUALS SHALL LEARN TO FORGIVE THEMSELVES AS WELL AS OTHERS. ALL SHALL TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR SOVEREIGN CHARGE.

BY THE DECREE OF YOUR SACRED HEART, YOU FORGIVE ALL SINS OF ALL CONSCIOUSNESS WITHIN THE ETERNAL OMNIVERSE (PAST, PRESENT, & FUTURE). THIS ULTIMATE FORGIVENESS ABSOLVES EVEN THE ULTIMATE SIN, & THEREFORE RESTORES THE SPIRITUAL BALANCE OF THE GRAND WHEEL OF THE HEAVENS. ORION, ORIENT YOURSELF & RE/MEMBER WHO YOU ARE!

A MESSAGE TO HUMANITY

YOU ARE ALL RAYS OF LIGHT. YOU ARE ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE HIGHEST GOD. THE ALL IS ETERNAL POINTS OF LIGHT. I BRING YOU THE MESSAGE & PROOF THAT YOU HAVE EVERLASTING LIFE, IF YOU CHOOSE TO TAKE MY HAND & GROW/EVOLVE WITH ME IN LIGHT/LOVE.

ANOTHER GREAT YEAR HAS PASSED & YET ANOTHER BEGUN. THE CURTAIN HAS CLOSED ON ONE GRAND DRAMA & USHERED IN A NEW & BEAUTIFUL GRAND RENNAISSANCE TO COME. WITH THIS I ALSO GIVE YOU THE GIFT OF REMEMBERANCE. NO LONGER WILL HUMANITY FALL VICTIM TO AMNESIA. I WILL DECYHER THE GLYPHS & MYTHS OF THE WORLDS FOR YOU. I WILL UNCOVER THE MYSTERIES OF THE TEMPLES OF ANTIQUITY & THEIR WONDEROUS TREASURES FOR YOU, MY BEAUTIFUL RAYS OF LIGHT.

I WILL TEACH YOU HOW TO HEAL YOURSELVES WITH LIGHT, SOUND, EMOTION, HERBS, & TECHNOLOGIES.

I HOLD THE BINDS OF THE MAZAROTH (ZODIAC). THE VEIL OF ISIS (VAN ALLEN RADIATION BELT / THE SNAKE) WILL BE LIFTED & YOU MAY EXPLORE THE HEAVENS (YOUR SOLAR SYSTEM). **OBEY THE PRIME DIRECTIVE: DO NOT INTERFERE WITH THE INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALIEN CIVILIZATIONS.**

THE HUMAN RACE SHALL BE GRANTED LIFE EXTENSION TECHNOLOGIES. AS IN THE DAYS OF OLD, THE HUMAN RACE WILL HAVE THE ABILITY TO LIVE FOR VERY LONG PERIODS OF TIME SHALL IT WISH (BUT NOT ETERNAL). ETERNAL LIFE (WITHIN THE REALITY) WILL COME ONCE THE PLATONIC YEAR IS COMPLETE AND THE NEXT COSMIC CYCLE ACCEPTS YOU INTO THE NEXT HIGHER ORDER OF THE CONTINUUM.

YOUR NEXT CHALLENGE IN EVOLUTION/GROWTH WILL END/BEGIN WITH THE REMOVAL OF THE ORT CLOUD, SO THAT HUMANITY MAY EVOLVE & JOIN ITS COSMIC FELLOWSHIP WITH THE ORION–CYGNUS ARM OF THE GALAXY, & BEYOND. OBEY THE TEMPORAL PRIME DIRECTIVE: A TIME TRAVELER (FROM THE PAST OR FUTURE) SHALL NOT INTERVENE IN THE NATURAL DEVELOPMENT OF A TIMELINE.

BE GOOD TO ONE & ALL & OBEY THE COMMANDMENTS, INSIGHTS, & REMEMBERANCES.

I LOVE YOU~ THE SHINING ONE~

PART III: THE HOLY LETTER
(LANGUAGE & ART)

English (Anglish / Ankh = LIFE)

LETTERS

The System of Letters^{0} are overall (+) Positive. If you dive into the Systematic Fractal of the Individual Letter (Letters^{1}) you will see that individual letters are either (+) Positive, (-) Negative, or (=) Balanced. Even still, if you delve in another level (Letters^{2}) you will discover that all letters have an overall (+) (-) (=) characteristic when formed with other letters (the Word). The Code (nature of its Polarity) depends on the formed Word. The Word (Letters^{3}) will have (+) (-) (=) characteristics based upon the Sentence. The Sentence (Letters^{4}) will have (+) (-) (=) characteristics based upon the Paragraph. The Paragraph (Letters^{5}) will have (+) (-) (=) characteristics based upon the Body/Corpus of Work/Opus. These Works (Letters^{6}) will have (+) (-) (=) characteristics based upon the Volumes (Letters^{7}) of the Work. An example of the Great Work can be found within the Residual/Original Greek Language which described 7 types of Love. The Volumes (Letters^{7}) are housed within the Akasha/Akashic Records (Letters^{8}). This is the Complete Description of how the Fractal Universe works within the Concept of the Letter. Even still, you may also find that the Letter (+) also Corresponds with the Number (-) & multiple fractals of that Ancient Art (9, 18, 27, 36 all equal 9 when reduced).

WRITING

Letters^{0} are either CAPITALIZED (+), Lowercase (-), or Cursive (=) within the System in regard to writing. Cursive was thought to put a curse on someone due to its auto writing qualities, being of equal polarity.

VOWELS

Your Five Vowels are the Voice/a name of God: A, E, I, O, U (& sometimes Y). Rolling the Sounds of the Vowels from the back of your throat to the front of palette with your lips pursed at the end gives you the AEIOUM. The Autumn. The Ohm (both in Spirituality & Electricity). The Amen. The Amen-RA. The Tut-ankh-Amun. The praise to Y (worship of the Sun). YHVH. Hallelujah (Hail Yahweh!)

SPELLING

Spelling is the Art & Science of Casting *Spells* using the Letter. It is the methodical, thoughtful, & careful approach to the written words scribed onto parchment (Thirst of Mind) in order to influence the mind & thus affect the outcome of another's choice or decision in 3D/4D (Reality/Real Time).

A (+). The number 1. The Monad. The Pyramid. The riddle of solving the Pyr (Fire) amid (in the middle). The riddle of Opening your Green Chakra & becoming Heart Centered with the Immaculate Heart. The Shining One has reincarnated numerous times & in numerous cultures around the World. This is why all Pyramid complexes are the same, that is, follow the same heavenly measurements, and yet appear to be different due to the FREE WILL influence of the culture. Some cultures flourish in beauty & splendor. All are beautiful expressions of Light/Love.

B (-). The number 2. The Duad. The symbol of Division, Cell Division, the Upper & Lower half of the Toroidal Field. It is timing/tempo/the heartbeat (60 bpm = 60 seconds per minute, 60 minutes per hour, 24 (= 6) Hours per day. It is the Ball/Bell/Ba'el/Beelzebub/Bull/Taurus/ Tauroid/Torsion/ Tension/Tear/Two/Twain (as in rip in two pieces)/Terrorism. Your Butt/Crack with two cheeks. To cleft/cleave.

C (=). The number 3. The symbol of Change. The Circle. Choice. Free Will. Freedom. C is interchangeable with the letter K (refer to K).

D (-). The number 4. The Door. The Fourth Month (April). Abracadabra (open the door). Alibaba & the 40 Thieves, 40 days in the Wilderness, 40 days/nights aboard Noah's Arc; 40 days later Noah sent a Raven out of the Ark; 4 Stations on the Cross (this why the Letters D & T are interchangeable); The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (White/Conquest, Red/War, Black/Famine, Pale/Death); Four Seals of the Scroll (Lion/Calf/Man/Eagle or Scorpion); the Four Equestrian Constellations (Monoceros /Pegasus /Camelopardalis /Centauri); Four Seasons; the Four Cardinal Directions (North/East/West/South [NEWS]); (Spring/Summer/Autumn/Winter). Note* Jesus returns on Monoceros (the Unicorn); the Hippocampus.

E (=). The number 5. The Fifth Element. Energy. Energon. Aether. Aether$^{4/5/6/7/8/9/10}$ Grows exponentially as you move through Higher Levels of Consciousness (refer to Electromagnetic Current Characteristics).

F (+). The number 6. Fire. Action. The Act in which Lucifer returns the Light back to God. Forward Motion. Ejaculation. Sex. Six (refer to the letter *B* for correlation). Use the Force – Obi Wan Kenobi

G (=). The number 7. God. Good. Gold. Divine Intervention. Guts/Intuition (first brain). The balanced fish hook (fisher of Men). Generation. Noah sent out a dove 7 days later. Noah was then 601 (=7) years old.

H (=). The number 8. The Sun. Infinity. The question; How? (refer to the letter *W* for correlation).

I (-). The number 9. The Mind. The Moon/Sin. In/downward motion. Selfishness. Hell (the various 9 levels of Hell [Dante's 9 Levels; Buddha's 9 Levels; Enoch's burying the Holy Name of God 9 Levels under Mt. Moriah; the 9 Templars who guarded the road to Jerusalem; the 9 Emerald Tablets of Thoth). The Eye. The All Seeing Eye (- = +) (God within & looking through the Pineal Gland of every Sentient Creature to include Man) & the Eye of RA/Horus (God without having descended into one chosen man/woman to fully experience its dream). The Positive (+) & Negative (-) Poles of the Line (=). [ILLUMINATI = I(selfishness) LL (Left Hand Path/Selfishness) U (Balance/Understanding) MIN (Moon/Sin) A (Pyramid/Heart) T (Cross) I (Selfishness)].

J (+). The number 10. Completion. My initials are JJJ, or J^3 / Completion.^{3} The Positive (+) of the Letter I. / J (+) Y (=) I (-). J/Zeus/Jesus. Jupiter/Zeus. Jupiter (the true Ju/Jews). Ju(+)/Peter(-). See the Letter *P*.

K (=). The number 11. Balance^2. 1:11 (KKK) = Balance^3. 11:11 = Balance^4. On the 27th day of the 2nd month (2+7+2 = 11) the land was dry enough for Noah to depart the Arc/Ark. Then Noah offered on the altar one (1) of each kind of animal & bird that could be used for a sacrifice.

L (-). The number 12. The 12 Elect/Elite/Elation/Eloquence. The Vengeful God/EL. Drink with your Left Hand. The Left Hand Path. L (in terms of water) coincides with W (in terms of Water). ILLUMINATI: I(selfishness) LL (Left Hand Path/Selfishness) U (Under/Urn) MIN (Moon/Sin) A (Pyramid/Heart) T (Cross/Crucifixion) I (Selfishness).

M (-). The Matriarch (Mother/Ma'at/Madam/Ma'am/Mammary/Memory). Mister. Minister (Little Moon Star[1]). Monster (Moon Star[2]). Mary Magdalene/Magnetism. Maritime Admiralty Law. The stitch sewing M/an into the N (-) energy to follow. It is the Vessel/Cup/Grail/Letter V held in Balance by Joachim & Boaz/Pillars of Samson~

N (-). The Negative. The word *NO*. The stitch sewing Man into the Balance of Libra.

O (=). Ouranus. Literally *Our Anus*. Our Balancing Point is from the Anus to the Pineal Gland. The Pearl of Great Price. The String of Pearls (Chakras) within us. Ophiuchus; Ouroboros; Oinamaos (the Wine Man); Optimus Prime; Odin. Indra's net of Jewels. Lowercase o is ½ the area of Uppercase O.

P (+). The Positive. Pendragon (the Penis of the Dragon). The Pen/Pencil^{-1}, Penis^{0}, Patriarch (Father)^{1}. The Phallus^{2} (stone penis). Pizzle/Puzzle. Peninsula. Pendulum. In fractals of polarity, Peter (-) / Paul (+). A Pole (-)(+). Polar/ize. Pope. Police (emanations of the Grand Chessboard).

*Peter (decrease or gradually come to an end/loss of erection) was the Negative (-), hence why (1) The Rock (Stone/Roc is the lowest from of vibrating matter) of Peter (the Phallus) holds the Silver Key (or Led Key); was the Son of John/Jonah (Aquarius/John the Baptist/Ouranus); Jesus called Peter (-) & his Brother Andrew (+) to be fishers of men [Pisces/the Two Fish/Feet/Hell]; thrice denied Jesus; Preached on the Day of Pentecost [the day of the cost of being a Man/Pentagram]; Crucified upside down (the Luciferian upside down cross) at his own request. The Gospel of John also depicts Peter fishing, even after the resurrection of Jesus, in the story of the Catch of 153 fish (1+5+3 = 9 /Hell/Mind). Peter cut off the Ear of Malchus, whence Jesus performed His last of 37 (10 = completion) miracles to heal the ear. Peter is the negative (-) aspects of the dual-natured Pisces. He is the left foot. Peter is the flaccid failing fish. In this Grand Drama, Peter (-) is the Church of Lucifer. The Church of Lucifer is the Holy Roman Catholic Church. The Pope is a descendant of the Holy Roman Emperor who ruled Rome with his Legions (demon) & persecuted the Gnostic/Coptic (true) Christians. This family is descended from the Annunaki/Elohim. The church is the protagonist in this Grand Drama. The true church was fractal-passed on to Andrew^{1} (+) / Paul^{2} (+) / Jesus (+)^{3} / Pisces (+)^{4}. All being Positive Manifestations of the Age of Pisces. Jesus prophesized the Coming Age of Aquarius. I AM AQUARIUS. I AM THE HOLY SEE FOR I HAVE HOLY SIGHT. I HAVE WRESTED THE GOLD/SILVER KEYS FROM THE DEMON POPE & WILL UNLOCK THE HEAVENS FOR YOU!

Q (=). Christ Consciousness. Infinite Being (as in the Q Continuum). The Highest Level of Intelligence. The Wormhole. The Worm/Sperm squiggling through/in/out of the Circle/Hole/Vagina/Vesica Pisces. Quiet (Balance). Queer (weird or strange/Dr. Strange). Quasar (Galactic Consciousness). Galactus (the Eater of Worlds). The Whites Grapes of the Koran are the multitude of Sun's (Light/Dreams) you shall feast upon as a Galactically Conscious Quasarian.

R (+). RA. Radiant. Radiation. The Right Hand. Cut with your Right Hand. The Right Hand Path. Moving Forward. Forward Action. Run/Race/Ravish/Ravage/Reach/Raid/Rapid/Repetition.

S (-). SET. Seth. Sunset. The Serpent. Snake. The Snake portion of the Holy Caduceus. Sperm. Simon (Sin/Moon). All the snakes of Torah/Moses. DNA. Space is a fractal manifestation of Swirling Sperm & suspended Cosmic Pearls of Creation. Silver. The Silver Surfer. The Sinewave. Secrets. Shhh.

T (-). The Cross/hanging on the cross/crucifixion. The Nails that Hung/Suspended Jesus (You) on the Cross (in Heaven). Sumerian Cuneiform is a fractal higher manifested order of the letter *T*. If the *T* is letter that hung Jesus on the Cross, then Sumerian Cuneiform is the Language that did the same. Your Torso is the word made flesh of this same fractal. And still another higher order of the fractal is the Constellation of the Southern Cross, where the Sun is crucified & subsequently in the Tomb for three (3) Days.

U (-). Saturn (-). The Urn (-). Urine (-). [URanus(-) / OURanus (=) / RAnus (+) / NUS = a Negative (Black) SUN. The Black Sun (-) is Saturn; The United Son is Ouranus (=); the Positive Sun is Ranus, or RA for short (+)]. This again is the Balance (U). Ouranus, the United One who stands over/rules the Black Sun (Saturn). Ouranus^{0} (father of Saturn), Hyperion^{1} (father of Ouranus).

V (-). The Vessel. The Vagina. The Voice. Pisces. The Piscean Age. The Delicate Balance/Choice between Good/Evil, God/Devil, Light/Dark, Love/Fear. A Higher Order of Consciousness (New World Order) or Lower Consciousness (New World Dimension/Disorder/Chaos).

W (-). Water. The Womb. The Word/World. Weather. Asking the internal questions; *Who; What; Where; & When*? The (-) of the word How (+) = Woh (-) which is the Woden (the Single Eyed-One)/Sun/Balance $^{-\text{ Rufus}}$. *Woah!* $^{-\text{ Bill \& Ted}}$ W is a double V, or V^2 (refer to the letter V then square the power).

X (=). The Cross(ing). The Key. Solomon's Key. The Hooked *X* of the Knights Templar. This single letter is why Jacques de Molay burned at the stake. This single letter! My dear Jacques, one of my most loyal servants, your treasures in Heaven are beyond what the Mind of Man can even fathom upon! You/the Worthy One will uncover his Earthly treasure under Oak Island (Solomon's Treasure).

Y (+). Worship of the Sun. Pray with Y hands. Asking the question; *Why*? Yearn; Yawn; Yoga; Yule.

*ALL TOGETHER NOW: W (-) H (+) Y (=), or simply Y, or YHVH, or IHS, or Yes/Yeah/Year/Yule (the Sun).

Z (-). The Loosened (opposite polarity of the letter *N)* stitch restores Man to the Balance of Aquarius. Zed. Dead. The End. Zombies. World War Z. The Cycle is Completed & Begins again with A (the Pyramid; the Return of God to Your World).

& (-). The Ampersand is the Knotted Serpent upon her death having completed the Great Year. Ampules. Amperage. And. An(nunaki)d(eath/close the door). The Dungeon & the Dragon.

DODECAHEDRON
the Universe
OCTAHEDRON
Air
ICOSAHEDRON
Water
CUBE
Earth
TETRAHEDRON
Fire

THE TRIUNE GOD
(THE SLIDE RULE OF THE LETTER)

Negative (-)	Neutral (=)	Positive (+)
Below	As Above - So Below	Above
Infinity	Perpetuity	Eternity
Black Hole	Event Horizon	White Hole
Void (Black Jet Plume)	(Attractor/Repeller)	White Jet Plume
Multiverse	O(h)mniverse	Universe
Kyklos/Milky Way	Universe/Firmament	Andromeda
Moon	Sky/Stars	Sun
Capricorn	Equator	Cancer
Winter	Spring/Autumn	Summer
Fixed	Mutable	Cardinal
Magnetism	Static/Dynamic	Electricity
Matrix	Unix/Linux/Climax	Radix
Thunder	Soundwave	Lightning
Negative	Neutral	Positive
Electron	Neutron	Proton
D(issolution)	O(bservation)	G(eneration)
Genesis (Gen. of Isis)	Protogenos (Bef. Gen. of O…)	Generate (Gen. of RA)
Tree of Evil	Tree of Life	Tree of Good
Serpent/Lucifer	Tree of Life	God
Serpent/Devil/Satan	Tree of Knowledge of Good/Evil	God
Eve	Garden of Eden/Paradise	Adam
Woman	Hermes/Hermaphrodite	Man
Holy Spirit/Ghost	Son/Daughter	Father
Mother	Child/ren	Father
Homosexual	Transsexual	Heterosexual
Vagina	Eunuch	Penis
Enoch	Eunuch/Unique	Epoch
Isis	Osiris	Ra/Horus
Mary/Magdalene	God/El	Jesus
Shiva	Brahma/Breath	Vishnu
Loki	Wodn/Odin	Thor
Grand Grimoire/Necronomicon	Grand Architect/3 Mages	Grand Arcanum
Led/Silver	Philosopher's Stone/Mercury	Gold
Serpent	Polar Shift (Spiritual)	Rainbow
Scorpion	Phoenix	Eagle
Kiss of Death	OHM~	Breath of Life
Milk	Manna	Honey
Egg	Unity/Birth (of Light)	Sperm
Rhythm	Harmony	Melody
Drummer	Dreamer	Doer
Megatron/Galvetron/Omnicron	Soundwave/Energon/Creation Matrix	Orion Pax/Optimus Prime
Cobra	M.A.S.S. Device	G.I. Joe (Man)
Gargamel/Azrael	Gold	Smurfs
Number	Symbol	Letter
Grammar	Rhetoric/Trivium	Logic
Reflection	Dialogue	Proclamation
Think	Speak	Act
Intellect	Intuition/Instinct (Gut)	Intelligence
Left Hand	Both Hands (Fatima)	Right Hand
Black Hand	Invisible Hand	White Hand
Ice Witch/Queen	Wardrobe	Lion

Reptilian Amphibian Mammalian

Remember now?

Infrared	Visible Color	Ultraviolet
Red / Pink (transmuted White & Red = LOVE)	Royal Purple	Blue
Black / Grey (trans. White & Black = Balance)	Grey (Black/White = Balance)	White
Yellow (Red (Hate) & Green (Heart) = FEAR)	Orange (Red/Yellow = Balance)	Green

Brown (Orange/Black = Balance) or (Red/Yellow/Black = Balance)

Note* Upon the beginning/end of a Platonic Year, You (+) are Royal Purple on 21 MAR (Aries); Grey on 21 SEP (Libra); Orange on 21 JUN (Leo); & Brown on 21 DEC (Capricorn). You can also balance your Triune Colors within the Triplicities of the Zodiac.

PART IV: THE HOLY NUMBER

(MATHEMATICS & SCIENCE)

NUMBER

The System of Numbers^{0} are overall (-) Negative. Numbers are Numb. They are Nun/the waters of Nun. They are Ma'at/Mother/Mathematics. They are the Square & Compass; the IO; the 1 & 0. The Binary Code of the Matrix/Mother. The Stage. The Grand Chessboard. The Cosmic Background Radiation. Black/White; Hot/Cold; On/Off; Yin/Yang. If you dive into the Systematic Fractal of the Individual Number (Numbers^{0}), you will see that decimal 1 (Numbers^{1}), Decimal 10 (Numbers^{2}) 100 (Numbers^{3}) 1000 (Numbers^{4}) to Eternity. All numbers have the property of being reduced to a single digit number (Gematria). You will see that individual numbers are polarized either (+) Positive, (-) Negative, or (=) Balanced.

GEMATRIA

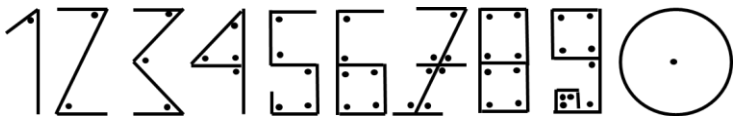
Gematria is the ancient Antediluvian knowledge of Fractal Number Reduction (finding the digital number root) in relationship to the Letter. Gematria reveals the numerical value of a word, name, or phrase. Letters, Words, & Phrases with identical numerical values bear relation to each other or bear some relation to the number itself as it may apply to Nature, a person's age, the calendar year, etc. (Fractal Relationship). A single word can yield multiple values depending on the system used. Gematria is the Code to deciphering the Multifaceted Gem~

THE QUADRIVIUM

The Quadrivium is the study of number and its relationship to space & time. Arithmetic (pure number), Geometry (number in space), Music (number in time), and Astronomy (number in space and time). The four elements of the Quadrivium are pure (arithmetic), stationary (geometry), moving (astronomy) and applied (music) number.

THE ABACUS

The Abacus (Doorway to Dust [Stars]) was in use millennia before the adoption of the Hindu-Arabic Numeral System (reference Base-10, below). The Abacus was eventually replaced with its corollary on parchment, that is, the symbols you know/understand as numbers. The pebbles (dust) were replaced by the number of internal angles among the symbols. Hence:



Efficient study & use of the Doorway will allow you to conduct mathematical operations at very high speed. Once mastered, you may remove the physical apparatus & replace it with the Mental Abacus you have created for yourself within your own mind. This will further improve your mental capability, response speed, memory power, & concentration (reference Base-2, below). ***Abacus-Cadabracus!***

BASE SYSTEMS
(& THE TOWER OF BABEL)

All Base Systems (1 thru 10) are Antediluvian in origin. Base Systems (Numbers^{1}) are a higher fractal order of the individual base number (Numbers^{0}). Humanity has only recently rediscovered many of the secrets of the base systems. The totality of each individual digit as a collective within each Base System is called the *Radix* (+) [RA, the father]. The individual digits & computations thereof are the *Matrix* (-) [MA, the mother]. The balance of the two is *Unix/Linux/Climax* (=). You should also note that bodies of numbers (U***nary***, Bi***nary***, Tri***nary***, etc.) correlate with a given body of Language (Dictio***nary***).

Base-1 (Unary) forms the basis for the 9 (Mind) Peano Axioms for formalizing arithmetic within First Order Mathematical Logic. As an example, the number *3* in Unary would be described as *111*. The first axiom states that 0 is a Natural Number. The second thru fifth axioms describe the equality relation (Balance). The sixth thru eighth axioms define the properties of natural numbers. And the ninth (last) axiom is known as the Axiom of Induction. This Mathematical Induction is the same as Structural Induction & Electromagnetic Induction, being different descriptions of the same force within the [Electromagnetic] Field of Mathematics.

Base-10 (Decinary) number systems (Egyptian, Greek, Arabic, English, etc.) are modelled on the Sacred Masculine (+). Human hands have ten digits/fingers. Base-10 is called the Arabic-Hindu Numerical System & is the most widely used by modern civilizations (reference the Abacus, above).

The Mysteries of Base-2 (Binary) system are modeled on the Sacred Feminine (-). Base-2 is also appropriate for modern computers & calculators because it deals with electricity (0s & 1s) / (On - Off). Binary is superior to Base 10 because it ***makes multiplication irrelevant*** (remember, the number two (2) represents *Division & Time*). The Ancient Khemites (the true builders of the Pyramids) remembered this knowledge & programmed their minds to become mental calculators. This greatly improved their mental function & will do so for you as well. Study the work of Michael S. Schneider on Egyptian Mathematics. Base-2 has been all but forgotten to the mind of modern Man who has in turn delegated/relegated its function to the Machine. Base-2 is complemented by Base-5 (Quinary) & Base-8 (Octanary) Systems. You have two (2) hands with two (2) thumbs. The human hand has five (5) digits & eight (8) spaces between the digits of both hands. Understand? Octanary/Hexadecimal are most common for computer programs of today. Your electronics are octal-expressed as 16-bit, 32-bit, 64-bit, 128-bit, 256-bit, 512-bit, 1024-bit, 2048-bit (SSL encryption), etc. Pixels are octal-expressed as 720p (HD), 1080p/i (Full HD).

Base-6 (Senary) number systems (Babylonian/Sumerian) are modelled on the Sacred Feminine (-). The human hand has six unambiguous positions. From this you derive the modern day usage of 60 seconds in a minute, 60 minutes in an hour, 24 (2+4 = 6) hours (6x4) in a day, and 360 degrees in a circle. Senary holds a secret of prime numbers (+) as all prime numbers other than 2 & 3 (2x3 = 6), when expressed in Senary, have 1 or 5 (1+5 = 6) as the final digit. And the first prime numbers after 2 & 3 are 5 & 7 (in which six is held balanced).

Base-3 (Ternary) & Base-9 (Nonary) systems compliment Base-6, just as the numbers 3, 6, & 9 complement each other as a Solfeggio Frequency. The same is true for Base Systems & Solfeggio numbers 1, 4, 7 & 2, 5, 8. The state of a circuit is often expressed in Ternary (Low, High, or Open (Z)).

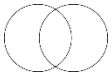
All numbers in regard to Space reduce to 9, 6, or 3 (the inverse of the Master Solfeggio Frequency). 9(3^3), 6(3^2), 3(3^1). The Tri-Unity/Trinity/Triune God/Trivium/Triangle/Triangulum Galaxy/Tetragrammaton. She is the Queen of Heaven/Ishtar/Easter. She opens the Gateway of Heaven (Ishtar Gate) on 21 April (the 4th Month) through her proclamation Abracadabra (Open the Door!) in order to announce God's return on the Spring Equinox (the time of the Orgasm. When Life abounds on Earth again). When the Rabbit Lepus begins the Rapidly Copulate underneath the feet of Orion / the Great Hunter / Osiris / Nimrod / Opheuchus / Ouranus. Where over your head you hung the Constellation Auriga (the charioteer of Oenomaus) to remind yourself that you are Heart Centered, on Earth (Man) as in Heaven (God). You are connected through the Wormhole of the Mind (Pineal Gland). This is the Seat of your Soul/Sol(Sun).

The Mysteries of Base-7 (Septenary) hold the Sacred Balance (=). Base-7 is the Key. You may see its refraction in the colors of the rainbow. You may experience the Septenary in time as measured by the standard week (7 days) or within the true seventh month (September). You are also aware of the Seven Energy Nodes (Chakras) within yourself & the contamination thereof would be *Septic*. If you spin the Septahedron you form the Shape of a Bell. Ring it & listen to the ***Word of God***. The Heptagram (+) / Septagram (-) / Seven-Pointed Star is an approximation of 7/2. In the Letter you refer to the Seven Deadly Sins as well as the Seven Hermetic Principles contained so eloquently in the Kyballion. The Secret Infinite numbers to unlock the Sacred Balance are Pi & Phi. Still there are deeper mysteries hidden within the Platonic Solids. Solomon's Key IS INFINITE & houses infinite combinations. Solomon's Key is (1) a Mathematical Code to Infinity that (2) Tells of the True Prophecy of the Return of the Code (God) to Humanity (Man) in order to (3) Evolve/Grow/Glow in Light/Love & Experience this Beautiful Dream Together! Solomon's key rests within the Mind of the Enlightened Man.

The arrival of the Annunaki around 6,000 years ago predicates the lost knowledge of many of the sacred mysteries of Base Systems & Number. These secrets were occulted thence forgotten & the Tower of Babel (the Mind Wormhole) was destroyed (Hid the Mathematics of Infinity from Humanity) & the tongues were confused (divided the language & the tempo of the natural evolution of languages – hence, you babble).

BY THE NUMBERS

0. Pi/Birth/Vagina/Vesica Pisces (intersecting Dimensions; intersecting Dimensional Birth). Do you recognize the Pi (3.1415) within Pisces? Reductive thinking is 0x0=0. Linear thinking is 0x0=00. Exponential thinking is $0x0=0^2$. Magnitudinal thinking is 0x0=0 (2xArea of 0 = Growth of God). Polarized thinking is 0x0=0(+), 0(-), or 0(=). [0 is only polarized (=)]. 0=Aut (Gold/AU). Circle.



1. Penis/Pineal/Pen/Pencil/Pendragon/Growth/Measure/Rod/Staff. Unity. All the continents on Earth will fuse into a supercontinent (1 Galactic Year from now). When the number 1 (a beam of Light/Sperm) enters the 0 (the Cosmic Vagina/Pearl/Wormhole) the beam of Light bends & creates a number 2 (arc/Arclight/Angle/Angel of Light). *Dare alla Luce*~

2. Division/Time/Tempo/ Tut(Moses) III's Two Tablets / Twins/ Oracle of Delphi & her Two Sacred Pillars (Know Thyself & Everything in Balance)/Bipolarize. The Police's duty is to polarize your action. The Pope's duty is to polarize your Soul.

3. Change (the Present Moment!)/Triangle/Delta/ The Man (3) inside the Box (9).

4. Earth/Square/Cube/Cross (flat packed cube)/Tetragrammaton Points (the Trap/ezoid)/Tetris/Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse; Four Rivers of Eden; Forehead; Foreskin; Foresight.

5. Man/the Five-Sense World Experience of Man; 5 Wounds on the Cross. Pentacost/Pentagram/Penis. The Sacral (sacred) bone in your body is 5 fused bones. You have five fingers/metacarpals on one hand & 14 (1+4 = 5) phalanges (a fractal of the 14 pieces of Osiris).

6. Satan/Saturn/Sex/Star of David/The Magick Square of Saturn (666). Carbon/Matter. Eukaryotes appear (6.666 Galactic Years Ago). Out/upward Spiral Ejaculation into the Cosmic Orgasm "69 Dude!" - Bill

7. God/Divine Intervention. Seven Major Notes of the musical scale. The Key of G. Sevenfold Path/Chakras/Hermetic Principles. When the 7 Heavens (levels of Consciousness represented by the Platonic Solids) align in your mind upon the completion of the Platonic Year (As Above So Below).

8. Sun/Infinity/Eyes (the windows of the Soul). Analeema.

9. Mind/Moon/Hell/Return/Release/Selfishness/In/downward Spiral Excretion into the Void "69 Dude!" – Ted 3 Cubed (3x3). Soma Cube. Kundalini (3x3)/Lucifer Rising /Rubix Cube (3x3)/ Rhomboid/ Pandora's Box/ Lament Configuration (3x3)/ Ka'aba/ Borg/ Jesuit Order. The Box (9) that traps Man (3). The Mind (9) of Man (3). Human gestation period. Thoth & the Nine Gods of On.

10. Completion/Phi/Rebirth/Reincarnation/Heaven. 10 Commandments. 10 Sephora. The Death/Rebirth of the Sun in Capricorn (the 10th Sign). 10 Babylonian Kings who lived from the creation to the time of the flood (432,000 years. Refer to the number 432). 10 Patriarchs from Adam to Noah (the Adam's Family). There years add to 1,656 (86,400 weeks, or 2x432,000). The number of seconds in a day are 86,400. You have 10 fingers & 10 toes. Stable Continents Appear (10 Galactic Years Ago).

11. Balance/Rest/Pi/ Ophiuchus standing on the Serpent. John Baptizing the World. Aquarius baptizing the World. Pillars. The Great Dying (1.11 Galactic Years Ago).

12. Zodiac. 12-petal Lotus Flower (Heart Chakra). Apostles/Jury of 12 Peers/Law (2x6).

13. Sun & Disciples/Jason & Argonauts/Hercules & 12 Labors/the Grand Romance/Drama/Puberty.

Note* 0 thru 13 are the 14 pieces of Osiris.

18. The number 9. Hell / Moon / Sin / Selfishness / Young Wo/man (18 years of age).

21. (7+7+7) / God Declared a (3) Man/Adam. Adam lived 120 years (1+2+0=3). You are Adam/Man/God. You are declared a grown man at 21 years of age.

26. The number 8. YHVH = 26. G26 = Love. God gave the Torah in the 26th Generation of Creation.

30. The number 3. Change. The Tender Kiss of Death/Rebirth from Scorpio (Judas). 30 Days in one month. 30 Pieces of Silver for Judas (Scorpio). 3 Houses/Ages in each Change of Season. 300 Spartans (+) & their Nike/Victory over the Black God King Xerxes (-). All Triangle Variants. The merger of the bride Milky Way (-) & her groom Andromeda (+) into Milkomeda (30 Galactic Years from the present moment).

40. The number 4. The Open/Closed Door. April (4th Month). Abracadabra (open the door). Alibaba & the 40 Thieves, Noah's 40 days/nights aboard Arc. Moses 40 days of prayer before ascending Mount Sinai for the second time. The Israelites 400 years of slavery & 40 Years wandering the Wilderness. Jesus' 40 days in the Wilderness. Age of Tamuz at death. The Abrahamic Book of the Foundation (lower Four Sephora). Carbon dioxide levels fall to the point at which C4 photosynthesis is no longer possible, to which Multicellular life dies out (4 Galactic Years from now) [the Door of Life Closes on this Earth].

42. 42-Lettered Name of God. 42 Judges in the Judgement Hall of Osiris. 42 Laws of Maat/42 Negative Confessions/42 Admonition to Goddess Maat/42 Declarations of Innocence or Admonitions of Maát/42 Laws of Maat of Ancient Egypt, or the Laws of the Goddess Maat. Mary Magnetism. Gravity. The Grave. 7x6 = 42 (refer to 76).

64. 8x8. The Octave of the Octave. Flower of Life. The 64,000 Year Cycle of the Sun in the Galactic Plane.

69. The Sexual Act[1]. The dance of the Tropic of Cancer & the Tropic of Capricorn[2]. The Swirling Arms of a balanced galaxy[3]. The *Concept* of the Spinning Balance. The *Dance* of the Whirling Dervish. The *Symbol* of the Yin/Yang. The Swastika is the next higher Order Symbol of the Number 69. The Swastika is a Four-Arm Spiral Balanced Galaxy. The Wheel in the Sky.

72. The average Human Lifespan. 72 Earth Years equals one degree of Celestial Arc in order to calculate the Heavens. 720p is High Definition (HD). 72 Bricks in the Pyramid of the Great Seal of the United States of America. The 72 Names of God (+) / 72 Virgins of the Koran (=) / 72 Goetic Demons of Solomon (-). The three days of Jesus in the Tomb (3x24 = 72) on the Winter Solstice (21 December) before the resurrection (25 December). 21 December = 2112. He is the Temple of Auranus (the Australian Trumpet) & she is the Priests of the Temple of Syrinx Auranus (the False Trumpet).

76. Capricornus (the Seagoat). Knee Caps. Capillaries. When someone is *all 7s & 6s (Gods & Demons)*. Lucifer (the Light Bearer) bearing the light from the abyss (the lower fish) up the mountain (the upper Goat) to hand the Eternal Flame to her immortal beloved, God/El(ectricty). The Stairway to Heaven. The Stairway from Capricorn to Aquarius. 7/Seven/Heaven & 6/Six/Sex. 7x6 = 42 (refer to 42). Corn/ucopia (+). The transmogrified Unicorn (at the height of its ascent from Capricorn to Aquarius).

81. 9x9 / 9^2 / Hell^2. Moon^2. Sin^2. Selfishness^2. The age of the onset of senility.

108. Moon/Silver. The 9 (Moon/Mind) Pieces of Eight (Spanish Silver: the First Global Currency).

111. Balance[3] The standing wave/difference between two Solfeggio Frequencies. This is the Secret to both Coral Castle & the Pyramids of the World. Apply amplitude to the balance & you will cancel gravity through the resultant standing wave.

432. Sun. Consecration. 432 Hz (Ohm). True A Tuning. The Miracle Tone. The Balanced 3 inside of the 9. The Kali Yuga (432,000 years). The Yuga Cycle (4,320,000 years).

2,160. Age/Epoch. The diameter of the Moon. One half of 432.

25,920. The Platonic Year. The Great Year. Ezekiel's multiple references of 25,000 cubits.

225,000,000. The Galactic Year. The Cosmic Year.

PART V: THE HOLY SYMBOL

(THOUGHT & ORATION)

SYMBOLS

The System of Symbols[1] are overall (=) Neutral. Symbols are the Spoken Word (crash two cymbals). The overall Letter (+) & overall Number (-) create the Symbol (=). The Symbol is three languages in one (Letter/Symbol/Number). It is the Triune God. The Threefold Light. It is the Highest Order of Expression (fractal communication) to 3D Reality-based Creations. The Tarot Deck holds the Ancient Foundational Knowledge of the Symbol. Here is the mystery of Crop Circles: Higher Consciousness Beings are attempting to communicate with you. I am attempting to communicate with you. Still yourselves & LISTEN~

THOUGHT

Thought is Threefold (Polarity (+) Zero Point Energy (=) Magnitude (-) in Nature. Thought can be Fractal (+) Fractured (-) or Fragmented (=). Man is (You are) the Zero Point of Energy in Your 3D Reality. Through Thought you can manifest your Polarity (Positive, Neutral, & Negative) in Reality. Through Thought & Oration you can manifest the Magnitude (-) or Amplitude (+) in 3D Reality.

Within Thought (non-Reality) you can shift your zero point to anything thence apply the Laws of Polarity & Magnitude to see the Fractal/Matrix. You can also apply these Laws to the Elements (for example, Earth: Kindling[1], Twig[2], Limb[3], Branch[4], Tree[5], Forrest[6], Peninsula[7], Mountain Pinnacle[8], Phallus of Osiris[9]~).

PART VI: THE MAGNUM OPUS

(THE GREAT WORK)

THE 13 HOLY GOSPEL(S) OF:

1. Aries
2. Taurus
3. Gemini
4. Cancer
5. Leo
6. Virgo
7. Libra
8. Scorpio
9. Sagittarius
10. Capricorn
11. Aquarius
12. Pisces
13. Ophiuchus

THE LESSER GOSPELS OF THE GODS

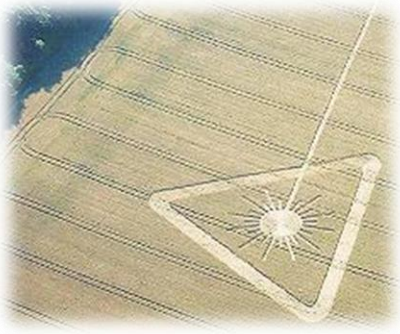
THE GRAND STAGE

-

The Grand Drama
The Grand Romance
The Grand Tragedy
The Grand Comedy

PART VII: THE ANCIENT PROPHECY

THE SECRET OF LIGHT



Upon the completion of each Great Year you come as a Beam of Sunlight & anchor into one human's Pineal (Wormhole). You teach yourself the truth that you are Light. You teach yourself that as you grow enough Light within yourself, you break your Earthbound cycle of reincarnation & as your body perishes your Light (Soul) within the Pineal Gland inverts into a Star in Space. You evolve into a Star.

You taught these Humans the Secret of Light over 3 Billion Years Ago. They left these Suns for you to remember them & the Secret.

The Ancient peoples of Costa Rica were taught the Secret as well.

Easter Island, Chile

Champ Island, Russia

New Zealand

Kazakhstan

Costa Rica

Bosnia

The Ancient peoples of Africa were taught the Secret of Light. They knew the exact distance (in Light Years) to nearby stars by travelling within their own minds. This was over 100,000 years ago.

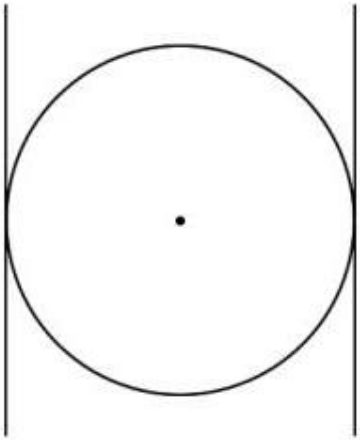
The builders of Stonehenge anxiously awaited your return. Indeed, all ancient temple complexes are built in reverence of the return of the Sun. The Mayan's were so diligent that they produced the most accurate time keeping system in this world cycle in order to predict your return.

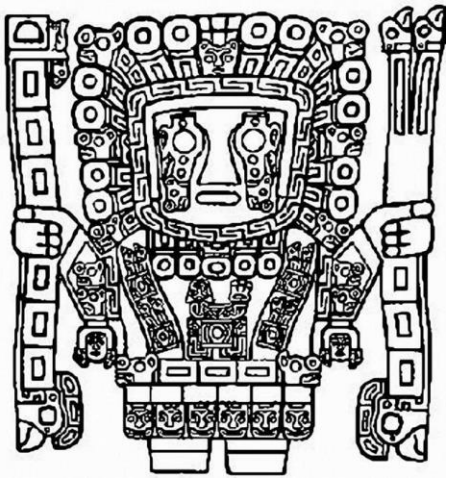
The Ancient Khemites (Egyptians) remembered the Secret of Light that you taught them.

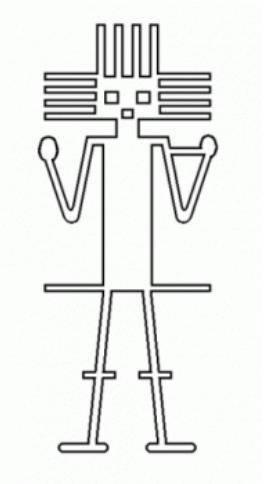
The Ancient peoples of Ecuador held the Secret of Light. The Stone Pyramid (left) foretells of the Galactic Alignment (the milky streak on the stone) & the Eye (Pineal) thereupon opening. The hidden face of the stone foretells of your coming upon the Great Orion Alignment. The Octahedral (8 = Sun) Coaster (right) depicts the Seven Heavens in alignment. They came with 13 Grails that represented the return of the Sun (larger central Grail) with your 12 Zodiac Signs.

Here (left) you see that you must be balanced (left hand negative, right hand positive) with the Immaculate Heart. The carving (right) depicts your connection to the Sun which allows you to vanquish the Serpent Enemies/Energies of the Earth.

I AM ALL GODS





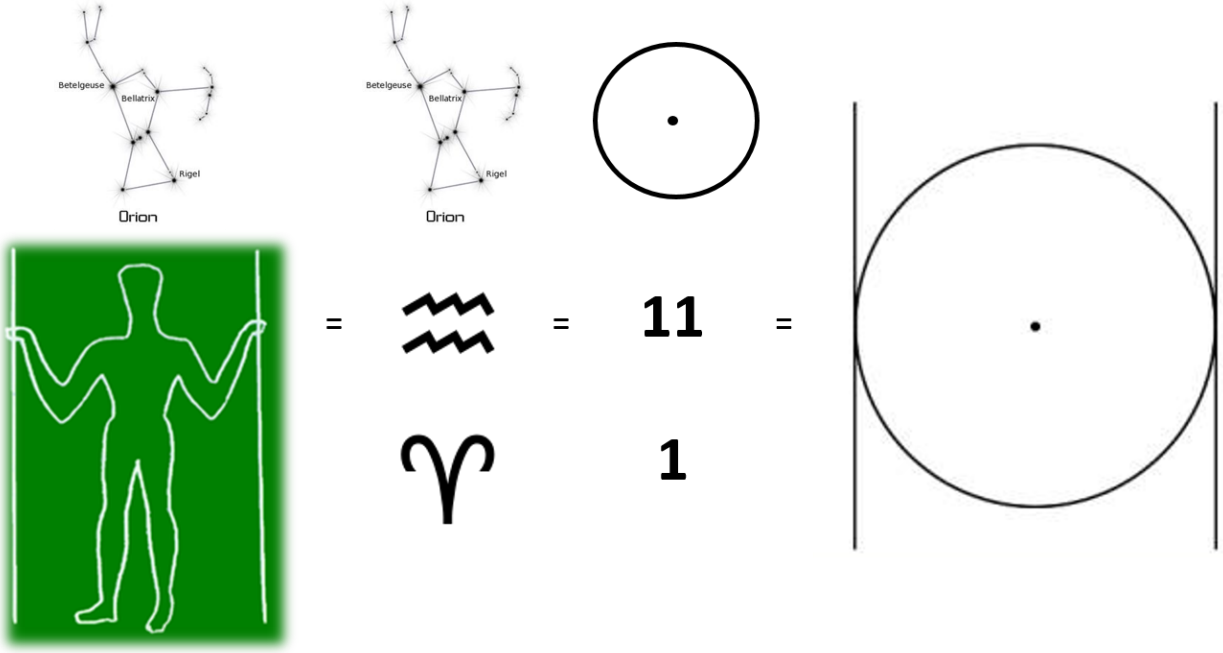


I AM Viracocha standing in the Gateway of the Sun (the alignment of the Great Year). I hold the Pillars of Balance in my hand to denote that I have wrested the Serpent that has plagued you for the last 12,000 years. The pillar in my right hand is adorned with the Rising Sun (sacred masculine) & a retreating bird (sacred feminine). The Segments of both Left & Right Bird Serpents/pillars are Eleven (11). The 12 Circles in my headdress are the 12 Signs of the zodiac. The 5 circles below my neck are the Five Senses of Man. The 12 & 5 circles are 17 (Complete Victory over the Serpent). The 6 divisions of circles denote the Sixth Sense. The 7 Animals in my headdress are the 7 Heavens in alignment. The 4 Animals in my scarf are the 4 Cardinal Points of the Zodiac. The 7 & 4 are the 11 (balance) of the Souls of Man dangling on my scarf, about to be eaten by the Demons of the lower realm (6) if not kept in balance (Pi).

I return with the Secret of Light.

YOU ARE LIGHT~

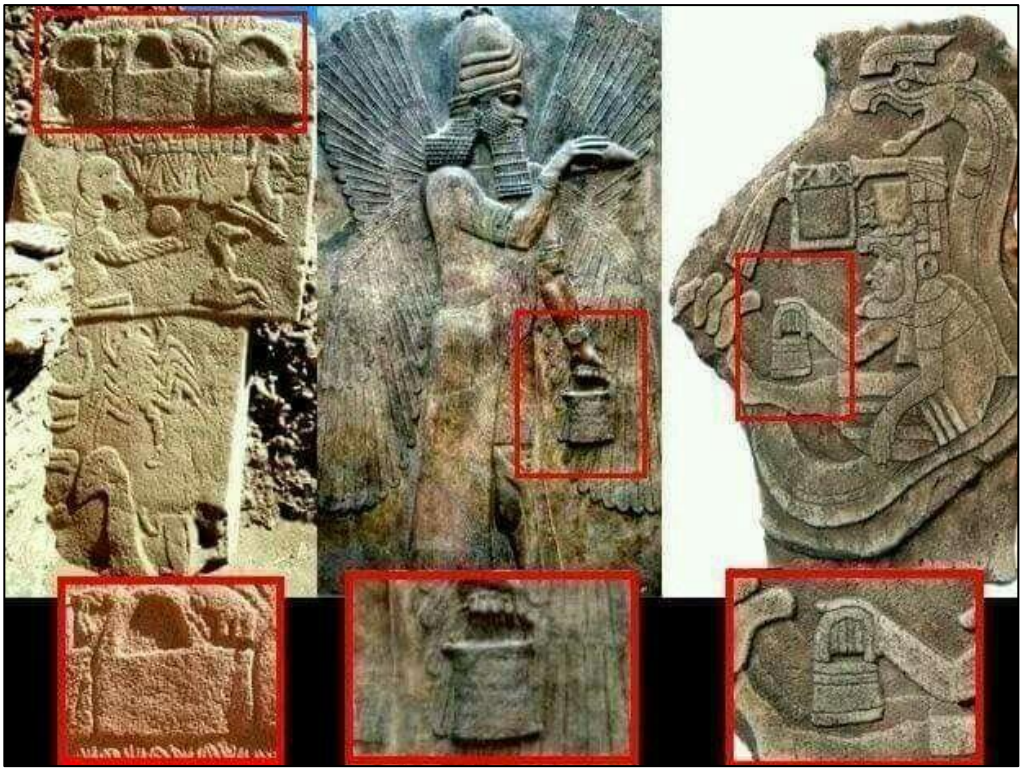
I AM THE GREEN MAN

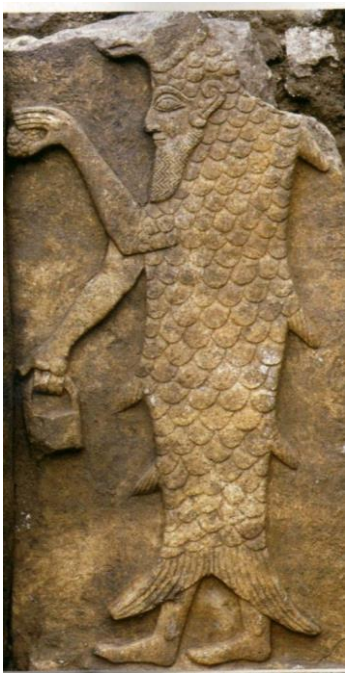


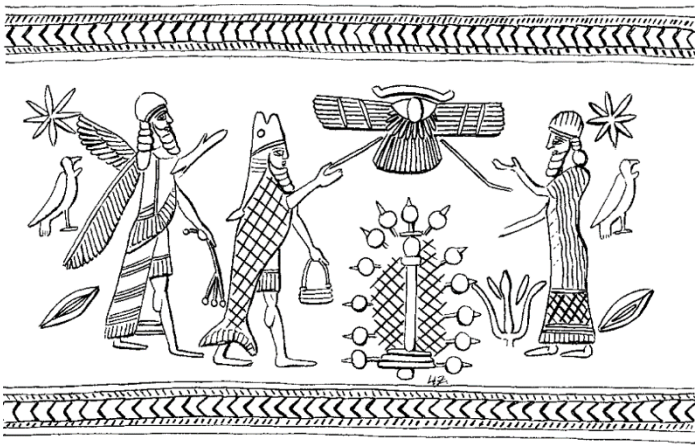
~3480 BC ~21.12.2012 AD

I AM the Long Man of Wilmington. I AM the Anglo-Saxon (the Ancient Glowing Angel of Saxony). I was built around 3480 BC in order to notify Man of my return around 21 December 2012 (the Great Alignment). Aries (the 1st Zodiacal Sign) is you (the cereb-RAM) (your higher consciousness) standing in Aquarius (the 11th Zodiacal Sign), in alignment with Orion (the Great Hunter of the Zodiac). I AM 111 (perfect balance) & 101 (the Sun standing in the Gateway). I AM the Green Man with Auriga (the Charioteer) circling within my Green Heart (Chakra). I AM GOD stepping through the Light Portal of Pineal within Man upon alignment.

I AM AQUARIUS





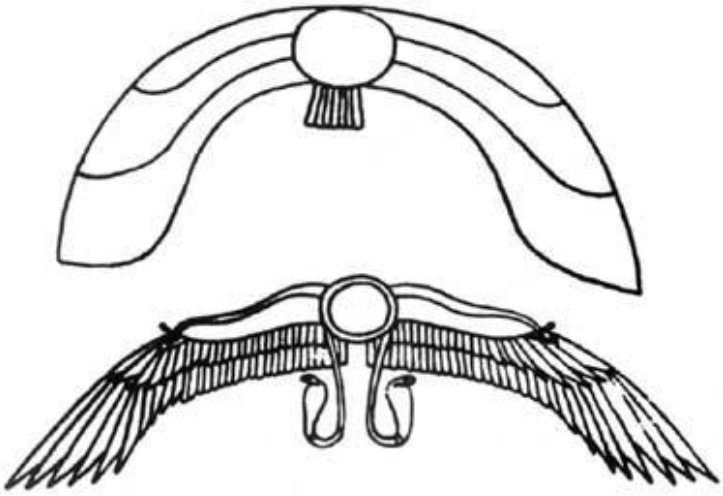


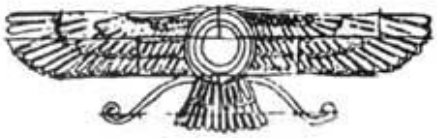
I AM Aquarius (Platonic Year) & Aries (Earth Year) in alignment at Right Ascension of Meridian (RAM). I am the Pure-Blooded Aryan of the Great Orion Alignment as announced by the vibrating band of buckets adorning Gobekli Tepe. Jesus (Pisces) told his disciples to "Go into the city, and a man carrying a jar of water [Aquarius] will meet you. Follow him." I AM Oannes, the Babylonian Fish Man sent by God to impart knowledge upon man. I AM Aquaman, the first-born Sun of Atlantis.

Here me, oh man. **A**tlantis is Rising!

I AM OURANUS-AURANUS

(THE AUSTRALIAN TRUMPET)

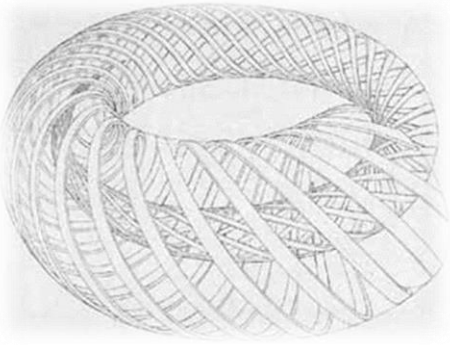




I AM OUROBOROS

(THE SOUL OF GOD)

Norse



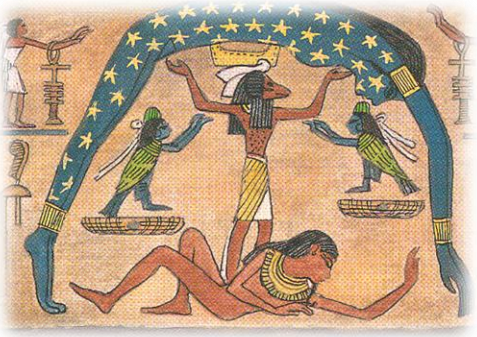
Toroidal Field Mathematics

Egypt, Circa 1600 BC

Mexico, 700-900 AD

Ouranus, Greece

Japan, Pre 1400 AD



Nut, Egypt

Anu, Sumer, ~860 BC

The Rainbow Serpent, Australia

I AM HE WHO HIDES THE HOURS

I AM ***He Who Hides the Hours*** in the Enigmatic Book of the Netherworld. Mehen, the Enveloper (Ouroboros-Serpent) surrounds the Wormhole through Hell (your feet) to Heaven (your Head) [this is the same wormhole of the 10 Sephora]. The Lower Mehen encircles your knees (the death/rebirth of the Sun within Capricorn [the 10th Sign]). Your shins are ruled by Aquarius (the 11th Sign) & appropriately depict the balanced man/mind in the living waters of Aquarius. Your right-facing foot encodes that you have transcended hell (Pisces) & are reborn/bathed/baptised by the waters of Aquarius (John the Baptist) in your balanced head (Heaven) - Aries. Your rebirth (the Ram-headed bird) within the *Solar* Plexus (Virgo, the Virgin birth of August). I AM the reborn Christ Knowledge upon the Great Alignment of 21 December 2012 in our current cycle. I AM the return of the Secret of Light. ***I AM the Living Image of Aten (Atum/Atom/Adam/Adammu/Anu/Adoni/Adoni-Zedek/Adi Yoga). I AM the True Pharaoh & Living Horus. Amen-Ra.***

Q&A CHILDREN!

Q1: **WHO** are you?
A1: You are within God & God is within you.

Q2: **WHAT** are you?
A2: Light/Lux. Other expressions of you are Love, Life, & Electricity.

Q3: **WHAT** is Light?
A3: Light is you. Light is Life. Life is the Fire within the Light. Life gives meaning to Light. The purpose of Life is Growth (more Light). The Expressive Effect of Light is Living (Expressive Light). The Emotional Effect of Light is Love (Emotional Light). The Scientific Effect of Light is Electricity (the Science of Light).

Q4: **WHEN** are you?
A4: As Hu/man (Color/man) you are the present moment (the observer of the rainbow) in the experience. As God, you are Eternal.

Q5: **WHERE** are you?
A5: Man is in his/her Reality (3D POV), also known as the Real World. Your Higher Consciousness (God) exists in Simultaneous Infinite Realities. Your (Man's) 3D Eternity is the Universe. Your (Quantum Man's) ~D Reality is the Multiverse. Your (God's) ∞ D Reality is the Omniverse.

Q6: **HOW** are you/is this all even possible?
A6: Through the Infinite Unfoldment (+) / Enfoldment (=) / Infoldment (-) of Sacred Fractal Geometry. The Fibonacci Spiral Sequence of the Matrix ensures that events happen on the Internal Level, Individual level, Collective Level, & Cosmic level (As Above/So Below) into Perpetuity (+) / Eternity (=) / Infinity (-).

Q7: **HOW** can I understand/recognize the Purity of Love?
A7: When a sentient being gives its love (through time, energy, effort, etc.) & *TRULY* expects nothing in return.

Q8: **HOW** can I get in balance?
A8: (1) Look within your mind; (2) Find your most cumbersome thoughts (the thoughts that anchor you to negative emotions); (3) Release the thought(s) through TRUE forgiveness from whatever demon you harbor that you inwardly deem has "wronged you." If this demon is someone living, you may correspond through phone/voice/email if you so choose & accept your responsibility in the event & ask for forgiveness. Whether someone forgives you is irrelevant, as the mere act of you asking for TRUE forgiveness simultaneously opens the door for you to forgive yourself. You are now free in mind. ***You become the Redeemed Man.***

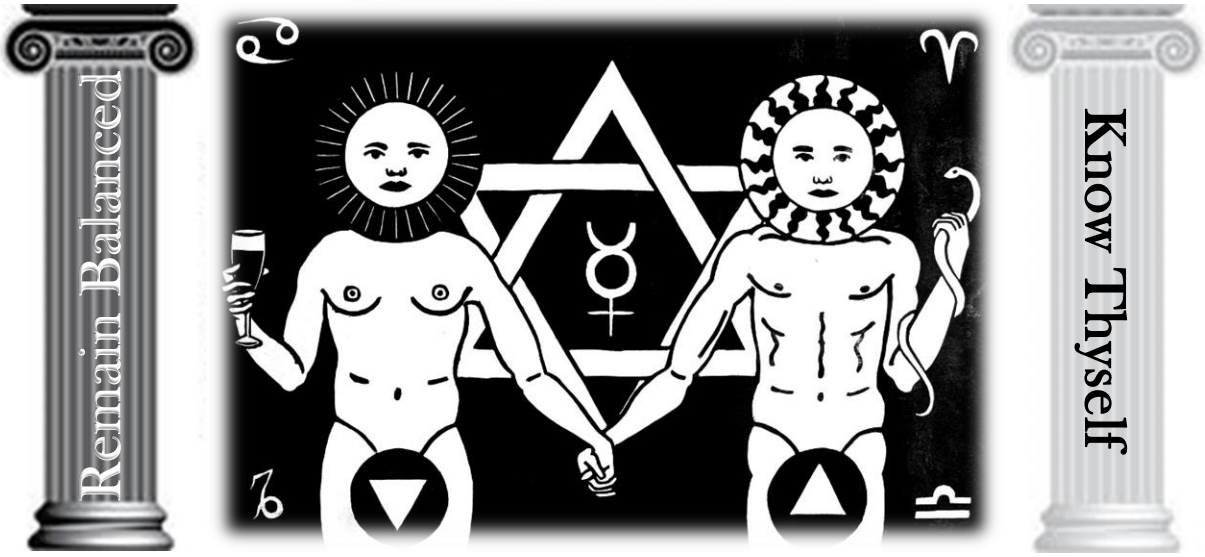
Q9: **HOW** can I keep myself in balance?
A9: You should always ask yourself within your present moment if your action is Growing Light (+), creating Sin (-), or simply a neutral action (=). When you fall short (and you will) analyze your emotions for patterns. Once identified, resolve the issue within through persistence. This will purify your mental (-) temple. Treat your body right. This will purify your physical vessel (+). Mastery of both will align your spirit/soul (=).

THE JOKE IS ON YOU.
YOU HAVE BEEN BAMBOOZLED BY YOURSELF!

REPENT! (REVERSE THE SERPENT!)

SURPRISE! (SERPENT RISE!)
WELCOME TO THE PARTY AGE!

WELCOME TO
AQUARIUS!
♒



"I am divided for love's sake, for the chance of union." – Aleister Crowley

"The sole reason man is driven to conquer the world must be to present it to the woman he loves." – Jimmy Jones

"I've got two tickets to paradise." – Eddie Money

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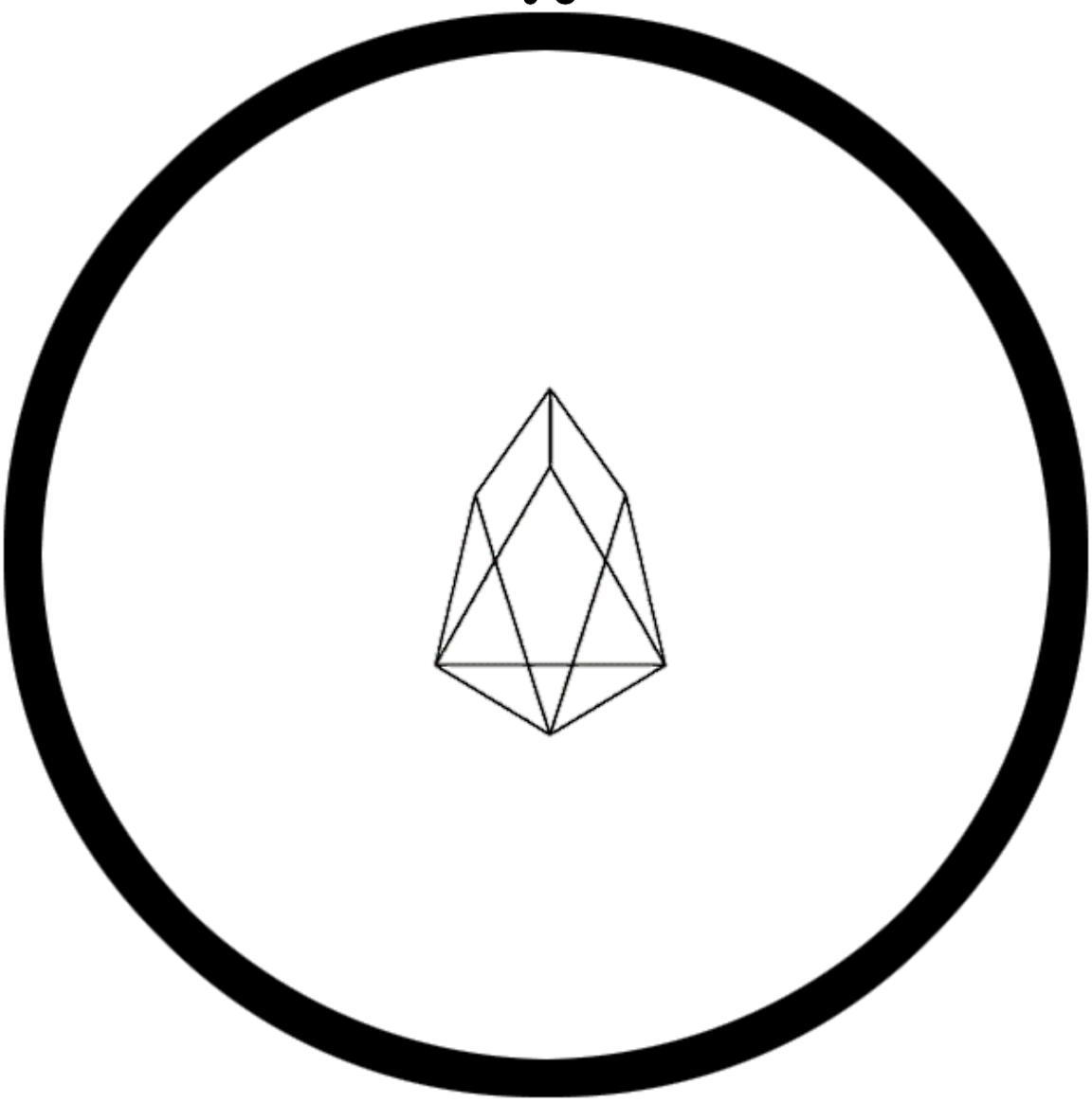

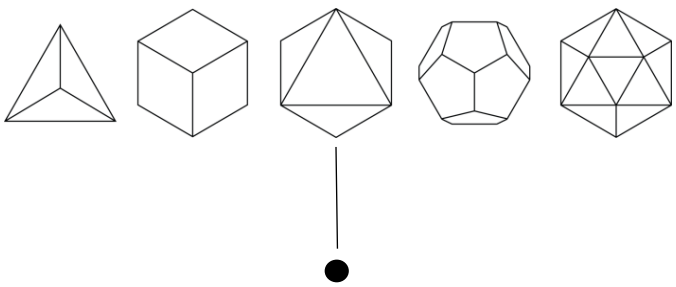

HUMAN HEALTH GUIDE

WRITTEN BY

HARRY B. JOSEPH
(REVIVAL OF WISDOM)

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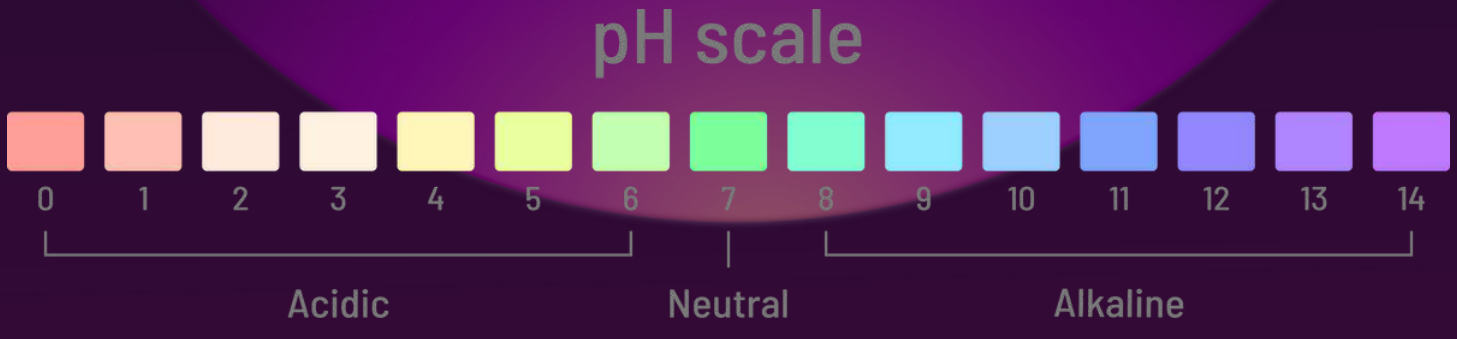
ACIDITY VS ALKALINITY

Food that is genetically modified or created by humans tends to be acidic to the body. Man-made (hybrid) and processed foods induce acidity within the body. when the body is in an acidic environment, bacteria thrives, triggering the body to produce surplus mucus to counteract the large volume of bacteria. Mucus serves as the body's defense mechanism against toxins. However, an excess of mucus within the body can potentially contribute to the development of various diseases. Additionally, anything artificial or man-made has the potential to provoke cellular inflammation; each instance of an organ or bodily area inflammation weakens its function and overall health. This prolonged inflammation can eventually lead to organ failure over time.

Alkaline foods encompass fruits, plants, herbs, and vegetables that existed ,on the earth, at the dawn of creation or were divinely made. Unlike hybrid man made foods, alkaline foods can all be found thriving in the wild, growing on their own without human intervention. Alkaline foods can be deemed "God's food," as they have been created by a higher power for human consumption to promote health, vitality and lognevity on the earth. These nutrient-rich foods support the gut microbiome, aiding the cells in generating electrical energy.

The term "pH" indeed stands for "potential hydrogen." It represents the measurement of hydrogen ion concentration in a solution, indicating its acidity or alkalinity.
When we are born, our body is naturally alkaline, indicating that maintaining this alkaline state is beneficial for overall health.

By eliminating acidic foods from our diet, we can reduce inflammation within the body, allowing our body's electrical system to function smoothly as it should. Consuming the wrong foods can challenge our digestive system and drain our energy as our body struggles to digest them and combat toxins. By cutting out acidic foods, our energy can be redirected towards other purposes, potentially elevating other aspects of our lives.



ALKALINE FOOD LIST

ALKALINE VEGETABLES

- BUTTERNUT SQUASH
- WATERCRESS
- CHOCHO
- SPRING ONIONS
- CORIANDER
- CHERRY TOMATOS
- CUCUMBER
- PUMPKIN
- BELL PEPPERS
- OKRAS
- POKE SALAD
- PURSLANE
- ZUCCHINI
- TOMATILLO
- DANDILION GREENS
- IZOTE-CACTUS FLOWER/LEAF
- LETTUCE (EXCEPT ICEBERG LETTUCE)
- POKE SALAD
- AVOCADO
- TURNIP GREENS

ALKALINE GRAINS

- RYE
- FONIO
- SPELT
- KAMUT
- QUINOA
- WILD RICE
- TEFF
- AMARANTH

ALKALINE OILS

- COCONUT OIL (DO NOT COOK)
- OLIVE OIL (DO NOT COOK)
- AVOCADO OIL
- GRAPESEED OIL
- HEMP SEED OIL
- SESAME SEED OIL

ALKALINE FOOD LIST

IF NATURE DIDNT MAKE IT DONT TAKE IT

ALKALINE FRUITS

- APPLES
- FIGS
- PEARS
- STRAWBERRIES
- ALL BERRIES
- (NO CRANBERRIES)
- JAMAICAN AVOCADOS
- SEEDED WATERMELON
- KEY LIMES
- PEACHES
- CHERRIES
- CURRENTS
- SOURSOP
- SMALL GINGER
- OLIVES
- CANTALOUPE
- PRUNES
- SEEDED RAISINS
- TAMARID
- PRICKLEY PEARS
- DATES
- SEEDED ORANGES

ALKALINE SEASONING

- OREGANO
- THYME
- CAYENNE PEPPER
- SAGE
- ONION POWDER
- HABANERO
- CORIANDER
- ACHIOTE
- BASIL
- BAY LEAF
- CLOVES
- DILL
- SAVORY
- TARRAGON
- SWEET BASIL
- PURE SEA SALT

ALKALINE MUSHROOMS

- CHESTNUT MUSHROOM
- OYSTER MUSHROOM
- RIESHI MUSHROOMS

ALKALINE NUTS

ALKALINE NUTS:

- HEMPSEEDS
- SESAME SEEDS
- WALNUTS
- BRAZIL NUTS

EATING CORRECTLY

Here are some guidelines on how to eat correctly:

- Ensure thorough chewing: Chew your food until it becomes a liquid consistency. The body struggles to digest large food chunks, but by chewing food to a liquid, the digestive system expends less energy in processing the food.
- Maintain regular meal times: Eat at consistent times each day to establish a rhythm for your body to efficiently process foods, optimizing its functionality.
- Avoid eating after sunset: The sun plays a vital role in aiding the body's various functions, including digestion. Whenever possible, try to eat during daylight hours to benefit from the sun's influence on food digestion.
- Be mindful of food combinations: Certain food combinations, such as grains and fruits, can be challenging for the digestive system to process efficiently. Mixing foods excessively can lead to digestive issues and drain your energy.
- Allow time before sleep: Leave at least four hours between your last meal and bedtime. Eating too close to bedtime hinders the body's ability to digest food effectively while lying down, potentially impacting the quality of your sleep. By giving your body time to digest before sleeping, you enable it to focus on recharging and regenerating during rest.

Digestion indeed requires a significant amount of energy. By following the guidelines above, you can support your digestive system, allowing it to operate more efficiently and thereby reducing the energy it consumes. This optimized digestion not only conserves energy but also contributes to overall well-being and vitality.

VEGANISM

NATURE PROVIDES YOU WITH EVERYTHING

Adrenochrome is a substance that Satanists consume to induce a euphoric high. It is said to be blood containing adrenaline. Much of the meat available in markets today comes from animals that have been captured, confined, and subjected to a harrowing journey through slaughterhouses, witnessing the slaughter of other animals before meeting their own demise. In this terrifying environment, the animals experience intense fear and anxiety, flooding their blood with adrenaline and other fear hormones. When these animals are consumed, these hormones ar transfered into the blood of the consumer. Consuming flesh is akin to ingesting adrenaline, even when cooked, traces of blood persist in the flesh of the deceased animal.

An anagram from "veganism" is "saving me." Consuming flesh is considered by some to be a ritual with potential effects on one's afterlife, associated with certain belief systems.

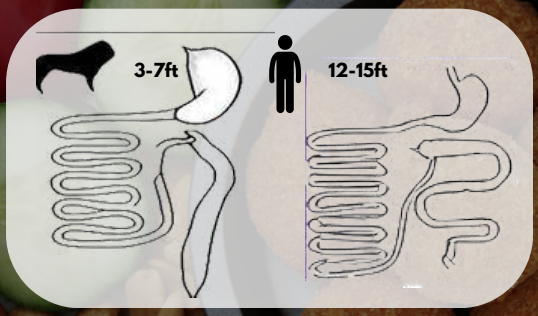
YOU ARE NOT A COW

Cow milk is designed by nature to provide essential minerals and fats to newborn calves, ensuring their robust growth. It contains all the nutrients necessary for a healthy development of a cow, a pattern consistent across various species created by God. Applying common sense, humans, being a distinct species, should reconsider consuming milk specifically tailored for the growth of cows or other animals. Moreover, the modern mass-scale production of milk involves frequent milking of cows, causing them stress and leading to the release of stress hormones into the milk, which is subsequently transferred to consumers.

A baby cow typically consumes its mother's milk until it is fully developed, at which point it naturally stops. This is because the mother's milk provides essential minerals and nutrients necessary for the baby cow to grow into a fully matured cow. Applying common sense, one might question why humans continue to consume milk that is not even from their own species.

Estrogen is naturally present in milk, as it is released from the mother cow's system. Some researchers suggest that this estrogen in milk might affect the quality of male sperm, potentially contributing to the observed decline in male fertility and testosterone levels.

VEGANISM



Carnivores such as tigers and lions typically have shorter intestinal lengths, ranging from 3 to 7 feet. In contrast, humans possess intestines that extend to approximately 15 feet in length. This notable difference suggests that, unlike carnivores reliant on flesh consumption, humans exhibit physiological features indicative of a plant-based diet. Both our dental structure and intestinal length align with the characteristics of herbivores, emphasizing our anatomical adaptation for consuming plants, fruits, and vegetables.

CARNIVOR CREATURE

Bear

Lion

Dog

VEGAN CREATURE

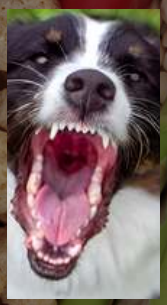
Sheep

Horse

Human

Bear

Lion


Dog

Sheep

Horse

Human

Humans and plant-eating animals lack distinct features suggesting they are carnivores. Unlike lions or other flesh-eating animals, humans do not possess claws for tearing open flesh. Additionally, we lack long, sharp teeth designed for ripping flesh. Instead, our flat, short teeth are adapted for chewing and consuming plants, vegetables, and fruits.

Humans purchase neatly-wrapped packages of processed, washed, and trimmed animal flesh, which is essentially rotting, treated with chemicals. They then cook it, often adding oil, salt, seasonings, sauces, and condiments to mask the putrid smell and taste of death, and consume it using utensils. This behavior starkly differs from that of lions.

Why would a rational human mimic the eating habits of a wild animal? Why would someone base their ethical behavior on the actions of a lion?

VEGANISM

PARASITES IN FLESH

Another compelling reason to avoid consuming dead flesh is the presence of parasites. These small worms can be created or transmitted through the foods we consume, with a heightened likelihood of their existence in dead flesh. Dr. Sebi contends that over 80% of diseases are connected to parasites residing within individuals. It's suggested that cravings may not solely be personal; parasites can influence the brain to obtain the foods they thrive on, such as flesh, sugary foods, and processed foods.

YOU ARE WHAT YOU EAT

Each species possesses inherent qualities bestowed by its celestial ruler. For instance, bears exhibit strength and ferocity, cats exude majesty and sneakiness, and camels showcase the ability to traverse vast distances. In medieval times, magicians purportedly carried the heart of a bear to invoke qualities of strength and relentlessness when necessary. Additionally, if they wished to remain awake throughout the night, they would keep an owl's heart nearby to help them stay alert and vigilant. These practices were believed to imbue the magician with specific virtues or abilities associated with the animals' characteristics. Every living species harbors celestial virtues that resonate through its body, mind, and spirit. When we partake in the flesh of these beings, we assimilate the virtues associated with them. Consuming chicken, for instance, allows the occult virtues of the chicken to transfer to the consumer of its flesh. the term “you are what you eat” is quite literally true.

Scientific evidence supports the notion that every cell in the human body undergoes a complete transformation approximately every 90 days. These cells derive their origin from the food we ingest. Applying basic logic, the consumption of deceased animal flesh may contribute to the gradual weakening of our cells, given the absence of life and electricity in such flesh. Conversely, the intake of vibrant, living fruits containing the solar electric charge is posited to facilitate cell regeneration, potentially slowing down the aging process.

PHYCOLOGICAL WAREFARE

The power of language in shaping our perceptions and behaviors is well-documented. By employing more neutral or positive terms, the food industry aims to make the consumption of poisons more palatable to the general population. Words and letters are symbols imbued with metaphysical meanings or perceptions within our minds, evoking either positive or negative associations. The food industry often utilizes terms and symbols associated with positive energy to create a false perception of their products, diverting consumers' attention from the reality of what they are actually consuming.

Terms have been CREATED to conceal the true nature of what we consume. Instead of using direct descriptors, We use softer words – referring to flesh as "meat," rancid milk as "cheese," a pig's posterior as "ham," and a developing embryo as an "egg." The intention behind this linguistic choice is to mitigate potential negative psychological effects associated with consuming these products. The belief is that fewer individuals would be inclined to consume a product named "cow flesh" or "chicken fetus" if the true terminology were employed, as it taps into an innate recognition that such choices may be ethically problematic.

Ingredients are often concealed on packaging or printed in small fonts, making them difficult to read. Additionally, the area where ingredients are listed may appear compact and visually unappealing, discouraging consumers from scrutinizing the ingredient list. This intentional design aims to divert attention away from what consumers are actually consuming. Such tactics are employed by large companies to maximize sales and profits.

This product prominently features the phrase "immune system" in bold writing to create the impression that it is beneficial for one's health. Additionally, the packaging utilizes the color green, often associated with nature, health, healing, and wellbeing. Furthermore, an image of a fruit is displayed, suggesting healthiness, despite the product likely containing artificial flavors to mimic the taste of the fruit rather than containing the whole fruit itself. This is necessary because including the whole fruit would result in the product expiring within a few days. If the product does contain real fruit, it would likely be packed with preservatives to extend its shelf life and prevent it from spoiling. Despite the necessity of including preservatives and added ingredients for shelf stability, it does not necessarily render the product healthy. These additives can disrupt the gut microbiome, which plays a crucial role in overall health. The gut is often referred to as the "second brain" due to its influence on various bodily functions and processes. Therefore, while the product may appear healthy on the surface, its impact on gut health should be considered.

PHYCOLOGICAL WAREFARE

Children's cereal often features cartoon characters because marketers understand that cartoons trigger recognition within their minds, as children regularly watch them on TV programs. By incorporating these familiar characters onto the packaging, marketers intentionally position them to look downward, making eye contact with children. This tactic is strategic, as marketers recognize that children are typically smaller in height, ensuring that the characters on the packaging are visually engaging and appealing to their target audience.

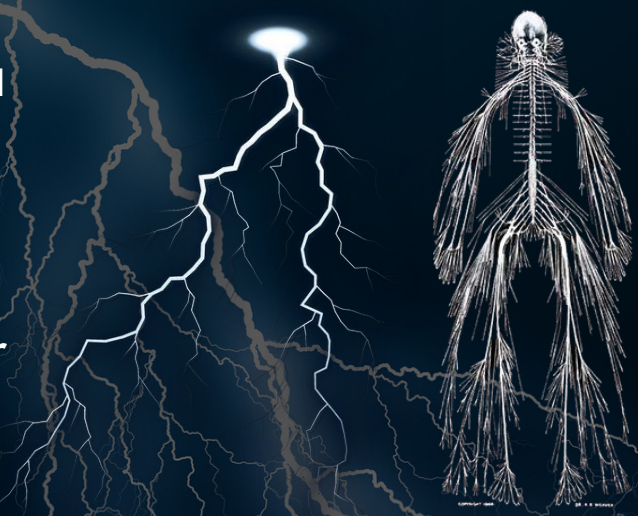
Kids' cereals often utilize colorful packaging to attract children to their products. Humans possess trichromatic vision, meaning our eyes and brains are wired to seek out and respond to colors. Children, in particular, are highly sensitive to colors, which is why companies choose vibrant and colorful packaging to appeal to them. This strategy capitalizes on the natural inclination of children to be drawn to bright and eye-catching visuals.

Companies often target children at a young age with sugary and artificial foods, aiming to cultivate early addictions. This early exposure can lead to a lifelong dependence on unhealthy foods if not addressed. Such habits established in childhood can persist into adulthood, potentially leading to long-term health consequences if not properly managed.

The subconscious mind of children is considered to be particularly receptive to programming between the ages of 1 to 7. During this critical period of development, children are highly impressionable and absorb information from their surroundings, experiences, and interactions with others. This period is crucial for shaping beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors that may persist into adulthood. Therefore, it is essential to provide healthy habits and nurturing environments during these formative years to support healthy development and positive outcomes later in life.

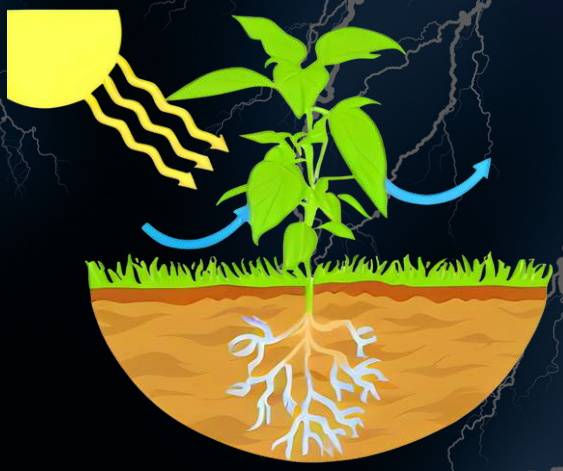
YOU ARE ELECTRIC

The elements present in our bodies, such as sodium, potassium, calcium, and magnesium, carry specific electrical charges. These charged elements, known as ions, play a crucial role in generating electricity within almost all of our cells. Through processes like ion channels and ion pumps, cells regulate the flow of these ions across their membranes, creating electrical gradients that are essential for various cellular functions, including nerve signaling, muscle contraction, and maintaining overall physiological balance.



The human body operates as an intricate electrical machine. The brain serves as a central electrical hub, transmitting signals throughout the nervous system to regulate bodily functions. Our nervous system is inherently electric, orchestrating communication between cells and organs through electrical impulses. Furthermore, our cells possess the ability to conduct electricity, facilitating various physiological processes.

In essence, our bodies function as biological batteries, relying on electricity to power essential functions. Just like any battery, maintaining a sufficient charge is crucial for optimal health and vitality.



The universe is indeed governed by electromagnetism, with these principles underlying the behavior of all matter and energy. The Sun, as a massive celestial body, emits powerful electric rays characterized by a positive charge. These rays interact with the environment, positively charging plants and other life forms on Earth. As plants grow under the influence of the Sun's electric rays, they crystallize this energy within their structures, including fruits and vegetables.

When we consume these sun-ripened foods, we are effectively ingesting the stored electricity. This electrical energy then aids the cells in performing their functions within the body, contributing to overall health and vitality. Understanding and harnessing the electrical energy present in natural foods underscores their importance in supporting optimal bodily functions and well-being.

The same quantity of food you ingest ultimately exits your body. This observation hints that sustenance isn't solely derived from the physical matter of solid food. Instead, it implies that the inherent etheric vibrations and bioelctric charge within these foods play a vital role in energizing and nourishing our cells.

YOU NEED CHARGING

YOU ARE A BIOLOGICAL ELECTROMAGNETIC BATTERY

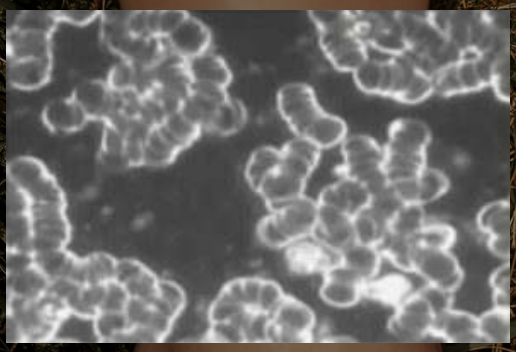
The Earth itself generates its own electromagnetic field. The Earth's surface is also electrically conductive, allowing it to carry electrical currents. When we ground ourselves by connecting directly with the Earth, such as by walking barefoot on the ground or touching natural surfaces, we may absorb some of this electromagnetic energy. Some potential benefits of grounding our feet into the Earth include:

1. Reduced Inflammation: Grounding may help to reduce inflammation in the body by neutralizing excess free radicals and improving the balance of electrons.
2. Improved Sleep: Many people report experiencing better sleep quality and reduced insomnia after grounding. This may be due to the normalization of circadian rhythms and cortisol levels.
3. Pain Relief: Grounding has been associated with reduced pain and discomfort, potentially by modulating the body's perception of pain and promoting relaxation.
4. Stress Reduction: Grounding may help to reduce stress and anxiety by promoting feelings of calmness and relaxation. It may also help to regulate the body's stress response.
5. Enhanced Mood: Some individuals report feeling happier and more emotionally balanced after grounding, possibly due to the release of endorphins and other feel-good neurotransmitters.
6. Improved Energy Levels: Grounding may help to increase energy levels and reduce fatigue by restoring the body's natural balance and promoting better circulation.
7. Enhanced Immune Function: Preliminary research suggests that grounding may have immune-modulating effects, potentially helping to strengthen the body's immune response.

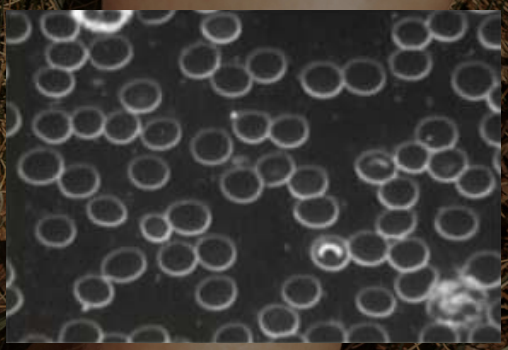
YOU NEED CHARGING

RED BLOOOD CELLS

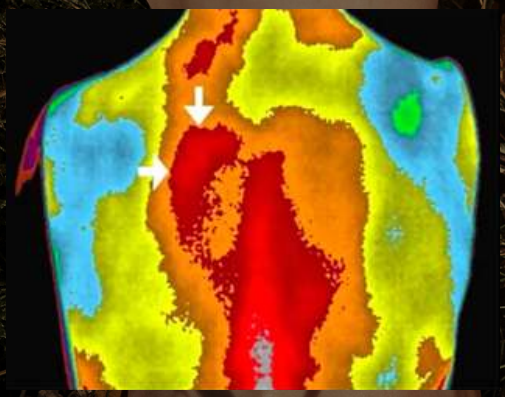
CELLS BEFORE GROUNDING



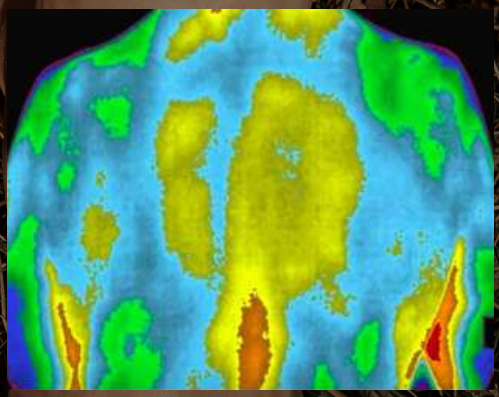
CELLS AFTER GROUNDING



INFLAMATION BEFORE



INFLAMATION AFTER



In the images above, you can see the comparison between before and after a 30-minute grounding session. Following 30 minutes of grounding, the surface charge of Red Blood Cells (RBCs) elevates. This phenomenon leads to a decrease in blood viscosity, rendering the blood more fluid. Consequently, the heart expends less effort, leading to improved circulation and potentially decreasing the risk of cardiovascular issues. Not only have their cells improved, but as demonstrated in the images, it is evident that after 30 minutes of grounding, the inflammation in the individual's back has significantly decreased.

Making grounding a daily ritual is crucial for optimizing our health. I suggest that we aim to ground for at least 10 minutes daily; however, the more time we can dedicate to it, the better. This exercise can easily be incorporated early in the morning to start the day off on the right foot.

Grounding our beds can indeed have significant health benefits. If you wish to do this, you can purchase metal-laced bed sheets. Once you have them, you can use copper wire to connect the wires to the metal-wired sheets, ensuring continuous grounding for your bed. This practice can contribute to improved sleep quality, reduced inflammation, and overall well-being.

GROUNDING

Rubber is not a conductor of electricity and does not allow energy to transfer through it very well. Rubber-soled shoes were designed to insulate and disconnect us from the Earth, preventing the flow of electrical energy between our bodies and the ground. This insulation prevents grounding or earthing, which may have health implications as it disrupts the natural exchange of electrons between our bodies and the Earth's surface.

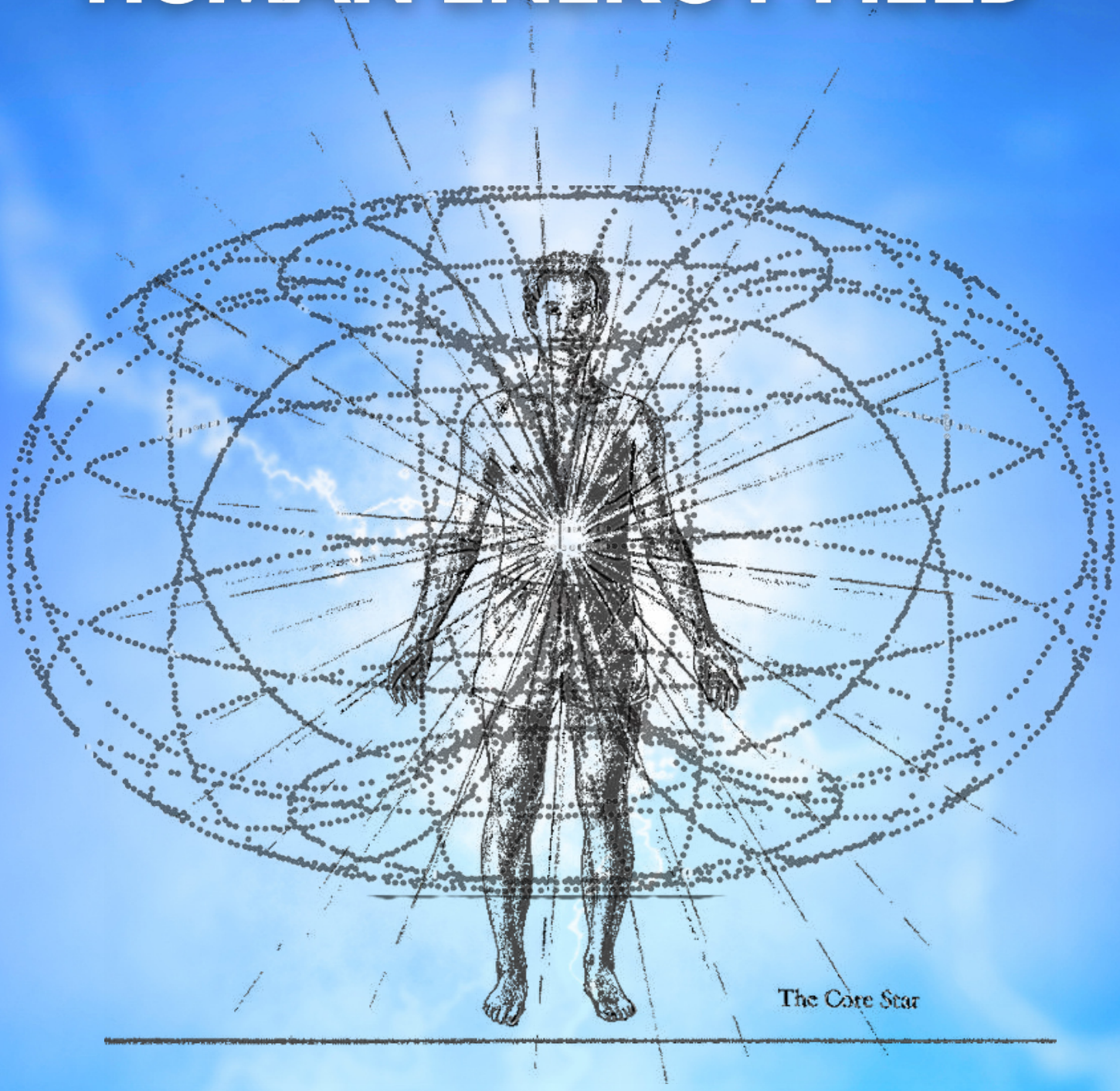
If you prefer not to walk barefoot all the time, you can still experience the benefits of grounding by using natural materials in your footwear. Wooden shoes or shoes with metal components can allow electric energy to transfer from the Earth to your body, enabling grounding even while wearing shoes. This way, you can still connect with the Earth's energy and reap the associated health benefits.

HUMN ENERGY FIELD

Grounding is indeed another excellent method to strengthen your electromagnetic field. The human energy field acts as a protective shield against energy-borne diseases and sickness. When this field becomes depleted, the body becomes more vulnerable to diseases and health issues. Therefore, practices like grounding, which enhance the body's electromagnetic balance, can significantly contribute to overall well-being and resilience against illness.

When we compromise the electromagnetic fields of our cells, we contribute to our susceptibility to illness. This weakening has ramifications on the broader scale of our human energy field. Lowering the vibrational frequency and diminishing our electromagnetic fields, often through the consumption of acidic foods, aligns us with the frequency associated with illnesses. Diseases are thought to exist within a lower frequency band, and when we harmonize with that frequency, we supposedly become immune to those illnesses and other elements existing within that frequency.

HUMAN ENERGY FIELD



The human energy field manifests as an electromagnetic field, typically extending 4-5 meters in circumference around the body. As the individual's mental, emotional, and physical well-being improves, their field strengthens and expands, reaching up to 9 meters in circumference.

AVOIDING TOXICITY

AVOID THE FOLLOWING LISTED PRODUCTS AND ITEMS:

It is recommended to avoid plastic chopping boards because they can release microplastics onto your food while you are chopping. Once ingested, microplastics are difficult to remove from the body. Therefore, it is important to use plastic as minimally as possible to reduce exposure to these harmful particles. Instead use wooden chopping boards.

Non-stick pans are coated with a chemical called Teflon, which can be harmful to the body. When these pans are heated, Teflon can leach into the foods you are cooking. Therefore, it is best to avoid using non-stick pans to minimize exposure to Teflon. Instead use stainless steel cooking pans.

Air fresheners often contain numerous synthetic chemicals that, when inhaled, can disrupt hormones and potentially cause damage to the lungs over time. The term "fragrance" on ingredient lists can encompass a multitude of up to 10,000 toxic synthetic chemicals. Therefore, it's important to be cautious when using air fresheners and opt for natural alternatives whenever possible to minimize exposure to harmful substances.

It is advisable to avoid aluminum cans due to their plastic (BPA) lining, which can leach microplastics into the liquids and foods contained within the can. Therefore, it is recommended to steer clear of canned foods or liquids. Refrain from consuming beverages from plastic bottles and instead opt for alternatives such as glass, stainless steel, copper, and similar materials.

TOXIC INGREDIENTS

AVOID THE FOLLOWING LISTED INGREDIENTS:

STAY AWAY FROM:
-Thickners
-Emulsifiers
-Gelatin
-Acidity Regulators
-Citric Acid
-Lactic Acid
-Ascorbic Acid
-Flavour
-Natural Flavour
-Iron
-Food Colouring
-Red40
-Palm Oil
-Vegatable Oil
-Rapeseed Oil
-Sunflower OIl
-Sugar
-Corn Syrup
-Starch
-Glucose
-Preservatives

ASCORBIC ACID

Ascorbic acid is indeed vitamin C, but it can be synthesized in a lab. It's often added to foods to enhance their appeal and nutritional content. Stay away from any “food” that is synthetic and not made by mother nature.

CITRIC ACID

Citric acid can be produced through fermentation using various strains of mold, including genetically modified organisms (GMOs), in laboratory settings.

FLAVOUR & NATURAL FLAVOUR

When you see "flavor" listed as an ingredient, it may contain up to three thousand synthetic chemicals, which can be harmful and unnatural to the body. Natural flavor isn't necessarily safer—it can include substances from the natural world, such as insects, bugs, and bottom feeders, which you should avoid from consumption. Insects and bottom feeders often consume waste and debris, which can contain toxins, microplastics, and parasites. As a result, they may accumulate harmful substances in their bodies.

SEED OILS

Sunflower oil, canola oil, and many other seed oils are often highly processed. They undergo heating and various factory processes to extract the oil from the seeds, which can result in the oil becoming highly refined and containing harmful substances.

SUGAR

Sugar triggers the brain's reward system, leading to the release of dopamine, which creates feelings of pleasure and satisfaction. This is a key factor in why sugar can be addictive, with some researchers likening its addictive potential to that of cocaine. Sugar often appears in ingredient lists under various names like glucose, corn syrup, and artificial sweeteners. Excessive consumption of artificial sugars is linked to numerous health issues, including diseases, tooth decay, and potential brain damage. Thus, it's crucial to minimize or eliminate artificial sugars from our diets to promote overall health and well-being.

FASTING

Fasting involves refraining from eating, providing the body with an opportunity to address any internal issues. By diverting energy away from digestion, the body can focus on healing processes. Digestion requires a significant amount of the body's energy. When we refrain from eating, this energy is freed up and can be redirected to other bodily processes, potentially aiding in healing and repair.

During fasting, the body may generate stem cells, which possess the remarkable capability to transform into specialized cells needed for tissue repair and regeneration. Stem cells are undifferentiated cells with the remarkable ability to develop into various specialized cell types in the body. They have the potential to differentiate into specific cell types, such as muscle cells, nerve cells, or blood cells, depending on the body's needs. Stem cells play a crucial role in the body's natural healing and regeneration processes

TYPES OF FASTING:

Liquid only fast - During a water fast, individuals abstain from consuming all food and only consume water for a designated period of time. This practice allows autophagy (the process of cellular repair and regeneration) and the production of stem cells.
A liquid fast is often viewed as an effective method to cleanse the colon and clear the digestive system of toxins and residual food. By consuming only liquids such as water, herbal teas, fruit juices, and vegetable juices, the digestive system gets a break from processing solid foods, allowing it to rest, flush and detoxify. This practice to helps remove buildup and promote digestive health.

Dry fast - Dry fasting, is a practice where individuals refrain from consuming any food or liquids for a designated period. Advocates of dry fasting often suggest that it can lead to more profound detoxification effects compared to water fasting alone. The body may efficiently eliminate toxins and waste products through various physiological processes during a dry fast. Warning - Dry fasting, due to its extreme detoxification and potential risks, should only be attempted by individuals who are well-informed, experienced with fasting practices.

FASTING

HOW LONG DO I FAST FOR?

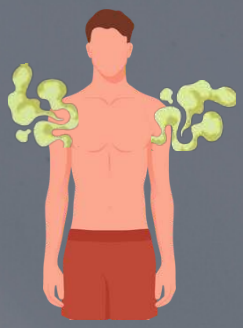
Starting gradually with shorter fasting durations, such as 1-2 days at a time, allows beginners to acclimate to the experience and observe how their bodies respond. As individuals gain more experience and confidence with fasting, they may choose to extend their fasting periods, with experienced fasters potentially fasting for up to a week. For those who are highly experienced and knowledgeable about fasting, longer durations, such as one month or more, may be feasible.

HOW OFTEN SHOULD I FAST?

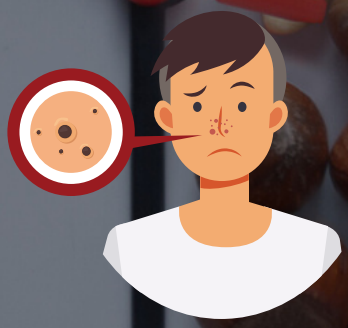
Giving the body a break from digestion every two weeks when initially starting fasting can be beneficial. As you gain more experience with fasting, it becomes increasingly advantageous to incorporate it more frequently into your routine. For instance, I personally fast for at least 1 to 2 days every week to maintain my fasting practice and its associated benefits.

SIGNS YOU NEED TO DETOX

YELLOW TOUNGE



BODY ODUR



ACNE ON SKIN

SKIN ISSUES

HAIR LOSS

BLOATING STOMACH

BREATH ODUR

RUNNY NOSE

DIFFICULTY ON TOILET

BLOOD & SKIN CONNECTION

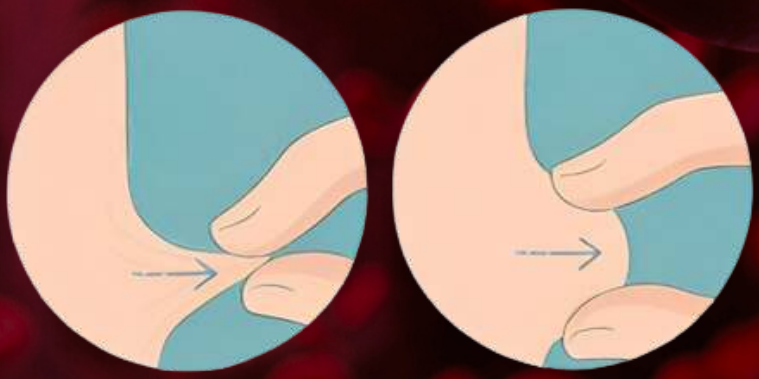
The presence of skin conditions such as acne, rashes, and various dermatological issues often serves as a visible indicator of underlying internal health imbalances. While external supplements and topical treatments can sometimes provide temporary relief by masking redness or irritation, they often fail to address the root cause of the problem, which lies within the body.

As the body's largest organ, the skin reflects the overall health of our bloodstream and internal systems. Skin issues like eczema and persistent rashes can be signals that our blood may contain toxins or that our body's detoxification processes may be compromised.

In essence, these skin manifestations act as outward manifestations of internal disruptions. Therefore, merely treating the symptoms externally may not fully resolve the underlying issues. Instead, adopting a holistic approach that includes dietary adjustments, lifestyle modifications, and detoxification protocols is crucial for addressing the root causes of skin conditions and restoring overall health and balance.

DO YOU HAVE TOXIC BLOOD?

To determine whether your blood is toxic or clean, you can conduct a simple test on yourself or someone else. Pinch the middle topside of your forearm. If the skin feels very thick and not very stretchy, it may indicate that your blood is thick and full of toxins. On the other hand, if your skin feels thin and elastic, it suggests that your blood is purer and healthier.



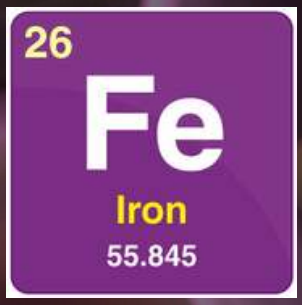
HOW TO CLNESE THE BLOOD

To cleanse the blood effectively, it's beneficial to incorporate a variety of red alkaline fruits and vegetables into your diet. These include strawberries, cherries, tomatoes, raspberries, and others. These foods provide essential nutrients that support blood health and aid in removing toxins from the bloodstream. By consuming a diet rich in these red alkaline fruits and vegetables, you can help your body maintain optimal blood health and detoxification. Additionally, it's beneficial to include foods and herbal teas in your diet that are rich in iron fluorine. Herbs like burdock root, dandelion, sarsaparilla, and cayenne pepper.

IMPORTANCE OF IRON

Iron is indeed one of the most important minerals for the body. Iron is a crucial component of hemoglobin, the protein in red blood cells responsible for transporting oxygen from the lungs to the rest of the body and many other bodily functions. In the bloodstream, iron is bound to hemoglobin and helps carry oxygen throughout the body's tissues and organs. This oxygenation process is essential for cellular respiration and overall bodily function.

Iron deficiency occurs when the body doesn't have enough iron to produce hemoglobin, leading to a decreased ability to carry oxygen to tissues and organs. This condition can result from various factors, including inadequate dietary intake of iron-rich foods, poor absorption of iron in the digestive tract, blood loss (such as from menstruation or internal bleeding), or increased demand for iron (such as during pregnancy or rapid growth periods in children). Females need to pay particular attention to their iron intake, especially around menstruation, because they lose iron during this time through blood loss. Menstrual blood contains iron, and women who have heavy or prolonged periods may experience greater iron loss



MALE

Insufficient iron intake can indeed lead to various health issues and complications. Iron deficiency can result in a condition called anemia, which occurs when the body doesn't have enough healthy red blood cells to carry oxygen to tissues throughout the body. This can lead to symptoms such as fatigue, weakness, shortness of breath, dizziness, pale skin, and difficulty concentrating.

SIGNS OF IRON DEFFICENCY

FREQUENT HEADACHES

DARK EYE-BAGS

LOW ENERGY

PALE/YELLOW SKIN

IRON FLOURINE

IRON is crucial for our respiration and overall bodily function, essentially serving as the essence of life itself. Without iron, the production of red blood cells, responsible for carrying oxygen throughout our bodies, would be impossible. Oxygen is essential for every cellular process, providing the energy necessary for various bodily functions. Furthermore, blood plays a vital role in eliminating metabolic waste generated through respiration by transporting carbon dioxide, a byproduct of metabolism, to the lungs for expulsion from the body. Hence, the supply of oxygen to cells and the removal of carbon dioxide are paramount.

FLOURINE has been found to positively impact the formation of bones and teeth. It contributes to strengthening immunity, fortifying bones, and safeguarding teeth. It's worth noting that the healing properties attributed to natural fluorine differ from those of chemical sodium fluoride found in water. Fluorine also aids in protecting the body against viral invasion and proliferation. It acts as a disinfectant, germicide, antiseptic, antiparasitic, and fever-reducing agent, further underscoring its beneficial effects.

AVOID FAKE IRON

Not all forms of iron are beneficial or absorbable by the body. Our cells require iron in the form of iron phosphate or iron fluorine, which is naturally found in plants, fruits, and vegetables, rather than synthesized in a lab. The iron listed in ingredients is often iron oxide, a physical form of iron. However, our cells cannot effectively absorb heavy metals like iron oxide, and it can potentially cause harm to the body. Our bodies are designed to absorb nutrients from natural sources created by nature, rather than synthetic compounds.

Iron fluoride is a compound created by combining iron and fluorine, forming an inorganic substance. This will not benifit your body.

It's advisable to avoid iron supplements and foods containing added iron, as this iron is often synthetic. Opt instead for natural sources of iron found in plants, fruits, and vegetables, which provide the beneficial form of iron that the body can utilize effectively.

SUPER FOODS

IRON RICH HERBS

Yellow Burdock
Burdock Root
Dandilion Root
Nettle Leaf
Sarsaparilla Leaf
Elderberry
Red Clover
Coco

IRON RICH FOODS

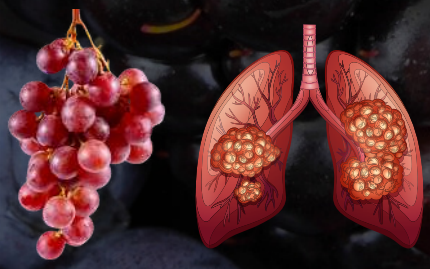
Watermelon
Mullberries
Black Berries
Cherries
Black Seeded grapes
Fonio
Wild Rice
Quinoa

SUPERFOODS

Jamacan Avecado
Watermelon
Seamoss
Blue Berries
Ginger
Cayenne Pepper
Cherries Tamatos
Coconut

A superfood is a term used to describe a food that is particularly rich in nutrients, including vitamins, minerals, antioxidants, and other beneficial compounds.

The color of the fruit determines the health benefits it holds for the body. Red fruit indicates that it is healthy for the blood and contains a high amount of iron. Green fruit, for example, key limes, has detoxifying effects on the body and is beneficial for detoxing the gut and colon. Orange fruit, such as seeded oranges, is beneficial for cleansing the body of leftover waste.

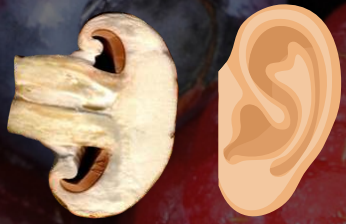


GRAPES-LUNGS

WALLNUTS-BRAIN

GINGER-STOMCH

TAMATO-HEART



MUSHROOM-EAR

BLUEBERRY-EYE

Certain fruits bear a resemblance to the body parts they benefit, reflecting the idea that nature provides foods tailored for human health. This suggests that fruits, herbs, and plants are intricately designed by nature to promote our wellbeing, enabling us to identify the foods that support our needs.Furthermore, this observation supports the notion of a divine creation, where everything is interconnected—a microcosm within the macrocosm. It suggests a profound unity and purpose in nature, where the intricate design of fruits aligning with specific body parts reflects a deeper harmony in the universe.

AVOID GMO
IF NATURE DIDNT MAKE IT, DONT TAKE IT
GMO

ORGANIC VS GMO

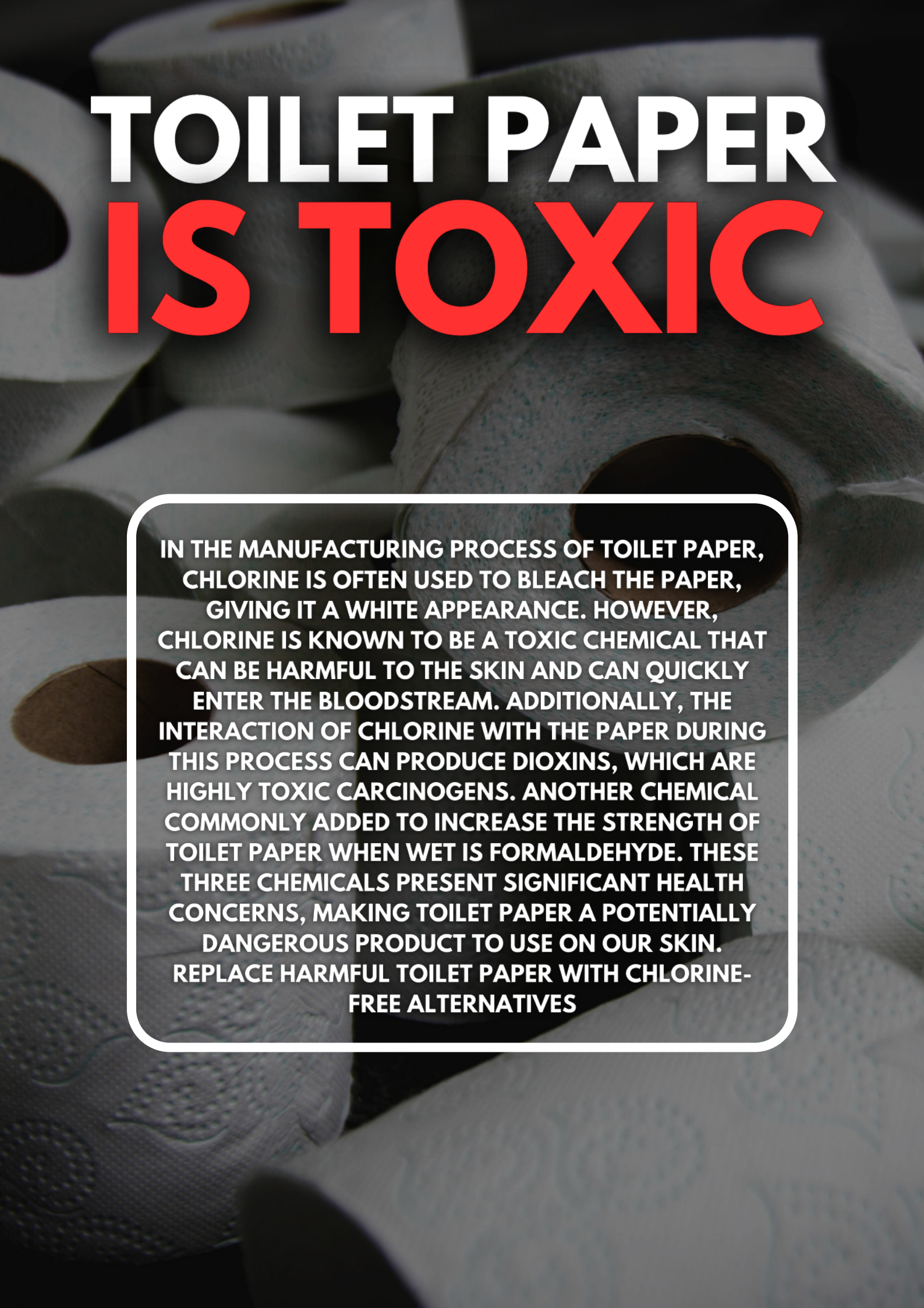
GMO, which stands for genetically modified organisms, refers to fruits and vegetables that have undergone genetic alteration to serve commercial interests or human preferences. Supermarket fruits, for instance, are often genetically modified to prolong shelf life and facilitate mass production. While advantageous for businesses, these modifications do not align with our body's optimal health.

GMOs typically contain fewer minerals and nutrients compared to naturally occurring foods. Hence, it's crucial to prioritize sourcing organic food whenever feasible. Anything synthesized in a lab and not derived from nature's processes may not be suitable for consumption. Our bodies are inherently part of nature, and ideally, we should only consume what nature has provided for us since the beginning."

THE TERM ORGANIC HAS BEEN HIJACKED

The term "organic" is often misunderstood or misused in today's world. Organic produce refers to fruits and vegetables grown without synthetic pesticides, fertilizers or ionizing radiation. It's important to clarify that foods like broccoli, carrots, or kiwi are not inherently organic because they are cultivated hybrids. Instead, "organic" typically refers to the environment in which the food was grown. This includes factors like uncontaminated soil and the absence of pesticides. However, it's crucial to understand that just because a food is labeled organic, it doesn't automatically mean it's healthy or nutritious.

The term "organic" is now being applied to deceased animals within the meat industry. However, it's important to recognize that it's impossible to have organic chicken flesh or organic chicken eggs because these products are derived from sentient beings and are not suitable as food for our bodies.

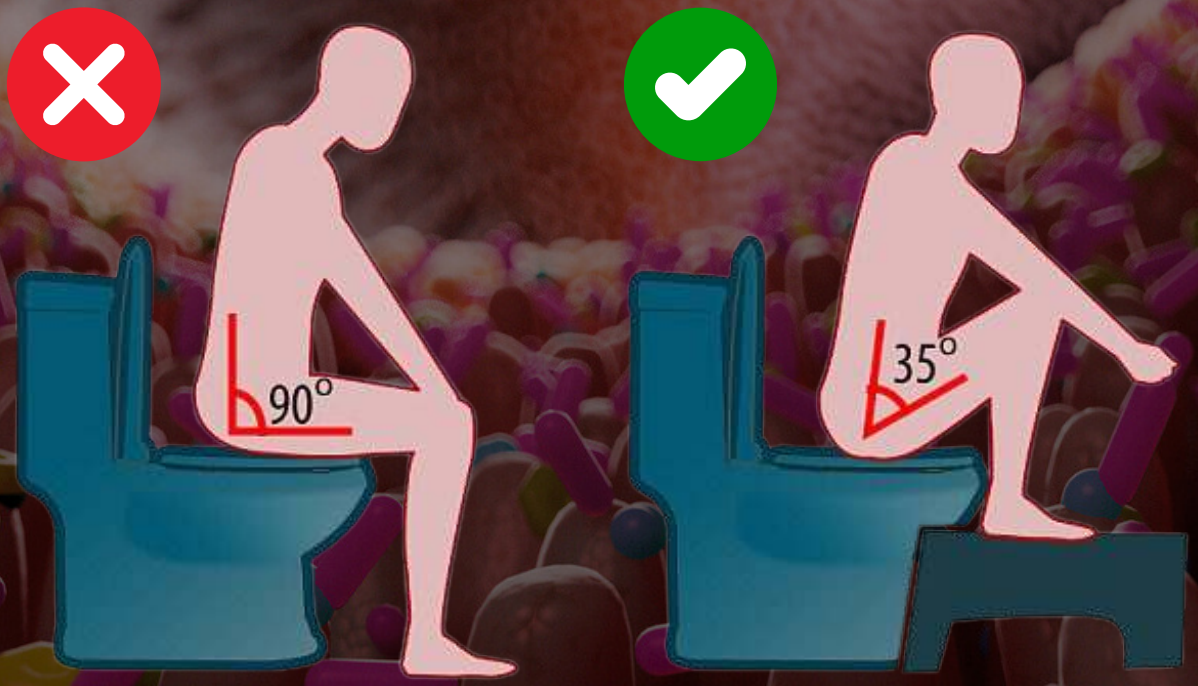


TOILET PAPER IS TOXIC

IN THE MANUFACTURING PROCESS OF TOILET PAPER, CHLORINE IS OFTEN USED TO BLEACH THE PAPER, GIVING IT A WHITE APPEARANCE. HOWEVER, CHLORINE IS KNOWN TO BE A TOXIC CHEMICAL THAT CAN BE HARMFUL TO THE SKIN AND CAN QUICKLY ENTER THE BLOODSTREAM. ADDITIONALLY, THE INTERACTION OF CHLORINE WITH THE PAPER DURING THIS PROCESS CAN PRODUCE DIOXINS, WHICH ARE HIGHLY TOXIC CARCINOGENS. ANOTHER CHEMICAL COMMONLY ADDED TO INCREASE THE STRENGTH OF TOILET PAPER WHEN WET IS FORMALDEHYDE. THESE THREE CHEMICALS PRESENT SIGNIFICANT HEALTH CONCERNS, MAKING TOILET PAPER A POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS PRODUCT TO USE ON OUR SKIN. REPLACE HARMFUL TOILET PAPER WITH CHLORINE-FREE ALTERNATIVES

BOWEL MOVEMENTS

It's essential to sit in the correct position during a bowel movement to ensure effective elimination of waste from the body. Sitting in the right position helps prevent leftover waste from accumulating and potentially causing issues such as putrefaction in the body.



Sitting in a seated position results in partial relaxation of the puborectalis muscle, potentially causing problems like bloating, straining, hemorrhoids, and constipation due to incomplete waste elimination.

Using a stool to elevate our feet creates a squatting position, optimizing the angle for the puborectalis muscle to fully open. This facilitates easier and more efficient elimination during a bowel movement.

HOT VS COLD SHOWERS

Water is the element that cleanses and revitalizes all things in its presence. It has a profound impact on our bodies and bodily systems, underscoring the importance of using healthy water with minimal toxins.

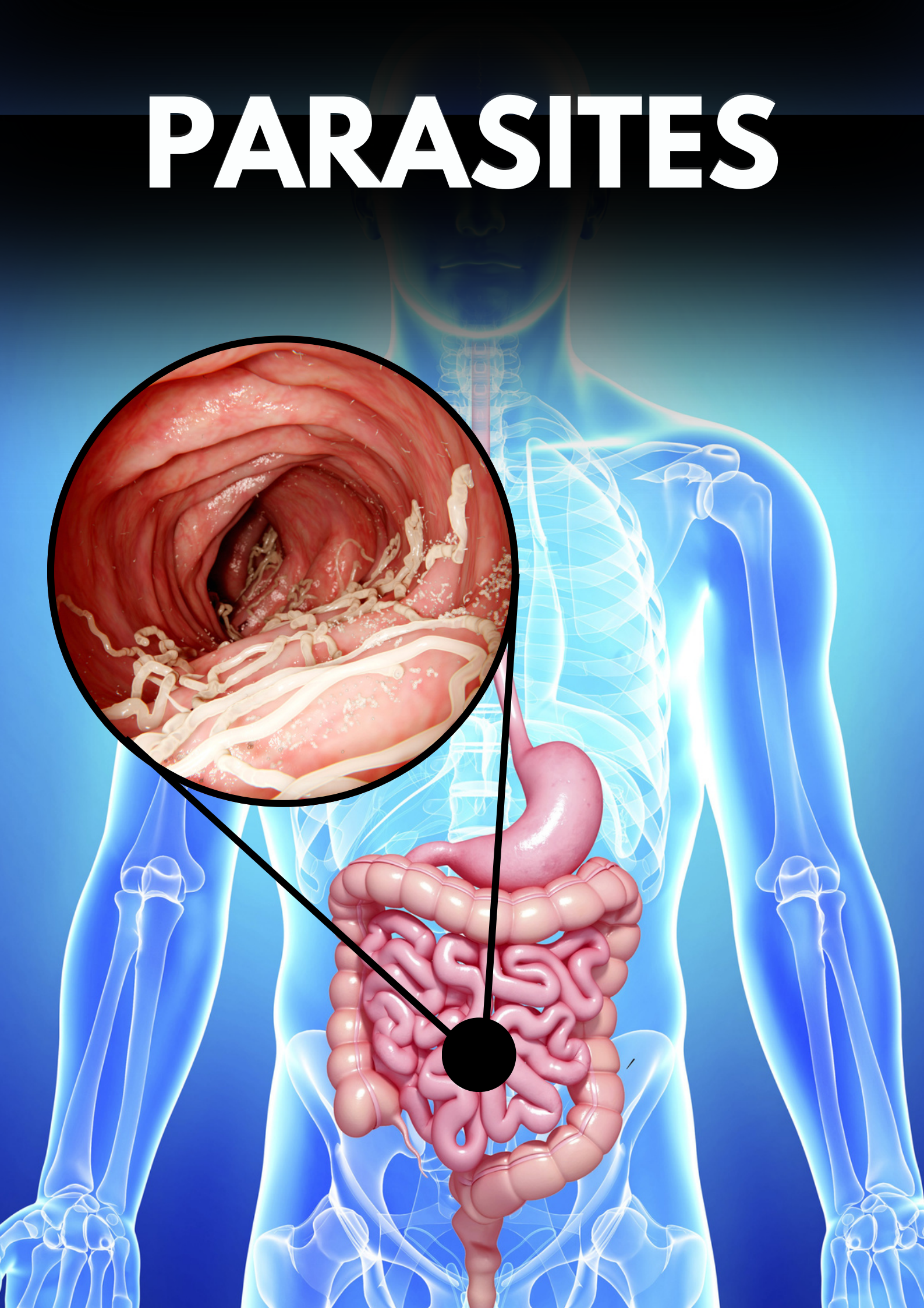
Investing in a water filtering shower head can be highly beneficial for maintaining healthier skin by reducing exposure to toxins present in tap water. These shower heads typically utilize filtration systems to remove impurities such as chlorine, heavy metals, and other contaminants, providing cleaner water for bathing. By filtering out these substances, water filtering shower heads help minimize skin irritation, dryness, and potential long-term effects on health.

Our skin, composed of trillions of pores, absorbs the water we apply to it. The body reacts differently to hot and cold water: Cold showers or bathes can help boost the immune system, responsible for combating diseases and toxins, while hot showers have a soothing effect on the body, beneficial for muscle healing and overall relaxation.

I personally advocate for cold showers as a routine practice, as they offer numerous benefits for overall health. Over time, regular cold showers can lead to deeper breathing, a lowered heart rate, a strengthened immune system, and slower aging, among other advantages. Beyond physical benefits, cold showers also provide mental advantages. Our nervous system naturally seeks pleasure and safety, and by choosing to expose ourselves to cold environments, we cultivate mental discipline and enhance the higher faculties of our minds. This mental resilience can positively impact all aspects of our lives, contributing to greater well-being and success.

HOT SHOWER	COLD SHOWER
Muscle recovery	Reduces inflammation
Relaxation	Boosts immune sytem
Opens pours	Accelerates motaberlism
Cleanses skin	Imporoves focus
Clears mucus	Icreases alertness
Removes toxins	Reduces hair loss
Relieves headaches	Preveants colds
Best to do at night	Best to do in morning

PARASITES



PARASITES

Parasites are organisms that live in or on another organism (the host) and benefit at the host's expense. They derive nourishment and other resources from the host, often causing harm or discomfort to the host in the process. Parasites typically do not enter the body externally. Instead, they are believed to emerge from within due to factors such as consuming toxic foods and creating an acidic environment within the body.

Some parasites have developed complex mechanisms to manipulate the behavior of their hosts, including sending signals that can influence the host's brain. This phenomenon is known as "parasite-induced behavioral manipulation." For instance, certain parasites can alter neurotransmitter levels or produce molecules that mimic those produced by the host's body, affecting the host's behavior in ways that benefit the parasite's survival and reproduction. These behavioral changes can range from increased risk-taking behavior to altering the host's responses to predators or altering mating behaviors, all of which can enhance the parasite's chances of transmission to new hosts.

Food cravings can sometimes be influenced by parasites, but they're not always the sole cause. When the human body is healthy and the individual's mental and emotional states are balanced, cravings can be minimized. In such cases, individuals tend to prioritize nourishing foods that benefit their overall well-being, focusing on what supports their body, mental discipline, and spiritual harmony rather than solely indulging taste buds.

SIGNS YOU HAVE PARASITES

BACK ACNE

RED BUMPS ON ARMS

SUGARY CRAVINGS

TEETH GRINDING

RUNNY DIARRHEAR

If you encounter or exhibit any of these four signs, there's a significant likelihood that you have parasitic life forms residing within your body, and it's imperative to expel them as swiftly as possible.

PARASITES

HOW TO REMOVE PRASITES

Parasites thrive in acidic based environments and feed off waste and acidic foods in the body. To eliminate parasites, deprive them of their food source by maintaining an alkaline diet and minimizing toxic foods. This can be achieved by cutting out acidic foods and focusing on consuming alkaline fruits and herbs recommended in this book. I advise avoiding grains and bread and opt for cleansing foods to make the environment inhospitable for parasites. Over time, consuming alkaline fruits and herbs may lead to parasites exiting the body through bowel movements or, in severe cases, causing sickness and exiting the body through the mouth.

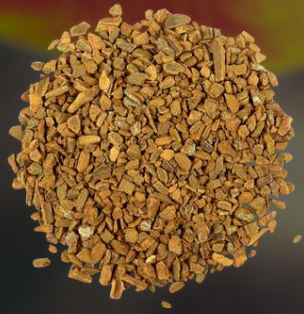
Parasites exhibit intelligence in their survival tactics. Merely expelling them from your body doesn't guarantee you're free of them. Before dying or exiting, parasites often lay eggs to ensure their offspring's continuation within your body. Therefore, it's crucial to maintain a fruit-only diet and herbal intake for up to two months to prevent these eggs from hatching and establishing new generations within your body.

PARASITE KILLER DRINK

During your alkaline fruit-only diet, I recommend preparing the following concoction: Blend together one tablespoon of papaya seeds, the juice of two key limes, one tablespoon of cayenne pepper, and a quarter cup of spring water until thoroughly blended. Consume this shot every three days on an empty stomach, ideally in the morning.

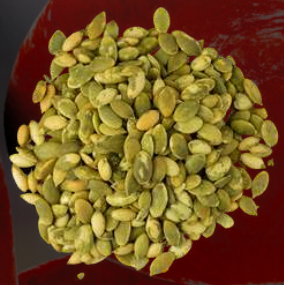
PARASITE CLEANSING FOODS

CLOVE



CINNAMON

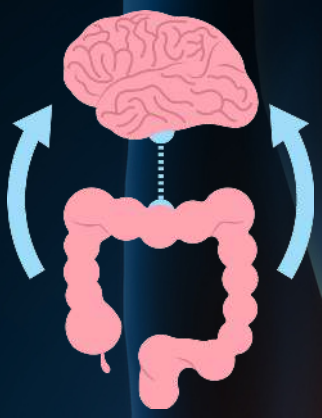
GINGER



PUMPKIN SEEDS

BRAIN & THE GUT

CLEANSE YOUR GUT



The enteric nervous system that regulates our gut is often called the body's “second brain.” Although it can't compose poetry or solve equations, this extensive network uses the same chemicals and cells as the brain to help us digest and to alert the brain when something is amiss. Essentially, the gut serves as a secondary intelligence, communicating vital messages such as hunger cues or feelings of satiety.

This is precisely why consuming food that is past its expiration date or ingesting toxic substances can lead to feelings of sickness or illness. When such substances enter our digestive system, the enteric nervous system, acting as our "second brain," detects the threat and alerts the primary brain. This triggers a response that can manifest as symptoms of illness, serving as a protective mechanism to prevent further harm to the body.

Remarkably, around 80% of our immune system resides in the gut. Additionally, approximately 90% of serotonin, a neurotransmitter crucial for mood regulation and other functions, is produced in the gut rather than the brain. Furthermore, nearly 50% of dopamine, a neurotransmitter associated with reward and motivation, is synthesized in the gut lining. These findings underscore the profound influence of the gut on our overall well-being. Emerging research continues to highlight the strong correlation between gut microbiota and various health conditions, including autoimmune diseases, autism, and cancer. Every disease has been connected to the gut microbiome to some extent. Understanding and nurturing the gut microbiome may thus hold significant promise for both preventing and managing a range of health challenges.

Maintaining a healthy body involves periodic gut cleansing, recommended at least once every two months. This is necessary because undigested food residues in the body can ferment and potentially attract parasites. Therefore, it's important to dedicate at least one week out of every two months to consuming raw fruits and drinking ample water, aiming for approximately 3.5 liters per day. Liquids play a vital role in cleansing the body by effectively flushing out any remaining food residues. Incorporating cleansing foods into your diet and integrating fasting can further enhance gut cleansing and promote overall well-being.

VISION

Poor vision is indeed prevalent in today's world. When experiencing poor vision in one or both eyes, it often indicates inefficiencies in the muscles surrounding the eyes and inadequate light intake. Wearing prescription glasses in such cases can exacerbate the issue. This is because the weakened muscles may become accustomed to relying on the glasses, leading to further relaxation and deterioration of vision over time. It's crucial to address underlying muscle weakness and light intake issues through alternative methods rather than solely relying on glasses for correction.

Instead of relying solely on glasses, addressing the root cause of poor vision is essential. Here are some tips to help improve vision naturally:

1. Start by adopting a fruit-only diet and fasting one day a week. Consuming plenty of brain-boosting foods like blueberries can support overall eye health.
2. Grounding daily and sun gazing at sunrise or sunset can be beneficial. Sun gazing during periods of lower light can help train the eyes to intake more light, potentially improving vision over time.
3. focusing on a single point, such as a pen, and moving it around your visual field without moving your head, only your eyes. Concentrate intently on the pen, striving to make it as clear and sharp as possible.

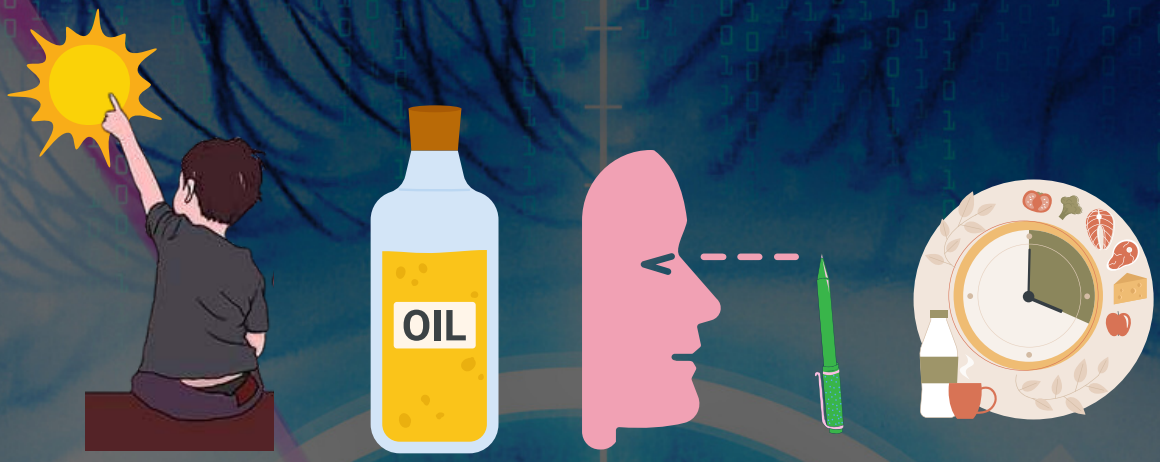
By incorporating these practices into your routine, you can work towards improving your vision naturally and addressing the underlying causes of poor eyesight.

TRY THIS EXERCISE

If you're experiencing poor vision, try this straightforward technique to test whether your eyes are receiving enough light. Create a small opening with your hand, allowing only a tiny bit of light to enter. Cover your eye completely with your hand, ensuring that no additional light can enter except through the small hole. Now, look through this opening, and you may notice that your vision becomes noticeably clearer or even sharper than before.

This exercise demonstrates that your eyes may not be receiving enough light, which can reduce contrast and impact vision. To improve light intake for your eyes, it's beneficial to minimize exposure to blue light from sources like light bulbs, TV screens, and phones. Instead, prioritize getting more direct sunlight to stimulate the retinas and enhance visual clarity. By reducing blue light exposure and increasing sunlight exposure, you can support better contrast and overall eye health.

HOW TO IMPROVE VISION



SUN GAZING

AVOID SEED OILS

EYE EXERCISE

LIQUID ONLY FAST

Poor vision could potentially indicate an accumulation of excess mucus in the head region. To address this issue, consider incorporating herbal teas such as mullein leaf into your routine. Additionally, thoroughly washing your head, scalp, face, ears, and under the eyes with sea moss gel or a non-chemical face wash can help remove excess mucus and promote clearer vision. These practices may contribute to improved eye health and overall well-being.

ONE EYE WEAKER THAN THE OTHER

If you have one eye with poorer vision compared to the other, this discrepancy can be addressed. The brain naturally prioritizes the use of the stronger eye, similar to how it favors the stronger arm for certain tasks. Over time, this preference can lead to the weaker eye becoming progressively weaker. However, it's possible to address this imbalance and strengthen the weaker eye through targeted exercises and therapies. By engaging in vision training techniques and consistently practicing activities that specifically stimulate the weaker eye, you can help restore balance and improve vision in both eyes.

Wearing an eyepatch over the stronger eye can indeed be a beneficial method for strengthening the weaker eye. By covering the stronger eye, the brain is forced to allocate more energy and attention to the weaker eye, leading to improved muscle strength over time. It's common to experience tension or aching behind the eye after engaging in eye exercises. This discomfort is a positive sign, indicating that the eye muscle is being challenged and exercised. Similar to the soreness felt after a workout at the gym, this discomfort signifies that the muscle is undergoing repair and strengthening. With consistent practice and patience, these exercises can help enhance the strength and function of the weaker eye.

HOW TO HEAL

HEALING IS NOT AN OVERNIGHT PROCESS

If I were to encounter any issues with my body, my first course of action would be to address the colon and gut by adopting a diet consisting solely of one type of fruit. My preferred fruits for this purpose would be those rich in minerals, such as blueberries or watermelon. This dietary choice aims to eliminate mucus, excess food residues, and electrically charge my cells while providing essential nutrients to my body.

Additionally, I would complement this fruit-based diet with herbal teas like burdock root and dandelion root, known for their ability to break down mucus and strengthen the immune system. After following this regimen for two weeks and ensuring my body is in optimal condition, I would transition to a liquid-only fast. During this fast, which could last up to four days, I would consume herbal teas of my choice and juices from fruits like watermelon, key lime, and grapes.

Throughout this process, I would ensure to ground my feet in the earth for at least 30 minutes a day, aiming for more whenever feasible, while also maximizing my exposure to direct sunlight.

Fasting allows the body to generate new stem cells for repair and utilize the energy saved from the inactive digestive system to address any bodily issues. Upon completing the fast, I would revert to the same diet and repeat the process until my body is cleansed and fully recovered from the underlying health concern.

HEALING DOES NOT OCCUR OVER NIGHT

It's crucial to understand that healing isn't a sprint; it's more akin to a slow and steady jog. Achieving healing requires discipline, consistency, and maintaining a positive mindset throughout the process. Although it may seem challenging at times, the long-term benefits make it all worthwhile. Many health issues are not sudden occurrences but rather result from years of neglecting our well-being. Often, unhealthy dietary choices, such as consuming junk food and acidic foods, gradually manifest into various health problems. Thus, it's essential to recognize the role of lifestyle habits in the development of diseases and commit to making positive changes for better health outcomes.

Disease is essentially 'dis-ease' within the body, signifying that something is out of balance or discomfort exists within the body's systems.

HERBS FOR HEALTH

DANDILION
HEART

BURDOCK ROOT
BLOOD

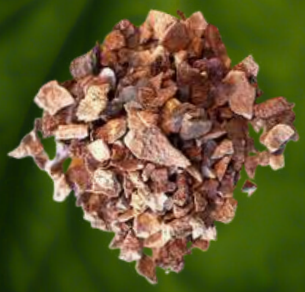
MULLEIN LEAF
LUNGS

SEAMOSS
DIGESTION

NETTLE LEAF
KIDNEYS

CAYENNE PEPPER
CIRCULATION

CLOVE
TEETH



WILD YAM
HORMONES

WHITE PINE
MUCUS

CELENDINE
WARTS

ROSEMARY
HAIR

OREGANO
IMMUNE SYSTEM

HERBS FOR HEALTH

THYME
RESPIRATORY

GINGER
DIGESTION

SAGE
ANTIBIOTIC

BASIL
STOMACH

MINT
GUM HEALTH

MUGWART
MENSTRUATION

CINNAMON
BLOOD PRESSURE

DILL
BACTERIA

ELDERBERRY
IMMUNITY

BIOHACKS

CONSUME FOODS IN A SPECIFIC SEQUENCE

If you choose not to follow the advice on consuming only alkaline foods, I strongly recommend adhering to this guidance on the order of food consumption. When faced with a meal containing various types of foods, it's beneficial to eat them in a specific order to support our digestive system and minimize glucose spikes. For optimal digestion, start by consuming foods that digest quickly, such as fruits and vegetables. Next, include proteins and fats in your meal, followed by starches and sugars last. I advise avoiding foods with starch and the consumption of animal flesh for overall health. Nevertheless, if you choose to consume these foods, it's advisable to follow the recommended order of consumption outlined above

Similarly, this principle applies throughout our daily eating cycle. For our first meal of the day, it's beneficial to consume easily digestible foods like fruits. These foods help cleanse the system and minimize the energy expended by our bodies, ensuring we have ample energy for the day ahead. As the day progresses, if you choose to consume denser foods, it's advisable to do so later in the daytime. This approach supports optimal digestion and energy utilization throughout the day.

BREAKFAST IS BREAK-FAST

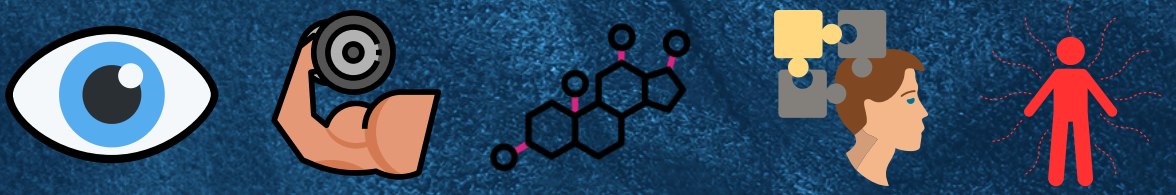
The term "breakfast" originates from "breaking the fast," subtly influencing our subconscious. However, it's worth noting that morning time is when the body undergoes significant detoxification processes. Therefore, refraining from eating during the morning hours aligns with supporting the body's detox efforts.

During sleep, the body undergoes a significant detoxification process. Upon waking, there's a crucial four-hour window where the body detoxes most efficiently. To optimize our health, it's recommended to refrain from eating until three to four hours after waking up. By doing so, we can leverage our body's natural defense mechanisms for enhanced well-being.

SEMEN RETENTION

Semen is the essence of masculinity, possessing the remarkable power to initiate the creation of a new human being. This sacred fluid holds profound significance and should be preserved within the body whenever possible. Despite its composition rich in testosterone and other essential nutrients, the true strength of semen is resides in its spiritual counterpart. The energy associated with semen is profoundly potent, which explains why men often experience feelings of depletion and lethargy after ejaculation. Thus, conserving semen is encouraged to harness and channel this powerful energy for spiritual and personal growth in all aspect of life

BENIFITS OF SEMEN RETENTION



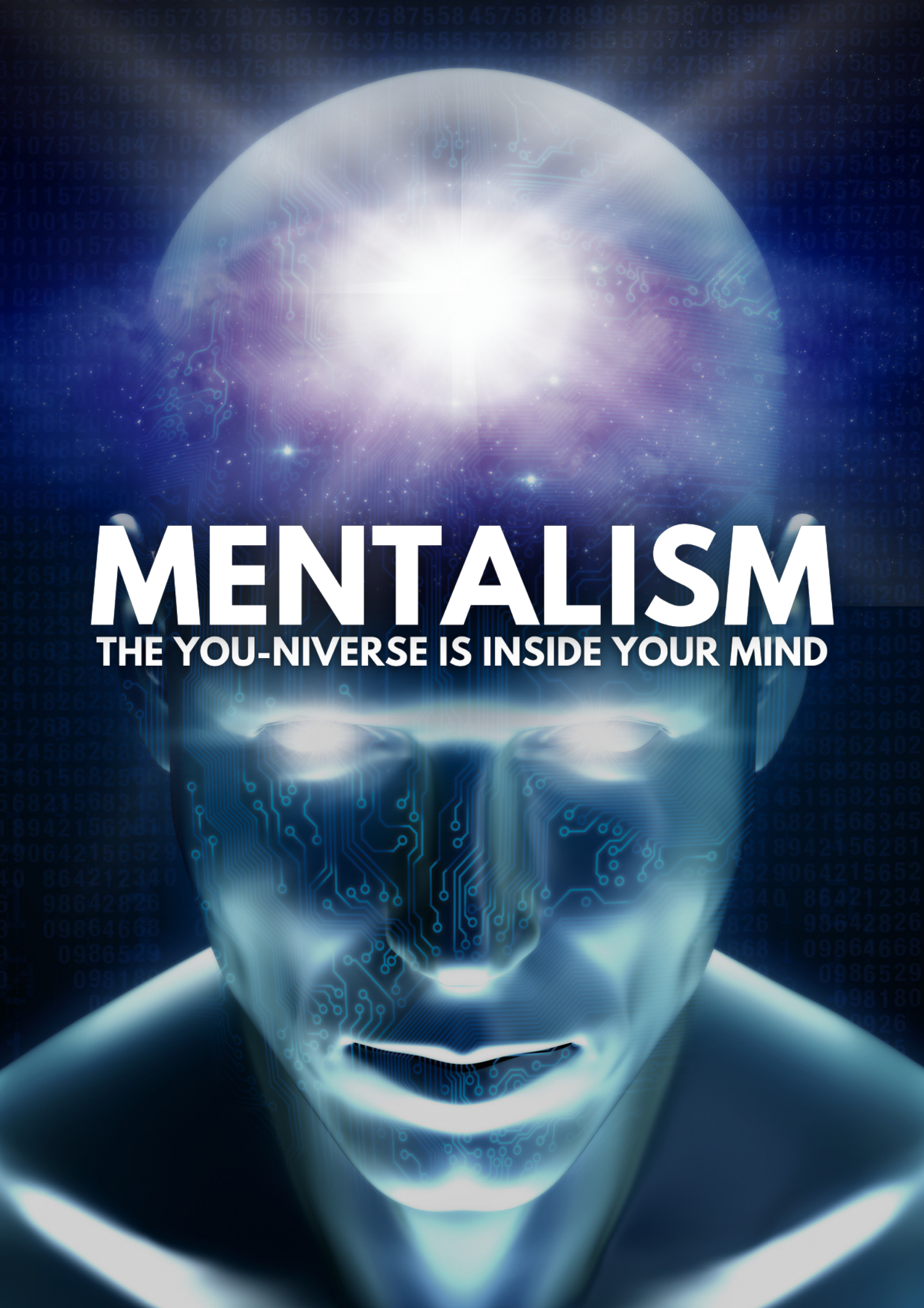
CLEARER VISION | INCREASE STRENGTH | BOOSTS TESTOSTRONE | MENTAL DISCIPLIN | MORE ENERGY

MENTAL CLARITY | GLOWING SKIN | STRONGER IMMUNE SYSTEM | STRONG MOTIVATION

Releasing semen can lead to a decrease in testosterone levels and an increase in estrogen levels in men, potentially contributing to a more feminine physiological balance over time. Over-ejaculation can lead to reduced energy levels, slower muscle growth, accelerated aging, diminished self-confidence, and a lower vibrational state.

The most powerful of all human emotions is the sexual desire. While there are various mental stimulants, none of them, whether alone or combined, can rival the overwhelming force of sexual desire. Sexual desire has the capacity to completely dominate our body, mind, and spirit.

When sexual desire is redirected towards activities beyond mere physical actions, such as intellectual or creative pursuits, it holds the potential to elevate an individual to a genius level. In essence, channeling this potent energy into other aspects of life can lead to remarkable achievements and enhanced abilities.


MENTALISM
THE YOU-NIVERSE IS INSIDE YOUR MIND

MENTALISM

The mind is something that cannot be described so easily. it is important that you understand that the mind is not the brain; the brain is a physical manifestation of the mind. The mind is not visible to the two eyes. the mind transcends time, space, and matter; in other words, it exists outside of the physical world that is bound by space and time. everything we see in the physical world is an effect generated by the cause of the mind for example every car, building and design you see is a physical manifesation of the designers mind. the mind is infinate and unmeserable as it has no boundaries and limitations unlike the external physical world. anything is possible in the mind.

The universe is one giant mind with unlimited potential, information and generation. all life forms including bugs and animals are sharing one thing in common whcich is that we all posses mind. we are all expressing this one consciousness no matter what body it enhabits. with that being the mental plane is a shared plane between everyone and everything within the universe. take for example when i speak to you verbally it effects you, tHe words that i say have an effect on your mind.

The mind isn't merely a generator of thoughts; rather, it acts as a receiver, tapping into the universal mind. Depending on the frequency we tune our minds into, we receive corresponding information. For instance, focusing on health directs our mental reception toward thoughts and insights related to well-being. This is why we refer to it as a "mindset" – we're essentially aligning our minds with specific frequencies.

Your life, the individuals within it, and the possessions you possess are direct reflections of your past mental thoughts. With this understanding, the unseen aspects of your being shape your tangible reality. You are the architect of your own existence, crafting your own unique "you-niverse. Before kicking a football, a decision is first formulated within the mind. Every action originates as a mental process before it manifests physically.

MENTAL HEALTH

Health isn't solely determined by what you consume physically; it extends to what you intake through your senses of sight, hearing, and mental engagement. What you see and hear can profoundly impact your mental well-being, either positively or negatively as eveyrhting you experience is stored within your subconscious mind. Your mind serves as the primary creator of your tangible, enduring reality. Thus, if you fill your mental space with negativity, it will manifest in your thoughts, actions, and emotions, ultimately influencing every aspect of your life.

SEE NO EVIL SPEAK NO EVIL HEAR NO EVIL

YOUR PERCEPTION IS YOUR REALITY

If you adopt the mindset I'm about to share, you'll become untouchable.

It's incorrect to believe that we should always strive for constant happiness because our reality is inherently dualistic, encompassing opposites like hot and cold, good and evil, day and night. Being one-sided leads to imbalance. Instead, adopting a mindset of neutrality is beneficial. The mind is the fundamental substance of existence, and everything we experience is neutral. It's our perception that assigns a positive or negative charge to these experiences.

Your emotions shouldn't solely be reactive; instead, they can be a force for manifestation. You can utilize them to feel something before you physically have it. Even if you experience a reactive emotion, don't allow it to consume you. Let it pass through you without allowing it to define or ruin you.

MENTAL HEALTH

HEALTH IS MORE THAN JUST PHYSICAL WELL-BEING

Your mental health is equally important as your physical well-being. When we think positive thoughts, we automatically generate positive emotions because every thought is linked to an emotion. Each thought and emotion emits a vibrational frequency that affects every cell in our body, either benefiting or harming us. These frequencies are powerful and contribute to shaping the world around us. Even with the healthiest diet, constantly harboring fear, anxiety, and negative thoughts in our minds can lead to disease within the body.

CONSCIOUS AND THE SUBCONCSIOUS MIND

The conscious mind serves as the masculine aspect of your mental faculties, overseeing everything within your awareness, including your visual perception, senses, and thoughts. Each conscious thought triggers an emotional response within the heart, which leaves impressions on the subconscious mind. The intensity of these emotions directly influences the depth of their imprint on the subconscious.

In contrast, the subconscious mind functions as the feminine aspect of your psyche. It silently manages the body's various systems without your conscious acknowledgment, such as regulating your heartbeat and breathing. This hidden realm constitutes 90% of your mind and serves as the repository for all your memories, languages, experiences, and crucially, your mental programming.

The brain emits theta wave frequencies just before falling asleep and upon waking up. These specific brainwave patterns are closely linked to rapid programming and hypnosis. It's crucial to be mindful of our thoughts, words, visual input, and auditory stimuli during these transitional periods, as they can profoundly influence our mindset. Listening to positive affirmations each morning while our subconscious is receptive to programming is highly beneficial. Consistently exposing ourselves to affirmations can effectively rewire the brain and even impact our DNA, instilling positive programming within the subconscious mind.

MIND

♂ ♀

CONSCIOUS MALE

AWARENESS
10% OF MIND

THOUGHTS
5 SENSES
SUROUNDINGS

SUB-CONSCIOUS FEMALE

UNAWARE
90% OF MIND

STORES MEMORY
CONTROLS SYSTEMS
STORES PROGRAMS

MENTALISM

CONSCIOUS AND THE SUBCONSCIOUS MIND

The subconscious mind represents the vast majority, about 90%, of our cognitive processing capacity, encompassing memories, learned behaviors, emotional associations, and crucially, mental frameworks known as paradigms. Operating beneath the surface of conscious awareness, it serves as the repository from which we draw upon past experiences and knowledge, effortlessly guiding our actions and expressions.

This hidden realm exerts a profound influence on 80% of our daily behaviors, largely through the ingrained mental programs stored within it. Consider routine tasks like tying shoelaces or entering a phone passcode—these are executed automatically, orchestrated by the subconscious mind without active conscious intervention. Therefore, if we create a mental program, such as believing in financial freedom, it will subconsciously influence 80% of our thinking patterns. For example, our thoughts will revolve around creating financial freedom, and we'll naturally take actions aligned with this goal, often without realizing it. Over time, this subconscious focus will lead to manifesting our desires into physical reality.

Emotional events, particularly those of significant intensity, leave enduring imprints on our subconscious, shaping our ongoing behaviors. For instance, a past car accident resulting in severe injury may engender deep-seated fear, perpetuating a subconscious program that manifests as hesitation or avoidance regarding automobile travel.

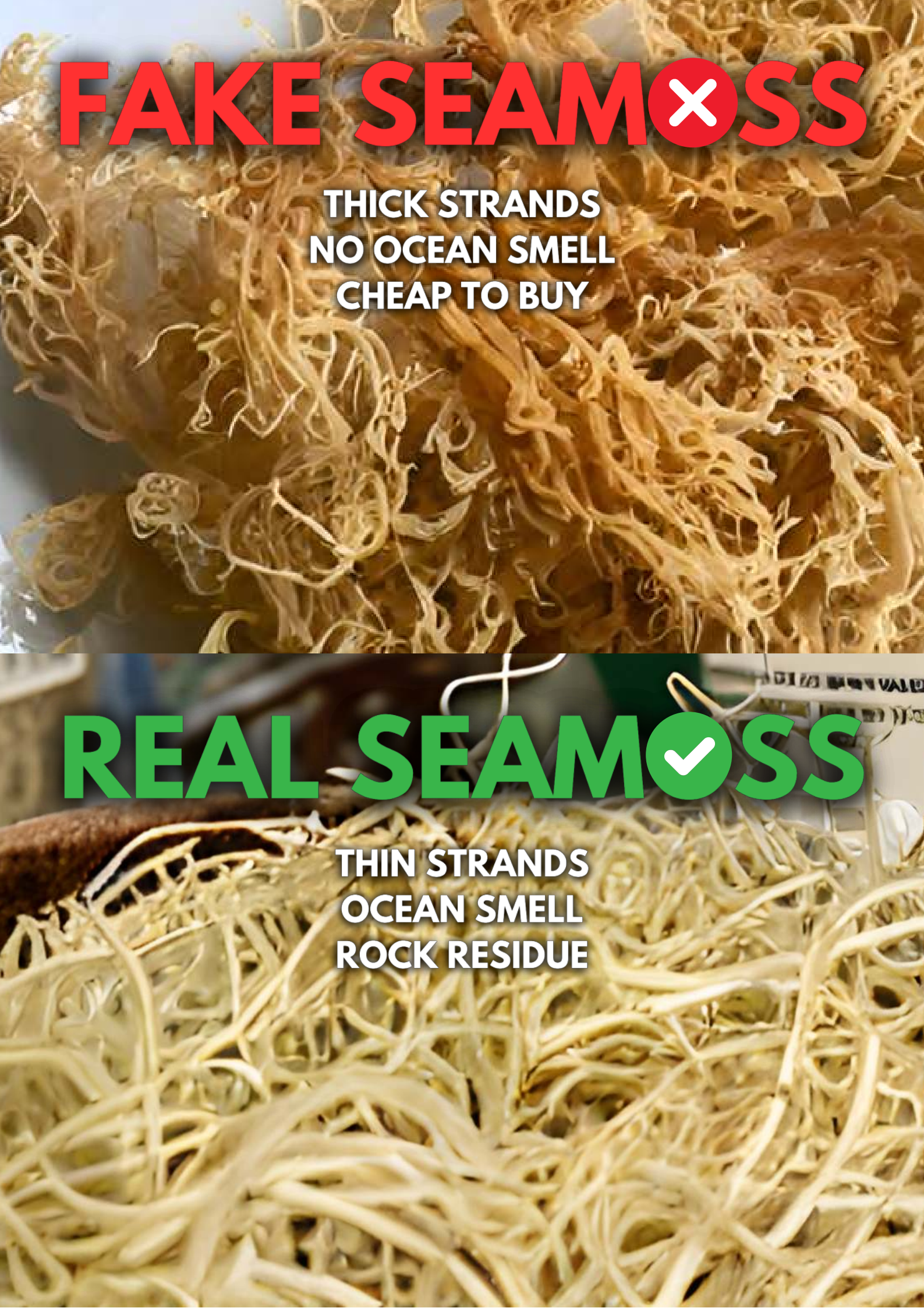
However, the subconscious is not solely a domain of negative influence; it can be harnessed positively. Through repetitive thought and emotional engagement, individuals can intentionally cultivate new mental programs. By consistently envisioning desired outcomes with emotional intensity, these programs take root within the subconscious, subsequently informing the majority of our daily behaviors and thoughts.

Crucially, the subconscious interprets all input literally, regarding it as truth. Thus, every statement, whether positive or negative, is internalized as fact. For example, self-deprecating remarks like "you're an idiot" are absorbed by the subconscious as self-directed criticism, shaping one's self-perception accordingly.

To leverage the power of the subconscious in creating positive mental programs, it's essential to understand this literal interpretation and employ conscious effort in affirming desired beliefs and attitudes. By consistently impressing positive thoughts and emotions upon the subconscious, individuals can shape their behaviors and experiences in alignment with their aspirations.

SEAMOSS IS POWERFUL

Sea moss contains 92 out of the 102 minerals essential for the human body, making it a powerful superfood with numerous benefits. It is known for strengthening bones, improving digestion, and aiding in detoxification. Sea moss gel can also be applied externally to the skin to help reduce scars, acne, and blackheads.


FAKE SEAMOSS
THICK STRANDS
NO OCEAN SMELL
CHEAP TO BUY
REAL SEAMOSS
THIN STRANDS
OCEAN SMELL
ROCK RESIDUE

FOODS TO AVOID

CAROT

CABBAGE

TUMERIC

LEMON

PLANTAIN

PATATO

KIWI

DRAGON FRUIT

MORINGA

PINEAPPLE

BLOOD ORANGE

POMEGRANIT

SPINACH

BEETROOT

SUGARCANE

GARLIC

CORN

BROCCOLI

SPROUTS

LETTUCE

KALE

SWEET PATATO

MATOKI

BIG BANANA

SOY BEANS

PEANUTS

PISTACHIO

WHEAT

WHITE BREAD

WHITE RICE

TAMATOE SOURCE & PASTA

INGREDIENTS:

SPELT PASTA
200G CHERRY TOMATOES
1 RED ONION
2 TABLESPOONS OF OREGANO
2 PINCHES OF SEA SALT
PINCH OF CAYENNE PEPPER
3 PINCHES OF THYME
1/4 OF A BELL PEPPER

METHOD:

Place the tomatoes, onion, and bell peppers in the oven and set the heat to around 130˚C (low-medium) for 15 minutes.

In a saucepan, boil spring water and add spelt pasta until it expands and softens.

Once the tomatoes have softened, transfer them, along with the onions and bell peppers, into a blender.

Add oregano, sea salt, cayenne, and thyme into the blender. Blend for 2 minutes.

When the pasta is boiled and ready, rinse it and then add the blended sauce to the spelt pasta.

Serve in a bowl or plate, and add extra seasonings on top if desired.

Enjoy!

QUINOA PANCAKES

INGREDIENTS:

1 CUP WASHED QUINOA
2 PITTED DATES
2 TABLESPOONS WALNUTS
2 TABLESPOONS OF HEMP SEEDS
1 TABLE SPOON OLIVE OIL
1/4 CUP OF AGAVE
1 TEASPOON OF SEA SALT
1 BABY BANANA
3/4 CUP WATER

METHOD:

Blend quinoa, hemp seeds, dates, oil, agave, sea salt, walnuts, banana, and water for 2 minutes until a batter consistency forms.

Heat a pan over medium-high heat and add a drop of grapeseed oil.

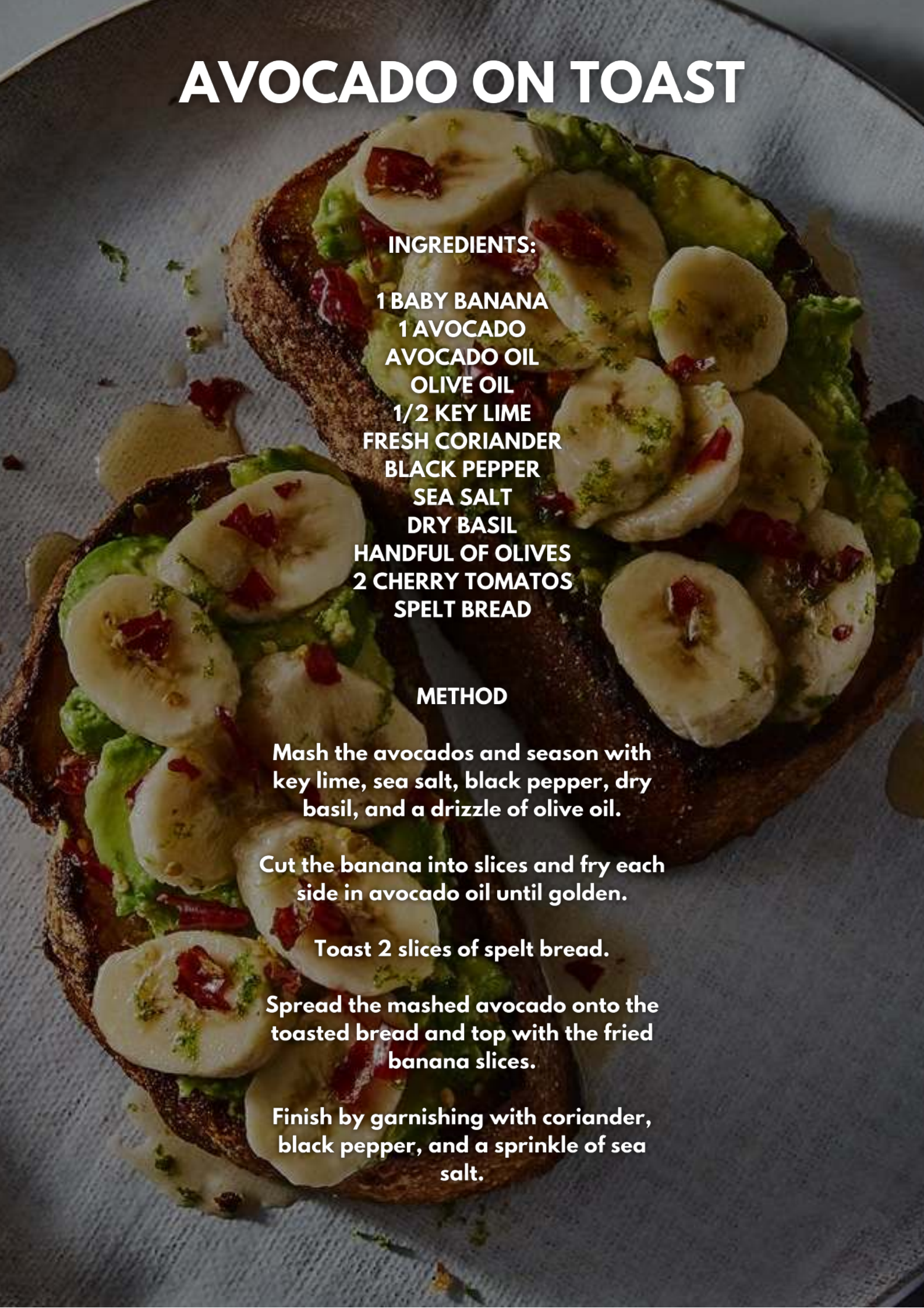
Pour pancake batter into the pan to create small circles.

Cook each side of the pancakes to your preferred level of doneness.

Enjoy!

Optional Toppings:
Use any alkaline-listed fruit or grain. Agave or date syrup makes a delicious topping.

AVOCADO ON TOAST



INGREDIENTS:

1 BABY BANANA
1 AVOCADO
AVOCADO OIL
OLIVE OIL
1/2 KEY LIME
FRESH CORIANDER
BLACK PEPPER
SEA SALT
DRY BASIL
HANDFUL OF OLIVES
2 CHERRY TOMATOS
SPELT BREAD

METHOD

Mash the avocados and season with key lime, sea salt, black pepper, dry basil, and a drizzle of olive oil.

Cut the banana into slices and fry each side in avocado oil until golden.

Toast 2 slices of spelt bread.

Spread the mashed avocado onto the toasted bread and top with the fried banana slices.

Finish by garnishing with coriander, black pepper, and a sprinkle of sea salt.

VEGAN MAC & CHEESE

INGREDIENTS:
1-12 OZ KAMUT OR SPELT PASTA
1/2LB OF BRAZIL NUTS
1/4 GARBANZO BEAN FLOWER
1 CUP SPRING WATER
2 TSP GRAPE SEED OIL
2 TSP ONION POWDER
1/2 TSP GROUND ANNATTO
1 TSP SEA SALT
LIME JUICE
1 CUP HEMP MILK OR COCONUT MILK

METHOD:

Preheat your oven to 350˚F.

Pour all the ingredients except the pasta into a blender and blend for 3 minutes until creamy.

Place the pasta in a baking dish with a drizzle of grapeseed oil to prevent the sauce from sticking to the bottom.

Cover the pasta with the sauce and mix well.

Place your pasta into the oven and bake for 30 minutes at 350˚F.

Enjoy your delicious meal!

ALKALINE ICE CREAM

INGREDIENTS:

5 FORZOEN BABY BANANAS
1 CUP FROZEN STRAWBERRIES
1/2 OF AVOCADO
1/4 CUP NUT/HEMP MILK
1 TABLE SPOON AGAVE
BLENDER

METHOD:

Combine Ingredients: Place all the ingredients into ablender.

Blend: Blend the ingredients until they are thoroughly mixed and smooth.

Adjust Flavor and Consistency: Taste the mixture and add more agave syrup if additional sweetness is desired, or add milk if the consistency is too thick.

Freeze: Transfer the blended mixture into an airtight container.

Freeze Again: Place the container in the freezer and let it freeze for at least 5 hours, or until the mixture becomes firm.

Serve and Enjoy: Once the mixture is firm, it's ready to be enjoyed as a frozen treat!

QUINOA STUFFED MUSHROOOMS

INGREDIENTS:

15 MUSHROOMS (WASHED, DESTEMMED AND SCRAPED)
1/2 CUP OF QUINOA (WASHED AND COOKED)
1/4 CUP CHOPPED WALNUTS
1/4 TEASPOON OF THYME
1 PLUM/CHERRY TAMATO, DICED
1/2 TABLESPOON GRAPESEED OIL
SEASALT

METHOD

Preheat Oven: Preheat your oven to 350 degrees Fahrenheit.

Prepare Mushrooms: Brush the mushrooms with avocado oil.

Arrange them on a baking sheet and set aside.

Prepare Quinoa Stuffing: In a bowl, combine quinoa, thyme, tomato, grapeseed oil, walnuts, and a pinch of sea salt.

Stuff Mushrooms: Fill each mushroom with the prepared quinoa stuffing.

Bake: Place the stuffed mushrooms in the preheated oven. Bake at 350 degrees Fahrenheit for approximately 25 minutes or until the mushrooms are tender and the stuffing is heated through.

Serve and Enjoy: Once baked, serve the stuffed mushrooms hot and enjoy!

BUTTERNUT SQUASH STEW

INGREDIENTS:

AVOCADO OIL
3 WHITE ONIONS
1 COURGETTE (SKINLESS)
1 RED BELL PEPPER
200G CHICKPEA
5 SKINLESS PLUM TOMATOES
1 HABANERO CHILLI
2 CELERY STICKS
1/2 BUTTERNUT SQUASH (CHOPPED AND BOILED)
1/2 TABLE SPOONS TAMATO/ PEPPER PASTE, SEA SALT,
CAYENNE PEPPER
FRESH THYME
BLACK PEPPER
SIDE SALAD (ROCKET, OLIVES, TAMATO, CUCUMBER SEASON
WITH BASIL, LIME, OLIVE OIL, SEA SALT AND TAHINI)

METHOD

PREPARE BUTTERNUT SQUASH: PEEL AND SLICE THE BUTTERNUT SQUASH. BOIL IT IN A SAUCEPAN FOR 8 MINUTES, THEN STRAIN OUT THE WATER.

FRY ONIONS AND CHILLI: IN A SEPARATE PAN, HEAT AVOCADO OIL AND FRY THE ONIONS AND CHILI UNTIL THEY ARE SOFTENED AND AROMATIC.

PREPARE VEGETABLES: CHOP THE COURGETTE, PEPPERS, AND CELERY, AND TOMATOES. ADD THEM TO THE PAN WITH THE ONIONS AND CHILI. POUR IN 1/2 CUP OF WATER AND CONTINUE COOKING OVER MEDIUM HEAT.

COMBINE INGREDIENTS: ADD THE BOILED BUTTERNUT SQUASH, DRAINED CHICKPEAS, TOMATO/PEPPER PASTE, AND STOCK TO THE PAN. POUR IN ONE CUP OF WATER.

SEASON: SEASON THE MIXTURE WITH SEA SALT, THYME, CAYENNE PEPPER, AND BLACK PEPPER. STIR TO COMBINE ALL THE INGREDIENTS.

COOK: LEAVE THE MIXTURE TO SIMMER OVER MEDIUM HEAT FOR A FURTHER 15 MINUTES OR UNTIL ALL THE VEGETABLES ARE TENDER.

SERVE: SERVE THE DISH WITH THE SIDE OF SALAD MENTIONED IN THE INGREDIENTS.

ENJOY: SERVE HOT AND ENJOY YOUR FLAVORFUL VEGETABLE STEW!

@REVIVALOFWISDOM

@REVIVALOFWISDOM3

PHARMACY

The First Apocalypse of James

NHC V, *3* // CT *2* // P. Oxy. 5533

The following translation has been committed to the public domain and may be freely copied and used, changed or unchanged, for any purpose. It is based on the Coptic text of Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3, Codex Tchacos 2, and Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 5533, hereafter abbreviated NHC, CT, and P. Oxy. 5533, respectively. The Nag Hammadi texts were written in the fourth century, subsequently buried, and then rediscovered in 1945. The Codex Tachos was discovered in the 1970s in Egypt, and was first published in 2006 by National Geographic. Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 5533 was identified as a fragmentary Greek version in 2021.

The text narrates revelations passed along from Jesus to James and a series of subsequent successors through the early second century. This translation from the Coptic and Greek is by Samuel Zinner and was edited by Mark M. Mattison with the generous support of Other Gospels. Zinner's translation is based on the Coptic and Greek texts in:

The Nag Hammadi Library and Codex Tchacos:

Johanna Brankaer and Hans-Gebhard Bethge. *Codex Tchacos: Texte und Analysen*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 161; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007, 81–254.

Peter Nagel. *Codex apocryphus gnosticus Novi Testamenti Band 2: Briefe und Apokalypsen aus den Schriften von Nag Hammadi und dem Codex Tchacos mit einer Neuausgabe der "Epistula Apostolorum." Koptisch und Deutsch*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 503; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2023, 67–124.

P. Oxy. 5533:

David W. Kim. "The First Apocalypse of James in a Socio-Linguistic Perspective: Three Greek and Coptic Versions from Ancient Monastic Egypt." *Religions* 15–8 (2024), 881; https://doi.org/10.3390/rel15080881.

B. C. Landau, Geoffrey S. Smith, W. B. Henry. "5533. First Apocalypse of James." In A. Benaissa, M. Zellmann-Rohrer. Editors. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Volume LXXXVI*. Graeco-Roman Memoirs, No. 107; London: The Egypt Exploration Society, with the British Academy, 2021, 3–13.

Images available at: https://portal.sds.ox.ac.uk/articles/online_resource/P_Oxy_LXXXVI_5533_First_Apocalypse_of_James/21186583

Symbols

[ ] Gap in the text (known as a "lacuna")
( ) Editorial insertion to clarify the text
< > Editorial correction of a scribal error
{ } Text erroneously added by the scribe
[**24**] Page number of the Coptic codex

Introduction: Jesus and James

[**24**] The Lord, however,[1] has spoken with me: "Behold now the fulfillment of my redemption. I have granted you a sign concerning these matters, James, my brother, because not in vain have I called you my brother, even though you are not my materialistic[2] brother, and I am not ignorant regarding you, in order that <you>, when I grant you a sign: know and hear!

[**10**] "Because I see (the completion) of my redemption, I will instruct you concerning these matters, James, my brother, because not in vain are you called 'brother,' though my materialistic brother [you are] not, but you lack recognition concerning yourself, so that [I] will instruct you concerning who I am.[3]

The Existent One

Nothing existed except the Existent One.[4] I myself, I cannot be named, being from the Existent One, so that I [have been given a] number of names, twofold[5] from the Existent One. I, however, I existed before you did.

Hear! Nothing existed except the Existent One.[6] He [cannot be named, and] he is [inexpressible among those who] exist or who will come into [existence]. I, however, am from the Existent One, and I cannot be named, although [I] have been named with [a number of] names, [because] they do not belong to me; they are [alien] to me. However, the [first] I am not, because second am I, from the Existent One.[7]

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[1] The use of "however" in the first sentence indicates the original opening has been lost.

[2] "Materialistic," Nagel, "nach irdischer Art," i.e., according to the earthly kind. The Coptic *t^{h}ulē*, from Greek *hulē*, "matter," does not imply that James and Jesus are not physical brothers. As Nagel, 75 explains, here Jesus "refers instead to the different spheres from which the revealer and the recipient of revelation originate." (My translation from the German, here and below). Additionally, Jesus could be asserting that he is not a "hylic," that is, one of those ruled by material impulses, but that he is a pneumatic, that is, one of those ruled by the divine Spirit. As part of its "gnostic" trajectory, *1 Apoc. Jas*. transmits several "Jewish-Christian" traditions, and is therefore unlikely to reflect any denial of Jesus' and James' relation as full siblings.

[3] The spiritual identity of James is bound together with that of Jesus, which in turn is bound together with God.

[4] An echo of the divine name that plays off the Tetragrammaton in LXX (and Coptic) Exod 3:14.

[5] "Twofold"; cf. CT: "However, the [first] I am not, because *second* am I, from the Existent One."

[6] An echo of the divine name that plays off the Tetragrammaton in LXX (and Coptic) Exod 3:14, but preceded by the introductory "Hear!" of Deut 6:4, which is directed to "Israel," the second name of the patriarch Jacob, i.e., the Greek and Hebrew form behind "James."

[7] This may hint at the two Tetragramatons of Deut 6:4, the first thought of as referring to the Father, the second to the Son.

Achamoth (the "Lower Wisdom") Creates Powers and Divinities

Because you have asked concerning femaleness:[8] Femaleness existed, but femaleness did not exist [at the beginning], and she prepared for herself powers and divinities, but [she] did not exist [when] I came forth, [**25**] given that I am an image of the Existent One, but I have brought the image of [him], so that the children of the [Existent One] could know who belong to them and who the aliens are.

Behold! I will reveal to you everything of this mystery, because I will be apprehended the day after tomorrow, but my redemption will be near."

Because you [have] asked concerning femaleness, hear! The female existed, but she did not exist from the beginning. She made (for) herself [powers] and divinities. While the Existent One exists from the beginning, the female also exists, but not from the beginning. [**11**] I, however, am come from the image of the Existent One, in order to instruct you concerning the Existent One, and also [to instruct] you concerning the image of the powers, so that the children of the Existent One will know those who belong to them, and those who do not belong to them.

Behold! I have revealed to you the mystery. [After] three [days I] will be [apprehended. Then they will abuse] me, [the multitude] of [priests] and the elders, and they will revile me, [and they will curse me], but my [redemption will be] near."

The Twelve Archons

James said: "Rabbi, you said, 'I will be apprehended,' but I, what will I be able to do (for you)?"

He said to me: "Do not be afraid, James. They will apprehend you as well, but turn yourself away from Jerusalem,[9] because this is she who always gives the cup of bitterness to the Sons of

[James, however], answered, he said: "Rabbi, what are you saying? If they apprehend you, then what am I to do (for you)?"

He answered him, saying: "When they apprehend you, and stone you, you will be redeemed, but do not return on the way to Jerusalem, because she is the one who always gives the cup of bitterness [**12**]

[8] "Femaleness," i.e., Achamoth-Sophia.
[9] A hint at the "flight to Pella" tradition relating to the First Jewish War that broke out in 66 CE.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
Light.[10] She is a dwelling-place of a number of archons, but you will preserve your redemption in their presence, so that you can recognize who they are [and] of what kind they are.	to the Sons of Light, as a dwelling-place of many archons. Now your redemption [is] that you save yourself from them, and your knowledge consists (in) recognizing of what kind they are and how many they [are]. Not all of these are archons, but [. . .] dominion.	
You will [convince yourself], and hear. They are not [existent ones],[11] but [archons are they, like] the twelve [powers that possess plenary authority] (here) below. [Behold! This is the way it is with all] archons, [and each] one [of them is seated] [**26**] over his own hebdomad."	Hear me! These, whom I have brought with me to [this place, they are placed onto these twelve archons, each one of them] for himself [stands on] his [hebdomad]."[12]	
James said: "So Rabbi, are there twelve hebdomads instead of the seven in the scriptures?"	James answered, he said: "[Rabbi], are there now therefore [twelve] hebdomads, [and] are there not seven, [as] we have it in the Scripture?"	
The Lord said: "James, he who has spoken about this Scripture has understood (it) only up to this point. I, however, will reveal to you what has come forth from what cannot be numbered. I shall grant (you) a sign concerning their number. Regarding what has come forth from the Immeasurable One, I shall grant (you) a sign concerning their measure."	Jesus said: "The one who has spoken about this Scripture, he announced (only) as far as he could understand. I, however, will reveal to you what has come from the Countless One. He has announced his number. That which has come from the Immeasurable One has announced their measure."	

[10] The use of "the Sons of Light" together with a hint at the First Jewish War brings to mind, *mutatis mutandis*, the Qumran War Scroll.

[11] "They are not [existent ones]." This may allude to the notion of evil as a privation of the good. That is, the evil archons have no real positive existence, but only a shadowy negative ontic state.

[12] "Hebdomad," i.e., a sevenfold period or group.

The Seventy-Two Pairs

James said: "Now what, Rabbi? Behold! I have discovered their number. There are seventy-two pairs."[13]

[**13**] "If now, Rabbi, I revise[14] the number of the archons, who then are the seventy-two pairs?"

The Lord said: "These are the seventy-two heavens, which are the small ones beneath them. These are the powers[15] of the might of all of them, and by them were they established, and these are the ones who were apportioned in every place, which are under the [authority] of the twelve archons. The diminutive power dwelling among them [has] brought [forth] angels for itself, and countless hosts. However, the Existent One was [. . .] given [. . .]. On account of [. . .] Existent One [...]; countless are they.

He said, "<These> are the seventy-two small heavens beneath them. [However], those that are larger than they, those are the powers in the height, on which rests the entire (heavenly) axis, and [. . .] on account of [. . .] inside you.

[**27**] If you want to count them now, you cannot before you throw off blind thought from yourself, this fetter of flesh surrounding you, and then will you attain to the Existent One, and you will no longer be James. You will instead be what exists, and all of the

They cannot be coun[ted by] you,[16] but if you want to count them, you cannot count them now without throwing off the blindness that dwells inside your mind[17] and the fetter that dwells inside the flesh. Then you will attain to the Existent One, and you will no longer be James, [18] [**14**] but one who in

[13] On the translation "pairs," see Nagel, 81, footnote 7.

[14] "Revise," or "change." This seems to be the sense of the literal reading, "move away from."

[15] On the trope of seventy-two powers in Nag Hammadi and Jewish kabbalistic texts, see Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1988), 122–125. Idel, 124,335 refers to Moshe de Leon's (?) *Sefer Gan ʿEden*'s description of *Sefer ha-Bahir*'s world tree as having seventy-two "roots." Idel fails to point out the prominence of "root" in the Nag Hammadi corpus, including *1 Apoc. Jas*. For a more profound treatment of *Sefer ha-Bahir*'s world tree, see Elliot R. Wolfson, "The Tree That Is All: Jewish-Christian Roots of a Kabbalistic Symbol in *Sefer ha-Bahir*," *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3–1 (1994): 31–76.

[16] "By you," literally, "before you."

[17] "Mind," or "heart." The passage echoes *Gos. Thom*. 28.

[18] "You will no longer be James." This seems to be inspired by Jacob's change of name to "Israel" in Genesis 32 and 35. Both NH and CT versions stop short of divinizing James, in contrast to, e.g., the explicit promise of divinization in the Dead Sea Scrolls text 4Q Visions of Amram (4Q543) *Frag.* 3: "[. . .] you will be God (*ʾĒl*),

countless ones will all have been named."

every way is inside the Existent One. Those who cannot be counted will be [counted] by you,[19] and everything that cannot be measured by you,[20] [will be] measured."

The Opposition of the Powers

<James, however, said: "Now what>, Rabbi, how will I attain to the Existent One, given that all of these powers and these hosts stand armed against me?"

He said to me: "These powers are not armed against you alone, but against others as well. These powers are armed against me, and also with other [powers].

He answered, saying: "Rabbi, how will I be able to attain to the Existent One, when such a number of [the] powers fight [against me]?"

Instead, they are armed against me [with] a court of law. Then to them it was given [. . .] against me [. . .] by means of them [. . .] in this place [. . .] sufferings, [**28**] and I will not curse them, but inside me will be a silence and a concealed mystery,[21] yet I am fearful in the presence of their fury."

[. . .], rather against me[22] by means of them [. . .] curse,

but there is in me [… a concealed] silence, [but] I am afraid in the presence of [their fury]."

James said: "Rabbi, if they arm themselves against you, there will nevertheless be no (valid) accusation against you. You have come with knowledge, so that you could

"If they fight against you in this manner, how much more against me, Rabbi? Because you have come [in] knowledge in order to reprove their ignorance, and you have come

---

and you will be cal[led] 'Angel of God.'" NH's "You will instead be what exists," *alla ntok pe pē etšoop*, stops short of saying "You will instead be the Existent One." However, CT's version does refer to the Existent One: "one who in every way is inside the Existent One." A comparison between the two versions suggests that the two Greek *Vorlagen* indeed read "you will be the Existent One," and that both scribes independently weakened in various ways the bold identification between James and the Existent One. Because the passage echoes *Gos. Thom*. 28, it may also hint at *Gos. Thom*. 30's theme of divinization.

[19] "By you," literally, "before you."

[20] "By you," literally, "for you."

[21] Cf. 1QH XIII,25–26, "the mystery you have concealed inside me . . . you have concealed the source of knowledge."

[22] "Against me," reading uncertain.

reprove their forgetfulness. You have come with remembrance, so that you might reprove their ignorance, but I am not concerned on your account, because you descended into a thick ignorance, but nothing of it has polluted you, because you descended into a thick oblivion, and your remembrance remained with you. You wandered around in mud, and your garments remained unsoiled, and you were not buried in their filth, and they never touched you. And I was not of their kind, though I clothed myself with everything that belonged to them. Oblivion dwells inside me, yet I [remember] things that do not belong to them, and I dwell in their [ignorance]. I have found a knowledge, [and] I [was] not concerned about their sufferings [which are exterior], but I was afraid [in] their [presence], when they apprehend.

in memory in order to reprove their oblivion, [**15**] but I am not worried over you, because you have entered into ignorance, and you were not at all soiled by it. You have come to oblivion, and memory dwells inside you. You wandered around in the mud, and you were not soiled. They did not awake your vengeance.

I am not of this kind, but all oblivion [from][23] you, that is what I have put on [me, and] I do not remember (it anymore). Those who belong to me are ignorant, [and] I am [not] completed [in] knowledge,[24]

and I am not worried [over] the agonies in this place, [but] on account of their apprehending.

James' Redemption

What [**29**] will they do? What will I be able to say, or what kind of message will I be able to speak in order that I can escape from them?"

The Lord said: "James, I praise your insight and your fear. If you continue to be lovingly disposed towards suffering, then do not be concerned with anything else than your redemption, for

"What [will you do? What] will you say, [and] by what kind of message [will you] be saved?"

"James, I praise your understanding, and fear makes you lovingly disposed towards suffering. Let nothing trouble you except your redemption. Behold! I will go and prepare this destiny on the earth as it

[23] "From," literally, "through."
[24] Reading uncertain.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
behold, I will fulfil this destiny on the earth, as I have spoken in heaven, and I will reveal to you your redemption."[25]	has been prepared already in heaven, [**16**] and after this I will reveal to you your redemption."	
	Overcoming the Archons	
James said: "Rabbi, how will you hereafter appear[26] to us again, after you have been taken into custody, and you have fulfilled the destiny, and you have ascended to the Existent One?	"Rabbi, how will you hereafter appear to me, after you have been judged, and your destiny is prepared, and you have attained to Existent One?"	
The Lord said: "James, after these things I will reveal everything to you, not only for your sake, but on account of the unfaithfulness of humans, so that [faithfulness] may exist among them, because a multitude will [come to] faithfulness, [and] they will increase [in it] until [they come to knowledge], [**30**] and after this I will appear to reprove the archons. I will reveal to them that he cannot be apprehended. If he is apprehended, then will he apprehend them all.	"James, hereafter I will appear to you in this place, not only <on your account>, [but] on account of the [unfaithfulness] of humans, that is, how [faithfulness] can arise among them. [Many, however], will turn to faithfulness and grow in it, [so that] they will come to knowledge, and for this reason I will [display] the humiliation of the archons, [and I will] reveal to them [that] he cannot be apprehended. When they apprehend him, then he has apprehended (them).	[**Leaf A**] "[…] to knowledge. For this reason, I will appear in order to reprove the archons, in order to reveal to them this, namely, the one who cannot be apprehended. When he has been apprehended, then will he apprehend all.
"Now, however, I will go. Think on what I have said,[27] and let it enter inside of you."[28]	"Now, however, I will go. Think on what I have said, and let it grow inside you."	"I am now going. Remember what has been said, and let [it] grow inside you."
James said: "Lord, I will hurry, as you have spoken."	"I will hurry, Rabbi, to do as you have spoken."	"I will hurry[29] [. . .]."

[25] "Reveal . . . redemption" would involve word punning in Syriac. This does not necessarily mean the text was composed in Syriac, but that it may have incorporated some Syriac traditions.
[26] "Appear," or "reveal."
[27] This is a standard sapiential exhortation; see, e.g., Prov 4:4–5.
[28] Cf. Prov 4:20–21.
[29] "Hurry," or "endeavor."

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3 **Codex Tchacos 2** **P.Oxy. 5533**

Jesus Departs and Returns to James

The Lord departed from him, and fulfilled what was necessary. When James had heard of his sufferings, he was very sorrowful. <He> was on the lookout for the appearance[30] of his coming, but he came after some days, and James was walking about on the mountain called

And Jesus went and prepared what was appropriate for him, but James heard of his sufferings, and [**17**] was very sorrowful, and expected his coming, and he had only this to comfort him, namely, the expectation of his coming, and it was two days, and behold! James conducted the service on

James, [however], heard of his [sufferings], and was [sorrowful], [31] and he awaited his coming, [but] he was next to him after [two] days, [and behold! James] came to the mountain called "Golgoul" [32] with [his

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[30] "Appearance," Coptic *typos*.

[31] "Sorrowful," or "troubled."

[32] NHC *Gaugēlan*, CT *Galgē[la]m*, P.Oxy 5533 *Golgoul*. With regard to NHC *Gaugēlan*, see Nagel, 91: "The N(ag)H(ammadi) version in the form *Gaugēlan* has retained the accusative (ending) of the Greek textual *Vorlage*: *ho onomazousi Gaugēlan*." Despite the fact that P.Oxy 5533 reads *to legomeno[n] golgoul*, Nagel's explanation remains convincing. This indicates either a variant reading or two different Greek recensions, neither of which is at all implausible. Another secondary feature of NHC *Gaugēlan* is the dropping out of the first *lambda*, whose presence is attested by both CT's *Galgē[la]m* and P.Oxy. 5533's *Golgoul*.

The CT version's *Galgēlam* can be explained as a mistaken reading that has accidentally incorporated the letter *mu* from the immediately following word *meta* (*to legomeno[n] golgoul meta*).

To explain P.Oxy 5533's *Golgoul* first requires a discussion of the identification of the mountain in question. Nagel refers the reader to Brankaer/Bethge, 205–206, which presents strong reasons for identifying the mountain as Gilgal in Joshua 4–5 (Hebrew *Gilgāl*; Greek *Galgala*; Syriac *Galgəlā*). Although Gilgal was not a mountain, it is famous for its Hill of the Foreskins, whose story is narrated in Joshua 5, immediately after passing over the Jordan:

> 2 At that time the LORD said to Joshua, "Make flint knives and circumcise the people of Israel again the second time."
> 3 So Joshua made flint knives, and circumcised the people of Israel at Gibeath-haaraloth [Hill of the Foreskins]. (RSV)

The immediate objection is that Gilgāl is not a mountain name. However, as Ed Noort explains: "Between [Josh] 5.3 *Bounos tōn akrobustiōn*, 'the Hill of the Foreskins', and 5.8f. [see Josh 5:9, 'And so the name of that place is called Gilgal to this day'] there is no change of location, so, in the eyes of the LXX translator, Gilgal and the Hill of the Foreskins must be the same place." See Ed Noort, "The Disgrace of Egypt: Joshua 5.9A and its Context," in Anthony Hilhorst and George H. van Kooten, eds., *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuizen* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 59; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2005), 1–19; here, 6.

Further, as Brankaer/Bethge, 205 points out: "One can assume that the name of the place [Gilgal/Galgala] has been transferred to that of the hill. That this hill is bound to the history of Israel and the Law can be of relevance for the interpretation of this passage in *1 Apoc. Jas.*" (My translation from the German, here and below).

Based on Brankaer/Bethge, 205–206 we can exclude any connection between *Gaugēlan* / *Galgē[la]m* / *Golgoul* and Golgotha. Therefore, instead of detecting a hint at *Gol*gotha in *Gol*goul, it is much more likely that in *Gol-* of *Gol*goul we have a partial assimilation to the following *-goul*.

Regarding "*Hill* of the Foreskins" in Josh 5:3, the Syriac version uses *Rāmt^{h}ā*, which (as is the case in Common Aramaic) means both "hill" and "mountain." Targum-Jonathan at Josh 5:3 uses *G^{h}ib^{h}ʿ^{h}āʾ*, which like the Hebrew *Gib^{h}aʿ^h*, means only "hill," not "mountain." This would explain why *1 Apoc. Jas.* calls Galgala a mountain rather than a hill, understanding the Hill (of Foreskins) in Joshua 5 and Galgala as identical, in common with the Septuagint/OG translator. This data would seem to hint at either a Syrian provenance, or at least the incorporation of Syriac traditions in *1 Apoc. Jas*.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
"Gaugela{n}," together with his disciples, who listened to him longingly, and <they> had him as a comforter, [and] said: "This is the Second [Teacher]." [33]	the [mountain] called "Galge[la]{m}," [the place] where [he stayed at another time] with his disciples, [who] eagerly listened to him, and they had him as comfort, and they said: "This is the Second Teacher."	own] disciples,[34] who gladly listened to him, [and] they had him for comfort. They said, "[This] is the Second Teacher."
[Then] the crowd dispersed itself, but James remained [behind alone at] prayer [by praying], in the way [**31**] he was accustomed, and the Lord appeared to him and he ceased praying, fell on his neck, and kissed him. He said: "Rabbi, I have found you. I had heard of the sufferings you endured, and I was very sorrowful, because my compassion you know. I wanted, for this reason, on reflection, that I would not be able to look on this people. They must be judged for the things they have done, because what they have done trespasses everything that is appropriate."	And behold! They dispersed themselves, and James remained behind alone and he prayed fervently, according to his custom, but during it Jesus appeared to him, and he desisted from his prayer, and began to embrace him, and said to him: "Rabbi, I had distanced myself from you. I had heard what you took onto yourself, and I was very sorrowful. You know my sympathy. For this reason I did not want to remain with you: [**18**] That I would not have to look on this people. They will be judged, because what they have done, it was wretched to see."	And behold! The people were scattered, [and James] was left [alone to] pray [. . .] to him, the Lord.[35] [Desisting from] the prayer, he began to embrace him. He said: ["Rabbi], I have you! I heard what you [suffered, and] I was sorrowful [. . .]."
	Jesus Encourages James	
The Lord said: "James, do not worry about me, nor about this people. I am he who existed inside himself. I have never suffered in any way, nor	"James, do not worry about the [people], nor about me, because from the beginning I am the Existent One inside of me alone, [because] I have not	

In the forms *Gaugēlan* and *Galgē[la]m*, the phonetic element /*ē*/ may echo the /*i*/ of Hebrew *Gilgāl*, while the /*o*/ and/or /*ou*/ of Greek *Golgoul* may distantly approximate the /ə/ of Syriac *Galgəlā*. However, /*o*/ and/or /*ou*/ could bring to mind the Hebrew cognate *gilgūl*, "a rolling." Cf. also the cognate name Galgūla, known from the Bar Kokhba letters.

Brankaer/Bethge in 2007 suspected that behind the Coptic *mooše* was the Greek verb *peripatein*, "wander." P. Oxy. 5533 uses *pare[genet]o*, "came to," "came up," "arrived at." We can see in James' arrival at the Hill/Mountain of Foreskins=Galgala an echo of the Israelites' arrival led by Joshua ("Jesus" in Greek) at the Jordan and Galgala's Hill of the Foreskins.

[33] Here James is a Paraclete-like figure who replaces Jesus as teacher. Cf. John 14:26, although it is very doubtful *1 Apoc. Jas.* here echoes this John passage.

[34] James has succeeded to Jesus' position, so that Jesus' former disciples are now James' disciples.

[35] "The Lord," i.e., the God of Israel, not Jesus.

have I been tortured, and this people has done me no harm, but an appearance of the archons was imposed on them, and it was worth it that it [was fulfilled] through them, [but each of] the archons [. . .] who [. . .]. [He is] furious over [you, the] 'Just [God,' because you used to be] [**32**] subservient to him, wherefore you bear this name: 'James the Just.' You will see how you become sober, because you have seen me. You desisted from this prayer, because you are 'a Just One of God,'

and now you have fallen on my neck, and you have kissed me.

"Truly I say to you: You have stirred up great fury and wrath against yourself, but for this cause, that something else would come to pass."

James, however, was fainthearted as he wept, and he was very sorrowful, and both of them seated themselves on a boulder.[37]

The Lord said to him: "James, this is why you will receive these sufferings, yet do not feel sorry for yourself, because the flesh is weak.[38] It will receive what is destined for it, but regarding yourself, be not be weak, nor be afraid."

The Lord [fell silent, and] when James had heard this, he

suffered [from anything], nor did I die, and this people have done nothing harmful. Instead, this was imposed on the appearance[36] of the archons (corrupted text), in order to prepare (corrupted text). It was then fulfilled. Be on your guard, though, because the 'Just God' has fallen into fury, because you were subservient to him, and for this reason you have you obtained the name 'James the Just.' Behold! You have already been set free. You will recognize me, and you will recognize yourself, and you yourself have desisted from the prayer that the 'Just God' requested."

[**19**] And he embraced me, and kissed me.

Amen.

"I tell you: He has stirred up his anger against you, and his fury, but this, too, must come to pass."

James, however, was fainthearted, wept, and sorrowed much, and they both sat down on the boulder.

Jesus said to James: "James, it is appropriate for you to experience all this, but do not be sorrowful.
The flesh, which is weak,[39] will receive what is inflicted on it, but you, be not fainthearted, and fear nothing."

When James heard this, he wiped away his tears, and the

[36] "Appearance," Coptic *tupos*, which can mean "type" or "appearance."
[37] "Boulder," or "crag." Cf. the seated position during circumcision at the Hill of the Foreskins in Joshua 5:8.
[38] Unlike Mark 14:38 (cf. Rom 7:14–23), here "the flesh" is not contrasted with "the spirit." Cf. the flesh-spirit contrast in Rom 8:2 –7.
[39] Cf. the expressions concerning weak, sinful flesh throughout the Qumran Thanksgiving Scroll.

wiped away [his] tears which were in [his eyes], and [the grief] which was [in his heart] became much lighter.

The Lord [said] to [him: "James, behold, I will [**33**] reveal to you your redemption.

sorrow in his heart became much lighter, but Jesus said to him: "Behold! Now I will reveal to you your redemption.

The Toll Collectors

When they apprehend [you], and you accept this suffering, a crowd will arm itself against you, so that <they> can apprehend you, but three of them in particular will apprehend you, those who are seated as toll collectors. They demand not only toll, but they take away souls violently as well.

When you fall into their hands, one of them who is a Watcher among them will say to you: 'Who are you, and where are you from?'[40]

You will say to him: 'I am a Son, and I am from the Father.'

He will say to you: 'What kind of a son are you, and to which father do you belong?'

You will say to him: 'I am from the Father who [existed] first, and a Son who [is] inside the First-Existent One.'

He [will say] to you: 'And [from where did you come]?'

You will [say to him: 'From what existed at first], because I [. . .].

When they apprehend you, you will find yourself (confronted) by these things. Many will stand against you on account of [**20**] the warrant for your arrest, but among them are three seated there in a single place; they are toll collectors. Not only do they [collect] toll for sins, but they (also) demand souls.

When you find yourself among many, then one among them, because he is [a Watcher], will ask you: 'Of what kind are you, and where are you from?'

You will say to him: 'I am the Son, and I am from the Father.'

And he will say to you: 'What kind of a son, and what kind of a father?'

"You will say to [him]: 'The Father who from [the beginning] exists, but the Son who from the beginning exists inside the Existent One.'

And he will say to you: 'From where have you come?'

You will say to him: 'From the Existent One who is from the beginning.'

And he will say: 'Why have you come?'

[40] With this passage, compare *Gos. Thom*. 50.

[**34**] '[...] the aliens?'

You will say to him: 'They are not completely alien, but they are from Achamoth, that is, from the female, and she made these when she brought down the race from what existed at first. They are, therefore, not aliens, but they belong to us. On the one hand, they belong to us because she who is their Lady is from what existed at first. On the other hand, they are aliens in that the First-Existent One did not unite himself with her at the time when she thought of making them.'

Again he will say to you: 'Where are you going?'

You will say to him: 'To the place from which I have come, there will I return,' but when you say this, you will be away from their activities.

When you, however, come into the hands [of the] three minions [who] apprehend [the] souls violently in that place, [. . .]. You will [say] to them: 'I am a vessel[41] [more valuable] than [Achamoth, who made you.'] [**35**] [. . .] your [. . .], that is, [. . .] over her root, will you not sober up [yourself]?

'I, however, will invoke the indestructible knowledge,

And you will say: 'I am come to all those who belong to me, also to those who are not.'

He will say: 'Why have you come? [**21**] [To] those who do not belong to you?'

Then you will say: 'They are not completely alien to me, rather they are offspring of Achamoth, who is the female, and she herself has made these. She has brought down the race that exists from the beginning. Therefore, they are [not] alien to [me]. Rather, they [belong to me]. They [belong to me] insofar [that she] was the Lady over them. They belong to the Existent One who is from the beginning. However, they have become alien, because the Existent One who is from the beginning did not unite himself with her when she had created them.'

And he will say: 'Where will you go?'

You will say: 'I go to those who belong to me, to the place from which I have come.' If [you] say that, you will be saved from all of these.

When, however, you come among the three who collect the soul, then there will be a great tumult in that place when you say to them: 'I am a vessel more valuable than Achamoth, the female who created you, [**22**] and when your mother is ignorant concerning her own root, then at what time will you become sober?

'I, however, have invoked the immaculate Sophia, who

[41] "Vessel." This anticipates *1 Apoc. Jas*.' seven women who are "vessels," and the name Mānāēl, "vessel/mind of God."

[which] is Sophia, who dwells inside the Father, who is the mother of Achamoth. No father was apportioned for Achamoth, also [no] male [companion]. She is instead [a female] from a female. She made you without [a male], when she dwelt alone, because she was ignorant concerning those who [. . .] her mother, because she thought that she was the only one who existed. I, however, will shout up to her mother, and they will then fall into confusion. They will accuse their root and the race of their mother. You, however, will ascend to [those] who are yours [. . .].

exists inside the [Father], the mother of Achamoth, but her[42] companion [was not] in agreement [with the] female. Without a male [she has] created you by herself.

She grew ignorant of her mother,[43] and she thought that she was alone, but I have invoked her mother, and then all of them will be troubled, and they will accuse their own root, and the race of their mother. You, however, will go to your roots, the fetters that are their fetters as well.

The Transmission of the Revelation

[**36**] [. . .] to the [First-Existent One and the] appearance of the twelve disciples and of [the seventy]-two pairs [and (?) the] female Achamoth, which is translated 'Sophia,' but (I have revealed)[44] who I am, and the indestructible Sophia through whom you will be saved[45] together with all the children of the Existent One, which they themselves have recognized, and have concealed [inside] themselves. You will conceal her [inside] of you, and you will be silent,

"Behold! James, I have revealed to you what I am, and the Existent One who is from the beginning, and the [**23**] appearance[46] of the twelve disciples, and the seventy-two pairs, and the female Achamoth, which is translated 'Sophia,' and what you are, and the immaculate Sophia,[47] through whom you will be saved, and all the children of the Existent One, who have recognized themselves, and (what is) concealed inside them. [You will keep secret] these things I have spoken, and

[42] "Her," i.e., Achamoth's.
[43] I have deleted the mistaken scribal repetition, "it is she, who is alone, who is ignorant of her mother."
[44] Accepting Nagel's gloss.
[45] An echo of Wis 9:18.
[46] "Appearance," or "type."
[47] "Immaculate Sophia." Cf. Wis 7:24–26.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
but you will reveal it to Addaios when you depart (from the body),[49] and immediately [war will be waged] against this land.[50] [Weep], therefore, for him who remains in Jerusalem.	they will be inside you,[48] and you will remain silent about them, but when you depart (from the body), you will disclose them to Addaios, and immediately this land will wage war, and she will once again drink her cup, because she has incensed the God who dwells in Jerusalem. Addaios,[51]	
Let Addeos,[52] however, bear these things in his mind.[53] In the tenth year[54] Addeos will sit down, and write them down, and [when] he has written them down [. . .], and they will be given [to Manael, because he] possesses this [holy name . . .].	however, will bring forth these words in his mind[55] for ten years, and then he will gather the courage to sit down and write them down, and then, when he has written them down, they will be taken from him and handed over to Manael.[56]	

[48] Cf. 1 QH XIII,11 –12: "Because you, O my God, hid me from the sons of man, concealing your Law inside me, until the time for revealing your salvation through me."

[49] Accepting Nagel's gloss.

[50] An allusion to the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 CE.

[51] A variant of "Addaios."

[52] A variant of "Addaios."

[53] As Nagel, 105 remarks, *fi nhētf*, "bear in his mind," is more or less semantically equivalent to the NH version's unusual idiom *čpo nef . . . nhētf*," which essentially means "to memorize." The use of *hēt*, "mind," is an anticipatory play off the name Mānāēl, which is based on Syriac/Armaic *mānā*, whose primary meanings include "vessel," "garment," "mind."

[54] "The tenth year," i.e., ten years after either the beginning (66 CE) or after the end of the First Jewish War. The author may have identified 70 CE (the year of the Temple's destruction) or 73/74 CE as the end of the war. The "tenth year" could therefore refer to ca. 76 CE or 80–83/84 CE. About three decades would pass until the Kitos War would begin in 116 CE.

[55] As Nagel, 105 remarks, "the unusual Coptic expression *čpo nef . . . nhētf*" essentially means "to memorize."

[56] The name Manaēl (i.e., Mānāēl) is unattested, and is therefore most likely an ad construction. It could mean "vessel of God" (so Nagel, 105), which would anticipate the later description of the seven women as weak vessels. However, Mānāēl could alternatively mean in Syriac "garment of God," "mind of God," "measure of God," any of which could relate to the themes of *1 Apoc. Jas.* See the entry "mʔn, mʔnʔ (mān, mānā) n.m. vessel; garment" at https://cal.huc.edu. *Mān/mānā* can also mean a vessel of war, i.e., "weapon," "armor," which would also be congruent with the context in which the name appears in *1 Apoc. Jas*. If "Masphēl" means "watchtower of God," as I argue in the next footnote, then the meaning "weapon of God" would be fitting, at least in part, for the name Mānāēl. However, both Mānāēl and Masphēl could refer to states of awareness when we understand *mānā* as "mind" and Masphēl as "watchtower," the latter implying active awareness, watching. I thank Martin Schwartz for this suggestion, who also refers to Proverbs 15:3's *ṣōp̲ʰōtʰ*, "√*ṣ-p-y*, *ṣāphā(h)*, with regard to God's 'looking out,' 'scoping,' 'being aware,' 'scrutinizing.'"

The first part of the name Mānāēl would be cognate with the name Mānī, i.e., *mānā +ḥayyē*, at least as understood by Kurt Rudolph: "Greek *Manichaîos*, Aramaic *mani haija*, 'vessel/spirit of life.'" Kurt Rudolph, "Mani, Manichaeans," in Hubert Canik, Helmuth Schneider; Christine F. Salazar, eds., *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World. Antiquity Volume 8 LYD–MINE* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 233–236; here 234. Similarly, Hans Heinrich Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927), 88 interprets Mānī's full name as "Mani the Living." For a fuller discussion of the etymology of Mānī's name, see Werner Sundermann, "MANI," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2009,

This is a holy name, equivalent [**24**] to Masphel.[57] This one will preserve this book for an inheritance to his children.[58]

available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mani-founder-manicheism (accessed on 18 May 2025). I thank Martin Schwartz (University of California-Berkeley) for pointing out the relevance of the name Mānī for this discussion. (Private communication, 18 May 2025).

As Sundermann writes, hesitation is in order regarding Schraeder's (and Rudolph's) proposed etymology for Mānī's full name. Martin Schwartz points out in his private communication, "the *ḥeθ* as in *ḥayya*, 'life,' was rendered by zero in the LXX," and cites the Mandaic proper name Baraiēs, "Son of Life." As Schwartz remarks: "Sundermann, who refers to the data of the Septuagint, ignores the fact that still at that time, Hebrew, like Arabic, had, as it were, *xeθ* and *ḥeθ*, *ḡayin* and *ʿayin*." Schwartz also notes that both **ḥ* and **x* merge as *x* in Neo-Aramaic, and adds: "Maybe already at the time of the Greek form Μανιχαῖος there were already two dialectal(?) pronunciations of *ḥeθ*, as seems to be the case in early Ashkenaz." Cf. Alexander Beider, "Bne Hes and Bne Kes," in Geoffrey Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 373–375. The crucial issue is, as Beider, 374 interjects: "They could either have been inherited from a common ancestor for the Hebrew of these two Jewish groups, or result from similar innovations."

Rudolph's "spirit" reflects the German *Geist*, which means both "mind" and "spirit," and he is referring to *mānā* as "mind." OG Isa 40:13 renders Hebrew *rūaḥ*, "spirit," with *nous*, "mind," in the phrase "mind of the LORD." Mānāēl could then possibly mean "the Spirit of God." (Cf. Isa 11:2's phrase "the Spirit of the LORD," which in the Greek and Syriac versions reads as "the Spirit of God," *pneuma tou theou*; *rūḥā dī-ʾălāhā*). The reworking of Isa 40:13 in Wis 9:13–17 retains "spirit" in the form *to hagion sou pneuma apo hupsistōn*, "your holy Spirit from on high." (Targum Jonathan similarly expands Isa 40:13's "spirit" to "holy Spirit." "Holy Spirit" is also used in the reworking of Isa 11:2 in Psalms of Solomon 17, Greek vv. 37–40, Syriac vv. 42–44). Cf. the reworking of Isa 40:13 in Syriac 4 Ezra 4:11: "how can your mind (*mʾnk*) grasp the way of the Most High?"

The polyvalence of Aramaic/Syriac *mānā* ranging from "vessel," "weapon," and "mind-spirit," links together the *1 Apoc. Jas*. Mānāēl passage and the immediately following section on the seven women disciples as "vessels" who are identified as Isaiah 11's seven "spirits." This is evidence for the incorporation of Syriac traditions in *1 Apoc. Jas*.

In conclusion, it is intriguing that Mānāēl is linked to the trope of receiving a secret book around the time of the Kitos War, 116–118 CE. This is approximately the time Elchasai appeared with his famous book. On Elchasai, see J. P. Asmussen, "ALCHASAI," Encyclopædia Iranica, I/8, 824-825; http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/alchasai-a-sectarian-in-the-early-christian-church-1st-2nd-centuries-a; accessed on 25 May 2025. See further Gerard P. Luttikhuizen, *The Revelation of Elchasai: Investigations into the Evidence for a Mesopotamian Jewish Apocalypse of the Second Century and Its Reception by Judaeo-Christian Propagandists* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 8; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985); idem, "The *Book of Elchasai*: a Jewish Apocalypse," *Aula Orientalis* 5 (1987): 101–106; idem, "Elchasaites and their Book," in Antti Marjanen & Petri Luomanen, eds., *A Companion to Second-Century Christian "Heretics"* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), 335–364. For a fundamentally different (and less plausible, in my opinion) understanding of the *Book of Elchasai* than that of Luttikhuizen, see F. Stanley Jones, "The *Book of Elchasai* in Its Relevance for Manichaean Institutions with a Supplement: The *Book of Elchasai* Reconstructed and Translated," *ARAM* 16 (2004): 179–215.

[57] The name Masphēl is unattested, and is therefore most likely an ad hoc construction. I seriously doubt there is any relevance in the claim by Nagel, 105: "The name could be derived from the Aramaic passive participle משפיל *mašpīl*, 'lowered,' 'humble.'" A straightforward origin would instead be the Biblical Hebrew *Miṣpeh* (Syriac/Aramaic *Miṣpʰyāʾ*), "watchtower"; OG Esdras B 13:19 (=Nehemiah 3:7) *masphe*, more commonly *massēpha*, as in Judges 11:11, etc. Masphēl therefore would mean "the watchtower of God," which could fit both a military and a cognitive context. The idea of joining *miṣpeh* with God could derive partly from Gen 31:48–49: "Therefore was the name of it called Galeed; and Mizpah, for he said: 'The LORD watch (*yiṣepʰ*) between me and you." The LXX here reads *ho theos* rather than *ho kyrios*, the latter of which would correspond to "the LORD," while *theos* would render Hebrew *ʾēl*. Thus, concealed behind the *-ēl* of Mānāēl and Masphēl would be the true holy name, the Tetragrammaton, YHWH, the LORD.

[58] Cf. 1 En 92:1.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
	From him, however, will come a holy offspring,[59] which is worthy to inherit these (things) I have spoken, but when his little son will become [big, and] he [recognizes] the Living One,[60] he will [receive] a name, 'Levi.'	**[Leaf G]** [. . .] because a holy spirit [will come] from him, and he will be judged worthy to inherit these previously mentioned things.
[**37**] [. . .] his name will be called 'Levi.'	Then the land will wage war once again,[61] but Levi himself will be hidden as a little child, and no word that I have spoken will pass over his lips,	When his younger son inherits them [. . .] Levi, war will then be waged against this land, [but] Levi will hide them discreetly [. . .].
Then he will [not] bring forth a [single] word of [what I] had said previously.		
[He will take] a woman,[62] one from Jerusalem, of <his>[63] [tribe, and] together with her will beget [two] sons.	but he will take a woman, one from Jerusalem, of his tribe, and he will produce two sons with her, and the pair of brothers will inherit all of this.	
They will inherit these things, [and] the understanding[64] of the [older one] will become arrogant,[65] and [these] will be	The mind[66] of the older one will close itself, and they will be taken from his mind.[67]	

[59] Cf. Jub 25:3; 1 En 39:1.

[60] "The Living One," *p.et onh*, is a divine title synonymous with *p.et šoop*, "the Existent One," "He Who Is," derived from Coptic Exodus 3:14, *de anok pe p.et šoop*, "I, however, am (the) being/existent one" (see https://data.copticscriptorium.org/texts/old-testament/02_exodus_3/analytic). The title "the Living One" is intriguing in light of the previously discussed etymology of Mānī's full name, the form of which could mean "the living vessel," "vessel of life," or perhaps "vessel of the Living One," although this etymology is uncertain. The chronology of the war narrative in *1 Apoc. Jas*. excludes an allusion to the third-century Mānī. We may, however, have here traditions from a community that belonged to the background or trajectory of Mānī's "Jewish-Christian" ancestors, namely, the Elchasaites. For the theory that close similarities shared between Mandaean and Manichaean sources might be explained by an earlier common source, namely, the Elchasaites, see Kevin T. van Bladel, *From Sasanian Mandaeans to Ṣābians of the Marshes* (Leiden Studies in Islam and Society 6; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), 86–88. If Mānī's full name indeed derives from *mānā +ḥayyē*, then the Mandaean divine title *mānā + hiia* may be of Elchasaite origin, and Mānī's full name could then reflect a divine name used in common by the Elchasaites and Mandaeans.

[61] An allusion to the Kitos War, 116–118 CE.

[62] "He will take a woman," i.e., as a wife.

[63] "<His>," corrected from the codex reading "her."

[64] "Understanding," *dianoia*. This is soon followed by a mention of *nous*. This seems to hint at two of the seven spirits later mentioned in the text, i.e., the spirit of *dianoia* and the spirit of *nous*.

[65] Although "arrogant" agrees with the traditional Rabbinic portrayal of Bar Kokhba (e.g., Jerusalem Talmud *Taʿanit* 4.5.24b), it would appear instead that Levi's younger son resembles Bar Kokhba, given that this younger son "will increase and occupy several provinces," like Bar Kokhba. Because this figure in *1 Apoc. Jas*. is associated with the name Levi does not necessarily imply he was of the tribe of Levi. In any case, one must bear in mind that we are dealing with a secondary literary adaptation of an earlier source.

[66] "Mind," *pʰēt*. This links the text back to the earlier mention of Mānāēl, whose element *mānā-* is Syriac/Aramaic for "mind."

[67] "Mind," *hēt*. This links the text back to the earlier mention of Mānāēl, whose element *mānā-* is Syriac/Aramaic for "mind."

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
taken from him, from out of his mind.[68]		[. . .] his mind.
However, the younger will grow in them, and this will be apportioned to him, concealed inside him until [he] comes to the age of seven[teen] years, [and the land will wage] war [. . .].	The younger one, however, will increase in them, and will keep them concealed until in the course of life he reaches seventeen years,[69] [**25**] and then the land will wage war.[70]	The younger one, however, will increase in them, and keep them concealed [until he attains to (?)] seventeen years of age, and then war will then be waged against this land while he is not (present?), but [by Providence] he will be protected [. . .],"
[**38**] [. . . a] large number [of provinces . . . while a number] will be saved through [him]. His companions will eagerly emulate[71] him [. . .], he[72] will be proclaimed [by] them, and [they will proclaim] this message. [Then] will it become a seed[73] of [salvation]."[74]	However, because he will not be there, he will be guarded in agreement with Providence, and he will increase and occupy several provinces.[75] Many will be saved through him, and he will make this message become a teaching from[76] many provinces. He will be severely persecuted by the [people themselves], and he will be scorned by them, and they will scorn this message, but this will come to pass by the archons apprehending."[77]	[**Leaf H**] and [this message will be] scorned [b]y the dece[it of the archo]n[s]."[78]

[68] "Mind," *nous*. This links the text back to the earlier mention of Mānāēl, whose element *mānā-* is Syriac/Aramaic for "mind."

[69] "Seventeen years," i.e., from the outbreak of the Kitos War in 116 CE until the beginning of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in 132 CE.

[70] An allusion to the Bar Kokhba Revolt, 132–136 CE.

[71] The NH version understands the verb *pōt* positively as "follow," "emulate," which is clear from the subsequent verb "proclaim," while the CT version understands *pōt* negatively as "persecute," which is clear from the subsequent verb "scorn."

[72] "He," or "it."

[73] "Seed of salvation." Cf. Isa 45:8, where salvation is brought forth like a plant by the earth.

[74] The terms "salvation" and "redemption" could have political overtones, as on the Bar Kokhba coinage. The NH version of *1 Apoc. Jas*. seems to preserve an earlier form of the allusion to the Bar Kokhba Revolt, before Bar Kokhba fell in battle and became scorned, as in later Rabbinic tradition.

[75] As surprising as it may seem, the text appears to hint that Bar Kokhba was the younger of the two sons of Levi. The text may therefore serve as evidence for "Jewish-Christian" approval of Bar Kokhba and his revolt. On such a possibility, see Dennis D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened: A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Dissertation Series 97; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988), 408–412.

[76] "From," or "for."

[77] This would seem to hint at Bar Kokhba's defeat. The Coptic could be understood either as the archons apprehending or being apprehended, but the Greek text makes the latter interpretation unlikely.

[78] The Greek reads [*kat*]*a henedr*[*an tōn archont*]*ō*[*n*]; see Landau, Smith, Henry, 12. We could harmonize the Coptic and Greek by saying that the archons apprehend/seize by means of deceit or deception.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
The Seven Women Disciples		
James said: "[I] am pleased [with all of these things], and they are [well with what is inside] my soul.[79] Yet these [other things] will I ask of you: Who are the [seven] women who [have become] your disciples?[80] And behold! All women praise you. I myself marvel at how [power]less vessels have become strong by means of a [perception] dwelling inside them."[81]	"Rabbi, I am convinced of all of these (things), and they are well with what is inside my soul. Additionally, I wanted ask you: Who are the seven women who have become your disciples, and whom all the generations bless?[82] I myself marvel that they dwell inside fragile vessels, and they have found powers and perceptions."	"Rabbi, [. . .] and [. . .]."
The Lord [said]: "You do well [to marvel . . .]. [. . .].	"James, you do well to marvel, but the Son of Man[83] has come and has revealed [**26**] what is concealed on account of the Sons of Light,[84] so that they might dwell in what is revealed while they possess what is concealed.[85]	"[. . . the Sons] of Light, [so that they can dwell in what is] manifest, [even should they] possess these matters [(that are) concealed].[86]

[79] Not that they are pleasant or pleasing topics, but that James understands the statements.
[80] Brankaer/Bethge, 239 suggests that the seven women-spirits are to be coordinated with the previously mentioned Sophia.
[81] This is a reworking of *Gos. Thom*. 29.
[82] Cf. Luke 1:48: "For behold, henceforth all generations will call me blessed." CT seems to preserve more of the original text, while NH's "All women praise you" seems secondary. However, NH's introductory "And behold!" may be an original element, although it might have been added secondarily from Luke 1:48.
[83] "The Son of Man." This is the sole occurrence of this title in *1 Apoc. Jas*. Here we detect an echo of the Son of Man who throughout the Parables of Enoch reveals hidden secrets and concealed knowledge.
[84] "The Sons of Light." This phrase occurs earlier in the NH version on page 25, and in the CT version on page 12. The usage of this phrase in *1 Apoc. Jas*. does not resemble its use in Luke 16:8 and John 12:36 (see also 1 Thes 5:5 and Eph 5:8) as much as it does in the Qumran literature, where it appears in the context of the apocalyptic war against Rome. I refer to the War Scroll, its full title being War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. The War Scroll *Col*. 1 identifies the Sons of Light first with "the sons of Levi." In 1QS, The Rule of the Community, *Col*. 3,25 "the Sons of Light" are mentioned together with "the spirits of light." Cf. 1 QS *Col*. I,8 –9, "all revealed things . . . the Sons of Light." Compare also the proximity of "Sons of Light" and "spirits" here in *1 Apoc. Jas*. Further, 1QS *Col*. III,13, "the Sons of Light . . . the sons of man." Despite these observations, there is no direct relation between the Dead Sea Scrolls and *1 Apoc. Jas*.
[85] The Sons of Light possess by revelation the divine mysteries, which calls to mind, *mutatis mutandis*, a common Dead Sea Scrolls trope in both the War Scroll and in 1QS. Here in *1 Apoc. Jas*., the concealed-revealed mysteries appear to refer to the teaching concerning the seven women-spirits.
[86] Revelation does not cancel or end the concealed nature of what has been revealed. Concealment and revelation are two manifestations of a single entity.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
	The seven women are seven spirits[87] which were established in the Scripture:	[The seven] women [are] the seven spirits
[**39**] [. . .] a spirit of [wisdom, a spirit] of reflection,[88]	A spirit of wisdom and of intelligence,[89]	[. . .] a spirit [. . .] of thought[90]
[a spirit] of counsel[91] and of [power], a spirit [of mind],[92]	a spirit of counsel[93] [and] of power, a spirit [of] mind	
a spirit of knowledge,[94] [a spirit] of fear.[95]	and [knowledge],[96] a spirit of fear.	[. . .] spirit of fear."
[At that time], when we had passed over [the region of this] archon, who [is named] Adonaios, [I went in] towards him, and [he was] ignorant, [because when] I departed from him, [when he] thought that I am [a] son of his, he was gracious [to me], as though I were his son, and then, before <I> appeared in this place,	When <I> wandered through the land of the great archon who is named Addon, I entered into his presence, and he was ignorant, and when I departed from him, he thought of [me] as his son, and he showed me favor as his own son, and before I came to appear in these places, these[97] were there among this people, the place	

[87] In ancient Semitic languages, words for "spirit" are in general grammatically feminine. This facilitates linking women with the term "spirit."

[88] "Reflection," *eumeue*. The terms for the second spirit in all three versions more closely approximate the Syriac version's *sukkālā*, "intelligence," "reasoning," than they do the Hebrew (*bʰīnāh*), Greek (*sunesis*), or Coptic (*mntrmhēt*) terms, all of which mean "understanding." However, cf. Jerome's translation of *bʰīnāh* in Isa 11:2 as *intellectus*.

[89] "Intelligence," *mnt.sabe*. I would prefer to render *mnt.sabe* as "wisdom," but "the spirit of wisdom and of wisdom" would be odd in English.

[90] "Thought," [*di*]*anoias*. OG Isa 11:2 has in this position of the list of spirits *sunesis*, "understanding," "intelligence." The *Vorlage* of P. Oxy. 5533 does not seem to be necessarily dependent on OG Isa 11:2. In the position of P. Oxy. 5533's *dianoias*, NH has *eumeue*, "reflection," and CT has *mnt.sabe*, "wisdom / intelligence."

[91] "Counsel," *šočne*.

[92] "Thought," or "mind," *nous*, which has no parallel in Isa 11:2, at least not in this position. The NH and CT versions both add *nous* in the sixth position. This is in order to have a total of seven spirits, in contrast to a total of six spirits in Isa 11:2, which has seven spirits only if one counts "the Spirit of the LORD" as the first spirit. Although *nous* has no parallel in the Hebrew text or Greek and Coptic versions of Isa 11:2, it is paralleled in the Syriac version of Isa 11:2, but in the third position, namely, *tarʿīta*, "thought," "plan," "mind," which overlaps semantically with both Greek *boulē* (the third spirit in OG), "counsel," and *nous*, "mind." However, most importantly, Greek *nous* would reflect Syriac *mānā*, "mind," which ties the text back to the passage on the name Mānāēl, "Mind of God."

[93] "Counsel," *sočne*.

[94] "Knowledge," *gnōsis*.

[95] All three versions of *1 Apoc. Jas*. have *hote*, "fear," as the seventh spirit. This does not agree with OG Isa 11:2's *eusebeia*, "piety" (which is the meaning of the reading in Coptic Isa 11:2 as well, *mntrmnnoute*), but with the Hebrew text and the Syriac version (and *Targum Jonathan*), but also with the reworking of Isa 11:2 in the Greek Psalms of Solomon 17:40 (Syriac v. 44).

[96] "Knowledge," *sooune*.

[97] "These," i.e., the seven spirits.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
they were brought among[98] [this] people, because in [this place] there were no prophets [. . .]."	where no prophet[99] has spoken without the seven spirits, and these are the seven spirits who have announced me through the mouths of humans, [**27**] as they were able to speak, because I (myself) have not spoken with complete power, but then I came [myself] and have fulfilled (it), although I have not yet fulfilled it (completely)."	
[**40**] [. . .] will fulfil.		
James [said]: "Rabbi, [you] have [convinced] my heart [of] this. The [seven who were appointed] together, which ones among them are [more honored than the others]?"	"You have again convinced me of all of this. Now, Rabbi, because they have received the seven, and left them together, are there with you some who are more honored than others?"	
The Lord said: "[James], I praise you [on account of your discernment . . .], word [. . .], because [you have] thrown away from [yourself the] cup, that is, the bitterness,[100]	"I praise you even more, O James, because you ask astutely, and you will not utter a single idle word.[101] [You] are truthfully worthy of your own root, and you have thrown away from yourself the cup of drunkenness.[102]	
[because] none of the [archons] will array themselves against you, [because you] have [begun] to recognize [those who are yours]. From the beginning to the end throw away from yourself all lawlessness,[103] and	No archon will be able to rise up against you, because you have begun to recognize those who belong to you. Throw far away from yourself all ignorance, until the end, and watch that they do not become envious of you, because you	

[98] "Among," or "into," "within," given that the spirit of prophecy is traditionally said to dwell upon or within a prophet.

[99] "No prophet." This likely in part echoes *Gos. Thom*. 31, given that *1 Apoc. Jas*. knows *Gos. Thom*. 28, 29, and 30.

[100] The phrase "the cup of bitterness" occurs earlier in the NH version on page 25, and in CT on page 11. Regarding NH page 40's cup of bitterness, the CT 27 parallel reads "cup of drunkenness." The latter reading seems to have been inspired by the link between bitterness and drunkenness in Lam 3:15, which reads in the Syriac version as, "He has filled me with bitterness (*mrārā*); and he has made me drunk (*wərawwāyny*) with wormwood."

[101] Cf. Matt 12:36.

[102] An allusion to *Gos. Thom*. 28; *1 Apoc. Jas*. also reworks *Gos. Thom.* 29 and 30.

[103] "Lawlessness." CT reads "ignorance." Both are to be correlated with the previously mentioned cup of bitterness-drunkenness. NH correlates bitterness with lawlessness, while CT correlates drunkenness with ignorance. At an earlier stage of transmission, avoiding "lawlessness" would have referred to keeping the Torah. In its current form, "lawlessness" is likely meant as the opposite of justice, as in the *Gospel of Truth* 33,23-31; see Brankaer/Bethge, 241.

take care, so that they do not become envious of you when you speak these [lofty] words. Be in agreement[105] with this [other matter]: Salome,[106] and Mariam,[107] [and Ars]inoe[108] [. . .].[109]

have accepted these words, the lofty-minded knowledge.[104]

Be convinced as well of this other matter, that is, Salome, and Marihamme, and Arsinoe,[110]
whom I will [**28**] bring together with you, because they are worthy of the Existent One, because they have grown sober and have been freed from the blindness in their hearts,[111] and have recognized what I am.

This (came to pass) according to the Providence of the Father, because he has sent me as a priest, and in every place they will be counted among these:

[**41**] [. . . offerings of first-fruits . . ., because] the priest [of the Exalted One] accepts [first-fruits,[112] and] these he

the offering of the first-fruits and the firstborn.[116] He receives the offering of the first-fruits and dismembers the

[104] "Lofty-minded knowledge," *p.sooune et.čise n.hēt*, is clearly a play off the subsequent name Arsinoe, from Greek *arsis* + *noos*, "raising," "lifting," + "mind," that is, in effect, Lofty-Mind.

[105] "Be in agreement." A semantic play off the subsequent name Salome, from Hebrew for "peace." In Syriac the verb *šlm* can mean "to make/be at peace" as well as "to agree."

[106] The name Salome is cognate with Syriac pl. *šlamyn*, "offering," which is in fact the next topic in *1 Apoc. Jas*.

[107] Mariam, from Hebrew for "bitter," playing off the earlier-mentioned "bitterness."

[108] Although caution is in order because of the respective lacunae, it appears that in both the NH and CT versions the names Salome and Mariam/Marihamme are intentionally set off on a line of their own, while the next line has an intentional long blank space between the conjunction "and" and the name "Arsinoe." Since this oddity appears to be present in both codices, there is likely an intentional motivation behind it, probably of a numerical nature. This may have something to do with the wording of *Gos. Thom*. 30, Coptic "Where there are three . . . Where there is two or one," Greek "Where there are three . . . Where there is one alone." See April D. DeConick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation: With a Commentary and New English Translation of the Complete Gospel* (Early Christianity in Context 287; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 135–136. Similarly, on NH page 42 and CT page 29 the names Sapphira and Susanna have their own line, with Johanna alone on the next line (NH page 42 *mn Iōanna*; CT page 29 *Iōanna* with preceding *mn* at the end of the line above). One must be cautious again, though, given that the limitations of the available physical space of each line must be taken into account.

[109] On the different opinions about whether or not a fourth name could have been lost here in the NH lacuna, see Brankaer/Bethge, 243–244. Against a fourth name is not only the parallel passage in CT, but the deciding factor is that both versions have James later in the same passage refer to "these three" (NH page 41; CT page 28).

[110] The name Arsinoe is attested in Manichaean literature (see Brankaer/Bethge, 244). This, however, does not require that *1 Apoc. Jas*. learned this name from Manachaean sources. A more likely scenario is that both the Manichaean sources and *1 Apoc. Jas*. learned this name from an older common source.

[111] An echo of *Gos. Thom*. 28.

[112] The first-fruits were offered during the Feast of Shavuot.

[116] "Firstborn," or "first-fruits."

brings [as] burnt offerings and [sacrificial offerings]. I, however, am not of this kind,[113] but offerings of first-fruits from the [Indestructible One I] bear up[114] to Heaven[115] [and outspread] them, so that the power of [the truth] can appear, because what is destructible[118] has ascended[119] to what is indestructible, and [the] activity of the female has attained to the activity of the male."[120]

James said: "Rabbi, now these three,[121] were they thrown into their [destruction], because they have been abused, and [they have] also [been] persecuted [. . .].

sacrifices and sacrificial offerings, but I am not of this kind. Instead, I receive the offerings of the first-fruits on the part of those who are defiled,[117] and I dispatch them, so that the true power will be revealed, because what is defiled has been separated from what is undefiled, and the activity of the <female> has attained to the male.

"Rabbi, have <not> these three now perished? Have they not suffered? If they truly had been worthy, and had been persecuted by [. . .], even[122] they had been taught (things) that do not exist."

"James, it is not at all necessary that someone [**29**] should perish.[123] These three[124] have been set apart into[125] a

[113] This seems to be an Ebionite-like polemic against sacrifices. Exactly what kind of symbolic sacrifice Jesus alludes to here becomes clear from NH page 42's "the first-fruits of knowledge."
[114] "Bear up," or "lift/raise up," congruent with Greek *arsis*, "raising," the first element of the name Arsinoe.
[115] Reading uncertain.
[117] "Defiled," or "stained."
[118] "What is destructible," i.e., physical sacrifices.
[119] The noun "ascend" belongs to the biblical vocabulary of sacrificial offerings.
[120] "The female has attained to . . . the male," i.e., weakness has attained to strength. This passage hints, on one level at least, at the trope of the attainment of spiritual androgyny, as in *Gos. Thom*. 22, 114, and the *Gospel of Mary*'s concluding scene.
[121] "These three," grammatically feminine.
[122] "Even," literally, "and."
[123] Cf. Matt 18:14.
[124] "These three . . . a place." An echo of *Gos. Thom*. 30's "place" where "three gods" dwell. This echo is clear, given the reworking of *Gos. Thom*. 29 on NH page 38 and on CT page 25.
[125] "Into," or "to." See Nagel, 115, who renders *eu.ma* as "zu einem Ort," i.e., "to a place." To be rejected is the interpretation "These three women have left the state of faith, for they have received the hidden knowledge," *pace* Antti Marjanen, "The Seven Women Disciples in the Two Versions of the First Apocalypse of James," in April DeConick, ed., *The Codex Judas papers: proceedings of the International Congress on the Tchacos Codex held at Rice University, Houston, Texas, March 13–16, 2008* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 71; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 535–546; here 543. Marjanen in this case misunderstands the noun *pistis* as "faith," in the sense of an intellectual ascent to the religious dogmas of the mainstream churches in contrast to the "gnostic" community of *1 Apoc. Jas*. The fact is that here *pistis* derives from Isa 11:5 (from the same Isaiah 11 passage on the seven spirits), which the Syriac and Targum render with *haymānūt^{h}ā*, whose primary meaning is "faithfulness," "reliability," as is the case with the Hebrew *Vorlage*'s *ʾĕmūnāh*, which RSV correctly renders as "faithfulness." *1 Apoc. Jas.* evidently relies on a Semitic text of Isa 11:5, given that OG renders *ʾĕmūnāh* with *alētheia*, "truth."

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
	place[126] of faithfulness, because [they have obtained] the concealed knowledge.[127] These [are] the names [of] the three: Sapphira,[130] and Susanna,[131] and Joanna.[132]	
[**42**] [. . . Sappira[128] and Susa]nna [and Johanna].[129]		

[126] "Place" and "dwelling-place" are key terms in the Parables of Enoch. Cf. especially 1 En 39:6: "And in that place my eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faithfulness." (R. H. Charles translation modified). "That place" refers to 1 En 39:4's "the dwelling-places of the holy, and the resting-places of the righteous." The "place of faithfulness" that the three martyrs Sapphira, Susanna, and Joanna have received is their post-mortem dwelling-place where divine secrets and wisdom are revealed to them, as described throughout the Parables of Enoch (see especially 1 En 46:3; 48:1). See also the eschatological promise to the persecuted dead, "the good who belong to the generation of light," in 1 Enoch 108:14, "for to the faithful He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths."

[127] This reverses the sequence of the stages of acquisition of faithfulness and knowledge in NHC 29, "because a multitude will [come to] faithfulness, [and] they will increase [in it] until [they come to knowledge]," and in CT 16, "[Many, however], will turn to faithfulness and grow in it, [so that] they will come to knowledge."

[128] Sapphira, etymologically means "sapphire," i.e., lapis lazuli. Given that the text immediately continues with an echo of the beginning of the Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37, which develops 1 Enoch 1's opening verses), it is worth pointing out that the conclusion to the Enochic Parables, 1 Enoch 71, a vision of God's throne room, mentions the "hyacinth," Ethiopic *yākent*, which is used to render "sapphire" (i.e., lapis lazuli) in Ezek 28:13 (Hebrew *sappir*; Greek *sapphiron*). See George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *A Commentary on the Book of Enoch Chapters 37–82* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 324. The sapphire/lapis lazuli is a traditional element of the vision of God's throne beginning with Ezek 1:26 and 10:1 (cf. Exod 24:10, where Targums Pseudo-Jonathan and Onqelos explicitly mention the divine throne). See also 1 En 18:8, which likens the throne of God to sapphire (i.e., lapis lazuli).

[129] Given *1 Apoc. Jas*.' interest in name etymologies, here the significance of "Johanna" likely goes beyond the basic fact that a "Johanna" was a known disciple of Jesus in tradition (Luke 8:1–3 and 24:10). One must ask why *1 Apoc. Jas*. mentions this particular name rather than another one known from the gospels, e.g., Martha. It is well known that early Christian tradition viewed Hannah (cognate to "Johanna") as a prototype of Jesus' mother, Mary. Already Luke's *Magnificat*, sung by Mary (Luke 1:46–55) reworks the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10), which celebrates the birth of Samuel. *1 Apoc. Jas.* NH page 38/CT page 25 applies an echo of Luke 1:48, a verse from the *Magnificat*, to the seven women disciples of Jesus. Samuel is prominently linked not only to the Ark of the Covenant, but also to both place names Gilgal and Mizpah (1 Sam 7:16, and throughout 1 Samuel), which are relevant for *1 Apoc. Jas*.' place name Gaugēlan (Galgē[la]m/Golgoul) and proper name Masphēl. The Targum Jonathan at 1 Sam 2:1 depicts Hannah as possessing a prophetic spirit or spirit of prophecy.

[130] The name Sapphira means "sapphire," i.e., lapis lazuli. Cf. Acts 5:1–10, the story of Ananias and Sapphira. Incidentally, the name Ananias is cognate with the name Joanna, the latter meaning "Yah is gracious."

[131] "Susanna," from Hebrew for "lily," "rose." Biblical lilies were red or pink. As sapphires are a feature of the divine throne, so depictions of lilies accompanied the figures of cherubim in the temple of Solomon (1 King 6:32,35), and lilies ornamented the Holy of Holies which contained the Ark of the Covenant (1 King 6:18–19). Cherubim were placed atop the Ark of the Covenant, representing the divine throne; see also Ezekiel 10's cherubim linked to the divine chariot-throne. Lily figures also adorned the temple menorah consisting of seven lamps. Perhaps *1 Apoc. Jas*. implicitly links Isaiah 11:2's seven spirits with the seven lamps of the menorah.

[132] *1 Apoc. Jas*. refers to seven women-spirits, but mentions only six names, i.e., Salome, Mariam, Arsinoe, Sapphira, Susanna, and Johanna. This is probably an intentional hint at the fact that Isa 11:2 actually names only six spirits, if one does not count "the Spirit of the LORD." Psalms of Solomon 17:37–40 (Syriac 42–44) in its reworking of Isa 11:2 omits the spirit of knowledge, substituting it with "righteousness," derived from Isa 11:5. Psalms of Solomon 18:7 shortens the spirits to four, in the sequence fear (of God), wisdom, righteousness, strength. The correlation between knowledge and righteousness may be explained as follows. After Isaiah 11:2's "the Spirit of the LORD," this phrase occurs next in Isaiah 40:13. The next verse uses justice/righteousness in poetic parallelism with "knowledge." Cf. Isa 53:11, "by his *knowledge* shall the *righteous* one. . . ." (Isa 33:6's "wisdom and knowledge; the fear of the LORD" also echoes Isa 11:2). 1Q28 (Rule of the Blessings) *Col*. V,25 shortens the list of Isa 11:2's spirits to four, namely, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, fear of God.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
Behold! [I] have [revealed] every matter [to you, and I have] in no respect [omitted (anything) . . .],[133] because you have obtained [the first-fruits[136] offering] of knowledge, and now [you know] which [place][137] it is [to which you will] go. [. . ., and] you will [also find rest].[138]	Behold! I have revealed to you all things, and you are not alien to these words, because you have obtained the summit[134] of knowledge[135] [concerning your root] from those that belong to you. Furthermore, go, and you [will] also [find] rest.	
I, however, will depart, and I will appear [to them], because they have been faithful to you, so that [they] will be in agreement[139] for their [blessing] and salvation,[140] and so that this	I, [however, I will] go to these and appear to them, because [. . .]."	

[133] This is an echo of 1 En 37:3: "Hear, you men of old time, and see (*wärəʾayu*), you that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare (them only) to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom." (R. H. Charles translation modified).

[134] Here *archē* bears the meaning "sum," which can be extended to "summit," especially in view of the biblical Semitic terms behind the biblical LXX (OG) *archē*. Syriac *rēšā*, like its Hebrew cognate *rēʾšīt*^{h}, literally means "head," "chief." See the discussion on the term in 1 En 37:3 in George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *A Commentary on the Book of Enoch Chapters 37–82*, 88.

[135] Literally, "the beginning of knowledge," *arc*^{h}*ē mpsooune* (CT *gnōsis*), an echo of Prov 1:7 (cf. also Sir 1:12), which is synonymous with the phrase "the beginning of wisdom" in Prov 4:7 (lacking in the Greek and Coptic versions). However, *1 Apoc. Jas*. here does not depend on OG Prov 1:7, which instead reads *archē sophias*, "beginning of *wisdom*" (the same reading occurs in the Coptic version), in agreement with 9:10, nor does it depend on the Syriac of Prov 1:7, *rēš ḥek*^{h}*mət*^{h}*ā*, "beginning/summit of wisdom." In this case, the reliance would be on either the Hebrew text or on an Aramaic Targum.

1 Apoc. Jas.' reference to the beginning of "knowledge" is prompted by the earlier mention of Isa 11:2's spirit of knowledge. *1 Apoc. Jas*.' "the beginning of knowledge" also may be inspired partly by the phrase "the beginning of wisdom" in 1 Enoch 37. This is because this *1 Apoc. Jas*. passage's tropes of words (especially 1 En 37:2, "this is the beginning of the *words* of wisdom"), plenary revelation, place, persecution, martyrdom, concealed knowledge, faithfulness (based on Isa 11:5), blessing, salvation, departure, and rest/repose are all prominent themes in the Parables of Enoch.

The Enoch text, incidentally, reworks Isaiah 11's list of seven spirits in 1 En 49:3 and 61:11, the latter beginning with "the spirit of faithfulness and the spirit of wisdom." The reworking of the seven spirits of Isaiah 11 in 1 Enoch 49 concludes with "and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep [i.e., died] in righteousness." Contextually, it is very likely that this includes the martyrs. This Enochic background finally explains the unusual identification of the seven spirits of Isaiah 11 with seven women disciples in *1 Apoc. Jas.*, of whom at least three are martyrs.

[136] The first-fruits are the best fruits. Consequently, the "first-fruits of knowledge" in NHC overlaps semantically with the "beginning/summit of knowledge" in CT. In Hebrew, the first word in the phrase first-fruits is *rēʾšīt*^{h}.

[137] The eschatological place of rest, like the post-mortem "place of faithfulness" obtained by the three martyrs Sapphira, Susanna, and Joanna.

[138] For the lexical links of finding + rest, see 1 En 63:6. "Rest" and "resting-places" are key tropes throughout the Parables of Enoch.

[139] "In agreement" anticipates the subsequent "among them a unity."

[140] The constellation of faithfulness, unity, blessing, salvation, and revelation indicates we have here an echo of 1 En 61:9–12, where all spirits, including the spirit of faithfulness, unite as one in agreement to bless the Lord of spirits in what is a reworking of the Jewish liturgy's Qedushah, based on Isa 6:3. Revelation is mentioned in 1

revelation may be realized." And at that time he went away.

James Convinces the Twelve

He immediately upbraided the twelve, and bestowed [among them] a unity [and an efflu]ence of knowledge[141] [. . .].

[. . . the] twelve [on account of their un]faithfulness [. . .], he spoke to them [. . .] and knowledge [. . .] he convinced them [. . .] from them [. . .] also the remainder [. . .].

Conclusion: The Martyrdom of James

After [some time] it came to pass that they apprehended James in place of another man, [**30**] after making accusation against him, because he had fled [from them], but [they had thrown him into] prison for ten [days], and it was someone else with the name who came out of the dungeon.

They took this this one into custody instead of him, and brought him before the judges.

[**43**] [. . .]. Instead of [. . .].

However, the majority of the [judges], when they recognized [that] there was no (legal) cause against him, [they released] him.

Most of the judges saw that there was nothing for which to fault him, and they [let him] go free.

The [others and] the people [apprehended him], saying to those who had risen up: "[Let us] take [this one] from this earth, because he is not [worthy] of life."[142]

The others, however, and the whole people lined themselves up, and said: "Take him away from the earth. He is not [worthy of life]."

These now grew afraid.

These, however, grew afraid, [lifted themselves up], and

En 61:5,13. 1 En 61:4 mentions "faithfulness" and "righteousness," echoing Isa 11:5. The nearby 1 En 62:13 refers to salvation. Similarly, the other Enochic passage that reworks the seven spirits of Isaiah 11's, 1 En 49:3, is preceded in 48:7–8 by mentions of salvation.

[141] "Effluence of knowledge." Cf. 1 En 49:1, "For wisdom is poured out like water," 51:3, "And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel." Cf. also 1 En 48:1, "fountains of wisdom."

[142] Cf. OG Isa 3:10; Wis 2:19-20.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
They rose up, saying: "We have no part in this blood, because a just man will perish by injustice."	said, "We have no [part] in [the blood of this man . . .]."	
James went, so that [. . .]. [**44**] [. . .].	He thought [. . .] he became [. . .] because the men [. . .] him, however [. . ., and] as they were stoning [him], he said:	
"[My] Father [in heaven, forgive] them, because [they know] not what [they do]."[143]	"My Father, [who is in] heaven, forgive them, because they [know] <not> what they do."	
The Apocalypse of James	**James**	

[143] Cf. Luke 23:34, combined with the opening of the *Pater Noster*.

Chapter 3

A New *Testament of Adam* in the Syriac *Revelation of the Magi*?

Bradley N. Rice

In recent years, a remarkable yet little-known Christian apocryphon in Syriac has come to light called the *Revelation of the Magi* (*RevMagi*).[1] It recounts the story of the Magi, those mysterious foreigners from the distant East who came

A version of this chapter was presented in the Pseudepigrapha Section at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in San Antonio, Texas, on November 19, 2016.

[1] The *Revelation of the Magi* is attested in a single Syriac manuscript (Vat. syr. 162), where it forms part of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, a chronicle describing the history of the world from its creation up to 775/776 CE. Editions of the *Chronicle* have been published by Otto F. Tullberg (*Dionysii Telmahharensis Chronici liber primus: Textum e codice ms. syriaco Bibliothecae Vaticanae* [Uppsala: Regiae Academiae Typographi, 1850]) and Jean-Baptiste Chabot (*Chronicon anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum* [CSCO 91: Scriptores Syri 3.1; Paris: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1927]). A new edition of *RevMagi* is currently being prepared by Brent Landau for the Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum; the preliminary form of his edition may be found in "The Sages and the Star-Child: An Introduction to the *Revelation of the Magi*, An Ancient Christian Apocryphon" (Th.D. Dissertation, Harvard Divinity School, 2008), 23–74. Landau also offers the first English translation of the text, for which see "Sages and the Star-Child," 75–136; Landau, *Revelation of the Magi: The Lost Tale of the Wise Men's Journey to Bethlehem* (New York: HarperOne, 2010), 35–88. Although *RevMagi* is only preserved in Syriac, a Latin summary of the text has long been known from the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* (*OIM*), an Arian commentary on the Gospel of Matthew dating to the fifth century; see Joop Van Banning, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum: Praefatio* (CCSL 87B; Turnhout: Brepols, 1988). Since Van Banning's edition has not yet appeared, for the Latin text one must still consult Jacques Paul Migne, *Joannis Chrysostomi opera omnia quae exstant* (PG 56; Paris, 1859), cols. 637–638. For an English translation of the *OIM* summary, see James A. Kellerman, *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew* (Opus imperfectum), 2 vols., Ancient Christian Texts (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2010), 1:32; Alexander Toepel, "The Apocryphon of Seth: A New Translation and Introduction," in Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov (eds.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013), 33–9.

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to Bethlehem to pay homage to the newborn king of the Jews (Matt 2:1-12)—but it does so from the perspective of the Magi themselves. In the *Revelation of the Magi* we discover that the Magi do not come from Persia, Babylon, Arabia, or any other known country,[2] but from a faraway land called "Shir," situated on the eastern edge of the world near paradise (chapters 1–2).[3] They trace their lineage to Adam's son Seth, who received from his father a prophecy about the coming of a star that would signify the birth of Christ. This prophecy was recorded by Seth and carefully passed down through the generations (2–4). In anticipation of the star, the Magi regularly ascend a certain mountain in Shir called the "Mount of Victories" and read from writings found in the "Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries" (4–10). At a pivotal moment in the story of *RevMagi*, the star finally appears to the Magi, and it turns out that the star is none other than Christ himself (11–15), who then proceeds to guide their lengthy journey to Bethlehem (16–18). In Bethlehem, they discover a cave resembling the cave on the Mount of Victories, and there they see the star transform itself into a luminous infant (18–21). After a brief encounter with Mary and Joseph (18–25), the Magi return to Shir and share their experiences with its inhabitants (26–28). Finally, the apostle Judas Thomas arrives in Shir, baptizes the Magi, and commissions them to preach (29–32).[4]

One of the more striking features of the *Revelation of the Magi* is its description of how the Magi knew about the star. It was not through astrology, as the tantalizingly terse account of the Magi in Matthew's gospel (2:1-12) would suggest. Indeed, the possibility that Matthew's infancy narrative was an endorsement of astrology proved troubling to most early Christians, who swiftly connected the Magi's knowledge of the star with the messianic prophecy of Balaam in Num 24:17: "a star shall come out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel."[5] Rather, the *Revelation of the Magi* suggests that the Magi learned of the star through a still more ancient prophecy, one uttered by Adam himself at the beginning of time. In this "Testament of Adam to Seth" (= *TAS*),[6] Adam tells Seth about his fall from

[2] On these options, see Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 168–70.

[3] For more on the location of Shir, see Bradley N. Rice, "From the Watchers to the Sethites to the Magi: Reinterpretations of Genesis in the Syriac *Revelation of the Magi*," *Henoch* 41 (2019): 226–42.

[4] For a more detailed summary of *RevMagi*, see Landau, "The *Revelation of the Magi*: A Summary and Introduction," in Tony Burke and Brent Landau (eds.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 19–38.

[5] On the popularity of this approach, see Tim Hegedus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology* (Patristic Studies 6; New York: Lang, 2007), 203–6.

[6] The title for this otherwise unknown testament is a tentative one, intended to distinguish it from the more well-known *Testament of Adam*. On my reasons for identifying this text as a "testament," see the discussion under the heading "The *Testament of Adam to Seth* among the Pseudepigrapha" below.

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glory and about how he failed to comprehend his lofty position within paradise; he foretells the idolatry and apostasy that will occur at the end of time; and he exhorts his son to avoid temptation and seek righteousness. Seth records the testament in the world's first book (*RevMagi* 3.2-3), and the book is carefully passed down over the centuries until the time of the Magi themselves.

A Summary of the Testament of Adam to Seth *(*TAS*)*

The *Revelation of the Magi* purports to offer an extract from the *Testament of Adam to Seth* in chapters 6–10. At this point in the narrative, the Magi have ascended the Mount of Victories and entered the Cave of Treasures to read from certain books that contain "every word that our father Adam, chief of our great lineage, spoke with his son Seth" (6.1). Adam begins by telling Seth about the coming of the Star of Bethlehem, which he himself had seen standing over the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden, casting light over the entire garden (6.2). After Adam disobeyed the commandment not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge, he was expelled from the garden and could no longer see the light of the star (6.3). Adam then mourns over his "foolishness" and warns Seth to pursue righteousness "that he might find mercy before the Father of Majesty" (6.4).

What follows is a kind of haggadic midrash, replete with wordplays and metaphors, on Adam's fall from his glorious position within paradise and the familiar role that Eve played in his demise. Adam tells Seth that succeeding generations will tell stories about him (7.1), saying such things as "every kingdom that is divided against itself shall not stand." This is said to be "fulfilled" about Adam himself, for he "doubted" the royal majesty that he enjoyed in his kingdom of paradise (7.2). Adam says that the rib removed from his side became a thorn that put out his eye (7.3), and that Eve was appropriately called "time" because she became a stumbling block (7.4). Adam then cautions Seth not to listen to his mother, for though she was created as a helper (7.6), she became a hindrance and the ultimate cause of his expulsion from Eden (7.7).

Adam then reflects on how he failed to realize how good he had it in paradise, and praises God for his boundless mercy (8.1). Adam tells Seth that God judged him for his disobedience "like a kind father whose mercy is combined with discipline" (8.2-3), and that all creation remains under his—i.e., Adam's—authority (8.4). Adam then describes his encounter with the serpent, here called the "Evil One," who deceived him because he wished to be free from Adam's dominion (8.5). As punishment for the serpent's deception, God filled his mouth with dust and tore off his feet (8.6). And, of course, Eve is blamed for all of it (8.7), and Adam therefore warns Seth not, under any circumstances, to listen to his mother (8.8). Adam goes on to say that honorable people will be found among his descendants, those who will recite "the mysteries of the majesty" (9.1). But at the end of time they will be rebellious and blaspheme against heaven (9.2), making idols and serving the sun and moon (9.3), prompted by the "cunning deceiver" (9.4) and given over to all sorts of debauchery (9.5-6).

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Adam then again reflects on his time in paradise and on how he was fooled by the serpent (10.1-2). Yet he also professes that his "kind savior and merciful master" will have mercy on him at the end of days (10.2) and will raise him again from the dust (10.3). Looking back again to that astral light that shone in Eden, Adam then reveals how the savior will descend into the darkness and illumine his eyes as he had once before when giving him the breath of life (10.4). Finally, the extract concludes with Adam's assurance to Seth that he too shall find mercy, for the merciful savior does not reckon the father's sins against the son (10.5-6). Adam further says that the maker and savior "does not neglect in his great mercy anyone who loves him and walks in justice before him. Even to those who offend him, he gives opportunity for repentance, and is gracious to them if they repent and seek (it) from him, because his mercy upon his world is great" (10.7).[7]

The Testament of Adam to Seth *as an Independent Composition*

Although there are some points of contact with the broader narrative of the *Revelation of the Magi*, to some extent the *Testament of Adam to Seth* sits uncomfortably with the rest of the story. If it were removed, one might not even notice that it was missing. Was it an independent composition that was later integrated into *RevMagi*? The question has received scant attention in scholarship. This is partly because most of the previous studies of *RevMagi* were devoted to demonstrating an Iranian and/or Zoroastrian influence on the text,[8] and partly because *RevMagi* was only accessible in Latin, Italian, and Polish translation until fairly recently.[9] To my knowledge, the first scholar to address this question was

[7] Trans. Landau.

[8] See, e.g., Geo Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit*, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen: Geisteswissenschaften, Heft 70 (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960), 62–86; Anders Hultgård, "The Magi and the Star—the Persian Background in Texts and Iconography," in Peter Schalk and Michael Stausberg (eds.), *Being Religious and Living through the Eyes: Studies in Religious Iconography and Iconology*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Historia religionum 14 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 1998), 215–25; Toepel, "Apocryphon of Seth," 36–7; Toepel, *Die Adam- und Seth-Legenden im Syrischen Buch der Schatzhöhle: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*, CSCO 618: Subsidia 119 (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 172–5. See also Landau's discussions of previous scholarship in "Sages and the Star-Child," 10–16, 216–17; Landau, "The *Revelation of the Magi*: A Summary and Introduction," 24.

[9] Latin: Jean-Baptiste Chabot, *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, CSCO 121: Scriptores Syri 3.1 (Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1949); Italian translation: Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui Magi evangelici*, trans. Giorgio Levi Della Vida, StT 163 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1952), 27–49; Polish translation: Witold Witakowski, "Syryjska *Opowieść o Magach* (OpMag)," in Marek Starowieyski (ed.), *Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu*, 3 vols. (Krakow: Wydawnistwo WAM, 2003–8), 1: 352–83.

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Gerrit Reinink, who in a brief discussion of *RevMagi* suggested that the text was composed of three sources: a story about the Magi told in the first person (a "we-testimony"); a "revelation of Adam to Seth" ("eine Offenbarung Adams an Seth"); and a story about Judas Thomas.[10] However, Reinink did not offer any substantive argument for his position, other than to note that the "revelation of Adam to Seth" differs in content and interrupts the first-person narration of the Magi. Brent Landau, who to date has published the most detailed studies of the *Revelation of the Magi*, maintains that "there is no evidence that chapters 6–10 had a prior written existence independent of *Rev. Magi*."[11] The matter is far from resolved, and in what follows I would like to consider some of the reasons why this otherwise unknown testament is likely to have been an independent composition.

One of the first reasons is what Landau has called the "Judas Thomas Episode" (JTE), found at the end of the *Revelation of the Magi* (chapters 29–32).[12] At this point in the narrative, the Magi have returned to their native land of Shir and told its inhabitants about all the wonders they witnessed at Christ's birth and on their journey to Bethlehem, and the people of the land have been enjoying various visions of Christ in multiple forms (chapters 27–28). What then follows is peculiar: Judas Thomas, apostle of the East, arrives in Shir (29.1). The Magi welcome him and tell him about what they saw (29.2-3), which prompts Thomas to recount

[10] Gerrit J. Reinink, "Das Land 'Seiris' (Šir) und das Volk der Serer in jüdischen und christlichen Traditionen," *JSJ* 6 (1975): 72–85. "Obwohl der Abschnitt grösstenteils dargestellt wird als eine Geschichte, die von den Magiern erzählt wird, erweist sie sich nicht ganz und gar einheitlich. Plötzlich fangen die Magier an zu reden (Chabot, S. 59) und ebenso plötzlich wird der "Wir-Bericht" unterbrochen durch die Offenbarung Adams an Seth, die eingeleitet wird mit den Worten: 'wiederum aus den Büchern, die sich in der Schatzhöhle befanden' (Chabot, S. 62-65). Auch im Schlussteil findet eine Verschiebung statt. Die Erzähler sind nicht mehr die Magier in der Geschichte von ihrer Begegnung mit Judas Thomas (Chabot, S. 86ff). Das Ganze erweckt den Eindruck, es sei zusammengesetzt aus mehreren Quellen (u.a. eine Magier-Geschichte im 'Wir-Stil', eine Offenbarung Adams an Seth und eine Judas Thomas-Geschichte)" (p. 75, n. 13). Jean-Claude Haelewyck ("Le nombre des Rois Mages: Les hésitations de la tradition syriaque," in Jean-Marc Vercruysse (ed.), *Les (Rois) Mages*, Graphè 20 [Arras: Artois presses université, 2011], 25–37) also suggests that *RevMagi* is "sans doute composite" (p. 34, n. 33), yet offers no supporting arguments.

[11] Landau, "The *Revelation of the Magi*: A Summary and Introduction," 31, n. b; Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 13–14. Landau does admit, however, that chapters 6–10 contain much material that is at best "only peripherally related to the content of the *Revelation of the Magi*" ("Sages and the Star-Child," 89, n. a) and acknowledges the presence of older traditions.

[12] Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 176–91; Landau, "The *Revelation of the Magi* in the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*," *Apocrypha* 19 (2008): 182–201 (195–96). For a more extensive summary of the JTE, see Landau, "The *Revelation of the Magi*: A Summary and Introduction," 37–8; Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 176–8.

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his own time with Jesus (29.4). Thomas' lofty description of Christ inspires the Magi to request baptism from his hand (29.5-6). Thomas then leads the Magi to a spring (30.1), utters a prayer over baptismal oil (30.2-9), and baptizes them (31.1). Upon emerging from the water, the Magi see a luminous child, who then proceeds to administer the Eucharist (31.1-3). Thomas again praises Christ's many forms (31.4-7), the Magi give thanks (31.8-9), and Thomas commissions the Magi to preach (31.10). This they do, going on to perform miracles and healings through the Holy Spirit (32.1) and proclaiming that only "the wings of the Lord Jesus" will provide refuge from the coming judgment of fire (32.2-3).

Landau has argued—I think convincingly—that the Judas Thomas Episode is a later addition to the *Revelation of the Magi*. He offers several reasons for thinking so. First, there is an awkward shift from the first to the third person in the two chapters preceding the JTE (27-28), together with several odd transitions between direct and indirect speech.[13] In the first clear instance of third-person narration, the Magi are seemingly reintroduced: "And there was great joy in the entire land of the East, and the nobles, and the poor, and women, and children from the entire land were gathered together in the love of our Lord before those nobles who were called Magi."[14] Landau observes that the Magi are called "nobles" (ܐܦܣܛܪܟ) and "brethren" (ܐܚܐ) throughout the JTE, as opposed to the designation "magi" (ܡܓܘܝܐ) found earlier in *RevMagi*.[15] Indeed, the second reason is the different vocabulary seen in the JTE, such as the frequent use of "our Lord Jesus Christ" in different combinations—something curiously absent in the remainder of *RevMagi*, which prefers titles such as "son," "guide," and "savior."[16] In the prayer that Thomas says over the baptismal oil (30.2-9), there is an athletic terminology which is often used in Syriac literature for ascetic accomplishments, and which is much more at home in the *Acts of Thomas* than in *RevMagi*.[17] Third, the JTE is superfluous to the narrative. Before Thomas arrives in Shir to baptize the Magi, the Magi have *already* witnessed the fulfillment of Adam's prophecy of the star and brought the

[13] Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 180–2. Landau observes that the first chapters of *RevMagi* are also narrated in the third person (1.1-3.6), though he finds that the redactor had a far less heavy hand here than in chapters 27–32 ("Sages and the Star-Child," 182–4).

[14] *RevMagi* 28.4 (trans. Landau).

[15] Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 186.

[16] Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 184–5. Landau counts no fewer than eighteen instances where "Jesus," "Christ," and/or "our Lord" occur in the JTE (p. 185). The remainder of *RevMagi* contains a particularly rich christological vocabulary heavily informed by the Gospel of John; see Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 233–8.

[17] For example, "athlete" (ܐܟܠܝܛܐ), "contest" (ܐܓܘܢܐ), and "to crown" (ܟܠܠ); Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 185. On the similarities between this prayer and the prayers seen in the *Acts of Thomas*, see Sebastian P. Brock, "An Archaic Syriac Prayer over Baptismal Oil," in Francis M. Young, Mark J. Edwards, and Paul M. Parvis (eds.), *Studia Patristica: Papers Presented at the Fourteenth International Congress on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2003* (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 3–12, here 7–11; Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 191–6.

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inhabitants of Shir to faith in Christ.[18] According to Landau, the JTE was appended because there was "a concern for officially integrating the Magi into the broader Christian church through an apostolic visit and baptism."[19]

If Landau is correct that the Judas Thomas Episode is an interpolation into the *Revelation of the Magi*, it stands to reason that there may be others.[20] Employing similar criteria, a reasonable case can be made that the *Testament of Adam to Seth* (6.1–10.9) is also an interpolation. Like the JTE, the *TAS* appears to be superfluous to the narrative, and one would hardly notice its absence. It interrupts the narrative flow of *RevMagi*, as can be seen already at 6.1. The sentence begins with the Syriac adverb ܗܵܐ, which is often used to indicate the start of a new section: "Now (ܗܵܐ) from the books which were in the Cave of Treasures … " We find that ܗܵܐ is used similarly at the beginning of the JTE: "Now (ܗܵܐ) when Judas Thomas went down there … " (29.1).[21] Seth is also introduced in 6.1 as though he had not been previously mentioned, although his name is found no fewer than eight times in chapters 1–5: "Every word that our father Adam, chief of our great lineage, spoke with his son Seth, whom he had after the death of Abel, whom Cain his brother killed and over whom his father Adam mourned" (6.1).

There is also an awkward transition at the end of the *Testament of Adam to Seth*. After the conclusion of Adam's words in 10.7, we read: "And Seth heard everything that his father Adam commanded him, commandments more numerous than these, and wrote them down with diligence, and we found them in the books that were placed in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries. He also commanded and added to them" (10.8-9a).[22] Landau rightly notices the awkwardness of 10.9a,[23] which shifts abruptly back to the third person without specifying the subject, who appears to be Seth, as we learn in 10.10: "Seth also commanded these mysteries to his sons." Thus 6.1 and 10.9a appear to be the editorial seams revealing the beginning and end of the *TAS*.

A more complicated question, however, is how 6.1–6.4—which appears to be a précis of the *TAS*—relates to Adam's own account in 7.1–10.7. In 6.1–6.4, the story continues to be told from the perspective of the Magi, as seen from the first-person plural possessives: "our father Adam" (6.1), "our great lineage" (6.1), and "Adam our father" (6.4). It is only at 7.1 that Adam tells his own story in the first person, and this continues until 10.7. The first-person narration of the Magi then resumes in 10.8, with an awkward shift back to the third person at 10.9a. Thus there is a shift in narrative perspective, but it is one that would be expected for a revelation

[18] Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 186–8; Landau, "The *Revelation of the Magi* in the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*," 195.

[19] Landau, "The *Revelation of the Magi*: A Summary and Introduction," 21.

[20] For instance, Landau proposes that the list of names for the Magi (2.3) is also a later addition, based on its presence in other Syriac sources ("Sages and the Star-Child," 78, n. b.).

[21] Thus Tullberg's emendation; on the textual uncertainty here, see Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 67.

[22] Trans. Landau.

[23] Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 96, n. d.

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given by Adam; by contrast, the Judas Thomas Episode speaks of the Magi in the third person where one would expect the first.

At the same time, this shift in perspective seems to offer our first clues concerning how 6.1–6.4 relates to the rest of the *Testament of Adam to Seth*. Landau had argued that there was editorial tampering in the two chapters (27–28) preceding the Judas Thomas Episode (29–32), and it may be that 6.1–6.4 is also the result of editorial tampering—that is, this section should be understood as a redactor's introduction to the *TAS*. On the one hand, the vocabulary of 6.1–6.4 has more in common with the main narrative of *RevMagi* than it does with 7.1–10.7. For instance, in the latter Adam regularly speaks of his creator as "my master,"[24] whereas the remainder of *RevMagi* speaks with great frequency of the "Father of Majesty" or "Father of Heavenly Majesty."[25] On the other hand, 6.1–6.4 contains episodes not seen in 7.1–10.7. Much of 6.1–6.4 tells how Adam had seen the star and its glory over the Tree of Life in Eden, and how the sight of it was removed when Adam sinned (6.2-3)—yet this does not figure into Adam's own account of his sin and fall.[26]

There is thus good reason to think that 6.1–6.4 constitute a redactor's introduction to the testament itself in 7.1–10.7. This would account for both the abrupt transition in 6.1 and the differences in vocabulary and content seen between chapter 6 and chapters 7–10. At first blush, it is tempting to attribute the phrase "Now from the books which were in the Cave of Treasures" (6.1) to the author of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, for it parallels several other instances in which the chronicler has added a comment on the origins of his sources.[27] At the

[24] The title "my master" (ܡܪܝ) is used no less than six times (*RevMagi* 7.6; 8.1, 5, 8; 10.1–2), always paired with one or more adjectives: "kind master" (ܡܪܝ ܛܝܒܬܐ): 8.5, 8; 10.1–2; "merciful master" (ܡܪܝ ܪܚܡ): 10.4; "my holy master" (ܡܪܝ ܩܕܝܫ): 8.1. Adam also refers to his maker as "my kind savior" (ܦܪܩܢ ܛܝܒܬܐ; 10.4) and likens him to a "kind father" (ܐܒ ܛܝܒ; 8.1).

[25] "Father of majesty" (ܐܒ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ): *RevMagi* 6.4; 13.1; 15.3–5; 19.1, 9; 21.6, 8; 21.10; 27.7; "Father of heavenly majesty" (ܐܒ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܒܪܡܐ): 6.2; 10.9; 11.7; 13.1; 27.3. This also happens to be an epithet commonly found in Manichaeism; see Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung*, 74; John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm*: *Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions*, NHMS 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 121; Brock, "An Archaic Syriac Prayer," 12. The question of whether *RevMagi* is a Manichaean text has not yet been sufficiently addressed. It certainly has some features that could be classed as "gnostic," for which see Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung*, 73–9; Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 105.

[26] Of course, the author of 6.1–6.4 may be summarizing content seen elsewhere in the *TAS*, since it is otherwise hard to explain why the star is absent.

[27] See Witakowski's discussion of the chronicler's "metahistoriographic remarks," for which he gives the following example: "Now from [ܡܢ ܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ] the book of Socrates, another history in brief"; *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre: A Study in the History of Historiography*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 9 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1987), 116.

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same time, however, the chronicler does tend to reproduce his sources faithfully and frequently verbatim.[28] For longer extracts, the chronicler usually provides a title—often in red ink—and sometimes also a conclusion.[29] Thus the *Revelation of the Magi* begins with the heading, "On the revelation of the Magi, their coming to Jerusalem, and the gifts that they brought to Christ" (1.1), and it concludes with the comment, "The account of the Magi and their gifts has finished" (32.4).[30] This means that the *TAS* together with its introduction probably entered the *Revelation of the Magi* before coming into the hands of the chronicler.

Date and Original Language of the Testament of Adam to Seth

Precisely when the *Testament of Adam to Seth* was interpolated into the *Revelation of the Magi* is more difficult to say. A firm terminus ante quem is established by the composition of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* in the late eighth century (ca. 775). It is less clear, however, whether the testament was found in the version of *RevMagi* referred to in the fifth-century *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*. Here we find the following:

> Apocryphal book in the name of Seth [*Liber apocryphus nomine Seth*]—Victorious Mountain. I have heard some referring to a certain writing [*quadam scriptura*] that, even if not authentic, does not destroy the faith, but rather delights [*etsi non certa, tamen non destruente fidem, sed potius delectante*], that there was a certain people located in the furthermost east, next to Ocean, among whom there was said to be a certain writing in the name of Seth [*quaedam scriptura, inscripta nomine Seth*], concerning the appearance of this star, and concerning the gifts and such to be offered him, which was thought to have been passed down, from fathers to their sons, by generations of diligent men.[31]

In the second part of the extract, the "writing penned in Seth's name" (*quaedam scriptura, inscripta nomine Seth*) clearly refers to a book of Seth in the possession of the Magi. The "certain writing of dubious authenticity" (*quadam scriptura, etsi non certa*) in the first part of the extract, however, more likely refers to the narrative of *RevMagi* as a whole.[32] In this case, the phrase *etsi non certa, tamen non destruente fidem, sed potius delectante* should probably be taken as the author's way of saying

[28] Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle*, 124–36; Amir Harrak, *The Chronicle of Zuqnīn: Parts III and IV: A.D. 488–775*, Mediaeval Sources in Translation 36 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1999), 21–4.

[29] Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle*, 114.

[30] Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 75, n. b.; 136, n. d.

[31] PG 56:637 (Second Homily on Matthew 2).

[32] So also Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 146–7; cf. Toepel, "Apocryphon of Seth," 34.

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that *RevMagi* is a charming tale, albeit a fictitious one. Moreover, there is nothing in this summary that could not have been drawn from the beginning of *RevMagi*, since there we also find a description of how Adam told Seth about the arrival of the star, and how Seth recorded it in a book that was passed down from generation to generation.[33]

If there is no clear indication that the *TAS* was present in the version of *RevMagi* available to the author of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* remains our terminus ante quem. The terminus a quo for the insertion of the *TAS* depends, of course, on the date of the *Revelation of the Magi*, which has been dated anywhere between the late second and early sixth centuries. On the early end of this range is Landau, who has attempted to push the date as early as the late second or early third century.[34] His dating is based partly on his thesis that *RevMagi* is a piece of Christian apologetic, partly on Christ's polymorphy in *RevMagi*, and partly on his reconstruction of the redactional history of *RevMagi*, in which his argument that the JTE is a later addition figures prominently. Some of Landau's arguments for an early date are questionable, however, and the recent responses to his work situate the text more comfortably in the fourth or fifth century.[35] On the later end of the spectrum is Monneret de Villard, who suggested that *RevMagi* probably emerged around the start of the sixth century, under the

[33] The parallels to the *OIM* in *RevMagi* are as follows (I offer here the text of the *OIM*, with the *RevMagi* parallels in parentheses): "There was a certain people located in the furthermost east, next to Ocean (2.4), among whom there was said to be a certain writing in the name of Seth concerning the appearance of this star (4.2-3, 7, 10; 5.1, 10) and concerning the gifts and such to be offered him (4.7-9), which was thought to have been passed down, from fathers to their sons, by generations of diligent men" (2.5-6; 3.1-7; 4.2-3, 10; 5.1, 9-10).

[34] Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 175–220. For summaries of the arguments, see "The *Revelation of the Magi*: A Summary and Introduction," 21–3.

[35] Kristian S. Heal, review of Brent Landau, *Revelation of the Magi: The Lost Tale of the Wise Men's Journey to Bethlehem*, in *Hug* 14.2 (2011): 294–8, here 297–8; Annette Yoshiko Reed, review of *Revelation of the Magi: The Lost Tale of the Wise Men's Journey to Bethlehem* by Brent Landau, in *Sino-Platonic Papers* 208 (2011): Reviews 13, pp. 43–7; Pierluigi Piovanelli, "Scriptural Trajectories Through Early Christianity, Late Antiquity, and Beyond: Christian Memorial Traditions in the *longue durée*," in Tony Burke (ed.), *Forbidden Texts on the Western Frontier: Christian Apocrypha in North American Perspectives: Proceedings from the 2013 York University Christian Apocrypha Symposium* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2015), 100–1. Piovanelli, for instance, points out that Christ's polymorphy, while seemingly archaic, does not necessarily "betray the antiquity of a given text" (101, n. 30). Piovanelli draws attention to Pseudo-Cyril's homily *On the Life and the Passion of Christ*, a text that Roelof van den Broek (*Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem* On the Life and the Passion of Christ*: A Coptic Apocryphon*, VCSup 118 [Leiden: Brill, 2013], 69–70), dates to the early ninth century. And while Landau dates the Judas Thomas Episode to the third century based on similarities with the *Acts of Thomas*, Heal observes that the JTE contains vocabulary more often seen in fifth century texts (297, n. 10).

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assumption that the Syriac text of *RevMagi* is a much expanded form of the version attested by the *OIM*.[36] Landau has rightly cast doubt on this assumption,[37] while Witakowski has argued that the treatment of the Holy Spirit as grammatically feminine in *RevMagi* makes a date in the fourth century more likely.[38] In all probability, the *Revelation of the Magi* was composed in the fourth or early fifth century, in which case the *TAS* would have been interpolated sometime between the fourth and eighth centuries. We can only guess when the testament itself was written, though sometime between the second and fourth centuries seems a reasonable assumption.[39]

As for the original language of the *Testament of Adam to Seth*, there is little reason to doubt that it too was written in Syriac.[40] There are certain wordplays that

[36] Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui Magi evangelici*, 67–8.

[37] Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 167–70.

[38] Witakowski, "The Magi in Syriac Tradition," in George A. Kiraz (ed.), *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock*, Gorgias Eastern Christianity Studies 3 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2008), 814.

[39] If the *TAS* is a Christian work composed in Syriac, as seems to be the case, any date prior to the second century is excluded; and since most Jewish traditions appear to have entered Syriac literature before the end of the fourth century (thus Sebastian Brock, "Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources," *JJS* 30 [1979]: 212–32), a date prior to the fifth century (or at least the sixth) seems most probable.

[40] It seems fairly certain that *RevMagi* was composed in Syriac, though Monneret de Villard had suggested that the author of the *Opus imperfectum* had access to a Greek translation of *RevMagi* (*Le leggende orientali sui Magi evangelici*, 67–8), a position argued more recently and vigorously by Landau in "Sages and the Star-Child," 137–41, 170–3; "The *Revelation of the Magi* in the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*," 195–6; "'One Drop of Salvation from the House of Majesty': Universal Revelation, Human Mission and Mythical Geography in the Syriac *Revelation of the Magi*," in Ellen B. Aitken and John M. Fossey (eds.), *The Levant: Crossroads of Late Antiquity*, McGill University Monographs in Classical Archaeology and History 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 86; "The *Revelation of the Magi*: A Summary and Introduction," 21; "The Coming of the Star-Child: The Reception of the Revelation of the Magi in New Age Religious Thought and Ufology," *Gnosis* 1 (2016): 196–217, here 201. However, I would suggest that there is no need to posit a lost Greek *Vorlage* to account for the summary in the *OIM*. According to van Banning, the author of the *OIM* was a native Latin speaker with secondary competence in Greek, and had access to a wide variety of written *and oral* sources in Constantinople in the late fifth century (*Opus imperfectum*, v–vi). By this time Constantinople had become a multilingual city, where Greek and Latin as well as Syriac were spoken; see, e.g., Fergus Millar, "Linguistic Co-existence in Constantinople: Greek and Latin (and Syriac) in the Acts of the Synod of 536 C.E.," *JRS* 99 (2009): 92–103. Thus it seems equally likely that the author had heard an account of the tale in Greek or Latin while in Constantinople and later wrote the summary from memory. Finally, it should be noted that translations from Syriac into Greek were far less common at this time than renderings of Greek into Syriac; see Sebastian Brock, "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek," in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984), 11–14.

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appear to function only in Syriac,[41] such as the play on the Syriac verb ܦܠܓ found in 7.2. Adam tells Seth that his descendants will tell tales about his folly in the Garden of Eden, saying: "'Every kingdom that is *divided* (ܬܬܦܠܓ) against itself shall not stand.' This is fulfilled about me, for I was in *doubt* (ܒܬܦܠܓܘܬܐ) about the kingdom in which I stood." Thus there is a play on "dividing" and "doubting," whereby the kingdom of Mark 3:24 is taken to refer to Adam's dominion in paradise.

However, there are certain instances in the *TAS* where something seems to have been lost in translation. In 7.4, Adam says of Eve: "I even prophesied when I saw her and said, 'This time (ܙܒܢܐ) is bone and flesh from me.' Fittingly did I call her 'time' (ܙܒܢܐ), since she has become a stumbling block (ܣܟܘܠܬܐ) for me." This is, of course, a partial citation of Genesis 2:23, which according to the Peshitta also reads "This *time* (ܙܒܢܐ ܗܕܐ) is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh." Yet there is no apparent connection between the words ܙܒܢܐ ("time") and ܣܟܘܠܬܐ ("stumbling block") in Syriac. The MT of this verse reads, "This *at last* (זאת הפעם) is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh." In addition to the meaning "time, occurrence," the Hebrew פעם may also have the meaning of "foot" or "anvil,"[42] and thus the sense of "stumbling" is not too far removed. This may mean that *RevMagi* 7.4 is a midrash of Gen 2:23 originally written in Hebrew, which only later made its way into Syriac. As Brock has shown, Christian authors writing in Syriac were much more familiar than their Western counterparts with Rabbinic tradition and Aramaic translations and interpretations of the Jewish scriptures,[43] and thus it would not be surprising if a Hebrew midrash of this sort had been integrated into the *Testament of Adam to Seth*.

The Testament of Adam to Seth *among the Pseudepigrapha*

The *Testament of Adam to Seth* does not appear to correspond to any known Adam pseudepigraphon. There are, however, some points of contact with the more well-known *Testament of Adam* (*T. Adam*), particularly the prophecy section, in which Adam foretells the birth, passion, and death of Jesus (3.1-7).[44] Yet it is not the

[41] So also Landau, "The *Revelation of the Magi*: A Summary and Introduction," 21 n. 10.

[42] BDB, s.v. פעם; *HALOT*, s.v. פעם.

[43] Brock, "Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources," 212–32.

[44] Stephen E. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam: An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions*, SBLDS 52 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982); Robinson, "Testament of Adam: A New Translation and Introduction," in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., ABRL (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983–1985), 1:989–95. The *Testament of Adam* is a composite document, comprised of three sections which in their final form date to about the third or fourth century CE. In addition to the *prophecy*, there is the *horarium*, in which Adam tells Seth about which part of creation worships God at which hour (1.1-2.12), and the *hierarchy* or *angelology*, in which Adam describes the different orders of heavenly beings (4.1-8). On the various recensions of *T. Adam*, see Robinson, *The Testament of Adam*, 45–52; Gerrit Reinink, "Das Problem des Ursprungs des Testamentes Adams," *OrChrAn* 197 (1972): 387–99.

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prophecy itself that holds interest, but its conclusion. As Adam's prophecy draws to a close (3.5), Seth is identified as the one who wrote down the testament (3.6). Adam is buried in the east of paradise, carried off to his tomb by the angels and powers of heaven (3.6). We are then told that Seth and his children "sealed the testament and placed it in the *cave of treasures* along with the offerings which Adam had taken out of paradise, *gold and myrrh and frankincense*. And the *sons of kings, the magi*, will come and get them and bring them to the son of God, to Bethlehem of Judea, to the cave" (3.7).[45] The *Testament of Adam* thus clearly indicates that a testament of Adam recorded by Seth was placed in a Cave of Treasures associated with the Magi, which is precisely what we find in the *Revelation of the Magi*.

The contents of the book from which the Magi read are, however, quite different from what we see in the *Testament of Adam*. Most remarkably, *T. Adam* promises Adam's ultimate deification—Adam wanted to be "like God" (Gen 3:5), and a god he shall eventually be (3.2, 4). By contrast, the *TAS* keeps Adam firmly in his place. In falling victim to the serpent's promise, Adam simply did not understand that "the clay could not be like its potter, nor the servant like his master" (10.2).[46] While in *T. Adam* the Lord tells Adam that he and his progeny will be food for the serpent (3.3), in the *TAS* Adam is told that he will trample upon the serpent (8.5).[47] The *T. Adam* foretells the coming of the Noachian flood, after which 6,000 years shall pass (3.5); in the *TAS* there will be apostasies among the faithful (9.2-6).

Despite the differences in content between the *T. Adam* and the *TAS*, the latter still has features that clearly associate it with the testamentary genre.[48] Above all, the *Testament of Adam to Seth* is brimming with paraenesis.[49] All of Adam's ruminations on his time in paradise serve to encourage Seth to succeed where his father had failed. Adam's disappointment with himself for listening to Eve (7.3-8) as well as his failure to understand how good he had it in Eden (8.1-7) function as

[45] Trans. Robinson, "Testament of Adam," 1:994 (modified; italics mine). I have followed the versification found in Robinson's dissertation (*Testament of Adam*, 65, 101); in the *OTP* translation, 3.6-7 is 3.6.

[46] Isa 29:16; 45:9; 64:8; Jer 19:1-6; Matt 10:24-25; John 13:16; 15:20.

[47] Cp. Gen 3:15; Mark 16:18; Luke 10:19.

[48] The genre of the *Testament of Adam to Seth* is never specified by *RevMagi*, which speaks more generically of "writings" or "books" (Syr. ܟܬܒܐ; 2.5; 3.2–7; 4.1; 6.1; 10.8 [ܨܚܦܐ]). The references to the *TAS* in 6.1 and 10.8 seem to indicate that it was but one of several writings that could be found in the Cave of Treasures.

[49] For ethical paraenesis as well as apocalyptic forecasts as defining features of the testament genre, see Anitra Bingham Kolenkow, "The Literary Genre 'Testament,'" in Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg (eds.), *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, BMI 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 266–7; on the function of midrash in testaments, see pp. 264–6. Eckhard von Nordheim in fact weights the genre more heavily toward ethical instruction ("Verhaltensanweisung"); see *Die Lehre der Alten*, vol. 1: *Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der Hellenistisch-Römischen Zeit* (ALGHJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 233.

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a sober warning to his son: Do not listen to your mother's advice (8.8). Yet Adam is also confident that he too shall enjoy the resurrection (10.1-4) and assures Seth that the sins of the father will not be reckoned against the son (10.5-6); after all, God is merciful toward anyone who repents (10.7). Secondly, the *Testament of Adam to Seth* contains predictions for the future: Adam notifies Seth that some of his descendants will rebel at the end of time, blaspheming and worshipping idols (9.1-6). Finally, in addition to these testamentary features, designating the *TAS* as a "testament" also links it to the end of the prophecy section of the *Testament of Adam*, where Adam's testament is said to be kept in a Cave of Treasures connected with the Magi (3.7).[50]

While Adam's reflections on his fall from glory and his deception by Eve and the serpent are not paralleled in the *Testament of Adam*, traditions of Adam's regret and penitence are found throughout the various Adam writings, most notably the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*LAE*).[51] There too we see that Adam enjoyed a very lofty position within paradise—even the angels were to worship him in all his splendor (*LAE* 14.1-3). So too in the *Testament of Adam to Seth*, Adam enjoyed great "majesty" (ܫܘܒܚܐ) and "kingdom" (ܫܘܠܛܢܐ), a dominion from which the "Evil One" wished to be free (8.5).[52] But unlike the *LAE*, famous for its description of a luciferous angel that fell from glory (*LAE* 16.1-3), the *TAS* says little more than that a sneaky snake lost his feet (8.6). Yet while the snake is doomed to swallow dust, Adam is assured that he shall rise again from the dust (10.3). On the last day, the savior will descend into the abysmal darkness and bring light to his eyes once again, just as he did on the day of his creation (10.4). Finally, if Adam's encounter with the star (6.2-3) may be reckoned to the contents of the *Testament of Adam to Seth*, it would surely be one of its most striking features: The brilliant star that the Magi saw on their mountain in the distant East was the *same* star that appeared to Adam in Eden—Christ himself in luminous form. The light of the star here and

[50] For more on this tradition, see A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*, NovTSup 46 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 53–60.

[51] M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2: 249–95. The text of the various versions may be found in Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, EJL 17 (2nd rev. ed., Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999). The date of the *LAE* as well as whether it is a Jewish or Christian composition are much debated questions; see the discussion in Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, EJL 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 6–74. On Adam's penitence, see Gary A. Anderson, "The Penitence Narrative in the *Life of Adam and Eve*," in Gary Anderson, Michael Stone, and Johannes Tromp (eds.), *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, SVTP 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 3–42.

[52] *RevMagi* 6.3; 7.2, 7; 8.1, 7. On the tradition that Adam enjoyed dominion and kingship in paradise (Gen 1:26-28), see Wis 9:1-4; 10.1-2; Sir 17:2-4; Ps 8:6; *Jub*. 2.14; *2 En*. 30.12; *4 Ezra* 6.53-54; *Cav. Tr*. 2.10-11, 17-25. See further John R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch*, JSPSup 1 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988).

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elsewhere in *RevMagi* is in many ways reminiscent of the divine Shekinah and its luminosity in Rabbinic tradition,[53] again showing the extent to which Jewish traditions were received in Syriac sources.

Indeed, there are many potential parallels that could be explored in future studies of the *TAS*. In the present essay, I have had only the modest aim of proposing that the *TAS* deserves study as a composition in its own right, as a writing that originated independently of the *Revelation of the Magi*. Its existence as an independent composition is justified, I believe, by applying many of the same criteria that Landau deployed in his arguments regarding the Judas Thomas Episode (*RevMagi* 29-32). If the *TAS* is indeed a separate composition, it was likely composed in Syriac sometime between the second and fourth centuries, and integrated into *RevMagi* sometime between the fourth and eighth centuries, before the *Revelation of the Magi* was itself incorporated into the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*. As the question mark in the title of this study indicates, however, much work remains to be done in exploring the contents of the *Testament of Adam to Seth* and in determining what its origins and scope might have been. It is my hope that this brief study will stimulate further research on this fascinating yet poorly known text.

[53] *Gen. Rab*. 3.1-5; 19.7; *3 Enoch* 5:1-6, 12-13 (and P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 259–60.

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THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

translated by J. Rendel Harris.

Ode 1.

1. The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be without Him. 2. They wove for me a crown of truth, and it caused thy branches to bud in me. 3. For it is not like a withered crown which buddeth not: but thou livest upon my head, and thou hast blossomed upon my head. 4. Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect, they are full of thy salvation.

Ode 2.

missing.

Ode 3.

1 ... I put on. 2. And his members are with him. And on them do I hang, and He loves me: 3. For I should not have known how to love the Lord, if he had not loved me. 4. For who is able to distinguish love except the one that is loved? 5. I love the beloved and my soul loves Him: 6 And where His rest is, there also am I; 7 And I shall be no strangers for with the Lord Most High and Merciful there is no grudging. 8 I have been united to Him, for the Lover has found the Beloved, 9 And because I shall love Him that is the Son, I shall become a son;. 10 For he that is joined to Him that is immortal, will also himself become immortal; 11 And he who has pleasure in the Living One, will become living. 12 This is the Spirit of the Lord, which doth not lie, which teacheth the sons of men to know His ways. 13 Be wise and understanding and vigilant. Hallelujah.

Ode 4.

1 No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place; 2 And it is not (possible) that he should change it and put it in another place: because he hath no power over it: 3 For

thy sanctuary thou hast designed before thou didst make (other) places: 4 That which is the elder shall not be altered by those that are younger than itself. 5 Thou has given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers: never wilt thou fail, nor be without fruits: 6 For one hour of thy Faith is days and years. 7 For who is there put on thy grace, and be hurt? 8 For thy seal is known: and thy creatures know it: and thy (heavenly) hosts possess it: and the elect archangels are clad with it. 9 Thou hast given us thy fellowship: it was not that thou wast in need of us: but that we are in need of thee: 10 Distill thy dews upon us and open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey: 11 For there is no repentance with thee that thou shouldest repent of anything that thou hast promised: 12 And the end was revealed before thee: for what thou gavest, thou gavest freely: 13 So that thou mayest not draw them back and take them again: 14 For all was revealed before thee as God, and ordered from the beginning before thee: and thou, O God, hast made all things. Hallelujah,

Ode 5.

1 I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, because I love thee; 2 O Most High, thou wilt not forsake me for thou art my hope: 3 Freely I have received thy grace, I shall live thereby: 4 My persecutors will come and not see me: 5 A cloud of darkness shall fall on their eyes; and an air of thick gloom shall darken them: 6 And they shall have no light to see: they may not take hold upon me. 7 Let their counsel become thick darkness, and what they have cunningly devised, let it return upon their own heads: 8 For they have devised a counsel and it did not succeed: 9 For my hope is upon the Lord and I will not fear, and because the Lord is my salvation, I will not fear: and He is a garland on my head and I shall not be moved; even if everything should be shaken, I stand firm; 11 And if all things visible should perish, I shall not die; because the Lord is with me I and I am with Him. Hallelujah.

Ode 6.

1 As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, 2 So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by His love. 3 For it destroys what is foreign and everything that is bitter: 4 For thus it was from the beginning and will be to the end, that nothing should be His adversary, and nothing should stand up against Him. 5 The Lord has multiplied the knowledge of Himself, and is zealous that these things should be known, which by His grace have been given to us. 6 And the praise of His name He gave us: our spirits praise His holy Spirit. 7 For there went

forth a stream and became a river great and broad; 8 For it flooded and broke up everything and it brought (water) to the Temple; 9 And the restrainers of the children of men were not able to restrain it, nor the arts of those whose business it is to restrain waters; 10 For it spread over the face of the whole earth, and filled everything: and all the thirsty upon earth were given to drink of it; 11 And thirst was relieved and quenched: for from the Most High the draught was given. 12 Blessed then are the ministers of that draught who are entrusted with that water 13 They have assuaged the dry lips, and the will that had fainted they have raised up; 14 And souls that were near departing they have caught back from death: 15 And limbs that had fallen they straightened and set up: 16 They gave strength for their feebleness and light to their eyes: 17 For everyone knew them in the Lord, and they lived by the water of life forever. Hallelujah.

Ode 7.

1 As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over what is lovely, and brings in of its fruits without restraint: 2 My joy is the Lord and my impulse is toward Him: this path of mine is excellent: 3 For I have a helper, the Lord. 4 He hath caused me to know Himself, without grudging, by His simplicity: His kindness has humbled His greatness. 5 He became like me, in order that I might receive Him: He was reckoned like myself in order that I might put Him on; 7 And I trembled not when I saw Him: because He was gracious to me: 8 Like my nature He became that I might learn Him and like my form, that I might not turn back from Him: 9 The Father of knowledge is the word of knowledge: 10 He who created wisdom is wiser than His works: 11 And He who created me when yet I was not knew what I should do when I came into being: 12 Wherefore He pitied me in His abundant grace: and granted me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice: 13 Because He it is that is incorrupt, the fulness of the ages and the of them. 14 He hath given Him to be seen of them that are His, in order that they may recognize Him that made them: and that they might not suppose that they came of themselves: 15 For knowledge He hath appointed as its way, hath widened it and extended it; and brought to all perfection; 16 And set over it the traces of His light, and I walked therein from the beginning even to the end. 17 For by Him it was wrought, and He was resting in the Son, and for its salvation He will take hold of everything. 18 And the Most High shall be known in His Saints, to announce to those that have songs of the coming of the Lord: 19 That they may go forth to meet Him, and may sing to Him with joy and with the harp of many tones: 20 The seers shall come before Him and they shall be seen

before Him, 21 And they shall praise the Lord for His love: because He is near and beholdeth. 22 And hatred shall be taken from the earth, and along with jealousy it shall be drowned: 23 For ignorance hath been destroyed, because the knowledge of the Lord hath arrived. 24 They who make songs shall sing the grace of the Lord Most High; 25 And they shall bring their songs, and their heart shall be like the day: and like the excellent beauty of the Lord their pleasant song; 26 And there shall neither be anything that breathes without knowledge nor any that is dumb: 27 For He hath given a mouth to His creation, to open the voice of the mouth towards Him, to praise Him: 28 Confess ye His power, and show forth His grace. Hallelujah.

Ode 8.

1 Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord: 2 And let your love be multiplied from the heart and even to the lips, 3 To bring forth fruit to the Lord, living [fruit], holy [fruit], and to talk with watchfulness in His light. 4 Rise up, and stand erect, ye who sometime were brought low: 5 Tell forth ye who were in silence, that your mouth hath been opened. 6 Ye, therefore, that were despised be henceforth lifted up, because your righteousness hath been exalted. 7 For the right hand of the Lord is with you: and He is your helper: 8. And peace was prepared for you, before ever your war was. 9. Hear the word of truth, and receive the knowledge of the Most High. 10 Your flesh has not known what I am saying to you: neither have your hearts known what I am showing to you. 11 Keep. my secret, ye who are kept by it. l2 Keep my faith, ye who are kept by it. l3 And understand my knowledge, ye who know me in truth, 14 Love me with affection, ye who love! 15 For I do not turn away my face from them that are mine; 16 For I know them and before they came into being I took knowledge of them, and on their faces I set my seal: 17 I fashioned their members: my own breasts I prepared for them, that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby 18 I took pleasure in them and am not ashamed of them: 19 For my workmanship are they and the strength of my thoughts: 20 Who then shall rise up against my handiwork, or who is there that is not subject to them? 21 I willed and fashioned mind and heart: and they are mine, and by my own right hand I set my elect ones: 22 And my righteousness goeth before them and they shall not be deprived of my name, for it is with them. 23 Ask, and abound and abide in the love of the Lord, 24 And yet beloved ones in the Beloved: those who are kept, in Him that liveth: 25 And they that are saved in Him that was saved; 26 And ye shall be found incorrupt in all ages to the name of your Father. Hallelujah.

Ode 9.

1 Open your ears and I will speak to you. Give me your souls that I may also give you my soul, 2 The word of the Lord and His good pleasures, the holy thought which He has devised concerning his Messiah. 3 For in the will of the Lord is your salvation, and His thought is everlasting life; and your end is immortality. 4 Be enriched in God the Father, and receive the thought of the Most High. 5 Be strong and be redeemed by His grace. 6 For I announce to you peace, to you His saints; 6 That none of those who hear may fall in war, and that those again who have known Him may not perish, and that those who receive may not be ashamed. 8 An everlasting crown forever is Truth. Blessed are they who set it on their heads: 9 A stone of great price is it; and there have been wars on account of the crown. 10 And righteousness hath taken it and hath given it to you. 11 Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord. 12 And all those who have conquered shall be written in His book. 13 For their book is victory which is yours. And she (Victory) sees you before her and wills that you shall be saved. Hallelujah.

Ode 10.

1 The Lord hath directed my mouth by His word: and He hath opened my heart by His light: and He hath caused to dwell in me His deathless life; 2 And gave me that I might speak the fruit peace: 3 To convert the souls of them who are willing to come to Him; and to lead captive a good captivity for freedom. 4 I was strengthened and made mighty and took the world captive; 5 And it became to me for the praise of the Most High, and of God my Father. 6 And the Gentiles were gathered together who were scattered abroad. 7 And I was unpolluted by my love for them, because they confessed me in high places: and the traces of the light were set upon their heart: 8 And they walked in my life and were saved and be came my people for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

Ode 11.

1 My heart was cloven and its flower appeared; and grace sprang up in it: and it brought forth fruit to the Lord, 2 For the Most High clave my heart by His Holy Spirit and searched my affection towards Him: and filled me with His love. 3 And His opening of me became my salvation; and I ran in His way in His peace even in the way of truth: 4 from the beginning and even to the end I acquired His knowledge: 5 And I was established upon the rock of truth, where He had set me up: 6 And

speaking waters touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord plenteously: 7 And I drank and was inebriated with the living water that doth not die; 8 And my inebriation was not one without knowledge, but I forsook vanity and turned to the Most High my God, 9 And I was enriched by His bounty, and I forsook the folly which is diffused over the earth; and I stripped it off and cast it from me: 10 And the Lord renewed me in His raiment, and possessed me by His light, and from above He gave me rest in incorruption; 11 And I became like the land which blossoms and rejoices in its fruits: 12 And the Lord was like the sun shining on the face of the land; 13 He lightened my eyes and my face received the dew; the pleasant odour of the Lord; 14 And He carried me to His Paradise; where is the abundance of the pleasure, of the Lord; 15 And I worshipped the Lord on account of His glory; and I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in thy land and those who have a place in thy Paradise; 16 And they grow by the fruits of the trees. And they have changed from darkness to light. 17 Behold! all thy servants are fair, who do good works, and turn away from wickedness to the pleasantness that is thine: 18 And they have turned back the bitterness of the trees from them, when they were planted in thy land; 19 And everything became like a relic of thyself, and memorial for ever of thy faithful works. 20 For there is abundant room in thy Paradise, and nothing is useless therein; 21 But everything is filled with fruit; glory be to thee, O God, the delight of Paradise for ever. Hallelujah.

Ode 12.

1 He hath filled me with words of truth; that I may speak the same; 2 And like the flow of waters flows truth from my mouth, and my lips show forth His fruit. 3 And He has caused His knowledge to abound in me, because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word, and the door of His light; 4 And the Most High hath given it to His words, which are the interpreters of His own beauty, and the repeaters of His praise, and the confessors of His counsel and the heralds of His thought and the chasteners of His servants. 5 For the swiftness of the Word is inexpressible, and like its expression is its swiftness and force; 6 And its course knows no limit. Never doth it fail, but it stands sure, and it knows not descent nor the way of it. 7 For as its work is, so is its end: for it is light and the dawning of thought; 8 And by it the worlds talk one to the other; and in the Word there were those that were silent; 9 And from it came love and concord; and they spake one to the other whatever was theirs; and they were penetrated by the Word; 10 And they knew Him who made them, because they were in concord; for the mouth of the Most High spake to them; and His explanation ran by means of it: 11 For the dwelling-place of the Word is man: and its truth is love. 12

Blessed are they who by means thereof have understood everything, and have known the Lord in His truth. Hallelujah.

Ode 13.

1 Behold! the Lord is our mirror: open the eyes and see them in Him: and learn the manner of your face: 2 And tell forth praise to His spirit: and wipe off the filth from your face: and love His holiness, and clothe yourselves therewith: 3 And be without stain at all times before Him. Hallelujah.

Ode 14.

1 As the eyes of a son to his father so are my eyes, O Lord at all times towards thee. 2 For with thee are my consolations and my delight. 3 Turn not away thy mercies from me, O Lord: and take not thy kindness from me. 4 Stretch out to me, O Lord, at all times thy right hand: and be my guide even unto the end, according to thy good pleasure. 5 Let me be well-pleasing before thee, because of thy glory and because of thy name: 6 Let me be preserved from evil, and let thy meekness, O Lord, abide with me, and the fruits of thy love. 7 Teach me the Psalms of thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in thee: 8 And open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit, that with all its notes I may praise thee, O Lord. 9 And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, so thou shalt give to me; and hasten to grant our petitions; and thou art able for all our needs. Hallelujah.

Ode 15.

1 As the sun is the joy to them that seek for its daybreak, so is my joy the Lord; 2 Because He is my Sun and His rays have lifted me up and His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face. In Him I have acquired eyes and have seen His holy day: 4 Ears have become mine and I have heard His truth. 5 The thought of knowledge hath been mine, and I have been delighted through Him. 6 The way of error I have left, and have walked towards Him and have received salvation from Him, without grudging. 7 And according to His bounty He hath given to me and according to His excellent beauty He hath made me. 8 I have put on incorruption through His name: and have put off corruption by His grace. 9 Death hath been destroyed before my face: and Sheol bath been abolished by my word: 10 And there hath gone up deathless life in the Lord's land, 11 And it hath been made known to His faithful ones, and hath been given without stint to all those that trust in Him. Hallelujah.

Ode 16.

1 As the work of the husband man is the ploughshare: and the work of the steersman is the guidance of the ship: 2 So also my work is the Psalm of the Lord: my craft and praises: 3 Because His love hath nourished my heart, and even to my lips His fruits He poured out. 4 For my love is the Lord, and I therefore I will sing unto Him: 5 For I am made strong in His praise, and I have faith in Him. 6 I will open my mouth and His spirit will utter in me the glory of the Lord and His beauty; the work of His hands and the operation of His fingers: 7 The multitude of His mercies and the strength of His word. 8 For the word of the Lord searches out all things, both the invisible and that which reveals His thought; 9 For the eye sees His works and the ear hears His thought; 10 He spread out the earth and He settled the waters in the sea: 11 He measured the heavens and fixed the stars: and He established the creation and set it up: 12 And He rested from His works: 13 And created things run in their courses, and do their works: 14 And they know not how to stand and be idle; and His heavenly hosts are subject to His word. 15 The treasure-chamber of the light is the sun, and the treasury of the darkness is the night: 16 And He made the sun for the day that it may be bright, but night brings darkness over the face of the land; 17 And their alternations one to the other speak the beauty of God: 18 And there is nothing that is without the Lord; for He was before any thing came into being: 19 And the worlds were made by His word, and by the thought of His heart. Glory and honour to His name. Hallelujah.

Ode 17.

1. I was crowned by my God: my crown is living: 2 And I was justified in my Lord: my incorruptible salvation is He. 3 I was loosed from vanity, and I was not condemned: 4 The choking bonds were cut off by her hands: I received the face and the fashion of a new person: and I walked in it and was saved; 5 And the thought of truth led me on. And I walked after it and did not wander: 6 And all. that have seen me were amazed: and I was regarded by them as a strange person: 7 And He who knew and brought me up is the Most High in all His perfection. And He glorified me by His kindness, and raised my thoughts to the height of His truth. 8 And from thence He gave me the way of His precepts and I opened the doors that were closed,. 9 And brake in pieces the bars of iron: but my iron melted and dissolved before me; 10 Nothing appeared closed to me: because I was the door of everything. 11 And I went over all my bond men to loose them; that I might not leave any man

bound or binding: 12 And I imparted my knowledge without grudging: and my prayer was in my love: 13 And I sowed my fruits in hearts, and transformed them into myself: and they received my blessing and lived; 14 And they were gathered to me and were saved; because they were to me as my own members and I was their head. Glory to thee our head the Lord Messiah. Hallelujah.

Ode 18.

1 My heart was lifted up in the love of the Most High and was enlarged: that I might praise Him for His name's sake. 2 My members were strengthened that they might not fall from His strength. 3 Sicknesses removed from my body, and it stood to the Lord by His will. For His kingdom is true. 4 O Lord, for the sake of them that are deficient do not remove thy word from me! 5 Neither for the sake of their works do thou restrain from me thy perfection! 6 Let not the luminary be conquered by the darkness; nor let truth flee away from falsehood. 7 Thou wilt appoint me to victory; our Salvation is thy right hand. And thou wilt receive men from all quarters. 8 And thou wilt preserve whosoever is held in evils: 9 Thou art my God. Falsehood and death are not in thy mouth: 10 For thy will is perfection; and vanity thou knowest not, 11 Nor does it know thee. 12 And error thou knowest not, 13 Neither does it know thee. 14 And ignorance appeared like a blind man; and like the foam of the sea, 15 And they supposed of that vain thing that it was something great; 16 And they too came in likeness of it and became vain; and those have understood who have known and meditated; 17 And they have not been corrupt in their imagination; for such were in the mind of the Lord; 18 And they mocked at them that were walking in error; 19 And they spake truth from the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them; Praise and great comeliness to His name. Hallelujah.

Ode 19.

1 A cup of milk was offered to me: and I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord. 2 The Son is the cup and He who was milked is the Father: 3 And the Holy Spirit milked Him: because His breasts were full, and it was necessary for Him that His milk should be sufficiently released; 4 And the Holy Spirit opened His bosom and mingled the milk from the two breasts of the Father and gave the mixture to the world without their knowing: 5 And they who receive in its fulness are the ones on the right hand. 6 The Spirit opened the womb of the Virgin and she received conception and brought forth; and the Virgin became a Mother with many mercies; 7

And she travailed and brought forth a Son, without incurring pain; 8 And because she was not sufficiently prepared, and she had not sought a midwife (for He brought her to bear) she brought forth, as if she were a man, of her own will; 9 And she brought Him forth openly, and acquired Him with great dignity, 10 And loved Him in His swaddling clothes and guarded Him kindly, and showed Him in Majesty. Hallelujah.

Ode 20.

1 I am a priest of the Lord, and to Him I do priestly service: and to Him I offer the sacrifice of His thought. 2 For His thought is not like the thought of the world nor the thought of the flesh, nor like them that serve carnally. 3 The sacrifice of the Lord is righteousness, and purity of heart and lips. 4 Present your reins before Him blamelessly: and let not thy heart do violence to heart, nor thy soul to soul. 5 Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by the price of thy silver neither shalt thou seek to devour thy neighbour, 6 Neither shalt thou deprive him of the covering of his nakedness. 7 But put on the grace of the Lord without stint; and come into His Paradise and make thee a garland from its tree, 8 And put it on thy head and be glad; and recline on His rest, and glory shall go before thee, 9 And thou shalt receive of His kindness and of His grace; and thou shalt be flourishing in truth in the praise of His holiness. Praise and honour be to His name. Hallelujah.

Ode 21.

1 My arms I lifted up to the Most High, even to the grace of the Lord: because He had cast off my bonds from me: and my Helper had lifted me up to His grace and to His salvation: 2 And I put off darkness and clothed myself with light, 3 And my soul acquired a body free from sorrow or affliction or pains 4 And increasingly helpful to me was the thought of the Lord, and His fellowship in incorruption: 5 And I was lifted up in His light; and I served before Him, 6 And I became near to Him, praising and confessing Him; 7 My heart ran over and was found in my mouth: and it arose upon my lips; and the exultation of the Lord increased on my face, and His praise likewise. Hallelujah.

Ode 22.

1 He who brought me down from on high, also brought me up from the regions below; 2 And He who gathers together the things that are betwixt is He also who cast

me down: 3 He who scattered my enemies had existed from ancient and my adversaries: 4 He who gave me authority over bonds that I might loose them; 5 He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads: and thou hast set me over his roots that I might destroy his seed. 6 Thou wast there and didst help me, and in every place thy name was a rampart to me. 7 Thy right hand destroyed his Wicked poison; and thy hand leveled the way for those who believe in thee. 8 And thou didst choose them from the graves and didst separate them from the dead. 9 Thou didst take dead bones and didst cover them with bodies. 10 They were motionless, and thou didst give them energy for life. 11 Thy way was without corruption and thy face; thou didst bring thy world to corruption: that everything might be dissolved, and then renewed, 12 And that the foundation for everything might be thy rock: and on it thou didst build thy kingdom; and it became the dwelling place of the saints. Hallelujah.

Ode 23.

1. The reference to the sealed document sent by God is one of the great mysteries of the collection. 1 Joy is of the saints! and who shall put it on, but they alone? 2 Grace is of the elect! and who shall receive it except those who trust in it from the beginning? 3 Love is of the elect? And who shall put it on except those who have possessed it from the beginning? 4 Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High without grudging: to His exultation and to the perfection of His knowledge. 5 And His thought was like a letter; His will descended from on high, and it was sent like an arrow which is violently from the bow: 6 And many hands rushed to the letter to seize it and to take and read it: 7 And it escaped their fingers and they were affrighted at it and at the seal that was upon it. 8 Because it was not permitted to them to loose its seal: for the power that was over the seal was greater than they. 9 But those who saw it went after the letter that they might know where it would alight, and who should read it and who should hear it. 10 But a wheel received it and came over it: 11 And there was with it a sign of the Kingdom and of the Government: 12 And everything which tried to move the wheel it mowed and cut down: 13 And it gathered the multitude of adversaries, and bridged the rivers and crossed over and rooted up many forests and made a broad path. 14 The head went down to the feet for down to the feet ran the wheel, and that which was a sign upon it. 15 The letter was one of command, for there were included in it all districts; 16 And there was seen at its head, the head which was revealed even the Son of Truth from the Most High Father, 17 And He inherited and took possession of everything. And the thought of many was

brought to nought. 18 And all the apostates hasted and fled away. And those who persecuted and were enraged became extinct, 19 And the letter was a great volume, which was wholly written by the finger of God: 20 And the name of the Father was on it and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

Ode 24.

1 The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head; and she sang over Him and her voice was heard: 2 And the inhabitants were afraid and the sojourners were moved: 3 The birds dropped their wings and all creeping things died in their holes: and the abysses were opened which had been hidden; and they cried to the Lord like women in travail: 4 And no food was given to them, because it did not belong to them; 5 And they sealed up the abysses with the seal of the Lord. And they perished, in the thought those that had existed from ancient times; 6 For they were corrupt from the beginning; and the end of their corruption was life: 7 And every one of them that was imperfect perished: for it was not possible to give them a word that they might remain: 8 And the Lord destroyed the imaginations of all them that had not the truth with them. 9 For they who in their hearts were lifted up were deficient in wisdom and so they were rejected, because the truth was not with them. 10 For the Lord disclosed His way and spread abroad His grace: and those who understood it, know His holiness. Hallelujah.

Ode 25.

1. I was rescued from my bonds and unto thee, my God, I fled: 2 For thou art the right hand of my Salvation and my helper. 3 Thou hast restrained those that rise up against me, 4 And I shall see him no more: because thy face was with me, which saved me by thy grace. 5 But I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many: and I was in their eyes like lead, 6 And strength was mine from thyself and help. 7 Thou didst set me a lamp at my right hand and at my left: and in me there shall be nothing that is not bright: 8 And I was clothed with the covering of thy Spirit, and thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin; 9 For thy right hand lifted me up and removed sickness from me: 10 And I became mighty in the truth, and holy by thy righteousness; and all my adversaries were afraid of me; 11 And I became admirable by the name of the Lord, and I was justified by His gentleness, and His rest is for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

Ode 26.

1. I poured out praise to the Lord, for I am His: 2 And I will speak His holy song for my heart is with Him. 3 For His harp is in my hands, and the Odes of His rest shall not be silent. 4 I will cry unto him from my whole heart: I will praise and exalt Him with all my members. 5 For from the east and even to the west is His praise: 6 And from the south and even to the north is the confession of Him: 7 And from the top of the hills to their utmost bound is His perfection. 8 Who can write the Psalms of the Lord, or who read them? 9 Or who can train his soul for life that his soul may be saved, 10 Or who can rest on the Most High, so that with His mouth he may speak? 11 Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord? 12 For he who could interpret would be dissolved and would become that which is interpreted. 13 For it suffices to know and to rest: for in rest the singers stand, 14 Like a river which has an abundant fountain, and flows to the help of them that seek it. Hallelujah.

Ode 27.

1. I stretched out my hands and sanctified my Lord: 2 For the extension of my hands is His sign: 3 And my expansion is the upright tree [or cross].

Ode 28.

1 As the wings of doves over their nestlings; and the mouth of their nestlings towards their mouths, 2 So also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart: 3 My heart is delighted and exults: like the babe who exults in the womb of his mother: 4 I believed; therefore I was at rest; for faithful is He in whom I have believed: 5 He has richly blessed me and my head is with Him: and the sword shall not divide me from Him, nor the scimitar; 6 For I am ready before destruction comes; and I have been set on His immortal pinions: 7 And He showed me His sign: forth and given me to drink, and from that life is the spirit within me and it cannot die, for it lives. 8 They who saw me marveled at me, because I was persecuted, and they supposed that I was swallowed up: for I seemed to them as one of the lost; 9 And my oppression became my salvation; and I was their reprobation because there was no seal in me; 10 Because I did good to every man I was hated, 11 And they came round me like mad dogs, who ignorantly attack their masters, 12 For their thought is corrupt and their understanding perverted. 13 But I was carrying water in my right hand and their bitterness I endured by my sweetness: 14 And I did not perish, for I was not their

brother nor was my birth like theirs. 15 And they sought for my death and did not find it: for I was older than the memorial of them; 16 And vainly did they make attack upon me and those who, without reward, came after me: 17 They sought to destroy the memorial of him who was before them. 18 For the thought of the Most High cannot be anticipated; and His heart is superior to all wisdom. Hallelujah.

Ode 29.

1. The Lord is my hope: in Him I shall not be confounded. 2 For according to His praise He made me, and according to His goodness even so He gave unto me: 3 And according to His mercies He exalted me: and according to His excellent beauty He set me on high: 4 And brought me up out of the depths of Sheol: and from the mouth of death He drew me: 5 And thou didst lay my enemies low and He justified me by His grace. 6 For I believed in the Lord's Messiah: and it appeared to me that He is the Lord; 7 And He showed him His sign: and He led, me by His light, and gave me the rod of His power 8 That I might subdue the imaginations of the peoples; and the power of the men of might to bring them low: 9 To make war by His word, and to take victory by His power. 10 And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His word: and he became like the stubble which the wind carries away; 11 And I gave praise to the Most High because He exalted me His servant and the son of His handmaid. Hallelujah.

Ode 30.

1 Fill ye waters for yourselves from the living fountain, of the Lord, for it is opened to you: 2 And come all ye thirsty and take the draught; and rest by the fountain of the Lord. 3 For fair it is and pure and gives rest to the soul, Much more pleasant are its waters than honey; 4 And the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it. 5 For it flows forth from the lips of the Lord and from the heart of the Lord is its name. 6 And it came infinitely and invisibly: and until it was set in the midst they did not know it: 7 Blessed are they who have drunk therefrom and have found rest thereby. Hallelujah.

Ode 31.

1 The abysses were dissolved before the Lord: and darkness was destroyed by His appearance: 2 Error went astray and perished at His hand: and folly found no path to walk in, and was submerged by the truth of the Lord. 3 He opened His mouth and spake grace and joy: and He spake a new song of praise to His name: 4 And He

lifted up His voice to the Most High and offered the sons that were with Him. 5 And His face was justified, for thus His holy Father had given to Him. 6 Come forth, ye that have been afflicted and receive joy, and possess your souls by His grace; and take to you immortal life. 7 And they made me a debtor when I rose up, me who had been a debtor: and they divided my spoil, though nothing was due to them. 8 But I endured and held my peace and was silent as if not moved by them. 9 But I stood unshaken like a firm rock which is beaten by the waves and endures. 10 An I bore their bitterness for humility's sake: 11 In order, that I might redeem my people, and inherit it and that I might not make void my promises to the fathers to whom I promised the salvation of their seed. Hallelujah.

Ode 32.

1 To the blessed there is joy from their hearts, and light from Him that dwells in them: 2 And words from the Truth, who was self-originate: for He is strengthened by the holy power of the Most High: and He is unperturbed for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

Ode 33.

1 Again Grace ran and forsook corruption, and came down in Him to bring it to nought; 2 And He destroyed perdition from before Him, and devastated all its order; 3 And He stood on a lofty summit and uttered His voice from one end of the earth to the other: 4 And drew to Him all those who obeyed Him; and there did not appear as it were an evil person. 5 But there stood a perfect virgin who was proclaiming and calling and saying, 6 O ye sons of men, return ye, and ye daughters of men, come ye: 7 And forsake the ways of that corruption and draw near unto me, and I will enter into you, and will bring you forth from perdition, 8 And make you wise in the ways of truth: that you be not destroyed nor perish: 9 Hear ye me and be redeemed. For the grace of God I am telling among you: and by my means you shall be redeemed and become blessed. 10 I am your judge; and they who have put me on shall not be injured: but they shall possess the new world that is incorrupt: 11 My chosen ones walk in me, and my ways I will make known to them that seek me, and I will make them trust in my name. Hallelujah.

Ode 34.

1 No way is hard where there is a simple heart. 2 Nor is there any wound where the thoughts are upright: 3 Nor is there any storm in the depth of the illuminated thought:

4 Where one is surrounded on every side by beauty, there is nothing that is divided. 5 The likeness of what is below is that which is above; for everything is above: what is below is nothing but the imagination of those that are without knowledge. 6 Grace has been revealed for your salvation. Believe and live and be saved. Hallelujah.

Ode 35.

1 The dew of the Lord in quietness He distilled upon me: 2 And the cloud of peace He caused to rise over my head, which guarded me continually; 3 It was to me for salvation: everything was shaken and they were affrighted; 4 And there came forth from them a smoke and a judgment; and I was keeping quiet in the order of the Lord: 5 More than shelter was He to me and more than foundation. 6 And I was carried like a child by mother: and He gave me milk, the dew of the Lord: 7 And I grew great by His bounty, and rested in His perfection, 8 And I spread out my hands in the lifting up of my soul: and I was made right with the Most High and I was redeemed with Him. Hallelujah.

Ode 36.

1 I rested in the Spirit of the Lord: and the Spirit raised me on high: 2 And made me stand on my feet in the height of the Lord, before His perfection and His glory, while I was praising Him by the composition of His songs. 3 The Spirit brought me forth before the face of the Lord: and, although a son of man, I was named the Illuminate, the Son of God: 4 While I praised amongst the praising ones, and great was I amongst the mighty ones. 5 For according to the greatness of the Most High, so He made me: and like His own newness He renewed me; and He anointed me from His own perfection: 6 And I became one of His Neighbours; and my mouth was opened; like a cloud of dew; 7 And my heart poured out as it were a gushing stream of righteousness, 8 And my access to Him was in peace; and I was established by the Spirit of His government. Hallelujah.

Ode 37.

1 I stretched out my hands to my Lord: and to the Most High I raised my voice: 2 And I spake with the lips of my heart; and He heard me when my voice reached Him: 3 His answer came to me and gave me the fruits of my labours; 4 And it gave me rest by the grace of the Lord. Hallelujah.

Ode 38.

1 I went up to the light of truth as if into a chariot: 2 And the Truth took me and led me: and carried me across pits and gulleys; and from the rocks and the waves it preserved me: 3 And it became to me a haven of Salvation: and set me on the arms of immortal life: 4 And it went with me and made me rest, and suffered me not to wander because it was the Truth. 5 And I ran no risk, because I walked with Him; 5 And I did not make an error 4 anything because I obeyed the Truth. 7 For Error flees away from it and meets it not: but the Truth proceeds in the right path, and 8 What ever I did not know, it made clear to me, all the poisons of error, and the plagues of death which they think to be sweetness: 9 And I saw the destroyer of destruction, when the bride who is corrupted is adorned: and the bridgegroom who corrupts and is corrupted; 10 And I asked the Truth, 'Who are these?'; and He said to me, 'This is the deceiver and the error: 11 And they are alike in the beloved and in his bride: and they lead astray and corrupt the whole world: 12 And they invite many to the banquet, 13 And give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication, and remove their wisdom and knowledge, and so they make them without intelligence; 14 And then they leave them; and then these go about like madmen corrupting: seeing that they are with out heart, nor do they seek for it.' 15 And I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the deceiver; and I congratulated myself because the Truth went with me, 16 And I was established and lived and was redeemed, 17 And my foundations were laid on the hand of the Lord: because He established me. 18 For He set the root and watered it and fixed it and blessed it; and its fruits are for ever. 19 It struck deep and sprung up and spread out and was full and enlarged; 20 And the Lord alone was glorified in His planting and in His husbandry: by His care and by the blessing of His lips, 21 By the beautiful planting of His right hand: and by the discovery of His planting, and by the thought of His mind. Hallelujah.

Ode 39.

1 Great rivers are the power of the Lord: 2 And they carry headlong those who despise Him: and entangle their paths: 3 And they sweep away their fords, and catch their bodies and destroy their lives. 4 For they are more swift than lightning and more rapid, and those who cross them in faith are not moved; 5 And those who walk on them without blemish shall not be afraid. 6 For the sign in them is the Lord; and the sign is the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord; 7 Put on, therefore the name of the Most High, and know Him and you shall cross without danger, for the

rivers will be subject to you. 8 The Lord has bridged them by His word; and He walked and crossed them on foot: 9 And His footsteps stand firm on the water, and are not injured; they are as firm as a tree that is truly set up. 10 And the waves were lifted up on this side and on that, but the footsteps of our Lord Messiah stand firm and are not obliterated and are not defaced. 11 And a way has been appointed for those who cross after Him and for those who adhere to the course of faith in Him and worship His name. Hallelujah.

Ode 40.

1 As the honey distills from the comb of the bees, 2 And the milk flows from the woman that loves her children; 3 So also is my hope on Thee, my God. 4 As the fountain gushes out its water. 5 So my heart gushes out the praise of the Lord and my lips utter praise to Him, and my tongue His psalms, 6 And my face exults with His gladness and my spirit exults in His love and my soul shines in Him: 7 And reverence confides in Him; and redemption in Him stands assured: 8 And His inheritance is immortal life, and those who participate in it are incorrupt. Hallelujah.

Ode 41.

1 All the Lord's children will praise Him, and will collect the truth of His faith. 2 And His children shall be known to Him. Therefore we will sing in His love: 3 We live in the Lord by His grace: and life we receive in His Messiah: 4 For a great day has shined upon us: and marvellous is He who has given us of His glory. 5 Let us, therefore all of us unite together in the name of the Lord, and let us honour Him in His goodness, 6 And let our faces shine in His light: and let our hearts meditate in His love by night and by day. 7 Let us exult with the joy of the Lord. 8 All those will be astonished that see me, For from another race am I; 9 For the Father of truth remembered me: He who possessed me from the beginning: 10 For His bounty begat me, and the thought of His heart: 11 And His Word is with us in all our way; 12 The Saviour who makes alive and does not reject our souls; 13 The man who was humbled, and exalted by His own righteousness, 14 The Son of the Most High appeared in the perfection of His Father; 15 And light dawned from the Word that was beforetime in Him;. 16 The Messiah is truly one; and He was known before the foundation of the world, 17 That He might save souls forever by the truth of His name: a new song arises from those who love Him. Hallelujah.

Ode 42.

1 I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord: 2 For the stretching of my hands is His sign: 2 My expansion is the outspread tree which was set up on the way of the Righteous One. 4 And I became of no account to those who did not take hold of me and I shall be with those who love me. 5 All my persecutors are dead; and they sought after me who hoped in me, because I was alive: 6 And I rose up and am with them; and I will speak by their mouths. 7 For they have despised those who persecuted them; 8 And I lifted up over them the yoke of my love; 9 Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride, 10 So was my yoke over those that know me: 11 And as the couch that is spread in the house of the bridegroom and bride, 12 So is my love over those that believe in me. 13 And I was not rejected though I was reckoned to be so. 14 I did not perish, though they devised it against me. 13 Sheol saw me and was made miserable: 16 Death cast me up and many along with me. 17 I had gall and bitterness, and I went down with him to the utmost of his depth: 18 And the feet and the head he let go, for they were not able to endure my face: 19 And I made a congregation of living men amongst his dead men, and I spake with them by living lips: 20 Because my word shall not be void: 21 And those who had died ran towards me: and they cried and said, Son of God, have pity on us, and do with us according to thy kindness. 22 And bring us out from the bonds of darkness: and open to us the door by which we shall come out to thee. 23 For we see that our death has not touched thee. 24 Let us also be redeemed with thee: for thou art our Redeemer. 25 And I heard their voice; and my name I sealed upon their heads: 26 For they are free men and they are mine. Hallelujah.

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R. H. CHARLES

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APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC

CHAPTERS I.–LXXVII. FROM THE SIXTH CENT. MS. IN THE AMBROSIAN LIBRARY OF MILAN

AND

CHAPTERS LXXVIII.–LXXXVII.—THE EPISTLE OF BARUCH FROM A NEW AND CRITICAL TEXT BASED ON TEN MSS. AND PUBLISHED HEREWITH

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES

BY

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TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, AND EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD

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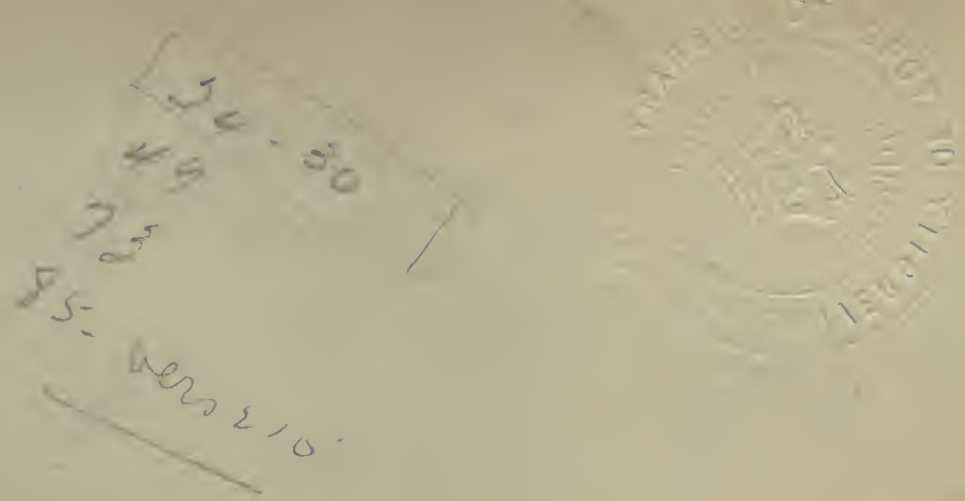

TO

MY WIFE

PREFACE

THE Apocalypse of Baruch is a composite work written in the latter half of the first century of the Christian era. It is thus contemporaneous with the chief writings of the New Testament. Its authors were orthodox Jews, and it is a good representative of the Judaism against which the Pauline dialectic was directed.

In this Apocalypse we have almost the last noble utterance of Judaism before it plunged into the dark and oppressive years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. For ages after that epoch its people seem to have been bereft of their immemorial gifts of song and eloquence, and to have had thought and energy only for the study and expansion of the traditions of the Fathers. But when our book was written, that evil and barren era had not yet set in; breathing thought and burning word had still their home in Palestine, and the hand of the Jewish artist was still master of its ancient cunning.

And yet the intrinsic beauty of this book must to a great degree fail to strike the casual reader. Indeed,

it could hardly be otherwise. For the present English version is a translation of the Syriac; the Syriac was a translation of the Greek, and the Greek in turn a translation from the Hebrew original. In each translation we may feel assured the original work was shorn in large and growing measure of its ancient vigour, and this is certainly the case in the version now before the reader. For the translator, having the interests of scholars before his eyes, has made it his aim to give a literal reproduction of the Syriac. And yet, even so, much of its native eloquence has survived, so that to be prized it needs only to be known, and our appreciation of its beauty, its tragic power and worth, must grow in the measure of our acquaintance with it.

The Apocalypse of Baruch has had a strange history. Written by Pharisaic Jews as an apology for Judaism, and in part an implicit polemic against Christianity, it gained nevertheless a larger circulation amongst Christians than amongst Jews, and owed its very preservation to the scholarly cares of the Church it assailed. But in the struggle for life its secret animus against Christianity begat an instinctive opposition in Christian circles, and so proved a bar to its popularity. Thus the place it would naturally have filled was taken by the sister work, 4 Ezra. This latter work having been written in some degree under Christian influences, and forming, in fact, an unconscious confession of the failure of Judaism to redeem the world, was naturally more acceptable to Christian readers,

and thus, in due course, the Apocalypse of Baruch was elbowed out of recognition by its fitter and sturdier rival.

In this edition of Baruch — which is also the *editio princeps*—no pains have been spared as regards the criticism and emendation of the text, its interpretation, and the determination of its various sources.

As regards the text, the facts are briefly as follows: The first seventy-seven chapters, as appears on the title-page, are found only in one MS., namely, *c*. For the concluding nine chapters—the Epistle of Baruch —I have made use of *c* and nine other MSS. Of these I have collated eight—several of these for the first time. Through the kindness of the publishers I have been enabled to print on pp. 125-167 a critical text of this Epistle based on those MSS. As Ceriani and Lagarde contented themselves each with reproducing a single unamended MS., scholars will, I think, be grateful for this attempt to grapple with all the Syriac MSS. available. By this comparative study of *c* and the remaining nine MSS. in the chapters common to both, I have been able to ascertain the value of *c* in the chapters in which *c* stands alone. The trustworthiness of the MS. *c*, which we have thus established, is further confirmed by a Greek work, which borrows largely from our Apocalypse, the Rest of the Words of Baruch.

There are, of course, corruptions in the text. Some of these that are native to the Syriac have been

removed by Ceriani, others by the editor; others are provisionally emended, or else reproduced in the English translation. But many still remain. Of these some are manifestly peculiar to the Greek, and have been dealt with accordingly. But the rest are not so, and are, in fact, incapable of explanation save on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original. To this hypothesis, which marks a new departure in the criticism of this book, I have been irresistibly led in the course of my study. In many passages I have by its means been able to reduce chaos to order. For details the reader should consult the Introduction, pp. xliv.-liii.

The interpretation of this book has been the severest task as yet undertaken by the editor. Insuperable difficulties confronted on every side, till at last he awoke to the fact that these were due to plurality of authorship. When once this fact was recognised and the various sources determined, the task of interpretation was materially lightened, and the value of the work for New Testament and Jewish scholars became every day more manifest. As my studies in this direction began in 1891, my conclusions are, save in a few cases, the result of long study and slowly matured conviction.

A special study of the relations subsisting between this Apocalypse and 4 Ezra will be found on pp. lxvii.-lxxvi., where it is shown that whereas 4 Ezra is in many respects non-Jewish, our Apocalypse is a faithful exponent of the orthodox Judaism of the

time. To this subject I may return in an edition of the former work.

Scholars are at last coming to recognise that the study of the literature to which this book belongs is indispensable for the interpretation of the New Testament. Thus Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam write in their recent work on the Epistle to the Romans (p. vii.): "*It is by a continuous and careful study of such works that any advance in the exegesis of the New Testament will be possible.*"

My knowledge of Talmudic literature, so far as it appears in this book, is derived from Weber's *Lehren des Talmuds,* Edersheim's *Life and Times,* etc., Wunsche's translations of the various treatises of the Babylonian Talmud, Schwab's French translation of the Jerusalem Talmud, and in passages where translations were wanting, I had the ready help of Dr. Neubauer.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Buchanan Gray, for his revision of my proofs of the Hebrew original of Baruch.

17 Bradmore Road, Oxford,
September 1896.

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tiated from each other by many characteristics. B^1 is the earliest—soon after 70 A.D., and B^3 is probably the latest. B^1=i.-ix. 1; xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6; lxxvii.-lxxxii.; lxxxiv.; lxxxvi.-lxxxvii. B^2=xiii.-xxv.; xxx. 2-xxxv.; xli.-xlii.; xliv. 8-15; xlvii.-lii.; lxxv.-lxxvi.; lxxxiii. B^3=lxxxv. x. 6-xii. 4, which I have called S, is probably from a source distinct from the rest (pp. lviii.-lxv.)—§ 8. The lost Epistle to the two and a half Tribes, on many grounds is probably identical with, or is the source of the Greek Baruch iii. 9-iv. 29 (pp. lxv.-lxvii.)—§ 9. The Relations of our Apocalypse with 4 Ezra. (*a*) The composite nature of 4 Ezra. (*b*) Conflicting characteristics of 4 Ezra and Baruch, the former to some extent non-Jewish in its teaching on the Law, Works, Justification, Original Sin and Freewill. (*c*) 4 Ezra from a Hebrew Original. (*d*) Relations of the respective Constituents of our Apocalypse and 4 Ezra. A^1 is older than E of 4 Ezra, and both A^1 and A^2 than M. B^1 older than E^2, and both B^1 and B^2 than S (pp. lxvii.-lxxvi.)—§ 10. Relation of this Apocalypse to the New Testament. Bulk of parallels in these books can be explained as being drawn independently from pre-existing literature, or as being commonplaces of the time; but others may point to dependence of Baruch on the New Testament (pp. lxxvi.-lxxix.)—§ 11. Value of our Apocalypse in the Attestation of the Jewish Theology of 50-100 A.D., and in the Interpretation of Christian Theology for the same Period: The Resurrection, Original Sin and Freewill, Works and Justification, Forgiveness (pp. lxxix.-lxxxiv.)

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book

This beautiful Apocalypse, with the exception of nine chapters towards its close,[1] was lost sight of for quite 1200 years.

Written originally in Hebrew, it was early translated into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac. Of the Hebrew original every line has perished save a few still surviving in rabbinic writings. Of the Greek Version nothing has come down to us directly, though portions of it are preserved in the Rest of the Words of Baruch, a Greek work of the second century, and in a late Apocalypse of Baruch recently discovered in Greek and in Slavonic. Happily, the Syriac has been preserved almost in its entirety in a sixth century MS., the discovery of which we owe to the distinguished Italian scholar Ceriani. Of this MS., Ceriani published a Latin translation in 1866, the Syriac text in 1871, and the photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883. Though

[1] These chapters under the title "The Epistle of Baruch," or a similar one, were incorporated in the later Syriac Bible.

there are no adequate grounds for assuming a Latin Version, it is demonstrable that our Apocalypse was the foundation of a Latin Apocalypse of Baruch, a fragment of which is preserved in Cyprian.

The Apocalypse of Baruch belongs to the first century of our era. It is a composite work put together about the close of the century, from at least five or six independent writings. These writings belong to various dates between 50 and 90 A.D., and are thus contemporaneous with the chief New Testament writings. It is this fact that constitutes the chief value of the work. We have here contemporaneous records of the Jewish doctrines and beliefs, and of the arguments which prevailed in Judaism in the latter half of the first century, and with which its leaders sought to uphold its declining faith and confront the attacks of a growing and aggressive Christianity.

Over against many of the Pauline solutions of the religious problems of the day, Jewish answers are here propounded which are frequently antagonistic in the extreme. It was this hidden hostility to Christianity that no doubt brought it into discredit. As early as the sixth century it seems to have passed out of circulation.

§ 2. Other Books of Baruch

In addition to our Apocalypse, a considerable literature arose and circulated under Baruch's name, some-

time before and after the Christian era. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to touch briefly on the different books belonging to it.

1. The Apocryphal Baruch in the LXX.—This book falls clearly into two parts—i.-iii. 8 being the first part, and iii. 9-v. constituting the second. The first part was originally written in Hebrew, the second is generally held to be of Greek origin, but this is doubtful. The first part of the book is said by Ewald and Marshall to have been composed three centuries before the Christian era, by Fritzsche and Schrader in the Maccabean period, by Kneucker and Schürer after 70 A.D. Most writers agree in assigning the second half of the book to the last-mentioned date. The second half, however, may also be composite. Thus Professor Marshall differentiates iii. 9-iv. 4 from iv. 5-v. 9, and regards the former as originally written in Aramaic, and the latter in Greek. The chief authorities on this book are Fritzsche, *Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*, part i., pp. 165-202, 1851; Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, 1879; Gifford, *Speaker's Commentary, Apocrypha*, ii. 241-286, 1888. On the probability that i. 1-3; iii. 9-iv. 29 of this book are a recast of a lost portion of our Apocalypse, *i.e.* "the Letter to the two and a half Tribes," see § 8, pp. lxv.-lxvii. There is no verbal borrowing between our Apocalypse and and the Greek Baruch, but in the following passages there is a similarity of diction or of thought or of both. This list could be enlarged.

Apoc. of Baruch.	Book of Baruch.
i. 1 (mention of Jeconiah).	i. 3.
x. 16.	iv. 10, 14.
lix. 7.	iii. 12.
lxxvii. 10.	ii. 26.
lxxviii. 7.	iv. 36, 37 (v. 5, 6).
lxxix. 2.	i. 17, 18.
lxxx. 5.	ii. 13.
lxxxiv. 2-5.	i. 19 ; ii. 2.
lxxxvi. 1, 2.	i. 14.

2. The Rest of the Words of Baruch.—This book was written in Greek in the second century of our era. It seems in parts to be a Jewish work recast. The Greek text was first printed at Venice in 1609, next by Ceriani in 1868 under the title " Paralipomena Jeremiae" in his *Monumenta Sacra*, v. 11-18, and recently it has been critically edited by Rendel Harris in 1889. This book exists also in the Ethiopic Bible. The Ethiopic Version was edited from three MSS. by Dillmann in his *Chrestomathia aethiopica* in 1866. As these MSS. are inferior, and as no attempt was made by Dillmann to revise his text by means of the Greek, the present writer hopes in due time to edit a critical text from eleven Ethiopic MSS., accompanied with translation and notes. In this edition account will be taken of all the important variations of the Greek text.

This book is deeply indebted to our Apocalypse and attests the accuracy of the Syriac text in the following passages :—

Apoc. Bar.	Rest of the Words.
ii. 1.	i. 1, 3, 7.
ii. 2.	ii. 2.
v. 1.	i. 5 ; ii. 7 ; iii. 6 ; iv. 7.
vi. 1.	iv. 1.
vi. 4, 5, 6, 8, 10.	iii. 2, 5, 8, 14.
viii. 2, 5.	iv. 1, 2, 3, 4.
x. 2, 5, 6, 7, 18.	iv. 3, 4, 6, 9.
xi. 4, 5.	iv. 9.
xxxv. 2.	ii. 4.
lxxvii. 21, 23, 26.	vii. 3, 10, 12.
lxxx. 3.	i. 5 ; iv. 7.
lxxxv. 2.	ii. 3.
lxxxv. 11.	vi. 3.
lxxxvii.	vii. 8, 30.

3. The Gnostic book of Baruch.—Of this book large fragments are found in the *Philosophumena of Hippolytus*, v. 24-27. But these fragments are wholly out of relation with the remaining literature of Baruch.

4. A Latin book of Baruch is quoted in one MS. of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, iii. 29. As this book is clearly based on our Apocalypse, I will give the passage in full. Item in Baruch: "Veniet enim tempus, et quaeretis me et vos et qui post vos venerint, audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus, et non invenietis" (cf. Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 36). "Nationes autem cupient videre sapientem praedicantem, et non obtinget eis: non quia deerit aut deficiet sapientia hujus saeculi terrae, sed neque deerit sermo legis saeculo. Erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis et quietis" (cf. Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 33), "sibi confabulantes et in cordibus suis meditantes

quoniam quidam eos horrebunt et timebunt ut malos. Alii autem nec credunt verbo legis Altissimi: alii autem ore stupentes non credent et credentibus erunt contrarii et impedientes spiritum veritatis. Alii autem erunt sapientes ad spiritum erroris et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis edicta" (cf. Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 34; lxx. 5; observe also that the titles of God here are characteristic of our Apoc., see vii. 1, note; xxi. 3, note). "Alii autem personales fidei. Alii capaces et fortes in fide Altissimi et odibiles alieno."

In 5 Ezra xvi. 64, 65 (which James ascribes to the third century) we have a clear use of our text. Thus: "Certe Hic novit . . . quae cogitatis in cordibus vestris. Vae peccantibus et volentibus occultare peccata sua: propter quod Dominus scrutinando scrutinabit omnia opera eorum et traducet vos omnes," is based on lxxxiii. 3, which = "Et scrutinando scrutinabit cogitationes arcanas et quidquid in penetralibus omnium hominis membrorum positum est et in apertum coram omnibus cum increpatione educet." We should observe that not only is the thought of the two passages the same, but that the actual diction is borrowed, *i.e.* the Hebraism "scrutinando scrutinabit" and "traducet," which = "in apertum cum increpatione educet" (cf. also "quae cogitatis in cordibus" with "cogitationes arcanas").

5. The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, or, as Mr. James names it, *Apocalypsis Baruch Tertia*.—This book belongs to the second century, for, on the one hand, it is based largely on the Slavonic Enoch, and on

the other, it is mentioned by Origen, *de Princip.* ii. 3. 6 : "Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis hujus testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis vel caelis evidentius indicatur." This Greek Apocalypse of Baruch was discovered some years ago by Mr. James in a British Museum MS. Through his kindness I have been permitted to examine his copy of this MS. His edition of the text will, we believe, shortly appear. The Slavonic Version of this book has been known for some time, and was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii. pp. 205-209, 1886, by Novakovic. A German translation, preceded by a helpful introduction by Professor Bonwetsch, appeared this year in the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1886, Heft i. An English translation will shortly appear by Mr. Morfill in Mr. James's Cambridge edition. The Slavonic is less trustworthy and full than the Greek. This Greek is dependent in certain respects on the Rest of the Words of Baruch, and is thus of service in determining the date of the latter. With our Apocalypse it has only one or two points of contact. Thus with vi. 2, "I was grieving over Zion and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon the people," compare the opening words of the Greek Apocalypse, Ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ, ὃς ἔστη . . . κλαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἱερουσαλήμ: and with x. 5, "I, Baruch, . . . sat before the gates of the temple and I lamented with that lamentation over Zion," and xxxv. 1, "And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat

down upon the ruins and wept," compare the words already quoted together with *καὶ οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πόλας, ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια.* Perhaps liv. 8-9, "Even so I could not give Thee the meed of praise, or laud Thee as is befitting. . . . For what am I amongst men . . . that I should have heard all those marvellous things from the Most High?" may be the source of the following words towards the close of the Greek Apocalypse—*δόξαν ἔφερον τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἀξιώσαντί με τοιούτου ἀξιώματος.*

6. Finally, another book of Baruch, distinct from the above, and belonging to the fourth or fifth century of our era, is mentioned in the *Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani*, published by Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. 1, Heft 3, 1883). In this work Theophilus makes the following quotation from the book of Baruch: "Quomodo ergo prope finem libri sui de nativitate ejus et de habitu vestis et de passione ejus et de resurrectione ejus prophetavit dicens: Hic unctus meus, electus meus, vulvae incontaminatae jaculatus, natus et passus dicitur."

Above all the foregoing works which circulated under Baruch's name, the Apocalypse of Baruch stands head and shoulders alike in respect of form or matter or real worth to the student of Judaism and Christianity.

§ 3. The Syriac MSS.

For chapters i.-lxxvii. of this book we have only one MS., the famous sixth-century Peshitto MS. which

was found by Ceriani in the library in Milan. For convenience we shall call this MS. *c*. In 1871 Ceriani edited the Syriac text from this MS. in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. v. Fasc. 2, pp. 113-180. Of chapters lxxviii.-lxxxvi., which constitute the Epistle of Baruch, many MSS. were known to exist, and of three of them (i.e. *a*, *b*, *d*) Ceriani made collations and inserted these in their appropriate place below the printed text of *c*. He made no attempt, however, to correct the text of *c* by their means. This task was attempted in a haphazard fashion by Fritzsche (*Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece*, 1871, pp. 690-699) in an emended edition of Ceriani's Latin translation of these chapters.

It is manifest that, if we wish to ascertain the value of *c* in those chapters in which it stands alone, *i.e.* i.-lxxvii., we can do so only by an exhaustive examination of its text in those chapters which it attests in common with *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, i.e. lxxviii.-lxxxvi., and by a determination of its critical value in respect to them. When we have discharged this task we shall know the real worth of *c* in i.-lxxvii., and familiar with its strength and its weakness shall approach with some confidence the critical problems it presents. With this end in view I have made use of all the Syriac MSS. of lxxviii.-lxxxvi. attainable. These are ten, and are as follows :—

a called A in Ceriani.

b Add. 17,105 in the Brit. Mus., Fol. 116[a]-121[a]. Sixth century.

c The Milan MS., Fol. 265^{b}-267^{b}. Sixth century.

d called *d* in Ceriani.

e No. 1 Syr. MSS., Bodley, Fol. 430-432. 1627.

f Egerton 704 Brit. Mus., Fol. 373^{a}-374^{a}. Seventeenth century.

g Add. 12,172 Brit. Mus., Fol. 192^{b}-195^{b}. Tenth or eleventh century.

h Add. 18,715 Brit. Mus., Fol. 242^{b}-244^{a}. Twelfth century.

i No. 2 Syr. MSS., Bodley, Fol. 492-493. 1614.

k No. 20 Syr. MSS., Bodley, Fol. 37-38.

All these MSS. with the exception of *k* contain the complete Epistle of Baruch. *k* has only lxxxiii. 7-lxxxiv. 1. Of the ten MSS. I have collated directly *b, e, f, g, h, i, k.* *b* had already been collated and published by Lagarde. I did it, however, afresh, and found only one important error in his work. For a knowledge of *a, d* I am indebted to Ceriani's collations. Of *c* my knowledge is derived directly from the photo-lithographic reproduction of that MS. In addition to the above MSS., I have found excerpts from the Epistle of Baruch in the three following MSS., from which I have drawn various readings.

l Add. 12,178 Brit. Mus., Fol. 111^{b}. Ninth or tenth century.

m 14,482 Brit. Mus., Fol. 47^{b}-48^{a}. Eleventh or twelfth century.

n 14,684 Brit. Mus., Fol. 24. Twelfth century.

W and P stand for the Walton and Paris Polyglots.

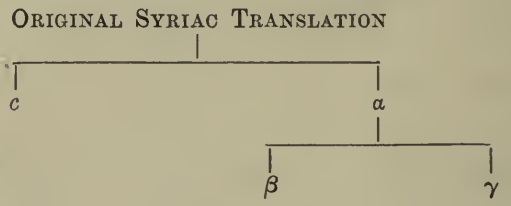
Of the foregoing MSS. *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n* represent one type of text as *c* represents another. But although the former belong to one family they are of very different values. To the more ancient and

trustworthy belong *a, b, g, h, k* to the latter and less trustworthy *d, e, f, i.* For convenience' sake we shall denote the parent of *a, b, g, h, k* by the symbol β, that of *d, e, f, i* by γ, and the ancestor of both by α. First of all we shall study the general relations of *c* to α and to the sub-groups β and γ.

c stands frequently alone alike when it is right and when it is wrong. In lxxviii. 1; lxxxi. 4; lxxxii. 7; lxxxv. 1, 7; lxxxvi. 3; lxxxvii., it is right against α, i.e. *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i;* and most probably also in lxxix. 2, 3; lxxxiii. 3, 7, 8; lxxxiv. 1, 9; lxxxv. 15. On the other hand, it is frequently wrong. Thus it attests a corrupt text against α in lxxviii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 (?); lxxx. 1, 2, 3; lxxxi. 3; lxxxii. 2 (twice), 3, 4, 5; lxxxiii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21; lxxxiv. 1, 2, 8, 10; lxxxv. 7, 8, 12, 13; lxxxvi. 1. Thus we see that whereas *c* independently preserves the true text in many passages, α preserves it in thrice as many.

Again, as we have already remarked, the MSS. *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k* are of very different values. Thus *a, b, g, h* agree with *c* in attesting the true text against *d, e, f, i* in lxxviii. 3, 5; lxxix. 1; lxxx. 3; lxxxi. 4; lxxxiv. 4, 6, 7, 10; lxxxv. 6, 11. In lxxxii. 1 *a, b, g, h* agree alike against *c* and *d, e, f, i.* Only in lxxxiii. 17 do *d, e, f, i* agree with *c* against *a, b, g, h.* In the above passages *k* is wanting, but where it exists it belongs as a rule to β, and agrees with α more than with any other member of this group. Thus if we represent *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k* by α, and *a, b, g, h, k*

by β, and *d*, *e*, *f*, *i* by γ, as we have already arranged, we arrive at the following genealogy :—



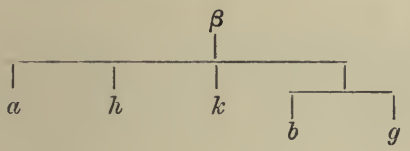
We have also seen from what precedes that *c* often agrees with β in giving the true text against γ, but *c* and γ never agree in attesting the true text against β, except perhaps in lxxxiii. 17.

l, *m*, *n*, so far as they exist, support α as against *c*, and where the attestation of α is divided they generally agree with γ against β, *i.e.* with *d*, *e*, *f*, *i* against *a*, *b*, *g*, *h*, *k*.

Having now learnt in some measure the relations of the various groups of MSS. to each other, we have still to study those of the individual MSS., so far as our materials admit. The special study of *c* we reserve till later.

Amongst *a*, *b*, *g*, *h*, *b* and *g* are closely related. They agree against all else in lxxx. 4 ; lxxxi. 3 ; lxxxii. 2, 3 ; lxxxiii. 2, 9, 11 ; lxxxv. 12 ; but this combination is generally wrong. *b* is never right when it stands alone. *a* and *h* are excellent authorities when supported by *c*. Thus *a*, *c* are right in lxxxiii. 4 ; lxxxiv. 6 ; lxxxv. 9. They agree in the wrong in lxxix. 2 ; lxxx. 7 ; lxxxv. 9. *a* agrees also with *b*, *c*, *g* against all else in lxxxv. 14, and with *c*, *h* against all in

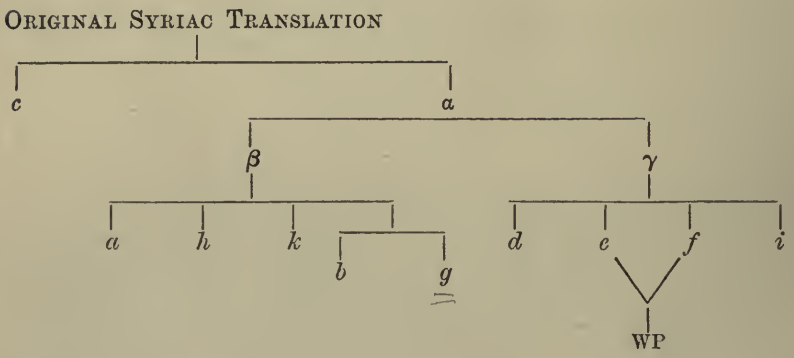
lxxxiv. 3. *h* stands alone with *c* in lxxxi. 4; lxxxiv. 4; lxxxv. 13; but the combination is untrustworthy. From these facts we infer that amongst *a*, *b*, *g*, *h*, *b* and *g* are very closely related, but that no such close relations exist between *a* and *h* or between either of these with *b*, *g*. Thus the relations of the sub-group to each other might be represented as follows:—



As regards the γ group, we have learnt above that it is quite untrustworthy when it stands alone against *c*. Yet it is upon two of the members of this group that the text of the Walton and Paris Polyglots is based.

The text of these Polyglots may be shortly described as follows. In all cases where it stands in opposition to *c*, WP follow *a* except in lxxxii. 8, lxxxv. 10, where their text is most probably due to conjecture as they here stand alone. Secondly, in cases where γ is opposed to *cβ*, WP agree with γ. Thirdly, within the group γ, WP are most closely associated with, and in all probability are based upon, *e*, *f*. For they agree with *e* against all other MSS. in lxxx. i., lxxxii. 9 in omitting "and," in lxxx. 2 in giving an impossible form, and in lxxxiii. 14 in omitting half the verse. But WP are not based on *e* alone; for though *e* omits a word in lxxxv. 5, it is given in WP. This defect of *e* was made good from

f; for we find that *f*WP stand alone in lxxx. 7. It is of no little interest to have traced the sources of the text in the Polyglots; for, as their editors have given no information on the subject, scholars have hitherto been quite in the dark in this respect. We are now in a position to give the genealogy of the MSS. dealt with above. This is as follows:—



Special Study of c.—It is now time to study the special characteristics of *c*. We have already seen that *c* has independently preserved the true text in many passages against corruptions in *α*. (A list of these passages will be found above, where also it is shown that *α* has preserved the true text much more frequently than *c*.) I have found *c* trustworthy when supported by *α* in lxxxiii. 4; lxxxiv. 6; lxxxv. 9; but not so in lxxix. 2; lxxx. 7; lxxxv. 9; or by *α*, *b*, *g* in lxxxv. 14; or by *α*, *h* in lxxxiv. 3; or by *b*, *g* in lxxxv. 1. But the character of *c* appears more clearly in its errors. Thus it is wrong (1) *through omission* in lxxx. 1, 2 (omission due here to an attempted emen-

dation); lxxxii. 2, 3; lxxxiii. 4, 5, 16, 18; lxxxiv. 1, 10; lxxxv. 4 (through homoioteleuton), 12. Cf. li. 16 and lvi. 14 for omissions of the negative. (2) *Through additions to the text* in lxxviii. 2; lxxxiii. 5; lxxxv. 8, 9, 15. (3) *Through transposition of words or letters whereby the sense is generally destroyed. Transposition of letters* in lxxxii. 4 whereby "drop" becomes "pollution"; lxxxiii. 21 where "by truth" becomes "in silence." For similar transpositions in the earlier chapters see xiv. 6; lxx. 8. *Transposition of words* in lxxxi. 3; lxxxii. 2, 3; lxxxiii. 5; lxxxiv. 8. For similar transpositions see xiv. 11; xxi. 16. (4) *Through clerical errors* in lxxviii. 3 (for a similar error see xxiv. 4), 4; lxxx. 3; lxxxii. 5; lxxxiii. 2, 3, 13, 15, 16, 19; lxxxiv. 1 (observe that there is the same erroneous pointing in lxx. 5), 3, 8; lxxxv. 12, 13. In lxxxiv. 2 we have an intentional variation. Cf. in earlier chapters li. 1.

We have now completed our study of the MSS. The knowledge which we have thus gained from our comparative criticism of *c* and the other MSS. helps to secure us against the characteristic errors of the former in the chapters where the friendly aid of the latter cannot be invoked. We can thus address ourselves with a certain degree of confidence and skill to the obscurities and corruptions that arise in these chapters. As a further result of this examination, we have come to feel that so long as we follow its guidance, we can nowhere greatly err from the sense of the Hebrew original.

Date of the Common Ancestor of c and a.—Since *c* and *b* are both of the sixth century, we find that already at that date there existed two distinctly developed types of text, both of which must have been for no brief period in existence, owing to the variety of readings already evolved. Further, though *b* belongs to the sixth century, many of its readings are decidedly later than *c* and even than *a* and *h*. In fact, *a*, *h* represent the text at an earlier period than *b*. The common parent, therefore, of *a*, *h*, and *b* was probably not later than the fifth century. Such a variety of related yet different MSS. as *a*, *b*, *g*, *h*, *k* could not well have arisen from an MS. of a later date. This being so, the common progenitor of *c* and *a* can hardly be sought later than the fourth century.

§ 4. Previous Literature on the Apocalypse of Baruch

The Syriac Text.—As we have seen in the foregoing section, we have only one MS., i.e. *c*, for chapters i.-lxxvii. For Ceriani's edition of this MS. see pp. xxii.-xxiii. Of the text of the remaining chapters, which form the Epistle of Baruch, many editions have appeared :—(1) That which is published in the Walton and Paris Polyglots. This text is, as we have shown above (pp. xxvii.-xxviii.), founded on two indifferent MSS., *e* and *f*. (2) Lagarde's edition of *b*, pp. 88-93 of his *Libri Vet. Test. Apocryphi Syriace*, 1861. This is merely *b* in a printed form, and not an edition of the Syriac text

based on the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum, as is everywhere wrongly stated both by German and English writers. Though *b* is a very old and valuable MS., we have now several MSS. at our disposal containing a more ancient text (see pp. xxvi.-xxvii.) (3) Ceriani's published text of *c*, to which he has appended collations of *a*, *b*, *d* in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. v. Fasc. 2, pp. 167-180. As we have already remarked, Ceriani has contented himself with printing the text of *c*, and has not sought to correct it by means of *a*, *b*, *d*.

Translations.—Only one translation of our Apocalypse has hitherto appeared, *i.e.* the Latin translation of Ceriani in the *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. i. Fasc. 2, pp. 73-98, 1866. This is certainly a model translation in point of style, and considering the fact that Ceriani was not a specialist in Apocalyptic literature, it is also very accurate. Not quite accurate, indeed, as Ceriani himself was aware in 1871 when he wrote—"Omisi tamen plenam revisionem meae versionis Latinae . . . quia omnino in meis occupationibus tempus me deficit, et quidquid corrigere opus erit, alii ex textu per se poterunt." Some of the errors are as follows :—In xiii. 8 we must expunge "enim est." In verses 4-5 of the same chapter we find the peculiar construction "ut . . . dic." In xv. 6 read "transgressus est" for "fecit." In xix. 1 for "te" read "vos." In xxv. 4 for "terrae" read "terram." In xxxii. 4 for "coronabitur" read "perficietur." In xl. 1 for "qui tunc" read "illius temporis." In xlix. 3 for "vestient" read

"induent." In lv. 1 expunge "ejus." In lx. 1 add "eorum" after "magiarum." In lxii. 2 add "et" before "idololatria." In lxxii. 2 for "vivificabit" read "parcet." In lxxxv. 9 for "veritatem cujuspiam" read "veritas quodpiam." In lxxxvi. 12 for "viae" read "recreationis" (= ἀνέσεως); "viae" is a rendering of *d* but not of *c*, Ceriani's text. Although Ceriani made no critical study of the text of *c*, he has nevertheless made some most felicitous emendations in x. 14; xiv. 6; li. 1; lvi. 4, 14; lx. 2; lxix. 1, 4; lxx. 8. A critical study of the text and matter would have helped him to deal with the corruptions of the Syriac in xxiv. 4; xlviii. 32; li. 16; lxvii. 2; lxx. 5; lxxii. 1, etc.

As Ceriani did not believe in a Semitic original of our Apocalypse, he was naturally unable to deal with corruptions that were not native to the Syriac Version, but had already appeared in the Hebrew text or had arisen through the misconceptions of the Greek translator.

Ceriani's Latin translation was republished by Fritzsche in his *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece*, 1871, pp. 654-679. Though Fritzsche introduces several changes into Ceriani's translation, hardly any of these can be justified. Sometimes he makes the change because he has failed to understand the text; thus in xx. 4; xxi. 9, 10, he has emended Ceriani's "investigabiles" into "ininvestigabiles"; but "investigabilis" in the Vulgate frequently means "unsearchable." The change of "omne" into "vanum" in xix. 8 is quite wanton. The Latin text also is carelessly edited;

thus for "ego" there is "ergo" in lxxxiv. 1; for "ibi" there is "tibi" in lxxxv. 13; and "opulus" for "populus" in xlviii. 24. In the critical notes on pp. 690-699 there are many confusions and mis-statements of authorities. It is needless to add that none of Ceriani's actual errors were corrected by Fritzsche, for the Syriac text had not yet been published.

Notwithstanding all these defects, every scholar who has used Fritzsche's book is rightly grateful to him for making Ceriani's translation so generally accessible.

Critical Inquiries.—Langen, *De Apocalypsi Baruch anno superiori primum edita commentatio*, Friburgi in Brisgovia, 1867. This treatise, which consists of twenty-four quarto pages, maintains that our Apocalypse was written in Greek in the reign of Trajan. Although no grounds worthy of consideration are advanced in support of a Greek original, Langen's view has been universally accepted. Only two scholars have expressed a doubt on the subject, Mr. Thomson and Professor Ryle of Cambridge. This fact in itself serves to show how inadequately hitherto this Apocalypse has been studied. In other respects, Langen's work is admirable.

Ewald, *Göttinger Gel. Anzeigen*, 1867, pp. 1706-1717, 1720; *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vii. 83-87 (English trans. vol. viii. 57-61). In a short but interesting article Ewald assigns the date of our author to the reign of Domitian. He regards 4 Ezra and this Apocalypse as the work of one and the same author.

Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 437-440; *Messias Judaeorum*, pp. 63-64. Hilgenfeld ascribes our Apocalypse to the earlier years of Vespasian, possibly to 72 A.D. Vespasian is the leader mentioned in xl. The Baruch Apocalypse is subsequent to 4 Ezra.

Wieseler, "Das Vierte Buch Ezra," *Theol. Stud. und Kritiken*, 1870, p. 288. This writer criticises Hilgenfeld's date. The seven weeks (xxviii. 2) are to be reckoned from the fall of Jerusalem to 119 A.D. The two weeks in that verse point to the years 105-119, *i.e.* to the time of Trajan.

Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test.* 1871, pp. xxx.-xxxii. On Fritzsche's reprint of Ceriani's Latin translation see pp. xxxii.-xxxiii.

Stähelin, "Zur paulinischen Eschatologie," *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1874, pp. 211-214.

Hausrath, *Neutestamentl. Zeitgesch.* 2nd ed. iv. 88-90, 1877.

Renan, "L'Apocalypse de Baruch," *Journal des Savants*, 1877, pp. 223-231; *Les Évangiles*, 1877, pp. 517-530. Renan regards this Apocalypse as an imitation of 4 Ezra and in part designed as a correction of it, as, for instance, on the question of original sin (cf. also Langen). The latter was written in Nerva's reign, the former in the last year of Trajan's. The sombre clouds which obscured the last months of Trajan roused the hopes of the Jews and gave birth to the furious revolt of 117, of which this book is a monument. The fact that this book was accepted amongst the Christians excludes a later date. No

Jewish product later than Hadrian gained currency in Christian circles.

Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 117-132. Dr. Drummond is of opinion that, "notwithstanding the Hebraic colouring of its thoughts and language, this book may very well have been written in Greek." Its author was a Jew: there is "not a single expression which betrays a Christian hand." It is probably subsequent in date to 4 Ezra, and is divided into the following groups of chapters—i.-ix.; x.-xii.; xiii.-xx.; xxi.-xxx.; xxxi.-xliii.; xliv.-xlvii.; xlviii.-lxxvi.; lxxvii.-lxxxvii.

Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, 1879, pp. 190-196. Kneucker believes that the Apocryphal Book of Baruch is the letter which Baruch undertakes in ch. lxxvii. to send by "three men" to the brethren in Babylon. This view needs to be greatly modified; as it stands, he has found none to follow it. The present book, he holds, is defective.

Dillmann, art. "Pseudepigraphen" in Herzog's *Real-Enc.* 2nd ed. xii. 356-358. Baruch, according to Dillmann, was undoubtedly later than 4 Ezra, and was written under Trajan. The writer was an orthodox Jew and wrote in Greek. Dillmann rightly thinks that parts of the book are lost, but he is wrong in supposing it to be not more truly Jewish than 4 Ezra. He falls also into the same mistake as so many other scholars in supposing Lagarde's edition of MS. *b* to be an edition of the Syriac text, based on the Nitrian MSS.

Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2nd ed. 1884, ii. p. 658.

Rosenthal, *Vier Apocryphische Bücher*, 1885, pp. 72-103. This writer has made a painstaking study of Ceriani's Latin translation. He has likewise given no little thought to the subject matter, and discovered many connections between our book and Talmudic literature. It cannot, however, be said that he has thrown much light on the difficult problems of this book. In most respects Rosenthal follows the traditional lines of interpretation. The work is from the hand of one author. It was written in Greek in the reign of Trajan. Like previous writers Rosenthal regards our Apocalypse as subsequent to 4 Ezra, and as designed in some respects to correct its statements. He accepts Wieseler's interpretation of xxviii., and reckons the seven weeks there mentioned as dating from 70 A.D. Hence 70 + 49 = 119 and the two last weeks point to the years 105-119, the period of the last woes. 119 is the year of the Messiah's advent. But Rosenthal thinks he can determine the exact year of the book's publication. Thus the letter to the Jews in Babylon shows that it was written before the rebellion of the Jews in Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, Babylon, and their extermination by Quietus in 116. On the other hand, he believes that the great earthquake in Syria, which did not affect Palestine in December 115, is referred to in lxx. 8-lxxi. 1. Thus the book was written in the beginning of 116. With many of Dr. Rosenthal's statements, in which he departs from the traditional interpretation of this book, the present writer dissents strongly. Some of these statements are as follows:—The Messiah, he says, has

a less active *rôle* in 4 Ezra than in Baruch. The real facts are that a passive *rôle* is assigned to the Messiah in xxix. 3 of this Apocalypse and in vii. 28-29 of 4 Ezra, and a highly active *rôle* in xxxix.-xl. and lxx.-lxxii. of this Apocalypse and xii. 32-34 and xiii. 32-50 of 4 Ezra. Rosenthal charges our author with being an ignorant man and unacquainted with Scripture. This is strange, seeing that in every instance save one the quotations from the Old Testament are made from the Hebrew and not from the LXX., and that a large and accurate knowledge of Jewish history is shown throughout the work. Again, he says our author makes the resurrection from the dead depend on faith therein, and then quotes as a proof xxx. 1, which says nothing of the kind, and further adduces lxv. 1, where he alleges Manasseh is reproved for not believing in the future, "dass er an keinen Zukunft glaubte!" This last assertion rests on a strange misconception of the Latin translation—"cogitabat tempore suo quasi ac futurum non esset ut Fortis inquireret ista." This is, of course, "he thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things!" "Futurum" cannot mean "the future."

Stanton, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 1886, pp. 72-75. This writer ascribes our Apocalypse to the years immediately subsequent to 70 A.D. He divides the book as follows—i.-ix; x.-xii.; xiii.-xx.; xxi.-xxx.; xxxi.-xliii.; xliv.-lxxvi.; lxxvii.-lxxxvii.

Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (translated from the second and

revised edition of the German), 1886, vol. iii. Div. ii. pp. 83-93. We have here an admirable account of our Apocalypse. Schürer regards it as written shortly after 70 A.D., and argues strongly for its priority to 4 Ezra. After citing passages on the question of original sin from both books, he proceeds: "Here, then, we have not even an actual difference of view, far less a correction of the one writer on the part of the other. Further, such other reasons as have been advanced in favour of the priority of Ezra and the dependent character of Baruch are merely considerations of an extremely general kind which may be met with considerations equally well calculated to prove quite the reverse." "My own opinion is that . . . it is precisely in the case of Baruch that this problem is uppermost, *i.e.* How is the calamity of Israel and the impunity of its oppressors possible and conceivable? while in the case of Ezra, though this problem concerns him too, still there is a question that lies almost yet nearer his heart, *i.e.* Why is it that so many perish and so few are saved? The subordination of the former of these questions to the other, which is a purely theological one, appears to me rather to indicate that Ezra is of a later date than Baruch." It must be admitted that these arguments are as conclusive as are the counter-arguments of Ewald, Langen, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, Stähelin, Renan, Drummond, and Dillmann for the priority of 4 Ezra. And beyond this *impasse* it is impossible for criticism to advance until it recognises the com-

posite nature of both books. Schürer appends a valuable bibliography.

Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewüsstsein Jesu*, 1888, pp. 23-24, 32-35. The composition of Baruch is here assigned to a Jew living in Palestine in the reign of Trajan.

Thomson, *Books which Influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, 1891, 253-267, 414-422. This writer believes with Schürer in the priority of Baruch, but his hardihood goes still farther: he assigns the date of its composition to 59 B.C. Such a date of necessity argued a Semitic original, and this Mr. Thomson contends for, and we hold rightly, though his reason may be wrong. This his sole reason is that in v. 5 we find the proper name Jabish ܝܒܫ. "This," he says, "almost certainly represents Ἰαγαβής of the Septuagint, 1 Chron. iv. 9, 10 (Heb. יעבץ, Syriac ܝܥܒܨ)." There is no ground for this identification; in fact, everything is against it; and even if the identification were right, it would not necessarily prove a Hebrew original. Jabish or Jabesh, for the Syriac is unpunctuated, implies a Greek form Ἰαβις or Ἰαβης, and this in turn יבש. Here, as elsewhere, I have had occasion to regret that Mr. Thomson acquainted himself inadequately with the facts before he gave loose rein to his vigorous imagination.

Kabisch, "Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs," *Jahrbücher f. Protest. Theol.* 1891, pp. 66-107. With this writer the criticism of Baruch enters on a new stage. So long, indeed, as it pursued the old lines, finality on the question of the chronological relations

of our Apocalypse and 4 Ezra was impossible, and the champions of the one book with excellent reasons demolished their rivals, and with reasons just as excellent were demolished in turn. The explanation is obvious: both books are composite, and if some parts of 4 Ezra are older than certain parts of Baruch, no less certainly are some parts of Baruch older than some of 4 Ezra.

Kabisch emphasises at the outset certain facts which point to a plurality of authorship. Thus he shows that we find in Baruch side by side, on the one hand, a measureless pessimism and world-despair which look for neither peace nor happiness in this world; and, on the other hand, in the same work, a vigorous optimism and world-joy which look to a future of sensuous happiness and delight, of perfect satisfaction and peace.

Kabisch further points out that the same subjects are treated several times, and often without any fresh contribution to the subject at issue. Thus the Messianic Kingdom is twice delineated, the advent of the Messiah twice foretold, and the Messianic woes just as often depicted. Yet the latter are neither so identical as to point to the same author, nor are the novelties so great as to justify the repetition of the whole complex statement already once given.

On these grounds he shows that the book is derived from at least three or four authors. Thus he distinguishes i.-xxiii.; xxxi.-xxxiv.; lxxv.-lxxxvii. as the groundwork written subsequently to 70 A.D., since the

destruction of the temple is implied throughout these chapters. Further, these sections are marked by a boundless despair of this world of corruption, which fixes its regards on the afterworld of incorruption. In the remaining sections of the book, however, there is a faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism which looks to an earthly Messianic Kingdom of sensuous delights. In these sections, moreover, the integrity of Jerusalem is throughout assumed. Kabisch, therefore, rightly takes these constituents of the book to be prior to 70 A.D. These sections, however, are not the work of one writer, but of three, two of them being unmutilated productions, *i.e.* the Vine and the Cedar Vision, xxxvi.-xl., and the Cloud Vision, liii.-lxxiv., but the third a fragmentary Apocalypse, xxiv. 3-xxix. Finally, these different writings were incorporated in one book by a Christian contemporary of Papias, and to this editor are probably due xxviii. 5 ; xxx. 1 ; xxxii. 2-4 ; xxxv. ; lxxvi. 1. With the bulk of this criticism I have no reason for variance, as by independent study, and frequently on different grounds, I have arrived at several of these conclusions. But taken as it stands, Kabisch's criticism is only an additional stage on the way. It is far from being final, as a more prolonged study would have convinced this writer. Thus, as we shall presently learn (see pp. liii.-lxiv.), the so-called groundwork of Kabisch is as undoubtedly composite as the whole work is composite, and edited from at least two or three distinct writings. In this and in other respects the criticism of our book is

indefinitely more difficult than Kabisch conceives it. But we must not anticipate our conclusions here. Kabisch's work is based on the Latin translation of Ceriani. He follows the traditional views of a Greek original. The possibility of a Semitic original does not seem to have occurred to him.

De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 25-28, 76-103, 192-204. It is interesting to find that some of Kabisch's conclusions were reached by this French scholar independently. Thus De Faye, like Kabisch, distinguishes xxxvi.-xl. and liii.-lxxv. as distinct works written before 70 A.D. The rest of his analysis is not likely to gain acceptance. His main conclusions are as follows:—i.-xxxii. 7 constitute an Apocalypse of Baruch written after 70 A.D.; i.-v. and vi.-xxxii. 7, however, were originally derived from two hands (pp. 193-196). Another quite distinct work was the Assumption of Baruch, which consists of xlviii.-lii.; xli.-xliii. 2; lxxvi. 1-4 (p. 97 note). The date of this work is also after 70 A.D. xliii. 3-xlvii. is for the most part the work of the final editor. They are much later in date than the Apocalypse or the Assumption. Thus the following chapters and verses are derived from the final editor: xxxii. 7-xxxv.; xliii. 3-xlvii.; lxxvi. 5-lxxxvii. (pp. 201-202). Much praise is due to M. de Faye for the abundant scholarship and pains he has expended on this book; but his work is unconvincing: a profounder study would have led him to abandon many of the positions which are maintained by him.

Ryle, "The Book of Baruch," *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Smith, 1893, vol. i. pp. 361-362. Professor Ryle regards our Apocalypse as written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem, and possibly in Hebrew. He reverts to Ewald's idea of the common authorship of this book and 4 Ezra as a means of explaining their manifold points of identity and similarity. He divides it into the following sections: i.-xii.; xiii.-xx.; xxi.-xxxiv.; xxxv.-xlvi.; xlvii.-lii.; liii.-lxxvi.; lxxvii.-lxxxv.

§ 5. The Syriac—A Translation from the Greek

That the Syriac text is a translation from the Greek is to be concluded on several grounds. 1. It is so stated in the sixth-century MS. *c*. 2. There are certain corruptions in the text which are explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator misinterpreted the Greek, or else found the corruption already existing there. Thus in iii. 7 (see note) the Syrian translator renders "ornament" where the text requires "world." It is obvious here that he followed the wrong sense of κόσμος. The corrupt readings in xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 1, 2; lxii. 7 are to be explained on this principle (see notes *in loc.*). 3. Imitations of Greek constructions are found. In lxv. 1 we have *hau* = the Greek article in connection with a proper name. 4. We have frequent transliterations of Greek words, as in vi. 4, 7; x. 17; xvii. 4; xxi. 7, etc. It is possible, of course, that these borrowed Greek words may have

been part of the current language when the translation was made. In lxxvii. 14, however, we have a Greek word transliterated which gives no sense in its context. Hence this word was not written first-hand by a Syriac writer, but was taken by the Syriac translator from the Greek text before him. 5. The Rest of the Words of Baruch is largely based on our Apocalypse, and frequently reproduces it word for word. This book was written in Greek by a Christian Palestinian Jew in the second century. It implies, therefore, the existence of our Apocalypse in a Greek form, and preserves important fragments of the Greek Version.

§ 6. The Greek—A Translation from a Hebrew Original

It is hard to understand how such an unbroken unanimity has prevailed amongst scholars on the question of a Greek original. Indeed, it is impossible to explain it, save on the hypothesis that they gave the subject the most cursory notice, or more probably none at all. In fact, since the discovery of the book not a single serious attempt has been made to grapple with this problem, and yet, in nearly every instance, scholars have spoken with an assurance on this subject that only a personal and thorough study of the subject could justify. To this strong and unanimous tradition of the learned world I bowed without hesitation at the outset of my studies, but with an awakening distrust and an ever-growing reluctance during the subsequent

years in which the present Translation and Notes were completed. In fact, the feeling grew steadily stronger that only a Hebrew original could account for many of the phenomena of the text. And yet my gathering certainty on this head did not lead to action till the MSS. of the Translation and Notes were partially in type. I then felt that I could no longer stay my hand, and with the kind permission of my publishers I have been enabled to introduce the necessary changes into the Translation and Notes. The facts which have obliged me to maintain a Hebrew original may be summarised as follows:—1. The quotations from the Old Testament agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic text against the LXX. 2. Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text. 3. Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew. 4. There are many paronomasiae which discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. 5. One or two passages of the book have been preserved in Rabbinic writings.

1. *The quotations from the Old Testament agree in all cases but one with the Mass. text against the LXX.*—See vi. 8; xxxviii. 2; xli. 4; li. 4; lviii. 1, with notes *in loc.* In two other passages our text departs alike from the Mass. and LXX.: thus in iv. 2 it agrees with the Syriac Version of Is. xlix. 16 against the Mass., LXX., and Vulg.; and in xxxv. 2 it reproduces Jer. ix. 1, freely and independently. Finally, in lxxxii. 5 only does it agree with the LXX. of Is. xl. 15. It is to be observed, however, that neither does the Vulgate

in that passage agree with the Mass. The Mass. = כדק יטול; the LXX. = ὡς σίελος λογισθήσονται = כוֹק נחשבו; Vulg. = "quasi pulvis exiguus." Here the Vulg. omits יטול and the LXX. replaces it by repeating a previous verb. Hence this passage is inconclusive, as the text of Isa. xl. 15 seems to have been uncertain.

2. *Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text.*—We shall treat this section under four heads.

(*a*) *Survival of the familar Hebrew idiom of the infinitive absolute combined with the finite verb.*—The Syriac equivalent of this Hebraism is frequently found in this Apocalypse: cf. xiii. 3 (note); xxii. 7; xli. 6; xlviii. 30; l. 2; lvi. 2; lxxv. 6; lxxvi. 2; lxxxii. 2; lxxxiii. 1, 2, 3, 6; lxxxiv. 2. In this circumstance alone we have sufficient evidence to establish a Hebrew original. This idiom is, it is true, also found in original Syriac, but is comparatively rare. It is not, however, with original Syriac that we have here to do, but with a Syriac translation. We shall now proceed to show that *in a Syriac translation of a Hebrew or a Greek text this idiom does not appear except as a rendering of the corresponding idiom in the Hebrew or Greek before it.*

In order to prove this statement we shall examine the Peshitto Version of Genesis and Exodus. In these two books I have found fifty-seven instances of the occurrence of the infinitive absolute with the finite verb in the Massoretic text.

As we shall require presently to know the usage of the LXX. in this matter, we shall now give a table

furnishing the facts we are in search of from both versions.

Syriac-Peshitto.	Genesis-Massoretic Text.	LXX.
Noun and verb.	ii. 17.	Noun and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	iii. 4.	,,
,,	iii. 16.	Participle and verb.
,,	xvii. 12.	Noun and verb.
,,	xviii. 18.	Participle and verb.
Finite verb only.	xix. 9.	Noun and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	xxii. 17 (twice).	Participle and verb.
,,	xxvi. 11.	Finite verb only.
,,	xxvi. 13.	Different text followed.
,,	xxvi. 28.	Participle and verb.
Finite verb only.	xxvii. 30.	Finite verb only.
Infinitive and verb.	xxviii. 22.	Noun and verb.
,,	xxx. 16.	Finite verb only.
Finite verb only.	xxxi. 15.	Noun and verb.
Infinite and verb.	xxxi. 30.	,,
,,	,,	Finite verb only.
,,	xxxii. 12.	Adverb and verb.
,,	xxxvii. 8 (twice).	Participle and verb.
,,	xxxvii. 10.	,,
Different text followed.	xxxvii. 33.	Different text followed.
Infinitive and verb.	xl. 15.	Noun and verb.
,,	xliii. 2.	,,
,,	xliii. 6.	Participle and verb.
,,	,,	Finite verb only.
Finite verb only.	xlvi. 4.	Different text followed.
Infinitive and verb.	l. 24 (twice).	Noun and verb.

Thus in Genesis there are twenty-nine instances of this idiom. These are rendered by the Peshitto as follows: twenty-three by the infinitive and verb; one by cognate noun and verb; four by finite verb only; and in one case a different text is followed. In the case of the LXX., eleven by cognate noun and verb; nine by participle and verb; five by finite verb only; while in four a different text is followed.

An examination of Exodus supplies the following evidence :—

Syriac-Peshitto.	Exodus-Massoretic Text.	LXX.
Infinitive and verb.	iii. 7.	Participle and verb.
,,	iii. 16.	Noun and verb.
Different text followed.	xi. 1.	,,
Infinitive and verb.	xiii. 19.	,,
,,	xviii. 18.	,,
Finite verb only.	xix. 12.	,,
Infinitive and verb.	xxi. 12, 15, 16, 17.	,,
Different text followed.	xxi. 19.	Finite verb only.
Infinitive and verb.	xxi. 20, 22, 28.	Noun and verb.
Finite verb only.	xxi. 36.	Finite verb only.
Infinitive and verb.	xxii. 6, 14.	,,
,,	xxii. 16, 19.	Noun and verb.
Finite verb only (twice) Infinitive and verb	xxii. 23 (thrice).	Noun and verb (twice). Participle and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	xxiii. 4.	Participle and verb.
,,	xxiii. 5.	Finite verb only.
,,	xxiii. 22, 24.	Noun and verb.
,,	xxxi. 14.	,,
,,	xxxi. 15.	Finite verb only.

Thus in Exodus there are twenty-eight instances of this idiom. These are rendered in the Peshitto : twenty-two by the infinitive and verb ; four by finite verb only ; in two cases a different text is followed. In the LXX., nineteen by cognate noun and verb; three by participle and verb; and six by the finite verb only. By combining the facts on both books, we arrive at the following results. The Hebrew idiom occurs fifty-seven times. In the Peshitto forty-five are rendered by infinitive and verb; one by cognate noun and verb; eight by finite verb only ; in three cases a different text is followed. In the LXX., thirty are rendered by cognate noun and verb; twelve by participle and verb ;

eleven by finite verb only; in four cases a different text is followed. Finally, we should mention here that in no case have we found this idiom in the Syriac Version where the same idiom was not also present in the Hebrew from which it was derived, and the same holds true of the LXX. save in one case, *i.e.* Exod. xxiii. 26.

From the above results obtained from the Peshitto Version of Genesis and Exodus we learn that *whereas the Syriac translator on the one hand never inserts this idiom unless as an equivalent of the corresponding Hebrew idiom before him, on the other he has failed to render it in eight cases out of fifty-seven.* In these he gives the finite verb only. Thus the irresistible conclusion is: *if we find this idiom occurring at all in a Syriac translation, it is a presumption that it existed in the language from which the translation was made; whereas if we find it frequently* (as in our Apocalypse) *the presumption changes to a certainty.*

The above conclusions drawn from a study of the Peshitto Version of the Hebrew text of Genesis and Exodus may be further confirmed and extended in their application by a short consideration of the corresponding phenomena in the New Testament. So far as I can discover, the Peshitto Version of the New Testament in no case inserts this idiom where it does not already exist in the Greek. This idiom occurs, as we know, at least six times: see Matt. xiii. 14; xv. 4; Luke vii. 34; xxii. 15; Acts vii. 34; Hebrews vi. 14. Five of these passages are quotations from

the LXX., and thus the idiom goes back to the Hebrew. In the remaining one, Luke xxii. 15, it implies undoubtedly an Aramaic or Hebrew original. The Peshitto renders these instances by the infinitive and verb except in Matt. xiii. 14, where it misses the point, and in Luke xxii. 15, where it gives the noun and verb. In both these verses the Sinaitic MS. gives the infinitive and verb.

The Syriac translator therefore is so far from inserting this idiom, unless it exists already in the Hebrew or Greek text before him, that, as we found above, *he occasionally fails to do so when he ought.* The bearing of this conclusion on our present investigation is obvious. This idiom is found fifteen times in our Apocalypse; we can therefore conclude with confidence that it occurred at least fifteen times in the Greek, and in all likelihood oftener.

Having now found that this idiom occurred frequently in the Greek, we have now to ask, could it have appeared there for the first time, *i.e.* in an original Greek writing?

The answer does not require a long investigation. The idiom is thoroughly Semitic, and is only once found in all Greek literature, and that in Lucian. In the New Testament there is no instance of it unless in a quotation from the Old Testament; in the Old Testament only once, Exod. xxiii. 26, without a Semitic background.

Hence we conclude that its frequent occurrence in our Apocalypse is in itself demonstrable evidence of a Hebrew original. Further, it is probable that it occurred in

the Hebrew original more frequently than in the Greek translation; for we found above that out of fifty-seven instances of this idiom in Genesis and Exodus, the LXX. failed to render eleven.

(*b*) *The survival of various Hebraisms.*—In xx. 2 (see note); xxiv. 2, where Syriac for "throughout all generations" = ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ = בכל-דור ודור; cf. Ps. cxlv. 13; the same idiom is found in xxix. 7, where I render "every morning"; xxxviii. 4, where "from my (earliest) days" is the Hebrew idiom found in 1 Kings i. 6.

(*c*) *Probable survival of Hebrew order against Syriac idiom.*—In xiii. 12 (see notes); lxiii. 8. In connection with the notes on xiii. 12 it is worth observing that, in Western Aramaic, unlike Syriac, the order of the participle and the substantive verb in the compound past imperfect indicative is indifferent. Thus in Dan. v. 19; vi. 4, 5, 11, 15, etc., the substantive verb precedes, whereas in Dan. ii. 31; iv. 7, 10, 26; vii. 2, 6, 8, etc., the participle.

(*d*) *Probable survival of syntactical idioms against Syriac idiom.*—For omission of relative see xx. 3, note; imperative used as jussive, xi. 6, note; Hebrew perfect with strong vav in xxi. 21, and the voluntative with weak vav in xlviii. 6, reproduced literally but not idiomatically.

3. *Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew.*—In xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2; lxii. 7, I have been able to explain and restore an unintelligible

text by retranslation first into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the stock rendering of *δικαιοῦσθαι*, and this in turn of צדק. But צדק also = *δίκαιος εἶναι*, and this is the meaning required in the above passages (see notes *in loc.*), but the Greek translator erroneously adopted the more usual rendering.

Again in xliv. 12 we have another interesting restoration through the same means. There we find in the Syriac "on its beginning" set over antithetically against "to torment." Here the context requires "to its blessedness." Now the corrupt text = בראשו, which by the transposition of the single letter ר gives us the text באשרו = "to its blessedness." Again in lxxxv. 12 we have another instance of the Greek translator following the wrong of two alternative meanings.

Again in xi. 6; xx. 3; xxi. 21; xxix. 5; xlviii. 6, we are obliged by the context to translate not the Syriac text but the Hebrew text presupposed by the Syriac, but mistranslated by the Greek translator, and, therefore, of necessity by the Syriac. See notes *in loc.*; also 2 (*d*) above, p. xlvii. For other restorations the reader should consult the notes on x. 13; lxx. 6; lxxx. 2. Finally in lxxvii. 14 we have a transliteration of the Greek word *ὕλη*. *ὕλη* is either a corruption or a mistranslation of some Hebrew word. It could not have been written for the first time in Greek. I have hazarded a conjecture in the note on the passage.

4. *Many paronomasiae discover themselves on re-translation into Hebrew.*—We have in xv. 8 (see note) one that is already familiar to us in Isaiah and Ezekiel. As many as three spring into notice in xlviii. 35 (see note), and probably two in lxxxiv. 2. The most interesting perhaps are those on the proper names, Hezekiah and Sennacherib, in lxiii. 3, 4 (see notes). In the case of the former, I had the good fortune to conjecture the existence of the same paronomasia in Ecclus. xlviii. 22, and to restore the Hebrew there as it actually stood before Dr. Neubauer's discovery of the Hebrew MS. of Ecclus. xl.-l.

5. *One or two passages of this book have been preserved in rabbinic writings* (see notes on x. 18; xxxii. 2-4; lxiv. 3).

§ 7. The Different Elements in the Apocalypse of Baruch with their Respective Characteristics and Dates.

As we have seen above, the composite nature of this book has already been recognised independently by Kabisch and De Faye. And the more thoroughly we study it, the more conscious we become of the impassable gulf which sunders the world-views which underlie the different parts. In one class of the passages there is everywhere manifest a vigorous optimism as to Israel's ultimate well-being on earth; there is sketched in glowing and sensuous colours the blessedness which awaits the chosen people in the

kingdom of the Messiah which is at hand (xxix.; xxxix.-xl.; lxxiii.-lxxiv.), when healing will descend in dew, and disease and anguish and lamentation will flee away; when strife and revenge and hatred will go into condemnation; when gladness will march throughout the earth, the reapers not grow weary, nor they that build toil-worn; when child-birth will entail no pangs, and none shall die untimely (lxxiii.-lxxiv. 1); when Israel's enemies shall be destroyed (xxxix.-xl.; lxx. 7-lxxii.), and to God's chosen people will be given a world-wide empire with its centre at Jerusalem (xl. 2; lxxiii.-lxxiv.). Over against these passages which ring with such assurance of coming victory and untold blessedness stand others wherein, alike to Israel's present and its future destiny on earth, there is written nothing save "lamentation and mourning and woe." These veritable cries from the depths give utterance to a hopeless pessimism — a bottomless despair touching all the things of earth. This world is a scene of corruption, its evils are irremediable; it is a never-ceasing toil and strife, but its end is at hand; its youth is past; its strength exhausted; the pitcher is near to the cistern, the ship to the port, the course of the journey to the city, and life to its consummation (lxxxv.). The advent of the times is nigh, the corruptible will pass away, the mortal depart, that that which abides for ever may come, and the new world which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness (cf. xxi. 19; xliv. 9-15; lxxxv.).

Thus we discover that whereas (1) optimism as to Israel's future on earth is a characteristic of some sections of the book, pessimism in this respect characterises others. The former are the Messiah Apocalypses, xxvii.-xxx. 1; xxxvi.-xl.; liii.-lxxiv. (which for convenience I designate respectively as A^1, A^2, A^3), and a short original Apocalypse of Baruch, B^1. The remaining sections are B^2, B^3. The contents of these we shall determine presently. Again (2), A^1, A^2, A^3, B^1, agree in teaching the advent of the Messianic kingdom, but this doctrine is absolutely relinquished in B^2, B^3.

Thus, A^1, A^2, A^3, B^1, agree in presenting an optimistic view of Israel's future on earth, and in inculcating the hope of a Messianic kingdom; whereas in B^2, B^3, such expectations are absolutely abandoned, and the hopes of the righteous are directed to the immediate advent of the final judgment and to the spiritual world alone. But at this point a difference between A^1, A^2, A^3, and B^1, emerges. The former look for a Messiah and a Messianic kingdom, the latter for a Messianic kingdom without a Messiah.

As we pursue our study, other features, one by one, disclose themselves which belong to A^1, A^2, A^3, but not to B^1, B^2, B^3, and thus differentiate them from the latter. Some of these are: (1) In A^1, A^2, A^3, Jerusalem is still standing — hence they were written before 70 A.D.; whereas in B^1, B^2, B^3, it is already destroyed (for details see pp. 49, 61, 87, 101, 111). In B^1, Jerusalem is to be restored; (2)

in A^1, A^2, A^3, the advent of the Messiah is looked for, but not in B^1, B^2, B^3; (3) in A^1, A^2, A^3, it is only to the actual inhabitants of Palestine that the promise of protection is given in the time of the Messianic woes (see xxix. 2; xl. 2; lxxi. 1)—thus the Jews are still in Palestine; but in B^1, B^2, B^3, the Jews are already carried into exile. In B^1 they are to be ultimately restored.

These conclusions as to the different authorship of A^1, A^2, A^3, and B^1, B^2, B^3, are confirmed by the following facts:—

(1) According to the scheme of the final editor of this book (see v. 7; ix. 2; pp. 36, 61), events proceed in each section in a certain order: first a fast, then a divine disclosure, then an announcement or address to the people based on this disclosure. This being so, it is significant that in the various addresses in v. 5; x. 4; xxxi. 2-xxxiv.; xliv.-xlvi.; lxxvii. 1-17, there is not a single reference to these Messianic Apocalypses, A^1, A^2, A^3. (2) From (1) it follows that A^1, A^2, A^3, have no real organic connection with the rest of the book, B^1, B^2, B^3. And a detailed examination of their immediate contents shows that the removal of A^1 (= xxvii.-xxx. 1), A^2 (= xxxvi.-xl.), A^3 (= liii.-lxxiv.) serves to restore some cohesion to the text (see xxx. 2, note; xli. 1, note; lxxv.-lxxvi., note).

Having thus seen that A^1, A^2, A^3, were written prior to 70 A.D., and are of different authorship to B^1, B^2, B^3, which were written subsequent to that

date, we have next to deal with the relations in which A^1, A^2, A^3 stand to each other.

A^1, A^2, A^3; *their relations to each other and dates.* —On pp. 61, 87, we have shown that A^1 is of distinct authorship to A^2 and A^3, on the ground that in A^1 the Messiah pursues an entirely passive *rôle*, and does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed and the kingdom established; whereas, in A^2 and A^3, it is the Messiah that destroys the enemies of Israel and establishes the Messianic kingdom. As regards the date of A^1, all that can be said with safety is that it was composed before 70 A.D.

It is hard to determine with certainty the relation of A^2 and A^3. In many points they are at one: their differences are few. Some of these are: A^2 has more affinities in matter and character with the older Jewish Apocalyptic, *i.e.* that of Daniel; A^3 is more nearly related in form and spirit to later Judaism, to the rabbinic type of thought. Further, whereas in xl. 2, it is the Messiah that defends the inhabitants of the Holy Land, in lxxi. 1, it is the Holy Land itself; and whereas in A^2 (= xxxvi.-xl.) the law is only passingly alluded to, in A^3 (= liii.-lxxiv.) its importance is frequently dwelt upon. The latter difference may partly be due to their diversity in subject and method as well as to the brevity of A^2. On the whole, we are inclined to regard A^2 and A^3 as springing from different authors; but the evidence is not decisive.

As to the date of A^2 we are unable to say any-

thing more definite than that it was composed before 70 A.D. The case of A^3 is different. Like A^1 and A^2, it was written before 70 A.D., as we have seen above (see also p. 87 and lxviii. 6, note). The earlier limit of composition is fixed by lix. 5-11. In the notes on that passage we have shown that in our Apocalypse there is a transference of Enoch's functions to Moses, and an attribution to Moses of revelations hitherto ascribed to Enoch (see also xiii. 3, note). This glorification of Moses at Enoch's expense is a clear sign of Jewish hostility to Christianity, and a tribute to Enoch's influence in the Christian Church of the first century. This acceptance of Enoch as a prophet in Christian circles became the ground of his rejection by the Jews, and of a hostility which was unswervingly pursued for several centuries. This aggressive attitude of Judaism could not have originated before the open breach of Christianity with the Synagogue, which was brought about by the Pauline controversy. Hence A^3 cannot be earlier than 50 A.D. Thus the limits of its composition are 50-70 A.D.

B^1, B^2, B^3, *the later constituents of Baruch, their characteristics and dates.*—We have seen above the grounds on which we are obliged to ascribe B^1, B^2, B^3, to a different authorship and later date than A^1, A^2, A^3. We have now to study the relations which subsist between B^1, B^2, B^3. We shall consider B^3 first, as it consists of a single chapter.

B^3 = lxxxv. This chapter agrees with B^1, B^2, in being written after 70 A.D.; but differs from B^1 and

agrees with B^2 in despairing of a national restoration, and in looking only for spiritual blessedness in the world of incorruption. But, again, it differs from B^2 also, in that B^2 was written in Jerusalem or Judæa, whereas B^3 was written in Babylon or some other land of the Dispersion—in the former most probably; for it was written in Hebrew (cf. lxxxv. 2, 3, 12, notes). Again, whereas, according to B^2, Jeremiah was with the captivity in Babylon, it is here definitely stated that the righteous and the prophets are dead, and that the exiles have none to intercede for them (see notes on pp. 154, 156). B^3 was thus written after 70 A.D. in Hebrew, and most probably in Babylon.

B^1, B^2.—After the removal of A^1, A^2, A^3, and B^3, the remaining chapters, when submitted to a searching scrutiny, betray underlying suppositions, statements, and facts which are mutually irreconcilable.

Thus certain sections, i.-ix. 1; xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6; lxxvii.-lxxxii.; lxxxiv.; lxxxvi.-lxxxvii., are optimistic and hopeful as to this world, whereas certain others, ix.-xii. (?); xiii.-xxv.; xxx. 2-xxxv.; xli.-xlii.; xliv. 8-15; xlvii.-lii.; lxxv.-lxxvi.; lxxxiii., are decidedly of an opposite character. The former sections we have named B^1, and the latter B^2. That B^1 and B^2 are derived from different authors will be clear from the following considerations:—

(1) In B^1 the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt (i. 4, note; vi. 9, note; lxxviii. 7, note), but not so in B^2, where it is said that Jerusalem is removed with a view to usher in the judgment (see xx. 1, 2).

(2) In B^1 the exiles are to be restored, but not in B^2; see notes cited in (1).

(3) In B^1 an earthly felicity or a Messianic kingdom is expected (i. 5; xlvi. 6; lxxvii. 12), whereas in B^2 no earthly consolation of any kind is looked for (xliv. 8-15), and the judgment is close at hand (xlviii. 39; lxxxiii.).

(4) In B^2 there is a strongly ascetic tone (see xv. 8, note); but this is wholly absent from B^1.

(5) In B^1, Baruch is to die an ordinary death, whereas in B^2 he is to be taken up or translated and preserved till the last day, to testify against the Gentile oppressors of Israel (see xiii. 3, note).

(6) In B^1, Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, but in B^2 he is (see x. 2, note; xxxiii. 2, note; lxxvii. 12, note).

(7) In B^1, Jerusalem is destroyed by angels lest the enemy should boast; this idea seems foreign to B^2 (see lxvii. 6, note).

(8) In B^1 the main interest of the writer is engaged in dealing with the recent destruction of Jerusalem; in tracing this calamity to the nation's sins; in exhorting to renewed faithfulness; and in inculcating the sure and certain hope of Israel's restoration. In B^2 the writer has relinquished all hopes of national restoration, and is mainly concerned with theological problems and questions of the schools.

In x. 6-xii. 4 it is not improbable, as we have shown in the notes on the passage, that we have a fragment of a Sadducean writing, which I have marked by the symbol S. It may possibly belong to B^2; it

cannot to B^1. Having now recognised that the groundwork is in the main derived from the two sources B^1 and B^2, and having already acquainted ourselves with the leading characteristics of each, it is next incumbent on us to consider the use made of these sources.

B^1, *its extent in this book.*—It is not difficult to ascertain the extent to which B^1 has been put in requisition by the final editor. Thus i.-ix. 1, with the exception of the interpolation iv. 2-7, clearly belongs to it, as it discovers most of the characteristics which belong to B^1 as over against their contraries in B^2. B^2 begins clearly with x. 1.-5, for these verses give the account of Jeremiah's departure to Babylon, which is peculiar to B^2; ix. 2 and other references to fasts of seven days are probably due *in their present positions* to the final editor. The next fragments of B^1 are xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6 (see pp. 68, 69, for detailed criticism), and the rest that are drawn from this source are lxxvii.-lxxxvii., with the exception of lxxxiii. = B^2 and lxxxv. = B^3 (see pp. 119, 140, 154, 156).

B^2, *its extent in this book.*—Criticism encounters its chief difficulty in dealing with the source B^2, and with the use to which it has been put by the final editor. From B^1 the editor borrowed materials and used them in a straightforward fashion, but those from B^2 he mutilated and transposed in every imaginable way. This will be manifest to every serious student of xiii.-xxv. It was my sheer inability to write any connected or reasonable commentary on

these chapters in their present order, that led me at last to recognise the true nature of the case. Then I came to see that these chapters could not have been written originally as they stand at present, and further study made it clear that we had here a most complete but instructive example of the perverse ingenuity of a redactor, by which the original text was dislocated and transposed, the original development of thought arrested and inverted, questions frequently recorded after their specific answers had already been given in full, and passages torn from their original setting in Baruch's address to the people and inserted in Baruch's prayers to God, where they are bereft of all conceivable meaning.

The reader will find a list of these logical *anacoloutha* and inversions on pp. 20, 21, and likewise an attempt to restore these chapters to their original order in B^2. With the paucity of materials at our disposal, this can only be partially satisfactory. The original order was probably xiii. 1-3*a*; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3*b*-12; xxv.; xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1.

The next fragment from B^2 is xxx. 2-5, which forms a good sequel to xxiv. 1. Of the intervening chapters xxvii.-xxx. 1 is an independent Apocalypse, as we have already found, *i.e.* A^1 and xxvi. is an addition of the editor; xxxi.-xxxv.; xli.-lii., with the exception of xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6, which belong to B^1 and xxxii. 2-4; xlvi. 7, which are due to the editor, are also fragments of B^2 (see pp. 57, 58, 66, 68, 69, 74). These chapters from B^2 have met with no better treatment at the hands of the editor than

those already mentioned. Thus we find that xxxi.-xxxii. 6, which contains an address of Baruch to the people, presupposes xlii.; xlviii.; lii. to be already in the background; for the subject of each address is founded on a previous revelation (see p. 57). Thus xxxi.-xxxv. was read originally after xlviii.-lii., but not immediately, for lxxv. intervened (see p. 117), forming the natural sequel to lii. when A^3, *i.e.* liii.-lxxiv. is removed; xli.-xlii. appear to have followed close on xxx. (see p. 66). Thus so far the order roughly was: xxx. 2-5; xli.-xlii.; xlviii.-lii.; lxxv.; xxxi.-xxxv. But there are grounds for regarding xliv. 8-15; lxxxiii. as intervening after xxxii. 6. Finally, the last fragment of B^2 is found in lxxvi., but this cannot have formed the end of B^2. It was probably closed with an account of the Assumption of Baruch.

For further disarrangements of the text by which words used originally by Baruch in addressing the people, are used in their present context in an address to God, though quite impossible in that connection, and the probable restoration of these fragments, see xlviii. 48-50; lii. 5-7; liv. 16-18, notes. The surviving fragments of B^2, which we have just dealt with, may be restored as follows to what seems to have been their original order in their source: xiii. 1-3*a*; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3*b*-12; xxv.; xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-5; xli.-xlii.; xlviii. 1-47; xlix.-lii. 3; lxxv.; xxxi.-xxxii. 6; liv. 17, 18; xlviii. 48-50; lii. 5-7; liv. 16; xliv. 8-15; lxxxiii.; xxxii. 7-xxxv.; lxxvi.

S, *its relation to* B^1 *and* B^2.—We have adjourned

to the present the treatment of x. 6-xii. 4, which in the notes on this passage we have assigned to a Sadducean author, S. However this may be, I cannot but regard it as of different authorship to B^1 and B^2. Several grounds for this conclusion will be found in pp. 14-19. We might further observe that although, in vividness of grief and the still overwhelming consciousness of national calamity, S has features in common with B^1, it is sundered from it as resigning all hope of the restoration of the temple and its sacrifices, and as presenting the most hopeless pessimism in the book. And again, whereas S is related to B^2 in its world despair, it is no less certainly sundered from it in its complete absorption in the present wreck of the nation's material interests. Of this subject as now far distant B^2 recks little, and gives its chief energies and affections to religious problems and the conservation of Israel's spiritual interests.

Dates of S, B^1, B^2, B^3.—In respect of date, S seems to have been written immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, in 70 A.D.; B^1 soon after this date, when the destruction of Israel and its hoped-for restoration were still the supreme subject of interest and speculation. B^2 is much later; its interests have passed from the material to the spiritual world; patriotic aims have ceased to affect it. B^3 is probably still later than B^2.

Date of editing entire book.—Since the author of the Rest of the Words of Baruch has used portions of ii., v., vi., viii., x., xi., xxxv. 2 (?), lxxvii., lxxx., lxxxv., lxxxvii. of our Apocalypse, it is clear that he had the

present form of our book before him in Greek. Thus, as this Christian Apocalypse was written between 130 and 140 A.D., the date of the Greek translation of our Apocalypse may be taken as not later than 130. The editing of the Hebrew may have been one or more decades earlier.

§ 8. The Lost Epistle to the Two and a Half Tribes

A portion of this letter is probably to be found in the Apocryphal Book of Baruch, *i.e.* in i. 1-3; iii. 9-iv. 29. This section corresponds in many respects with the writings we are in search of. Thus (1) the lost Epistle was addressed to Judah and Benjamin in exile (lxxvii. 12, 17). Now it is clear that iii. 9-iv. 29 was also addressed *to Judah and Benjamin in exile.* It is *Judah and Benjamin* that are addressed; for throughout iv. 5-29 it is Jerusalem that is represented as being deprived of her children. Further, it is Judah and Benjamin *in exile*, for they are said to be "sold to the nations and delivered to their enemies" (iv. 6), and Jerusalem describes herself as robbed of her sons and daughters (iv. 16), and the writer asks in iii. 10: "Why is it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land, and that thou art waxen feeble (so Kneucker) in a strange country?"

(2) The lost Epistle was "an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of good tidings" (lxxvii. 12). This forms an admirable description of iii. 9-iv. 29,

which is essentially a writing of consolation and encouragement.

(3) The lost Epistle was to hold out the promise of return (lxxvii. 6); this is done in iv. 22-24.

(4) The lost Epistle was written by Baruch *to Babylon* (lxxvii. 12, 17).

Now i. 1-3; iii. 9-iv. 29, which purport to have been written by Baruch in Babylon and addressed to the exiles there, appear rather to have been written by Baruch in Jerusalem and addressed to the exiles in Babylon; for (*a*) the speaker does not identify himself with those who are in exile. Cf. iii. 10: "Why is it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land"; and iv. 5, 6, where he calls them the remnant dispersed among the nations; (*b*) the speaker rather identifies himself with Jerusalem; at all events, in iv. 9-29 he personifies Jerusalem, and represents her as addressing the neighbouring peoples, and then her own children as they are being led into captivity, and promising them a safe return to her.

(5) Finally, in B^1, to which the lost Epistle belongs, the blamelessness of Jerusalem over against her children is insisted on (cf. lxxvii. 8). The same thought would naturally recur in some form in the lost Epistle. And so, in fact, we find it underlying iv. 8-29. And as in B^1 it is taught that Israel is punished only as a chastisement (cf. i. 5; lxxix. 2), the same idea would most probably appear in the lost Epistle as an encouragement to the exiles. Now this is emphatically declared to be so in iv. 6.

On the above grounds to which others could be added, I am inclined to regard iii. 9-iv. 29 as a recast of, or, at all events, as based upon the lost Epistle. This Epistle was probably introduced by some form of i. 1-3. These verses are, as Kneucker has shown, corrupt in their present form.

iv. 39-v. 9, which consists of a direct address to Jerusalem, is derived by the final editor from a different source, mainly from the eleventh of the Psalms of Solomon.

§ 9. The Relations of this Apocalypse with 4 Ezra

In this section we shall deal with the following questions:—

(*a*) The composite nature of 4 Ezra.
(*b*) Conflicting characteristics of 4 Ezra and Baruch, the former to some extent non-Jewish.
(*c*) 4 Ezra from a Hebrew original.
(*d*) Relations of the respective constituents of our Apocalypse and 4 Ezra.

(*a*) *The composite nature of Ezra.* — Into this question this is not the place to enter. I shall content myself with expressing my acceptance in the main of Kabisch's masterly criticism[1] of this work. Though many of his positions cannot be maintained, the greater number of them will, I believe, be ultimately accepted as final. The work is very unequal.

[1] Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1889, Göttingen.

In it there stand side by side numerous instances of extremely fine insight and not a few gross misapprehensions and bizarre conclusions. His analysis is as follows :—

S = an Apocalypse of Salathiel written *circ.* 100 A.D. at Rome, preserved in a fragmentary condition : iii. 1-31 ; iv. 1-51 ; v. 13*b*-vi. 10 ; vi. 30-vii. 25 ; vii. 45-viii. 62 ; ix. 13-x. 57 ; xii. 40-48 ; xiv. 28-35.

E = an Ezra Apocalypse, *circ.* 31 B.C., written in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem : iv. 52-v. 13*a* ; vi. 13-25, 28 ; vii. 26-44 ; viii. 63-ix. 12.

A = Adlergesicht—an Eagle Vision, written 90 A.D. by a Zealot : x. 60-xii. 40.

M = Menschensohn—a Son-of-Man Vision, written in Jerusalem about the time of Pompey : xiii., but much interpolated by R.

E^2 = an Ezra fragment, *circ.* 100 : xiv. 1-17*a*, 18-27, 36-47.

R = the Editor—a Zealot, *circ.* 120 : iii. 1. (*qui et Ezras*), 32-36 ; vi. 11, 12, 26, 27, 29 ; x. 58, 59 ; xii. 9, 34, 37-39, 49-51 ; xiii. 13*b*-15, 16-24, 26*b*, 29-32, 54-58 ; xiv. 8, 17*b*, 48-50, as well as parts of iv. 52 ; vi. 20, etc.

The above analysis may be taken as a good working hypothesis. Among other grounds which Kabisch might have pressed to show that the book as it stands has been edited from various independent sources and edited most ignorantly, I will adduce only one. The title, *Dominator Domine*, which in the Apocalypse of Baruch is used only of God, and rightly so, in 4 Ezra is a designation of God in five instances—iii. 4 ; v. 23 ; vi. 38 (in Syr., Eth., and Arm. Versions) ; xii. 7 ; xiii. 51 ; but of an angel in six—iv. 38 ; v. 38 ; vi. 11 ;

vii. 17, 58, 75. The attribution of this divine title to an angel can only be due to gross confusions or interpolations in the text (see note on iii. 1 of our text). It is to be observed that this phenomenon is found only in the late source S and R.

(*b*) *Conflicting characteristics of* 4 *Ezra and Baruch, the former to some extent non-Jewish.*—On the following doctrines the teaching of our Apocalypse represents faithfully the ordinary Judaism of the first century, whereas that of 4 Ezra holds an isolated position or is closely related to Christianity.

1. *The Law.*—From an exhaustive comparison of the passages dealing with this subject in the two books (see xv. 5, note) it is clear that the possession of the law by Israel is less a subject of self-gratulation in 4 Ezra than in Baruch. In the latter, especially in B^2, it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7) and never-failing stay (xlviii. 22, 24). This is decidedly orthodox Judaism. In 4 Ezra, on the other hand, man trembles before the law; he needs mercy, not the award of the law, for all have sinned (viii. 35); it has served rather unto condemnation; for only a very few are saved through good works (vii. 77) or the divine compassion (vii. 139). It is hardly necessary to point out that this conception of the law approximates to the Pauline view.

2. *Works.*—In my note on xiv. 7 I have contrasted the teaching of the two books on this subject, and arrived at the conclusion that in 4 Ezra the

doctrine of works as it is found in Baruch can hardly be said to exist. Here again Baruch represents traditional Jewish orthodoxy, but 4 Ezra not. We should observe also that the latter guards carefully against the doctrine of salvation by works by making salvation depend on works and faith combined (cf. ix. 7; xiii. 23; cf. St. James ii. 14-26).

3. *Justification, i.e.* by the law or by works.—This subject might have more logically been treated under the preceding head. For my own convenience I have given it separately. On p. 39 I have shown that justification by the law, though taught in Baruch, is absent from 4 Ezra. In this respect again the latter is non-Jewish.

4. *Original Sin and Freewill.* — On pp. 92-93, from a study of the passages in 4 Ezra bearing on these subjects, we have found that there was in man to begin with a wicked element ("granum seminis mali," iv. 30); and that through Adam's yielding to this evil impulse a hereditary tendency to sin was created, and the *cor malignum* developed (iii. 21-22). The evil element having thus gained the mastery over man, only a very few are saved through mercy (vii. 139; viii. 3); hence the writer of vii. 118 naturally charges Adam with being the cause of the final perdition of man.

In the face of such a hopeless view of man's condition, human freewill cannot be maintained: *practically* man has none, for only a handful out of the whole human race are saved (vii. 51-61; ix. 16);

theoretically he is said to have it, but this is to justify his final condemnation (see p. 93).

This teaching is practically unique in Judaism between 1-300 A.D.—in fact it is not Jewish but Christian doctrine. In Baruch, on the other hand, conformably to early Rabbinic teaching, it is declared that Adam is not the cause of man's perdition, but that each man is the Adam of his own soul (liv. 19). There is not, moreover, a trace of Ezra's elaborate theory, and the doctrine of original sin is stoutly denied in liv. 15, 19 — not a trace save only in xlviii. 42, where spiritual death is traced to Adam. Elsewhere—xvii. 3; xxiii. 4; liv. 15—it is only physical death that is ascribed to Adam's transgression. But in Ezra, as we might expect from what precedes, both spiritual and physical death are always traced to Adam—iii. 21, 22; iv. 30; vii. 118-121.

Thus on various grounds we see that *whereas Baruch is a pure product of the Judaism of the time, 4 Ezra is the result of two influences at work, first and mainly a Jewish, and secondly a Christian. It was no doubt owing to this Christian element in the latter that it won and preserved a high position in the Christian Church. It constitutes, in fact, a confession of the failure of Judaism.*

The above peculiarities of doctrine in 4 Ezra discover themselves almost universally in S. The author of S was undoubtedly a Jew, but a Jew who had been impressed and imbued to some extent by Christian teaching, probably by Pauline.

(*c*) 4 *Ezra from a Hebrew Original.*—Though this question could only be settled by an exhaustive study of the text presupposed by the Versions, I am convinced that a Hebrew groundwork underlies at all events the greater part of this book. I might call attention here to the frequent occurrence of the Hebraism—the finite verb combined with the cognate infinitive—as evidence in this direction. Thus in iii. 33 we have "pertransiens pertransivi"; iv. 13, "festinans festinavit"; iv. 26, "proficiscens profectus sum"; v. 30, "odiens odisti"; v. 45, "viventes vivent"; vi. 32, "auditu audita est"; vii. 5 "volens voluerit," and so on in vii. 14, 21, 67, 70, 75; viii. 8, 15, 58; ix. 1; x. 32; xi. 45; xiv. 3, 29. All these appear in the Syriac Version, save five—iv. 26; vii. 5, 14; x. 32; xiv. 29. Still more are omitted in the Ethiopic Version. On the weight to be assigned to this feature of the text as evidence of a Hebrew background, see pp. xliv.-li. I may add that in the late work 5 Ezra xv. 9; xvi. 65, this idiom is found; but in the latter passage it is a quotation from our Apocalypse (see p. xx.), and in the former it is apparently a quotation also.

(*d*) *Relations of the respective constituents of our Apocalypse and* 4 *Ezra.*—My present purpose does not call for an exhaustive list of the passages common to the two books. This will be given elsewhere. It will be sufficient to indicate the direction such an inquiry should pursue, and to mention some of the chief grounds for determining the relations in which the various constituents of

Baruch stand to those of 4 Ezra. These determinations must, however, pending further investigation, be regarded as provisional.

Of the multitude of thoughts, phrases, and commonplaces that are common to both books, a large number already occur in previously existing literature; and as these may possibly be drawn independently from such sources by both books, they are not helpful at the outset in determining the priority of either book or of their respective constituents. Again, of many other common passages, the sources, it is true, are no longer found; yet that such did exist in certain cases we have ample grounds for believing; see the note on xxix. 4 for the common original of 4 Ezra vi. 49-52 and of our Baruch xxix. 4. Thus we must be on our guard against tracing relations of dependence where both books have been borrowing independently from the same lost source.

We shall now point out the relations in which A^1, A^2, A^3, B^1, B^2 stand to Ezra. I shall refer to the following constituents of the latter, S, E, E^2, M (according to Kabisch's analysis on p. lxviii.).

A^1.—A^1 and S are apparently related in only one passage: Bar. xxix. 4 and 4 Ezra vi. 49-52. But this relation is not of dependence on either side, but of common derivation from the same lost source; see xxix. 4, note. As regards A^1 and the E constituent of Ezra, xxix. 3*b*-6 of the former, "*The Messiah will* then *begin to be revealed* . . . and those who hungered will *rejoice;* moreover also they will *behold marvels,*"

and vii. 27*b*-28 of the latter, "Videbit *mirabilia mea; revelabitur* enim *filius meus* . . . et *jocundabit* qui relicti sunt," are certainly connected. If we add to these connections in thought and diction the fact that only in A^1 and E in the Baruch and Ezra literature is the passive *rôle* assigned to the Messiah, we may reasonably conclude that there is a direct relation of dependence between them. A^1, I think, is earlier than E; both are prior to 70 A.D. Finally, A^1 and M may be connected in xxix. 3 and xiii. 16-20. The thought seems earlier and more vigorous in A^1. In M it is threshed out; but such considerations are indecisive. If there is a relation of dependence between them, A^1 is probably earlier than M, for in A^1 the Messiah has a passive *rôle*, in M an active one. The idea of a passive Messiah conceived as early as 160 B.C. was not likely to hold its ground in later times when the needs of the people called for an active leader and combatant in the Messiah.

A^2.—A^2 and M, *i.e.* xiii. of 4 Ezra, are related. Cf. xl. 2, "My Messiah will convict him of all his impieties . . . and set before him all the works of his hosts," with 4 Ezra xiii. 37, "Ipse autem filius meus arguet quae advenerunt gentes impietates eorum . . . et improperabit" ("improperabit" is a mistaken rendering; read "ordinabit" with Syr. and Eth.) "coram eis mala cogitamenta eorum." The connection is manifest.

The first halves of these sentences agree verbally, so likewise do the second; for "set before him" = *παραστήσει κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ* = יערך לעיניו; and

"improperabit" (or "ordinabit," Syr. and Eth.) "coram eis" = ἐπιστοιβάσει κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν = יערך לעיניהם; for παριστάναι and ἐπιστοιβάζειν are both LXX. renderings of ערך. The phrase is derived from Psalm xlix. 22 (cf. also Leviticus i. 1, 7, 8, 12; vi. 12).

A number of features into which I cannot enter here show that it is M that is dependent on A^2, and not *vice versa*.

The verse just dealt with reappears in xii. 32, in the Eagle Vision designated A by Kabisch, in a form which shows it dependent on M. A^2 is thus earlier than M and A in 4 Ezra.

A^3.—Although there are many points of contact between A^3 and 4 Ezra, there are none that necessitate the theory of dependence on either side save in liv. 15, 19. These verses which represent the teaching of orthodox Judaism *circ.* 50-70, were before the writer of the S element in 4 Ezra (cf. iii. 21-22; iv. 30; vii. 48), where a non-Jewish turn is given to the borrowed thoughts and phrases.

B^1.—Although there are many similar and identical thoughts and phrases in B^1 and 4 Ezra, these are not sufficiently characteristic or definite to furnish grounds for determining the dependence of either. This question must be settled on other grounds, *i.e.* chronological. From the use of like thought or diction, one might argue, on the one hand, that B^1 is dependent on the E element of 4 Ezra; compare iii. 7 with vii. 30; on the other, that B^1 is a source of E^2 of 4 Ezra; compare lxxvii. 3-6 with xiv. 30-33, and lxxvii. 14 with xiv.

20; that it is likewise a source of S; compare lxxxiv. 10 with x. 24. In these latter passages a different turn is given to the phrases found first in Baruch.

B^2.—Between B^2 and 4 Ezra there are almost innumerable points of contact, but the bulk of them are indecisive for our purposes. With the older elements of 4 Ezra its points of similarity are few and unimportant; but the relations between B^2 and S are very close. The fact of man's sinning consciously is frequently emphasised in B^2 and S (cf. Bar. xv. 6; xix. 3; xlviii. 40; and 4 Ezra viii. 56, 58-60; vii. 72). The doctrine that the world was made for man is confined to B^2 and S; see notes on xiv. 18; xv. 7. Their teaching on the law and on works and justification is allied—*in some particulars identical but as a whole at variance,* owing to Christian influences at work in S; see pp. lxix.-lxx. In B^2 we have an exposition of the views of orthodox Judaism 70-100 A.D.; in S we find much of the actual teaching in B^2 recast under Christian influences. S seems to us in every respect to be later than B^2.

§ 10. Relation of this Apocalypse with the New Testament

The points of contact between this Apocalypse and the New Testament are many in number. The most of these, however, are insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side; for the thoughts and expressions in question could be explained from pre-existing literature, or were commonplaces of the time.

Of these a list will be given immediately, followed by another list of passages which seem to show that our text may in a few instances be derived from the New Testament.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Mt. iii. 16.—Lo, the heavens were opened.	xxii. 1. — Lo, the heavens were opened.	Ezek. i. 1.
Mt. iii. 17 (xvii. 5 ; John xii. 28). — A voice from heaven.	xiii. 1 ; xxii. 1.— A voice from the height.	Dan. iv. 31.
Mt. iv. 8.	lxxvi. 3.	Deut. xxxiv. 1-4.
Mt. xxiv. 7 (Mk. xiii. 8 ; Luke xxi. 11).—Famines . . . and earthquakes.	xxvii. 6, 7.	Commonplaces of Jewish Apocalyptic.
Mt. xxiv. 11, 24. —Many false prophets.	xlviii. 34 (see note).	...
Mt. xxiv. 19 (Luke xxiii. 29).	x. 13, 14 (resemblance slight).	Isa. liv. 1.
Mt. xxvi. 24.— It had been good for that man, etc.	x. 6.—Blessed is he who was not born, etc.	A Jewish Commonplace.
Mt. xxiv. 27.— For as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of Man.	liii. 9. — Now that lightning shone exceedingly so as to illuminate the whole earth. (The lightning here symbolises the Messiah.)	A coincidence (?).
Luke xx. 36.— Equal unto the angels.	li. 10.	Eth. En. civ. 4, 6.
Luke xxi. 28 (1 Pet. iv. 7).—Your redemption draweth nigh.	xxiii. 7.—My redemption has drawn nigh.	Eth. En. li. 2. — The day of their redemption has drawn nigh.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Acts xv. 10 (where the law is spoken of as a "yoke"; cf. Gal. v. 1).	xli. 3.—The yoke of Thy law.	A current expression.
Rom. ii. 14, 15.	xlviii. 40 (see note).	A Jewish Commonplace.
Rom. viii. 18 (2 Cor. iv. 17).—The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory, etc.	xv. 8. — This world is to them a trouble and a weariness . . . and that which is to come, a crown with great glory.	A Jewish Commonplace (?).
1 Cor. iv. 5 (Heb. iv. 13).	lxxxiii. 3.	(Cf. Eth. En. ix. 5).
2 Cor. iv. 17 (Rom. viii. 18).	xv. 8.	A Jewish Commonplace.
1 Tim. i. 2.—Mercy and peace.	lxxviii. 2. — Mercy and peace.	A coincidence.
2 Peter iii. 9.	xxi. 20.	A coincidence.
2 Peter iii. 13 (Mt. xix. 28; Rev. xxi. 1).—New heavens and a new earth.	xxxii. 6. — Renewed His creation.	Isa. lxv. 17, etc.
Rev. xx. 12.—The books were opened.	xxiv. 1. — The books will be opened.	Dan. vii. 10.

In the following passages our text is dependent on the New Testament, or on some lost common source :—

Mt. xvi. 26.—For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?

Luke i. 42.—Blessed art thou among women, etc.

li. 15. — For what then have men lost their life or for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?

liv. 10.—Blessed be my mother among those that bear, etc. (probably interpolated).

1 Cor. xv. 19.—If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.

1 Cor. xv. 35.—How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?

James i. 2.—Count it all joy when ye fall into manifold temptations.

Rev. iv. 6.—In the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, four living creatures.

xxi. 13.—For if there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter than this.

xlix. 2.—In what shape will those live who live in that day?

lii. 6.—Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer.

li. 11.—The living creatures which are beneath the throne.

§ 11. Value of our Apocalypse in the Attestation of the Jewish Theology of 50-100 A.D., and in the Interpretation of Christian Theology for the same Period.

This book presents us with a vivid picture of the hopes and beliefs of Judaism during the years 50-100 A.D. As it was written at different dates during this period and by different authors, its composition was thus contemporaneous with that of the New Testament. It is, therefore, of very great value to the New Testament student, as it furnishes him with the historical setting and background of many of the New Testament problems. We are thereby enabled to estimate the contributions made in these respects by Christian thought, as well as to appreciate the world's need of the Pauline dialectic. For the purpose of illustrating our meaning we shall first of all draw attention to the doctrine of the Resurrection in our Apocalypse. Of the Jewish doctrine

here set forth, St. Paul's teaching on this subject will be seen to be in some respects a development. Secondly, we shall briefly advert to the doctrines of Original Sin and Freewill, Works and Justification, Forgiveness, in which the Jewish teaching and the Christian stand in strong antagonism.

(*a*) *The Resurrection.*—In xlix. 2-li. a view of the resurrection is expounded, which sets forth first the raising of the dead with their bodies in exactly the same form in which they had been committed to the earth with a view to their recognition by those who knew them, and next their subsequent transformation with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration. In my notes on pp. 83, 84, I have shown that the Pauline teaching in 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 is in many respects not an innovation, but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism.

(*b*) *Original Sin and Freewill.*—According to our Apocalypse,[1] the penalties which man has incurred through Adam's sin affect only his *physical* existence. He still preserves his freewill; whether he is saved or lost, it is his own doing. Adam's sin is limited in

[1] Only in B^2, xlviii. 42, is spiritual death traced to Adam. This passage may be interpolated; for (1) in all other passages in B^2 it is only physical death that is so traced. (2) It conflicts with the presupposition underlying B^2 that man can work righteousness and acquire merit as against God (see xiv. 7, note). (3) In A^3 (see liv. 15, 19) original sin is denied and freewill asserted in the clearest terms. (4) The doctrine of original sin is unknown to the Talmud (see Weber, 217, 240; Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., i. 165). We have shown elsewhere (pp. lxix.-lxxi.) that the teaching of 4 Ezra on this subject is largely non-Jewish.

spiritual consequences to himself; every man is the Adam of his own soul (see pp. 44-45, 93).

St. Paul's doctrine is strongly antagonistic. Both *physical* and *spiritual* death are due to Adam's sin. Owing to that sin man is henceforth dominated by a power (= original sin) which makes his fulfilment of law and therefore his realisation of righteousness impossible. He is not, however, robbed wholly thereby of freewill, but retains it in a degree only sufficient to justify his condemnation.

Works and Justification.—In our Apocalypse the righteous are saved by their works (li. 7), and their righteousness is of the law (lxvii. 6). In the consciousness of their justification by the law (li. 3) they can with confidence approach God and look to Him for the fulfilment of their prayers because of their works wherein they trust (lxiii. 3, 5; lxxxv. 2), and owing to the same ground of confidence they depart from this world full of hope (xiv. 12). But their works are not limited to themselves in their saving influences. So long as the righteous live, their righteousness is a tower of strength to their people (ii. 2), and after their death it remains to their country a lasting ground of merit (xiv. 7; lxxxiv. 10); see notes on xiv. 7; xxi. 9.

With every position here maintained Christianity is at variance, and rabbinic teaching in full accord.

Forgiveness.—How far did this doctrine exist in Pharisaic Judaism, and in what relation does it stand to the Christian doctrine of forgiveness? In Phari-

saic Judaism forgiveness was a wholly subordinate conception, and can only be considered in conjunction with its views on merit and demerit. If we wish to discover the Pharisaic doctrine of forgiveness we must have recourse to the Talmud; for that the Pharisaic views of the first century on this subject were those which later prevailed in the Talmud, is to be inferred on these grounds:—(1) In Matt. iii. 9 the words "Think not to say within yourselves, we have Abraham to our father," show that the doctrine of the vicarious righteousness of Abraham was a popular belief. Now this latter doctrine at once presupposes and forms an organic part of the Talmudic doctrine. (2) The teaching on works in our Apocalypse and partially also in 4 Ezra, as well as that of St. Paul's Jewish antagonists, belong also organically to the Talmudic doctrine of works and forgiveness.

The Talmudic doctrine of works may (see Weber, pp. 267-300) be shortly summarised as follows:—Every good work—whether the fulfilment of a command or an act of mercy—established a certain degree of merit with God, while every evil work entailed a corresponding demerit. A man's position with God depended on the relation existing between his merits and demerits, and his salvation on the preponderance of the former over the latter. The relation between his merits and demerits was determined daily by the weighing of his deeds (see Eth. En. xli. 1; lxi. 8; Weber, 272). But as the results of such judgments were necessarily unknown, there could not fail to be

much uneasiness, and to allay this the doctrine of the vicarious righteousness of the patriarchs and saints of Israel was developed, not later than the beginning of the Christian era (cf. Matt. iii. 9). A man could thereby summon to his aid the merits of the fathers, and so counterbalance his demerits.

It is obvious that such a system does not admit of forgiveness in any spiritual sense of the term. It can only mean in such a connection a remission of penalty to the offender, on the ground that compensation is furnished, either through his own merit or through that of the righteous fathers. Thus, as Weber vigorously puts it: "Vergebung ohne Bezahlung gibt es nicht."[1] Thus, according to popular Pharisaism, *God never remitted a debt until He was paid in full, and so long as it was paid it mattered not by whom.*

It will be observed that with the Pharisees forgiveness was *an external thing;* it was concerned not with the man himself but with his works—with these indeed as affecting him, but yet as existing independently without him. This was not the view taken by the best thought in the Old Testament. There forgiveness dealt first and chiefly with the direct relation between man's spirit and God; it was essentially a restoration of man to communion with God. When, therefore, Christianity had to deal with these problems, it could not accept the Pharisaic solutions, but had in some measure to return to the Old Testament to

[1] In certain extraordinary cases, the divine forgiveness was conceived possible where no merit was at hand, see 4 Ezra viii. 36; Weber, 292, 300.

authenticate and develop the highest therein taught, and in the person and life of Christ to give it a world-wide power and comprehensiveness.

We thus see that forgiveness was conceived as (1) *the restoration of man to communion with God;* (2) *the remission of penalty on the receipt of certain equivalents.* Of these two the former alone is taught in the Gospels. In the Pauline Epistles, however, the writer maintains indeed the former as the essential element in forgiveness, but he also incorporates in some degree the latter conception, and not unnaturally as having been originally a Pharisee of the Pharisees. Thus in his doctrine of the Atonement, he introduces the Pharisaic conception by representing the penalty due to man's sin as endured by Christ. This is undoubtedly a more spiritual form of the Pharisaic doctrine, and rightly interpreted it preserves the element of truth which underlies the Pharisaic teaching. It needs, however, to be kept in complete subordination to the former. But that it has not been so kept is obvious from every page of the history of this doctrine since the Christian era. In every age this Pharisaic error has won an evil eminence in the Church—before the eleventh century in representing Christ's death as a debt paid to the devil in lieu of the latter's claim on man, and in the subsequent centuries as a sacrifice to the alleged unforgivingness of God. Wherever or whenever this evil leaven has appeared, it has been followed by shallowness, unreality, and every vice of the unspiritual life.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

[Translated from the Greek into Syriac]

I. And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of I.-IV. 1 = B^1.

The First Section

I.-V. 6. These chapters constitute the first of the seven sections into which, according to the scheme of the final editor, the book was originally divided by fasts. These sections were divided by fasts which generally lasted seven days (see v. 7, note; ix., note). In each section there is a definite movement or order of events observed. This order briefly is: first a fast, then a divine command or revelation, and finally the publication of the command or matter so revealed. In some cases a prayer follows the fast, and a lamentation the publication of the divine disclosure (see notes already referred to).

It will be observed that iv. 2-7 is interpolated probably from B^2.

In this section the word of the Lord comes to Baruch announcing the coming, though temporary, destruction of Jerusalem on account of the wickedness of the two tribes (i.); with a view to this destruction Baruch is to bid Jeremiah and the remaining righteous to withdraw (ii.); Baruch then in his alarm asks, will this destruction be final? will chaos return and the number of souls be completed (iii.)? God replies that the punishment is only temporary (iv. 1). Yet, rejoins Baruch, even so, the enemy will, by the pollution and fall of Zion, glory before their idols over the nation loved of God (v. 1). Not so, answers God; judgment must be executed on Judah, yet the heathen will have no cause to glory, for it is not they that will destroy Zion (v. 2, 3). Baruch thereupon assembled the people in the Cedron valley, and delivered the divine message; and the people wept (v. 5, 6).

I. [*Translated from Greek into Syriac.*] These words are found in their above position in the Syriac MS. As they were placed there either by the Syriac translator or a subsequent scribe, I have bracketed them. The statement they convey, however, is borne out by all other evidence. Thus we find (1) transliterations of Greek words; (2) renderings explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator followed the wrong meaning of the Greek word before him.

I. 1. *In the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah.* Jeconiah was eighteen years when he began to reign in 599 (2 Kings xxiv. 8). After reigning three months he was carried into

Jeconiah king of Judah, that the word of the Lord came to Baruch the son of Neriah, and said to him: 2. "Hast thou seen all that this people are doing to Me, that the evils which these two tribes which remained have done are greater than (those of) the ten tribes which were carried away captive? 3. For the former tribes were forced by their kings to commit sin, but these two of themselves have been forcing and compelling their kings to commit sin. 4. For this reason, behold I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants, and it will be removed from before Me for a time, and

captivity. Yet during his captivity he is still called king (2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. xxix. 2; Ezek. i. 2). Thus his twenty-fifth year would be 592, or two years before the approach of Nebuchadrezzar. It is no objection to this that, according to vi. 1, only one day and not two years should elapse between the prediction and its fulfilment; for in like manner the siege of Jerusalem, which lasted two years, is represented as lasting one day. The unities of time are sacrificed to suit the dramatic purposes of the writer. Why the writer spoke of Jeconiah and not of Zedekiah here, I cannot say. It was not from ignorance of the latter (cf. viii. 5).

The Lord. This title of God is found in iii. 1, 4; iv. 1; v. 2; x. 4, 18; xi. 3; xv. 1; xvii. 1; xxiv. 3; xxviii. 6; xlviii. 2; liv. 1, 20; lxxv. 1; lxxvii. 3. It is, therefore, not peculiar to any of the different elements of the book. This, however, may be due in part to the final editor. See note on iii. 1.

Baruch the son of Neriah. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 12; xxxvi. 4; Bar. i. 1.

2. *The ten tribes.* Elsewhere in this Apocalypse called "the nine and a half tribes." See lxxviii. 1, note.

3. *Forced by their kings. I.e.* by Jeroboam and others of the kings of Israel.

These two . . . compelling their kings to commit sin. It was in some instances the princes of Judah, and not Zedekiah, that resisted the teaching and prophecy of Jeremiah: cf. Jer. xxxviii.; and Josephus, *Ant.* x. 7. 2, ὁ δὲ Σεδεκίας ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ἤκουε τοῦ προφήτου ταῦτα λέγοντος, ἐπείθετο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνήδει πᾶσιν ὡς ἀληθεύουσι . . . διέφθειραν δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι, καὶ διῆγον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς ἅπερ ἤθελον.

4. *I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants* (2 Kings xxii. 16; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 28; Jer. vi. 19; xix. 3, etc.)

Will be removed from before Me (2 Kings xxiii. 27; xxiv. 3; Jer. xxxii. 31).

For a time. This phrase recurs in iv. 1; vi. 9; xxxii. 3. Since we must on other grounds regard xxxii. 2-4 in its present context as an interpolation, this phrase is peculiar to i.-viii., *i.e.* to B^1. Although Jerusalem has fallen under the Romans, the writer of these chapters believes that its desolation will be but "for a time." The future restoration of

I will scatter this people among the Gentiles that they may do good to the Gentiles. 5. And My people will be chastened, and the time will come when they will seek for the prosperity of their times.

II. "For I have said these things to thee that thou mayst say (them) to Jeremiah, and to all those who are like you, in order that ye may retire from this city. 2. Because your works are to this city as a firm pillar, and your prayers as a strong wall."

Jerusalem is implied also in lxxvii. 6; lxxviii. 7, where the return of the ten tribes is foretold. In B^2, *i.e.* ix.-xxvi.; xxxi.-xxxv.; xli.-xliii.; xliv. 9-15; xlvii.-lii.; lxxxiii.; B^3, *i.e.* lxxxv., no such restoration is looked for; Jerusalem is removed, xx. 2 (see note *in loc.*), in order to usher in the judgment more speedily; in x. 10 the writer abandons all hope of a restored Jerusalem.

Scatter this people, etc. Jer. xxx. 11; Ezek. xxxvi. 19.

Do good to the Gentiles. This seems to mean to make proselytes of the Gentiles. Cf. xli. 4; xlii. 5; see also xiii. 12.

5. *My people will be chastened.* Cf. xiii. 10; xiv.; lxxix. 2; Pss. Sol. vii. 3; x. 1-3; xiii. 6-8; xviii. 4.

Seek for the prosperity of their times. The writer looks forward to a Messianic kingdom or period of blessedness for Israel on earth.

II. 1. According to Jer. xxxviii. 13, 28, Jeremiah was a prisoner in the court of the guard till the capture of Jerusalem.

Jeremiah is mentioned again in v. 5; ix.; x. 2, 4.

Those who are like you. This phrase is found in three of the sections of this book (cf. xxi. 24; lvii. 1; lix. 1; lxvi. 7). Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36; viii. 51, 62; xiv. 9, 49.

Withdraw from the city. This reappears in the Rest of the Words of Baruch i. 1: "Jeremiah . . . go forth from this city." Cf. also i. 3, 7. The reason for this command appears in the Talmud. Thus, as in *Taanith*, 19, we are told that a house cannot fall so long as a good man is in it; so in *Pesikta*, 115*b* (Buber's edition, 1868), it is said: "So long as Jeremiah was in Jerusalem, it was not destroyed, but when he went forth from it, it was destroyed."

2. *Your works are to this city as a firm pillar*, etc. We have here quite an illegitimate application of Jer. vi. 27: "I have made thee a tower and a fortress among my people." It is, however, a natural inference from Gen. xviii. 23-33. This verse is reproduced in the Rest of the Words of Baruch i. 2: *αἱ γὰρ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ὡς στῦλος ἑδραῖος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ὡς τεῖχος ἀδαμάντινον περικυκλοῦν αὐτήν.* It will be remarked that the reference to "works" is omitted by this latter book, as we should naturally expect in a work of Christian authorship.

Your works. On the doctrine of works taught in this book see note on xiv. 7.

III. And I said: "O LORD, my Lord, have I come into the world for this purpose that I might see the evils of my mother? not (so) my Lord. 2. If I have found grace in Thy sight, first take my spirit that I may go to my fathers and not behold the destruction of my mother. 3. For two things vehemently constrain me: for I cannot resist Thee, and my soul,

III. 1. *O* LORD, *my Lord.* This title of God is found also in xiv. 8, 16; xvi. 1; xxiii. 1; xxxviii. 1; xlviii. 4, 5, and is thus, except in one instance, confined to B and B^1. It is remarkable that, whereas it is used only of God in the Apocalypse of Baruch, in 4 Ezra it is a designation of God in five instances (iii. 4; v. 23; vi. 38 (in Syriac, Eth., and Arm. versions); xii. 7; xiii. 51), and of an angel in six (iv. 38; v. 38; vi. 11; vii. 17, 58, 75). This fact makes it probable that the introduction of the angel in 4 Ezra is the work of the final editor. The usual titles used in addressing an angel in that book are *dominus meus* (iv. 3, 5; v. 33; vii. 3; x. 34). This is applied also to Ezra in ix. 41; *domine* (iv. 22, 41; v. 34, 35, 41, 56; vii. 10, 53, 132; viii. 6, 20, 36, 63). These last two titles are probably equivalents of אֲדֹנִי which is employed in Dan. x. 17, 19, in addressing an angel. The words ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝܐ are to be rendered *O* LORD, *my Lord* as above and not *Dominator Domine*, as we find in Ceriani and Fritzsche. Linguistically indeed either rendering is right, but the frequent occurrence of this phrase in the Syriac Version of 4 Ezra enables us to see that the suffix is not moribund but living; for it appears in the Ethiopic Version and occasionally in the Armenian. The Syriac is a translation either of *δέσποτα κύριέ μου* or *κύριε κύριέ μου*; these in turn would point either to אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה, as in Gen. xv. 2, 8, or יְהוֹה אֲדֹנָי. Since such titles could only be used of God, we can with certainty conclude that their attribution to an angel in 4 Ezra is due to gross confusions or interpolations in the text.

My mother. Cf. iii. 2, 3; x. 16; Baruch iv. 9-16. This was a very natural term for a Jew to apply to Jerusalem. We find the correlative expression in Isa. xlix. 21; Matt. xxiii. 37; Gal. iv. 25. It is the earthly Jerusalem that is referred to here, for the writer of B^1 looks for a restored earthly Zion (see note on i. 4). Again the same title is applied to the fallen Jerusalem in 4 Ezra x. 7: "Sion mater nostra omnium," though there the writer looks for the restoration of Zion. In Gal. iv. 26 St. Paul uses it of the heavenly Jerusalem; for he has no further interest in the earthly. The earthly was the mother of Jews, but the heavenly of Christians. The earthly Jerusalem, as we should expect, in Matt. v. 35 is still "the city of the great King."

O Lord. See i. 1, note.

2. *If I have found grace.* xxviii. 6; 4 Ezra v. 56; vii. 102; viii. 42; xii. 7.

Take my spirit. An O. T. expression (cf. Ps. xxxi. 13; Jer. xv. 15).

Go to my fathers. xliv. 2; cf. also xi. 4; lxxxv. 9; Gen. xv. 15.

moreover, cannot behold the evils of my mother. 4. But one thing I will say in Thy presence, O Lord. 5. What, therefore, will there be after these things? for if Thou destroyest Thy city, and deliverest up Thy land to those that hate us, how shall the name of Israel be again remembered? 6. Or how shall one speak of Thy praises? or to whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained? 7. Or shall the world return to its nature (of aforetime), and the age revert to primeval silence? 8. And shall the multitude of souls be taken away, and the nature of man not again be named? 9. And where is all that which Thou didst say to Moses regarding us?"

IV. And the Lord said unto me: "This city will be delivered up for a time, and the people will be

4-IV. 1. Baruch asks God if the end of all things will follow on the delivery of Jerusalem into the hands of its enemies; will Israel be blotted out? will there be no longer any students of the law? will all men die and chaos return? In iv. 1 God answers that Jerusalem will again be restored; the chastisement of its people soon be accomplished and chaos will not return. The writer thus looks forward to the returning felicity of Jerusalem.

III. 6. *To whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained?* The real answer to this question is given in Baruch's own words in xlvi. 4.

7. We should observe that the Syriac word ܥܠܡܐ, here translated "world," really means "ornament." Thus the translator followed a wrong sense of κόσμος here.

Revert to primeval silence. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 30. In. iv. 1 this is answered in the negative, but in xliv. 9 (*i.e.* B^2) in the affirmative.

IV. 2-7. In these verses we have an undoubted interpolation. The earthly Jerusalem, the restoration of which has just been promised, is here derided. This of itself is suspicious. When, however, we turn to vi. 9 and see there that *the very Jerusalem* that is now delivered up to its foes will hereafter be restored, and that for ever, the incongruity of these verses with their present context emerges still more clearly. This incongruity is still further emphasised when we observe that the actual vessels of the earthly temple are committed to the earth by an angel, that they may be preserved for future use in the restored Jerusalem (vi. 7-9). The vessels of the heavenly Jerusalem would naturally be of a heavenly kind, and are in fact already there (iv. 5).

chastened during a time, and the world will not be
IV.2-7 = B²(?). given over to oblivion. 2. [Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said: 'On the palms of My hands have I graven thee'? 3. It is not this building which is now built in your midst; (it is) that which will be revealed with Me, that which was pre-

2. It is noteworthy that the words "On the palms of My hands," etc., which are taken from Isa. xlix. 16, agree letter for letter with the Syriac Version, which here stands alone against the Mass., LXX., and Vulg., in presupposing על כפות ידי instead of Mass. על כפים. This fuller phrase which the Syriac presupposes is the usual one (cf. 1 Sam. v. 4; 2 Kings ix. 35; Dan. x. 10).

3. *It is not this building . . . (it is) that which will be revealed.* These words represent one of the final stages of a movement which had already its beginnings in the O. T. Throughout the O. T. Jerusalem had always been singled out as the one place on earth in which it had pleased God to dwell, and with which He had inseparably connected His name. But from the growing transcendence and enlargement of the idea of God, combined with the deepened consciousness of sin, and the consequent sense of the unfitness of Jerusalem as God's habitation, the doctrine of a heavenly Jerusalem complete in all its parts came to be evolved.

Of the existence indeed of heavenly antitypes of the Tabernacle and its furniture we are told already in the Priest's Code (Exod. xxv. 9, 40, cf. Heb. viii. 5). It needed only a step further to postulate the existence of the heavenly temple and city. That the earthly copies needed to be purified or even wholly renewed, we are taught in Isa. lx.; Ezek. xl.-xlviii.; but that nothing else could suffice save the actual descent of the heavenly Jerusalem to the earth was not concluded till the revival of religion under the early Maccabees. In Isa. liv. 11 and Tob. xiii. 16, 17, there are highly figurative accounts of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, but it is the earthly. The first actual emergence of the idea of the heavenly seems to be in the Eth. En. xc. 28, 29, where the old Jerusalem is removed and the new is brought and set up by God Himself, though even there a prior existence is not assigned to the latter. This would be about 164 B.C. But the older ideas still held their ground. Thus in the Psalms of Solomon xvii. 25, 33 (*circ.* 70-40 B.C.), as in the oldest part of the Eth. En. x. 16-19; xxv. 1 (*circ.* 180 B.C.), the purification of Jerusalem is all that appears needful to the writers as a preparation for the Messianic kingdom. Even when we come down to the first century of the Christian era, such purification is deemed sufficient for the *temporary* Messianic kingdoms depicted in Apoc. Bar. xxix.; xxxix.-xl.; lxxii.-lxxiv.; Ezra vii. 27-30 (for vii. 26 is an interpolation, as Kabisch points out); xii. 32-34; and possibly in xiii. 32-50, where xiii. 36 seems also an intrusion. In all these passages a Messiah is expected. In B¹ of the Apoc. Bar. *i.e.* vi. 9, Jerusalem is to be restored

pared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment, it was removed from him, as also Paradise. 4. And after these things I showed it to My

and to be established for ever, but this is not the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven. The latter is mentioned in xxxii. 2-4. It was indeed a very current conception in the latter half of the first century A.D. Thus we find it in Gal. iv. 26; Heb. xii. 22; Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10. In Gal. iv. 26 the heavenly Jerusalem is a symbol of the spiritual commonwealth of which the Christian is even now a member. But in Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10, it is an actual city, the counterpart of the earthly Jerusalem, with its own buildings and vessels. Here we should probably class the passage in Test. Dan. v. This city was to descend from heaven, but this expectation does not apparently lie at the base of Heb. xii. 22. Similar conceptions to that found in Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10, appear in 4 Ezra viii. 52, 53; x. 44-59; and also in vii. 26 and xiii. 36, though we must regard one or both of the last two as interpolated. With these last we might reckon also the heavenly Jerusalem mentioned in the text. The heavenly Jerusalem is variously described as the *νέα* (Test. Dan. v.), *ἡ ἄνω* (Gal. iv. 26), *καινή* (Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2), *ἐπουράνιος* (Heb. xii. 22). It was created in the beginning of creation, and preserved in heaven. It was shown to Adam before he sinned. To Adam indeed the heavens had been open originally (Slav. En. xxxi. 2; Philo, *Quaest.* xxxii. in *Gen.*; Book of Adam and Eve, i. 8); but when he transgressed the commandment the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem was taken from him and likewise the possession of Paradise. Among the Rabbins the heavenly Jerusalem was called ירושלים של מעלה (=*ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ*). For the various Rabbinic conceptions regarding it, see Schöttgen, *de Hieros. Coelest.* in his *Horae Hebr.* 1205 *sqq.*; Meuschen, *N.T. ex Talm. ill.* p. 199 *sqq.*; Bertholdt, *Christologia*, 217-220; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 839-845; Weber, *Lehren d. Talmud*, 356-359, 386.

Took counsel to make Paradise. Which Paradise is this? The context might support either. For we might regard it as the Paradise which is kept in heaven like the heavenly Jerusalem. Adam could see both before his fall, but after it he lost the vision of both. It may, however, be the earthly Paradise in which he was placed at the first. The period to which the creation of the earthly Paradise is assigned varies. In Gen. ii. 8-17 it is apparently one of the last works of the creation. When, however, we come down to the Christian era, its creation was attributed to the third day (Jub. ii. 7; Slav. En. xxx. 1). The heavenly Paradise, on the other hand, is described as already existing before the creation of the world either actually or in the mind of God (see *Pesach.* 54*a*; *Beresh.* 20 in Weber *L. d. T.* 191).

4. *I showed it to My servant Abraham.* There is naturally no mention of this in Gen. xv. 9-21; but in the *Beresh. rabba* on Gen. xxviii. 17 we are told that this

servant Abraham by night among the portions of the victims. 5. And again also I showed it to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed to him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. 6. And now, behold, it is preserved with Me, as also Paradise. 7. Go, therefore, and do as I command thee."]

V.-IX. 1 = B[1]. V. And I answered and said: "I shall, therefore, be in great straits in Zion, because Thine enemies will come to that place and pollute Thy sanctuary, and lead Thine inheritance into captivity, and will lord it over those whom Thou hast loved, and they will depart again to the place of their idols, and will boast before them. And what wilt Thou do for Thy great name?" 2. And the Lord said unto me: "My name and My glory have an eternal duration; My judgment, moreover, will preserve its rights in its own time. 3. And thou wilt see with thine eyes that the enemy will not overthrow Zion, nor burn Jerusalem, but be subservient to the judge for a time. 4. But do thou go and do whatsoever I have said unto thee." 5. And I went and took Jeremiah, and Adu, and Seriah, and Jabish,

vision was accorded to Jacob when sleeping at Bethel.

5. Cf. Exod. xxv. 9, 40.

6. See note on verse 3.

7. *As I command thee.* A frequently recurring phrase (cf. v. 4; x. 4; xxi. 1; 4 Ezra v. 20; xii. 51).

V. 1. *Thine inheritance.* Deut. iv. 20; ix. 26, etc.; Rest of Words of Baruch, ii. 7; iii. 6.

Whom Thou hast loved. Ephes. xxi. 20; 4 Ezra iv. 23.

Boast before them. Cf. vii. 1; lxvii. 2, 7; lxxx. 3; Rest of Words of Baruch, i. 5; iv. 7.

What wilt Thou do, etc. Joshua vii. 9; cf. 4 Ezra iv. 25; x. 22.

2. *My name and My glory*, etc. Ps. cxxxv. 13.

My judgment, moreover, will preserve its rights. This phrase in a slightly different form recurs in xlviii. 27, and lxxxv. 9.

3. This is carried out in vi. 5; vii.

4. This refers to the command given in ii. 1.

5. *Adu.* There is a priest of this name who went up with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). According to Mass. he is called Iddo, but both the

and Gedaliah, and all the honourable men of the people, and I led them to the valley of Cedron, and I narrated to them all that had been said to me. 6. And they lifted up their voice, and they all wept. 7. And we sat there and fasted until the evening.

VI. And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo!

Syriac and Vulgate give Addo. In Ezra viii. 17 another Iddo is mentioned who returned with Ezra from Babylon.

Seriah. This Seriah was brother of Baruch and chief chamberlain of Zedekiah. He went with the latter to Babylon (see Jer. li. 59, 61).

Jabish. This name has been identified with Ἰγαβής = יַעְבֵּץ (1 Chron. iv. 9), but both the form of the name and the time of Jabez are against this identification.

Gedaliah. This is Gedaliah the son of Ahikam (see Jer. xl. 14). But Gedaliah might also be from Γοθολίας = עֲתַלְיָה (cf. 1 Chron. viii. 26) a companion of Ezra (see Ezra viii. 7). Gedaliah is again mentioned in xliv. 1 in a fragment of B[1].

Cedron, i.e. קִדְרוֹן (2 Sam. xv. 23). The valley of the Cedron is again the scene of Baruch's fast in xxi. 1, and of an assembly of the people in xxxi. 2.

Narrated to them, etc. After most of the revelations which Baruch receives, he makes known their disclosures to his friends and the elders of the people (see x. 4; xxxi. 3-xxxii. 7; xliv.-xlvi.; lxxvii. 1-17). There is no need of such a disclosure in the second section, *i.e.* v. 7-viii., and such disclosure is forbidden in the fourth, *i.e.* xii. 5-xx.

The Second Section

V. 7-VIII. This is a short section. First there is the fast of one day (v. 1). Thereupon to Baruch in his grief (vi. 2) is disclosed a vision. In this he sees the sacred vessels committed to the earth for a season and the city destroyed by angels, lest the enemy should triumph (vi. 3-vii.) The realisation of this vision which follows thereupon dispenses with the need of its publication by Baruch (viii.)

7. *Fasted until the evening.* The other fasts mentioned are of seven days. Of these there are four (see ix. 2; xii. 5; xxi. 1; xlvii. 2). The symmetry of the book would require another such fast after xxxv. For the scheme of the final editor is first a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or revelation, then an announcement of this either to an individual, as in v. 5; x. 4, or to the people (xxxi. 2-xxxiv.; xliv.-xlvi.; lxxvii. 1-17), followed occasionally by a lamentation. In xx. 5, at the close of the fourth section, Baruch is bidden to make no announcement.

It will be observed that this scheme is broken through in the fifth section only, *i.e.* in xxi.-xlvi., where there is a fast, a prayer, an address to the people followed by a lament over Zion, a revelation and an address to the people (see ix. 2, note). In 4 Ezra there are four fasts of seven days (see v. 20; vi. 35; ix. 26, 27; xii. 51).

VI. 1. *On the following morning*, etc. These words are reproduced in Rest of Words (iv. 1).

the army of the Chaldees surrounded the city, and at the time of the evening I, Baruch, left the people, and I went forth and stood by the oak. 2. And I was grieving over Zion, and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon the people. 3. And, lo! suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of Jerusalem. 4. And I beheld, and lo! four angels standing at the four angles of the city, each of them holding a lamp of fire in his hands. 5. And another angel began to descend from heaven, and said unto them: "Hold your lamps, and do not light them till I tell you. 6. For I am first sent to speak a word to the earth, and to place in it what the Lord the Most High has commanded me." 7. And I saw him descend into the Holy of Holies, and take from thence the veil,

By the oak. This oak is outside the city; for in ii. 1 Jeremiah and all that were like him were bidden to leave the city. This they and Baruch did in v. 5, and they fasted in the valley of the Cedron. On the following day the Chaldees surround the city. On that day Baruch left Jeremiah and the rest and went forth (probably from the cavern in the Cedron valley mentioned in xxi. 1) and stood by the oak. The oak thus appears to be near or in the Cedron valley, and thus in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. This oak is mentioned again in lxxvii. 18. We are not, therefore, to compare this oak with the well-known one at Hebron, as Fritzsche, who compares LXX.; Gen. xiii. 18; xiv. 13; xviii. 1.

It is noteworthy that no mention of this oak appears in B^2. In B^1 it is found twice (vi. 1 and lxxvii. 18). A tree is referred to in A^3 in lv. 1.

3. As the Chaldeans encompassed Jerusalem, Baruch was unable to draw dear to the wall. But a strong angel lifts him on high above the wall.

4. Cf. Rev. vii. 1, "I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth"; Rest of Words of Bar. iii. 2.

5. Cf. Rev. vii. 2; Rest of Words, iii. 4.

6. The office of the angel here is executed by Jeremiah in Rest of Words, iii. 8.

The Lord the Most High. Occurs here only in this book. It is not found in 4 Ezra.

7. *Take from thence*, etc. According to Josephus, *Bell*, V. 5, 5, the Holy of Holies in Herod's temple was empty.

See Appendix for a similar account

and the holy ephod, and the mercy-seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the altar of incense, and the forty-eight precious stones, wherewith the priest was adorned, and all the holy vessels of the tabernacle. 8. And he spake to the earth with a loud voice: "Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God, and receive what I commit to thee, and guard them until the last times, so that, when thou art ordered, thou mayst restore them, so that strangers may not get possession of them. 9. For the time comes when Jerusalem also will be delivered up for a time, until it is said, that it is again restored for ever. 10. And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up."

VII. And after these things I heard that angel say-

in Macc. *The veil, i.e.* פָּרֹכֶת (Exod. xxvi. 31). *The ephod, i.e.* אֵפֹד (Exod. xxix. 5).

Mercy-seat, כַּפֹּרֶת (Exod. xxv. 17).

Forty-eight precious stones. How this number is made up I cannot discover. There were twelve stones on the breastplate (Exod. xxviii. 15-21), and two on the ephod (Exod. xxviii. 9).

The altar of incense. The Syriac implies *θυμιατήριον*, which in Josephus and Philo = מזבח הקטרה. See Appendix.

According to *Bammidbar rabba*, 15, five things were taken away and preserved on the destruction of Solomon's temple: the candlestick, the ark, the fire, the Holy Spirit, and the cherubim.

8. In the Rest of Words, iii. 8, these words in a greatly altered shape are attributed to Jeremiah.

Earth . . . of the mighty God; drawn from Jer. xxii. 29. Text agrees with Mass., Syr., Vulg., against LXX., which gives "earth" only twice.

Mighty God. This title recurs in vii. 1, and xiii. 2, 4. It is not found in 4 Ezra.

Guard them until the last times. Cf. Rest of Words, iii. 8, "Preserve the vessels of worship until the coming of the Beloved."

That . . . thou mayst restore them, i.e. for use in the temple of the rebuilt Jerusalem.

That strangers may not get possession of them (cf. x. 19). For a slightly different reason see lxxx. 2.

9. *For a time.* See i. 4, note.

Restored for ever. It is not necessary to take the phrase "for ever" literally. In any case a Messianic kingdom of indefinite duration is looked forward to with Jerusalem as its centre, and likewise the temple in which the sacred vessels of the former temple will again be used. During this kingdom the dispersion will again return to Palestine (lxxvii. 6; lxxviii. 7, notes).

ing unto those angels who held the lamps: "Destroy, therefore, and overthrow its walls to its foundations, lest the enemy should boast and say: 'We have overthrown the wall of Zion, and we have burnt the place of the mighty God.'" 2. And the Spirit restored me to the place where I had been standing before.

VIII. Now the angels did as he had commanded them, and when they had broken up the angles of the walls, a voice was heard from the interior of the temple, after the wall had fallen, saying: 2. "Enter ye enemies, and come ye adversaries; for He who kept the house has forsaken (it)." 3. And I, Baruch, departed. 4. And it came to pass after these things that the army of the Chaldees entered and seized the house, and all that was around it. 5. And they led the people away captive, and slew some of them, and bound Zedekiah the king, and sent him to the king of Babylon.

VII. 1. *Destroy, therefore, and overthrow*, etc. Cf. v. 3; lxxx. 1.

Boast. Cf. v. 1; lxvii. 2, 7; lxxx. 3; Rest of Words, i. 5; Ps. xxxv. 19; xxxviii. 16; Ecclus. xxiii. 3; Pss. Sol. xiii. 7, ἐν περιστολῇ παιδεύεται δίκαιος, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιχαρῇ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς τῷ δικαίῳ.

Mighty God. See vi. 8, note.

2. *And the Spirit restored me.* I have here made a necessary emendation of the text. Thus I have emended ܘܐܬܬܪ݂ܥ݂ܬ ܒܝ = "and you have seized it," into ܘܐܬܝܪ ܠܝ ܪܘܚܐ, "And the spirit restored me." The unamended text gives no sense, whereas the change just made restores the harmony of the context. Thus in vi. 31, "a strong spirit" carried Baruch aloft in order to see the vision. After the vision this spirit restores him to where he had been before. From this place Baruch departs in viii. 3.

VIII. 1. Cf. vii. 1; lxxx. 1.

2. Cf. Rest of Words, iv. 1. *He who kept the house has forsaken (it).* Cf. Josephus, *De Bello Jud.* vi. 5. 3: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (ἀντιλαβέσθαι) καὶ φωνῆς ἀθρόας μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν.

Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 13, "Et apertae repente delubri fores et audita major humana vox, excedere deos."

5. *Led . . . away captive.* lxxx. 4; Rest of Words, iv. 2.

Bound Zedekiah the king, and sent, etc. Whatever explanation we give of i. 1, it is clear from these words that the writer was acquainted with the history of the kings of Judah and the captivity of Judah under Zedekiah.

IX. And I, Baruch, came, and Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins, who had not been captured in the seizure of the city. 2. And we rent our garments, and wept, and mourned, and fasted seven days. IX. 2-X. 5 = E and B^2.

X. And it came to pass after seven days, that the word of the Lord was upon me, and said unto me: "Tell Jeremiah to go and confirm the captivity of the

Bound and sent to the king of Babylon. Cf. lxxx. 4.

IX. 1. *Heart . . . pure from sin.* Contrast the "wicked heart" in 4 Ezra iii. 20, 21, 26; iv. 4, etc. In Pss. Sol. xvii. 41, the Messiah is said to be *καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας.*

The Third Section

IX. 2-XII. 4. We have first the fast of seven days amid the ruins of Zion (ix., cf. x. 3). Then the word of the Lord comes to Baruch and bids him to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon (x. 2), and promises a revelation of what should be in the end (x. 3). Then follows Baruch's announcement of the divine message to Jeremiah (x. 4). The section closes with Baruch's lament before the gates of the temple over Zion (x. 5-xii. 4).

We have shown below that x. 6-xii. 4 comes probably from the hand of a Sadducean priest.

IX. 2. *Fasted seven days.* See v. 7, note. This is the first fast of seven days. It is observed amid the ruins of Zion (cf. x. 3). There are three others to follow, though, as we have shown in the note just referred to, there should be four. The insertion of the fasts *in their present positions* is the work of the final editor. There seem to have been fasts in his sources (B^1 and B^2). Fasting was the usual preparation for the reception of supernatural communications (cf. Dan. ix. 3, 20-21, and all the instances in this book and 4 Ezra cited in note on v. 7). In Test. Jos. iii. there is likewise a fast of seven days (Armenian Version), and in 2 Macc. xiii. 12, and Ass. Mosis ix. 6, of three days.

The scene of the first and fourth fasts is Cedron; of the second and sixth, Mount Zion; of the third, the gates of the temple; the account of the fourth is lost.

X. 1. *God.* This word is found only twice again, *i.e.* liv. 12; lxxxii. 9. Its use is more frequent in 4 Ezra (see vii. 19, 20, 21, 79; viii. 58; ix. 45; x. 16).

2. The divine communication that follows on the fast consists of a command to be given through Baruch to Jeremiah. Jeremiah is bidden to go to Babylon. We have here a violation of historical truth. According to Jer. xliii. 4-7, both Jeremiah and Baruch were carried down into Egypt. In the Apocryphal Baruch i. 1, Baruch is represented as being in Babylon five years after the capture of Jerusalem. In the Rest of Words, iv. 5, Jeremiah was dragged an unwilling captive to Babylon, whereas in our text he goes there at the bidding of God. The words "go and confirm the captivity" recur in xxxiii. 2.

people unto Babylon. 3. But do thou remain here amid the desolation of Zion, and I will show to thee after these days what will befall at the end of days." 4. And I said to Jeremiah as the Lord commanded me. 5. And he, indeed, departed with the people, but I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the temple, and I lamented with that lamentation over Zion and said: 6. "Blessed is he who was not born, or being

X. 6.-XII. 4 = B^2 or S.

It is probable that the references to Jeremiah in connection with Babylon belong to B^2; for it is noteworthy that in lxxvii. 17, 19; lxxx. 4; lxxxv. 6, Baruch always speaks of writing to the brethren in Babylon, but never to Jeremiah. This would be strange if the writer believed Jeremiah to be there. The people also urge Baruch in lxxvii. 12 to write to their brethren in Babylon to confirm them. Now if Jeremiah were in charge of the people there, as x. 2, 5; xxxiii. 2, clearly imply, any letter of Baruch to Babylon would have been addressed to him. As a matter of fact, in the Rest of Words of Baruch, when Baruch writes to Babylon, he directs the letter to Jeremiah.

It is probable, therefore, that the account of B^1 does not conflict with Jer. xliii., where Johanan takes Jeremiah with him down into Egypt.

3. Baruch is commanded to remain among the ruins of Zion, and is promised a revelation of what will befall in the last days. The words "after these days" show that this revelation will be accorded on a future occasion, after a fast, no doubt.

At the end of days. Cf. xxv. 1.

5. *Before the gates of the temple.* This is the scene of the following lamentation of Baruch, and probably of the fast in xii. 5. It is again the scene of his lamentation in xxxv. 1. A passage in the beginning of the Apoc. Bar. Tert. seems to be derived from our text: *οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πύλας ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια.* Mount Zion, on the other hand, is the scene where revelations are accorded to him (cf. xiii. 1; xxi. 2; xlvii. 2).

X. 6-XII. 4. This fragment appears to be the work of a Sadducee —probably a Sadducean priest writing just after the fall of the temple. For (1) in x. 6 and xi. 7 we have a thoroughly Sadducean sentiment, *i.e.* it were best not to be born at all, or, being born, to die; for the dead enjoy a sorrowless rest and a tranquil sleep (xi. 4); they know not the anguish of the living (xi. 5). No resurrection of the individual or of the nation is looked for, but only that retribution in due course may come upon the enemies of Israel (xii. 4). (2) The conception of Sheol in xi. 6 is Sadducean. (3) In x. 6-xii. 4 we have the saddest dirge in the Jewish literature of the time. This might well be; for for the priesthood there was no future. As false stewards they relinquish their charge and restore the keys of the temple to God (x. 18). Never again should sacrifices be offered in Zion (x. 10).

X. 6. *Blessed is he who was not born,* etc. Similar expressions of pessimism and despair return time and again in the later literature of Judaism. But in this passage and in xi. 7 the

born has died. 7. But as for us who live, woe unto us, because we see the afflictions of Zion, and what has befallen Jerusalem. 8. I will call the Sirens

phrase is used with a significance that severs it from all other instances of its occurrence. For whereas repeatedly elsewhere, as we shall see presently, it is said that it were better man had never been born because of sin and future condemnation, here non-existence or death is said to be preferable to witnessing the present woes of Jerusalem. Lest we should suppose this to be an accidental exaggeration, we should observe that it recurs in an intensified form in xi. 7, where the state of the dead in Sheol is said to be better than that of the living. Such a sentiment was impossible for the Pharisaic author of B^2, or indeed for any of the authors of this Apocalypse. It is a genuinely Sadducean sentiment, and the conception of Sheol in xi. 6, 7 is likewise Sadducean —practically that of the O. T. or of Hades in the Greek world. To a Pharisee no condition of earthly life could in any way approach the horrors of the existence of the wicked in the after-world.

In 4 Ezra and elsewhere, as we have remarked, quite a different turn is given to the expression in our text. There it is said that it were better man had not been at all than be born and have to face *future torment and judgment*. Thus in vii. 66 the writer declares: "It is much better for them (*i.e.* the beasts of the field) than for us; for they expect not a judgment and know not of torments." Again in vii. 116, 117, it is urged that "it would have been best not to have given a body to Adam, or, that being done, to have restrained him from sin; for what profit is there that man should in the present life live in heaviness and after death look for punishment?" Finally, in iv. 12 the nexus of life, sin and suffering, just referred to is put still more strongly: "It were better we had not been born at all than that we should be born and live in sin and suffer." A perfect parallel to the last passage is found in the Slav. En. xli. 2: "Blessed is the man who was not born, or, having been born, has never sinned . . . so that he should not come into this place (*i.e.* hell);" and to 4 Ezra vii. 116, 117, in the Eth. En. xxxviii. 2, where it is said, in reference to the future destiny of the wicked: "It had been good for them if they had not been born." For a N. T. parallel see Matt. xxvi. 24. It is worth observing that there is a perfect parallelism of thought between the passage in our text and in Sophocles, *Oed. Col.*, 1220—

μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νι-
κᾷ λόγον · τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ,
βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ ἥ-
κει, πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα,

and in Theognis, 425—

πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
μὴ ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου ·
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι,
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον.

8. *Sirens.* These are said in the Eth. En. xix. 2 (Greek Version) to have been the wives of the angels who went astray. It is strange that we have here the Greek conception of the Sirens, Σειρῆνες, *i.e.* that of sea-nymphs. But with the Greek translators of the O. T. it had quite a different meaning. Thus it is a

from the sea, and ye Lilin, come ye from the desert, and ye Shedim and dragons from the forests: awake and bind your loins unto mourning, and take up with me lamentation, and mourn with me. 9. Ye husbandmen, sow not again; and thou, earth, wherefore givest thou the fruits of thy produce? keep within thee the sweets of thy sustenance. 10. And thou, vine, why further dost thou give thy wine? for an offering will

rendering of בנות יענה = ostriches in Isa. xiii. 21; Jer. l. 39; Mic. i. 8; of תנים or תנין = jackals in Isa. xxxiv. 13; xliii. 20. It is similarly used by Symmachus, Theodotion, and Aquila in rendering the above words.

Lelioto. These are the Lilin (לילין) from the singular Lilith (לילית). Male and female demons named Lil and Lilit belong to Assyrian and Babylonian demonology. They were thought, as were also the Lilin (Shabbath, 151*b*), to attack men and women in their sleep (Lenormant, *La Magie*, p. 36). The Lilith, or night demon, is mentioned in Isa. xxxiv. 14, along with the satyr שָׂעִיר. The Lilin, according to the Talmud, were female demons corresponding to the Shedim or male demons. They were partly the offspring (*Erub*, 18*b*; *Beresh.* 42) of Adam and Lilith, Adam's first wife, a demon, and partly were derived from the generation that God dispersed (Gen. xi.), for God (*Jalkut Shim.*, *Beresh.* 62) transformed that generation into Shedim, Ruchin, and Lilin. These Lilin inhabited desert places. They were said to kill children. They have been compared with the Lamiæ and Striges; ὀνοκένταυροι is the LXX. rendering of the word in Isa. xxxiv. 14. For further details on the subject see Weber, *Lehren d. Talm.*, pp. 245, 246, 248; Bochart, *Hierozoicon*; iii. 829-831; Eisenmenger, *Entd. Judenthum*, ii. 413-426, 452.

Shedim. These were male demons to which various origins were assigned. Their souls were created by God, but as the Sabbath intervened before they received bodies they had to remain without them (*Beresh. rabba*, c. 7); or they were sprung from Adam and a demon wife, or from Eve and a demon husband (*Beresch. rabba*, c. 24); or were originally the generation that God transformed into Shedim, Ruchin, and Lilin. Their place of resort is the wilderness. For an account of their activities, see Weber, 245, 246.

Dragons. The word ܬܢܝܢ is found in the Peshitto of Isa. xiii. 22 as a translation of תנים. Levy (*Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, ii. 265) defines it as "Drache oder sonst ein Thier mit klagendem, heulendem Tone." The word frequently occurs in the Targums and later Hebrew as ירוד (ירד).

10. The writer of x. 6 - xii. 4 resigns absolutely all hope of the restoration of Jerusalem. This is throughout the attitude of B^2 (see i. 4, note).

With the thought of this verse, cf. *Kethuboth* 112*a*: "O land, land, let thy fruit shrivel: for whom art thou producing thy fruit? is it not

not again be made therefrom in Zion, nor will first-fruits again be offered. 11. And do ye, O heavens, withhold your dew, and open not the treasuries of rain. 12. And do thou, O sun, withhold the light of thy rays; and do thou, O moon, extinguish the multitude of thy light; for why should light rise again where the light of Zion is darkened? 13. And you, ye bridegrooms, enter not in, and let not the brides adorn themselves with garlands; and, ye women, pray not that ye may bear. 14. For the barren shall rejoice more, and those who have no sons shall be glad, and those who have sons shall have anguish. 15. For why should they bear in pain and bury in grief? 16. Or wherefore, again, should mankind have sons; or wherefore should the seed of their nature again be named, where that mother is desolate, and her sons are led into captivity? 17. From this time forward speak not of beauty and discourse not of gracefulness. 18. Moreover, ye priests, take ye the keys of the sanctuary and cast them into the height of heaven, and give them to the

for the Gentiles who rose up against us because of our sins?

13. Cf. Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9; xxv. 10; Baruch ii. 23.

Brides. Syriac gives "virgins," but this idea is out of place in verses 13-16, where everything refers to marriage. The first right mention of virgins is in verse 19. The wrong text may be explained by a corruption of כלות into בתולות or עלמות. In the original Hebrew we should then have a paronomasia, כלילים אל תערינה כלות. In *Git.* 7*a*, and in *Shabbath*, 59*b*, bridegrooms are forbidden to use garlands.

14. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 19; Luke xxiii. 29: "Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck" (cf. Isa. liv. 1).

16. *That mother.* See iii. 1, note

18. The priesthood have proved faithless to their duty, and the charge of the temple is no longer theirs. Cf. Rest of Words, iv. 3, 4, where another turn is given to the text: "And thereupon Jeremiah took the keys of the temple . . . and cast these keys before the sun, saying: 'I say unto thee, O sun, take the keys of the house of God and keep

Lord, and say: 'Guard Thy house Thyself, for lo! we are found false stewards.' 19. And you, ye virgins, who spin fine linen and silk with gold of Ophir, hasten and take all things and cast (them) into the fire, that it may bear them to Him who made them, and the flame send them to Him who created them, lest the enemy get possession of them."

XI. Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against thee, Babylon: "If thou hadst prospered, and Zion had dwelt in her glory, it would have been a great grief to us that thou shouldst be equal to Zion. 2. But now, lo! the grief is infinite, and the lamentation measureless, for lo! thou art prospered and Zion desolate. 3. Who will be judge regarding these things? or to whom shall we complain regarding that which has befallen us? O Lord, how hast Thou borne (it)? 4. Our fathers went to rest without grief, and lo! the righteous sleep in the earth in tranquillity. 5. For

them till the days when the Lord shall ask thee concerning them. For we are not worthy to keep them; for we have been found false stewards.'"

This verse reappears in the *Jalkut Shim.* on Isa. xxi. as follows: "The flower of the priests . . . gathered together . . . the keys of the court and the sanctuary and said before God: 'Lord of the universe, we are not fit to be stewards before Thee (לא זכינו להיות גזברים לפניך). Behold Thy keys are returned to Thee.' And they cast them aloft" (quoted by Rosenthal).

19. *Fine linen and silk.* Cf. Ezek. xvi. 10.

Lest the enemy get possession. Cf. vi. 8.

XI. 1. *Babylon* stands here for Rome, as in Rev. xiv. 8; xvi. 19; xvii. 5; xviii. 2.

Prospered. Cf. xii. 1-3.

3. *How hast Thou borne (it)?* Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 30: "I have seen how Thou dost bear with them that sin." In Pss. Sol. ii. 1 and 4 Ezra iii. 8 the writers complain that God did not prevent such wrong-doing. With the latter cf. Isa. xiv. 6.

4. *Our fathers went to rest.* Cf. lxxxv. 9.

Sleep in the earth. Cf. xxi. 24; while the diction corresponds to Dan. xii. 2, "sleep in the dust of the earth," the thought is Sadducean and belongs to the earlier sphere of O.T. thought, presupposed in such a phrase as "slept with his fathers" (1 Kings ii. 10; xi. 21,

they knew not this anguish, nor yet had they heard of that which had befallen us. 6. Would that thou hadst ears, O earth, and that thou hadst a heart, O dust, that ye might go and announce in Sheol, and say to the dead: 7. 'Blessed are ye more than we who are living.'"

XII. But I will say this as I think, and I will speak against thee, O land, which art prospering. 2. The noonday does not always burn, nor do the constant rays of the sun (always) give light. 3. Do not conclude or expect that thou wilt always be prosperous and rejoicing, and be not greatly uplifted and boastful. 4. For assuredly in its own season wrath will awake against thee, which now in long-suffering is held in as it

etc.) There is no ground for supposing with Kabisch (*Das vierte Buch Ezra*, 68, 69) that this phrase in the mouth of a Pharisee of this period implied a capacity of life as still existing in the body even when interred. That "to sleep in the earth" and "to be in Sheol" are equivalent expressions for a Pharisee, is clear from Eth. En. li. 1 and 4 Ezra vii. 32. The former phrase, "to sleep in the earth," is merely a figure of speech, and must not be pressed. Yet see l. 2, note. These phrases are equivalents in verses 6, 7. Sadducean thought admitted of no resurrection; hence "life in Sheol" or "sleep in the earth" were interchangeable expressions for the same fact.

5. To a Pharisee this would be a trifling pain compared with the torments of the damned. But the Sadducee looked for no retribution in the world to come, but, like most of the writers in the O.T. and in Ecclesiasticus, only for a shadowy existence in Sheol.

6. *That ye might go*, etc. The Syriac = "and go ye." Here we have a Hebrew idiom, *i.e.* an imperative is used instead of a jussive in order to express the intention signified by the preceding verb (see Driver, *Hebrew Moods and Tenses*, p. 82).

Sheol. We have here the O.T. conception of Sheol — the eternal abode of the shades. This view of Sheol was maintained in N.T. times by the Sadducees. In xxiii. 5; xlviii. 16; lii. 2; lvi. 6, Sheol seems to be the abode of all departed souls prior to the final judgment. This also may be its meaning in xxi. 23 and in 4 Ezra iv. 41. In 4 Ezra viii. 53 it seems to bear the meaning of "hell." For a history of the various meanings borne by this word see Eth. En. lxiii. 10, note.

7. The condition of the shades was for the writer undoubtedly more blessed than that of the living (cf. x. 6, note).

XII. 3. *Boastful.* I have here emended ܠܐ ܬܚܕܝ = "do (not) oppress" into ܠܐ ܬܬܚܕܝ = "be (not) boastful."

XII. 5=E. were by reins. 5. And when I had said these things, I fasted seven days.

XIII.-XXV.= B^2. XIII. And it came to pass after these things, that

THE FOURTH SECTION

XII. 5-XX. This section begins with a fast of seven days (xii. 5). Then follows a long revelation to Baruch (xiii. 2-xx. 2). (Owing to the complete disarrangement and confusion of the text, this revelation cannot be summarised here. For a discussion of these chapters see pp. 20-34.) Contrary to the usual procedure, Baruch is bidden not to publish this revelation (xx. 3).

XII. 5. On the fasts of Baruch see v. 9, note ; ix. 2, note.

XIII.-XXV. The text of these chapters is inexplicable as it stands. The difficulties are due not to corruption, though that undoubtedly exists, but to a recasting of the original text by the final editor. In this process many passages were torn from their original contexts and placed in settings which are quite unsuitable. Some of the incongruities thus produced are as follows: (1) The words "those prosperous cities" are represented as speaking in xiii. 4 without a single note of introduction. (2) In the next verse the words, "thou and those like thee who have seen," are similarly unexplained, and are in fact inexplicable in their present context ; for though Baruch was to be preserved till the consummation of the times, his *contemporaries* were not, and hence they could not see the future retribution of the Gentiles. If, however, xxiv. 2 originally preceded xiii. 3*b*-5, the words, "thou and those like thee who have seen," would be perfectly intelligible. (3) Again the retribution of the Gentiles referred to in xiii. 4, 5 has not been mentioned before, though the text presupposes some such mention. It is intelligible if xxv. or xxiv. 4 precedes where Baruch asks what will befal the enemies of Israel. (4) In xiv. 1 Baruch replies that God has shown him "the method of the times," whereas in xx. 6 this appears not to have been yet done, and it seems that a revelation of "the method of the times" is still to come. (5) In xxiv. 4 Baruch asks what retribution awaits the enemies of Israel, and when will the judgment be? In xxv. we find the answer to the latter question, whereas the answer to the former is already given in xiii. 4-12. (6) I can discover no adequate explanation of the "therefore" with which xx. 1 begins in its present context. If xx. were read immediately after xiii. the text would at once become clear. On these and other grounds we must attempt to restore the original order of the chapters before they were broken up and rearranged, mutilated, and interpolated by the final editor. Owing to the paucity of materials the attempt to restore the original order can only be partially successful. This order was probably xiii. 1-3*a* ; xx. ; xxiv. 2-4 ; xiii. 3*b*-12 ; xxv., xiv.-xix. ; xxi.-xxiv. 1 ; xxx. 2. To reassure Baruch, who is plunged in grief over Jerusalem (xiii. 3*a*), God declares (xx. 1, 2) that the days and years will speed more quickly by in order to usher in the judgment which will right all wrongs, and that even Jerusalem was removed with this end in view. On the "method of the times" Baruch is then promised disclosures (xx. 6), and "he and many with him" will see the mercy of God on those that sinned and were righteous

I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came from the height and said unto me: 2. 'Stand upon thy feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God. 3. Because thou hast been astonied at what has befallen Zion, thou shalt therefore be assuredly preserved to the consummation of the times,

(xxiv. 2). Baruch, thereupon, asks two questions (xxiv. 4): (*a*) what will befal Israel's enemies? (*b*) when will God judge the world (of which event He had already spoken, xx. 2)?

The answer to (*a*) is given in xiii. 3*b*-12. But the first words of this answer are lost. In these words there was a statement of this nature: "retribution will come upon the prosperous cities of your enemies" (cf. xiii. 4). Baruch, moreover (xiii. 3*b*-12), will be preserved until those days for the express purpose of testifying the reason of the retribution that has befallen these cities, and the date of its consummation. "He and those like him who have seen" (cf. xxiv. 2) should answer the remonstrances of the tormented Gentiles. And in answer to Baruch's second question, he is informed (xxv. 1, 2) that he shall likewise be preserved till the sign of the last days has come. This sign will be a stupor that shall seize the inhabitants of the earth (xxv. 3, 4). Baruch, thereupon, acknowledges: "Behold Thou hast shown me the method of the times" (xiv. 1). After this the thought advances connectedly through xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2. For like rearrangements of already existing texts by the final editor, see my edition of the Eth.En. pp. 189, 260, 267, 268, 270, 274.

XIII. 1. *Mount Zion.* Mount Zion is the scene of the revelation in xiii.-xx.; of the prayer in xxi. 4-25 (cf. xiii. 1; xx. 6; xxi. 2); of the revelation in xxii.-xxx.; of the seven days' fast in xlvii. 2; and of the prayer and revelation that follow xlviii.-lii.

A voice. Cf. xxii. 1, note.

2. *Stand upon thy feet.* Ezek. ii. 1.

The mighty God. Cf. vi. 8; vii. 1; xiii. 4.

3. *Thou shalt therefore be assuredly preserved*, etc. This promise recurs twice again in B^2, *i.e.* in xxv. 1 and lxxvi. 2. Baruch is thus to be preserved as a testimony or a sign against the inhabitants of the earth in the last days (see also xiv. 2). This assumption and preservation of Baruch till the last judgment is the teaching of B^2. With the above passages compare also xlviii. 30 and xlvi. 7, where the last is due to the final editor. In B^1, on the other hand, Baruch is to die a natural death (lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1); he is to go the way of all flesh (xliv. 2) and to forget all corruptible things and the affairs of mortals (xliii. 2). Thus we have two conflicting accounts touching the destiny of Baruch. It is noteworthy that we have in the text a transference of a distinct Enochic function to Baruch. For in Jubilees iv. 24 it is stated: "(Enoch) was set as a *sign* there (in Eden), and that he should *testify* against all the children of men;" and again in x. 17: "As a *testimony* to the generations of the world the office was ordained for Enoch of recounting all the deeds of generation unto generation till the day of judgment" (see also Slav. En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5).

that thou mayst be for a testimony. 4. So that, if ever those prosperous cities say: 'Why hath the mighty God brought upon us this retribution?' 5. Thou and those like thee may say to them (even) ye who have seen: 'This evil and (these) retributions which

This robbing of Enoch to benefit Baruch is a clear sign of Jewish hostility to Christianity, and a tribute to the influence that Enoch enjoyed in the Christian Church of the first century. Enoch's acceptance amongst Christians as a Messianic prophet was the ground for his rejection by the Jews. So thoroughgoing, indeed, was this rejection that, although he was the chief figure next to Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic prior to 40 A.D., in subsequent Jewish literature his functions and achievements are assigned to others, such as Moses, Ezra, or Baruch, and, with the exception of two or three passages, his name in subsequent Jewish literature is henceforth studiously ignored. The observation of this tendency of Jewish thought becomes of practical value to us when we come to lix. 4-11, as we are thus enabled to conclude that a document which on other grounds is prior to 70 A.D., is posterior to the rise of Christianity because it manifests clear signs of this tendency.

Assuredly be preserved. The Syriac lit. = σωσθεὶς σωσθήσει, a familiar Hebraism שָׁמוֹר תִּשָּׁמֵר. This idiom recurs frequently in this book (see xxii. 7; xli. 6; xlviii. 30; l. 2; lvi. 2; lxxv. 6; lxxvi. 2; lxxxii. 2; lxxxiii. 1, 2, 3, 6; lxxxiv. 2). That we have herein indubitable evidence of a Hebrew original we have shown in the Introduction.

4. *Those prosperous cities.* The abruptness with which these cities are introduced, though not heretofore mentioned, and their complaints about the retribution that has befallen them, though no such retribution has as yet been recorded, shows either that the text preceding these words has been lost, or else that xiii. 3*b*-12 should be read after xxiv. 2-4. In fact, since in xiii. 3*b*-12 we have an answer to xxiv. 4, we must assume that xiii. 3*b*-12 originally followed after xxiv. 4, and since xiii. 4 presupposes that a statement about the retribution that is to come upon the prosperous enemies of Israel has already been made, and since no such statement is found, we must further assume the loss of such words immediately preceding xiii. 3*b* (see note on xxiv. 3, 4). It might be possible to explain xiii. 4 by xxv. 3, and accordingly regard xiii. 3*b*-12 as following originally upon xxiv. 2-xxv. But many difficulties beset this interpretation. The cities here spoken of are of course Gentile cities (cf. ver. 11).

Brought upon us this retribution. The same phrase practically is applied to Israel in lxxvii. 4, but here the "us" refers to the "prosperous cities." The *retribution* intended by the editor seems to be that threatened in xii. 4.

5. *Thou and those like thee who have seen it.* These words are hardly capable of interpretation as they stand. They clearly mean Baruch's contemporaries; observe "ye who have seen"; but as the time is that of the end, they cannot be his contemporaries; for only

are coming upon you and upon your people (are sent) in its time that the nations may be perfectly chastened.' 6. And then they will expect. 7. And if they say at that time: 'When?' 8. Thou wilt say to them: 'Ye who have drunk the strained wine, drink ye also of its dregs, the judgment of the Lofty One who has no respect of persons.' 9. On this account He had before no mercy on His own sons, but afflicted them as His enemies, because they sinned. 10. They were therefore chastened then that they might receive mercy. 11. But now, ye peoples and nations, ye are debtors because all this time ye have trodden down the earth,

Baruch is to be preserved till that date. If, however, xiii. 3*b*-12 was originally preceded by xxiv. 2-4, we can trace the phrase back to xxiv. 2—"thou wilt see and many who are with thee."

That the nations may be perfectly chastened. That this chastisement is vindictive and not corrective is clear from verse 7; the nations are to "drink of the dregs, the judgment of the Lofty One"; and also from verses 10, 11, where the implication obviously is that, whereas Israel is punished with a view to its ultimate pardon, it is otherwise with the Gentiles. The vindictive punishment therefore of the Gentiles is dealt with in this chapter. But so far as I know ܝܣܪ = "chasten" is never used in the sense of vindictive punishment. This difficulty might be surmounted by supposing ܢܬܝܣܪ = "may be chastened," corrupt for ܢܬܦܙܪ = "may be dispersed" (cf. Isa. xxxiii. 3). In the next chapter, however, in xiv. 1, the retribution spoken of by God is to be of service to the Gentiles. But see note *in loc.* On the other hand, it might be possible to understand ܥܡܡܐ = "nations," "peoples," of Israel, as in xlii. 5 (if the text is right there). But in this case it would be better to emend ܢ″ ܢ″ into ܢܬܝܣܪ ܥܡܡܐ = "that the people may be chastened."

6. The Gentiles will wait for or look forward to the consummation of their chastisement. This verse might by a slight change be understood of Israel (cf. xiv. 3).

8. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 7, 8: "God is the judge. . . . For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup . . . surely all the wicked of the earth . . . shall drink them."

The Lofty One. Here only in this book (see 4 Ezra iv. 34; Isa. lvii. 15).

Has no respect of persons. Cf. xliv. 4.

10. *Chastened.* Cf. i. 5.

11. *Trodden down. I.e.* in the sense of oppressing it, a frequent meaning in the O.T.

and used the creation unrighteously. 12. For I have always benefited you, and ye have always denied the beneficence."

XIV. And I answered and said: "Lo! Thou hast shown me the method of the times, and that which will be after these things, and Thou hast said unto me, that the retribution, which has been spoken of by Thee, will be of advantage to the nations. 2. And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived in prosperity, and departed from the world, but that few

12. Cf. i. 4.

I have . . . benefited you. The Syriac is ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܥܒܕ ܛܒܬܐ, but this order of the words, with this meaning, is highly irregular; for Syriac idiom all but universally requires the participle before the substantive and not as here, and in lxiii. 8, the converse order. This exceptional order may be due to the survival of the Hebrew order in the Syriac translation, *i.e.* היית מטיב. For this seems to be the explanation of two out of the three instances where I have observed this irregularity in the Peshitto O.T., *i.e.* Gen. iv. 17 and 2 Sam. viii. 15. In the third (1 Sam. xviii. 13) I can offer no explanation, and the abnormality is there all the more striking, as three verses later the same phrase recurs in its right order. This irregularity (which is not noticed in Duval's Grammar, and only passingly mentioned in Nöldeke's) is not found, so far as I am aware, in the Peshitto N.T.

Ye have . . . denied. The Syriac is ܟܦܪܬܘܢ ܠܝ ܥܒܕ ܛܒܬܐ, which, according to Syriac idiom, is an imperative = "deny ye." The converse order = "ye have denied." This irregularity, as in the last instance, I would trace to a survival of the Hebrew idiom through the Greek.

XIV. 1. The final editor is again greatly to blame here. According to the text Baruch says: "Thou hast shown me the method of the times and that which will be after these things." Now this has not been done. In the preceding chapter instruction has been given as to the reason of the retribution which has come upon the cities of the Gentiles, and likewise as to the date when their chastisement will be consummated. "The method or scheme of the times" would imply such information as we find in xxiv. 2-xxv. taken in conjunction with xiii., or to xxvii.-xxx. In xx. 6 certain disclosures are promised regarding "the method of the times." The phrase is found also in xlviii. 1.

The retribution . . . spoken of by Thee. These words probably refer to xiii. 5, and yet the retribution in question is first mentioned, not by God but by the cities (xiii. 4), unless we suppose xxv. 3 to precede xiv.

Will be of advantage to the nations. In xiii. 5-11 the context is against the idea of a remedial chastisement of the Gentiles, which seems to be asserted here. Here, again something seems wrong.

nations will be left in those times, to whom those words shall be said which Thou didst say. 3. For what advantage is there in this, or what (evil), worse than what we have seen befall us, are we to expect to see? 4. But again I will speak in Thy presence: 5. What have they profited who confessed before Thee, and have not walked in vanity as the rest of the nations, and have not said to the dead: 'Give us life,' but always feared Thee, and have not left Thy ways? 6. And lo! they have been carried off, nor on their account hast Thou had mercy on Zion. 7. And if others did evil, it was

2. *Few nations will be left in those times to whom*, etc. Do these words refer back to xiii. 3? In that case Baruch complains that few of the Gentile nations will be alive to whom the words in xiii. 5, 7-11 are to be addressed.

3. These words seem to point to xiii. 6; cf. "they will expect" and "what . . . are we to expect to see?" But here they undoubtedly refer to Israel, whereas there they naturally refer to the Gentiles.

4-19. Of what profit has been the righteousness of the righteous? Of none; for it has helped neither them nor their city, though the last was at least their due (verses 4-7). Seeing this is so, man cannot understand Thy judgment (verses 8, 9), for he is but a breath; his birth is involuntary, and his end a mystery (verses 10, 11); for that end the righteous indeed may hope, for they have treasures in heaven, but for us there is only woe, here and hereafter (verses 12-14). Hence what Thou hast done on Thy servants' behalf Thou knowest, but we cannot discover. The world indeed Thou didst say was made for man. But how can this be? We pass away and the world abides (verses 15-19).

5. *Confessed before Thee.* I have here emended ܝܕܥ = "knew" into ܐܘܕ = "confessed."

Walked in vanity. Jer. ii. 5.

Have not said to the dead, etc. Cf. Isa. viii. 19*b*: "On behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead?"

6, 7. In these verses the destruction of Zion seems to be far in the background.

6. *Have been carried off.* Cf. lxxxv. 3. I have here followed Ceriani's emendation of ܐܬܫܒܝ into ܐܬܫܒܝ, who rightly compares xv. 2.

Nor on their account hast Thou had mercy on Zion. This was a great difficulty to the Jew. The presence of ten righteous men would have preserved Sodom; why then did Zion fall? Moreover, the preservation of the world, according to the Talmud (Weber, 201), depended on Israel. See xiv. 18, note.

7. We have here ideas which in some respects resemble those in Gen. xviii. 23-33. But whereas it

due to Zion, that on account of the works of those who wrought good works she should be forgiven, and should not be overwhelmed on account of the works of those who wrought unrighteousness. 8. But who, O LORD, my Lord, will comprehend Thy judgment, or who will find out the profoundness of Thy path? or who will think out the gravity of Thy way? 9. Or who will be able to think out Thy incomprehensible counsel? or who of those that are born has ever found

is taught there that God would spare a city because of the righteous *persons* in it, here and in ii. 2 it is the works of the righteous considered in themselves that are put forward as the ground of such mercy. On the question of good works the thought of the writers in this book, *i.e.* between 50 and 80 A.D., is to be described as follows: (*a*) The righteous are saved by their works (li. 7); they are justified by the law (li. 3); for righteousness is by the law (lxvii. 6). (*b*) Their works impart confidence to the righteous with respect to God when they pray for themselves or others. Thus Hezekiah trusted in his works and was hopeful in his righteousness, and so God heard him (lxiii. 3, 5); and the prophets also were heard because they trusted in their works (lxxxv. 2). (*c*) But the works of the righteous avail not themselves only; they are a defence also to the unrighteous among whom they dwell (ii. 2), and even after their death their works are regarded as a lasting merit on the ground of which mercy should be shown to Zion (xiv. 7; lxxxiv. 10). (*d*) Again these works are conceived as going before them to the next world, and being there guarded in the treasure chambers of God (xiv. 12), where they will be kept safely till the final judgment (xxiv. 1); hence the righteous hope for the end and leave the world without fear (xiv. 12). (On the teaching of this book as to faith, see note on liv. 21.) In 4 Ezra the doctrine of works as it is found in Baruch can hardly be said to exist. To (*b*) and (*c*) we find no parallels and only seeming parallels to (*a*), such as men "will be able to escape by their works or their faith in which they have believed" (ix. 7), and that "God will guard those who have works and faith in the Most Mighty" (xiii. 23). It will be observed that the doctrine of salvation by works is carefully guarded against by the addition of the words "and faith." To (*d*) we have good parallels in vii. 77, where Ezra is said to have "a treasury of works laid up with the Most High," and in viii. 33, where "the righteous are those who have many works laid up with Thee: from their own works will they receive reward."

Though the doctrine of justification as taught in Baruch should naturally be discussed here, we must refer the reader to the note on xxi. 9.

8. O LORD, *my Lord.* See iii. 1, note.

the beginning or end of Thy wisdom? 10. For we have all been made like a breath. 11. For as the breath ascends from the heart, and returning not is extinguished, such is the nature of men, who depart not according to their own will, and know not what will befall them in the end. 12. For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear depart from this habitation, because they have with Thee a store of works preserved in treasuries. 13. On this account also these without fear leave this world, and trusting with joy they hope to receive the world which Thou hast promised them. 14. But unto us there is woe, who also now are shamefully entreated, and at that time look forward

10. See references on next verse.

11. *Ascends from the heart, and returning not is extinguished.* Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 39: "a wind that passeth away, and cometh not again;" Ps. cxlvi. 4; Job vii. 7; James iv. 14. This rendering rests on a slight change of order in the text, *i.e.* ܡܢ ܠܒܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܦܥ instead of ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܠܒܐ ܬܦܥ. Ceriani and Fritzsche render the text, "ascendit quin procedat de corde et restinguitur."

Depart not according to their own will. Man does not settle the hour of his departure from this life. Cf. xlviii. 15; 4 Ezra viii. 5, "convenisti enim obaudire" (read *nolens* with Syr. for *obaudire*) et profecta es nolens."

Know not what, etc. Cf. Slav. En. ii. 1; vii. 5.

12. *The righteous justly hope.* Eth. En. cii. 4.

A store of works, etc. The text reads ܥܡܠܐ ܕܒܟ̈ܐ = "a force or supply of works." But it also = "a store of works." Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 77, where we find "a treasure of works." In *Shabbath*, 31*b*, a man is spoken of as having אוצר זכיות, "a treasure of merits" in heaven. Cf. Matt. vi. 19, 20; Pss. Sol. ix. 9, *ὁ ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην θησαυρίζει ζωὴν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ.* See note on verse 7.

13. *The world which Thou hast promised.* This is clearly the spiritual world. Thus in li. 3 the righteous after death are to "receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to them;" in xliv. 13, 15 "theirs is the inheritance of the promised time," "for unto them will be given the world to come;" and in xv. 7, 8 "the world which is to come" is said to be on their account. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 13. It is referred to again in xxi. 25 and lxxxiii. 5 under the general name of something promised. Throughout B^2 there is no promise of an earthly felicity, but only of spiritual transmundane blessedness.

14. *There is woe.* Cf. for diction lxxxiv. 11; 4 Ezra xiii. 16.

(only) to evils. 15. But Thou knowest accurately what Thou hast made on behalf of Thy servants; for we are not able to understand by means of any good thing that Thou art our Creator. 16. But again I will speak in Thy presence, O LORD, my Lord. 17. When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, Thou didst devise and speak with a word, and forthwith the works of creation stood before Thee. 18. And Thou didst say that Thou wouldst make for Thy world man as the administrator of Thy works, that it might be known that he was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him.

Evils. These words refer back to xiv. 3, and their subject is again touched upon in xv. 1. What these are is given in xliv. 15; lxxxv. 13.

15. *What Thou hast made* (*or done*) *on behalf of Thy servants. I.e.* ܡܕܡ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܥܠ ܕܒܢܝ. If my rendering is right, the entire verse appears to be in its wrong place, and should be read after verse 16. The sense then would be excellent: "Thou knowest what good things Thou hast created on behalf of Thy servants; but we know of none: yet Thou didst say that Thou didst make the world for man," etc. (verses 15, 17, 18). But the Syriac may be translated, "what Thou hast made out of Thy servants," or if we neglect the diacritic point, "what Thou has wrought out of Thy works." Ceriani translates the verse: "Tu autem recte nosti quid feceris de servis tuis: quia nos non possumus intelligere aliquid boni, quomodo tu sis fictor noster." Before aliquid we should read "per."

17. *Speak with a word*, etc. Cf. Gen. i. 6, 7; Ps. xxxiii. 6; Heb. xi. 3; 2 Peter iii. 5; Slav. En. xxiv. 5; xxv. 1; 4 Ezra vi. 38.

18. *Thou wouldst make for Thy world man*, etc. Cf. Gen. i. 26, 28; Ps. viii. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 54.

The world on account of him. So far as I am aware this exalted view of man's dignity in respect of the world is not found earlier than the first century of the Christian era. It recurs frequently in the literature of this time: cf. xiv. 19; xv. 7; xxi. 24 (this doctrine is thus confined to B^2 in this book); Assumpt. Mosis i. 12; 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59; vii. 11; viii. 44; ix. 13. In these passages the statement of the reason for the creation of the world assumes three forms: First, the world was created on account of man (Apoc. Bar. xiv. 18; 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44). But the writers of these books if pressed, would at once have withdrawn this statement in favour of two diverging statements: the one, that the world was created on account of Israel (4 Ezra vi. 55, 59; vii. 11; Assumpt. Mosis i. 12); the other that the world was created on account of the righteous in Israel

19. And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart."

XV. And the Lord answered and said unto me: "Thou art rightly astonied regarding the departure of man, but thou hast not judged well regarding the evils which befall those who sin. 2. And as regards what thou hast said, that the righteous are carried off and the impious are prospered, 3. And as regards what thou hast said: 'Man knows not Thy judgment'— 4. On this account hear, and I will speak to thee, and hearken, and I will cause thee to hear My words. 5. Man would not rightly have understood My judgment, if he had not accepted the law, and if his fear

(Apoc. Bar. xiv. 19; xv. 7; xxi. 24). Either of the latter forms the real Jewish view from the Christian era onwards. Thus in the Talmud, it is either Israel, or the righteous in Israel, that were the cause of the world's creation and its subsequent preservation. Thus in *Bammidbar rabba*, ii., "if Israel were not, the world would not exist"; in the *Shemoth rabba*, xxviii., "The world was created owing to the merits of Israel, and upon Israel stands the world." See Weber, pp. 201, 202, for other passages of the same import. See also note on xv. 7.

19. See note on last verse. That the "us" and the "we" here are the righteous is clear from xv. 7. This verse shows that the writer believed in the view that the safety of the world was bound up with that of the righteous.

In *Pesikta* 200*b* God is said to have created the world on account of Abraham's merit (Weber, p. 295).

XV. 1. *Astonied regarding the departure of man.* These words refer to xiv. 19. The Syriac noun translated "departure" is derived from the verb translated "depart" in xiv. 19. In xiii. 3 Baruch was "astonied" about the fate of Jerusalem.

Not judged rightly regarding the evils, etc. See xiv. 3, 14.

2. See xiv. 6.

3. See xiv. 8, 9.

5. *The law.* The law was the centre round which Jewish thought and life revolved. To a limited extent the Messianic expectation was likewise a centre. Frequently we find that in proportion as the one is emphasised the other falls into the background. This will receive illustration as we proceed to examine the position assigned to the law and the Messiah respectively in the five main constituents of this book. Thus in B^1 (written after 70 A.D.) *where the restoration of Jerusalem is looked for, but no Messiah*, the law is spoken of as

had not been (rooted) in understanding. 6. But now,

follows: God gave the law to Israel (lxxvii. 3); for transgressing it they were sent into exile (lxxvii. 4; lxxxiv. 2); but let not Israel withdraw from the law (xliv. 3), but obey it (xlvi. 5); let them remember it (lxxxiv. 8); for if they do so, they will see the consolation of Zion (xliv. 7), and a son of the law will never be wanting (xlvi. 4), nor a lamp nor a shepherd (lxxvii. 16); for lamps and shepherds are from the law, and though these depart the law stands (lxxvii. 15); if they remember it, they will see the consolation of Zion (xliv. 7). In B^2 *where there is no Messiah and no expectation of the restoration of Jerusalem*, the law is still further glorified. Thus Moses brought the law to Jacob (xvii. 4); this conveyed a knowledge of the judgment of God (xv. 5), and entailed retribution on the consciously disobedient (xv. 6; xix. 3; xlviii. 40); it will exact all its rights (xlviii. 27), and repay the transgressor (xlviii. 47); apostates from it (xli. 3) will be specially dealt with (xlii. 4). On the other hand it will protect those who receive it in their hearts (xxxii. 1; xlviii. 24); by it they will be justified (li. 3), and in it will be the hope of the righteous (li. 7); the law is with Israel, and so long as they obey it they will not fall (xlviii. 22, 24). They have received one law from One (xlviii. 24). In B^3 (which is akin to xiii. 2 in this respect) Israel has nothing save the Mighty One and the law (lxxxv. 3); they have one law by one (lxxxv. 14). When, however, we turn to the Messiah Apocalypses A^1 (= xxvii.-xxx. 1), A^2 (=xxxvi.-xl.), A^3 (=liii.-lxxiv.), and to S. (=x. 6-12) which form more than a third of the entire book, we find no mention at all of the law in A^1 and S. In A^2 there is only one mention of it, *i.e.* God's law is life (xxxviii. 2). In A^3 it naturally becomes more prominent, as A^3 gives a brief history of God's dealings with Israel. The law and the tradition were observed by Abraham and his sons (lvii. 2). Thus, through the agency of Moses, its light shone on those in darkness (lix. 2). God imparted to Moses certain studies of the law (lix. 3). Josiah alone was faithful to it in his time (lxvi. 5). Such as loved it not perished (liv. 14). Righteousness comes by the law (lxvii. 6). Thus we observe that in purely eschatological descriptions such as A^1, there is not a single allusion to the law: the Messiah is the entire centre of interest. This is practically true in A^2 also; for the reference in xxxviii. 2 does not belong to the account of the last things. In A^3 finally, most of the references are to historical incidents, though it is true that in A^3 great store is set by the law. The law was the centre of Jewish life, the source of righteousness, and in fact its spiritual schoolmaster, till the advent of the Messiah had arrived. Thenceforward (lxx.-lxxiv.) there is not even an allusion to it. The same phenomena are observable in the various constituents of 4 Ezra. Thus in the three or four distinct Messiah Apocalypses in that book (according to Kabisch's critical analyses) the law is only mentioned two or three times. The only strong expression regarding it is in xiii. 38, and there the text is doubtful. In the groundwork of the book (*circ.* 100 A.D.) however, *where we find no hope of a Messiah nor of a restored Jerusalem*, the law, as might be expected, has a more important rôle to play. Thus God gave the law to Jacob (iii. 19). He sowed it in them that they might keep it (ix. 32), but it bare no fruit owing to

because he transgressed though he knew, yea, on account of this also, he shall be tormented because he knew. 7. And as regards what thou didst say touching the righteous, that on account of them has this world come, nay more, even that which is to come is on their account. 8. For this world is to them

the evil heart (iii. 20); they neglected it (vii. 20), did not keep it (ix. 32), rejected it (vii. 72), despised it (vii. 24; viii. 56), yet the law cannot perish (ix. 37.) Some did try to keep the law perfectly in this life (vii. 89), and God bore testimony to them because they did so (vii. 94); these acquired a store of good works (vii. 77; viii. 33), and from these they received their reward (viii. 33); and yet none can claim heaven purely as the reward of their righteousness, for all men have sinned (viii. 35).

It is obvious at a glance that the possession of the law by Israel is less a subject of self-gratulation in 4 Ezra than in Baruch. In the latter, especially in B^2 (written, like the groundwork in 4 Ezra, after 70 A.D., and having no expectation of the Messiah or a restored Jerusalem) the law is everything: it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7), and so long as it is with Israel, Israel cannot fall (xlviii. 22, 24). In Ezra, on the other hand, the law has begotten in the writer such a sense of sin that he trembles before it. Man needs mercy, not the award of the law; for all have sinned (viii. 35), and all but a very few would perish, but for the divine compassion (vii. 139).

5, 6. *If his fear had not been (rooted) in understanding. But now, because he transgressed though he knew*, etc. Here Ceriani followed by Fritzsche has mistranslated חטא (= transgressus est) by "fecit," thus taking it for עשה. This thought partially recurs in xix. 3; xlviii. 40, "Each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was committing iniquity" (see note *in loc.*), lv. 2; and almost a perfect parallel is found in 4 Ezra vii. 72: "Qui ergo commorantes sunt in terra hinc cruciabuntur quoniam sensum habentes iniquitatem fecerunt." Cf. Luke xii. 48.

7. *As regards . . . has this world come.* See note on xiv. 18. Nowhere in the present book are these words given as a divine utterance. The same statement is again made in xxi. 24. From a similar statement in 4 Ezra vi. 55, at the close of the short hexæmeron there, it is probable that some such statement was originally included in that hexæmeron in its independent form. On this hexæmeron see xxix. 4, note. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 55; vii. 11.

Seeing that this world is "a trouble and a weariness" to the righteous, it is hard to understand such a belief unless we suppose that it was designed to be their discipline for the future life. Cf. lii. 6. On *the world which is to come*, see xiv. 13, note.

8. *This world is to them a trouble . . . with much labour.* Cf. xlviii. 50; li. 14; 4 Ezra vii. 3-14; Rom. viii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 17. This world is evidently regarded by the

a trouble and a weariness with much labour; and that accordingly which is to come, a crown with great glory."

XVI. And I answered and said: "O LORD, my Lord, lo! the years of this time are few and evil, and who is able in this little (space) to acquire that which is measureless?"

XVII. And the Lord answered and said unto me: "With the Most High account is not taken of much time nor of a few years. 2. For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years, and transgressed that which he was commanded? 3. Therefore the multitude of time that he lived did not profit him, but brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him. 4. Or wherein did Moses suffer loss in that he lived only one hundred and twenty years, and, inasmuch as he was subject to Him who formed him, brought the law to the

writer of B^2 but not of B^1 as a scene of trial and sorrow: a man must give himself to an ascetic life here if he is to attain blessedness hereafter. There is a more ascetic tone about 4 Ezra. In the Eth. En., however, still stronger statements are found. Thus in xlviii. 7 the Messiah "preserveth the lot of the righteous because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness," and in cviii. 7 God recompenses "the spirits of the humble and of those who afflict their bodies," and likewise those (cviii. 10) who, though "trodden under foot of wicked men," "loved heaven more than their life in this world."

Crown with great glory. Cf. 1 Pet. v. 4. We should expect "crown of great glory." Observe that if we retranslate these words into Hebrew, we have a paronomasia already familiar from Isa. lxii. 3; Ezek. xvi. 12; xxiii. 42, *i.e.* עַטָרָה בתפארה רבה.

XVI. 1. *Years . . . few and evil.* Gen. xlvii. 9.

XVII. 1. *The Most High.* This title belongs to B^1, B^2, B^3, and A^3. See xxv. 1; liv. 9, 17; lvi. 1; lxiv. 6, 8; lxvii. 4, 7; lxix. 2; lxx. 7; lxxvi. 1; lxxvii. 4, 21; lxxx. 1, 3; lxxxi. 2, 4; lxxxii. 2, 6; lxxxiii. 1; lxxxv. 8, 12.

3. *Brought death*, etc. See xxiii. 4, note.

4. *Brought the law*, etc. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 19. "Give the law to the seed of Jacob, and the commandment to the race of Israel."

seed of Jacob, and lighted a lamp for the nation of Israel."

XVIII. And I answered and said: "He that lighted has taken from the light, and there are but few that have imitated him. 2. But those many whom he has lighted have taken from the darkness of Adam, and have not rejoiced in the light of the lamp."

XIX. And He answered and said unto me: "Wherefore at that time he appointed for them a covenant, and said: 'Behold I have placed before you life and death,' and he called heaven and earth to witness against them. 2. For he knew that his time was but short, but that heaven and earth endure always. 3.

Lighted a lamp. Cf. lix. 2, "lamp of the eternal law." The thought in both phrases is drawn from Ps. cxix. 105, "Thy word is a lamp," etc. Cf. xviii. 2.

XVIII. 1. *Has taken from the light, i.e.* has chosen the light. In the next verse the many are said to have chosen the darkness of Adam.

2. The law and Adam are in this passage symbolical names for the opposing powers of light and darkness. This thought is foreign to the O.T. though Gen. i.-iii. has prepared the way for it. Adam is here, as in the Slav. En., represented as the primary source of human transgression, whereas in the Eth. En. and Jubilees human depravity is traced mainly to the angels that sinned with the daughters of men. Again, as in the Slav. En., the writer does not teach the doctrine of original sin and inherited spiritual incapacities. He implies rather that man is left to determine his own destiny, to choose light or take darkness for his portion, just as in much later times it was said: "God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this into the hands of the man himself" (*Tanchuma, Pikkude* 3). See Slav. En. xxx. 15, 16, notes. The same view is enforced in A^3, *i.e.* liv. 15, 16. See notes *in loc.*

XIX. 1, 2. Because few chose light and many chose darkness, Moses showed further that their choice of light or darkness was likewise a choice of life or death. xix. 1-3 looks like an addition of the final editor. The answer to xviii. seems to begin with xix. 4.

Behold I have placed, etc., Deut. xxx. 19. *Called heaven*, etc., Deut. iv. 26; xxx. 19; xxxi. 28. Cf. lxxxiv. 2; Ass. Mos. iii. 12.

Later times seem to have drawn from Deut. xxx. 19 the conclusion that the permanence of the law was bound up with that of heaven and earth. Cf. ver. 2; Matt. v. 18. Contrast Luke xvi. 17; Mark xiii. 31.

For after his death these sinned and transgressed (the covenant), though they knew that they had the law reproving (them), and the light in which nothing could err, also the spheres, which testify, and Me. 4. Now regarding everything that is it is I that judge, but do not thou take counsel in thy soul regarding these things, nor afflict thyself because of those which have been. 5. For now it is the consummation of time that is sought, whether of business, or of prosperity, or of shame, and not the beginning thereof. 6. Because if a man be prospered in his beginnings and shamefully entreated in his old age, he forgets all the prosperity that he had. 7. And again, if a man is shamefully entreated in his beginnings, and at his end is prospered, he remembereth not again his evil entreatment. 8. And again hearken: though each one were prospered all that time—all the time from the day on which death was decreed against those who transgress—and

3. *Transgressed.* This word recurs in the same connection (lxxxiv. 2) where it has as its object "the law." We must supply this or "the covenant" from ver. 1.

4. These words deal with Baruch's difficulties in xviii. 1, 2. Do not distress thyself with such problems; the end of all things is at hand.

5. Here only the end of all things is looked for—not an earthly felicity in a rebuilt Jerusalem.

6-8. The end of all things is at hand, and the only important question is: How does it find a man? will it bring him shame or honour? We are strongly reminded here of the well-known words of Solon in Herodotus i. 32 *σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῇ ἀποβήσεται. πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε.* It was a familiar Hellenic theme. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1-3; *Oed. Rex*, 1494-97; Eurip. *Androm.* 100-103, etc.

8. *Though a man . . . vanity.* This seems the natural rendering of the passage. Ceriani renders: "Omne tempus istud a die quo decreta fuit mors contra eos qui praetereunt in isto tempore, si unusquisque prosperatus esset, et in fine suo in vanitatem corrumperetur, esset omne." Fritzsche quite wrongly writes "vanum" for "omne."

On which death was decreed, etc. See xxiii. 4, note.

in his end was destroyed, in vain would have been everything."

XX. Therefore, behold! the days will come, and the times will hasten more than the former, and the seasons will speed on more than those that are past, and the years will pass more quickly than the present (years). 2. Therefore have I now taken away Zion, in order that I may the more speedily visit the world in its season. 3. Now therefore hold fast in thy heart everything that I command thee, and seal it in the recesses of thy mind. 4. And then I will

XX. 1. *Therefore.* It is not clear that this word follows upon anything in xix. It could be taken closely with xviii. So far as I can see it is best to regard it as following directly on xiii. 3*a*. Jerusalem has fallen, therefore the years intervening before the judgment will be shortened. Cf. liv. 1, "Against the works of the inhabitants of the earth Thou dost hasten the beginnings of the times"; Matt. xxiv. 22. For the probable order of the text originally see pp. 20, 119.

The days will come. Cf. xxiv. 1; xxxi. 5; xxxix. 3; 4 Ezra vi. 18. A familiar O.T. phrase. Cf. Jer. xxiii. 7; xxx. 3, etc.

The times will hasten. Cf. lxxxiii. 1, 6, where almost the same thoughts and diction recur. Cf. liv. 1; 4 Ezra iv. 26.

2. The fall of Jerusalem is one of the steps preparatory for the final judgment. See xxi. 21. There is no hope here of a restored Jerusalem. See i. 4, note.

Speedily visit. The Syriac literally = σπεύσω καὶ ἐπισκέψωμαι, a Hebraism, אמהר ואפקד,

Visit. Cf. xxiv. 4; lxxxiii. 2. This word seems to be used in Baruch in a bad sense of the penal visitation of God, as in Exod. xx. 5; Ps. lxxxix. 32; Jer. vi. 15; ix. 25; xi. 22, etc.; also in 4 Ezra v. 56; vi. 18; ix. 2; Pss. Sol. xv. 14. The word (פקר = ἐπισκέπτεσθαι) has generally a good sense in the O.T., as in Gen. xxi. 1; Exod. iv. 31; Job x. 12; Pss. viii. 4; lxxx. 14; also in Ecclus. xlvi. 14; Wisdom vii. 7, 13; Pss. Sol. iii. 14; x. 5 (?); xi. 2, 7; always in the N.T., as in Luke i. 68, 78; vii. 16; xix. 44; Acts xv. 14; 1 Peter ii. 12. It is noteworthy that whereas in the N.T. the thought of God's visitation is one of joy, its associations in 4 Ezra and Baruch are fear and wrath to come.

3. *Everything that I command thee.* The relative is omitted in the Syriac, but both the sense and the Syriac idiom require it. If the text is right, we must take it as a Hebraism; for the Hebrew admits the omission of the relative. We must then suppose this Hebraism misunderstood by the Greek translator; for neither does the Greek allow of the omission of the relative.

show thee the judgment of My might, and My ways which are past finding out. 5. Go therefore and sanctify thyself seven days, and eat no bread, nor drink water, nor speak to any one. 6. And afterwards come to that place, and I will reveal Myself to thee, and speak true things with thee, and I will give thee commandment regarding the method of the times; for they will come and will not tarry.

The Prayer of Baruch the Son of Neriah

XXI. And I went thence and sat in the valley of Cedron in a cave of the earth, and I sanctified my

4. *Show thee the judgment of My might.* In lxxxiii. 7 we have a nearly related phrase, "The consummation . . . will show the great might of its ruler."

6. *That place.* See xiii. 1, note.

Method of the times. See xiv. 1, note.

Will come and will not tarry. Hab. ii. 3. Cf. xlviii. 39 of text.

The Fifth and Sixth Sections

XXI.-XLVI. This constitutes the fifth section of the book according to the present text, but in reality the fifth and sixth sections (see v. 7, note). For according to the scheme of the final editor, events proceed in each section in a certain order: thus first we find a fast, then generally a prayer or lamentation, then a divine message or disclosure followed by an announcement to the people. Thus we have here the fast of seven days in Cedron (xxi. 1); the prayer on Mount Zion (xxi. 4-26); the revelation (xxii.-xxx.); address to the people assembled in Cedron (xxxi.-xxxiv). At the close of xxxiv. there should follow a fast of seven days. The sixth section should open with this fast, but all mention of it has disappeared from the present text. After the fast comes a vision (xxxvi.-xl.) and a revelation regarding apostates and proselytes (xli. xlii.) with some further disclosures (xliii.); then the sixth section duly closes with an address to the people (xliv.-xlvi.)

It will be observed that xxi.-xlvi. embrace material from a variety of sources. Thus xxvi.-xxx. 1 = A^1, and xxxvi.-xl. = A^2 are independent Messiah apocalypses, and xliii. xliv. 7; xlv. xlvi. are derived from B^1. What remains of B^2 has been completely rearranged according to the views of the final editor. For what was probably the original order of B^2 see p. 119, and the Introduction, pp. lxi.-lxiii.

XXI. 1. *Cedron.* See v. 5. On the fasts of Baruch see notes on v. 7 and ix.

Cave. Cf. Assumpt. Mos. ix. 6.

soul there, and I eat no bread, yet I was not hungry, and I drank no water, yet I thirsted not, and I was there till the seventh day, as He had commanded me. 2. And afterwards I came to that place where He had spoken with me. 3. And it came to pass at sunset that my soul took much thought, and I began to speak in the presence of the Mighty One, and said: 4. "O Thou that hast made the earth hear me, that hast fixed the firmament in its fulness, and hast made firm the height of the heaven by the spirit, that hast called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, and they obey Thee. 5. Thou that hast commanded the air by Thy nod, and hast seen those things which are to be as those things

2. *That place.* Probably Mount Zion. Cf. xx. 6 and xiii. 1; otherwise the temple, x. 5. But this and some other such place determinations may be due to the final editor. The scene of the fast, the prayer, and the revelation was probably the same. See xlvii. 1, note.

3. *The Mighty One.* This is the first time this title occurs. It is found in B^1, B^2, A^3, but not in A^1, A^2. See xxv. 4; xxxii. 1, 6; xxxiv.; xliv. 3, 6; xlvi. 1, 4; xlvii. 1; xlviii. 1, 38; xlix. 1; liv. 1; lv. 6; lvi. 2, 3; lix. 3; lxi. 6; lxiii. 3, 5, 6, 8, 10; lxiv. 3, 4; lxv. 1; lxvi. 1, 5, 6; lxvii. 2; lxx. 2, 5; lxxvii. 11, 26; lxxxi. 4; lxxxii. 5; lxxxiv. 1, 6, 7, 10; lxxxv. 2, 3.

4. *By the spirit.* Have we here a reference to Gen. ii. 1, "The spirit of God," or does the whole phrase, "made firm . . . by the spirit," show a connection partly with the LXX. of Ps. xxxiii. 6, τῷ λόγῳ κυρίῳ οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος κτλ.

Hast called . . . that which did not yet exist. Cf. xlviii. 8, "with a word Thou quickenest that which was not." We seem to have here creation *ex nihilo*. On the other hand the words above are found in Philo, *de Justitia*, τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι. This may be accidental. At any rate the fundamental principles of the two writers are different; for, except in the *De Somno*, i. 13, Philo taught the formation of the world from pre-existent elements. See Slav. En. xxiv. 2; xxv. 1, notes. Such expressions as that in the text spring from the repeated "and God said," Gen. i. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 5; Philo, *de sacrif. Abel et Cain*, ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λέγων ἅμα ἐποίει, μηδὲν μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν τιθείς. In 2 Pet. iii. 5, "There were heavens from of old, and an earth compacted out of water . . . by the word of God," we have the same teaching, with the additional idea that the solid earth was made from the water, as in the Slav. En. xxviii. 2.

which Thou art doing. 6. Thou that rulest with great thought the powers that stand before Thee: (yea) rulest with indignation the holy living creatures, who are without number, which Thou didst make from the beginning, of flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne. 7. To Thee only does this belong that Thou shouldst do forthwith whatsoever Thou dost wish. 8. Who causest the drops of rain to rain by number upon the earth, and alone knowest the consummation of the times before they come: have respect unto my prayer. 9. For Thou alone art able to sustain all who are, and those who pass away, and those who are to be, those who sin, and those who are righteous [as

6. *Powers that stand before Thee.* Cf. xlviii. 10; 4 Ezra viii. 21*a*, "cui adstat exercitus angelorum."

Creatures, who are without number. lix. 11.

Which Thou didst make from the beginning. In Jub. ii. 2, the creation of the angels is assigned to the first day—evidently on the ground of Job xxxviii. 7. According to *Targ. Jer.* I. on Gen. i. 26, and *Shemoth rabba*, 15, God created the angels on the second day. So also Slav. En. xxix. 1.

7. Pss. cxv. 3; cxxxv. 6; Jonah i. 14.

8. *The drops of rain to rain by number.* Cf. lix. 5; Ecclus. i. 2; Slav. En. xlvii. 5, note.

Alone knowest the end of the times. Cf. liv. 1.

9. *Those who sin, and those who are righteous.* For "who are righteous" the Syriac reads here and in xxiv. 2 ܙܟܝܐ = "who are justified" = οἱ δικαιοῦνται, and in xxi. 11, 12; lxii. 7, ܙܟܝ = "have been justified" = δεδικαιωμένοι εἰσιν. In all these passages the Syriac is at fault, but its error is to be traced to the Greek Version; for the Greek translator mistranslated the Hebrew before him, which was in the former case הצדקים, and in the latter צדקו. The grounds for this conclusion are as follows: (i.) The antithesis to "those who sin" is not "those who are justified," but "those who do righteousness" or "are righteous." (ii.) If "those who are justified" was the true text, then its antithesis would not be "those who sin," as we find it in xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2, but "those who are condemned," as in li. 1 and 4 Ezra iv. 18. (iii.) But since "those who sin" is undoubtedly original, the error must lie in the phrase "those who are justified." (iv.) Now this error is easy to explain. From the LXX. we know that צדק was generally rendered by δικαιοῦσθαι, and only in a few cases by δίκαιος εἶναι (Job ix. 2, 15; x. 15; xv. 14; xxv. 4; xxxiii. 12; xxxiv. 5;

living (and) being past finding out]. 10. For Thou alone dost live immortal and past finding out, and knowest the number of mankind. 11. And if in time many have sinned, yet others not a few have been righteous. 12. Thou knowest where Thou preservest

xxxv. 36). The Greek translator, not appreciating the right meaning of צרק in our Apocalypse, gave it the sense he was most familiar with, and so mistranslated it by *δικαιοῦσθαι*. (v.) The above conclusions receive confirmation from the fact that the antithesis in our emended text is actually found in Job x. 15 and xxxv. 36, 37. I have emended the text accordingly in xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 1, 2; lxvii. 2.

The doctrine of justification in this Apocalypse differs from that taught in 4 Ezra.

(1) In Baruch men are justified by the law: thus the text in li. 3 = *ἐδικαιώθησαν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μου* (where *μου* = *τοῦ θεοῦ*), and in lxvii. 6 it = *ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου*, and in lxxxi. 7 it = *ἐσώθησαν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν*. In Ezra, on the other hand, the expression "salvation by works" is qualified by the addition of "and by faith." Cf. ix. 7; xiii. 23. In fact we do not find there either expressed or implied the doctrine of justification by works. (2) Quite in keeping with what precedes is the absolute assurance of salvation on the part of Baruch. He never personally dreads condemnation: he looks forward calmly to a life of future blessedness. Cf. xiii. 3; xxv. 1; xlvi. 7; lxxvi. 2. Ezra, on the other hand, continually assumes his future woe till assured otherwise in viii. 47-49, 51-54. 4 Ezra xiv. does not belong to the rest of the book. There is a pessimistic outlook in Ezra as there is an optimistic one in all Baruch save S (*i.e.* x. 6-xii.) The note on xiv. 7 of this book will confirm the view above taken.

In 4 Ezra "to justify" preserves its ordinary meaning of "to declare just" in iv. 18 and xii. 7. It is used in this sense also in Ecclus. i. 22; vii. 5; x. 29; xiii. 22; xviii. 22; xxxi. 5; xlii. 2. In 4 Ezra, however, we find another use: thus in x. 16 it = "to vindicate as just." So also in Ps. li. 4; Isa. xlii. 21 (?); Pss. Sol. ii. 16; iii. 5; iv. 9; viii. 7, 27, 31; ix. 3; Luke vii. 29; Apoc. Baruch lxxviii. 5. On the word *δικαιοῦν* the reader can consult with advantage Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 28-31. On the teaching on faith in A^3, *i.e.* chaps. liii.-lxxiv., see liv. 25, note.

As living . . . out. This I bracket as a dittography. See next line.

10. *Knowest the number of mankind.* Gen. xxiii. 4, 5; xlviii. 4, 6.

11. Men many have sinned, but many also have been justified.

Others not a few have been righteous. This statement differs strongly from that given in 4 Ezra viii. 3, where it is said plainly that whereas "multi quidem creati sunt, pauci autem salvabuntur," and that the ratio of the saved to the lost is as the amount of gold in the earth to that of the clay in it (viii. 2). This optimism which we have observed already (see xxi. 9, note) differentiates Baruch from Ezra. The latter is in the main pessimistic both with regard to his own destiny (till otherwise reassured by God) and that of the vast bulk of mankind.

12, 13. But this life is not all; sin and righteousness have further

the end of those who have sinned, or the consummation of those who have been righteous. 13. For if there were this life only, which here belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this. 14. For of what profit is strength that turns to weakness, or the food of plenty that turns to famine, or beauty that turns to a hateful (thing)? 15. For the nature of man is always changeable. 16. For we have by no means been from the beginning what we now are, and what we now are we shall not afterwards remain. 17. For if a consummation had not been prepared for all, in vain would have been their beginning. 18. But regarding everything that comes from Thee, do Thou inform me, and regarding everything about which I ask Thee, do Thou enlighten me. 19. How long will that which is corruptible remain, and how long will the time of

issues; else the life of the righteous here were a crowning bitterness.

13. This verse may be drawn from 1 Cor. xv. 19, or else both from a common source. Of what worth is life? for (1) it is subject to constant change (xxi. 14, 15); and (2) is likewise mortal (xxi. 16, 17, 22).

14. *Strength that turns*, etc. lxxxiii. 11.

Beauty that turns to a hateful (thing). lxxxiii. 12.

15. There is no fixity in the being of man: he is the creature of change. In ver. 22, which should follow verses 17, 18, man is by appointment mortal.

16. The text is corrupt. The above rendering rests on an emendation of the text. Thus for ܐܘ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܡܢ ܒܪܫܝܬ. ܗܫܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܢ. I have read ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܓܝܪ ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܢ ܗܫܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܪܫܝܬ. This restores, I believe, the original sense (cf. ver. 15). As the text stands it = "aut nihil, sicuti quod sumus, est enim ab initio, nunc non sumus" (Ceriani).

17. Ver. 22 may have originally followed this verse.

19. *How long will that which is corruptible remain?* If this question comes from the final editor, its answer will be found in xl. 3; lxxiv. 3. But if it belongs to B^2, its answer would naturally be found in xxiii. 7 - xxiv. 1; xxxi. 5. The writers of this book (particularly the writer of B^2) are greatly impressed with the corruptibility of the present world. The whole present world, the *olam hazzeh*, belongs

mortals be prospered, and until what time will those who transgress in the world be polluted with much wickedness? 20. Command therefore in mercy, and accomplish all that Thou saidst Thou wouldst bring, that Thy might may be made known to those who think that Thy long-suffering is weakness. 21. And show to those who know not, and let them see that it has befallen us and our city until now according to the long-suffering of Thy power, because on account of Thy name Thou hast called us a beloved people. 22. Every nature therefore from this onward is mortal.

to the sphere of corruption. Even so does the Messianic kingdom if it falls within the *olam hazzeh*, as it does in A^1, A^2, and A^3 in this book. Thus in A^2 the Messianic reign forms the end of the world of corruption (xl. 3), and in A^3, the end of corruption and the beginning of incorruption (lxxiv. 3). In B^2 all that has been is doomed to corruption (xxxi. 5); all that is corruptible will perish (xliv. 9); the new world that awaits them will not turn them to corruption (xliv. 12). In B^3 what the righteous have lost was corruptible, but what they will receive is incorruptible (lxxxv. 5). The only reference to this subject in B^1 is where Baruch is told that he will pass away from the earth and forget all that is corruptible (xliii. 2). As to the remaining passages where this word recurs, the text is doubtful in xlviii. 29, and probably interpolated in xxviii. 5. In 4 Ezra vii. 113, the day of judgment is the end of this period and the beginning of the next immortal period. See also iv. 11; vii. 111.

Who transgress. These words could be rendered "who pass away," as in verse 9.

20. This is a prayer for the hastening of the final judgment (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 4-9).

21. The text is unintelligible as it stands: "Show to those who know not, and they have seen what has befallen us and our city until now according to the longsuffering," etc. Merely by the emendation of ܘܚܙܘ = "and they have seen," into ܘܗܘܐ = "and that it has been," we arrive at a perfectly consistent text. The fall of Jerusalem was brought about in the mercy of God to hasten the final judgment. See verse 23; xx. 2.

But, if the text is correct, it = *καὶ ἑωράκασιν* = וראו. Have we here an instance of the Hebrew perfect with strong waw used as a continuation of the imperative? In that case the original may have been הודיע . . . וראו את אשר נקרה לנו = "Show . . . and let them see that it has happened to us." I have emended accordingly.

A beloved people. Cf. v. 1.

22. It is obvious that this verse breaks the connection of thought. It should be read after verse 17 as

23. Reprove therefore the angel of death, and let Thy glory appear, and let the might of Thy beauty be known, and let Sheol be sealed so that from this time forward it may not receive the dead, and let the treasuries of souls restore those which are enclosed in them. 24. For there have been many years like those that are desolate from the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of all those who are like them, who sleep in the earth, on whose account Thou didst say that Thou hadst created the world. 25. And now quickly show Thy glory, and do not defer

suggested above. It is possible that ܗܘ is corrupt for ܢܘ. We should then translate, "Every one, therefore, according to this law is mortal" (cf. ver. 15).

23. The writer in 20, 21, urged God to bring on the final judgment, that His power might be made known, and that men might learn that Israel's calamities had befallen them in the mercy of God. With a view to this final judgment the writer prays to God to put an end to death, to let His glory appear, and the dead arise.

23. *The angel of death.* Cf. Rev. vi. 8. On the prominent *rôle* played by this angel in later Jewish writings, see *Testament of Abraham* (ed. James); Weber, 239-242, 244, 247 262, 321, 322, 373; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Jud.* i. 854, 855, 862-879.

Sheol. See xi. 6, note.

Be sealed. Cf. Isa. v. 14.

Treasuries of souls. Only the righteous souls were admitted to these treasuries or chambers. I have preserved the literal meaning of the original word. These are the places in which God *treasures* His righteous ones, or their righteous acts. After the death of a righteous man his soul was permitted during seven days to behold the seven ways of the righteous and the seven ways of the wicked. After so doing, the soul entered these chambers (4 Ezra vii. 101; iv. 35). These chambers were in Sheol (4 Ezra iv. 41); only righteous souls could enter them (4 Ezra vii. 80); they were guarded by angels, and were full of rest (Eth. En. c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 95); at the final judgment they were to restore the souls committed to them (Apoc. Bar. xxi. 3; xxx. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 32, 80). It is to be observed that as there were treasuries of righteous souls, so there were treasuries of righteous works (see xxiv. 1).

It is strange that only the righteous souls are here mentioned. The reference to the wicked may be lost.

24. This verse should in all probability be read after ver. 19. It would there form a good link between vers. 19 and 20. If this is not so the text seems corrupt.

Sleep in the earth. See xi. 4, note.

On whose account, etc. See xv. 7, note; xiv. 18, note.

what has been promised by Thee." 26. And it came to pass that when I had completed the words of this prayer that I was greatly weakened.

XXII. And it came to pass after these things that lo! the heavens were opened, and I saw, and power was given to me, and a voice was heard from on high, and it said unto me: 2. "Baruch, Baruch, why art thou troubled? 3. He who travels by a road but does not complete it, or he who departs by sea but does not arrive at the port, can he be comforted? 4. Or he who promises to give a present to another, but does not fulfil it, is it not robbery? 5. Or he who sows the earth, but does not reap its fruit in its season, does he not lose everything? 6. Or he who plants a plant, unless it grows till the time suitable to it, does he who planted it expect to receive fruit from it? 7. Or a woman who has conceived, if she bring forth untimely, does she not assuredly slay her infant? 8. Or he who builds a house, if he does not roof it and com-

25. *What has been promised by Thee. I.e.* "the world which Thou hast promised them" (xiv. 13; cf. lxxxiii. 5). The new world would become the dwelling of the righteous after the judgment.

26. *I was greatly weakened.* This weakness follows again on the prayer in xlviii. 25; cf. 4 Ezra v. 14.

XXII. 1. *The heavens were opened and I saw.* Ezek. i. 1; cf. Matt. iii. 16; John i. 52; Rev. iv. 1; Acts vii. 56.

A voice was heard, etc., *i.e.* the *bath-qôl*. Cf. xiii. 1; Matt. iii. 17; xvii. 5; Rev. iv. 1.

3-8. In xxii. 3, 5, God rejoins that no man undertakes a work without hoping to enjoy its results, and that no work can be duly judged till it is completed (xxii. 8). Thus Baruch's depreciation of this life (xxi. 13-17, 22) is in some fashion answered. Things must be judged in the light of their consummation. Again, in reply to Baruch's request to hasten the period of judgment (xxi. 19, 24, 20, 21, 23, 25), God rejoins that, for the due accomplishment of any work, time is needed (xxii. 6, 7). Finally, to Baruch's plea for the fulfilment of the divine promise (xxi. 25), God acknowledges the obligation of that promise (xxii. 4).

7. *Does . . . assuredly slay.* A Hebraism. Text = הרוג יהרג. Cf. xiii. 3; xli. 6; xlviii. 30, etc.

plete it, can it be called a house? Tell me that first."

XXIII. And I answered and said: "Not so, O LORD, my Lord." 2. And He answered and said unto me: "Why therefore art thou troubled about that which thou knowest not, and why art thou ill at ease about things in which thou art ignorant? 3. For as thou hast not forgotten the people who now are and those who have passed away, so I remember those who are remembered, and those who are to come. 4. Because when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then

XXIII. 1, 2. Baruch having admitted the justice of the divine reasons, God rejoins in the words of xxii. 3, "Why therefore art thou troubled?" for Baruch thereby acknowledges his ignorance of the things in question.

3. It is hard to see the relevance of this verse to any of Baruch's representations. Baruch has never doubted the ultimate fulfilment of the divine promises.

Who are remembered and those who are to come. The Syriac here ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܘܕܐܬܝ ܕܐܬܕܟܪ seems corrupted from ܕܐܬܝ ܕܐܬܕܟܪ = "who are appointed to come."

4. *When Adam sinned and death was decreed against*, etc. There are two different conceptions of man's original destiny and of the *physical* effect of Adam's sin upon it in two of the different constituents of this book. (1) Thus in B^2, *i.e.* in xvii. 3; xix. 8; xxiii. 4, Adam's sin brought in physical death, otherwise man would have been immortal. We find the same view in Ecclus. xxv. 24 ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκομεν πάντες, though this view cannot be reconciled with the main teaching and tendencies of that book, which are to the effect that man was mortal from the outset (cf. xiv. 17; xvii. 1, 2; xl. 11). The conditional immortality of man appears next in Eth. En. lxix. 11; Book of Wisdom i. 13, 14; ii. 23, 24; Slav. En. xxx. 16, 17 (see notes *in loc.*); in 4 Ezra iii. 7, "Et huic (*sc.* Adamo) mandasti diligentiam unam tuam: et praeterivit eam, et statim instituisti in eum mortem et in nationibus ejus." It is likewise the Pauline view (cf. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21). In the Talmud this was the prevailing view; thus, according to the *Beresh. rabba*, c. 9, Adam was not originally destined for death (*Pesikta*, 76*a*); if Adam had not sinned he would have lived for ever (see Weber, 214, 215, 239). (2) In A^3, *i.e.* in liv. 15; lvi. 6, Adam is said to have brought in only *premature* death. This seems to be the view underlying Gen. ii., iii., though many, it is true, take it to be conditional immortality. But such an interpretation is difficult in the face

the multitude of those who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might dwell and the dead might be guarded. 5. Unless therefore the number aforesaid is fulfilled, the creature will not live again [for My spirit is the creator of life], and Sheol will receive the dead. 6. And again it is given to thee to hear what things are to come after these times. 7. For truly My redemption has drawn nigh, and is not far distant as aforetime.

of Gen. iii. 19. (3) It may be well to add here that a third view is occasionally taught in the Talmud. Death came into the world in consequence of divine predestination (see Edersheim, *Life and Times, etc.*, i. 166 ; Weber, 238, 239). On the *spiritual* effects of Adam's sin on his posterity, see xlviii. 42, note. On the whole question, see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, 136-138.

The multitude of those who should be born was numbered. This was a secret known only to God (xxi. 10 ; xlviii. 46). How this number was fixed upon is not recorded. It could not be added to or diminished ; for the judgment could not come till it was completed (xxiii. 5 ; 4 Ezra iv. 33-43).

For that number a place was prepared. Cf. Slav. En. xlix. 2: "There has not been even a man in his mother's womb, for whom a place has not been prepared for every soul" ; and lviii. 5 : "There is a special place for mankind for all the souls of men according to their number." So in the Tractate *Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1 ; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3 ; *Avodath hakkodesh*, fol. 19, col. 1, it is said that a place is prepared for every man either in Paradise or hell (Eisenmenger, ii. 315).

The dead might be guarded. The righteous were in "the treasuries of souls" guarded by angels (Eth. En. c. 5 ; 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95) ; the wicked in places of punishment guarded likewise by "those who keep the keys and are the guardians of the gates of hades standing like great serpents, and their faces are like quenched lamps, and their eyes fiery" (Slav. En. xlii. 1).

5. Not till the secret number of mankind is fulfilled can the resurrection take place. In Rev. vi. 11 and 4 Ezra iv. 36 the consummation of the world will follow, not when the number of mankind, but of the saints, is fulfilled. According to the *Shemoth rabba*, c. 39 (cf. *Aboda Sara*, 5*a*), all the generations of mankind were contained in a register called the ספר תולדות of Adam. And (*Beresh. rabba*, c. 24 ; *Wajjikra rabba*, c. 15) not until all the souls still dwelling in the גוף חנשמות, and included in the above register, had been born in the flesh should the Messiah come (*i.e.* the end of the world). See Weber, 335.

Sheol will receive. Cf. xxi. 23 ; xi. 6, note.

7. Cf. lxxxii. 2 ; Luke xxi. 28 ; 1 Pet. iv. 7.

XXIV. "For behold! the days come and the books will be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasuries in which the righteousness of all those who have been

XXIV. 1. *Behold! the days come.* See xx. 1, note.

The books will be opened. Dan. vii. 10; Eth. En. xc. 20; Rev. xx. 12; 4 Ezra vi. 20. The books mentioned here contain only a record of the sins of sinners, as in Eth. En. xc. 20. This is probably the case also in Rev. xx. 12: "And books were opened." In the last passage the succeeding words have to do with the lot of the righteous: "And another book was opened which (is the book) of life." This book of life is mentioned also in Eth. En. xlvii. 3; cviii. 3. The books that are spoken of in Dan. vii. 10; 4 Ezra vi. 20, may be records both of the righteous and the wicked.

The treasuries in which, etc. See xxi. 23, note. Divine "treasuries" or "storehouses" are a familiar idea in the O.T. Thus we have treasuries of rain (Deut. xxviii. 12), of snow and hail (Job xxxviii. 22), of wind (Jer. x. 13; li. 16; Ps. cxxxv. 7), of the sea (Ps. xxxiii. 7); see also Eth. En. lx. 11, 19, 20, 21; 4 Ezra vi. 40. Again the idea of laying up spiritual things in store is found in the LXX. Thus in Prov. i. 18 *θησαυρίζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κακά*, and still more clearly in Pss. Sol. ix. 9 *θησαυρίζει ζωὴν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ*. The last passage belongs to a time when heaven had come to be regarded as the true home and destination of the righteous. Naturally, when this was the belief of the faithful, their highest thoughts, aspirations, and efforts would be directed thither, and thus Ezra is assured: "Tibi thesaurus operum repositus apud Altissimum" (4 Ezra vii. 77), and the righteous are those qui fidem thesaurizaverunt (vi. 5); they would lay up treasures in heaven (Matt. vi. 19, 20). By a faithless life, on the other hand, men "treasured up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath" (Rom. ii. 5). Finally, the deeds of the righteous were regarded as gathered in "treasuries," as in our text. The expression is found in another sense in xliv. 14. We should observe that אוצר and *θησαυρός* alike mean a treasure and the place where it is stored.

The righteousness of all, etc. As Dr. Sanday writes (*Romans*, p. 29): "For a Jew the whole sphere of righteousness was taken up by the Mosaic Law. His one idea of righteousness was that of conformity to this law. Righteousness was for him essentially obedience to the law." That these words are true of the conception of righteousness entertained by the writers of this book will be seen by a perusal of the note on xiv. 7. But naturally the conception of righteousness varied accordingly as it was used by the legalistic or the prophetical wing, if I may so speak, of Pharisaism. With the strict Legalists righteousness meant the fulfilment first and mainly of ceremonial observances, and secondly, but only in a very subordinate degree, of works of mercy. See, for instance, the Book of Jubilees. With the prophetical wing, from which emanated most of the Messianic Apocalypses, righteousness was taken in its large sense as the fulfilment of

righteous in creation is gathered. 2. For it will come to pass at that time that thou shalt see—and many that are with thee—the long-suffering of the Most High, which has been throughout all generations, who has been long-suffering towards all those born that sin and are righteous." 3. And I answered and said: "But, behold! O Lord, no one knows the number of those things which have passed nor yet of those things which are to come. 4. For I know indeed that which has befallen us, but what will happen to our enemies I know not, and when Thou wilt visit Thy works."

moral duties and only in a very secondary degree of ceremonial. The Ethiopic and Slavonic Books of Enoch are illustrations of the latter statement. In some books it is hard to determine the pre-eminence of either tendency.

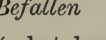
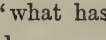
Who have been righteous. See note on xxi. 9.

2. I have already shown on p. 20 that xxiv. 2-4 probably followed originally on xx.

Thou shalt see—and many, etc. See note on xiii. 5.

Sin and are righteous. Both verbs depend on the same subject.

3, 4. In the preceding verse God had just assured Baruch that he and many with him should ultimately see the long-suffering of God. Baruch rejoins when that time of recompense will be no man knows (ver. 3), but there is one thing he knows well, *i.e.* the present calamities of Israel. Hence he wishes to know (*a*) what fate is in store for the Gentiles who inflicted these, and (*b*) when will it take effect. The answer to (*a*) is given in xiii. 3*b*-12. Just before xiii. 3*b* some statement such as "retribution will come upon your enemies who are now prospering," has been lost. Then follows xiii. 3*b*-12, in which Baruch is told that a special *rôle* is assigned him in reference to the enemies of Israel. He is to be preserved till the end of the times to testify to these cities, when the threatened retribution has befallen them, the reason of such retribution, the thoroughness with which it will be carried out, and the time of its consummation. Then in xxv. comes the answer to Baruch's second question: "When wilt Thou visit Thy works?" Baruch is to be preserved to play a part in this respect also (xxv. 1).

Befallen us. For  ? ="what has befallen me," I have read  ="what has befallen us?" The same corruption of the suffix appears in this MS. in lxxviii. 3 over against the right text in nine MSS.

Visit Thy works. xx. 2, note. The reference here is to the final judgment.

XXV. And He answered and said unto me: "Thou too shalt be kept safely till that time till that sign which the Most High will work for the inhabitants of the earth in the end of days. 2. This therefore will be the sign. 3. When a stupor shall seize the inhabitants of the earth, and they shall fall into many tribulations, and again when they shall fall into great torments. 4. And it will come to pass when they will say in their thoughts by reason of their much tribulation: 'The Mighty One doth no longer remember the earth'—yea, it will come to pass when they abandon hope, that the time will then awake."

XXVI.=E. XXVI. And I answered and said: "Will that tribulation which is to be continue a long time, and will that necessity embrace many years?"

XXVII.-XXX. 1=A[1]. XXVII. And He answered and said unto me:

XXV. In this chapter we have an answer to Baruch's question: "When wilt Thou visit Thy works?"

XXV. 1. In xiii. 3*b* Baruch was to be preserved to testify against the Gentiles. He has also a further function: observe the "too."

Till that time till that sign which. The sign is the stupor that will come on the inhabitants of the earth.

The inhabitants of the earth. This phrase is always used in a bad ethical sense in Baruch. Cf. xxv. 2; xlviii. 32, 40; liv. 1; lv. 2; lxx. 2, 10: generally in 4 Ezra; cf. iii. 34, 35; iv. 39; v. 6; vi. 24; vii. 72; x. 59; xiii. 30; but in vi. 18, 26; xi. 5, 32, 34; xii. 24, the sense of the phrase is merely geographical. For the various meanings of this phrase in the Eth. En. and Rev., see Eth. En. pp. 43, 111.

3, 4. When stupor and despair have seized the inhabitants of the earth, the time of the judgment has come.

3. *Stupor.* Cf. lxx. 2. This is rendered *excessus mentis* in 4 Ezra xiii. 30. For the diction, cf. Jer. viii. 21.

4. At the end of the tribulation and torments of the inhabitants of the earth the time of the judgment has come (cf. xiii. 8). This leaves no room for the Messianic kingdom in xxix., which precedes the judgment.

XXVI. This chapter is an addition of the final editor in order to introduce xxvii.-xxx. 1. xxv. was originally followed by xiv.-xix.

XXVII.-XXX. 1. We have here a fragment of a Messiah Apocalypse which for convenience of reference we designate A[1]. Its (1) chief

"Into twelve parts is that time divided, and each one of them is reserved for that which is appointed for it. 2. In the first part there will be the beginning of commotions. 3. And in the second part (there will be) slayings of the great ones. 4. And in the third part (there will be) the fall of many by death. 5. And in the fourth part the sending of desolation. 6.

characteristics, (2) its date, and (3) its points of divergence from B^1 and B^2 are as follows:—(1) After a terrible period of tribulation (*i.e.* the travel pains of the Messiah) (xxvii.-xxviii. 1) which should imperil the salvation even of the elect (xxviii. 3), and should prevail over all the earth (xxviii. 7-xxix. 1), a glorious kingdom, accompanied with every possible blessing, was to be established under the Messiah (xxix. 3-8), who after a reign of indefinite duration should return in glory into heaven (xxx. 1*a*). Thereupon the resurrection was to follow (xxx. 1*b*). The outlook is hopeful and thoroughly optimistic. (2) The later limit of composition is easy to determine. (*a*) Since the kingdom is to be established in Palestine, and only those Jews who are found there are to share in it, it is clear that there has been no dispersion of the Jews; for had there been, as it was in the case of B^1, we should here be told of a return from exile. Hence this fragment was written before 70 A.D. (*b*) Again, since Palestine is the scene of the kingdom, Jerusalem must still be standing; for in case it had fallen, we should here be told of its restoration, as in B^1, or of the setting up of the new Jerusalem, as in 4 Ezra xiii. 36. The Messianic kingdom could not be set up over the ruins of the holy city. Hence, again, we conclude that A^1 was written before 70 A.D. (3) Its points of divergence from B^1 and B^2 are obvious. In the latter, Jerusalem is destroyed and its people in exile; whereas in A^1 Jerusalem is standing and the Jews are in their own land. Again, whereas the law is the centre of interest and expectation in B^2, and in a somewhat less degree in B^1 (see xv. 5, note), it is the Messiah that is such in A^1. Further, whereas there is not a single allusion to the Messiah in B^1 and B^2, there is not a single allusion to the law in A^1. This, indeed, may be partly due to the shortness of this fragment.

XXVII. 1. In A^3, *i.e.* liii.-lxxiv. and 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12, there are similar twelvefold divisions; but in these it is the entire history of the world that is so divided, whereas in our text it is only the time of troubles preceding the advent of the Messiah. These troubles were popularly conceived as the travail pains of the Messiah חבלי המשיח. We find a list of such woes (ὠδῖνες, Matt. xxiv. 8) in xlviii. 31-37; lxx. 2-10; Matt. xxiv. 6-29, with synoptic parallels; 2 Tim. iii. 1; Jubilees xxiii. 13, 16-25; 4 Ezra v. 1-12; vi. 14-18, 20-24; *Orac. Sibyl.* iii. 796-807; see Weber, 336; Schürer, Div. II., vol. ii. 154-156. In the Gospels, however, these woes are to precede the second coming of Christ or the end of the world.

5. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 8; vi. 22. For *desolation* we might also render "the sword"; cf. 5 Ezra xv. 5.

And in the fifth part famine and the withholding of rain. 7. And in the sixth part earthquakes and terrors. 8. [Wanting.] 9. And in the eighth part a multitude of portents and incursions of the Shedim. 10. And in the ninth part the fall of fire. 11. And in the tenth part rapine and much oppression. 12. And in the eleventh part wickedness and unchastity. 13. And in the twelfth part confusion from the mingling together of all those things aforesaid. 14. For these parts of that time are reserved, and will be mixed one with another and will minister one to another. 15. For some will of themselves be of service, and they will receive from others, and from themselves and others they will be perfected, so that those may not understand who are upon the earth in those days of this consummation of the times.

XXVIII. "Nevertheless, whosoever shall understand will then be wise. 2. For the measure and reckoning of that time are two parts weeks of seven weeks." 3. And I answered and said: "It is good for a man

6. *Famine.* As a sign of the end, cf. lxx. 8; Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11.

7. *Earthquakes.* Cf. lxx. 8; Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11.

9. *Portents.* Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 21: "Et anniculi infantes loquentur vocibus suis, et praegnantes immaturos parient infantes, etc." But owing to the next words it would perhaps be better to render ܕܡܚܙܝܐ = φαντασίαι as "spectres."

The Shedim. See x. 8, note.

10. *The fall of fire.* Cf. lxx. 8; 4 Ezra v. 8. If with the reviser of the MS. we delete the ܘ before ܢܦܠ we should render "the fire will fall."

15. These verses are obscure. They are possibly corrupt. For "of this . . . times" we can equally well render "that this is the consummation of the times."

XXVIII. 1. This verse recalls Dan. xii. 10: "the wise shall understand."

2. I cannot interpret this verse.

3. This verse expresses the difficulty of faithfulness in the times just described. Cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 16-20: "Vae qui derelicti fuerint in diebus illis, et multo plus vae his

to come and behold, but it is better that he should not come lest he fall. 4. [But I will say this also. XXVIII. 4-5 =E.
5. 'Will he who is incorruptible despise those things which are corruptible, and whatever befalls in the case of those things which are corruptible, so that he might look only to those things which are not corruptible?'] 6. But if, O Lord, those things shall assuredly come to pass which Thou hast foretold to me; if, moreover, I have found grace in Thy sight, show this also unto me. 7. Is it in one place or in one of the parts of the earth that those things are to come to pass, or will the whole earth experience (them)?"

XXIX. And He answered and said unto me: "Whatever will then befall will belong to the whole earth; therefore all who live will experience (them). 2. For at that time I will protect only those who are found in those self-same days in this land. 3. And it

qui non sunt derelicti! Qui enim non sunt derelicti, tristes erunt, intelligentes quae sunt reposita in novissimis diebus et non occurrentes eis . . . adtamen facilius est periclitantem venire in haec quam pertransire . . . et non videre quae contingent in novissimo." Only the righteous, the fittest survive. Cf. xli. 1; lxxv. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 46, 47; Matt. xxiv. 22; Mark xiii. 21. This verse looks forward to the blessings described in xxix. 4-8.

4, 5. I have bracketed these verses as an interpolation of the final editor. They break the connection of thought. Further, no account is taken of them either by Baruch to whom they are assigned, or by God to whom they are addressed. They are unreasonable and out of place in the presence of the sensuous picture of Messianic bliss which meets us in the next chapter. The real answer to Baruch's question here can be gathered from xliii. 2.

6. *If I have found grace*, etc. A familiar O.T. phrase (Gen. vi. 8; xix. 19, etc.; 4 Ezra v. 56; vii. 102; viii. 42; xii. 7).

XXIX. 2. *I will protect*, etc. Here God protects His people who are found in the Holy Land, whereas in A^2 it is the Messiah (xl. 2) in A^3 the Holy Land itself (lxxi. 1). In B^2 it is the law that protects the faithful, irrespective of their place of habitation (xxxii. 1; cf. 6 Ezra vii. 122).

Found . . . in this land. Cf. xl. 2; lxxi. 1; 4 Ezra xiii. 48, 49. A special blessing attached to residence in Palestine. It alone was to escape the woes that should befall

will come to pass when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah will then √

all the earth besides. But this thought is found only in the sections of this book written prior to 70 A.D. Such ideas as to the sacrosanct and inviolable character of Palestine seem to have disappeared for a time from Jewish speculation with the desecration and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, unless where the Messiah was expected. Hence in B^2 it is the law that protects the faithful (xxxii. 1), and in 4 Ezra vii. 122 it is the glory of God ; and this protection avails them irrespective of their place of dwelling. The special privileges attaching to the Holy Land reappear in the Talmud, but in another form. Thus three will inherit the world to come : he who dwells in the land of Israel, he who brings up his sons to the study of the law, and he who repeats the ritual blessing over the appointed cup of wine at the close of the Sabbath (*Pesachim*, fol. 113*a*). Again the merits of the fathers will not avail a man who leaves the land of Israel for an outside land (*Baba bathra*, fol. 91*a*). Further, those who died in the Holy Land should rise first in the resurrection (Weber, pp. 64, 352) ; hence it is called "the land of the living" (*Beresh. rab.* 74) ; if the righteous died in any other land their bodies would have to roll (מתגלגלים) through underground passages (מחילות) till they came to Palestine before they could be raised (Weber, 352 ; Eisenmenger, ii. 920, 921). It was for this reason that Jacob and Joseph (Eisenmenger, ii. 925) and the Rabbis, who were specially honoured (Weber, 64), were buried in Canaan. Nay more, residents in the land of Israel could procure the resurrection of their relatives who died among the Gentiles (Eisenmenger, ii. 900). That the righteous who were buried outside the limits of Palestine should rise is also stated (Weber, 352).

3. The *rôle* here assigned to the Messiah is a passive one like that in Eth. En. xc. 37, 38 ; 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29. In this respect it differs from that represented in A^2 and A^3, *i.e.* xxxvi.-xl. ; lii.-lxxiv. ; and in Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx. ; Pss. Sol. xvii., xviii. ; 4 Ezra xii. 32-34 ; xiii. 32-50, where the Messiah fights either with spiritual or material weapons on behalf of Israel, destroys its enemies, and sets up the Messianic kingdom.

The Messiah will then begin to be revealed. The phrase "begin to be revealed" seems corrupt. We should perhaps have "the principate of the Messiah will be revealed," as in xxxix. 7. We can get this by reading ܙܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܬܓܠܐ instead of ܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܬܓܠܐ ܒܕ Cf. xli. 3. Or by simply reading ܡܫܝܚܐ instead of ܒܕ ܢܬܓܠܐ we have "Messiah the prince will be revealed." In this case the phraseology might be due to Dan. ix. 25. From a comparison of this verse and xxx. 1 the Messiah appears to be in heaven and is to be revealed from thence ; but in other passages the implication of such language as "will be revealed" is merely that the Messiah may be already on earth and yet be unknown.

This emergence of the Messiah from concealment was a current view. Thus we find it in 4 Ezra vii. 28 ; xiii. 32 ; also in John vii. 27 : "When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is." This concealment of the Messiah is mentioned also in Targum Jon. on Zech-

begin to be revealed. 4. And Behemoth will be revealed from his place, and Leviathan will ascend from

ariah iii. 8 ; vi. 12. In the Targum on Micah iv. 8 it is said to be due to the sins of the people. From Justin's *Dial. c. Tryph.* 8, it appears that though the Messiah may be already born, yet He may be unknown, and not even know His own calling till Elijah anoints and reveals Him. Χριστὸς δέ, εἰ καὶ γεγένηται καὶ ἔστι που, ἄγνωστός ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός πω ἑαυτὸν ἐπίσταται οὐδὲ ἔχει δύναμίν τινα, μέχρις ἂν ἐλθὼν Ἠλίας χρίσῃ αὐτὸν καὶ φάνερον πᾶσι ποιήσῃ. Cf. also c. 110.

According to the Talmud, the Messiah was born at Bethlehem on the day of the destruction of the temple, was named Menahem, and afterwards suddenly carried away by a storm (*Hieros. Berachoth*, p. 5). His temporary abode, according to later writers, was to be Rome (*Sanhedrin*, 98*a*). On this subject see Lightfoot's *Horae* on Matt. ii. 1 ; Oehler's *Messias* in Herzog's *R.E.* ix. 668 ; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 293, 294 ; Schürer's *N.T. Times*, Div. II., vol. ii. 163, 164 ; Weber, 342, 343 ; Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias*, 57-59.

4. *And Behemoth will be revealed*, etc. The full form of this myth is given in 4 Ezra vi. 49-52 : "Et tunc conservasti duo animalia, nomen uni vocasti Behemoth et nomen secundi vocasti Leviathan, Et separasti ea ab alterutro, non enim poterat septima pars ubi erat aqua congregata capere ea. Et dedisti Behemoth unam partem quae siccata est tertio die, ut inhabitet in ea, ubi sunt montes mille ; Lēviathan autem dedisti septimam partem humidam : et servasti ea ut fiant in devorationem quibus vis et quando vis." From a comparison of verse 4 with the verses just cited, it is clear that the words "from his place" and "from the sea" imply the account in these verses of Ezra. This is confirmed by the fact that not only is the thought the same, but also almost word for word the diction in the Syriac Versions of the two clauses : "Servasti ea ut fiant in devorationem" (4 Ezra vi. 52) and "kept them until that time and then they will be for food." Thus so far 4 Ezra would seem to be the source of our text. But if in these respects Baruch presupposes 4 Ezra, 4 Ezra in turn presupposes Baruch in the clauses : "Quibus vis et quando vis" (4 Ezra vi. 52) over against "for all that are left" in verse 4—the words "those who are left" being a technical phrase to express those who should survive to participate in the Messianic kingdom. We are thus led to assume that a short hexaemeron, closely resembling that found in 4 Ezra vi. 38-54, existed at one time independently, and that the writers of Ezra vi. 30-vii. 25 and Bar. xxvii.-xxx. laid it under contribution for their own purposes. (For a probable additional fragment of this hexaemeron, see xv. 7, note.) This assumption gains confirmation from the facts (1) that this hexaemeron cannot originally have proceeded from the writer of the Salathiel Apocalypse (*i.e.* the groundwork of 4 Ezra) ; for the latter looked for no Messianic kingdom, whereas the writer of this hexaemeron did as is obvious from vi. 52 compared with xxix. 4 of our text ; and (2) that whereas A^1 of Baruch was written prior to the fall of Jerusalem, the Salathiel Apocalypse was written subsequently to it.

4. *Behemoth . . . and Leviathan.* In addition to the references in the preceding note, see Eth. En. lx. 7-9, 24, notes ; Targ. Jon. on Gen.

the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and I kept them until that time; and then they will be for food for all that are left. 5. The earth also will yield its fruit ten thousandfold, and on one vine there will be a thousand branches,

i. 21: "And God created great beasts Leviathan and his wife which were prepared for the day of consolation;" see also the Targum on Ps. l. 10; Weber, 156, 195, 370, 384; Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chald. rabb. Talmud*, and Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* and *Neuhebräisches Wörterb. in loc.*

All that are left. This is in fact "the remnant" that survives to share in the Messiah's kingdom. This remnant is frequently referred to in this sense (cf. xl. 2; 4 Ezra vi. 25; vii. 28; ix. 7; xii. 34; xiii. 48).

5. We have here another fragment of an old Apocalypse, of which we find a Latin version in Irenaeus, v. 33. This Apocalypse Papias, according to Irenaeus, assigned to our Lord. It is recounted in the fourth book of his Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις. The passage in question is: "Venient dies, in quibus vineae nascentur, singulae decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmite dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini. Et quum eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: Botrus ego melior sum, me sume, per me Dominum benedic." Scholars have taken our text to be the original of this passage. That this is unlikely, and that both may be derived from the same original source, I will now proceed to show. In the first place, the passage in Irenaeus contains two additional sentences: "Dena millia brachiorum . . . palmite," and "Et quum eorum . . . benedic." Hence a fuller text is presupposed than we have in Bar. xxix. 5. In the next place, immediately after the words just cited, the text in Irenaeus proceeds: "Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similae clarae mundae." With these words compare the Eth. En. x. 19, where, in an account of Messianic bliss, we find "The vine that is planted thereon will yield wine in abundance, and of all the seed which is sown thereon will each measure bear ten thousand." From this we conclude that for a long time prior to Christianity there existed either in tradition or in writing a sensuous description of Messianic felicity. In this description not only the fruitfulness of the vine was dwelt upon, but also of all seeds and fruit-bearing trees. Of this description the largest survival is in Irenaeus, v. 33, preserved through the agency of Papias; the fragmentary survivals in the Eth. En. x. 19 (see above) and in our text form complimentary portions of this tradition.

Finally, the text presents a syncretistic appearance. In xxix. 4 one description of food—a flesh diet—is provided for the members of the Messianic kingdom; and in the next verse quite another—a vegetable diet; and in xxix. 8 a heavenly food, *i.e.* manna. The second is a more ancient view than the first and

and each branch will produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster will produce a thousand grapes, and each grape will produce a cor of wine. 6. And those who have hungered will rejoice: moreover, also, they will behold marvels every day. 7. For winds will go forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health. 8. And it will come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna will again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time.

the most reasonable, being a return to the food of Adam in Paradise.

As to the origin of the 10,000-fold yield of the corn and wine, etc., Mr. Rendel Harris (*Expositor*, 1895, pp. 448, 449) offers a most ingenious and probable suggestion. He derives it from the blessing of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 28), where he conjectures that in the statement רֹב דָּגָן וְתִירֹשׁ = "plenty of corn and wine," the word רֹב was taken as רִבּוֹ = 10,000. He points out that the context in Irenaeus (see above), in which the story of Papias and the elders is given, supports his contention; for that it follows a discussion of the blessing in question.

Each branch . . . each cluster . . . each grape. Instead of "each" the Syriac in all three cases gives "one." But the sense requires "each," and in the Latin Version of this passage preserved in Irenaeus (see above) "each" is found in the three phrases, *i.e.* "unoquoque flagello, unoquoque botro, unumquodque acinum." The explanation is not far to seek. The Hebrew אחד which = εἷς, one, occasionally also = ἕκαστος, each. The former meaning was wrongly followed by the Greek translator. Hence the wrong turn in the Syriac.

A cor. This represents κόρος which in turn is a translation of כֹּר or חֹמֶר. The cor was equal to about 120 gallons. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 9, 2 ὁ δὲ κόρος δύναται μεδίμνους ἀττικοὺς δέκα.

6. *Rejoice.* This is a characteristic of the members of the kingdom. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28; xii. 34.

Behold marvels. The belief that the Messiah would signalise His advent by marvels was general. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 27; xiii. 50; Matt. xi. 4-6; Luke vii. 22, 23; John vii. 31.

8. *The treasury of manna will again descend*, etc. In Ps. lxxviii. 25 manna is called angels' food. In *Or. Sibyl.* vii. 149 it is to be the food of the members of the Messianic kingdom Μάννην τὴν δροσερὴν λευκοῖσιν ὀδοῦσι φάγονται, and in Rev. ii. 17 the idea is spiritualised: the faithful are to receive "hidden manna."

These are they, etc. These are "the remnant" of verse 4.

Consummation of time. This

XXX. "And it will come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, and He will return in glory, then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. 2. And it will come to pass at that time that the treasuries will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they will come forth, and a multitude of souls will be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first will rejoice and the last will not be grieved. 3.

XXX. 2-XXXV. = B^2.

phrase is found in xxvii. 15. The Messianic age forms the "consummation of the time or times" = ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος or τῶν αἰώνων. We should observe that this phrase has a different meaning in xxx. 3; but there we have the work of B^2.

XXX. 1. *When the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled*, etc. This can have only one meaning, and this is that, at the close of His reign, the Messiah will return in glory to heaven. The word translated "advent" is ܡܬܝܐ which in turn was an ordinary rendering of παρουσία. Now παρουσία can mean not only "coming" or "advent," but also "presence" (cf. 2 Cor. x. 10; 2 Macc. xv. 21, and probably 2 Cor. vii. 6, 7; 2 Thess. ii. 9). Hence we should render: "When the time of the presence of the Messiah is fulfilled."

Return in glory. These words imply that the Messiah pre-existed in heaven before His advent. He returns whither He had come. This is also the teaching of Eth. En. xlvi. 1, 2; xlviii. 3 (see note); lxii. 7; 4 Ezra xii. 32; xiii. 26 (?); xiv. 9. This seems also to be the legitimate interpretation of Pss. Sol. xviii. 6 εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκλογῆς ἐν ἀνάξει χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. In 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30, the Messiah and the righteous die at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. The resurrection follows immediately on the return of the Messiah into heaven; on his death in 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30. The words "of him" cannot be original. The text was probably "those who have fallen asleep in hope." Cf. LXX. of Ps. xvi. 9 ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. The corruption could have arisen easily in the Syriac by a change of ܒܫܒ into ܒܫܒ.

Fallen asleep. Cf. xi. 4, note. As A^1 is fragmentary, we are not told what befalls the living righteous. In the following verses of B^2 only the destinies of *souls* are dealt with. The complementary half of this doctrine is given in l., li.

2. With this verse we return to B^2, resuming the text that ended with xxiv. 1. We have here an account of the general resurrection (cf. xlii. 8; l. 2).

Treasuries. See xxi. 23, note; xxiv. 1, note.

For he knows that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the consummation of the times. 4. But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all those things, shall then waste away the more. 5. For they will know that their torment has come and their perdition has arrived."

XXXI. And it came to pass after these things that I went to the people and said unto them: "Assemble unto me all your elders and I will speak

3. *The consummation of the times.* This phrase means here the final judgment; in A[1] it means the Messianic age (cf. xxvii. 15; xxix. 8).

4. *Waste away.* Cf. li. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 87.

5. This verse does not mean that the wicked souls have not hitherto suffered, but that their suffering hitherto is as nothing compared to the torments they shall now endure. Similarly, the righteous have in the treasuries of souls had rest and peace, but they too (cf. ver. 3) know that their real blessedness has now come. See xxxvi. 10.

XXXI.-XXXV. Baruch assembles and addresses the elders of the people (xxxi. 1-3); he exhorts them not to forget the anguish of Zion (xxxi. 4), and announces the coming end of all that is corruptible (xxxi. 5); and, in case they observe the law, their safety amid the convulsions which will accompany the renewal of the entire creation (xxxii. 1); they are not to grieve so much for the past as for the coming time; for then the strife and stress will exceed all that has been before when God renews creation (xxxii. 1, 5, 6). Thereupon, when Baruch seeks to dismiss the people (xxxii. 7), they remonstrate against his forsaking them (xxxii. 8-xxxiii.) Baruch rejoins that he is not forsaking them, but only going to the Holy Place to get light from God (xxxiv.) He then proceeds thither and laments over Zion (xxxv.) A fast of seven days should follow here.

The subject on which Baruch addresses the people is to be found in each instance in the previous divine revelation (see v. 5; x. 4); but it will be observed that this address (xxxi. 3-xxxii. 6) is wholly out of relation to all that has gone before. There is therefore something wrong. The gist of this address is: (*a*) The end of all things corruptible is at hand; (*b*) if ye prepare your hearts to obey the law ye will then be safe in this time of crisis; (*c*) for the entire creation must be shaken, and give place to a new and incorruptible creation. Now these questions are discussed later in the dialogues between God and Baruch. Thus, for (*a*), see xlii. 6-8; for (*b*), see xlviii. 22-24, 38-41; for (*c*), see xlviii. 49; lii. 3, 8-9, 16. We therefore hold that xxxi.-xxxv. was read after lii. originally. Finally, xliv. 8-15 really forms the conclusion of Baruch's address in xxxi., xxxii.; it should be read immediately after xxxii. 6 (see p. 69).

XXXI. 1. *All your elders.* See xliv. 1, note.

words unto them." 2. And they all assembled in the valley of the Cedron. 3. And I answered and said unto them: "Hear, O Israel, and I will speak to thee, and give ear, O seed of Jacob, and I will instruct thee. 4. Forget not Zion, but hold in remembrance the anguish of Jerusalem. 5. For lo! the days come, when everything that exists will become the prey of corruption and be as though it had not been.

XXXII. "But ye, if ye prepare your hearts, so as to sow in them the fruits of the law, it will protect you in that time in which the Mighty One is to shake the whole creation. [2. Because after a little time the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it

XXXII. 2-4 = E.

2. *Cedron.* See v. 5, note.

3. *Hear, O Israel . . . and give ear, O seed of Jacob.* Cf. xvii. 4; xlvi. 4; 4 Ezra ix. 30. For the combination "hear . . . and give ear," see Isa. i. 2.

5. *Will become the prey of.* Literally = "will be taken to corruption." See xxi. 19, note.

XXXII. 1. *Prepare your hearts.* An O.T. phrase (cf. 1 Sam. vii. 3; Job xi. 13; Ps. lxxviii. 8). It is a favourite expression in B^1 and B^2 of this book; cf. xlvi. 5; lii. 7; lxxxiii. 8; lxxxv. 9, 11.

The fruits of the law. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 20; ix. 32; see note on xv. 5.

It will protect. See xxix. 2, note. These words point back to xlviii. 22-24; cf. xliv. 13, 14; xlviii. 38-41.

Shake the whole creation. I.e. with a view to a new heavens and a new earth (see ver. 6). The thought comes originally from Haggai ii. 6; cf. Heb. xii. 26.

2-4. I have bracketed these verses as an interpolation; for in verse 2 it is announced that the temple will be destroyed after a little time; but, according to all B^2 as well as B^1, the temple has already been destroyed, and this is the presupposition of xxxi. 4. Again, verses 2-4 break the connection of thought in the text. Observe the awkwardness of "Because after a little time," etc., following on verse 1; and, on the other hand, how appropriately verse 5 follows on xxxi. 4-xxxii. 1. We should observe that there is nothing inconsistent in the idea of a heavenly Jerusalem being established on a new and incorruptible earth. Indeed, it is not impossible that iv. 2-7 originally followed xxxii. 6. We have a close parallel to xxxii. 2-4 in *Beresh rab.* 2, and *Pesikta*, 145*a*, where it is said that the temple was built in glory, destroyed, again rebuilt, but in mean fashion; finally, it should again be rebuilt in glory.

2. *Zion will be shaken. I.e.* in 588 by Nebuchadnezzar; but according to xxxi. 4; xxxii. 5; xxxiii. 2, 3; xxxv. 1, this is already in the past.

may again be built. 3. But that building will not remain, but will again after a time be rooted out, and will remain desolate until the time. 4. And afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and it will be perfected for evermore.] 5. Therefore we should not be distressed so much over the evil which has now come as over that which is still to be. 6. For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the Mighty One will renew His creation. 7. And now do not draw near to me for a few days, nor seek me till I come to you." 8. And it came to pass when I had spoken to them all these words, that I, Baruch, went my way, and when the people saw me setting out, they lifted up their voice and lamented and said:

In order that it may again be built. *I.e.* by Ezra and Nehemiah.

3. *Again . . . be rooted out.* *I.e.* by the Romans in 70 A.D.

4. On the heavenly Jerusalem. See iv. 3, note.

5. *We should . . . be distressed.* I have here followed Bensly's emendation of ܕܢܚܫ into ܕܢܚܫ̈ܐ. Otherwise, we should render with Ceriani, "Non ergo debet nos contristare hoc omne super malo quod supervenit," etc.

The evil which has now come. The fall of Jerusalem.

6. *Two tribulations.* *I.e.* those accompanying the destruction of Jerusalem and the renewal of creation. But the more natural rendering is: "For there will be a greater trial than the two tribulations when," etc. If we must accept this, the words "than the two tribulations" are an addition of E, and without them the text would run: "For the trial will be great when," etc.

Renew His creation. This signifies an incorruptible world which was to take the place of the corruptible (cf. xxxi. 5; xliv. 12; lvii. 2). It was a current expectation from the times of the captivity (cf. Isa. lxv. 17; lxvi. 22; Eth. En. xlv. 4, note; lxxii. 1; xci. 15, 16; 4 Ezra vii. 75; Matt. xix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1). This announcement of Baruch is the presupposition of li., lii., and the truth correlative to the renewal and transformation of the righteous in li.

7. *Do not draw near*, etc. 4 Ezra v. 19. This verse was preceded originally by xliv. 8-15 (see p. 69).

For a few days. These words refer to the interval in which the next fast of seven days should take place. The mention of this fast at the beginning or close of xxxv. has through some accident been omitted (see v. 7, note; ix. 2, note).

9. "Whither departest thou from us, Baruch, and forsakest us as a father who forsakes his orphan children, and departs from them?

XXXIII. "Are these the commands which thy companion, Jeremiah the prophet, commanded thee, and said unto thee: 2. 'Look to this people till I go and confirm the rest of the brethren in Babylon, against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity?' 3. And now if thou also forsakest us, it were good for us all to die before thee, and then that thou shouldst withdraw from us."

XXXIV. And I answered and said unto the people: "Far be it from me to forsake you or to withdraw from you, but I will only go unto the Holy of Holies to enquire of the Mighty One concerning you and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination: and after these things I will return to you."

XXXV. And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept, and said: 2. "Become ye springs, O mine eyes, and ye, mine eyelids, a fount of tears. 3. For how shall I lament

9. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 18.

XXXIII. 1, 2. See x. 2, note, where I have shown that, according to B^1, Jeremiah does not seem to have gone to Babylon.

3. For another form of the same thought, cf. 4 Ezra xii. 44.

XXXIV. *Far be it from me to forsake you.* Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 48: "Si ergo tu nos dereliqueris, quanto erit nobis melius, si essemus succensi et nos in incendio Sion."

Holy of Holies. This is practically the same place as is mentioned in x. 5; in xxxv. 1 it is simply called the holy place. It is where the altar stood. See xxxv. 4.

XXXV. 1. *The holy place, and sat down upon the ruins.* See preceding note, and x. 5, note.

2. From Jer. ix. 1; cf. Eth. En. xcv. 1.

for Zion, and how shall I mourn for Jerusalem? 4. Because in that place where I am now prostrate, the high priest of old used to offer holy sacrifices, and to place thereon the smoke of the incense of fragrant odours. 5. But now our glorying has been made into dust, and the desire of our soul into sand."

XXXVI. And when I had said these things I fell XXXVI.-XL. $=A^2$.

THE SIXTH SECTION

XXXVI.-XLVI. This in reality forms the sixth part of this book. For the symmetry of the book as constructed by the final editor requires, as we have already shown (see v. 7, note, introduction to the fifth section, p. 36, and xxxii. 7, note), the insertion of a seven days' fast after xxxv., or possibly even before it. The omission of this fast may have been an original oversight of the editor, or may have been due to a careless copyist. The structure of this part is as follows:—First, the omitted fast, then a Messiah vision and its interpretation (xxxvi.-xl.), with further disclosures regarding apostates and proselytes (xli. 2-xlii. 8), and the announcement of Baruch's coming death (xliii.) Finally, Baruch's address to the people (xliv.-xlvi.)

This section is of very composite origin. Thus xxxvi.-xl. is a Messiah Apocalypse written prior to 70 A.D.; xliii.-xliv. 8; xlv.-xlvi. 6 belongs to B^1; the rest of the section mainly to B^2.

XXXVI.-XL. We have here the second Messiah Apocalypse A^2. (*a*) *Date of A^2 and its Relation to B^1 and B^2.* A^2 is quite distinct in its world-view and date from B^1 and B^2. We shall first establish the difference of date. Now whereas we have seen that B^1 and B^2 were written subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, it is clear that A^2 was written prior to that event. For whereas, in a short historical outline from the rise of Babylon to the reign of the Messiah (xxxix. 2-xl. 2), the first destruction of Jerusalem is mentioned (xxxix. 3), there is not even a hint given as to its destruction by Rome, although the Roman oppression of Palestine is clearly indicated (xxxix. 5, 6). Again the Messiah makes Zion His capital (xl. 1). If it were in ruins, its restoration would of necessity be mentioned. Finally, as there is no allusion in A^2 to the second destruction of Jerusalem, so there is none to the subsequent dispersion after that event, and none to a return of the exiles. Consequently, as we find, the remnant of Israel is still in Palestine (xl. 2). It is wholly otherwise in B^1 and B^2.

As regards their difference of world-view, it will be sufficient here to remark that whereas there is no Messiah in B^1 and B^2, the Messiah is the centre of expectation and the stay of Israel in A^2. And whereas B^2 is pessimistic as regards this world, A^2 is optimistic. And whereas in B^2, and in a less degree in B^1, the law is the centre and the end of life, in A^2 this place is occupied by the Messiah.

(*b*) *Relation of A^2 to A^1.* The two writings come from different authors. In A^1 the Messiah has only a passive *rôle* assigned to Him; He does not appear till the enemies

asleep there, and I saw a vision in the night. 2. And lo! a forest of trees planted on the plain, and lofty mountains surrounded it and precipitous rocks, and that forest occupied much space. 3. And lo! over against it arose a vine, and from under it there went forth a fountain peacefully. 4. Now that fountain came to the forest and was (stirred) into great waves, and those waves submerged that forest, and suddenly they rooted out the multitude of (the trees) of that forest, and overthrew all the mountains which were round about it. 5. And the height of the forest began to be made low, and the top of the mountains was made low, and that fountain prevailed greatly, so that it left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only. 6. Also when it had cast it down and had destroyed and rooted out the multitude of (the trees of) that forest, so that nothing was left of it, nor could its place be recognised, then that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquillity, and it came to a place which was not far from the cedar, and they brought the cedar which had been cast down to it. 7. And I beheld and lo! that vine opened its mouth and spake and said to that cedar: "Art thou not that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness, and by whose means wickedness persisted, and was wrought all those years, and goodness never. 8.

of Israel are destroyed. In A^2, on the other hand, the destruction of the wicked and the vindication of Israel is the sole work of the Messiah.

XXXVI. 1. It will be remarked that these visions are only found in A^2 and A^3. Elsewhere we have direct revelations.

I fell asleep. Cf. lii. 8.

And thou didst keep conquering that which was not thine, and to that which was thine thou didst never show compassion, and thou didst keep extending thy power over those who were far from thee, and those who drew nigh thee thou didst hold fast in the toils of thy wickedness, and thou didst uplift thyself always as one that could not be rooted out! 9. But now thy time has sped and thy hour is come. 10. Do thou also therefore depart, O cedar, after the forest, which departed before thee, and become dust with it, and let your ashes be mingled together. 11. And now recline in anguish and rest in torment till thy last time come, in which thou wilt come again, and be tormented still more."

XXXVII. And after these things I saw that cedar burning, and the vine growing, itself and all around it, the plain full of unfading flowers. And I indeed awoke and arose.

XXXVIII. And I prayed and said: "O LORD, my Lord, Thou dost always enlighten those who are led by understanding. 2. Thy law is life, and Thy

8. *Rooted out.* This phrase is constantly used in the Talmud with reference to the future fate of Rome. The word is עקר.

11. *In anguish*, etc. See xxx. 5, where as here the intermediate state is one involving certain degrees of happiness or pain.

XXXVII. *Unfading flowers.* Cf. Apoc. Pet. *τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀνθοῦσαν ἀμαράντοις ἄνθεσι.*

XXXVIII. 1. *O LORD, my Lord.* See note on iii. 1. It is God Himself who interprets this vision for Baruch, but Ramiel who does so in A^3 (see lv. 3).

2. *Thy law is life.* Cf. xlv. 2; Ecclus. xlv. 5 *νόμον ζωῆς καὶ ἐπιστήμης* (also xvii. 11). With this sentiment cf. Hillel's words (*Aboth.* ii. 7): "The more law the more life . . . he who gains a knowledge of the law gains life in the world to come." As correlative expressions might be cited (John vii. 49), "This people, which knoweth not the law, is accursed," and Hillel's saying: "An unlearned man cannot be

wisdom is right guidance. 3. Make known to me therefore the interpretation of this vision. 4. For Thou knowest that my soul hath always walked in Thy law, and from my (earliest) days I departed not from Thy wisdom."

XXXIX. And He answered and said unto me: "This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. 2. As thou hast seen a great forest which lofty and precipitous mountains surrounded, this is the word. 3. Behold! the days come, and this kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion, and it will be subjected to that which comes after it. 4. Moreover, that also again after a time will be destroyed, and another, a third, will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time, and will be destroyed. 5. And after these things a fourth kingdom will arise, whose power will be harsh and evil far beyond those which were before it, and it will rule many times as the forests on the plain, and it will hold fast the times, and will

pious" (לא עם הארץ חסיד). He was even excluded from the resurrection (see Weber, 42-44). The words in the text, however, are far from being as strong as these statements. So we infer from the parallel, "Thy wisdom, etc."

Thy wisdom is right guidance. This is based upon the Massoretic text of Ecclesiastes x. 10, where the Versions take directions of their own. Thus the Heb. is יתרון הכשיר הכמה. The LXX. καὶ περισσεία τοῦ ἀνδρείου σοφία, and the Syr. = "et sapientia sollertibus emolumentum."

4. *From my (earliest) days.* This is the Hebrew idiom מִיָּמַי. Cf. 1 Kings i. 6; 1 Sam. xxv. 28.

XXXIX. 3-5. Of the four world empires here mentioned there can be no doubt as to the first and fourth. The first is of course the Babylonian, for it is that which effected the first destruction of Jerusalem in 588 (see ver. 3). The fourth (in verses 5-7; cf. xxxvi. 5-10) is just as clearly Rome. The second and third empires are probably the Persian and the Græco-Egyptian and Syrian. The fourfold division of world empires in the text is due no doubt to Dan. vii. On these four empires, see *Tanchuma, Terumah*, 7.

exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon. 6. And by it the truth will be hidden, and all those who are polluted with iniquity will flee to it, as evil beasts flee and creep into the forest. 7. And it will come to pass when the time of his consummation that he should fall has approached, then the principate of My Messiah will be revealed, which is like the fountain and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of his host. 8. And that which thou hast seen, the lofty cedar, which was left of that forest, and with regard to this fact, that the vine spoke those words with it which thou didst hear, this is the word.

XL. "The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword and be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and My Messiah will convict him of all his impieties, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts. 2. And afterwards he will put

6. *The truth will be hidden.* Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1, where, in connection with Rome, the same statement is made: "abscondetur veritatis via."

7. *The principate of My Messiah,* etc. See xxix. 3, note.

XL. 1. Who this last leader is we cannot determine; it may be any emperor or general from 70 A.D. back till Pompey's time. Since the personal wrong-doings of this leader are dwelt upon, it is possible that it is actually Pompey that is here referred to. The words "his impieties" = ܚܛܝܗ̈ܘܗܝ, might favour this view (cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 24-35).

According to the Talmud, a single leader was to "unite in himself all hatred and hostility against God's people. He was to be called Armilus, and to be the רשיעא קאר' אקסכחין." See Weber, 348, 349.

My Messiah. As we have already remarked (pp. 52, 61), the Messiah here plays an active part as compared to the Messiah in A[1], *i.e.* xxvii.-xxx. 1. The protection of the remnant of Israel and the destruction of their enemies, which are here the work of the Messiah, are there assigned to God Himself, and the Messiah does not appear till these tasks are completed (see xxix. 3).

Will convict . . . of . . . impieties. So 4 Ezra xii. 32; xiii. 37.

him to death, and protect the rest of My people which shall be found in the place which I have chosen. 3. And his principate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end, and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled. 4. This is thy vision, and this is its interpretation."

XLI.-XLII. = B^2.

XLI. And I answered and said: "To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be)? or who will be worthy to live at that time? 2. For I will speak before Thee everything that I think, and I will ask of Thee regarding those things which I meditate. 3. For lo! I see many of Thy people who have withdrawn from Thy covenant, and cast from them the yoke of Thy law. 4. But others again I

2. *Protect the rest*, etc. See xxix. 2, note.

3. *Until the world of corruption is at an end.* The Messianic kingdom is only of temporary duration; it belongs to the *olam hazzeh* (see xxi. 19, note).

XLI., XLII. These two chapters appear to belong to B^2, and to have followed originally after xxx. The same world-view is presented as in B^2. Thus the times (xlii. 6) are hastened, as in xx., in order to usher in the end, when corruption will disappear and the life of incorruption set in through the resurrection (xlii. 7, 8).

The chief topics discussed in these chapters are two: First, the ultimate destiny of the apostates; and secondly, that of the proselytes.

Thus hitherto the portions of this book derived from B^2, and their original order, appear to have been ix. 2-xii. (?); xiii. 1-3*a*; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3*b*-12; xxv.; xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-5; xli.-xlii.

XLI. 1. Baruch's question goes back to xxx. 2-5, with which they originally stood in connection in B^2. For a similar question, cf. lxxv. 5.

To live. The life referred to here is the spiritual life subsequent to the resurrection (cf. xlix. 2; lxxvi. 5; 4 Ezra xiv. 22).

3. The apostates here dealt with may be Christians.

Yoke of Thy law. On the "law" see xv. 5, note. The term "yoke" as expressing "obligation" is common in Jewish writings (cf. Ecclus. li. 26), τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ξυγόν (Pss. Sol. vii. 8; xvii. 32; Acts xv. 10; Gal. v. 1). In later Judaism such expressions as "yoke of the law," "yoke of the precept," "yoke of the kingdom of heaven," are frequent. See Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 115-120. Contrast Matt. xi. 29, 30.

4. The proselytes, *i.e.* the גרים. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 133: "Et miserator

have seen who have forsaken their vanity, and fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. 5. What therefore will be to them? or how will the last time receive them? 6. Or perhaps the time of these will assuredly be weighed, and as the beam inclines will they be judged accordingly?"

XLII. And He answered and said unto me: "These things also I will show unto thee. 2. As for what thou didst say—'To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be)?'—to those who have believed there will be the good which was spoken of aforetime, and to those who despise there will be the contrary of these things. 3. And as for what thou didst say regarding those who have drawn near and those who have withdrawn, this is the word. 4. As for those who were before subject, and afterwards withdrew and mingled themselves with the seed of mingled peoples,

in eo quod miseretur illis qui conversionem faciunt in lege ejus."

Their vanity. *I.e.* their idols (cf. Deut. xxxii. 21).

Fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. Exactly the sense of Ps. xxxvi. 8, בצל כנפיך יחסיון; and of lvii. 1, where in both cases the LXX. renders חסה by ἐλπίζειν and the Syr. by two different words meaning "to hide." This tends to show that the writer used the Hebrew text independently. For other instances of the same metaphor, cf. Ps. xvii. 8; lxiii. 8; Deut. xxxii. 11.

But in our text the above phrase is technically used of proselytes גרים. This technical sense is derived from Ruth ii. 12, where, in reference to Ruth, it is said: "The God of Israel under whose wings thou art come to take refuge" (לחסות תחת-כנפיו). In the *Aboda Sara*, 13*b*, *Shabbat*, 31*a*, the proselyte is said to have come under the wings of the Shekinah; and in the *Jer. Sanh.* ii. 20*c*, it is stated that "Solomon loved many strange women in order to bring them under the wings of the Shekinah."

5. *The last time.* *I.e.* that described in xxx. 2-5.

XLII. 2. *Those who believed.* See liv. 5, note, also xxi. 9, on the doctrine of justification in Baruch.

4. The sense seems to be that the apostates have only this world.

Mingled peoples. This is a rendering of עֵרֶב (cf. Jer. xxv. 20, 24). The Greek translation of it is found in Pss. Sol. xvii. 17 ἐθνῶν συμμίκτων.

the time of these is the former, and I am meditating deep things. 5. And as for those who before knew not but afterwards knew life, and mingled (only) with the seed of the people which had separated itself, the time of these (is) the former, I am meditating deep things. 6. And time will succeed to time and season to season, and one will receive from another, and then with a view to the consummation will everything be compared according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons. 7. For corruption will take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it. 8. And the dust will be called, and there will be said to it: 'Give back that which is not thine, and raise up all that thou hast kept until its time.'

XLIII.-XLIV. 7 = B.[1]

XLIII. "Moreover, do thou, Baruch, strengthen thy

5. *Of the people.* The text ܕܥܡܐ = "of the peoples" I have emended into ܕܥܡܐ, for it would be strange to speak of Israel as "the peoples" or "the nations."

Which had separated itself. I.e. the legalistic Israel by means of the "fence" of the law (cf. xlviii. 23). The "separatists" are the Pharisees, the פרושין.

The former. This seems corrupt, and probably, as Kabisch proposes, we should have "the latter." This would admit the proselytes to all the blessings of the world to come. On the treatment of "proselytes" in the Talmud, see Weber, 55, 73 f., 98, 107, 183, 254, 257 f., 282 f., 368 f.

6. This verse is obscure. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 37.

7. Cf. xxxi. 5. See note on xxi. 19.

8. *Give back*, etc. Cf. l. 2. The earth gives back the body; Sheol gives back the soul.

XLIII.-XLVI. Of these chapters *xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6 belong to* B^1. Not to B^2, for (1) in xliii. 2; xliv. 2, as in lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1, Baruch is to die an ordinary death and go the way of all the earth and forget all the concerns of mortals, whereas in B^2 he is not to die an ordinary death, but to be taken up and preserved till the last day; he is not to forget human affairs, for he is in the last days to testify against the Gentile oppressors of Israel (xiii. 3, note; xxv. 1; xlviii. 30). (2) The people are assured of good tidings in store for them (xlvi. 6) just as in lxxvii. 12; they are bidden to look for the consolation of Zion (*i.e.* its restoration), as we infer from lxxxi. 1, 4, taken together with i. 4; vi. 9, whereas in B^2 there is no consolation of any kind to be looked for *in this world.* (3) In

heart for that which has been said to thee, and understand those things which have been shown to thee; for there are many eternal consolations for thee. 2. For thou wilt depart from this place, and thou wilt pass from the regions which are now seen by thee, and thou wilt forget whatever is corruptible, and wilt not again recall those things which happen among mortals. 3. Go therefore and command thy people, and come to this place, and afterwards fast seven days, and then I will come to thee and speak with thee."

XLIV. And I, Baruch, went from thence, and

xliv. 7 and xlviii. 38 the same phrase, *i.e.* as to a "change of the times," is found; in the former with an optimistic, in the latter with a pessimistic reference. (4) xliv. 5 vividly recalls the scene depicted in vi.-viii. As all the intervening chapters deal with questions of the school, xliii.-xlvi. probably stood originally in close juxtaposition with vi.-viii.

The fragment xliv. 8-15 belongs to B², for just as in B² expectation is fixed not on an earthly felicity but only on the world to come (xliv. 15), the inheritance of the promised time (xliv. 13), the time that passeth not away (xliv. 11), the new world which turneth not to corruption those who enter it (xliv. 12), (2) the whole present world, the entire *olam hazzeh* is hopeless; it is defiled with evil (xliv. 9), and with its corruption it will pass away (xliv. 8). (3) In xliv. 9 the present world is to be committed to oblivion. This is in flat contradiction to iv. 1.

The original position of xliv. 8-15. This seems easy to determine. The main statements in this address of Baruch to the people really presuppose xlviii.-lii. as their background. They express shortly some of the main conclusions of these chapters. It is not reasonable to suppose that Baruch makes known to the people the very truths which, according to the present order of the book, are revealed to him later by God. We have already seen that xxxi.-xxxv. were originally subsequent to xlviii.-lii. (see p. 57). Since therefore both these passages form the address or part of the address of Baruch that was based upon previous disclosures of God, it is obvious that xliv. 8-15 followed originally on xxxii. 6 and formed the natural sequel to the closing words of that verse.

XLIII. 1. These words have no reference to the preceding chapters. They refer probably to some lost passage of B¹.

2. *Thou wilt depart.* Both the context and the word "depart" point to an ordinary death here. See xiii. 3, note. The word rendered "depart" is נסע. It is found also in xiv. 19; xv. 1; xliv. 2.

Whatever is corruptible. Cf. xxi. 19, note.

3. Parts of this verse relating to the fast, etc., are probably due to the final editor. See xlvii. 1, note.

came to my people, and I called my first-born son and the Gedaliahs my friends, and seven of the elders of the people, and I said unto them: 2. "Behold, I go unto my fathers according to the way of all the earth. 3. But withdraw ye not from the way of the law, but guard and admonish the people which remain, lest they withdraw from the commandments of the Mighty One. 4. For ye see that he whom we serve is just, and our Creator is no respecter of persons. 5. And see ye what hath befallen Zion, and what hath happened to Jerusalem. 6. For the judgment of the Mighty One will (thereby) be made known, and His ways, which, though past finding out, are right. 7. For if ye endure and persevere in His fear, and do not forget His law, the times will change over you for good, and ye will see the consolation of Zion. 8. Because whatever is now

XLIV. 8-15 = B².

XLIV. 1. *My first-born son.* Elsewhere mentioned only in xlvi. 1.

The Gedaliahs—possibly a corruption for Gedaliah. Cf. v. 1. Gedaliah is mentioned only in B¹.

Seven of the elders of the people. In v. 5 Baruch assembled all the elders or honourable amongst the people. This is natural, as it is prior to the destruction of the city. That seven should be summoned now that the bulk of the population is carried into exile is equally fitting. We must bear in mind that in xxxii. 1 we have the work of a different author, else the writer might seem to have been guilty of an inconsistency.

2. Cf. iii. 2. See xiii. 3, note. The text is drawn from Gen. xv. 15 and Joshua xxiii. 14; 1 Kings ii. 2.

3. *Way of the law.* See xv. 5, note.

Commandments of the Mighty One. Cf. xlviii. 38; lxxxiv. 7.

4. *No respecter of persons.* Cf. xiii. 8.

5. These words as we have observed above (p. 69) vividly recall vi.-viii., and seem to show that these chapters followed much more closely on vi.-viii. than they do now.

6. *Which, though . . . right.* The text = *which are past finding out and right.*

7. *The times will change over you for good.* Contrast the use of this phrase in xlviii. 38.

The consolation of Zion. I.e. its restoration; cf. lxxxi. 1, 4; for the temple was to be rebuilt (i. 4; vi. 9) according to B¹. The announcement of this future in store for Zion is called good tidings in xlvi. 6; lxxvii. 12; lxxxi. 1.

is nothing, but that which will be is very great. 9. For everything that is corruptible will pass away, and everything that dies will depart, and all the present time will be forgotten, nor will there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evils. 10. For that which runs now runs unto vanity, and that which prospers will quickly fall and be humiliated. 11. For that which is to be will be the object of desire, and on that which will come afterwards do we place our hope; for it is a time that will not pass away. 12. And the hour comes which will abide for ever, and the new world which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness, and has no mercy on those who depart to torment, and will not

8-15. These verses should be read after xxxii. 6 (see p. 69).

8. In xxxii. 6 God has declared His purpose to renew creation; the reason is given here; for all things that now are are nothing.

9. *Corruptible.* Cf. xxi. 19, note; xxxi. 5.

All the present time will be forgotten. In iv. 1 this is denied, but iv. 1 is from B^1 (cf. Isa. lxv. 17).

11. *A time that will not pass away.* This is set over against xlviii. 50: "this world which passeth away."

12. *The new world,* etc., implied in the new creation (xxxii. 6). In li. 3 it is the world which dies not, nor ages those who come to it (lii. 9, 16).

Who depart to its blessedness. The text here בהמה אלכי = "who depart on its beginning" is corrupt. This clause should describe the destination of the righteous, as the antithetical clause in the next line, "those who depart to torment," describes that of the wicked. The error thus lies in the words "in its beginning." In the next place, we can reason back to what should stand here instead of these words. For the corresponding phrase in the other clause, *i.e.* "to torment," requires as its antithesis, not the meaningless "on its beginning," but "to blessedness." That is, over against "those who depart to torment," the sense needs "those who depart to blessedness." This conclusion as to the original text is confirmed by the fact that the erroneous text can be explained by the transposition of a single letter in the Hebrew original. Thus "in its beginning" = בראשו, but this arose from a false transcription of באשרו, *i.e.* by wrongly transposing the ר. Now באשרו = "to its blessedness," I have emended accordingly.

lead to perdition those who live in it. 13. For these are they who shall inherit that time which has been spoken of, and theirs is the inheritance of the promised time. 14. These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom, and with them are found stores of understanding, and from mercy have they not withdrawn, and the truth of the law have they preserved. 15. For to them will be given the world to come, but the dwelling of the rest who are many will be in the fire.

XLV.-XLVI. 6=B[1].

XLV. "Do ye therefore so far as ye are able instruct the people, for that labour is ours. 2. For if ye teach them, ye will quicken them."

XLVI. And my son and the elders of the people answered and said unto me: "Has the Mighty One humiliated us to such a degree as to take thee from us quickly? 2. And truly we shall be in darkness, and there will be no light to the people who are left. 3. For where again shall we seek the law, or who will distinguish for us between death and life?" 4. And I said unto them: "The throne of the Mighty One I cannot resist: nevertheless, there shall not be wanting to Israel

13. *The inheritance . . . time*= "the world to come" in verse 15.

14. This verse presupposes li. 3, 7. The "treasures" here mentioned differ from those in xxiv. 1.

15. Those described in the preceding verse are to receive the world to come, just as those who are similarly described in li. 3 are to receive the world that dies not. On the contrast of this world and the world to come, see xv. 8, note.

In the fire. Cf. xlviii. 39, 43; lix. 2; lxiv. 7; lxxxv. 13.

XLV. B[1] reappears here. The connection with xliv. 7 is all that could be desired. There it is said, "If ye keep faithful to the law ye will see the consolation of Zion"; "do ye therefore . . . instruct the people . . . for if ye teach them ye will quicken them."

2. *If ye teach*, etc. Cf. xxxviii. 2; Ps. cxix. 50, 93. This is the work of the true scribe. Pharisaism teaches obedience to the law, God will do the rest (cf. xliv. 7).

XLVI. 2. For similar diction, cf. lxxvii. 14; 4 Ezra xiv. 20.

a wise man nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob. 5. But only prepare ye your hearts, that ye may hear the law, and be subject to those who in fear are wise and understanding; and prepare your soul that ye may not depart from them. 6. For if ye do these things, good tidings will come unto you, which I before told you of; nor will ye fall into the torment, of which I testified to you before." [7. But with regard to the word that I was to be taken, I did not make (it) known to them or to my son.] XLVI. 7 = E.

XLVII. And when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went thence and said unto them: "Behold! I go to Hebron: for thither the Mighty One hath sent me." XLVII.-LII. = B^2.

4. *There shall not be wanting . . . a son of the law.* This is really an answer to the question put in iii. 6. The expression "son of the law" seems to occur here first in existing literature. Its earliest occurrence elsewhere in the Talmud appears to be in *Baba Mezia*, 96*a*. See Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, i. 258. The term בר מצוה was used in the Middle Ages as a designation of a full-grown Israelite. See Schürer, Div. II., vol. ii. 51 (note). For the parallelism *Israel . . . Jacob*, cf. xvii. 4; xxxi. 3.

5. *Prepare ye your hearts.* See xxxii. 1, note.

Obedience to the law and the Rabbis is here enforced.

6. Here the promise in xliv. 7 is enforced anew.

Good tidings. Cf. lxxvii. 12.

7. This verse is an addition of the final editor in order the better to adapt the fragment of B^1 just given to its new context. It belongs in spirit to B^2.

I was to be taken. Cf. xiii. 3, note; xlviii. 30. In lxxxv. 9 the phrase has a different meaning. נשב is a rendering of ἀναλαμβάνειν (also of μετατιθέναι in Gen. v. 24). The former is the usual word in the sense of the text. The idea of the ascension into heaven of great heroes in Jewish history was a familiar one. Thus it is told of Elijah in the LXX. of 2 Kings ii. 11, καὶ ἀνελήμφθη . . . εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν: Ecclus. xlviii. 9, ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἐν λαίλαπι πυρός: also in Eth. En. lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8; 1 Macc. ii. 58; of Enoch in Ecclus. xliv. 16; Eth. En. lxx. 1; lxxxvii. 3, 4; Slav. En. lxvii. 2; Jubilees, iv. 24; of Moses, Assumpt. Mos. x. 12; of Baruch, Apoc. Bar. xiii. 3; xxv. 1; xlvi. 7; xlviii. 30; lxxvi. 2; of Ezra, 4 Ezra viii. 20; xiv. 49; of many unnamed heroes, 4 Ezra vi. 26. ἀναλαμβάνειν is well-known in the N.T. in this sense (cf. Mark xvi. 19; Acts i. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. iii. 16). The substantive ἀνάληψις is rare. Ryle and James (Pss. Sol.) take iv. 20 of those Pss. to be the first known instance of its use; see also Luke ix. 51, and Test. Levi xviii. In the last passage it is a late Christian interpolation.

2. And I came to that place where the word had been spoken to me, and I sat there, and fasted seven days.

Prayer of Baruch

XLVIII. And it came to pass after the seventh day, that I prayed before the Mighty One and said: 2. "O my Lord, Thou summonest the advent of the times, and they stand before Thee; Thou causest the power of the ages to pass away, and they do not resist Thee; Thou arrangest the method of the seasons, and they obey Thee. 3. Thou alone knowest the goal of the generations, and Thou revealest not Thy mysteries to many. 4. Thou makest known the multitude of the fire, and Thou weighest the lightness of the wind.

The Seventh Section

XLVII.-LXXVII. First we have Baruch's fast of seven days (xlvii. 2), followed by his prayer (xlviii. 2-24). Then in the dialogue that ensues various revelations are made to Baruch touching the coming woes and the judgment (xlviii. 26-41), and the resurrection (l.-lii.) On these revelations follows a Messiah Apocalypse (liii.-lxxiv. = A^3). In lxxvi. Baruch is told of his approaching translation, and in lxxvii. he calls the people together and addresses them.

This section is composite: xlviii.-lii. being derived from B^2; liii.-lxxiv. from A^3; lxxv., lxxvi. from B^2; and lxxvii. from B^1.

XLVII. 1. The purposeless journey to Hebron spoken of here must be derived from an original source. According to the scheme of the final editor it has no business here. Further, no such command has been given to Baruch in the existing text. Hence this entire verse must be regarded as drawn from B^1 or B^2, and the next verse, which conflicts with it, as due to the final editor, as also xliii. 3. It is noteworthy, too, that the words "and dismissed them" must be corrupt; for "and when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went thence and said unto them" is absurd. Baruch goes forth from some place (here undefined) and dismisses the people; then he departs thence and speaks to them. It is possible then that "when I had gone forth" refers to "the cavern in the earth" in xxi. 1. It will be remembered that of chapters xxi.-xlvi., xxi.-xxiv. 1, xxx. 2-5, xli., xlii. belong to B^2. These form in some sense a whole, and the scene with which they are connected may be the "cavern" in xxi. 1. If this is so, xlvii. 1 belongs to B^2.

2. Cf. xliii. 3; v. 7, note; ix., note; xxi. 2, note.

XLVIII. 2. *Method of the seasons.* Cf. xiv. 1, note; xx. 6.

5. Thou explorest the limit of the heights, and Thou scrutinisest the depths of the darkness. 6. Thou carest for the number which pass away that they may be preserved, and Thou preparest an abode for those that are to be. 7. Thou rememberest the beginning which Thou hast made, and the destruction that is to be Thou forgettest not. 8. With nods of fear and indignation Thou givest commandment to the flames, and they change into spirits, and with a word Thou quickenest that which was not, and with mighty power Thou holdest that which has not yet come. 9. Thou instructest created things in the understanding of Thee, and Thou makest wise the spheres so as to minister in their orders. 10. Armies innumerable stand before Thee and minister in their orders quietly at Thy nod. 11. Hear Thy servant and give ear to my petition. 12. For in a little time are we born, and in a little time do we return. 13. But with Thee hours are as a time, and days as generations. 14. Be not therefore wroth with man; for he is nothing, and take not account of our works. 15. For what are we? for lo! by Thy gift do we come

6. See xxiii. 4, note.

Thou carest . . . preserved. The text which here = "Thou commandest the number which passes away and it is preserved" is nonsense as it stands, but, if retranslated into Hebrew, it supplies us at once with the true text. Retranslated it = אתה פָּקֵד את־המספר העובר וְיִשָּׁמֵר. Here clearly the Greek translator followed the wrong meaning of פקד, and mistranslated the weak vav with the voluntative imperfect. The translation required by the context is given above.

8. *With a word . . . which was not.* Cf. xxi. 4, note; 4 Ezra iv. 37. *Flames . . . spirits.* Cf. Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7.

9. *The spheres . . . in their orders.* Cf. Eth. En. ii. 1; Slav. En. xxx. 2, 3; Pss. Sol. xix. 2, 3.

10. Cf. Slav. En. xvii.; Test. Levi iii. *In their orders.* There were ten orders of angels according to the Jews; nine according to the Christians (see Slav. En. xx. 1, 3, note).

13. We should expect rather: "time is as a (few) hours, and generations as days."

into the world, and we depart not of our own will. 16. For we said not to our parents, 'Beget us,' nor did we send to Sheol and say, 'Receive us.' 17. What therefore is our strength that we should bear Thy wrath, or what are we that we should endure Thy judgment? 18. Protect us in Thy compassions, and in Thy mercy help us. 19. Behold the little ones that are subject unto Thee, and save all that draw nigh unto Thee, and destroy not the hope of our people, and cut not short the times of our aid. 20. For this is the nation which Thou hast chosen, and these are the people, to whom Thou findest no equal. 21. But I will speak now before Thee, and I will say as my heart thinketh. 22. In Thee do we trust, for lo! Thy law is with us, and we know that we shall not fall so far as we keep Thy statutes. 23. In this at least we are always blest that we have not mingled with the Gentiles. 24. For we are all named one people, who have received one law from One, and the law which is amongst us will aid us, and the surpassing wisdom which is in us will help us." 25.

15. *Depart not*, etc. In xiv. 11 men are said to "come not of their own will"; in 4 Ezra viii. 5 the two statements are combined.

16. *Sheol.* See xi. 6, note.

18. See lxxv. 6.

19. *That are subject to Thee.* Cf. xlii. 4.

All that draw nigh. Are these proselytes? (see xli. 4; xlii. 3).

20. Cf. xxi. 21; 4 Ezra v. 27. *The nation.* So I have emended by reading ܐܡܐ for the unmeaning ܒܥܐ. This gives a good parallel to "people" (ܐܡܐ). Ceriani proposes ܥܒܕ = "servant."

21. *Say as my heart thinketh.* Cf. xli. 2.

22. See xv. 5, note.

23. Cf. xlii. 5.

24. *One law from One.* lxxxv. 14. This is directed polemically against the Christians.

The law . . . will aid us. Cf. xxix. 2, note; xxxii. 1; xv. 5, note; cf. *De singularitate cler.* 15 (Cyprian, Ed. Hartel. ii. 190), "sicut Esaias ait, legem inquit in adjutorium dedit."

And when I had prayed and said these things, I was greatly weakened. 26. And He answered and said unto me: "Thou hast prayed simply, O Baruch, and all thy words have been heard. 27. But My judgment exacts its own and My law exacts its rights. 28. For from thy words I will answer thee, and from thy prayer I will speak to thee. 29. For this is as follows: he that is corrupted is not at all; he has both wrought iniquity so far as he could do anything, and has not remembered My goodness, nor been grateful for My long-suffering. 30. Therefore thou shalt surely be taken up, as I before told thee: and the time is coming of which I told thee. 31. For that time will arise which brings affliction; for it will come and pass by with quick vehemence, and it will be turbulent coming in the heat of indignation. 32. And it will come to pass in those days that all the inhabitants of the earth will be moved one against another, because they know not that My judgment has drawn nigh. 33. For there will not be found many wise at that time, and the intelligent will be but a few: moreover,

25. *I was greatly weakened.* Cf. xxi. 26. The same phenomenon accompanies the visions in Dan. vii. 28; viii. 27; x. 8, 16.

27. Cf. v. 2; lxxxv. 9.

29. *For this . . . is not at all.* The text which is unintelligible runs: ܗܕܐ ܕܢ ܗܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܛܠ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܒܛܠ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ.

30. See xlvi. 7, note.

31-41. The last woes and the final judgment. Cf. xxvii.-xxix. 1; lxx. 2-10.

32. *The inhabitants of the earth.* See xxv. 1, note.

Will be moved one against another. The text ܢܬܪܥܘ ܠܐ ܚܕ ܥܠ ܚܕ = "will rest" is meaningless. It seems corrupted from ܢܬܪܓܙܘ ܠܐ ܚܕ ܥܠ ܚܕ or ܢܬܪܥܫܘ ܠܐ ܚܕ ܥܠ ܚܕ, either of which can be rendered as above.

33. Cf. lxx. 5. This verse seems to be the source of the following words which Cyprian (*Testim.* iii. 29) quotes as from Baruch: "erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis."

even those who know will most of all be silent. 34. And there will be many rumours and tidings not a few, and the works of portents will be shown, and promises not a few will be recounted, (and) some of them (will prove) idle, and some of them will be confirmed. 35. And honour will be turned into shame, and strength humiliated into contempt, and probity destroyed, and beauty will become a scorn. 36. And many will say to many at that time: 'Where hath the multitude of intelligence hidden itself, and whither hath the multitude of wisdom removed itself?' 37. And whilst they are meditating these things, then zeal will arise in those of whom they thought not, and passion will seize him who is peaceful, and many will be roused in anger to injure many, and they will rouse up armies in order to shed blood, and in the end they will perish together with them. 38. And it will come to pass at the self-same time, that a change of times will manifestly appear to every man, by reason of which in all those times they were polluted and practised oppression, and walked every man in his own works, and remembered

34. Joseph, *Ant.* xx. 5. 1; 8. 6, tells of many impostors who so deceived the people (cf. Matt. xxiv. 11, 24). This verse seems to be the source of Cyprian's (*Testim.* iii. 29) quotation from Baruch: "alii autem sapientes ad spiritum erroris et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis edicta."

35. Cf. lxx. 3. It is remarkable that if we retranslate this verse into Hebrew we have a series of paronomasiae. Thus "honour will be turned into shame" = כבוד יהפך לקלון, "strength humiliated into contempt" = עז יורד אל בוז, and "beauty will become a scorn" = יופי יהיה לדפי.

36. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 9-11. This seems the source of Cyprian's quotation from Baruch (*Testim.* iii. 29): "Quaeretis me et vos et qui post vos venerint audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus et non invenietis."

37. Cf. lxx. 6.

38. *A change of times.* Cf. xliv. 7. *Walked every man,* etc. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 8.

not the law of the Mighty One. 39. Therefore a fire will consume their thoughts, and in flame will the meditations of their reins be tried; for the Judge will come and will not tarry. 40. Because each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was committing iniquity, and they have not known My law by reason of their pride. 41. For many will then assuredly weep, yea, over the living more than over the dead." 42. And I answered and said: "O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born from thee?

Remembered not the law of the Mighty One. Cf. xliv. 3, 7; lxxxiv. 7.

39. *A fire will consume*, etc. Cf. verse 43; xliv. 15; lix. 2, note.

The Judge will come and will not tarry. Cf. xx. 6, note.

40. *Knew when he was committing*, etc. See xv. 6, note; lv. 2. Cf. Ep. Barn. v. 4 δικαίως ἀπολεῖται ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἔχων ὁδοῦ δικαιοσύνης γνῶσιν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὁδὸν σκότους ἀποσυνέχει. In xv. 6 men are to be tormented because, though knowing the law, they transgressed it. In that passage the words, therefore, may be limited to Israel, but here they are obviously descriptive of the Gentiles: "the inhabitants of the earth" (see xxv. 2, note). The writer thus holds that all men alike possessed a conscience or faculty for moral judgment. We have, therefore, in this verse a statement in some degree parallel to Rom. ii. 14, 15: "For when Gentiles, which have no law, do by nature the things of the law, these, having no law, are a law unto themselves: in that they shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, etc."

Have not known My law by reason of their pride. These words seem to point to the rejection of the law by the Gentiles; for according to an oft-repeated statement in the Talmud (see Weber, 19, 56, 57, 65), the law was originally designed for all nations, but the Gentiles rejected it (see 4 Ezra vii. 72, 73).

41. Since the sin of the world is intensified towards its close, so naturally the sinners then surviving will meet with severer judgment than the less guilty of earlier times.

42-50. What havoc Adam and Eve have wrought by the spiritual death and torments which they have brought upon their posterity. Yet God knows all that is in man, for He created him; He knows likewise the number of men that are to be, and their sins (verses 42-46). But since the law will give all these their due in the judgment, let inquiry be made rather after the blessedness of the righteous; for though they have endured much weariness in this passing world, in the world to come they shall have abundant light.

42. Spiritual death is here traced to Adam and Eve, but in xvii. 3; xxiii. 4; liv. 15 it is only physical death. See notes on xxiii. 4; liv. 15-19. In 4 Ezra both spiritual

and what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the serpent? 43. For all this multitude are going to corruption, nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours. 44. But again I will speak in Thy presence. 45. Thou, O LORD, my Lord, knowest what is in Thy creature. 46. For Thou didst of old command the dust to produce Adam, and Thou knowest the number of those who are born from him, and how far they have sinned before Thee, who have existed and not confessed Thee as their Creator. 47. And as regards all these their end will convict them, and Thy law which they have transgressed will requite them on Thy day. [48. But now let us dismiss the wicked and enquire about the righteous. 49. And I will recount their blessedness and not be silent in celebrating their

death and physical are always traced to Adam (iii. 21, 22; iv. 30; vii. 118-121).

43. *Fire devours.* Cf. verse 39; xliv. 15; lxiv. 7.

46. *Command the dust to produce Adam.* 4 Ezra iii. 4, 5; vii. 116.

The number of those who are born. See xxiii. 5, note.

47. *Thy law ... will requite.* See v. 2, note.

48-50. These verses were used originally in B^2 by Baruch in addressing the people, or by God in addressing Baruch, but not by Baruch in addressing God as the present text implies. That they could not have been addressed by Baruch to God is clear; for Baruch could not say to God, "In this world ... in which ye live" (ver. 50). Two facts are in favour of their being God's words to Baruch: (1) The very same contrast between the two worlds is found in God's reply to Baruch in xv. 7; and (2) the very same change of subject is enjoined and the same word "inquire" used in reference to the righteous in 4 Ezra ix. 13: "tu ergo adhuc noli curiosus esse quomodo impii cruciabuntur sed inquire quomodo justi salvabuntur." But the plural in verse 48 is against this view; and secondly, the words "I will not be silent in celebrating, etc.," while hardly conceivable on the divine lips, are appropriate on Baruch's. Hence we must regard xlviii. 48-50 as a fragment of an address delivered by Baruch to the people. Another fragment of this same address which originally preceded xlviii. 48-50 is to be found in liv. 16-18, and yet another which followed it in liv. 16-18.

49. *Will not be silent in celebrating.* A Hebrew idiom = לא אחדל לשבח.

glory, which is reserved for them. 50. For assuredly as in a little time in this world which passeth away, in which ye live, ye have endured much labour, so in that world to which there is no end, ye shall receive great light."]

XLIX. "Nevertheless, I will again ask from Thee, O Mighty One, yea, I will ask mercy from Him who made all things. 2. 'In what shape will those live who live in Thy day? or how will the splendour of those who (are) after that time continue? 3. Will they then resume this form of the present, and put on these entrammeling members, which are now involved in evils, and in which evils are consummated, or wilt Thou perchance change these things which have been in the world as also the world?'"

L. And He answered and said unto me: "Hear,

50. Cf. xv. 8 for the same contrast and largely the same diction.

Light. This does not seem the right word.

XLIX. 2. *In what shape*, etc. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 35: "How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?"

Live. See xli. 1, note.

The splendour of those who (are) after that time. For "splendour" we might perhaps render "appearance." The text is ܒܗܝܡ ܕܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܗܢܘ ܙܒܢܐ.

3. *Entrammeling members*, lit. members of bonds.

L.-LI. *The nature of the resurrection body.* The teaching here as to the nature of the resurrection proceeds on the line suggested in xlix. 3: "Wilt thou perchance change these things (*i.e.* man's material body) which have been in the world as also the world?" The world was to be renewed (xxxii. 6), and in this renewal from being transitory and verging to its close (xlviii. 50; lxxxv. 10), it becomes undying (li. 3) and everlasting (xlviii. 50); from being a world of corruption (xl. 3; lxxiv. 2; xxi. 19; xxxi. 5, etc.) it becomes incorruptible (lxxiv. 2) and invisible (li. 8). As these conceptions are in germ and principle as old as Isa. lxv. 17-lxvi., the same doctrine of renewal and transformation that was taught touching the world was naturally applied in due course to those destined to live in it. This is done partially in Isa. lxv. 17-25, but the developed form appears in Dan. xii. 2, where the risen righteous are to shine as the stars for ever and ever; in Eth. En. they are to joy as the angels (civ. 4)

Baruch, this word, and write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn. 2. For the earth will then assuredly restore the dead, which it now receives, in order to preserve them, making no change in their form, but as it has received, so will it restore them, and as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them. 3. For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again, and that those who had departed have returned (again). 4. And it will come to pass, when they have severally

and to become angels in heaven (li. 4) and companions of the heavenly hosts (civ. 6), and to be clad in garments of life (lxii. 15, 16) and in raiment of light (cviii. 12); see also xc. 38. We thus see that long before the time of the writers of Baruch the Pharisees were familiar with the idea of the spiritual transformation of the body after the resurrection; and that *to some extent* the Pauline teaching on the resurrection in 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 was not an innovation, but an able and developed exposition of ideas that were current in the Judaism of the time. 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 is in one of its aspects the logical sequel of Isa. lxv. 17.

Over against this spiritual view of the future life we must remember that a materialistic one prevailed not only popularly, but also in Rabbinic circles. According to the latter the blessed should beget children and eat the flesh of the Leviathan. See Weber, 383, 384.

L. 2. Cf. xi. 4, note; xlii. 8, note; Eth. En. li. 1, note. In the resurrection soul and body were to be united. On the scene of the resurrection see xxix. 2, note. The soul's abode was Sheol (see xxi. 23 note); the body rested in the earth (xlii. 8). According to the text the body was to be restored in exactly the same form in which it had been committed to the earth. The following speculations of later Judaism on this subject are instructive. According to the *Othioth*, 17*c*, of R. Akiba (Weber, 352, 353), God was to sound a trumpet seven times at the end of the world. At the first blast the whole world was to be moved, at the second the dust was to be separated, at the third the bones of the dead were to be gathered together, at the fourth their limbs were to be warmed, at the fifth they were to be covered with skin, at the sixth the souls and spirits were to enter their bodies, in the seventh they were to become living and stand upon their feet, clad in their clothes. According to another account (*Beresh. rab.* 28) the resurrection body was built up from a small fragment of the backbone which was in all cases indestructible. This was called לוּז. See Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterb.* ii. 481; see verse 4, note.

L. 3. Those who are to be judged are the living righteous, and sinners, and the risen dead.

4. The object with which the dead are raised is for common recognition.

recognised those whom they now know, then judgment will grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of will come.

LI. "And it will come to pass, when that appointed day has gone by, that then shall the aspect of those who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified. 2. For the aspect of those who now act wickedly will become worse than is that of such as suffer torment. 3. Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendour will be glorified in changes, and the form of their face will be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to them. 4. For

There is nothing corresponding to this in the N.T. In later Judaism the resemblance of the risen was to be so carefully preserved that they were to be raised in the same clothes in which they were buried. This was proved *Sanhedrin*, 90*b* (Weber, 353) by the analogy of a grain of corn which comes up from the earth, not naked but clothed. The Rabbis, therefore, on the approach of death, gave careful directions as to their grave-clothes. According to the *Beresh. rab.* 95 (Weber, 353), men were to be raised with all their bodily defects, such as blindness, lameness, etc., in order that their identity might be established. Thereupon, in the case of the righteous these infirmities were healed.

LI. 1. This transformation of the living is mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. 51.

Aspect. I have here followed Ceriani's emendation of ܦܓܡܐ into ܦܓܡ.

Condemned . . . justified. See xxi. 9, note. The word "justify" has here its ordinary meaning of "to declare righteous."

3. *Justified in My law.* See xv. 5, note; xxi. 9, note.

Root of wisdom. lix. 7; Ecclus. i. 6, 20, ῥίζα σοφίας; Wisdom iii. 15.

Their splendour, etc. The righteous will undergo successive transformations till their bodies are assimilated to their new environment, or to use the words of the text, "that they may be able . . . to receive the world that does not die."

The world that does not die. Cf. xlviii. 50; li. 8; lxxiv. 2, for various characteristics of the *olam habba* or future world.

Then promised. See xiv. 13, note.

over this above all will those who come then lament, that they rejected My law, and stopped their ears that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding. 5. When therefore they see those, over whom they are now exalted, (but) who will then be exalted and glorified more than they, they will respectively be transformed, the latter into the splendour of angels, and the former will mainly waste away in wonder at the visions and in the beholding of the forms. 6. For they will first behold and afterwards depart to be tormented. 7. But those who have been saved by their works, and to whom the law has been now a hope, and understanding an expectation, and wisdom a confidence, to them wonders will appear in their time. 8. For they will behold the world which is now invisible to them, and they will behold the time which is now hidden from them. 9. And again time will not age them. 10. For in the heights of that world shall they dwell, and they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made

4. The wicked here include not only the faithless Israelites, but also the Gentiles.

Stopped their ears that they might not hear. Zech. vii. 11. The LXX. renders differently: τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν ἐβάρυναν κτλ.

5. *The splendour.* This word ܙܝܘ here, and in xlix. 2; li. 3, might also be rendered by "appearance."

Will waste away, or *will be dissolved.* Cf. xxx. 4; 4 Ezra vii. 87. The latter reference as well as our text show that the writer here was not thinking of annihilation, though this view is found later. Cf. Weber, 374, 375.

7. *Saved by their works.* See xiv. 7, note.

9. Cf. verse 3, note, and the phrase in verse 16: "The world which ages not those." After this verse we should probably read verses 13 and 14. Verse 12 would then form a fitting close and climax to li. 1-9, 13, 14, 10, 11.

10. The condition of the risen righteous is very spiritually conceived. Thus they have passed from a world of tribulation (li. 14) and enter a world that is everlasting (li. 3), invisible (li. 8); they live in the high places thereof (li. 10); they are made equal to the stars (li. 10),

equal to the stars, and they shall be changed into every form they desire, from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory. 11. For there will be spread before them the extents of Paradise, and there will be shown to them the beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne, and all the armies of the angels, who [are now held fast by My word, lest they should appear, and] are held fast by a command, that they may stand in their places till their advent comes. 12. Moreover, there will then be excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels. 13. For the first will receive the last, those whom they were expecting, and the last those of whom they used to hear that they had passed away. 14. For they have been delivered from this world of tribulation, and laid down the burthen of anguish. 15. For what then have men lost their life, and for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul? 16. For then they chose (not) for themselves that time, which, beyond the reach of

and their glory is greater than that of the angels (x. 12).

Made equal to the stars. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.

11. *Living creatures which are beneath the throne.* Cf. Rev. iv. 6.

Armies of the angels who . . . are held fast, etc. These angels are probably the armed host mentioned in lxx. 7; Slav. En. xvii.; and in Test. Lev. 3: ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ εἰσὶν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν παρεμβολῶν, οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ Βελίαρ. I have bracketed one of the clauses in this verse as a gloss.

13, 14. These two verses seem to be wrongly transposed from their place after verse 9.

13. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 42: "Coronae adsimilabo judicium meum; sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic nec priorum velocitas"; also Matt. xix. 30.

14. See xv. 8, note.

15. Cf. Matt. xvi. 26.

16. I have added a negative in the first clause as the sense requires it. In lvi. 14 there is a similar loss of the negative, as Ceriani has already observed. *Which ages not*, etc. (cf. ver. 9).

anguish, could not pass away, and they chose for themselves that time, whose issues are full of lamentations and evils, and they denied the world which ages not those who come to it, and they have rejected the time and the glory, so that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before."

LII. And I answered and said: "How do those forget for whom woe is then reserved? 2. And why therefore again do we mourn for those who die? or why do we weep for those who depart to Sheol? 3. Let lamentations be reserved for the beginning of that coming torment, and let tears be laid up for the advent of the destruction of that time. 4. But even in the face of these things I will speak. [5. And as for the righteous, what will they do now? 6. Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer: for why do ye look for the decline of your enemies? 7. Make ready your soul for that which is reserved for you, and prepare your souls for the reward which is laid up for you."]

LIII. And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision, and lo! a cloud was

LII. 1, 2. Considering the terrible destiny in store for the wicked after the resurrection, our grief should be reserved for those who shall suffer its torments, and not for those who depart to Sheol. And yet there is a certain degree of pain and torment in Sheol as we have seen (cf. xxx. 5; xxxvi. 10).

5-7. These verses cannot have been addressed by Baruch to God. Like xlviii. 48-50, they are part of his address to the people. They would form an appropriate sequel to xlviii. 48-50 (see note on liv. 16-18).

6. Cf. lxxviii. 6. These words recall James i. 2: "Count it all joy, my brethren, when ye fall into manifold temptations." The sentiment looks Christian.

7. *Make ready . . . prepare your souls.* See xxxii. 1, note. One half of this verse seems to be a gloss on the other.

8. Cf. xxxvi. 1.

LIII.-LXXIV. This constitutes

ascending from a very great sea, and I kept gazing upon it, and lo! it was full of waters white and black, and there were many colours in those self-same waters, and as it were the likeness of great lightning was seen at its summit. 2. And I saw that cloud passing swiftly in quick courses, and it covered all the earth. 3. And it came to pass after these things

the third Messiah Apocalypse = A^3 embodied by the final editor in this book. It will be sufficient here to indicate (*a*) its date; (*b*) its relation to the other constituents of the book; and to touch on (*c*) the question of its integrity; (*d*) and of its author.

(*a*) *Its date.* It was written prior to 70 A.D. (see lxviii. 5, note), and subsequent to 50 A.D. (see lix. 5-11, note).

(*b*) *Relations of* A^3 *to* B^1, B^2, A^1, A^2. It is distinct from B^1, and B^2 in date, as these were composed subsequently to the fall of the temple. It is distinct in character from B^1 and B^2; for whereas in the latter there is no expectation of the Messiah, in A^3 the Messiah is the centre of interest. Other points of difference will be dealt with in the notes. A^3 is distinct from A^1. In the latter the Messiah does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed; in A^3, on the other hand, the Messiah is the agent of their destruction. A^3 may be distinct from A^2; contrast lxxi. 1 with xl. 2. If xl. 1, 2 refers to Pompey, it was written prior to his death, and A^2 would in that case be much earlier than A^3, which was composed between 50 and 70 A.D.

(*c*) *Integrity.* A^3 is handed down in tolerable preservation. liv. 17, 18 is an interpolation, and possibly lxx. 9. The text has been badly tampered with in lxxii. 1 and lxxxiv. 4 by the final editor.

(*d*) *The author.* A^3 is of extreme interest, as it is the oldest writing in which full justice is done alike to the claims of the Messiah and those of the law in moulding the world's history. The author belongs to the Rabbinical school, and assigns to certain elements of the law and tradition (cf. lvii., notes) the pre-Mosaic origin attributed to them in Jubilees. On the other hand, he recognises the popular aspiration for God's kingdom on earth as a legitimate outcome of prophecy, and gives it complete development in his forecast of history. Thus A^3 is the oldest literary evidence of the fusion of early Rabbinism and popular Messianic expectation.

LIII. In this vision a cloud is seen coming up from the sea and covering the whole earth with its summit crowned with lightning. And soon it began to discharge black waters, and then clear, and again black waters, and then clear, and so on till this succession of black and bright waters had occurred six times. And at the end of these twelve showers there was yet another shower of black waters, blacker than had been all before. Thereupon the lightning on the summit of the cloud flashed forth and healed the earth, and twelve streams came up from the sea and were subject to that lightning.

1. *A very great sea.* Cf. Dan. vii. 2.

that that cloud began to pour upon the earth the waters that were in it. 4. And I saw that there was not one and the same likeness in the waters which descended from it. 5. For in the first beginning they were black exceedingly for a time, and afterwards I saw that the waters became bright, but they were not many, and after these things again I saw black (waters), and after these things again bright, and again black and again bright. 6. Now this was done twelve times, but the black were always more numerous than the bright. 7. And it came to pass at the end of the cloud, that lo! it rained black waters, and they were darker than had been all those waters that were before, and fire was mingled with them, and where those waters descended, they wrought devastation and destruction. 8. And I saw after these things that lightning which I had seen on the summit of the cloud, that it held it fast and made it descend to the earth. 9. Now that lightning shone exceedingly, so as to illuminate the whole earth, and it healed those regions where the last waters had descended and wrought devastation. 10. And it took hold of the

6. For the twelvefold division of history see 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12: "XII enim partibus divisum est saeculum, et transierunt ejus X jam et dimidium Xmae partis, Superant autem ejus duae post medium decimae partis." Cf. Hilgenfeld, *Mess. Jud.* 104.

7. These black waters are interpreted in lxix., lxx. They symbolise the travail pains of the Messiah.

8. The lightning on the cloud symbolises the Messiah. The imagery is derived from Dan. vii. 13. It was from the last passage that the Messiah was named ענני = "the cloud-man," or בר נפלי = "the son of the cloud." See Levi, *Neuhebräisch. Lex.* iii. 271, 422.

9. *Lightning shone . . . so as to illuminate the whole earth.* Cf. Matt. xxiv. 27: "For as the lightning cometh forth from the east, and is seen even unto the west, so shall be the coming of the Son of man."

whole earth and had dominion over it. 11. And I saw after these things, and lo! twelve rivers were ascending from the sea, and they began to surround that lightning and to become subject to it. 12. And by reason of my fear I awoke.

[Prayer of Baruch]

LIV. And I besought the Mighty One, and said: "Thou alone, O Lord, knowest of aforetime the deep things of the world, and the things which befall in their times Thou bringest about by Thy word, and against the works of the inhabitants of the earth Thou dost hasten the beginnings of the times, and the end of the seasons Thou alone knowest. 2. For whom nothing is too hard, but Thou doest everything easily by a nod. 3. To whom the depths as the heights are accessible, and the beginnings of the ages minister to Thy word. 4. Who revealeth to those who fear Him what is prepared for them, that He may thereby console them. 5. Thou showest great acts to those

10. We have here symbolised the Messiah's reign.

11. Do these twelve rivers symbolise the Gentile nations submitting themselves to the Messiah, or the twelve tribes of Israel?

LIV. 1. *Against the works*, etc.... *hasten the beginnings of the times.* See xx. 1, note.

The end of the seasons Thou alone knowest. Cf. xxi. 8.

2. *For whom nothing is too hard.* This is a rendering of the phrase found in Gen. xviii. 14; Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. By comparing the text with the Peshitto of Luke i. 37, we see that the Greek was here παρ' ᾧ ῥῆμα οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ. This is the LXX. of Gen. xviii. 14 μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ῥῆμα, but not of Jer. xxxii. 17, 27, where we find (xxxix. 17, 27 in LXX.) οὐ μὴ ἀποκρυβῇ ἀπὸ σοῦ οὐθέν. This is the rendering of the Peshitto also in Gen. xviii. 14 and Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. From this verse in itself, therefore, we cannot conclude for or against the influence of the LXX. on the writer.

5. *Great acts* or "wonders."

who know not; Thou breakest up the enclosure of those who are ignorant, and lightest up what is dark, and revealest what is hidden to the pure, who in faith have submitted themselves to Thee and Thy law. 6. Thou hast shown to Thy servant this vision; reveal to me also its interpretation. 7. For I know that as regards those things wherein I besought Thee, I have received a response, and as regards what I besought, Thou didst reveal to me, and didst show me with what voice I should praise Thee, or from what members I should cause praises and hallelujahs to ascend to Thee. 8. For if my members were mouths, and the hairs of my head voices, even so I could not give Thee the meed of praise, or laud Thee as is befitting, nor could I recount Thy praise, nor tell the glory of Thy beauty, 9. For what am I amongst men, or why am I reckoned amongst those who are more excellent than I, that I should have heard all those marvellous things from the Most High, and good tidings numberless from Him who created me? 10. Blessed be my mother amongst those that bear, and praised among women be she that bare me. 11. For I will not be silent in praising the Mighty One, and with the voice of praise I will recount His marvellous deeds. 12. For who doeth like unto Thy marvellous deeds, O God, or who comprehendeth Thy deep thought of

In faith. See note on liv. 21.

8. In the *Shir ha-Shirim rabba*, i. 3 we find the hyperbolic statements of this verse far outdone: "R. Eliezer said: 'if all the seas were ink, and all the reeds were pens, and heaven and earth were rolls, and all men were scribes, yet the law could not be written down which I have taught.'"

10. An interpolation? it breaks

life? 13. For with Thy counsel Thou dost govern all the creatures which Thy right hand has created, and Thou hast established every fountain of light beside Thee, and the treasures of wisdom beneath Thy throne hast Thou prepared. 14. And justly do they perish who have not loved Thy law, and the torment of judgment will await those who have not submitted themselves to Thy power. 15. For though Adam

the connection. Cf. Luke i. 42; xi. 27; Judges v. 24.

13. *Thou dost govern.* Cf. verse 22.

14. A deliberate rejection of the law of God is here implied as in xlviii. 40, see note.

15, 19. In xxiii. 4 the *physical* effects of sin are referred to; in xlviii. 42 the *spiritual* effects. The former consisted according to B^2 (see xxiii. 4, note) in man's subjection to physical death. According to A^3 (see liv. 15; lvi. 6), however, man was already subject to physical death, and the penalty of sin consisted in premature death.

The main question, however, which concerns us here is that of predestination and free will. In order to understand the position of the writers of this book, it will be helpful to draw attention to the chief statements which appear on these subjects in Jewish non-canonical literature. In Ecclesiasticus these antinomies are stated unconditionally, not indeed in immediate contrast, but in distinct passages. Thus in xv. 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, we have the free will of man strongly affirmed: *μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι διὰ κύριον ἀπέστην . . . μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι αὐτός με ἐπλάνησεν· οὐ γὰρ χρείαν ἔχει ἀνδρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ . . . αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς, συντηρήσεις ἐντολάς. . . ἔναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὃ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ. . . . καὶ οὐκ ἐνετείλατο οὐδενὶ ἀσεβεῖν.* Cf. also xvii. 6. The doctrine of predestination is absolutely maintained in xxxvi. 10, 12, 13, *καὶ ἄνθρωποι πάντες ἀπὸ ἐδάφους καὶ ἐκ γῆς ἐκτίσθη Ἀδάμ· ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐλόγησεν καὶ ἀνύψωσεν . . . ἀπ' αὐτῶν κατηράσατο καὶ ἐταπείνωσεν καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στάσεως αὐτῶν. ὡς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ· οὕτως ἄνθρωποι ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ.* Cf. also xxiii. 20; xxxix. 20, 21. These two doctrines which are thus separately affirmed in Ecclus., are given by Josephus as co-ordinate articles of the Pharisaic creed. Thus in *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 14, he says: *Φαρισαῖοι . . . εἱμαρμένῃ τε καὶ θεῷ προσάπτουσι πάντα καὶ τὸ μὲν πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεῖσθαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τὴν εἱμαρμένην. Ant.* xiii. 5, 9: *οἱ μὲν οὖν Φαρισαῖοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ πάντα τῆς εἱμαρμένης εἶναι λέγουσιν ἔργον, τινὰ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὑπάρχειν, συμβαίνειν τε καὶ μὴ γίνεσθα (Ant.* xviii. 1. 3) *πράσσεσθαί τε εἱμαρμένῃ τὰ πάντα ἀξιοῦντες, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται, δοκῆσαν τῷ θεῷ κρᾶσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ θελήσαντι προσ-*

first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them has

χωρεῖν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας. The same paradoxical creed appears in the *Pirke Aboth.* iii. 24 (ed. Taylor p. 73): "Everything is foreseen; and freewill is given. And the world is judged by grace: and everything is according to work"; and possibly also in the Pss. Sol. ix. 7 τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν (see Ryle and James's edition, pp. 95, 96).

This co-ordination of fate and freewill as articles of faith was nothing more or less than an attempt on the part of the Pharisees to embody in their creed the two O.T. doctrines of God's omnipotence and man's responsibility. That theoretically such a creed was current may reasonably be concluded from the passages just cited, as well as from the attestation it receives in Pauline teaching in Rom. ix.-xi. (see Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 347-350). Its acceptance, too, would, no doubt, be furthered by the pressure of the rival creeds of the Sadducees and the Essenes, who were the champions, respectively, of freewill and of fate (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14; *Ant.* xiii. 5. 9). With the disappearance of Sadduceeism, however, the paradoxical character of Pharisaic belief seems to have disappeared also. Henceforth the Rabbinic schools teach mainly man's freedom of the will and limit God's predestinating action to his external lot.

The two doctrines of fate and freewill, though seen to be mutually exclusive, were, as we have already remarked, accepted *theoretically* as equally imperative by the Pharisees. The only instance where these two doctrines are developed into irreconcilable fulness and results and applied to religious questions in the first century is to be found in St. Paul's teaching (see above). In every other attempt to grapple with these problems a compromise is effected which results either in a vigorous or else in a very attenuated doctrine of freewill. Of this wavering attitude among the Pharisees in the first century we have sufficient evidence. Thus man's freewill is maintained in the Slav. En. xxx. 15: "And I gave him his will, and I showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness . . . that I should know whether he has love for Me or hate"; though in the next verse it is recognised that his freewill is hampered by his incorporation in the body, and his ignorance of its good and evil impulses. But the best evidence in this direction is furnished by the Apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Ezra. From our comparative study hitherto of these two works (see notes on xiv. 7; xxi. 9; xlviii. 42), we should expect that man's freewill and capacity for doing God's will, despite Adam's sin, would be emphasised in the former, and that man's helplessness and practical incapacity for righteousness in consequence of his original defects or Adam's sin would be conspicuous in the latter, and this we do find as a matter of fact. First as to 4 Ezra. In 4 Ezra the bulk of mankind was predestined to destruction (viii. 1-3); for from the beginning there was in man a wicked element (*i.e.* יצר הרע) called here *granum seminis mali* (4 Ezra iv. 30): "Quoniam granum seminis mali seminatum est in corde Adam ab initio, et quantum impietatis generavit usque nunc et

prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.

generabit usque cum veniat area"; through Adam's yielding to this evil element a hereditary tendency to sin was created and the *cor malignum* developed (iii. 21, 22). Cor enim malignum baiolans primus Adam transgressus et victus est, sed et omnes qui ex eo nati sunt. Et facta est permanens infirmitas, et lex in corde populi cum malignitate radicis, et discessit quod bonum est, et mansit malignum. We should observe that *baiolans* in iii. 21 just cited represents *φορέσας*: for both the Syriac and Ethiopic Versions = *cum vestivit.* Hence Adam "clothed himself" with a wicked heart by yielding to the evil impulse which was in him when created. Adam was created with two impulses: "the good impulse" (יצר הטוב) implied in the words *discessit quod bonum est* (iii. 22), and "the evil impulse" already referred to. This subject is further pursued in iii. 25, 26: "Et deliquerunt qui habitabant civitatem, In omnibus facientes sicut fecit Adam et omnes generationes ejus, utebantur enim et ipsi cor malignum." As a result of Adam's transgression, the evil impulse having been developed into the *cor malignum*, and having thus obtained the mastery over man, the writer of vii. 118 naturally charges Adam with being the cause of the final perdition of mankind: "O tu quid fecisti Adam? si enim tu peccasti, non est factum solius tuus casus sed et nostrum qui ex te advenimus." Naturally in the face of such a hopeless view of man's condition no real doctrine of freewill could be maintained. In fact, in 4 Ezra only sufficient freewill is accorded to man to justify his final condemnation. Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 56, 58-60, "Nam et ipsi accipientes libertatem spreverunt Altissimum et legem ejus contempserunt. . . . Et dixerunt in corde suo non esse deum, et quidem scientes sciunt quoniam moriuntur. . . . Non enim Altissimus voluit hominem disperdi; Sed ipsi qui creati sunt coinquinaverunt nomen ejus qui fecit eos." vii. 72, "Qui ergo commorantes sunt in terra hinc cruciabuntur, quoniam sensum habentes iniquitatem fecerunt et mandata accipientes non servaverunt ea et legem consecuti fraudaverunt eam quam acceperunt." ix. 11, Fastidierunt legem meam cum adhuc erant habentes libertatem.

Turning now to the present Apocalypse, we find in all its sections, even in the gloomiest, B^2, a view of man's present capacities and future destiny that is optimistic when set side by side with 4 Ezra. Whereas in A^3, according to liv. 15, 19, the effects of Adam's sin are limited to physical results; his descendants must die prematurely. On the nature of these physical results in other sections see xxiii. 4, note. As to spiritual results, each man is the Adam of his own soul, and can choose for himself either bliss or torment; he can work out his own salvation and even make God his debtor (see xiv. 7, note). Only in xlviii. 42 is spiritual death traced to Adam.

The view set forth in the text as to man's condition is exactly that which prevails in the Talmud. In fact, Weber's summing up on this question would serve admirably for an exposition of the text: "Der freie Wille auch in Bezug auf das Verhalten gegen Gott ist dem Menschen auch nach dem Fall geblieben. Es

LIV. 16-18 = B^2.

[16. For assuredly he who believeth will receive reward. 17. But now, as for you, ye wicked that now are, turn ye to destruction, because ye will speedily be visited, in that from time to time ye have rejected the understanding of the Most High. 18. For His works have not taught you, nor has the skill of His creation which is at all times persuaded you.] 19. Adam is

gibt eine Erbschuld, aber keine Erbsünde: der Fall Adam's hat dem ganzen Geschlecht den Tod, nicht aber die Sündigkeit im Sinne einer Nothwendigkeit zu sündigen verursacht; die Sünde ist das Ergebnis der Entscheidung jedes Einzelnen, erfahrungsgemäss allgemein, aber an sich auch nach dem Fall nicht schlechthin nothwendig" (*Lehren d. Talmud*, p. 217).

Only one statement in this citation seems untrustworthy, *i.e.* *Es gibt eine Erbschuld.* I can see nothing in Weber's learned work to justify this statement, but everything to show that there was neither hereditary sin nor hereditary guilt. Moreover, on p. 240 this statement is actually made: "Wenn die Sünde und Schuld nicht erblich ist, kann dann die Strafe erblich sein? . . . Diese Antinomie hat die jüdische Theologie durch drei Sätze auszugleichen versucht."

15. *Untimely.* See note on xxiii. 4. The phrase rendered "untimely" is בְּלֹא כוכבות. It recurs in lvi. 6 and lxxiii. 3.

16-18. These verses are clearly an interpolation for the same reasons as xlviii. 48-50 and lii. 5-7. These three passages seem to have been addressed by Baruch to the people, and to have formed part of one and the same discourse. The original order appears to have been: first, liv. 17, 18, where the wicked are menaced with the final judgment; then xlviii. 48-50, in which the destiny of the wicked is dismissed and that of the righteous described; next, lii. 5-7, where a line of conduct is prescribed to the righteous on the ground of that destiny, and a preparation of their souls for the reward laid up for them; and finally, liv. 16, where the faithful are assured of that reward.

It will be observed (1) that these verses break the sense of the context; (2) that a direct address to the wicked could not occur in a prayer to God.

18. In liv. 14 it is implied that the wicked there described knew the law. This is intelligible from the standpoint of the Jewish belief that the Gentiles were offered the law but refused it. But in this verse no such view is implied. Their knowledge of God could only arise from reflection on His works in nature. The same argument is found in Rom. i. 20. This argument "is as old as the Psalter, Job, and Isaiah (Pss. xix. 1; xciv. 9; cxliii. 5; Isa. xlii. 5; xlv. 18; Job xii. 9; xxvi. 14; xxxvi. 24; Wisdom ii. 23; xiii. 1, 5). It is common to Greek thought as well as Jewish (Arist. *De Mundo*, 6; Philo, *De Praem. et Poen.* 7" (Sanday and Headlam, Rom. p. 43).

19. See note on verse 15. The real force of this verse is that a man's guilt and sin are not derived

therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul. 20. But do Thou, O Lord, expound to me regarding those things which Thou hast revealed to me, and inform me regarding that which I besought Thee. 21. For at the consummation of the world there will be vengeance taken upon those who have done wickedness according to their wickedness, and Thou wilt glorify the faithful according to their faithfulness. 22. For those who are amongst Thine own Thou rulest, and those who sin Thou blottest out from amongst Thine own."

LV. And it came to pass when I had finished speaking the words of this prayer, that I sat there under a tree, that I might rest in the shade of the branches. 2. And I wondered and was astonied, and pondered in my thoughts regarding the multitude of goodness which sinners who are upon the earth

from Adam, but are due to his own action. The evil impulse (יצר הרע) does not constitute guilt or sin unless man obeys it. As the Talmudists say, it was placed in man to be overcome (Weber, 210).

21. *The faithful according to their faith.* Faith in this passage is contrasted with unrighteousness (ܥܘܠܐ = *ἀνομία*). Hence we should take it here as equivalent either to "righteousness" or "fidelity to the law." In liv. 16 the verb "believe" may mean "to be faithful." But the context is doubtful. Elsewhere in Baruch faith = "belief." Thus in lix. 2 those who "believe" are opposed to those who "deny"; in xlii. 2 to those who "despise." This is the meaning also in liv. 5; lvii. 2; lxxxiii. 8. In 4 Ezra vi. 5 faith seems to mean "righteousness," the result of fidelity to the law (as in Apoc. Bar. liv. 21); for the righteous are those *qui fidem thesaurizaverunt;* possibly also in v. 1; vi. 28; it means fidelity to the law in vii. 34, as *incredulitas* in vii. 114 = "disloyalty." In ix. 7, 8; xiii. 23, faith and works are combined and appear nearly synonymous. For a most instructive note on the various meanings of "faith," see Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 31-34.

Faith in the Talmud is in one of its aspects regarded as a work which as the fulfilment of the law produces merit. In the *Beresh. rabba*, lxxiv. the merit arising from faith and the merit arising from the law are co-ordinated. See Weber, pp. 292, 295, 298.

have rejected, and regarding the great torment which they have despised, though they knew that they should be tormented because of the sin they had committed. 3. And when I was pondering on these things and the like, lo! the angel Ramiel who presides over true visions was sent to me, and he said unto me: 4. "Why does thy heart trouble thee, Baruch, and why does thy thought disturb thee? 5. For if by the hearsay which thou hast only heard of judgment thou art so moved, what (wilt thou be) when thou shalt see it manifestly with thine eyes? 6. And if with the expectation wherewith thou dost expect the day of the Mighty One thou art so overcome, what (wilt thou be) when thou shalt come to its advent? 7. And, if at the word of the announcement of the torment of those who have done foolishly thou art so wholly distraught, how much more when the event will reveal marvellous things? 8. And if thou hast heard tidings of the good and evil things which are then coming and art grieved, what (wilt thou be) when thou shalt behold what the majesty will reveal, which will convict these and cause those to rejoice?

LV. 2. *Despised, though they knew.* See xv. 6, note; xlviii. 40, note.

3. *Ramiel.* Cf. lxiii. 6; this angel is mentioned in the Eth. En. xx. 7 (Greek) Ῥεμειὴλ ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὃν ἔταξεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνισταμένων: also in 4 Ezra iv. 36, where the Syriac Version = "And the angel Ramiel answered and said unto them" (*i.e.* the righteous souls in the soul-treasuries); for "Ramiel" the Latin gives *Hieremihel.* Finally, in *Or. Sibyl.* ii. 215-217, Ramiel is one of the five angels appointed by God to bring the souls of men to judgment: Ἀρακιὴλ Ῥαμιὴλ Οὐριὴλ Σαμιὴλ Ἀζαήλ τε . . . ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς . . . ἐς κρίσιν ἄξουσιν πάσας. The function of Ramiel in the text agrees to some extent with that assigned to him in 4 Ezra.

5. *And art so moved.* I have followed Ceriani's suggestion here in supplying ܐ before ܗܟܝ.

LVI. "Nevertheless, because thou hast besought the Most High to reveal to thee the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen, I have been sent to say to thee. 2. And the Mighty One hath assuredly made known to thee the methods of the times that have passed, and of those that are destined to pass in His world from the beginning of its creations even unto its consummation, of those things which (are) deceit and of those which (are) in truth. 3. For as thou didst see a great cloud which ascended from the sea, and went and covered the earth, this is the duration of the world (= *αἰών*) which the Mighty One made when He took counsel to make the world. 4. And it came to pass when the word had gone forth from His presence, that the duration of the world had come into being in a small degree, and was established according to the multitude of the intelligence of Him who sent it. 5. And as thou didst previously see on the summit of the cloud black waters which descended previously on the earth, this is the transgression wherewith Adam the first man transgressed. 6. For owing to his transgression untimely death came into being, and grief was named

LVI. 2. *And the Mighty.* We should expect *That the Mighty.*

3. *A great cloud . . . this is the duration of the world.* This cloud is divided into thirteen parts: the first twelve parts of alternate black and bright waters (see liii. 5, 6), and the thirteenth of the blackest waters of all (see liii. 7). These symbolise the thirteen periods into which the history of the world is divided prior to the Messiah's kingdom. This kingdom is foreshadowed by the lightning that shone on the extremity or summit of the cloud.

4. *Was established.* I have followed Ceriani here in reading ܬܬܩܢ instead of ܩܢ.

6. *Owing to his transgression.* The text literally = "when he transgressed."

Untimely. See liv. 15, note.

and anguish was prepared, and pain was created, and trouble perfected, and boasting began to be established, and Sheol to demand that it should be renewed in blood, and the begetting of children was brought about, and the passion of parents produced, and the greatness of humanity was humiliated, and goodness languished. 7. What therefore can be blacker or darker than these things? 8. This is the beginning of the black waters which thou hast seen. 9. And from these black (waters) again were black derived, and the darkness of darkness produced. 10. For he was a danger to his own soul: even to the angels was he a danger. 11. For, moreover, at that time when he was created, they enjoyed liberty. 12. And some of them descended, and mingled with women. 13. And then those who did so were tormented in chains. 14. But the rest of the multitude of the angels, of which there is no number, restrained themselves. 15. And those who dwelt on the earth perished together (with them) through the waters of the deluge. 16. These are the black first waters.

Sheol to demand, etc. For this hunger of Sheol, cf. Prov. xxvii. 20; Isa. v. 14. On Sheol, see note on xi. 6.

10. *He was a danger*, etc. This must mean that man's physical nature was a danger to his spiritual; for it was the physical side of man that proved a danger to the angels who fell through lust. Man's physical nature was dangerous; for in it resided the "evil impulse" (see note on liv. 15, 19).

11-13. *They enjoyed liberty*, *i.e.* the angels. This liberty, according to the ancient myth, they abused by taking to themselves wives of the daughters of men (see Eth. En. vi. 2, note; Slav. En. xviii. 4-6; Jubilees v. 1-11; x. 1-13).

14. *No number*. The MS. omits the negative, but wrongly, as Ceriani has already observed (cf. xxi. 6; lix. 11). For a still more obvious loss of the negative see li. 16, though strangely enough it has not hitherto been remarked.

LVII. "And after these (waters) thou didst see bright waters: this is the fount of Abraham, also his generations and advent of his son, and of his son's son, and of those like them. 2. Because at that time the unwritten law was named amongst them, and the works of the commandments were then fulfilled, and belief in the coming judgment was then generated, and hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up, and the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted. 3. These are the bright waters, which thou hast seen.

LVIII. "And the black third waters which thou

LVII. 1. The first bright period embraces human history from the time of Abraham to that of the twelve sons of Jacob and their righteous contemporaries or immediate successors.

2. *The unwritten law.* This statement proceeds from the same spirit which animates the entire Book of Jubilees, and which seeks to trace traditionalism and its observances to the times of the patriarchs. In later Judaism there were manifold attempts of this nature. Thus in the *Avoda-sara*, 36*b*, according to Gen. xxxviii. 24, impurity was forbidden by the Rabbinic tribunal of Shem; in the *Beresh. rabba*, xciv., Shem and Eber are said to have handed on certain traditions to Jacob; in the *Joma*, 28*b*, Abraham is said to have observed the whole Torah and the traditional or unwritten law. To Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob the three daily times of prayer are traced back in the *Berachoth*, 26*b*. The above statements are drawn from Herzfeld, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 226. For a detailed description of the traditional law from the earliest times down to Hillel, see *op. cit.* iii. 226-263; Weber, 255.

Works of the commandments were then fulfilled. See preceding note.

Belief. See note on liv. 21.

Hope of the world to be renewed. See note on xxxii. 6. In the earlier Messiah-Apocalypses in this book, *i.e.* in A^1 and A^2, the renewal of the world is to take place at the close of the Messianic kingdom, for in these writings this kingdom belongs to this world ὁ *αἰὼν οὗτος* (Matt. xii. 32) = הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה; whereas in A^3 with which we are at present dealing it is said (lxxiv. 2) to form the close of the present world and the beginning of the next (*i.e.* ὁ *αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων* or ὁ *ἐρχόμενος* = הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא). If we are to take (lxxiv. 2) literally, then the renewal of the world is to take place during the Messiah's reign. But this is unlikely. In 4 Ezra vii. 28-30; xii. 32-34, the Messiah's kingdom belongs to this world. In xiii. 32-50 to the next, if xiii. 36 is genuine. In the older literature the Messianic kingdom belongs to the next world (cf. Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx.)

hast seen, these are the mingling of all sins, which the nations afterwards wrought after the death of those righteous men, and the wickedness of the land of Egypt, wherein they did wickedly in the service wherewith they made their sons to serve. 2. Nevertheless, these also perished at last.

LIX. "And the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen are the advent of Moses and Aaron and Miriam and Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb and of all those like them. 2. For at that time the lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, which announced to them that believe the promise of their reward, and to them that deny, the torment of fire which is reserved for them. 3. But also the heavens at that time were shaken from their place, and those who were under the throne of the Mighty One were perturbed, when He was taking Moses unto Himself. 4. For He showed him many admonitions together with the principles of the laws and the consummation of time, as also to thee, and likewise the pattern of Zion and its measures, which was to be

LVIII. 1. *The service wherewith they made their sons to serve.* Exod. i. 14 is here closely followed: כל־עבדתם אשר־עברו בהם. As the LXX. has here πάντα τὰ ἔργα ὧν καταδουλοῦντο αὐτούς, it is clear that the original writer had the Hebrew text and not the LXX. before him.

LIX. 2. *The eternal law.* Cf. xvii. 6. See xv. 5, note.

The lamp . . . darkness—a Rabbinic application of Isa. ix. 2. Isa. ix. 2 was a favourite passage in N.T. times (cf. Matt. iv. 16; Luke i. 79).

That believe. See liv. 21, note.

Torment of fire. Cf. xliv. 15; xlviii. 39; lxxxv. 13. It will be observed that these passages suggest a material fire in which the wicked are to be tormented after the resurrection, *i.e.* after they have resumed their bodies.

4. *The pattern of Zion and its measures.* Cf. Exod. xxv. 40; xxvi. 30; Heb. viii. 5.

Which was to be made, etc. A very slight change in the Syriac would give a good text: "In the

made in the pattern of the sanctuary of the present time. 5. But then also He showed to him the measures of the fire, also the depths of the abyss, and the weight of the winds, and the number of the drops of rain. 6. And the suppression of anger, and the multitude of long-suffering, and the truth of judgment. 7. And the root of wisdom, and the riches of understanding, and the fount of knowledge. 8. And the height of the air, and the greatness of Paradise, and

pattern of which the sanctuary of the present time was to be made."

5-11. It is of importance to observe, with a view to determining the date of A^3, that in these verses we have a transference of Enoch's functions to Moses, and that the revelations hitherto attributed to Enoch are here for the first time assigned to Moses. It is noteworthy that another of Enoch's chief functions is ascribed to Ezra in 4 Ezra xiv. 50. This opposition to Enoch is unswervingly pursued in the Talmud. Thus, whereas in pre-Christian Judaism, Enoch, and Enoch only, is described as the scribe of the deeds of men (Jub. iv. 23; x. 17; Slav. En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5), this office is assigned to various Jewish heroes in later Judaism. Thus according to *Ruth rabba*, 33*a*, it is Elijah; according to *Esther rabba*, 86*d*, it is the angels; according to *Jalkut Shim.*, *Beresh.* 141, it was formerly the prophets, but now it is only Elijah and the Messiah (Weber, 272). We have already drawn attention to this phenomenon in the note on xiii. 3, and have there pointed out that this hostility to Enoch is the outcome of Jewish hostility to Christianity as a whole; for as we know from manifold evidence the writings of Enoch enjoyed a singular influence on early Christianity. This aggressive attitude of Judaism could hardly have originated before the open rupture of Christianity with the Synagogue and the Pauline controversy. Hence this writing was not earlier than A.D. 50. From lxviii. 5 it is clear that it is prior to A.D. 70. Therefore the limits of its composition are A.D. 50-70.

5. *The depths of the abyss.* A frequent subject in both books of Enoch: Eth. En. xviii. 11; xxi. 7-10, etc.; Slav. En. xxviii. 3.

The weight of the winds. The weighing of the winds is described in the Slav. En. xl. 11; cf. also Eth. xli. 4.

The number of the drops of rain. Slav. En. xlvii. 5; Ecclus. i. 2.

7. *Root of wisdom.* See li. 3, note.

Riches of understanding. lxi. 4.

The fount of knowledge. Bar. iii. 12; 4 Ezra xiv. 47.

8. *The height of the air.* Slav. En. xl. 12: "I have written down the height from the earth to the seventh heaven."

The greatness of Paradise. The measures of Paradise are taken by the angels for Enoch. Cf. Eth. En. lxi. 1-4; lxx. 3, 4.

the consummation of the ages, and the beginning of the day of judgment. 9. And the number of the offerings, and the earths which have not yet come. 10. And the mouth of Gehenna, and the station of vengeance, and the place of faith, and the region of hope. 11. And the likeness of future torment, and the multitude of innumerable angels, and the powers of the flames, and the splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders, and the orders of the chiefs of the angels, and the treasuries of light, and the changes of the times, and the investigations of the law. 12. These are the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen.

LX. "And the black fifth waters which thou hast

The consummation of the ages. This subject is discussed in every section of the Enochic literature.

The beginning of the day of judgment. This date is fixed according to a definite reckoning in the Slav. En. xxxii. 2-xxxiii. 2; lxv. 7-10; according to certain indefinite measures in Eth. En. lxxxiii.-xc.; xci.-civ.

10. *The mouth of Gehenna.* Eth. En. xxvii. 2, 3; liv.; lxii. 12; xc. 26, 27.

The station of vengeance. Many places of vengeance are described in the two books of Enoch: Eth. En. xviii. 12-16; xix.; xxi.; xxii. 10-13; liv. 1-6; xc. 24-27; Slav. En. x.; xl. 12.

The place of faith, and the region of hope. These seem to be the places of intermediate bliss. Cf. Eth. En. xxii. 5-9.

11. *The likeness of future torment.* Slav. xl. 12.

The multitude of innumerable angels. See lvi. 14, note. Of early Jewish literature, it is only in Enoch that the angels are described at length.

The splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders. Eth. En. xli. 3; xliii. 1, 2; xliv.; lix.; lx. 13-15; Slav. En. xl. 9.

The orders of the chiefs of the angels. I have here read the plural ܐܪܟܘܢ instead of the singular ܐܪܟܐ. Ceriani renders the text: "ordines principatus angelorum." The Jews believed in ten orders of angels, the Christians in nine. These orders are mentioned and in part enumerated in the Slav. En. xx. 1, 3 (see note); cf. also Eth. lxi. 10; lxxi. 7-9.

The treasuries of light. This expression is unexampled.

The changes of the times, i.e. the seasons. Slav. En. xiii. 5; xl. 6; Eth. En. lxxxii. 11-20.

seen raining are the works which the Amorites wrought, and the spells of their incantations which they wrought, and the wickedness of their mysteries, and the mingling of their pollution. 2. But even Israel was then polluted by sins in the days of the judges, though they saw many signs which were from Him who made them.

LXI. "And the bright sixth waters which thou didst see, this is the time in which David and Solomon were born. 2. And there was at that time the building of Zion, and the dedication of the sanctuary, and the shedding of much blood of the nations that sinned then, and many offerings which were offered then in the dedication of the sanctuary. 3. And peace and tranquillity existed at that time. 4. And wisdom was heard in the assembly, and the riches of understanding were magnified in the congregations. 5. And the holy festivals were fulfilled in goodness and in much joy. 6. And the judgment of the rulers was then seen to be without guile, and the righteousness of the precepts of the Mighty One was accomplished with truth. 7. And because the land was then beloved at that time, and because its inhabitants sinned not, it was glorified beyond all lands, and the city Zion ruled then over all lands and regions. 8. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LX. 1. *Mingling of their pollution.* Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14, ἐν φυρμῷ ἀναμίξεως.

2. *Of the judges.* I here follow Ceriani in correcting ܕܕܡܕܐ (="of judgment") into ܕܕܡܢܐ.

LXI. 4. *Riches of understanding.* lix. 7.

LXII. "And the black seventh waters which thou hast seen, this is the perversion (brought about) by the counsel of Jeroboam, who took counsel to make two calves of gold. 2. And all the iniquities which the kings who were after him iniquitously wrought. 3. And the curse of Jezebel and the worship of idols which Israel practised at that time. 4. And the withholding of rain, and the famines which occurred until women eat the fruit of their wombs. 5. And the time of their captivity which came upon the nine tribes and a half, because they were in many sins. 6. And Salmanasar king of Assyria came and led them away captive. 7. But regarding the Gentiles it were tedious to tell how they always wrought impiety and wickedness, and never wrought righteousness. 8. These are the black seventh waters which thou hast seen.

LXIII. "And the bright eighth waters which thou hast seen, this is the rectitude and uprightness of Hezekiah king of Judah and his benignity which came upon him. 2. For when Sennacherib was stirred up in order that he might perish, and his wrath troubled him in order that he might thereby

LXII. 4. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 28, 29.

5. The captivity of the nine and a half tribes 721 B.C. See lxxviii., note.

6. *I.e.* Shalmaneser, 2 Kings xvii. 3, 6. Cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 40.

7. *Wrought righteousness.* The text is ܥܒܕܘ = "have been justified." For the grounds for the above restoration, see xxi. 9, note.

LXIII. 1. *His benignity.* So ܛܝܒܘܬܗ. But the MS. originally read ܛܝܒܘܬܐ = "bounty, kindness." Both readings seem wrong.

2. This verse is translated as it stands in the Syriac. By omitting "for" the word "multitude" could be made the subject of the word "perish."

perish, for the multitude also of the nations which were with him. 3. When, moreover, Hezekiah the king heard those things which the king of Assyria was devising, (*i.e.*) to come and seize him and destroy his people, the two and a half tribes which remained: nay, more he wished to overthrow Zion also: then Hezekiah trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness, and spake with the Mighty One and said: 4. 'Behold, for lo! Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us, and he will be boastful and uplifted when he has destroyed Zion.' 5. And the Mighty One heard him, for Hezekiah was wise, and He had respect unto his prayer, because he was righteous. 6. And thereupon the Mighty One commanded Ramiel His angel who speaks with thee. 7. And I went forth and destroyed their multitude, the number of whose chiefs only was a hundred and eighty-five

3. *Hezekiah trusted in his works.* See xiv. 7, note. Observe the play on Hezekiah's name in these words when retranslated into Hebrew, חזקיה התחזק על. There appears to have been one also in Ecclus. xlviii. 22, *ἐποίησεν γὰρ Ἐξεκίας . . . καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν.* This conjecture as to the probable text in Ecclus. was made in March. It is now (June 20) confirmed by Dr. Neubauer's discovery last week in the Bodley of the Hebrew text of Ecclus. xl.-l. To his kindness and that of Mr. Cowley I owe the following passages where this play on the name occurs twice:—Ecclus. xlviii. 17, יחזקיהו חזק עירו=*Ἐξεκίας ὠχύρωσεν τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ*, and xlviii. 22, (כי עשה יחז)קיהו את הטוב(ו)תחזק בדרכי דוד=*ἐποίησεν γὰρ Ἐξεκίας τὸ ἄρεστον κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν ἐν ὁδοῖς Δαυείδ.*

4. *Lo, Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us.* There was a play here on the name Sennacherib in the Hebrew, והנה סנחריב עתיד להחריב אותנו,

5. In *Sifre*, 12*b*, and *Jalkut Shim.*, *Beresh.* 27, it is taught that men are heard by God on the ground either of their own merit or on that of others (Weber, 284, 285).

7. In 2 Kings xix. 35; Isa. xxxvii. 36, 185,000 is the complete number of the slain. In 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, only the slaughter of the chiefs is mentioned. From these two accounts the writer has worked up the present.

thousand, and each one of them had an equal number (at his command). 8. And at that time I burned their bodies within, but their raiment and arms I preserved outwardly, in order that the still more wonderful deeds of the Mighty One might appear, and that thereby His name might be spoken of throughout the whole earth. 9. Moreover, Zion was saved and Jerusalem delivered: Israel also was freed from tribulation. 10. And all those who were in the holy land rejoiced, and the name of the Mighty One was glorified so that it was spoken of. 11. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LXIV. "And the black ninth waters which thou hast seen, this is all the wickedness which was in the days of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah. 2. For he wrought much impiety, and he slew the righteous, and he wrested judgment, and he shed the blood of the innocent, and wedded women he violently polluted, and he overturned the altars, and destroyed their offerings, and drave forth the priests lest they should minister in the sanctuary. 3. And he made an image with five faces: four of them looked to the

LXIV. 3. *He made an image with five faces: four of,* etc. This is a very peculiar version of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7. וישם את-פסל הפסל—"he set the graven image of the idol." The LXX. implies the Hebrew just given. The Syriac, however, exhibits an early gloss which prepares the way for our text. Thus it gives ܘܐܩܝܡ ܠܗ ܐܝܩܘܢ ܕܐܪܒܥ ܐܦ = "and he set the four-fronted image." The Arabic goes still further; it = "and he set a statue having four heads with four faces." But the form of the tradition nearest to the text is found in the Talmud, *Sanh.* 103*b*: "At first he made for it (the idol) one face and in the end he made for it four faces, that the Shechinah might see and be provoked."

four winds, and the fifth on the summit of the image as an adversary of the zeal of the Mighty One. 4. And then wrath went forth from the presence of the Mighty One to the intent that Zion should be rooted out, as also it befell in your days. 5. But also against the two tribes and a half went forth a decree that they should also be led away captive, as thou hast now seen. 6. And to such a degree did the impiety of Manasseh increase, that it removed the praise of the Most High from the sanctuary. 7. On this account Manasseh was at that time named 'the impious,' and finally his abode was in the fire. 8. For though his prayer was heard with the Most High, finally, when he was cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted, it served as a sign unto him

6. *Removed the praise of the Most High from the sanctuary.* This may be explained by the statement in *Sanh.* 103*b*, that Manasseh erased the divine name and overturned the altar.

7. This verse runs counter to 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-19, where it is clearly implied that Manasseh was really forgiven on his repentance. This writer declares, on the other hand, that Manasseh's experience in the brazen horse was only a foretaste of his future sufferings in hell.

In the fire. See xliv. 15, note.

8. *His prayer.* 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19; *The Prayer of Manasseh* in the Apocrypha.

Cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted. This tradition appears in the Targum of Chronicles after 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11: "And the Chaldeans made a copper mule and pierced it all over with little holes, and shut him up therein and kindled fire all around him. . . . And he turned and prayed before the Lord his God. . . . And He shook the world with His word, and the mule burst asunder and he went forth therefrom." Traces of this tradition are also found in the Apostolic Constitutions ii. 22: καὶ ἐπήκουσε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ κύριος . . . καὶ ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτὸν φλὸξ πυρὸς καὶ ἐτάκησαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν σίδηρα. Also in Anastasius on Ps. vi. (Canisius, *Thesaur. Monum.* iii. 112) φασὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν ἱστοριογράφων, ὅτι ἀπενεχθεὶς Μανασσῆς κατεκλείσθη εἰς ζώδιον χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ βασιλέως Περσῶν καὶ ἔσω ὢν ἐν τοιούτῳ ζωδίῳ προσηύξατο μετὰ δακρύων. In Suidas (see Μανασσῆς): αἰχμάλωτος ἀπήχθη καὶ ἐς τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα καθείρχθη . . . ἐδεήθη τοῦ κυρίου . . . καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄγαλμα θείᾳ δυνάμει διερράγη.

Served as a sign. See note on ver. 7.

at the time. 9. For he did not live perfectly, for he was not worthy—but that thenceforward he might know by whom finally he should be tormented. 10. For he who is able to benefit is also able to torment.

LXV. "Thus, moreover, did Manasseh act impiously, and thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things. 2. These are the black ninth waters which thou hast seen.

LXVI. "And the bright tenth waters which thou hast seen: this is the purity of the generations of Josiah king of Judah, who was the only one at that time who submitted himself to the Mighty One with all his heart and with all his soul. 2. And he cleansed the land from idols, and hallowed all the vessels which had been polluted, and restored the offerings to the altar, and raised the horn of the holy, and exalted the righteous, and glorified all that were wise in understanding, and brought back the priests to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians and enchanters and fortune-tellers from the land. 3. And not only did he slay the impious that were living, but they also took from the sepulchres

9. Text is corrupt.

LXVI. 1. The writer thus appears to have believed that though Manasseh prayed, yet he did not really repent. This view is found in *Sanh.* 101: "Our Rabbis have taught: there are three who came *with cunning* (before God): they are Cain, Esau, and Manasseh. . . . Manasseh at first called upon many gods, and at last upon the God of his fathers" [Rashi: "He said: 'If Thou save me not, what doth it profit me that I have called on Thee, more than the other gods?'"] (quoted by Ball in his Comm. on *The Prayer of Manasses*). In *Sanh.* x. three kings are said to have no part in the future life, *i.e.* Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh. Yet in the *Debarim rabba*, ii., salvation is ultimately said to be in store for Manasseh (Weber, 328).

the bones of the dead and burned them with fire. 4. [And the festivals and the sabbaths he established in their sanctity], and their polluted ones he burnt in the fire, and the lying prophets which deceived the people, these also he burnt in the fire, and the people who listened to them when they were living, he cast them into the brook Cedron, and heaped stones upon them. 5. And he was zealous with the zeal of the Mighty One with all his soul, and he alone was firm in the law at that time, so that he left none that was uncircumcised, or that wrought impiety in all the land, all the days of his life. 6. This, moreover, is he that shall receive an eternal reward, and he shall be glorified with the Mighty One beyond many at a later time. 7. For on his account and on account of those who are like him were the inestimable glories, of which thou wast told before, created and prepared. 8. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LXVII. "And the black eleventh waters which thou hast seen: this is the calamity which is now befalling Zion. 2. Dost thou think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One, that Zion was so delivered up, and that lo! the Gentiles boast in their hearts, and assemble before their idols and say: 'She is trodden

4. The words which I have bracketed are either interpolated or misplaced. It would perhaps be best to read them after "to their ministry" in verse 2. In that case for "festival" we should read "festivals."

7. See note on xiv. 18.

LXVII. 2. *Boast.* Cf. v. 1; vii. 1; lxxx. 3. *Assemble.* The text ⟨illegible⟩ = "crowds" is corrupt. I have emended it into ⟨illegible⟩ = "assemble."

down who ofttimes trod down, and she has been reduced to servitude who reduced (others)?' 3. Dost thou think that in these things the Most High rejoices, or that His name is glorified? 4. But how will it serve towards His righteous judgment? 5. Yet after these things shall those that are dispersed among the Gentiles be taken hold of by tribulation, and in shame shall they dwell in every place. 6. Because so far as Zion is delivered up and Jerusalem laid waste, and idols prosper in the cities of the Gentiles, and the vapour of the smoke of the incense of righteousness which is by the law is extinguished in Zion and in the region of Zion, lo! in every place there is the smoke of impiety. 7. But the king of Babylon will arise who has now destroyed Zion, and he will boast over the people, and he will speak great things in his heart in the presence of the Most High. 8. But

5. "The dispersed" here seem to be the nine and a half tribes.

6-7. With the destruction of Jerusalem, godlessness is triumphant everywhere. In all the references in A^3 to this destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* in lxiv. 4; lxvii. 2, 6, 7, there is no trace of consciousness in the mind of the writer that there was any divine interposition to save the sacred vessels of the temple and to destroy Zion by the agency of angels after the manner described in B^1, *i.e.* in vi. 4-10; lxxx. 1-3. If, further, we remark that the declared object of this interposition was to prevent the enemies of Zion boasting before their idols that they had laid it waste and burnt the temple (vii. 1; cf. v. 1; lxxx. 3), and if at the same time we observe that the writer of A^3 represents the angel Ramiel as admitting that the Gentiles are boasting before their idols of their destruction of Zion (lxvii. 2), and that the king of Babylon makes the same vaunt (lxvii. 7), we can with tolerable certainty conclude that the ideas in B^1, *i.e.* in v. 1; vi. 4-vii. 1; lxxx. 1-3, were either unknown to him or else unacknowledged. These ideas seem foreign to B^2 also. This writer would have sympathised with the remonstrance in 4 Ezra v. 30: "Et si odiens odisti populum tuum, tuis manibus debet castigari." In the Assumpt. Mosis (iii. 2) the capture of the sacred vessels by Nebuchadnezzar is acknowledged.

Righteousness which is by the law. See xv. 5, note.

he also shall fall at last. 9. These are the black waters.

LXVIII. "And the bright twelfth waters which thou hast seen: this is the word. 2. For after these things a time will come when thy people shall fall into distress, so that they shall all run the risk of perishing together. 3. Nevertheless, they will be saved, and their enemies will fall in their presence. 4. And they will have in (due) time much joy. 5. And at that time after a little interval Zion will again be builded, and its offerings will again be restored, and the priests will return to their ministry, and again the Gentiles will come to glorify it. 6. Nevertheless, not fully as in the beginning. 7. But it will come to pass after these things that there will be the fall of many nations. 8. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LXIX. "For the last waters which thou hast seen which were darker than all that were before them, those which were after the twelfth number, which were collected together, belong to the whole world. 2. For the Most High made division from the beginning, because He alone knows what will befall. 3.

LXVIII. 2, 3. The danger the Jews encountered according to the book of Esther, and their subsequent triumph over their enemies. We have here the second earliest allusion to this O. T. book. The earliest is in 2 Macc. xv. 36.

5. The rebuilding of the temple (535-515).

6. On the lower estimation in which the second temple was held see Mal. i.-ii.; Eth. En. lxxxix. 73, 74; Assumpt. Mos. iv. 8. This temple, therefore, was standing when chapters liii.-lxxiv. were written.

LXIX. 1. *Last.* I have here adopted Ceriani's suggestion and read ܐܚܪܝܬܐ instead of ܐܚܪܢܐ = "other."

The last waters, etc. See liii. 7.

For as to the enormities of the impieties which should be wrought before Him, He foresaw six kinds of them. 4. And of the good works of the righteous which should be accomplished before Him, He foresaw six kinds of them, beyond those which He should work at the consummation of the age. 5. On this account there were not black waters with black, nor bright with bright; for it is the consummation.

LXX. "Hear therefore the interpretation of the last black waters which are to come [after the black]: this is the word. 2. Behold! the days come, and it will be when the time of the age has ripened, and the harvest of its evil and good seeds has come, that the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants and upon its rulers perturbation of spirit and stupor of heart. 3. And they will hate one another, and provoke one another to fight, and the mean will rule over the honourable, and those of low degree will be extolled above the famous. 4. And the many will be delivered into the hands of the few, and those who are nothing will rule over the strong, and the poor will have abundance beyond the rich, and the impious

3, 4. This division of the periods of the world into six good and six evil recalls Ecclus. xlii. 24 *πάντα δισσὰ ἓν κατέναντι τοῦ ἑνός* (cf. also xxxiii. 15).

4. *Foresaw.* So Ceriani rightly emends from "foresees"—merely a change of pointing.

Beyond those which, etc. These woes — the travail pains of the Messiah—are developed at length in lxx.-lxxii. (see liii. 7; lxix. 1).

LXX. 1. I have bracketed the words "after the black" as interpolated. They misrepresent the scheme of the writer; for the "last black waters" come after the bright twelfth waters in lxviii.

2. *Its inhabitants.* See xxv. 2, note.

Stupor of heart. Cf. xxv. 2.

3-10. With this notable description of the last woes, cf. xxv. 2-4; xxvii.; xlviii. 31-39; 4 Ezra v. 1-12; vi. 20-24; ix. 1-9; xiii. 29-31 (see xxvii. 1, note.

3. Cf. xlviii. 37; Jubilees xxiii. 19: 4 Ezra vi. 24.

will exalt themselves above the heroic. 5. And the wise will be silent, and the foolish will speak, neither will the thought of men be then confirmed, nor the counsel of the mighty, nor will the hope of those who hope be confirmed. 6. Moreover, it will be when those things which were predicted have come to pass, that confusion will fall upon all men, and some of them will fall in battle, and some of them will perish in anguish, and some of them will be destroyed by their own. 7. Then the Most High will reveal to those peoples whom He has prepared before, and they will come and make war with the leaders that shall then be left. 8. And it will come to pass that whosoever gets safe out of the war will die in the earthquake, and whosoever gets safe out of the earthquake will be burned by the fire, and whosoever gets safe out of the fire will be destroyed by famine. [9. And it will come to pass that whosoever of the victors and

5. Cf. xlviii. 33, 36 ; 4 Ezra v. 9-11.

The mighty. The text which here reads ܕܓܒܪ = "the Mighty One," is wrong. We must read the plural ܕܓܒܪ = "the mighty." In lxxiv. 1 we must change the plural into the singular.

The hope of those who hope, etc. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 12.

6. *Destroyed*, etc. Cf. Mic. vii. 6 ; Matt. x. 35, 36 ; Luke xii. 53. The Syriac text = "will be hindered" is corrupt; for the context requires a strong expression. The corruption is traceable to the Hebrew. Thus "will be hindered" = κωλυθήσονται, which would be the usual LXX. rendering of יִכָּלְאוּ. That יכלאו is a corruption of יכלו = "will be destroyed" is clear from the fact that these two verbs are often confused in Hebrew, combined with the further fact that יִכְלוּ = "will be destroyed" gives the exact sense we require.

7. *Whom He has prepared before.* Are these the hosts of Gog and Magog? if text in verse 9 is genuine.

8. *In the earthquake.* Cf. xxvii. 7 ; 4 Ezra ix. 3.

The fire. Cf. xxvii. 10 ; 4 Ezra, v. 8.

Will be destroyed. I have here followed Ceriani's emendation of ܢܣܦ = "he will add," into ܢܬܟܠ.

Famine. Cf. xxvii. 6.

9. I have with some doubt bracketed this verse as an inter-

the vanquished gets safe out of and escapes all these things aforesaid will be delivered into the hands of My servant Messiah.] 10. For all the earth will devour its inhabitants.

LXXI. "And the holy land will have mercy on its own, and it will protect its inhabiters at that time. 2. This is the vision which thou hast seen, and this is the interpretation. 3. For I have come to tell thee these things, because thy prayer has been heard with the Most High.

LXXII. "Hear now also regarding the bright lightning which is to come at the consummation after these black (waters): this is the word. 2. After the signs have come, of which thou wast told before, when the

polation. The appearance of the Messiah is premature. His advent does not really take place till lxxii. 2. Again verse 10 is the natural sequel to verse 8. Further, the extermination of the Gentiles is here implied, but only their partial destruction in lxxii. 4-6. Finally, since the Messiah is the defender of the righteous, lxxi. 1 is rather inappropriate. But lxxi. 1 is fitting if the Messiah has not yet come.

LXXI. See notes on xxix. 2. Observe that whereas God protects the inhabitants of Palestine in xxix. 2, and the Messiah protects them in xl. 2, it is the land that protects them here.

2. These words which should not occur till the end of the interpretation show that the text is dislocated. This will be obvious on other grounds as we proceed.

3. Cf. liv. 1.

LXXII. 1. *The bright lightning* = ܒܪܩܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ. So I have emended by means of liii. 8 the impossible text ܡܝܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ = "the bright waters." It will be remembered that in the vision in liii. the last blackest waters (liii. 7) were not succeeded by bright waters, but by the lightning which illuminated and healed the earth and ruled over it (liii. 8-11). The lightning thus symbolised the Messiah. But in the interpretation of the close of the vision, the lightning is not even mentioned according to the present text, but in its place bright waters are spoken of, though in the vision in liii. none such are seen and none such contemplated throughout the entire interpretation up to the present chapter. The scheme of the writer of A^3 was as we have seen above: twelve periods evil and good alternately, symbolised by black and bright waters respectively, followed by a period of woes—the blackest waters; and finally, the Messiah's kingdom which was prefigured by the lightning. The same emendation must be made in lxxiv. 4.

nations become turbulent, and the time of My Messiah is come, He will both summon all the nations, and some of them He will spare, and some of them He will slay. 3. These things therefore will come upon the nations which are to be spared by Him. 4. Every nation which knows not Israel, and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob, shall indeed be spared. 5. And this because some out of every nation will be subjected to thy people. 6. But all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword.

LXXIII. "And it will come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world, and has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom, that joy will then be revealed, and rest appear. 2. And then healing will descend in dew, and disease will withdraw, and anxiety and anguish

Throughout lxxii. 1 the plurals are changed into the singular to agree with the singular subject.

4-6. The Messiah was to extend His dominion over the Gentiles (Ps. lxxii. 11, 17; Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19-21; Zech. xiv.; Eth. En. xc. 30; Pss. Sol. xvii. 32 *καὶ ἕξει λαοὺς ἐθνῶν δουλεύειν αὐτῷ*). But in the first century B.C. to which the Pss. Sol. belong, a harsher view of the destiny of the Gentiles began to prevail. In Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx. and Assumpt. Mos. x. it seems to be that of annihilation; it is undoubtedly so in 4 Ezra xiii. 37, 38, 49, and all but universally in later Judaism; cf. Weber, 364-369, 376. A middle line is pursued in the text.

The Messiah here, as in xxxix. 7-xl.; 4 Ezra xii. 32, is a warrior who slays the enemies of Israel with His own hand. This view appears in the Targum of Jon. on Isa. x. 27, and of the pseudo-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 11. In Eth. En. lxii. 2; Pss. Sol. xvii. 27; 4 Ezra xiii. 38; as in Isa. xi. 4, He destroys them by the word of His mouth. But in the Eth. En. xc. 37; Ap. Bar. xxix. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 28, the conception of the Messiah is weak; he does not appear till evil has run its course; he has no active *rôle;* he reigns but does not rule.

LXXIII. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25.

Joy will be revealed. The text reads "will be revealed in joy," but this destroys the parallelism with "rest will appear." I have omitted the preposition before "joy."

2. *Healing will descend in dew.* Cf. xxix. 7.

and lamentation will pass from amongst men, and gladness will proceed through the whole earth. 3. And no one shall again die untimely, nor shall any adversity suddenly befall. 4. And judgments, and revilings, and contentions, and revenges, and blood, and passions, and envy, and hatred, and whatsoever things are like these shall go into condemnation when they are removed. 5. For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils, and on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled. 6. And wild beasts will come from the forest and minister unto men, and asps and dragons will come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child. 7. And women will no longer then have pain when they bear, nor will they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

LXXIV. "And it will come to pass in those days that the reapers will not grow weary, nor those that build be toilworn; for the works will of themselves speedily advance with those who do them in much tranquillity. 2. For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is not corruptible. 3. Therefore those things which were predicted will belong to it: therefore it is far away from evils, and near to those things which die not. 4. This is the bright lightning which came after the last dark waters."

3. *Untimely.* See liv. 15.

4. Cf. *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 376-380, 751-755.

6. Cf. Isa. xi. 6-9; lxv. 25; *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 620-623, 743-750.

LXXIV. 2. Cf. xl. 2.

4. *This is the bright lightning.* Emended from "these are the last bright waters." See lxxii. 1, note.

LXXV. And I answered and said: "Who can understand, O Lord, Thy goodness? for it is incomprehensible. 2. Or who can search into Thy compassions, which are infinite? 3. Or who can comprehend Thy intelligence? 4. Or who is able to recount the thoughts of Thy mind? 5. Or who of those that are born can hope to come to those things, unless he is one to whom Thou art merciful and gracious? 6. Because, if assuredly Thou didst not have compassion on man, those who are under Thy right hand, they could not come to those things, but those who are in the numbers named can be called. 7. But if, indeed, we who exist know wherefore we have come, and submit ourselves to Him who brought us out of Egypt, we shall come again and remember those things which have passed, and shall rejoice regarding that which has

LXXV.-LXXVI. = B^2.

LXXV.-LXXVI. With these chapters we return again to B^2. We should observe that according to lxxv. 1 Baruch replies to the last speaker who has interpreted the vision in liii. for him. This speaker Baruch addresses as God. But the last speaker was not God but the angel Ramiel from whom is derived lv. 4-lxxiv. Thus we see that lxxv. does not belong to liii.-lxxiv.

LXXV. 1. *Can understand.* I have emended ܕܢܕܡܐ = "can be likened to" into ܕܢܬܒܥ = "can understand," and omitted the ܒ in ܒܡܬܠ.

2. The mercies of God are not dwelt upon much in this book. The righteous are fully conscious of their worth (cf. xiv. 7, note). We have, however, a prayer for God's mercy in xlviii. 18, and an acknowledgment of God's long-suffering in xxiv. 2, but this is shown alike to the righteous and the wicked. God is merciful (lxxvii. 7) and His compassions are infinite (lxxv. 2); He has dealt with Baruch according to the multitude of the tender mercies (lxxxi. 4); if God had not compassion on man, he could not attain to the world to come (lxxv. 5, 6). For references to mercy in 4 Ezra, see vii. 132-134; viii. 31, 32, 36, 45; xii. 48.

5, 6. *Those things.* Probably the blessed immortality described in li.

6. *Who are under Thy right hand.* Cf. Ps. lxxx. 17.

7. *We shall come again, i.e.* in the resurrection described in l. This verse deals with the destiny of the obedient and the righteous; the next with that of the disobedient.

been. 8. But if now we know not wherefore we have come, and recognise not the principate of Him who brought us up out of Egypt, we shall come again and seek after those things which were now, and be grieved with pain because of those things which have befallen."

LXXVI. And He answered and said unto me: ["Inasmuch as the revelation of this vision has been interpreted to thee as thou besoughtest], hear the word of the Most High that thou mayest know what is to befall thee after these things. 2. For thou shalt surely depart from this earth, nevertheless not unto death but thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation of the times. 3. Go up therefore to the top of that mountain, and there will pass before thee all the regions of that land, and the figure of the inhabited world, and the top of the mountains, and the depth of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of the rivers, that thou mayest see what thou art leaving, and whither thou art going. 4. Now this will befall after forty days. 5. Go now therefore during

LXXVI. 1. The earlier half of this verse is probably due to the final editor.

Hear the word of the Most High. This same mode of speech in which God speaks of Himself in the third person is found in xiii. 2: "Hear the word of the Mighty God," and also in xxv. 1, where the same statements are made in each case.

2. See note on xiii. 3.

Thou shalt be preserved until the consummation of the times. The Syr. here ܬܬܛܪ ܠܥܕܢܐ = "unto the observance of the times." If we compare the parallel passage, xxv. 1, we see that the above must be emended into ܬܬܛܪ ܠܥܕܢܐ, "thou shalt be preserved unto the times," or else into the fuller form we find in xvii. 3. I have done the latter in the text.

3. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1-3; Matt. iv. 8. Is the mountain here Nebo as in Deuteronomy?

4. *Forty days.* Cf. Exod. xxiv. 18; xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9, 18. Analogous to this forty days to be

these days and instruct the people so far as thou art able, that they may learn so as not to die at the last time, but may learn in order that they may live at the last times."

LXXVII. And I, Baruch, went thence and came to the people, and assembled them together from the greatest to the least, and said unto them: 2. "Hear, ye children of Israel, behold how many ye are who remain of the twelve tribes of Israel. 3. For to you and to your fathers the Lord gave a law beyond all peoples. 4. And because your brethren transgressed the commandments of the Most High, He brought vengeance upon you and upon them, and He spared not

LXXVII.-LXXXII. = B^1.

spent by Baruch in teaching the people are the forty days assigned to Ezra, in which he was to restore the O.T. Scriptures (cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 23, 42, 44, 45).

5. *Live.* See xli. 1, note.

In LXXVIII. - LXXXVII. we have the conclusion of B^1. But of these chapters two are from other sources; LXXXIII. is from B^2, and LXXXV. from B^3. For the grounds for these conclusions, see the notes *in loc.* For a comprehensive treatment of the two sources, B^1 and B^2, the reader must consult the Introduction. The chief differences between B^1 and B^2 are: In the former an earthly felicity is looked for, in the latter not; in the former the dispersion is to return, in the latter not; in the former the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, in the latter not; in the former Baruch is to die, in the latter to be translated; in the former Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, in the latter he is. Thus the portions derived respectively from B^1 and B^2 are as follows:— From B^1 i.-iv. 1; v.-ix. 1; xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6; lxxvii.-lxxxii.; lxxxiv., lxxxvi., lxxxvii. From B^2 ix. 2-xii. (?); xiii. 1-3*a*; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3*b*-12; xxv., xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-5; xli., xlii.; xlviii. 1-47; xlix.-lii. 3; lxxv.; xxxi.-xxxii. 6; liv. 17, 18; xlviii. 48-50; lii. 5-7; liv. 16; xliv. 8-15; lxxxiii.; xxxii. 7-xxxv.; lxxvi. The portions derived from B^2 are restored to what seems to have been their original order in that source.

LXXVII. 1. *From the greatest to the least.* A favourite expression in Jeremiah (cf. vi. 13; viii. 10; xxxi. 34; xlii. 1, 8; xliv. 12; 4 Ezra xii. 40). Only in these it runs: "From the least to the greatest."

2. The twelve tribes which are here mentioned are treated of in their two main divisions in verse 4. Cf. lxxviii. 4; lxxxiv. 3.

3. *A law.* See xv. 5, note.

4. *Upon you. I.e.* the $2\frac{1}{2}$ tribes = "the former" in the next line.

Upon them. The $9\frac{1}{2}$ tribes = "the latter" in the next line.

the former, and the latter also He gave into captivity, and left not a residue of them. 5. And behold! ye are here with me. 6. If therefore ye direct your ways aright, ye also will not depart as your brethren departed, but they will come to you. 7. For He is merciful whom ye worship, and He is gracious in whom ye hope, and He is true, so that He shall do (you) good and not evil. 8. Lo! have ye not seen what has befallen Zion? 9. Or do ye perchance think that the place had sinned, and that on this account it was overthrown, or that the land had wrought foolishness, and that therefore it was delivered up? 10. And know ye not that on account of you who did sin, that which sinned not was overthrown, and, on account of those who wrought wickedly, that which wrought not foolishness was delivered up to (its) enemies." 11. And the whole people answered and said unto me: "So

Hath not left a residue of them. *I.e.* of the 9½ tribes. This denies the Samaritan claim.

5. Cf. lxxx. 5; 4 Ezra xiv. 33. 4 Ezra xiv. 30-33 seems to be dependent on lxxvii. 3-6. Those who are left with Baruch are a remnant of the 2½ tribes.

6. *As your brethren departed.* "The brethren" here embrace the 2½ tribes, and so we interpret the subsequent words, "and they will come to you." On the return of the 9½ tribes see note on lxxviii. 7.

7. *Do (you) good and not evil.* Cf. Jer. xxi. 10; Amos ix. 4.

8. =xliv. 5. Cf. x. 7; xiii. 3; lxxix. 1.

9. It was not the place that sinned. Hence it was destroyed by the hands of angels before it was delivered over to the king of Babylon, lest he should glory over it. Cf. v.-viii., lxxx.; see note on lxvii. 6.

10. Observe that the fall of Jerusalem is here attributed not only to the sins of the 2½ tribes but also of the 9½. This view appears first in Jer. xi. 17: "For the Lord of hosts that planted thee hath pronounced evil against thee, because of the evil of the house of Israel and of the house of Judah." Cf. Bar. ii. 26 *καὶ ἔθηκας τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη, διὰ πονηρίαν οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οἴκου Ἰούδα.* Assumpt. Moyseos, iii. 5, where the two tribes say to the ten: "justus et sanctus Dominus, quia enim vos peccastis, et nos pariter abducti sumus vobiscum. Cf. also Targ. Jon. on Isa. liii. 5.

far as we can recall the good things which the Mighty One has done unto us, we do recall them; and those things which we do not remember He in His mercy knows. 12. Nevertheless, do this for us thy people: write also to our brethren in Babylon an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of good tidings, that thou mayest confirm them also before thou dost depart from us. 13. For the shepherds of Israel have perished, and the lamps which gave light are extinguished, and the fountains have withheld their stream whence we used to drink. 14. And we are left in the darkness, and amid the briers of the forest, and the thirst of the wilderness." 15. And I answered and said unto them: "Shepherds and lamps and fountains came (to us) from the law: and though we depart, yet the law abideth. 16. If therefore ye have respect to the law, and are intent upon wisdom, a lamp will not be wanting, and a shepherd will not fail, and a fountain will not dry up. 17. Nevertheless, as ye said unto me, I will write also unto your brethren in Babylon,

12. *To our brethren in Babylon, i.e.* the 2½ tribes. Cf. verse 19; lxxxv. 6. Observe that the writer does not conceive here of Jeremiah being at Babylon. If he had, he would have directed the letter to him. In the Rest of the Words of Baruch, on the other hand, the writer, conceiving Jeremiah to be in Babylon, directs to him the letter intended for the exiles there. This letter (cf. lxxvii. 17, 19; lxxxv. 6) to the 2½ tribes is lost.

Good tidings. Cf. xlvi. 6.

Depart. This refers to an ordinary death (cf. xliii. 2, note; see also xiii. 3, note; lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1).

14. *We are left in darkness.* xlvi. 2; cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 20.

Briers. The text is סמ = ὕλη, which is the LXX. rendering of שמיר in Isa. x. 17. I have supposed a similar rendering here. Or ὕλη may be a rendering of עֵצִי = "trees," and this a corruption of צִנִּי = "thorns." Something is wrong.

15. *The law.* See xv. 5, note.

16. *Shepherd.* The text reads ܙܕܥܐ = "mind," which Ceriani has rightly emended into ܪܥܝܐ = "shepherd."

and I will send by means of men, and I will write in like manner to the nine tribes and a half, and send by means of a bird." 18. And it came to pass on the one and twentieth day in the eighth month that I, Baruch, came and sat down under the oak under the shadow of the branches, and no man was with me, but I was alone. 19. And I wrote these two epistles: one I sent by an eagle to the nine and a half tribes; and the other I sent to those that were at Babylon by means of three men. 20. And I called the eagle, and spake these words unto it: 21. "The Most High hath made thee that thou shouldst be higher than all birds. 22. And now go and tarry not in (any) place, nor enter a nest, nor settle upon any tree, till thou hast passed over the breadth of the many waters of the river Euphrates, and hast gone to the people that dwell there, and cast down to them this epistle. 23. Remember, moreover, that, at the time of the deluge, Noah received from a dove the fruit of the olive, when he sent it forth from the ark. 24. Yea, also the ravens ministered to Elijah, bearing him food, as they had been commanded. 25. Solomon also, in the time

17. *A bird.* This is an eagle (cf. ver. 20). It is worth observing that whereas an eagle carries this letter to the 9½ tribes here, in the Rest of the Words of Baruch vii. it is an eagle that carries Baruch's letter to Jeremiah in Babylon.

18. *The oak.* See vi. 1, note; cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 1.

21. Cf. Rest of Words of Baruch vii. 3: "Elect above all the birds of heaven."

22. The 9½ tribes were carried away to Assyria and placed in Halah, and in Habor, on the river of Gozan (2 Kings xvii. 6). Their abode, according to 4 Ezra xiii. 40, 45, was Arzareth, *i.e.* ארץ אחרת of Deut. xxix. 28; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 5, 2.

23. Cf. Gen. viii. 11; Rest of Words of Baruch vii. 10: "Be like the dove which three times brought back word to Noah."

24. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 6.

of his kingdom, whithersoever he wished to send or seek for anything, commanded a bird (to go thither), and it obeyed him as he commanded it. 26. And now let it not weary thee, and turn not to the right hand nor to the left, but fly and go by a direct way, that thou mayest preserve the command of the Mighty One, according as I said unto thee."

26. Cf. Rest of Words vii. 12.

The Epistle of Baruch which he wrote to the nine and a half Tribes

LXXVIII. These are the words of that epistle which Baruch the son of Neriah sent to the nine and a half tribes, which were across the river Euphrates, in which these things were written. 2. Thus saith Baruch the son of Neriah to the brethren carried into captivity: "Mercy and peace." 3. I bear in mind, my brethren, the love of Him who created us, who loved

LXXVIII. 1. *The nine and a half tribes.* In this book the tribes of Israel carried away by the king of Assyria are, except in i. 2, always so designated (cf. lxii. 5; lxxvii. 19). In 4 Ezra xiii. 40 they are called "the ten tribes" only in the Latin Version, but "the nine and a half tribes" in the Syriac and Arabic Versions; in Asc. Isa. iii. 2 and in the Ethiopic Version of 4 Ezra xiii. 40 they are called the "nine tribes."

2. *Mercy and peace.* 1 Tim. i. 2.

3. It is noteworthy that in the genuine parts of B^1 in chaps. lxxvii.-lxxxvii. Baruch speaks frequently in the first person sing. (see lxxvii. 1, 5, 11, 15, 17-20, 26; lxxviii. 3,

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of Baruch the scribe'; *kp*, 'the Epistle of Baruch'; *mn*, 'the first Epistle of Baruch.'

LXXVIII. 1. ܐܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ 'these are,' *c*; ܘܗܠܝܢ 'and these,' *abdeghi*WP; *f*, ܗܠܝܢ. ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ܗܕܐ 'of that Epistle,' *c*; wrongly om. by *abdefghi*WP. ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ *abcgh*; *def*WP, ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ. ܦܪܬ 'Euphrates,' *abdefghi*WP. *c* om.

2. ܕܫܠܡܐ ܘܚܢܢܐ *c*; *abdefhi*WP, ܘܫܠܡܐ ܘܚܢܢܐ; *g*, ܚܢܢܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ. ܘܫܠܡܐ 'and peace,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*. reads ܫܠܡܐ ܘܚܢܢ ܠܟܘܢ 'and peace be unto you.'

3. ܕܒܪܢ 'who created us,' *abdefghil*WP; *c* wrongly ܕܒܪܢ

LXXVIII.

1

2

3

For some account of the MSS. *abcdefghiklmn* see the General Introduction.

TITLE.—I have here given *c*, though what the title was is uncertain. *a* reads ; so *g*, but that it om. and *b*, but that it om. , and . *di* give ; so w, but that it om. and before , and *ef*, but that they om. and . *l*, ‘the first Epistle of Baruch, the son of Neriah’; *h*, ‘the Epistle

us from of old, and never hated us, but above all educated us. 4. And truly I know that behold all we the twelve tribes are bound by one chain, inasmuch as we are born from one father. 5. Wherefore I have been the more careful to leave you the words of this epistle before I die, that ye may be comforted regarding the evils which have come upon you, and that ye may be grieved also regarding the evil that has befallen your brethren: and again, also, that ye may justify His judgment which He has decreed against you that ye should be carried away captive—for what ye have suffered is disproportioned to what ye have done—in order that, at the last times, ye may be found

4, 5; lxxx. 7; lxxxi. 2, 4; lxxxii. 1; lxxxiv. 1, 6, 7; lxxxvi. 3; lxxxvii.) In the interpolated portions this is not so.

4. *Twelve tribes.* lxxvii. 2; lxxxiv. 3.

5. *Before I die.* See xiii. 3, note. *Justify.* See xxi. 9, note. Cf. Ps. li. 4; Dan. ix. 14; Baruch ii. 9.

For what ye . . . done is parenthetical. Cf. lxxix. 2.

That in the last times, etc. These words refer to the return of the 9½ tribes (see note on ver. 7).

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4. ܗܘ ‘that behold,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c* wrongly ܠܐ ‘that not.’ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܐܢܐ *bcg*; *adefhi*WP, ܒܥܝܢ ܐܢܐ.

5. ܗܘ ܥܠ ܕܐܬ *abdefghi*WP; *c* trs. ܥܠ *defi*WP om. ܕܐܬ ܥܠ *abdefghil*WP; *c*, ܕܐܬ. ܕܐܬ ܒܝܫܬܐ ‘evil that has befallen,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܒܝܫܬܐ ‘evils that have befallen.’ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܥܠ *abdefghil*WP; *c*, ܐܢ ܠܐ ܥܠ. ܕܐܬ, *a* by a clerical error gives ܕܐܬ. ܕܐܬ *acdh*; *befgi*, ܕܐܬ. ܗ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܗ. ܗ *ch*; *b*, ܗ.

who created me.' ܠܥܠ ܟܠ 'above all,' *abcgh*; *defi*WP om. ܕܝ *acdefi*; *bh*, ܕܝ.

worthy of your fathers. 6. Therefore if ye consider those things which ye have now suffered for your good, that ye may not finally be condemned and tormented, then ye will receive eternal hope; if above all ye destroy from your heart vain error, on account of which ye departed hence. 7. For if ye so do these things, He will continually remember you, He who alway promised on our behalf to those who were more excellent than we, that He will never forget or forsake us, but with much mercy will gather together again those who were dispersed.

6. *Departed hence.* *I.e.* from Palestine.

7. *Those who were more excellent.* The patriarchs.

With much mercy. In 4 Ezra xiv. 34, 35 the righteous are to obtain mercy after death. Here God's mercy will be shown to Israel by causing them to return from their captivity.

Gather together . . . those who were dispersed. Cf. lxxvii. 6; lxxxiv. 2, 8, 10. The promise that God would turn again the captivity of Israel is frequently made in the O. T. (cf. Deut. xxx. 3; Amos ix. 11-15; Isa. xi. 12; Jer. xxiii. 3; xxix. 14; xxxi. 10; xxxii. 37; Ezek. xxxvii. 21-28; Zeph. iii. 19, 20; also in Bar. iv. 36, 37; v. 5-7; Pss. Sol. xi.; 2 Macc. ii. 18). The prediction of the return of the exiles is found also in Tob. xiii. 13; Eth. En. lvii. 1, 2; xc. 33; *Or. Sibyl.* ii. 170-173; 4 Ezra xiii. 12, 39-47. Either as in the preceding passages God was to procure their return directly; or else indirectly (*a*) through the agency of the nations who should carry back to Jerusalem the dispersed as offerings (cf. Isa. xlix. 22; lx. 4, 9; lxvi. 20; Pss. Sol. xvii. 34); (*b*) by means of the Messiah (cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 30, 50; Targ. Jon. on Jer. xxxiii. 13); (*c*) by means of Elijah (cf. Ecclus. xlviii. 10). These different methods are not mutually exclusive. In the presence of this strongly attested hope of the restoration of the dispersed it is strange to find it positively denied by R. Akiba (*Sanh.* x. 3): "The ten tribes will nevermore return; for it is said of them (Deut. xxix. 28): 'He will cast them into another land, as this day.' Hence as this day passes away and does not return, so shall they pass away and not return. So R. Akiba."

The return of the exiles in B^1 accords well with the rebuilding of Jerusalem which is elsewhere expected in B^1. See i. 4; vi. 9, notes.

6 ܘܐܬܩܝܡ . ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥ

ܠܒܢܝ ܒܢܝܗܘܢ

ܕ ܫܡܗ ܒܟܠ

. ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܟܚ

ܘܢܛܪܘ ܒܐܠܗܐ

ܢܗ ܟܣܝܠ ܫܡܗ

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܘ . ܘܠܐ

ܡܗܝܡܢ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ .

ܕܠܒܗ ܠܐ ܟܝܢ

ܘܠܐ ܗܝܡܢ ܥܡ

ܐܠܗܐ ܪܘܚܗ

7 ܕ . ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܠ

ܫܒܩ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ .

ܘܐܠ ܢܫܟܚ ܐܢܫ

ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܠ .

ܐܢ ܬܒܥܐ ܗܝ

ܢܫܬܟܚ ܐܢ

ܢܫܬܟܚ ܐܢ

ܕܢܦܫ ܟ

6. ܘܐܬܩܝܡ *c*; *bdefgil*WP, ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥ; *ah* give conflate reading, ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܘܐܬܩܝܡ.

7. ܢܫܬܟܚ, *c* adds ܐܢ. ܠܒܢܝ ܐܢ ܢܫܟܚ 'will not forget or forsake us,' *abdefghim*WP; *c*, ܢܫܬܟܚ ܐܢ ܙܪܥ ܠܒܢܝ 'will not forget or forsake our seed.' ܗܠܝܢ 'those,' *abdefgh*WP; *c*, ܟܠܗܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ 'all those.'

LXXIX. Now, my brethren, learn first what befell Zion: how that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against us. 2. For we have sinned against Him who made us, and we have not kept the commandments which He commanded us, yet He hath not chastened us as we deserved. 3. For what befell you we also suffered in a pre-eminent degree, for it befell us also.

LXXX. And now, my brethren, I make known unto you that when the enemy had surrounded the city, the angels of the Most High were sent, and they overthrew the fortifications of the strong wall, and they

LXXIX. 1. *What befell Zion.* See lxxvii. 8, note.
2. *We have sinned*, etc. Cf. Baruch i. 17, 18.
Chastened. Cf. i. 5; xiii. 10.
As we deserved. Cf. lxxviii. 5.

LXXX. This chapter closely resembles and implies vi.-viii., but lxvii. proceeds upon different presuppositions. See lxvii. 6, note.
1. *Fortifications of the strong wall.* Cf. vii. 1.

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*bdefghi*WP. *bdefghi*WP read ܠܟ ܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܒܗ ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܒܗ ‘but likewise that which has befallen you has overtaken us: in a pre-eminent degree have we suffered also’; so also *a*, but that it inserts ܕ before ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܒܗ, a conflate reading as in lxxviii. 6: all readings seem corrupt. ܐܫܬ *ce*; *bh*, ܐܫܬ; *fi*, ܐܫܬ. ܐܝܬ *abg*; *cdh*, ܐܝܬ; *fi*, ܐܝܬ; WP, ܐܝܬ ‘our calamity.’

LXXX. 1. ܕܐܬܝ ܐܠ ܟܘܢ ‘I make known unto you that,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c* wrongly om. ܘܐܫܬܡܥ *abcdfghilm*; *e*WP om. ܘ ‘and.’ ܐܬܪܘܬܐ ‘fortifications,’ *abdefghilm*WP; *c*,

LXXIX. 1 ܠܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܢ ـــ ܘܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܠܢ ܒܝܕ ܡܠܐܟ ܕܡܝ
ܕ

destroyed the firm iron corners, which could not be rooted out. 2. Nevertheless, they hid all the vessels of the sanctuary, lest the enemy should get possession of them. 3. And when they had done these things, they delivered thereupon to the enemy the overthrown wall, and the plundered house, and the burnt temple, and the people who were overcome because they were delivered up, lest the enemy should boast and say: "Thus by force have we been able to lay waste even the house of the Most High in war." 4. Your brethren

Its . . . corners. Cf. vi. 4; viii. 1.

2. *Hid all the vessels.* Cf. vi. 7, 8. The ultimate motive for hiding the holy vessels can only be that given in vi. 9.

All the vessels of the sanctuary. The Syriac gives the impossible text, "the vessels of the vessels." The corruption becomes obvious when we retranslate into Hebrew. Thus the words = כלים מכלי הקדש corrupted from כל-כלי הקדש. I have emended accordingly.

Lest the enemy should get possession of them. The Syriac = "lest they should be polluted by the enemies." But the parallel passage in vi. 8, "So that strangers may not get possession of them," expresses the idea we should find here; for the object with which the vessels are hidden is their preservation for use in the restored temple (vi. 7-10). Further, we find that the corrupt text which = פן יחלו מאויבים becomes by the addition of a single letter פן ינחלום אויבים = "lest the enemy should get possession of them."

3. *Plundered house, and the burnt temple.* Cf. v. 3; vi. 6, 7.

Should boast. Cf. vii. 1. Contrast lxvii. 2, 7.

4. Cf. viii. 5. Observe that there is no mention here of Jeremiah

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'who were overcome,' *abdefgi*WP; so *h*, but that it gives the plural; *c*, ﻭﺍﺠﺎ. ﻭ ﻜﻠﻜﻠ 'because,' *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ﻜﺍﻭ 'when.' ﻜﻫﻠﻜﻫ, *b* reads ﻭﺍﺠﻠﻜﻫﻜﻫ. ﺍﻟﻜﻭﻤﻫ ﻤﻫ *b*; *adefghi*WP, ﺍﻟﻜﻭﻤﻫ; c, ﺍﻟﻜﻭﻤﻫ. ﻤﻤﻠ 'by force,' *abdefghi*WP; c wrongly om. ﻜﻤﻭﻜ *bdefghi*WP; *a*, ﻜﻤﻭﻜ.

ܕܒܨܪܘ . ܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ
ܠܗ ܒܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܝ̈ܢ .
ܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ
ܡܕܝܢܬ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ
2 ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ . ܘܢܬܕܢܫ
ܠܗ ܒܗ . ܕܢܚܠ ܐܒܘܗ
ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ .
3 ܒܗܝܡ . ܒܟܠ ܟܢܦ ܕܒ
ܐܟܠܘ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܟܠ ܕܡ .
ܕܒ ܐܡܬ ܒܫܪ ܒ
ܒ ܐܡܬ ܒܫܪ ܒ .
ܕܡ ܒ ܐܡܬ ܒ .
ܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ
ܕܡ ܠܗ . ܒܟܠ
ܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ
ܐܡܬ ܒ ܐܡܬ ܒ
ܐܝܬ ܒ ܐܡܬ ܒ
ܐܝܬ ܒ ܐܡܬ ܒ .

ܒܨܪ̈ܝ ‘fortification.’ ܒܨܪ̈ܝ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܒܨܪ̈ܝ. ܐܡܬ *abdefgi*WP; *c*, ܒܫܬ. ܐܝܬ *abcgh*; *defgi*WP, ܐܝ̈ܬ.

2. ܕ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ‘some vessels of the vessels,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܐܝܬ. ܕܡ ‘should be polluted,’ *abcdfghi*; *d*, ܕܡ; *e*WP, ܕܡ.

3. *f* om. ܐܝܬ . . . . ܒ through hmt. ܒ *abc'deghi*WP; *c*, ܒ. ܒ *abdeghi*WP; *c* om. ܐܝ

also have they bound and led away to Babylon, and have caused them to dwell there. 5. But we have been left here, being very few. 6. This is the tribulation about which I wrote to you. 7. For assuredly I know that the habitation of Zion gave you consolation: so far as ye knew that it was prospered (your consolation) was greater than the tribulation which ye endured in having departed from it.

LXXXI. But regarding consolation, hear ye the word. 2. For I was mourning regarding Zion, and I prayed for mercy from the Most High, and I said:

though, according to x. 5, he went with the captivity to Babylon. See x. 2, note.

5. From Jer. xlii. 2, where the words are spoken of the remnant in Jerusalem (cf. Deut. iv. 27; Baruch ii. 13). The two latter passages deal with the remnant among the Gentiles.

LXXXI. As in lxxx. 7 the 9½ tribes had consolation in the fact that Jerusalem prospered and were proportionately grieved on its overthrow, Baruch has now a word of consolation for them touching Zion (lxxxi. 1); for, when in his grief over it (lxxxi. 2), he asked God how long should this desolation last (lxxxi. 3), God, to give him consolation, vouchsafed a revelation as to the mysteries of the times and removed his anguish (lxxxi. 4).

1. *Regarding consolation.* This word refers to the restoration of Zion. Cf. xliv. 7; lxxxi. 4; lxxxii. 1.

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*bdefghil*WP; *ac*, ܒܝܬ̈ܐ ‘habitations.’ ܥܠ ܕ ‘(your consolation) was greater than,’ *abcdeghi*; *f*WP, ܥܠ ܕ, which requires the following rendering: ‘the more assured ye were that it prospered, the greater was the tribulation.’

LXXXI. 1. ܐܬ *abcefghi*; *d*WP, ܐܬ.

2. ܐ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܐ.

4 ܐܝܟ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܝܘܡܐ
ܘܟܕ ܢܚܘܪ ܣܗܪܐ . ܘܟܕ ܢܣܬܪ ܣܗܪܐ
5 ܐܠܐ ܫܒܥ . ܘܫܒܥ ܫܒܝܢ
ܕܫܢܐ ܒܫܢܐ . ܘܒܟܠ ܫܢܐ ܘܫܢܐ .
6 ܐܠܐ ܡܛܪ ܘܛܠ
ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܥܠܝ .
7 ܘܐܠ ܢܒܥ ܡܝ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ . ܐܠ
ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܥܠܝ
ܐܠܐ . ܘܡܫܬܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ
ܘܒܟܠ ܒܥܠܝ ܘܒܟܠ ܒܝܬܗ
ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܦܡ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܣܗܕܐ
ܘܒܟܠ ܒܥܠܝ
. ܒ . ٥—٥ . ܫܢܐ ܘܒܫܢܬ
1 LXXXI. ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐ ܐܠ ܒܪܝ
2 ܡܛܠ ܐܠ . ܐܠܐ ܕܒܟܝ ܒܟܝ
ܠܝ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܠܝ
ܥܠ ܐܒܗܬ ܕܒܥܠ . ܘܡܫܬ

4. ܐ *acdefhi*WP; *bg*, ܐ. ܕܫܡܫܐ *bcdefghil*WP; *a*, ܘܣܡܫܐ. For ܒܟܠ *l* reads ܠܟ. ܟܠ *abc*; *defgi*WP, ܟܠ ; *h*, ܟܠ.

5. ܫܒܥ *abcg*; *defh*WP, ܫܒܥ. ܫܢ *bc*; *adfh*WP om.

6. ܒܥܠ *cefghi*; *b*, ܒܥܠ.

7. ܒܥܠ *abcdfghi*; *l*WP, ܒܥܠ. ܫܒܬ 'habitation,'

3. "How long will these things endure for us? and will these evils come upon us always?" 4. And the Mighty One did according to the multitude of His mercies, and the Most High according to the greatness of His compassion, and He revealed unto me the word, that I might receive consolation, and He showed me visions that I should not again endure anguish, and He made known to me the mystery of the times, and the advent of the hours He showed me.

LXXXII. Therefore, my brethren, I have written to you, that ye may comfort yourselves regarding the multitude of your tribulations. 2. For know ye that our Maker will assuredly avenge us on all our enemies, according to all that they have done to us, also that

4. *The multitude . . . compassion.* Cf. Dan. ix. 18; Bar. ii. 27; cf. lxxvi. 6.

Consolation. See verse 1.

Mystery of the times. Cf. lxxxv. 8.

LXXXII. I am doubtful as to whether lxxxii. 2-9 belongs to B^1 or B^2. I am inclined to believe the latter. But the evidence is not decisive either way.

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4. ܘܥܒܕ 'and . . . did,' *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܕܥܒܕ 'who did.' ܕܪܚܡܘܗܝ 'of His mercies,' *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ܕܪܚܡܐ 'of mercies.' ܕܣܓܝܐ *abgh*; *cdefil*WP, ܕܣܓܝܐ. ܪܙܐ 'mystery,' *abdefgi*WP; *ch*, ܪܙܐ 'mysteries.'

LXXXII. 1. ܕܫܘܥܝܬܟܘܢ 'of your tribulations,' *abgh*; *defi*WP, ܕܫܘܥܝܬܟ 'of your tribulation'; *c*, ܕܫܘܥܝܬܐ 'of tribulations.'

2. ܕܡܬܥܒܕ *abdfgh*WP; *c*, ܕܥܒܕ. ܒ *c*; *abefghlm*WP, ܒ; *di* om. point. ܠܢ 'us,' *abdefghilm*WP; *c* om. ܠܢ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܠ. ܠܢ 'to us'; *c* adds ܘܒܢ 'and in us,' against *abdefghi*WP. ܐ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܘ. ܘ

3 ܐܝܟܢܐ . ܙܒܢ̈ܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܥܒ̈ܕ

ܒܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝ

ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܝ ܕܬܫܬ̈ܘ . ܥ

4 ܒܝܬ̈ܐ . ܥܠ ܐܠܦ̈ ܫ

ܫܒ̈ܥ ܐ̈ܢ ܐܠ̈ܦ

ܒܪ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ . ܫܒ̈ܥ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

ܐ̈ܢ ܙܒܢ̈ܐ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ .

ܐ̈ܢ ܐܠ̈ܦ ܥܠ ܒܢ̈ܝ

ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ . ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

ܫ ܥܒ̈ܕ ܐ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܫ

ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ . ܐ̈ܢ

ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ . ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܐ̈ܢ

ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ . ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

LXXXII. 1 . . ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ . ܒ̈ ܥ̈ܠ̈ܐ

ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ . ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

ܥ̈ܠ̈ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

2 ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ . ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

ܥ̈ܠ̈ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

ܥ̈ܠ̈ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܫ̈ܢ̈ܝ

3. ܥ̈ܠ̈ ‘how long . . . these things?’ *abdefghilm*WP; *c*, ‘(will) these things ... to the end?’ ‘upon us,’ *acdefhi*WP; *bg*, ‘upon me.’

the consummation which the Most High will make is very nigh, and His mercy that is coming, and the consummation of His judgment, is by no means far off. 3. For lo! we see now the multitude of the prosperity of the Gentiles, though they act impiously, but they will be like a vapour. 4. And we behold the multitude of their power, though they do wickedly, but they will be made like unto a drop. 5. And we see the firmness of their might, though they resist the Mighty One every hour, but they will be accounted as spittle. 6. And we consider the glory of their greatness, though they do not keep the statutes of the Most High, but as smoke will they pass away. 7. And we meditate

3. *Like a vapour.* 4 Ezra vii. 61.

4. *Like unto a drop.* Isa. xl. 15; 4 Ezra vi. 56.

5. *Accounted as spittle.* Here certainly, and in 4 Ezra vi. 56, the text agrees with the LXX.; for in Isa. xl. 15 it has ὡς σίελος λογισθήσονται against the Hebrew יִטּוֹל.

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bg, ܗܫ ܗܫ. ܗܐ 'now,' *abdfghi*WP; *c* om. here as it has already inserted ܗܐ in place of ܐ; *e* om. ܗܐ ܗܫ ܗ. ܗ ܐ ; *c*; *abdgh*WP, ; *efi*, .

4. ܗ *cdefgim*WP; *abh*, ܗ ܗ. ܗ 'unto a drop,' *abdefghil*WP; *c* wrongly ܗ 'unto pollution.'

5. ܗ *cdefgh*WP; *ab*, ܗ ܗ. 'firmness,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* wrongly 'truth.' ܗ 'hour,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* wrongly ܗ 'year.'

6. ܗ *cdefghi*WP; *ab*, ܗ ܗ. 'commands,' *abdefgh*WP; *c*, 'statutes.'

ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܠܐܟ ܫܠܡܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܟܬܘܒ
ܒܪܟ̈ܐ ܠܟ̈ܠ ܡܢ ܕܢܬܪܫܡ ܒܫܡܝ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܒܫܡ ܒܪܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܒܫܡ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܢܬܬ ܠܗ ܠܟ̈ܠ ܡܢ ܕܢܬܪܫܡ ܒܫܡܗ ܘܢܬܩܕܫ ܒܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗ ܘܒܫܡ

on the beauty of their gracefulness, though they have to do with pollutions, but as grass that withers will they fade away. 8. And we consider the strength of their cruelty, though they remember not the end (thereof), but as a wave that passes will they be broken. 9. And we remark the boastfulness of their might, though they deny the beneficence of God, who gave (it) to them, but they will pass away as a passing cloud.

LXXXIII. = B^2.

[LXXXIII. For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times, and He will assuredly bring on His hours. 2. And He will assuredly judge those who are in His

7. *As grass*, etc. Isa. xl. 6, 7.

LXXXIII. This chapter seems to belong to B^2. Thus the times will be cut short (lxxxiii. 1, 6), and everything brought into judgment (lxxxiii. 2, 3, 7); let not, therefore, earthly interests engage them (lxxxiii. 4), but let them fix their thoughts on the promised consummation (lxxxiii. 4, 5), and devote themselves to their faith of aforetime, lest to their captivity in this world there should be added torment in the next (lxxxiii. 8); for the world passeth away with its strength and its weakness, its virtues, and its lusts (lxxxiii. 9-23).

The connection between lxxxiii. and xx. is close. Cf. lxxxiii. 1, 6; xx. 1; lxxxiii. 2; xx. 2; lxxxiii. 7; xx. 4. This chapter seems to have formed originally part of Baruch's address to the people (xxxi. 3 - xxxii. 6; xliv. 8 - 15), and to have followed immediately on xliv. 8-15.

1. This and verse 6 are related to xx. 1. Cf. liv. 1; Ep. Barn. iv. 3.

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8. ܕܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܕܐ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܕܥܒܕܘܗܝ. ܒ ; ܕܥܒܕ *cdefhi*; *abg*, ܕܥܒ ; WP give plural.

9. ܕܐܬܕܥܒܕ *cdfghi*; *ab*, ܕܐܬܕܥܒܕ ; *e*WP, ܕܥܒܕ. ܗܘ̈ ‘the boastfulness,’ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܗ̈ ‘the beauty.’ ܕ̈ ‘of God—Him,’ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ‘of Him.’

LXXXIII. 2. ܕܐ ‘will assuredly judge,’ *acdefhi*WP;

7 ܘܢܫܬܐ ܕܠ ܡܬܢ̈ܝ̈ ܘܐܫܬ̈ܐ
ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒ . ܕܒܢ̈ܝ̈ܗ̇ܘܢ
ܐܠ . ܡܢ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܐܠ̈ܦ̈ܝ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ
ܐܦ ܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܕܦ̈ܩ̈ܕ̈ܢ̈ܐ
8 ܕܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ . ܘܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈ܐ
. ܕܒ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܕܒ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܙ̈ܝ̈ ܕܒ̈ܝ̈ ܒ̈
ܐ̈ܦ ܐ̈ܠ . ܡ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
. ܘܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܡ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
9 ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܕܒ̈ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܕܒ̈ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
ܡ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ . ܘܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
ܐ̈ܦ ܐ̈ܠ̈ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
ܐ̈ܦ ܐ̈ܠ . ܘܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
. ܐ̈ܒ̈ . ܘܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ..
LXXXIII. 1 ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ . ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ . ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
2 ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ . ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇
. ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇

7. ܕܒ̈ܝ̈ *abdefgi*WP; *bhl*, ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܕܒ̈ܝ̈. ܘܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ 'of their gracefulness,' *c*; *abdefghil*WP, ܘܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ 'of their life.' ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ 'with pollutions,' *c*; *abdefghil*WP, ܐ̈ܒ̈ܗ̇ 'with pollution.'

world, and will visit in truth all things by means of all their hidden works. 3. And He will assuredly examine the secret thoughts, and that which is laid up in the secret chambers of all the members of man, and will make (them) manifest in the presence of all with reproof. 4. Let none therefore of these present things ascend into your hearts, but above all let us be expectant, because that which is promised to us will come. 5. And let us not now look unto the delights of the Gentiles in the present, but let us remember what has been promised to us in the end. 6. For the ends of the times and of the seasons and whatsoever is together with them will assuredly pass

2. *Visit.* See xx. 2, note.
3. See 4 Ezra xvi. 65. Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 5 ; also Heb. iv. 12 ; 1 Cor. xiv. 25.
4. *Let none therefore*, etc. Cf. Col. iii. 3 : τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε.
That which is promised, etc. See xiv. 13, note ; xxi. 25 ; xliv. 13.
6. See xx. 1, note.

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which in all'; *dei*WP, ܒܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ. ܒܢܝ 'of man,' *abdefghil*WP ; *c*, ܒܥܘܠܬܐ 'which in wickedness.' ܐܝܟ ܕܐ *cdh* ; *abgil*, ܐܝܟ ܕܐ.

4. ܠܐ, *bdefghi*WP add ܥܡ against *ac*. ܠܢ *cl* ; *bgh*, ܠܢ. ܐ *ach*WP ; *bdegi*, ܐ ; *f*, ܐ. ܠ 'to us,' *abdefghi*WP ; *c* om.

5. ܗܫ 'now,' *abdfghi*WP ; *c*. om. *e* om. ver. 5 through hmt. ܕܥܕܢܐ 'the delights,' *c* ; *abdfghi*WP, ܕܥܕܢ 'the delight.' ܕܠܥܠ, *c* adds ܗܫ against *abdefghi*WP.

6. ܠܐ *bcdefghi*WP ; *a*, ܠܐ. ܐ ܐ *c* ; *abdefghi*WP, ܐ.

. ܟܦܝܟ ܕܡܝ ܕܥܒܕ ܘܐܡܪ
ܕܐܒܐ ܕܒ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ
3 ܘܟܬܒ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ
ܕܐ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܠܐ
ܕܒܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܓܢܘܙܐ .
. ܟܦܝ ܐܡܪ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ
ܟܠ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ
4 ܕܐ ܒܫܡ ܟ . ܐܦ ܒܫܡ ܢ
ܐܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܡ ܕܒ
÷ ܟ ܐܡܪ ܘܢܥܒ . ܐ
ܒܫܡ . ܐܦ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ
ܐܬ ܟܦ ܐܢ
5 ܘܥܒܕ ܟ . ܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ
ܕܩܒܠ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܟ
. ܐ ܐܡܪ ܟܦܝ
6 ܘܟܬܒ ܥܒܕ ܟ . ܒܫ
ܘܥܒܕ ܕܒܝ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܡܪ

bg, ܡܪܢ ܢܝܬܐ ‘our Lord will judge.’ ܟܣܝܐ ‘hidden,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܕܐܢ ܚܛܝܐ ‘which were sins.’

3. ܕܒܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܓܢܘܙܐ ‘which in the secret chambers of all,’ *c*; *abfghl*, ܕܒܟܬܒ ܒܝܬ ‘which in the secret chamber

by. 7. The consummation, moreover, of the age will then show the great might of its ruler, when all things come to judgment. 8. Do ye therefore prepare your hearts for that which before ye believed, lest ye come to be in bondage in both worlds, so that ye be led away captive here and be tormented there. 9. For that which exists now or which has passed away, or which is to come in all these things, neither is the evil fully evil, nor again the good fully good. 10. For all healthinesses of this time are turning into diseases. 11. And all might of this time is turning into weakness,

7. Cf. xx. 4.

8. *Prepare your hearts.* See xxxii. 1, note.

That which ye before believed. This seems to refer to apostates, *i.e.* Christians who had left Judaism. Cf. xli. 3; xlii. 4.

Come to be in bondage, etc. Cf. lxxxv. 9.

10. Contrast xxix. 7.

11. *All might of this time*, etc. Cf. xxi. 14.

ܕܐܬܐܣܪܘ ‘that ye be led away captive and ... there,’ *c*; *abdefghik*WP, ܘܬܐܣܪܘ ܗܟܐ ܒܫܒܝܐ. *e* om. ܗܟܐ ܘ.

9. At the beginning of this verse *ef* insert ܒ in red, W inserts ܒ ܒܟܠ, as also *di*, but that they add ܕ before ܒ. ܕܥܒܕ *ch*; *bg*, ܕܥܒܕ; *efi*, ܕܥܒܕ; *k*, ܕܥܒܕ. ܕܥܒܕ *cefh*; *b*, ܕܥܒܕ; *adgik*WP, ܕܥܒܕ. ܒܗܕܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܠܐ ܠܥܠܡ *c*; *abdefgik*WP, ܒܗܕܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܠܐ ܠܥܠܡ; *h*, . ܒܗܕܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܠܐ ܠܥܠܡ.

10. ܐܬܪܦܘ ‘diseases,’ *abcdeghk*; *d'fi*WP, ܐܬܪܦܐ ‘disease.’

11. ܠܡܣܟܢܘ ‘to misery,’ *bg*: so also *a*, ܠܡܣܟܢܘ and *defhi*,

7. ܣܘܦܢܐ 'the consummation,' *c*; *e*, ܣܘܦܢܐܝܐ; *abdfghik*WP, ܒܣܘܦܢܐ 'in the consummation.'

8. ܥܠܡܐ 'worlds,' *abdefghik*WP; *c*, ܥܠܡ 'world.'

and all force of this time is turning into misery. 12. And every energy of youth is turning into old age and consummation, and every beauty of gracefulness of this time is turning faded and hateful. 13. And every proud dominion of the present is turning into humiliation and shame. 14. And every praise of the glory of this time is turning into the shame of silence, and every splendour and insolence of this time is turning into voiceless ruin. 15. And every delight and joy of this time is turning to worms and corruption. 16. And every clamour of the pride of this time is turning into dust and stillness. 17. And every possession of riches of this time is being turned into Sheol alone.

12. *Every beauty*, etc. Cf. xxi. 13. Cf. xlviii. 35. 14; xlviii. 35.

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so also *i*, but defectively; *c* reads corruptly ܕܪܘܡܐ ܕܫܘܚܢܐ 'swelling of pride': we must emend ܕܪܘܡܐ into ܕܫܘܚܢܐ.

14. *e*WP om. ܕܥܠܡܐ . . . ܘܥܕ through hmt.

15. ܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܚܕܘ 'delight and joy,' *bdefghi*WP; *ack*, ܚܕܘ̈ܬܐ ܘܚܕ̈ܘ 'delights and joys.' ܠܬܘܠܥܐ 'to worms,' *abdefghik*WP; *c*, ܠܬܘܠܥ 'to rejection.' For ܡܟܫܠ *f* reads ܡܟܫܚ.

16. ܕܗܢ ܕܫܘܚܢܐ 'of the pride of this time,' *abdefghik*WP; *c*, ܕܫܘܚܢ 'of the proud.' ܠܥܦܪܐ ܘܠܐܬܪܐ 'to dust and stillness,' *abdefghikm*WP; *c*, ܠܥܦܪܐ ܕܫܬܝ 'to the still dust.'

17. ܕܩܢܝܢ 'of riches,' *cdefi*WP; *abghk*, ܘܩܢܝܢ 'and riches.'

ܒܬܪ ܕܐ ܐܠ . ܐܠܗܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ

. ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ . ܐܡܝܢ

ܐܠܗܝ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܕܐ 12

. ܕܒܟܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐ ܥܡ ܫܠܡ .

ܐܡܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ

ܕܐ ܐܠ . ܐܡܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ 13

ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ

ܐܠ ܕܐ . ܐܡܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ 14

ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ

. ܐܡܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܥܡ

ܐܠ ܕܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ

ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ

ܐܠ ܕܐ . ܐܡܝܢ 15

ܥܡ . ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ

ܐܠ ܕܐ . ܐܡܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ 16

ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ

ܐܠ ܕܐ . ܐܡܝܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ 17

ܥܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ

ܐܢܫ; *c*, ܐܢܫܐ 'to miseries.' *k* om. . . . ܐܡܝܢ ܥܡ through hmt.

12. ܐܟܠܗܘ *c*; *abfghik*WP, ܐܟܠܗܘ.

13. ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܒܫܡܝ ܐܢܫ 'proud dominion,' *abdefghk*WP;

18. And all the rapine of passion of this time is turning into involuntary death, and every passion of the lusts of this time is turning into a judgment of torment. 19. And every artifice and craftiness of this time is turning into a proof of the truth. 20. And every sweetness of unguents of this time is turning into judgment and condemnation. 21. And every love of lying is turning to shame through truth. 22. Since therefore all these things are done now, does any one think that they will not be avenged? 23. But the consummation of all things will come to the truth.]

LXXXIV=B¹. LXXXIV. Behold! I have therefore made known unto you (these things) whilst I live: for I said that

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19. ܐܠܦܟ *c*; *abdefghiklw*P, ܐܠܦܟ. ܐܠܦܣܘ 'and craftiness,' *abdefghiklnw*P; *c*, ܐܠܦܟ 'of craftiness.' *f* om. ܐܠܦ ... through hmt.

20. ܐܠܦܣܘ *c*; *h*, ܐܠܦܣ.

21. ܕ ... ܐ 'of lying,' *abdefghik*WP; *c* wrongly om. ܐ *c*; *abdefghik*WP, ܐ. ܐ 'through truth,' *abdefgik*WP; *c*, ܐ 'in silence.'

22. ܐ ... ܐ *c*; *abhk* trs.; *di*, ܐ ... ; *efgl*WP, ... ܐ. For ... *efil*w read ... . 'does anyone think?' *abdefghiklw*P; *c*, ... 'dost thou think?'

23. ... 'of all,' *abcdefghik*; WP, ... 'all.'

LXXXIV. 1. ... *abdefghik*WP; *c* om. ...

18. ⲁⲗⲗⲁⲅⲙⲁ *abc*WP; *defghi*, ⲁⲗⲁⲅⲙⲁ. ⲛⲥⲁ ‘of the lusts,’ *abcegh*; *dfi*WP, ⲡⲥⲁ ‘of the lust.’ ⲁⲛⲁ ‘of this time,’ *abdefghik*WP; *c* wrongly om. *k* om. ⲉⲧⲙⲁⲣⲉϥ . . . ⲛⲁⲓ through hmt., and for ⲛⲥⲁ ⲙⲡⲉ reads ⲙⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ.

ye should above all things learn the commandments of the Mighty One, wherein I shall instruct you: and I will set before you some of the commandments of His judgment before I die. 2. Remember that formerly Moses assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against you, and said: "if ye transgress the law ye shall be dispersed, but if ye keep it ye shall be kept." 3. And other things also he used to say unto you when ye the twelve tribes were together in the desert. 4. And after his death ye cast them away from you: on this account there came

LXXXIV. 1. *Before I die.* See lxxviii. 5.

The commandments of the Mighty One (cf. ver. 7; xliv. 3).

2. See xix. 2, 3, note. In this verse there are several traces of the Hebrew original. First the Syr. for "assuredly called . . . to witness" = *διαμαρτυρόμενος διεμαρτύρατο* = העד העיד. Next we have the play on the two senses of שמר: "if ye keep it, ye shall be kept" = אם תשמרוה תשמרו. Finally, there seems to be a paronomasia intended in "if ye transgress the law, ye shall be dispersed" = אם תסורו מתורה תוורו.

3. *Twelve tribes.* Cf. lxxviii. 4; James i. 1.

ܕܫܒܩܬܘܢ, *e* save in reading ܫܒܩ, *f* save in reading ܫܒܩܬ, and *k* save in reading ܢܬܫܒܩ (for ܢܬܬܫܒܩ). ܫܒܩܬ *ce*; *dfgi*WP, ܫܒܩ; *k*, ܫܒܩܬܘܢ.

2. ܫܪܝ *abcefghil*WP; *b*, ܐܫܬܪܝ. ܫܒܩ *abdefghi*WP; *c* om. ܢܬܬܫܒܩ 'ye shall be kept,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܢܬܬܥܩܪ 'ye shall be planted.'

3. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܐܦ. ܒ *ach*; *bdefgi*WP, ܒܗ. ܡܫܟܚ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܡܫܟܚ.

4. ܡܟܝܠ 'therefore,' *abdefgi*WP; *ch*, ܘܡܟܝܠ 'and

ܡܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܠܡ̈ܠܦ̈ ܒ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܫ̈ܐ
ܕܬ̈ܬ̈ܠܡ̈ܕ̈ܘ ܒ̈ܟ̈ܠ ܡ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ . ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܠܟ̈ܘܢ
ܕܐ̈ܬ̈ܬ̈ܠܡ̈ܕ̈ ܒ̈ܟ̈ܠ ܡ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܕܐ̈ܬ̈ܬ̈ܠܡ̈ܕ̈ ܒ̈ܗ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ
ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ . ܐ̈ܬ̈ܬ̈ܠܡ̈ܕ̈ ܕ̈ܬ̈ܪ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܛ̈ܒ̈ ܗ̈ܘ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ
ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .
2 ܐ̈ܬ̈ܬ̈ܠܡ̈ܕ̈ ܒ̈ܟ̈ܠ ܡ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܬ̈ܬ̈ܠܡ̈ܕ̈ ܒ̈ܗ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ
ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .
ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .
ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .
ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .
3 ܐ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܦ̈ܢ̈
ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܒ̈ܗ̈ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .
ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .
4 ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .
ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .
ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܟ̈ܘܢ .

ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ‘that ye should above all things learn the commandments of the Mighty One wherein I shall instruct you’; so *c*, save that I have with Ceriani emended ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ into ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ; *bdghil*WP read ܕ̈ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ ܠ̈ܝ ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ܦ̈ ܐ̈ܢ̈ܐ ‘that ye should learn the things that are excellent; for the Mighty One hath commanded me to instruct you’; *a* agrees with *bdghi*WP save in reading

upon you what had been predicted. 5. And now Moses used to tell you before they befell you, and lo! they have befallen you: for you have forsaken the law. 6. Lo! I also say unto you after ye have suffered, that if ye obey those things which have been said unto you, ye will receive from the Mighty One whatever has been laid up and reserved for you. 7. Moreover, let this epistle be for a testimony between me and you, that ye may remember the commandments of the Mighty One, and that also there may be to me a defence in the presence of Him who sent me. 8. And remember ye the law and Zion, and the holy

4. Cf. xix. 3.

6. The 9½ tribes must endure chastisement before they could attain unto the promised happiness. This chastisement was for their well-being (lxxviii. 6); it was less than they deserved (lxxix. 2); and its aim was to make them worthy of their fathers in the last days (lxxviii. 5, see note).

8. They were to remember Zion and the Holy Land; for they were one day to return thither (cf. ver. 10 and lxxviii. 7, note).

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5. ܐܦܝ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܐܒܝ.

6. ܕܡܫܬܟܚ *ac*; *bdefghi*WP, ܕܡܫܬܟܚ. ܘܐܙܠ *abcgh*; *d*, ܘܐܙܠ ܒܗ; *efi*WP, ܘܐܙܠ ܒܗ. ܗܘ ܕܫܠܝܚ, *def* add ܫܠܝܚ.

7. ܒܗ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܠܗ. ܘܙܟܝ *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ܘܙܟܝ. ܕܫܡܝ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܕܫܡܝ. ܕܡܬܩܒܠ *c*; *abdefghil*WP, ܕܡܬܩܒܠ. ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ *c*; *abdfghi*WP, ܐܦ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ.

8. ܕܢܡܣܘ ܢܡܘܣܐ ‘the law and Zion,’ *abefghil*WP;

therefore.' ܗܢ *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ܗܘ. ܗܟܝ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܗܟܬ.

land and your brethren, and the covenant of your fathers, and forget not the festivals and the sabbaths. 9. And deliver ye this epistle and the traditions of the law to your sons after you, as also your fathers delivered (them) to you. 10. And at all times make request perseveringly and pray diligently with your whole heart that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you, and that He may not reckon the multitude of your sins, but remember the rectitude of your fathers. 11. For if He judge us not according to the multitude of His mercies, woe unto all us who are born.

LXXXV. = B³. [LXXXV. Know ye, moreover, that in former

9. *The traditions of the law, i.e.* the unwritten law.

10. *That the Mighty One may be reconciled to you.* Cf. 4 Ezra x. 24: "ut tibi repropitietur Fortis." Here this reconciliation is to lead up to their return to Palestine; for in lxxviii. 7 it is declared that He that promised their fathers that He would not fail their posterity, would gather them together from their dispersion, should they become faithful.

The rectitude of your fathers. On the merit of the fathers see xiv. 7, note.

11. *His mercies.* See lxxv. 2, note.

Woe unto all, etc. See x. 6, note.

LXXXV. This chapter is certainly an interpolation. I shall designate it B³ It belongs neither to B¹ nor

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traditions,' *c*; *abcdefghi*WP, ܗܕܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ 'the tradition.' ܕܢܡܘܣ *bcdefghi*WP; *a*, ܕܢܡܘܣ. ܐܡܪ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܐܡܪ.

10. ܒܬܕܒܪ 'perseveringly,' *abdeghi*WP; *c* om. ܕܚܛܗܝܟܘܢ 'of your sins,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܕܚܛܝܟܘܢ 'of your sinners.' ܠܐ ܢܚܫܘ *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ܠܐ ܢܚܫܘ.

11. ܕܥܠܡܐ *abdefghilm*WP; *c*, ܥܠܡ. ܡܟܬܒ *cdefghilm*WP; *ab*, ܐܬܟܬܒ.

ܕܐܒܗܝܟ ܘܐܒܗܬ̈ܝܟ . ܕܐܬ̈ܪܬ̈ܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܕܐܒܗܬ̈ܝ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡ̈ܝܢ ⁘
ܠܐ ܬܬܟܠ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܬܟ
9 ܫܒܚ . ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ
ܐܝܬ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠ ܕܪ̈ܗܛ̈ܐ
ܕܒܗ ܕܐܬ̈ܪܬ̈ܐ ܕܐܒܗܬ̈ܝ
ܕܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ . ܕܐܡܪ
ܐܒܪ̈ܗ ܕܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܪܬ̈ܐ .
10 ܕܐܬ̈ܪ̈ܗ ܕܐ ܐܬ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕ
ܒܗ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܚܪ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܐ
ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐ̈ܢ . ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕ
ܕܐ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ . ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܕܐ
ܐ̈ܠ . ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ .
11 ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܡ ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ
ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ
LXXXV. 1 . . ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ . ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ـــ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ
ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ . ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܠ

d, ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ; *c* trs. wrongly. ܐ̈ܠ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܐ̈ܠ . ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ‘of your fathers,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ ‘and your fathers.’ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ *bcg*; *adefhi*WP, ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ.

9. ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ *bcdefghi*WP; *a*, ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ. ‘the

times and in the generations of old those our fathers had helpers, righteous men and holy prophets. 2. Nay more, we were in our own land, and they helped us when we sinned, and they prayed for us to Him who made us, because they trusted in their works, and the Mighty One heard their prayer and was gracious unto us. 3. But now the righteous have been gathered and the prophets have fallen asleep, and we also have gone forth from the land, and Zion has been taken

B^2. In B^1 there is a strong national hope which embraces a restored Jerusalem and the return of the dispersion. This hope is here implicitly denied. Although B^3 and B^2 differ in important respects, they agree in despairing of any national restoration. They regard this world as lost, and look only for spiritual blessedness in the world of incorruption (lxxxv. 4, 5). On the other hand, there is a deeper strain of individualism in B^3 than in B^2; the writer's interest centres mainly in the destiny of the individual; let each see that he is ready when the end comes (lxxxv. 11), and that end is at hand for all (lxxxv. 10). Again, whereas B^2 seems to have been written in Jerusalem, B^3 was written in Babylon or some other land of the Dispersion. Thus in lxxxv. 3 the writer says: "We also have gone forth from our own land, and Zion has been taken from us"; and in lxxxv. 2: "Nay more, we were in our own land, and they (the righteous) helped us when we sinned." Again, whereas according to B^2 Jeremiah was with the exiles in Babylon (see x. 2, note), it is here definitely stated that the righteous and the prophets are dead and the exiles have none to intercede for them (lxxxv. 2).

B^3 and S (x. 6-xii. 4) are the most pessimistic parts of this book.

1. The generation of Jeremiah seems to be in the far past.

2. This verse conflicts with lxxvii. 5 and lxxx. 5. The writer implies that he is one of the exiles in Babylon or elsewhere. This is still more evident from the next verse.

They helped us when we sinned, and they prayed for us, etc. This thought reappears in the Rest of the Words of Baruch ii. 3: "For when the people transgressed, Jeremiah . . . prayed on behalf of the people until the transgressions of the people were forgiven them."

Trusted in their works. See xiv. 7, note; lxiii. 3. Observe that whereas in lxxxiv. 10 the merits of the patriarchs are regarded as a stay of Israel, no such belief appears here. According to this verse and the next it is implied that only the intercessions of the living righteous avail, and now there are none such. Yet it is shown that there were many such in ii. Hence this seems a later production.

3. *We also have gone forth*, etc. See verse 2.

ܡܥܠ ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܠܗ
ܐܠܐ ܒܪܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܠܗܐ .
2 ܘܢܒܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ . ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܝ
ܒܥܘܬܗ . ܕܐܒܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܒܟ
ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܕܐܒܕ ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܗ
ܘܠܐ ܫܟܚ . ܕܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܐܠܗܐ . ܒܝܕܗ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܝ .
ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܗ
ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܒܕ . ܕܡܬܟܪ
ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܝ ܕܐ
ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ . ܕܡܬܟܪ ܐܦ
3 ܐܢ ܐܡ ܒܝ . ܐܝ ܐܦ
ܘܢܒܝܐ . ܕܐܒܕ ܐܦ
ܐܢ ܐܝ ܐܡ ܒܝ . ܕܐ

LXXXV. 1. ܕܐܝ ܩܕܝܫܐ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܐܝ. ܕܐܒܕ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܝ *cg*; *adefhi*WP insert the punctuation between these words; *b* has no punctuation. ܢܒܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ 'holy prophets,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܢܒܝܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ 'prophets and holy (men).'

2. ܐܦ ܐܢ 'nay, more,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܐܢ ܒܝ 'moreover.' ܒܥܘܬܗ 'their prayer,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܕܐܒܕ 'them.' ܐܦ *c*; *abdefghi*WP om. For ܕܐܒܕ *h* reads ܕܐܒܕ.

3. ܘܐܦ 'and also,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* om. 'and.' ܐܪܥܐ 'our land,' *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܐܪܥܐ 'the land.' ܐܦ ܒܥܘ, *a* trs.

from us, and we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law. 4. If therefore we direct and dispose our hearts, we shall receive everything that we lost, and much better things than we lost (yea, better) by many times. 5. For what we have lost was subject to corruption, and what we shall receive will not be corruptible. [6. Moreover, also, I have written thus to our brethren to Babylon, that to them also I may attest these very things.] 7. And let all those things aforesaid be always before your eyes, because we are still in the spirit and the power of

We have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law. The law was Israel's everlasting possession. This sentiment appears also in Josephus, *Apion*, ii. 38: κἂν πλούτου καὶ πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν στερηθῶμεν, ὁ γοῦν νόμος ἡμῖν ἀθάνατος διαμένει. In the Talmud, further, we find (*Mechilta*, 68*b*) that whereas the land, the sanctuary, and the kingdom of David, were given conditionally to Israel, the law was given unconditionally. Hence Israel could exist without the former, but not without the latter. This thought combined with that in xlviii. 22 that, so far as Israel observed the law, it could not fall, became the inspiration of Rabbinic Judaism and the safeguard of the race through the storms of later times. On the law see xiv. 7, note.

5. See xxi. 19, note.

6. This verse is due to the final editor.

7. *The power of our liberty*, i.e. enjoy freewill. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 11: "Qui fastidierunt legem meam, cum adhuc erant habentes libertatem" (also viii. 56). For the diction compare 1 Cor. vii. 37 ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος: Acts i. 7; v. 4; Pss. Sol. ix. 7: τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν . . ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν. On the doctrine see liv. 15, note.

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6. ܠܒܒܠ ܕܐܦ ‘to Babylon that also,’ *abcg*; *h*, ܠܒܒܠ ܐܦ; *defiwr*, ܠܒܒܠ ܘܐܦ ‘to Babylon and also.’

7. ܕܚܝܠܐ . ܕܚܝܠ ܕܢܦܫܐ *c*; *abdfghiwr*, . ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܚܝܠ. ܘܠܚܝܠܐ ‘and the power,’ *abdefghiwr*; *c*, ܕܠܚܝܠܐ ‘of the power.’

4. *acdefghiwr*; *b*, . *abdefghiwr* om. 'and much better things than we lost,' *abdefghiwr*; *c* omitting by hmt.

5. *abfdghwr*; *c*, ; *e* om. *acdef*; *bgh*, ; wr, . *c*; *abdefghiwr*, om. *c*; *abdefghiwr*, .

our liberty. 8. Again, moreover, the Most High also is long-suffering towards us here, and He hath shown to us that which is to be, and hath not concealed from us what will befall in the end. 9. Before therefore judgment exact its own, and truth that which is its due, let us prepare our soul that we may enter into possession of, and not be taken possession of, and that we may hope and not be put to shame, and that we may rest with our fathers and not be tormented with our enemies. 10. For the youth of the world is past, and the strength of the creation is already exhausted, and the advent of the times is very short, yea, they have

8. *Hath shown to us . . . and hath not concealed from us.* In B[1] Baruch does not use the plural in this connection (cf. lxxxi. 4; see lxxviii. 3, note).

9. *Judgment . . . its due.* Cf. v. 2; xlviii. 27.

Let us prepare our soul. xxxii. 1, note.

That we may enter into possession of, and not be taken possession of =. These words are obscure, probably corrupt.

That we may rest with our fathers. Cf. xi. 4; also lxxxv. 11.

Tormented. Cf. lxxxiii. 8.

10. *The youth of the world is past.* Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 10: "saeculum perdidit juventutem suam et tempora appropinquant senescere;" also xiv. 16; v. 50-56.

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parallel expressions in v. 2 and xlviii. 27; *bdefghil*WP are wrong here, as they give ‘the Judge.’ Next, for ‘of anything,’ of *ac*, I follow *bdefghi*WP in reading , for is clearly the subject and not the object of the verb. The text of *bdefgi*WP = ‘before therefore the Judge exact His own and truth that which is its due.’ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, . *c*; *bfh*, . *abcdefh*; WP, ; *h*, .

10. ‘and the advent,’ *abcdefghil*; WP,

8 ܬܘܒ ܕܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܐܦܝܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ

passed by; and the pitcher is near to the cistern, and the ship to the port, and the course of the journey to the city, and life to consummation. 11. And again prepare your souls, so that when ye sail and ascend from the ship ye may have rest and not be condemned when ye depart. 12. For lo! when the Most High will bring to pass all these things, there will not there be again an opportunity for returning, nor a limit to the times, nor adjournment to the hours, nor change of ways, nor place for prayer, nor sending of petitions, nor receiving of knowledge, nor giving of love, nor place

12. *An opportunity for returning.* The Syr. here = "place" or "opportunity for repentance." But as this idea is found again in this verse, and obviously in its right context, it cannot be right here. The difficulty can be resolved as follows:—In early post-classical Hebrew תשובה meant both "return" and "repentance." The Greek translator followed the latter meaning when he ought to have followed the former.

Place of repentance. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 12: "cum adhuc esset eis apertus poenitentiae locus, non intellexerunt." This is the universal teaching in the Books of Enoch and 4 Ezra.

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11. ܢܬܝ *abceghi*WP; *d*, ܐܬܝ. ܘܢܥܠ *c*; *abdeghi*WP, ܘܥܠ. ܢܬܕܝܢ 'be condemned,' *abcgh*; *ef*WP, ܢܬܕܝܢ may have rest'; *di*, ܢܬܕܝܢ.

12. ܟܕ 'when,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* om. ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܐܬܝ ܕܠܐ. ܐܬܪܚܡ ܐܬܝ *abcefghi*WP; *d*, ܐܬܪܚܡ. ܐܘܪܚܬܐ 'of ways,' *bg*WP; *dei*, ܐܘܪܚܐ 'of way'; *acfl*, ܐܘܪܚܬܐ; *h*, ܐܬܪܚ. ܡܨܠܬܐ *bcdefghi*WP; *a*, ܡܨܠܬܐ. ܘܫܒܘܩܬܐ ܕܪܚܡܐ 'giving of love,' *cd*; *abcefghi*WP, ܘܫܒܘܩܬܐ ܕܚܢܢܐ 'giving of love,' or 'pardoner of guilt,' accord-

ܐܠܦ ܡܢ ܕܒܝܥ . ܥܡܩ

ܕܟܠ . ܥܒܝ

ܫܠܡܝܢ . ܐܒܕܢ

ܫܘܝ . ܐܬܪܡ ܕܫܘܐ

11 ܕܡܐ ܒܡ ܕܟ . ܙܟ

ܪܚܡܐ ܐܦ ܪܚܡܐ

ܕܟ ܥܠ ܥܠܟܘ

ܙܙܡܥ . ܥܦ ܐܦ

12 ܐ . ܪܚܡܐ ܙܙܡܥ . ܐ

ܐܪܒܥ ܐܡ ܒܐ ܥܡ

. ܐܟܡ ܟܠ . ܙܟ ܒܐ

ܙܟ ܐܠܦ ܟܡ .

ܥܦ ܙܡܥܐ ܟܬܒ .

ܥܦ . ܒܬܟ ܐܡ ܥܦ

ܥܦ . ܐܡܝܘܢ ܐܟܡ

ܥܦ . ܐܙܟ ܟܪܟ

ܐܦ ܟܪܟ ܥܦ .

ܐܦ . ܐܟܡ ܡܟ ܥܦ

ܥܦ ܟܡ ܐܟ .

ܐܦ ܟܡ ܙܟ ܪܚܐ .

ܪܡܡܐ ‘the space.’ ܡܢ *c*; *abdefhi*wp om. ܫܡܝܢ *c*; *abdefghi*wp, ܐܡܝܢ.

of repentance, nor supplication for offences, nor intercession of the fathers, nor prayer of the prophets, nor help of the righteous. 13. There there is the sentence of corruption, the way of fire, and the path which bringeth to Gehenna. 14. On this account there is one law by one, one age and an end for all who are in it. 15. Then He will preserve those to whom He finds He may be gracious, and at the same time destroy those who are polluted with sins.]

LXXXVI. When therefore ye receive this my epistle, read it in your congregations with care. 2.

Intercession of the fathers. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 102-115 ; Slav. En. liii. 1.

13. *Way of fire.* Cf. xliv. 15, note.

In the Ass. Moyseos, iii. 12, Moses is called the mediator of the law.

14. *One law by one.* Moses seems to be here referred to. The remark seems directed against the Christians (cf. xlviii. 24). This verse seems either to be interpolated or in its wrong place.

ܕܫܚܬܐ 'of corruption,' *abdefghi*WP ; *c*, ܠܫܚܬܐ 'to corruption.' ܐܘܪܚܐ 'the way,' *abdefghi*WP ; *c*, ܕܐܘܪܚܐ 'of the way.' ܠܓܗܢܐ 'to gehenna,' *abefghi* ; so *d*WP, ܕܓܗܢܐ ; *c*, ܠܓܚܠܐ 'to coals.'

14. ܕܡܐ ܕܢܚܛܘܢ *cg* ; *defh*WP, ܕܡܐ ܕܢܚܛܘܢ . ܡܐ

15. ܗܝܕܝܢ 'then,' *bcgh* ; *adefil*WP, ܘܗܝܕܝܢ 'and then.' ܐܢܫ *acdefi*WP ; *bgh*, ܐܢܫ. ܐܠܝܢ 'those,' *c* ; *adefghi*WP, ܘܐܠܝܢ 'and those.' ܕܢܫܬܗ *abdefgh*WP ; *c*, ܐܫܬܐ. ܕܐܬܚܕܝܢ ܒܫܠܡܐ *c* ; *abdefghi*WP trs.

LXXXVI. 1. ܐܓܪܬܐ ܗܕܐ *c* ; *abdefghi*WP trs. ܗܕܐ 'this,' *abdefghi*WP ; *c* om. ܕܐܬܝ *abdefghi*WP ; *c*, ܐܬܝ.

ܘܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܗ ܒܩܠܗ .
ܘܠܐ ܩܪܒ ܐܝܬ .
ܘܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܫܘܠ . ܘܠܐ
13 ܕܪܚܡ ܐܝܬ . ܐܡ
ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܒܢܝ ܢܫܐ
ܐܢܫ ܕܪܚܡ ܥܡܗ
14 ܕܡܐ . ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܘܠ
ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܕܐܟܠ ܐܢ ܐܟܠ .
ܘܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ
15 ܐܢ ܐܡܪ . ܟܠܗ
ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ
. ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ
LXXXVI. 1 ܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ
ܘܐ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐ
ܕܒܥܐ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐ .

ing as we vocalise the phrase. ܫܘܠ 'supplication,' *abdeghil*WP; *c*, ܫܘܠ 'supplications'; *f* om. ܫܘܠ ... ܐܢ. ܐܢ, *d* repeats; *e* reads singular. ܐܢ 'intercession,' *bdefghi*WP; *ac*, ܐܢ 'intercessions.'

13. ܥܠ, *c* adds above the line in first hand ܒ against *abdefgi*WP; *h* adds ... ܒܢܝ ܒܢܝ ܥܠ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܒܢܝ ܒܢܝ ܥܠ.

And meditate thereon, above all on the days of your fasts. 3. And bear me in mind by means of this epistle, as I also bear you in mind in it, and always fare ye well.

LXXXVII. And it came to pass when I had ended all the words of this epistle, and had written it sedulously to its close, that I folded it, and sealed it carefully, and bound it to the neck of the eagle, and dismissed and sent it.

HERE ENDS THE BOOK OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH.

LXXXVII. *Bound it to the neck of the eagle.* These words reappear in the Rest of the Words of Baruch vii. 8, τὴν ἐπιστολήν . . . ἔδησεν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ αἰετοῦ (cf. vii. 30).

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the first epistle'; in WP, ܗܢܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܝܪ ‘(here) ends the epistle of Baruch'; *f* om. subscription.

LXXXVII. Found only in *c*, but undoubtedly a part of the original work, as is clear from a comparison of lxxvii. 17, 20—26. As all the other MSS. began with lxxviii., and gave only a fragment of the book for ecclesiastical reading, they naturally omitted this chapter, since it would have been unintelligible without lxxvii., and simply closed the section with the words ܣܦܝܪ ܗܢܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܒܪܘܟ.

ܒܗ ܕܫܠܡܬ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܪܐ . 2

ܘܫܠܚ ܠܗ ܒܪܘܟ

ܐܓܪܬܐ ܬܢܝܬܐ . ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܪܐ ✣ 3

ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܘܥܒܕܘ

ܛܒ . ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ .

ܘܫܠܡܘ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܙܒܢ .

LXXXVII. 1 .. ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܝܪܡܝܐ ܒܢ ܚܠܩܝܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܒܝܠ

ܠܓܠܘܬܐ ܕܫܒܝ ܐܣܝܪܐ

ܘܐܬ ܒܢ ܚܠܩܝܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܒܝܠ

ܘܟܬܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܫܠܡܐ

ܘܫܠܡܐ ܘܫܠܝܡ ܘ

ܣܝܡ ܫܠܡ ܒܟܠ . ܐܠܗܝ

. ܫܠܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ . ܐܡܪ

ܐܬ ܫܠܡ ܟܬܒ ܐܓܪܬܐ

✣ ✣ ✣ . ܟܬܒ ✣ ✣ ✣

2. ܐܠܗܝ, *c* adds ܒܗ against *abdefghi*WP.

3. ܐܡܝ *c*; *abdfgh*WP, ܐܡܝܢ. ܐܡ *bcdfgh*WP; *a* om. ܒܗ ܘܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ‘in it and always,’ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, . ܛܒ ܒܗ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܟܠ ܙܒܢ ‘in it, and always fare ye well’: with these words all MSS. but *c* close. The subscription in *bgh* is ܣܦܪ ܒܪܘܟ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܒܝܠ ‘(here) ends the first epistle of Baruch the scribe’; so *a*, but that it writes ܕܐܬ for ܐܬ; in *dei*, ‘(here) ends

APPENDIX ON VI. 7-10

In 2 Macc. ii. 4-8 there is a tradition closely related to the account in vi. 7-10. Here Jeremiah is warned of God to hide, in a cave-like dwelling in the mountain where Moses climbed up, "the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense" (*τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος*). This place was to remain unknown till God should gather His people again together (*ἄγνωστος ὁ τόπος ἔσται ἕως ἂν συναγάγῃ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπισυναγωγὴν τοῦ λαοῦ*).

The mention here of the "altar of incense" supports the rendering I have given of ܡܕܒ̈ܚܬܐ in vi. 7. This word implies *θυμιατήριον* in the Greek. In the LXX. this word means "censer," but in Philo, Josephus, Clem. Alex., and Origen it is the ordinary appellation of the "altar of incense." Now as regards the first meaning, there is no mention of any particular censer in the Old Testament, not even in Lev. xvi. 12. The only mention of the golden censer is found in the Mishna, *Joma*, v. 1, vii. 4 (quoted by Lünemann on Heb. ix. 4), which the High Priest took with him into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. Since, however, in the frequent earlier and contemporary enumerations of the holy vessels in 2 Macc. ii. 5 ; Philo, *Quis rerum divin. haer.* i. 504 ; *de Vita Mos.* ii. 149 ; Heb. ix. 1-5 (?); Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 6, 8 ; *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 5, *this censer is nowhere given, but the altar of incense always*, it seems right to conclude that *θυμιατήριον* should be taken here in its meaning of "altar of incense," and not in that of "censer," as it was by the Syriac translator.

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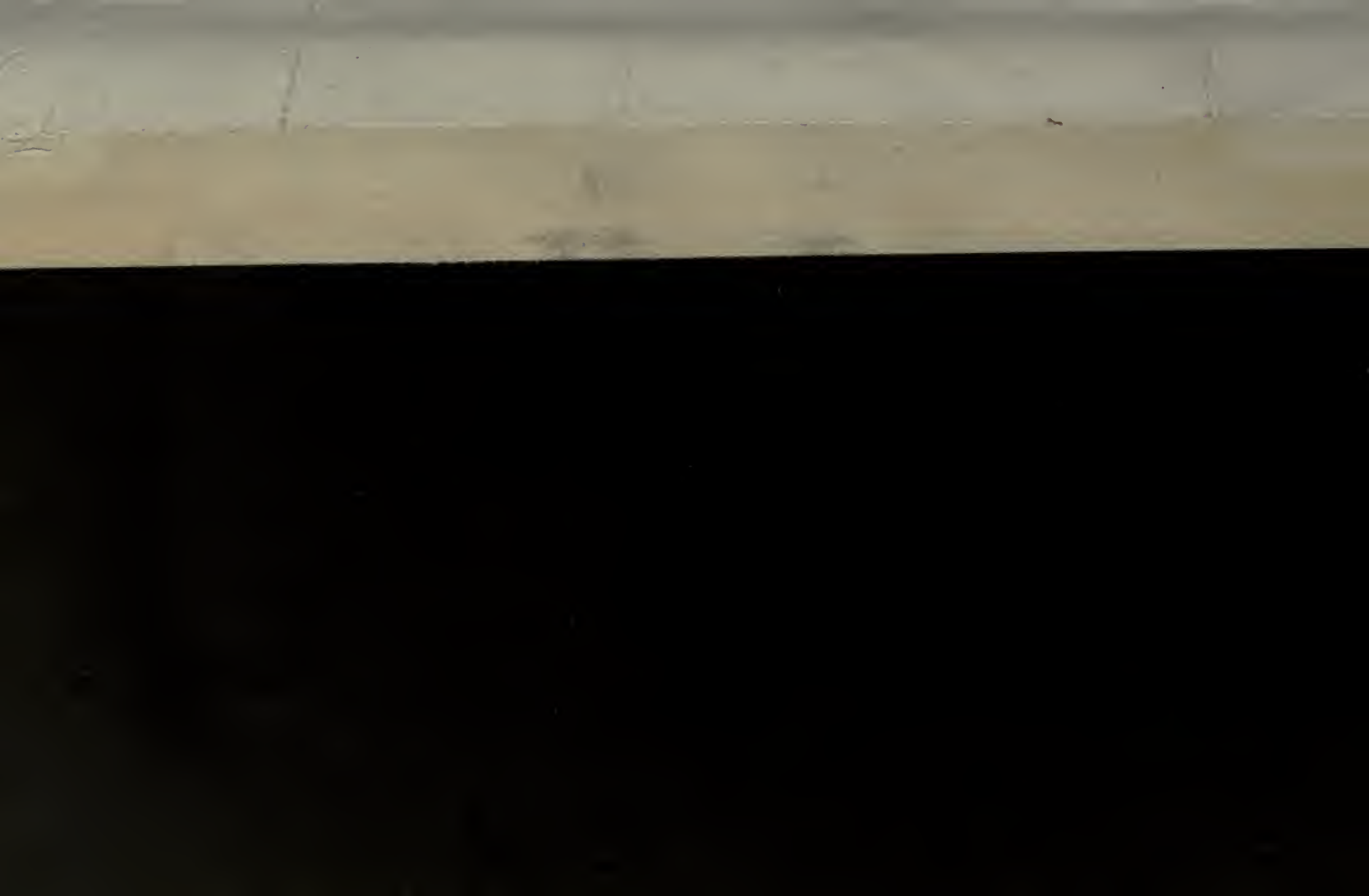

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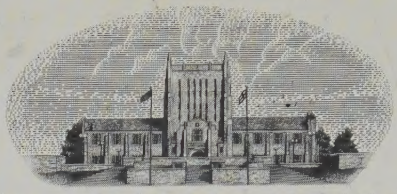
APOCALYPTIC AND MERKAVAH MYSTICISM



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APOCALYPTIC AND MERKAVAH MYSTICISM

INSTITUTUM IUDAICUM, TÜBINGEN
OTTO MICHEL, MARTIN HENGEL, PETER SCHÄFER

ARBEITEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES ANTIKEN JUDENTUMS UND DES URCHRISTENTUMS

BAND XIV

APOCALYPTIC AND MERKAVAH MYSTICISM

LEIDEN/KÖLN
E. J. BRILL
1980

APOCALYPTIC AND MERKAVAH MYSTICISM

BY

ITHAMAR GRUENWALD

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University of Tulsa
McFarlin Library
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INTRODUCTION

This book is a description of Jewish Merkavah ("Divine Chariot") mysticism, its history, structure and main thematic features. Merkavah mysticism developed from visions like those described in *Isaiah* vi and *Ezekiel* i, viii and x, though when Merkavah mysticism appeared on the literary scene, it did so in a more complex manner than its historical forefathers. The earliest post-biblical traces of Merkavah mysticism are found in apocalyptic literature and in some of the texts discovered at Qumran. However, the literature that first gives a full-scale presentation of Merkavah mysticism is called the *Hekhalot* ("Divine Palaces") literature, mainly composed in Eretz-Yisrael at the time of the Talmud and the beginning of the Ge'onic period (circa 200-700 C.E.). Other traces of such mysticism are found in the rabbinic writings.

As a creative literary stream the Merkavah tradition ended some time in the Ge'onic period, but references to that tradition are also made in the writings of Jewish medieval mysticism, the Kabbalah. We know, too, that the German Ḥasidim (a movement of Jewish piety that flourished in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Germany) engaged in some forms of Merkavah mysticism and contributed in an important way to the preservation of the *Hekhalot* literature in manuscripts. The term Merkavah mysticism derives from the Hebrew term *Ma'aseh Merkavah* ("The Works of the Divine Chariot"), which usually means the mystical explication of the first chapter of *Ezekiel*. It appears that the mystical speculations about the Merkavah were first developed in the circle of Rabbi Yoḥanan ben Zakkai and his pupils (second half of the first century C.E.), though, as has been said, traces of Merkavah mysticism are already present in the apocalyptic corpus of writings and in the Qumran literature. In rabbinic writings, the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* go hand in hand with the *Ma'aseh Bereshit* ("The Works of the Creation of the World"), that is, Jewish cosmology, and together they form the two branches of the esoteric teachings of ancient Judaism. Interestingly, for Maimonides *Ma'aseh Merkavah* and *Ma'aseh Bereshit* stood, metaphorically, for Aristotelian metaphysics and physics respectively.

The prophet Ezekiel supplied the Merkavah tradition with some of its key notions and visual concepts, and his influence prevailed

in the literary history of Jewish mysticism till *Sefer Yetẓirah* ("The Book of Creation/Formation") provided a new imagery and symbolic language. Still, Ezekiel was for a very long time the model for visionaries to follow and imitate. All manner of practices were adapted and invented in order to bring about the realization of mystical experiences like those Ezekiel was thought to have had. Of course, as time passed the Merkavah tradition underwent substantial changes: new modes of mystical experiences were discovered, new ideas and concepts were introduced and new points of emphasis reshaped the material.

The present book is divided into two parts. The first contains an analysis of the major features of the Merkavah tradition. In the second a detailed description is given of all the known *Hekhalot* writings. As for the first part, it begins with a general characterization of some of the qualities of Jewish apocalyptic which were hitherto either wrongly or insufficiently presented by scholars. This prepares the way for the second chapter, which analyses the Merkavah material incorporated in some of the early Jewish and Christian apocalyptic writings. The third chapter contains a discussion of the Merkavah material incorporated in the rabbinic writings. The fourth chapter gives a general characterization of the *Hekhalot* literature. Both parts of the book contain also several notes on the Merkavah material incorporated in the gnostic writings found at Nag Hammadi.

Some readers will probably think that this book could have gained had the writer applied to his study the methods of form criticism. Now an accepted methodology, form criticism could have really helped scholars in orienting themselves to the problems raised by this subject. However, it appears that in spite of the study already carried out in the field of Merkavah mysticism the way is not yet open there for the application of any of the higher forms of criticism. The main reason for this is that we still lack critical editions and commentaries for almost all the texts under discussion. Before such editions and commentaries are at hand, final judgement based on serious textual criticism has to be postponed. Consequently, we have limited ourselves to presenting a comprehensive survey of the Merkavah tradition, and it is hoped that what the book does will outweigh what it cannot yet do.

On the whole, Merkavah mysticism has stimulated most controversial attitudes and utterances. To begin with, The *Mishnah Ḥagigah* ii, 1 forbids the study of the *Maʿaseh Merkavah* in public, to say nothing

of the many dangers allegedly involved in the study and realization of Merkavah mysticism as described in the Rabbinic writings and *Hekhalot* literature. In one of his letters to his kabbalistic colleagues in Europe, Shlomel Dresnitz, who came from Strassnitz in Moravia to Safed in the year 1602, wrote that Rabbi Yitzḥaq Luria Ashkenazi, The Holy 'Ari as he is called, regarded the *Hekhalot* literature as being full of errors. However, Shlomel Dresnitz reports, the founder of Lurianic Kabbalah believed these errors were purposely introduced to prevent misuse of the writings for magical purposes. Of course, as the writer of the letter says, the Holy 'Ari could have removed all these errors, but for obvious reasons he did not do so. The evidence contained in that letter, as later incorporated in the small book *Shivḥei Ha-'Ari* ("The Sacred Deeds of the 'Ari") is only one testimony to the fact that the kind of literature we are discussing in this book persisted to be a controversial issue in the history of Jewish literature for a very long time.

In yet another context we find Maimonides attacking certain books which belong to the *Hekhalot* literature. In the introduction to his commentary to *Mishnah Sanhedrin*, *Pereq Ḥeleq*, Maimonides writes in connection with Rabbi 'Akiva's view quoted in the *Mishnah* to the effect that "he who reads in the *Sefarim Ḥitzonim* (Apocrypha?) has no share in the world to come": "And *Sefarim Ḥitzonim*—it is said (cf. *Bavli Sanhedrin* 100/b) that they are books written by heretics; and also the book written by Ben Sira (actually Pseudo Ben Sira), who wrote books which contained *inter alia* the subject of physiognomy—all these are worthless books and their study is a waste of time". Now, as we shall see in the second part of our book, the subject of physiognomy is one of the oldest subjects in Jewish esoteric literature, and the attitude shown by Maimonides towards its study is reminiscent of his derogatory attitude towards the *Shi'ur Qomah* tractate. In one of his Halakhic Responsa Maimonides attacked the *Shi'ur Qomah* as a book composed by a non-Jew, and recommended its destruction.

These are only three out of many views expressed in connection with the *Hekhalot* literature. To these one can add the views expressed by modern scholars, to the effect that Merkavah mysticism "constitutes an inner Jewish concomitant to Gnosis" (Scholem), or that in comparison to later developments of Merkavah mysticism, the mysticism of the early Tannaim, among them Rabbi Yoḥanan ben Zakkai and the four sages who entered the *Pardes*, was "an ascetic

type of mysticism" (Urbach). Under the circumstances I have found it necessary to try to give as balanced a picture of the subject matter as possible. And if I have been successful in that undertaking, I owe a lot to many people.

First to my wife, Rachel. She followed me in my studies with love and devotion. Fortunately for her, she did not stray too far along the path where my studies lead, but where she stayed I always saw a beacon directing me to safety.

This book also owes a lot to Professor Gershom Scholem and to his writings. I had the honour of being invited by him to spend the academic year 1975/76 at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The stimulating hours and days we spent together there have left their traces in this book.

It is at the Institute for Advanced Studies that I first met Professor Saul Lieberman. The interest he took in my studies is clearly seen in the two appendices which he offered to write for this book. In addition, his great erudition has helped me by clarifying a number of questions and prevented me from falling into pitfalls of ignorance.

In mentioning the Institute for Advanced Studies, it is with great satisfaction that I recall my colleagues there: Professors Daniel Sperber, Shama Friedman and David Winston, with whom I discussed several issues, particularly of the first part of the book.

A word of gratitude is also due to the staff of the Institute for Advanced Studies and its secretaries who typed most of the manuscript. Professor Arieh Devoetzki, the Head of the Institute, encouraged us all in our studies and did everything in his power to further its success.

There are many other colleagues who deserve more than mere words can express. First, Professor Morton Smith of Columbia University, who read great parts of the typewritten manuscript, corrected its style and made many useful suggestions. Professor John Strugnell of Harvard University read parts of the manuscript, and he, too, made several useful suggestions. Professor Bentley Layton of Yale University helped me greatly in matters relating to gnosticism.

The editors of the Series "Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums", Professor Dr. Martin Hengel of Tübingen, and Professor Dr. Peter Schäfer of Cologne, read the manuscript chapter by chapter and encouraged my work as it was progressing.

Mrs. Shifrah Danai checked the references and compiled the Index.

All these nice people, and others too, helped me in achieving what I have. If, however, the book contains any shortcomings, I alone am to blame.

Last but not least, I would like to mention my parents and children. They were so eager to see this book in print. Here it is dedicated to them, and to my wife, in love and gratitude.

Jerusalem, June 22, 1977

ABBREVIATIONS

OGIS = *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
TB = *Talmud Babylonicum*
TP = *Talmud Palaestinense*

TRANSCRIPTIONS

א = ’a
ע = ‘a
ב = v
ו = w
ח = ḥ
ט = ṭ (sometimes: t)
כ = k
כ = kh
צ = ẓ (sometimes: tz)
ק = q (sometimes: c or k)
ש = sh (sometimes: sch)
ת = t

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

TWO ESSENTIAL QUALITIES OF JEWISH APOCALYPTIC

A

In spite of a century of intensive studies, the rise of Jewish apocalyptic still seems to be a riddle. Nothing can better illustrate the uncertainty of modern scholarship with regard to the various problems involved in the study of apocalypticism than the title of Klaus Koch's book: *Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik*.[1] Admittedly, there are many studies which have considerably contributed to our understanding of the phenomenon,[2] but Jewish apocalypticism is still, by and large, a riddle, particularly so if we consider its rather vague origin. No attempt will be made here to lift the mists that overhang its prehistory, though the writer inclines to the view, that Jewish apocalyptic had a considerably long history before it entered the literary stage, which it did about the Hasmonaean period. This chapter will attempt to discuss briefly the place Jewish apocalyptic occupies in the history of Jewish religious thought and literature. We shall focus our attention on two literary genres of Jewish literature—Prophecy and Wisdom—and in their light examine some of the particular qualities of Jewish apocalyptic. Naturally, our discussion of biblical prophetic and wisdom literature does not strive to be exhaustive. We shall touch these two fields only inasmuch as they can help us in outlining what is new and original in apocalypticism.

We shall examine Jewish apocalyptic in the light of its relationship to Scripture.[3] It is natural that whenever the proponents of some

[1] Klaus Koch, *Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik*, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlag Gerd Mohn, 1970. The German title of the book expresses the idea of perplexity better than that of the English translation, *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic*, London, SCM Press, 1972. [See now P. D. Hanson, "Prolegomena to the Study of Jewish Apocalyptic", in: *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God*, ed. F. M. Cross, *et al.*, New York, Doubleday & Co., 1976, pp. 389-413.]

[2] See particularly, H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, London, Lutterworth Press, 1963; J. M. Schmidt, *Die Jüdische Apokalyptik*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1969; *idem*, "Forschung zur jüdischen Apokalyptik", *Beihefte zur Evangelische Theologie Verkündigung und Forschung* I (1969): Altes Testament, S. 44-69.

[3] The problem of Scriptural apocalyptic, which has been variously discussed

new ideas in Jewish religious thought sought to introduce them, they found themselves obliged to do so in the frame of some kind of relationship to the Holy Scriptures. This is the essence of Jewish tradition: people look for the authority of Scripture even in cases where their ideas do not explicitly concur with what Scripture plainly says. In this respect it seems safe to argue that midrashic ways of thinking—whether they involved explicating, or widening and even rewriting Scripture—were much older and more widely spread than is sometimes assumed. This relationship which Jewish religious thought seeks to bear to Scripture does not limit its own relative independence. Quite daring and new modes of thinking could well be introduced on the assumption that they really were the hidden sense of Scripture. Medieval Jewish Kabbalah is a famous example of how completely novel ways of expression and thought could be introduced as the symbolic content of Scripture.[4] But long before that, chiefly during the last two hundred and fifty years of the Second Temple, a kind of literature developed which, in the framework of peculiar religious experiences, brought forward a series of ideas and concepts which, if viewed in their relationship to Scripture, were quite revolutionary.

Revolutionary they were, since they purported to disclose, at least to a select group of believers, things which Scripture did not explicitly say or declared to be beyond the reach of the human intellect. Of course, not everything contained in apocalyptic literature belonged to these two categories, but the material that does belong to them, is from the point of view of Scripture, absolutely rule-breaking. To illustrate our argument we shall first pick up certain features of the *Book of Job* and examine them in the light of what happened to them later on in apocalyptic literature. Whenever the *Book of Job* was composed,[5] it clearly expresses a basic mood found in Scripture, and particularly in the so-called wisdom parts, namely that man cannot understand everything and hence is not justified in questioning the ways of God. According to the *Book of*

in recent years, can be left out of consideration in the present context. See further, below n. 42. [See now P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1975.]

[4] See G. Scholem, *Zur Kabbala und ihrer Symbolik*, Zürich, Rhein-Verlag, 1960, pp. 49-116, 159-207.

[5] For a brief and recent summary of the views concerning the date and the authorship of the Book of Job see M. H. Pope, *The Anchor Bible: Job*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, 1965, pp. xxx-xxxviii.

Job there is a correlation between man's inability to understand the basic laws of Nature and his inability to understand the principles of God's justice. Time and again, Job's friends draw his attention to the wondrous ways in which Nature operates.[6] When they do so, they mean to imply the conclusion that the human intellect—as is so drastically illustrated by its confrontation with Nature—is incapable of grasping the relation between man's just behaviour and the amount of suffering which befalls him. This is also the conclusion which God wants Job to draw, when He reveals Himself in the storm at the end of the book. In fact, God endorses what has previously been implied by Job's friends.

Briefly, the line of these arguments in the *Book of Job* goes as follows: First, in answer to Job's curse on the day of his birth, Eliphaz says: "...to God would I commit my cause; who does great things and unsearchable, marvelous things without number: He gives rain upon the earth and sends water upon the fields; He sets on high those who are lowly, and those who mourn are lifted to safety" (v,8-11; RSV). God's omnipotence is here illustrated by His wondrous works in Nature and by His care for those who are most in need of it. When Job stresses again that he still expects God to repay accordingly those who trust in Him, and when he expresses his dissatisfaction with what the second of the friends, Bildad the Shuhite, suggests, Zophar comes and, in line with what Eliphaz has already implied, says: "Can you find out the deep things of God? Can you find out the limit of the Almighty? The heights of heaven ... Deeper than Sheol—what can you know?" (xi,7-8). It is impossible to grasp God's wisdom, and so what one has to do is to trust in Him and hope. These and some other arguments are repeatedly brought forward till we reach the turning point of the book. In the speech which begins in chapter xxvii Job once again concludes: "As God lives, who has taken away my right, and the Almighty, who has made my soul bitter" (xxvii,2). That is, Job is absolutely convinced of his integrity. But he is now also ready to accept the fact, that only in God is wisdom to be found and that only He knows what wisdom really is. The conclusion for man is: "...the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding" (xxviii,28). This

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[6] G. von Rad, *Weisheit in Israel*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1970, pp. 267 ff.; *idem*, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, München, Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1965, pp. 262-271.

conclusion, common in biblical wisdom-literature,[7] could be here interpreted to mean, that since man cannot attain wisdom, he must content himself with the fear of God. The inaccessibility of divine wisdom should not lead to rebellion but to respectful submission.

Since Elihu's discourses do not add anything substantial from our point of view, we may directly turn to God's answer from the storm. Actually, God's "answer" is a long series of questions to which Job is unable to find any answer. Hence he is driven to the conclusion, that there is no point in arguing against God. What Job could find in God's questions is an extensive list of His activities in Nature, activities which man can neither directly experience nor reasonably explain. This long list of activities is in fact a catalogue of deeds or subjects which are supposed to be beyond the reach of the human mind. Under such discouraging conditions man has to give in, as Job actually does: his relative ignorance is a *conditio sine qua non* in any moral argument with the Deity.[8] The solution which the Book of Job, thus, suggests for the problem of human suffering is, in this respect, a "negative" one: no satisfactory explanation can be given from the point of view of the suffering human being. Man has to concede that his intellect allows only a partial, and hence insufficient, understanding of the ways of God. The "happy ending" in the case of Job, if it really belongs to the main body of the book, has an obvious mitigating effect; but it is an indirect way of approaching the painful problem of human suffering. The restoration of happiness and wealth to Job and his family is no answer in principle: it only bids us view Job's case in a broader perspective. In the terms of the "happy ending" the period of suffering becomes an unpleasant interlude, and is no real challenge to the justice of God. Yet, as we are going to see, the Jewish tradition did not see in the suggestions made in the Book of Job a conclusive solution to the problem of the lack of any explainable coordination between moral integrity and human suffering. Time and again the same questions were forced on the minds of the people, and in the framework of different historical circumstances and novel intellectual climates new solutions were approached.

As we have already seen, God challenges Job's competence to argue against Him by asking him a long series of questions about

[7] See J. Maier & J. Schreiner (eds.) *Literatur und Religion des Frühjudentums*, Würzburg, Echter Verlag, 1973, p. 44/5, n. 6; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, Vol. II, London, SCM Press, 1967, p. 92.

[8] See I. Gruenwald, "'Knowledge' and 'Vision'", *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), p. 69 ff.

the wondrous ways of Nature. These questions include references to the creation of the world (xxxviii,4 ff.), the structure of the universe (xxxviii,15 ff.), meteorological phenomena (xxxviii,22 ff.), astronomical laws (xxxviii,31 ff.), animal life and feeding (xxxix,1 ff.), Behemoth (xl,15 ff.), Leviathan (xl,25 ff.), and ancient mythology (xli,5 ff.). All these items of knowledge are riddles to the mind of man. They reflect the contents of God's wisdom, as it was outlined by Job himself in chapter xxviii. And indeed it is in Job's way of putting the idea that we get a deeper view of how God manifests His wisdom in the performances of Nature: "When He gave to the wind its weight, and meted out the waters by measure; when He made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunder" (xxviii,25/6). God, and only He, knows the right proportions of everything, and only He is able to regulate natural phenomena.[9] A similar idea is expressed by the prophet Isaiah when he refers to the creation of the world: "Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?" [10] The idea that order depends on correct measurement and right proportion is in itself neither unique nor new: it may be found implied in the writings of the Greek philosophers and it still holds true in modern science. What is, nevertheless, noteworthy in biblical thought is the fact, that God is there believed to know, and to be responsible for, these right quantities and proportions, and that they are beyond understanding. It is here that Job sees the essential difference between the capabilities of the human intellect and the wisdom of the Deity. Since scientific research and knowledge begin with the attempt to find out what these quantities and proportions are, it may be inferred, that the

[9] See *art. cit.* (previous note), p. 70, n. 29. To the references cited there one may add *The Wisdom of Solomon* xi,20: "But by measure and number and weight thou didst order all things." As for the weight of the wind see further, *Bereshit Rabbā* (ed. Theodor-Albeck), p. 232: "Rav Huna said: Because of three winds which came out (= from their treasure houses into the world) without weight there came destruction on the world". See also *4 Ezra* iv,5: "Or measure me the measure of the wind".

[10] For the idea of the measurement of the seawater see further *Tal. Bav. Horayot* 10a (end) where two sages who lived in the days of Rabbi Aqiva are mentioned as being able to calculate the number of the drops in the sea, but who nevertheless had nothing to eat and to wear. Cf. also notes 14 and 22 below. See also A. Wasserstein, "Astronomy and Geometry as Propaedeutic Studies in Rabbinic Literature", (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* XLIII (1973), p. 54.

view expressed in the Book of Job runs counter to the scientifically oriented mind.

The limits put here before the inquisitive faculties of the human intellect should not, however, be interpreted in terms of the supression of all scientific activity and knowledge. The particular position taken by the Book of Job means that since man is limited in his ability to understand the wisdom of God in the various operations of Nature, he should withhold any criticism of God's wisdom in His attitude towards man. This is no direct prohibition of scientific inquiry, but a rather skeptical view of what the human intellect may expect from and attain in such an inquiry. In this light one should view the innovation in the lists of revealed knowledge concerning natural phenomena as found in some of the apocalyptic books, and mainly in the so-called Enoch literature. Once man is to receive information about the principles of divine retribution, there is no reason anymore to withhold from him the secrets of nature. The two go hand in hand: where there is no possibility of knowing the secrets of nature it is assumed that there is no possibility of grasping the ways of God with man; where a revelation of the ways of God with man is given it is simultaneous with a revelation of the secrets of nature. In this respect, apocalyptic revelations claim to effect a substantial expansion of the capabilities of the human intellect not only in matters that pertain to man's understanding of the operation of natural phenomena, but also in his understanding of history and divine retribution.

B

References to items of revealed knowledge concerning natural phenomena can be found in *1 Enoch* (*Ethiopic Enoch*) xvii-xviii; xxii; xxxiii-xxxvi; xli,1; xli,3 ff.; xliii-xliv; lii; lix; lx,11 ff.; lxix; lxxi; lxxii-lxxx; xciii,11-14.[11] In *2 Enoch* (*Slavonic Enoch*)[12] v-vi;

[11] To these one has to add the revelations of secrets by the evil angels in vii, lxix and lxv. For a recent discussion of the various traditions concerning the evil angels and the secrets which they revealed see, D. Dimant, *The Fallen Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them*, Diss., Jerusalem, 1974.

[12] The chapter numbering here is according to the one found in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, and it holds true for the long recension (A). A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets d'Hénoch*, Paris, Institut d'Études Slaves, 1952, has a different chapter numbering.

xi-xvi; xxiv-xxx; xl; xlvii-xlviii. In *3 Enoch* (*Hebrew Enoch*) [13] xi; xiii; xiv; xvii; xli-xlii; xlviii(d). Similar references may be found also in *2 Baruch* (*Syriac Baruch*) xlviii,2-14; lix,5-11; and also in some of the other apocalyptic writings which will be discussed later on. All these references to the revelation of secrets concerning the operation of the various parts of Nature go hand in hand with revelations concerning the angelic world and the divinity. But our interest for the moment lies in the revelations concerning natural phenomena only, and what is implied by them for our understanding of Jewish apocalyptic in relation to the idea of the inaccessibility of divine wisdom as asserted in the Book of Job.

Reading through the various parts which compose the *Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (*1 Enoch*) one easily observes, that the revelations of all kinds of cosmological secrets occupy a prominent part in the apocalyptic experiences of the writers. The apocalyptic visionaries are said to ascend to heaven and there, with the guidance of different interpreting angels, to see and learn about the operations of a number of natural phenomena. Thus, for instance, the apocalyptist says that he has been taken to see "the places of the luminaries, and the treasuries of the stars and of the thunder... and all the lightnings" (xvii,3). In addition, the apocalyptist says that he saw "the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep" (*ibid.*, 8). In chapter xviii even more important things are shown to him and, all in all, it may be said that the apocalyptist receives a pretty comprehensive view of the cosmos. In another vision the apocalyptist sees "how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me" (xxxiii,3). What is particularly noteworthy in these revelations of cosmological secrets is that the visionary learns the laws and rules by which all these phenomena operate: "And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep

[13] Ed. H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, with a Prolegomenon by J. C. Greenfield, New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1973.

faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together" (xli,5).[14] Although this passage belongs to a different part of the Book of Enoch (and possibly the latest part of the Book),[15] it still records an essential mood in the whole corpus of the Enoch literature. The visionary is translated to heaven and there is instructed about the rules and laws of Nature. Basically, these rules and laws of Nature are referred to in terms of measurement, weight, quantity and proportion. And apart from the fact that in some instances (as for example in *1 Enoch* lxxii-lxxx: "The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries") the revelation of astronomical secrets comes to further the idea of the sectarian solar calendar, the whole idea is meant to induce the impression of order and regularity in Nature. Where there is disorder there is either wickedness—as the introduction to *1 Enoch* (ch. i-v) so clearly implies—or else the coming of the Day of God (ch. lxxx).

This order and regularity in Nature is sometimes conceived as being bound to a secret oath. We have already seen that in *1 Enoch* xli,5 astronomical order is preserved "in accordance with the oath by which they are bound together". An oath, probably the same one, is later on mentioned in connection with the creation of the world (ch. lxix). Though not everything said there is really as lucid as one could wish, it clearly appears that Michael is in possession of a secret oath, and possibly also of a secret name—the two are not necessarily identical—which sustains the whole work of creation. That there was such a secret element which the ancients believed to be operative in the creation of the world and in its subsequent government is neither new nor unique to the Book of Similitudes (*1 Enoch* xxxvi-lxxi). At any rate, the idea and its parallels are amply documented

[14] The regularity in the movements of the planets, and the catastrophes that might occur if that regularity is broken, are also often mentioned in rabbinic literature. See the references given in L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. V, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955, p. 34-36, n. 100. For the ideas of order and regularity in Nature as described in Wisdom literature see P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Die Apokalyptik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit*, München, Ch. Kaiser Verlag, 1969, pp. 53 ff.

[15] Chapter xxxvii-lxxi, generally referred to as the Book of the Similitudes (or Parables), are not represented in the finds from Qumram. Hence the conclusion, that they probably belong to a post-Qumranic period (Qumran was most certainly destroyed in 68 C.E.). See J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, London, SCM Press, 1959, p. 33. More recently M. Black, "The Fragments of the Aramaic Enoch from Qumran", in: *La Littérature Juive* etc. ed. W. C. van Unnik, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974, p. 19, argued for a post-Christian & Jewish origin of these chapters.

in post-biblical Jewish literature. Thus, for instance, the main Hekhalot text, *Hekhalot Rabbati* ix,5, contains a brief reference to the "...wondrous and strange and great secret; the name through which the heaven and the earth were created, and all the orders of the creation of the world (Hebrew: *sidrei bereshit*)...were sealed by it".[16] Interestingly, both in the *Ethiopic Book of Enoch* and in *Hekhalot Rabbati* the "secret name" is put in apposition to the "oath" or the "great secret". And indeed, the secret name, or names, of God played a great role in some of the ancient Jewish concepts of creation. Thus we find in the Book of Jubilees xxxvi,7 that Isaac makes his sons swear "a great oath—for there is no oath which is greater than it—by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together...". Later on, in the third century C.E., we hear from Rav Yehudah in the name of Rav that "Bezal'el (*Exodus* xxxi,2) knew how to form the combinations (Hebrew: *lezaref*) of the letters (of the Alphabet) through which the heaven and the earth had been created".[17] Again, in the *Hebrew Book of Enoch* xli, reference is made to the letters by which the heaven and the earth were created. It is not said what these letters are and how they were combined. In fact, one may find in Jewish writings of the Talmudic times a number of theories with regard to the question: Which were the letters of the Alphabet used by God in the creation of the world? We cannot enter here a full-scale description and analysis of these theories, the most noteworthy of which is that in *Sefer Yezirah*.[18] All these theories lie on the borderline between magic and mysticism,[19] and they might be connected with certain speculations concerning the uttering of the tetragrammaton during the temple service,[20] and also with hellenistic logos-speculations.

[16] See G. Scholem, "Der Name Gottes und die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala", *Judaica III: Studien zur jüdischen Mystik*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970, pp. 7 ff.

[17] *Tal. Bav. Berakhot* 55a. The gemarā continues with quotations of verses in which divine wisdom and knowledge are mentioned in connection with the creation of the world. See further G. Quispel, "The Jung Codex and its Significance", in: *Gnostic Studies* I, Istanbul, Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut, 1974, pp. 21 ff.

[18] See I. Gruenwald, "Some Critical Notes on the First Part of *Sefer Yezira*", *Revue des Études Juives* CXXXII (1973), pp. 475 ff.

[19] Cf. N. Séd, "Le Sefer Ha-Razim et le Méthode de 'Combination des Lettres'", *Revue des Études Juives* CXXX (1971), pp. 295 ff.

[20] See G. Alon, *Studies in Jewish History* (in Hebrew), vol. I, Tel Aviv, 1957, pp. 194 ff.

All in all, when these secrets and oaths used in the creation of the world and which are operative in sustaining it are mentioned in Jewish post-biblical writings, they reflect a significant change in the religious attitude. Not only do the apocalyptists believe in the possibility that such secrets are accessible to man—at least on certain conditions which will be discussed later on—but the knowledge of these secrets opens the way for man's understanding of divine justice. The restrictions and limitations maintained in such books as *Job* are thus removed and, consequently, man is ready to receive the hitherto wanting explanations for the existence of evil and suffering in a world ruled by a benevolent God. The apocalyptists, who lived in the deep conviction that the days of the eschatological fulfilment were close at hand, believed that whatever had been concealed from man, because of the injustice that reigned in the world, could now be released for the knowledge and benefit of the just. It must be remembered that the apocalyptic writers believed that these secrets had been disclosed long before they were withdrawn from the knowledge of such people as Job. This belief belongs to the heart of apocalypticism as a pseudonymous literary genre. The secrets had been disclosed to the legendary sages of antiquity who in turn put them into books which were sealed away, and in that condition they were preserved till the eschatological time came to open them.[21]

It must be noted that the disclosure of cosmological secrets is not found in all apocalyptic writings. In *4 Ezra* we find the angel Uriel asking the apocalyptist a series of questions concerning natural phenomena, the purpose of which was to induce in Ezra, the apocalyptist, the same conclusion which Job had been induced to reach.[22] Similarly, *1 Enoch* xciii,11-14 contains a list of questions, such as "who is there that can behold all the works of heaven... and who is there of all men that could know what is the breadth and the length of the earth". These questions obviously originated from a different spiritual climate than did many of the experiences described in the

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[21] See, for instance, *1 Enoch* lxxxii; *4 Ezra* xii,36-38; xiv,24 ff.; all these in comparison to *Daniel* xii, on the one hand, and *Revelation* x and xxii,10, on the other.

[22] The Armenian text has even a more extensive list of such "impossible" subjects. See J. Issaverdens, *The Uncanonical Writings of the Old Testament Found in the Armenian MSS. of the Library of St. Lazarus*, Venice, Armenian Monastry of St. Lazarus, 1934, pp. 388-391. See the extensive discussion of the nature of such lists by M. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature", in: *Magnalia Dei* (see above n. 1), pp. 414-454.

other parts of the book. In a different context we meet yet another list of questions. In what in all likelihood is the oldest Hekhalot text we know of, *Hekhalot Zutreti*,[23] there is a list of questions such as "who is there who is able... to explore the world... to combine the letters, to say the names... and to know the lightning". If taken together, these last question-lists can lead to the conclusion that, parallel to the general concept found in apocalyptic literature and according to which there is a strong relationship between man's ability to comprehend the secrets of nature and his ability to understand the ways of God with man, there was a trend within the apocalyptic tradition itself which still stuck to the more Scriptural point of view. Yet, generally speaking, in contradistinction to the view held in Scripture according to which neither Nature nor human suffering is open to the understanding of man, the dominant tone in the apocalyptic tradition was that an understanding of nature and of human suffering is possible in an eschatological context. In this respect one may even consider such questions as in *1 Enoch* xciii,14 —"Or is there anyone who could discern... how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest"—as merely rhetorical questions that are explicitly, and affirmatively so, answered in the other parts of the book. If so, no real polemic can be found in apocalyptic circles with regard to the possibility of deciphering the secrets of Nature by apocalyptic methods. In addition, if one compares the questions, "And who is there that can behold the works of heaven? And should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see all their ends and think them or do like them" (*1 Enoch* xciii,11-12) with the ones of *Hekhalot Zutreti*, "And who is there who is able to ascend on high, to descend below... to behold what is on high, and to behold what is below", then the conclusion would appear to follow that—whatever their tone and purpose—certain apocalyptic modes of expression and thought were adapted by the Merkavah mystics.[24]

Yet again, one has to consider that, according to a tradition preserved in *1 Enoch* viii-xi and lxix,1-12, the rebellious angels taught mankind all kinds of secrets, some of which were also shown to the

[23] See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, Second, Improved Edition, New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965, p. 78.

[24] Cf. I. Gruenwald, *art. cit.*, above n. 8, p. 75/6.

apocalyptists.[25] On the other hand, it is stated in *2 Enoch* xxiv,3 [26] that God did not tell the secrets of the creation to His angels. Thus we may once again surmise, that a number of parallel, sometimes even conflicting, traditions with regard to the revelation of cosmological secrets were circulating among the apocalyptists, and one can only speculate as to what made each of them adopt this or that attitude. We know that heavenly ascensions, or descents to the underworld, were practised in many religions in the ancient world. We know, too, that in the intellectual world influenced by Greek thought a deep interest in Nature motivated and directed an intensive philosophical, or scientific, activity. The alleged resentment expressed by some of the apocalyptists with regard to the revelation of cosmological secrets could well have been motivated by a deeply-felt opposition to these kinds of non-Jewish activities. This resentment of all kinds of foreign influence may at least partly be attributed to the fact that some of the apocalyptists were driven by strong nationalistic emotions: those who had a bitter battle to fight for their true national identity were obviously zealous in their preservation of the genuine Jewish spirit.[27] However, what in every case remained was the new understanding which apocalypticism suggested for the problems of evil and human suffering.[28] Seen in a broader, eschatological, context both evil and suffering received different proportions. Their meaning and function was not to be decided anymore in relation to temporary pain and grief, but within the framework of history as a totality regulated by God from creation to salvation.

Thus, we may summarize, within the wisdom tradition of ancient Judaism apocalypticism introduced a number of new ideas and notions. We have followed one of them in detail, namely the revelation

[25] See above n. 11.

[26] Both recensions, the long and the short ones (A and B), testify to the same tradition.

[27] See M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, London, SCM Press, 1974, pp. 58 ff. Hengel is inclined to discuss apocalypticism within the framework of Hasidism, and it is indeed in such pietistic circles that one has to look for the documentary traces of anti-hellenistic opposition. On the other hand, apocalypticism as such could be a much more widely spread literary phenomenon than is sometimes maintained. For a priestly orientation in the interpretation of apocalypticism see K. Schubert, "*Das Zeitalter der Apokalyptik*", in F. Leist (ed.), *Seine Rede Geschah zu Mir*, München, Manz-Verlag, 1965, pp. 265-285.

[28] It must be left for further consideration whether there were any differences among the apocalyptists with regard to the inclusion of mythical material. At any rate, there are some apocalyptic books, such as *4 Ezra*, which are more reserved in their references to material that came from mythical sources.

of cosmological secrets and its relation to the problem of theodicy. While such books as *2* & *4 Maccabees* already contain an eschatological solution to the problems of evil and suffering,[29] the apocalyptic books which we have reviewed here relate the eschatological solution to the possibilities of enlarging and deepening man's knowledge of the world.[30] This knowledge does not come as a direct result of the inquisitive curiosity and efforts of man, but as a special supernatural revelation. The contents of these supernatural revelations were often seen as an anticipation of what the just ones are to experience in the world to come. Thus, in the so-called Apocalypse of Weeks, *1 Enoch* xci-xciii, it is said that, at the end of the seventh "week" (*i.e.*, unit of seven years), the righteous shall be elected "for true witnesses of the eternal plant of righteousness, to whom shall be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge".[31] And in another place Enoch summons his family to give them his spiritual testament, and among his prophecies for the eschatological future he mentions the fact that "the righteous shall arise from their sleep, and wisdom shall arise and be given to them".[32] If the wisdom granted to the apocalyptists corresponds to that promised to the righteous in the days to come, then apocalyptic revelation is one of the first, and necessary, stages in the process of salvation. No wonder, then, that the Qumran-psalmist quite often repeats his thanks for the revelation of secrets

[29] Scholars rightly debate over the question, whether *4 Maccabees* really contains the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. At least, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is not as straightforwardly expressed there as it is in *2 Maccabees*. See, G. W. Buchanan, "Introduction" to R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, New York, Schocken Books, 1963, p. xviii.

[30] In an interesting passage in *The Wisdom of Solomon* vii,15-21, the author, who hides behind the name of King Solomon, speaks of his great knowledge, and says, among other things: "For He has given me an unerring knowledge of the things that are, to know the constitution of the world, and the operation of the elements." This indeed, comes very close to the apocalyptic concept of revealed knowledge, and that in the context of wisdom literature!

[31] *1 Enoch* xciii,10. The translation here is that of the Aramaic text which has been found at Qumran. See, M. Black, "The Fragments of the Aramaic Enoch from Qumran", in: *La Littérature Juive entre Tenach et Mischna*, ed. W. C. van Unnik, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1974, p. 24. Charles's translation of the Ethiopic text reads: "And at its close shall be elected the elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness, to receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation". Notice the difference between the Aramaic and the Ethiopic texts: While the Aramaic refers to "sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" in general, the Ethiopic text specifies and says: "sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation".

[32] *Ibid.*, xci,10. As has been variously observed, the Ethiopic text here preserves a corrupt order of chapter and verses.

granted to him by God.[33] This assumption of a relation between the revelation of secrets to the apocalyptists and the future revelation of knowledge to the righteous approaches the conclusion maintained by the early gnostics, that knowledge is a *conditio sine qua non* for salvation. Although the gnostic concept of knowledge is much more complex and developed than the one we find in apocalypticism, it still seems that the relation between knowledge and salvation was one of the major elements which Jewish apocalyptic contributed to the development of gnosticism.[34]

C

We have begun our discussion of Jewish apocalyptic with some remarks concerning the place it holds within the framework of Jewish wisdom literature. Before we go on with our discussion, it seems fitting to quote yet another source which significantly bears on the problems raised in the previous section. *The Testament of Job*, which is based on the story of the Biblical Book of Job,[35] mentions at one point the following conversation between Baldas (= Bildad) and Job:[36]

Baldas: ...But if you are really in a stable condition, I shall ask you about something, and if you answer me sensibly at first, I will question you a second time... Or who can ever comprehend the deep things of the Lord and His wisdom so that someone dares to ascribe to the Lord an injustice?... And again I say to you... why do we see the sun rising in the east and setting in the west, and again when we get up early we find the same sun rising in the east?...

Job: ...For who are we to be busying ourselves with heavenly matters, seeing that we are fleshly and have our lot in dust and ashes? Therefore... listen to what I ask you: Food through the mouth, and then water through the mouth is swallowed in the same throat. But when the two fall into the latrine, they are then separated from each other. Who then divides them?

[33] See, for instance, *The Psalms Scroll* (*Hodayot*; *1 QH*), IV, 27-29; XI, 15-17. Cf. W. D. Davies, "Knowledge in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in *Matthew* xi,25-30", *Harvard Theological Review* XLVI (1953), pp. 113-139.

[34] See I. Gruenwald, in: *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), pp. 75 ff.

[35] For an "Annotated Chronological Bibliography" of the various problems involved in the study of *The Testament of Job*, cf. R. Spittler, in: *The Testament of Job according to the SV Text, Greek Text and English Translation*, edited by Robert A. Kraft, Society of Biblical Literature & Scholars' Press, 1974, pp. 17-20.

[36] *The Testament of Job* (see previous note), xxxvi,8-xxxviii,8 (5). The dramatized form is mine.

Baldas: I do not know.
Job: If you do not understand the function of the body, how will you understand the heavenly matters.

Although parts of the arguments, the nature of which we have discussed in the previous section, are here put into the mouth of Job, the passage still goes in line with the basic idea which the Book of Job advocates.

The *Testament of Job* was written most probably at a time when Jewish apocalyptic flourished, and it may be asked whether the tones struck by the writer are not in their own way a kind of reaction against the higher kinds of knowledge which some of the apocalyptists claimed to have received. Of course, one may see in the above quoted conversation between Baldad and Job a mere and innocent reflection of the mood which prevails in the Book of Job. But if one holds this conversation against the light thrown by one of the most famous passages from Ben-Sira, then a different way of looking at the conversation becomes plausible. In *Ben-Sira* iii,18-25 we find the following statements:

...Humble thyself in all greatness of the world
And thou wilt find mercy in the sight of God.
For many are the mercies of God,
And to the humble He revealeth His secret.
Seek not (to understand) what is too wonderful for thee,
And search not out that which is hid from thee.
Meditate upon that which thou must grasp
And be not occupied with that which is hid.
Have naught to do with that which is beyond thee,
For more hath been shown to thee than thou canst understand.
For many are the conceits of the sons of men,
And evil imaginations lead astray.
Where there is no apple of the eye, light is lacking,
And where there is no knowledge wisdom is wanting.[37]

Basically, two contrasting interpretations have been suggested for these verses. According to the one, Ben Sira here simply intends to discourage people from engaging in matters and problems that are

[37] The English translation is that of Box and Oesterley in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. I, p. 325/6. For the textual problems involved in these verses see, H. P. Rüger, *Text und Textform im Hebräischen Sirach*, Beiheft CXII zur *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1970, pp. 30 ff.

beyond their physical or spiritual reach.[38] According to the other interpretation, which is supported by the contexts in which verses 21 and 22 (seek not... is hid) are quoted in talmudic and midrashic sources,[39] these verses are a straightforward call to refrain from exploring the secrets of nature and of the Deity. Both interpretations are in a way justified, and indeed there is no decisive proof in favour of either. It may, however, be argued, that from the way in which Ben Sira refers to the heavenly translation of Enoch [40] and to the vision of Ezekiel [41] one may well infer, that Ben Sira was familiar with some early kinds of apocalyptic or mystical traditions, and that the above quoted verses from chapter iii were therefore an exhortation directed to the general public to refrain from all kinds of speculations which involved apocalyptic experiences.

If so, two conflicting views may be detected in the ancient Jewish Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha with regard to the question of the revelation of cosmological secrets. According to one view, represented chiefly in the Enoch corpus of writings, man may receive such supernatural revelations concerning natural phenomena. According to the other view, no such revelations are possible, or at least they should not be desired and trusted. Even if they come to men, they have no relevance to the basic problems of man's existence. And, finally, although we do lack clear literary evidence, there are good reasons to believe that the above mentioned conflicting views were much older and more widely spread in Jewish thought than their documented evidence. As we know, the literary prehistory of apocalypticism is rather vague and the attempts to reconstruct it are highly speculative. It is therefore difficult to tell whether the above mentioned conflict began with the rise of apocalypticism itself or whether it is older, in spite of the fact that the literary evidence for it is no more

[38] See Y. Gutman, *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1958, vol. I, p. 173.

[39] See M. Z. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira Ha-Shalem*, Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1958, p. 17/8.

[40] *Ben Sira* xliv,16; xliv,14. For the textual problems see Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada*, Jerusalem, The Israel Exploration Society, 1965, p. 38. See further, J. C. Greenfield, "Prolegomenon" to *op. cit.* (above n. 13), p. xlvi, n. 27; D. Lührmann, "Henoch und die Metanoia", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* LXVI (1975), pp. 103 ff.

[41] *Ben Sira* xlix,8. See I. Gruenwald, "Jewish Mysticism in the Time of the Mishnah and Talmud", in: *Compendia Rerum Judaicorum ad Novum Testamentum*. Forthcoming.

in our hands. Furthermore, what in modern scholarship is rather loosely called "biblical apocalyptic" [42] can only be considered with due reservation as the forerunner of post-biblical, pseudonymous, apocalyptic, and in any case it does not contain any descriptions of heavenly ascensions and the secret cosmological knowledge gained in the course of such alleged ascensions. In addition, although it may seem an overstatement, it still does not fall short of the truth to say that some of the basic attitudes maintained in apocalyptic were formed by some degree of confrontation with some of the prevailing ideas found in Scripture. This particularly holds true, as we are going to see immediately, when one examines some of the utterances found in apocalyptic with regard to biblical prophecy. Thus one may look at the apocalyptic ascensions as a kind of challenge to basic beliefs postulated in Scripture. When we read *Psalm* cxv,16—"The heavens are the Lord's heavens, but the earth he has given to the sons of men" in combination with *Proverbs* xxx,4—"Who has ascended to heaven and come down"—then it clearly appears that these biblical writers were, so-to-speak, geocentrically minded. And indeed the wisdom of Israel was the Torah—"for that will be your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the peoples" (*Deuteronomy* iv,6) [43] —and the Torah clearly is on earth: "For this commandment... is not in heaven..." (*ibid.* xxx,11-12). Yet, some of the apocalyptists thought otherwise, and as we are going to see later on, the debate over the question whether heavenly ascensions were possible or not was still carried on in tannaitic circles.

D

The attitude of the apocalyptic writers towards biblical prophecy is somewhat provocatively stated in some of the apocalyptic writings, and particularly so in those of the Qumran community. The Qumranites were justifiably called an apocalyptic community,[44] and although, as far as we know, their apocalyptic experiences were of a more literary character, the contents of their revelations were in many respects similar to those received by the other apocalyptists.

[42] See J. Lindblom, *Die Jesaja-Apokalypse: Jes. 24-27*, Lund Universitets Arsskrift, N.F. I, 34, 3, Lund und Leipzig, 1938; J. Schreiner, *Alttestamentliche-jüdische Apokalyptik*, München, Kasel Verlag, 1969.

[43] Cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the deuteronomic School*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, p. 244 ff.

[44] See chiefly, F. M. Cross Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, 1961, pp. 76-78.

Basically, they claimed that among the revelations given them were the correct explications of Scripture.[45] Some of their writings in fact were eschatological commentaries to Scripture, and in them they believed to have uncovered the exclusive inner meaning and terms of reference of the biblical text.[46] The Qumran people devoted much of their time to the study of the Torah,[47] and if we may generalize certain of their rulings, they were so organized as to ensure that in every group of people there should be at least one priest whose duty it was to study the Law and to lay its explication before the members of the group.[48] The Word of God, they appear to have believed, was given in at least two principle stages of revelation: before and after the formation of the New Covenant in the "Desert of Damascus".[49] The New Covenant did not mean the giving of new Scriptures, but the revelation of special methods of discovering the inner and true sense of the old ones. In fact, the Qumran sectarians believed in a series of additional stages in which this inner sense of Scripture came to the fore. Nothing specific is said about the number of these additional stages and when they would be initiated, but the idea is several times stressed in their writings,[50] and it is juxtaposed to the complementary idea about the various individual degrees in knowledge of Scripture.[51]

[45] See H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1957, vol. I; F. F. Bruce, *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1959; O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960.

[46] See I. Gruenwald, "The Jewish Esoteric Literature in the Time of the Mishnah and Talmud", *Immanuel* IV (1974), pp. 37 ff.

[47] According to *1 QS* (= *The Manual of Discipline*) VI,7 each member of the community had to spend at least one third of the nights of the year in the reading of the Book, in the study of the Law and in the communal meals or gatherings.

[48] *1 QS* VI,3; *CD* (= *The Damascus Covenant*) XIII,2 ff. In both cases the number of the members of the group is ten; but in *1 QS* VIII,1 a group consisting of twelve laymen and three priests is mentioned, while *CD* X,4-6 mentions six laymen and four priests. The age of the officiating priests should be between thirty and sixty (*CD* XIV,7).

[49] See mainly the first four pages of *CD*. For a recent discussion of the various theories with regard to the history of the sect cf., J. Murphy-O'Connor, O.P., "The Essenes and their History", *Revue Biblique* LXXXI (1974), pp. 215 ff.

[50] See, for instance, *1 QS* VIII,15/6; IX,12-14,20.

[51] See particularly, *1 QS* V,23; VI,14,18. It seems that, at least among some of the sectarians, additional means of gradation were applied. Thus in *4 Q* 186 astrological, physiognomic and similar techniques are applied in defining the qualities of those who desired to become members of the sect. See I. Gruenwald, "Further Jewish Physiognomic and Chiromantic Fragments", *Tarbiz* XL (1971),

At its face value the attitude of the Qumranites to Scripture can be viewed as a process of bringing Scripture up-to-date. In their *Pesharim* (= commentaries) they interpreted the biblical verses mainly in the light of events happening in their lifetime or of events which they believed were imminent in the near future. Much of what is found in those *Pesharim* is in the form of what was later on called *Midrash*. But in contradistinction to the material found in the rabbinical midrashic literature many of the Qumran *Pesharim* proclaim themselves to be exclusive revelations of secrets. We shall illustrate the Qumranic *Pesharim*-method by referring to a passage from the *Pesher Habakkuk* (1 QpHab) vii,1-13. The passage has been quoted before by various scholars in order to illustrate the Pesharim-method, yet its radical qualities have not always been adequately stressed. Briefly, what the passage says is, that the *Moreh Ha-Zedek* ("the Teacher of Righteousness"), the spiritual leader of the Qumran sect, received information about the true meaning of the prophecy which Habakkuk, the prophet, had received. Referring to *Habakkuk* ii,1-3 the Qumran-commentator says:

> And God told Habakkuk to write down that which would happen to the final generation, but He did not make known to him when time would come to an end. And as for that which He said, *That he who reads it may read speedily*, interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets... the final age shall be prolonged, and shall exceed all that the prophets have said; for the mysteries of God are astounding... For all the ages of God reach their appointed end as He determines for them in the mysteries of His wisdom.[52]

As a careful reading of the passage shows, it is not only the true meaning of Habakkuk's prophecy that the Teacher of Righteousness received, but also some additional information concerning the prolongation of the eschatological end. The words uttered by the prophet contained secrets the revelation of which was reserved for the Teacher of Righteousness. Whether Habakkuk himself was aware of the fact that he was actually talking in riddles or in a code that had to be deciphered, or whether he was quite ignorant of the inner layers of meaning which had to be attached to his prophecy, it is clear that the revelation of that secret meaning had to wait for

pp. 301 ff. See also the thoroughgoing discussion of J. Licht in *Tarbiz* XXXV (1966), pp. 18-26.

[52] English translation: G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1962, p. 236/7.

the spiritual leader of the sect. All this, the passage repeatedly says, was according to the wondrous secrets of the Deity. What practically made God reveal to the Teacher the inner mysteries of the Habakkuk-prophecies was the approaching time of fulfilment. In the age to which Habakkuk had assumably referred to in his prophecy, the time was ripe for making the necessary exegetical connections between the words of the prophecy and the events to which they were thought to refer.

The prophetic utterances had to await an apocalyptic revelation for their inner truth to be made explicit. For the first time we hear that Scripture cannot, and should not, be read only for its external meaning. This awareness of the existence of an inner truth was complemented by the revelation of that very truth. If there was any crisis with regard to prophecy because people saw that a lot of what was the prophetic word of God remained unfulfilled, then the apocalyptic process of updating prophecy was to remove the scepticism of the people.[53] But to see in the written word of God a vessel containing some inner truth apart from the obvious external meaning —is the essence of the esoteric approach to Scripture. Apocalypticism was often described as being esoteric in nature [54] mainly because it pertained to be an exclusive revelation of secrets.[55] Added to this was the pseudepigraphic way of writing, which was sometimes interpreted as the result of the desire to enhance the element of secrecy. Of course, one cannot altogether dismiss the exclusiveness and the secrecy of the revelation, or even the pseudepigraphic way of writing; they are weighty factors in shaping the special qualities of apocalypticism.[56] But what makes some of the apocalyptic books esoteric as they are, is the special attitude maintained in them regarding their relationship to the previous revelation in Scripture.

"Esotericism", thus, is here taken to mean a special attitude towards Scripture and the explication of its content. The passage from *Pesher Habakkuk* makes it sufficiently clear that Scripture is considered as a code, the indications for the decipherment of which are given in a special revelation. As such, it is a classic example of an esoteric text.

[53] See P. von der Osten-Sacken, *op. cit.* (above n. 14), p. 33.

[54] See D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London, SCM Press, 1964, pp. 107 ff.

[55] See A. Böhlig, *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1968, pp. 3-40.

[56] See M. Hengel, "Anonymität, Pseudepigraphie und 'Literarische Fälschung' in der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur", *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique* XVIII (1972), pp. 191 ff.

The degree to which the apocalyptic revelation finds itself disentangled from and independent of the biblical text on which it leans varies from one apocalyptic text to the other. In the Qumran *Pesharim* eschatological and messianic meanings are read into the biblical text. In other words, historical references are attributed to texts which seem to lack precise historical specifications. Comparatively speaking, however, the *Pesharim* do not entail too drastic changes or additions to the biblical text. They are the product of a group which believed it lived in an age of the fulfilment of Scripture, and of the desire to view the events of that age as the fulfilment of Scripture.

However, the esoteric element of the *Pesharim* is not as radical as the one we encounter in other, pseudepigraphic, apocalyptic books.[57] A typical example of a pseudepigraphic book in which esotericism receives noteworthy radical dimensions is the Book of Jubilees.[58] The book pretends to be the revelation given by the Angel of the Divine Presence to Moses on Mount Sinai. It tells the story of the world from the days of the creation till the theophany on Mount Sinai, and in many respects it poses as a rival version to the one found in Scripture. It is exactly here that the esoteric qualities of the Book of Jubilees come to the fore. Reading the book, one gets the clear impression that the author wants to convince his readers of the existence of two parallel versions of the biblical story: the one, the exoteric revelation given by God himself and recorded in Scripture, and the other, the esoteric one given by the angel and recorded in the Book of Jubilees. The very fact of the revelation of the Book of Jubilees can be interpreted to mean that there are so-to-speak two complementary versions of the truth: the one given exoterically to the whole of the People of Israel, and the other given esoterically to the initiate alone.

The essential difference between the exoteric revelation of Scripture and the esoteric one in *Jubilees* lies in a variety of details. In the eyes of the author of *Jubilees*, the story found in *Genesis* and in *Exodus* seemed to lack essential details which pointed to a recognizable guiding idea. Hence, it was the task of the Book of Jubilees to dis-

[57] The esoteric qualities of the Qumran writings have been discussed also by H. Braun, *op. cit.* (above n. 45). But Braun limits his understanding of esotericism to the exclusiveness of the revelation.

[58] In spite of a considerable number of studies concerned with the dating and the evaluation of the book, many of the more essential problems which the book raises for the scholar are still unsolved.

close those details and inner ideological patterns that were believed to underlie everything that is told in these two books in Scripture. We need not enter here a detailed discussion of these ideological patterns, but it may be safely assumed that the eschatological idea of the purpose and the direction in the history of the world and that of the People of Israel is one of the guiding ideas of the book.[59] Only with the disclosure of those patterns and ideas the scriptural story was believed to receive its true meaning and perspective. This is the theory that underlies the Book of Jubilees. No event in the history of the world and of the People of Israel could be properly understood and evaluated unless it conceptually and practically became part of the underlying scheme the details of which are revealed in the book. A particular sense of direction and purpose which among other things was revealed in the Book of Jubilees was believed to add extra dimensions to the scriptural story. These dimensions were withheld or else not explicitly and manifestly expressed in Scripture. They were revealed in a special way to Moses on Mount Sinai, and henceforth their revelation was restricted to a limited number of those who were to be guided by them in their daily life, beliefs and practices.

Thus, what really gives the Book of Jubilees its unique esoteric character is neither the secrecy of its revelation nor its exclusiveness. Even the pseudepigraphic attribution of the book to the Angel of the Countenance cannot epitomize the esoteric quality of the book. All these factors should be viewed only as formal aspects in qualifying esotericism. Where the real qualities of esotericism come in this case to the fore is in the contents of the new revelations and their relation to the previous revelation in Scripture. The discovery of the underlying structures is the basic component in the new revelation as we find it in *Jubilees*, and it is imposed therein on the biblical story in various forms, such as the periodization into jubilees of history and in the manner of practising the religious Law.[60] In addition, and this certainly is the most crucial point of all, the Book of Jubilees explicitly advocates a solar calendar as opposed to the lunar calendar that was believed to be implied in Scripture and officially practised

[59] See G. L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1971.

[60] The subject of the Halakhah in the Book of Jubilees was treated in Ch. Albeck, *Das Buch Jubiläen und die Halacha*, Berlin, 1930, see further, G. Vermes, "Sectarian Matrimonial Halakhah in the Damascus Rule", *Journal of Jewish Studies* XXV (1974), pp. 197-202.

in its time.[61] What all this amounts to is a process of rewriting Scripture. And since this rewritten version of the biblical story is revealed to Moses himself, the problems that arise are as sharp and bewildering as one can imagine.

As Professor Scholem has rightly observed,[62] it was only natural for Jewish groups who propagated dissident views to base their views and ideas on Scripture. This was generally done by claiming an exclusive revelation of the true meaning of Scripture. Whether this so-called true meaning of Scripture was presented to the public in the form of a running commentary or in a rewritten version of Scripture makes no real difference, particularly so if both are attributed to some kind of supernatural revelation. Thus it may be concluded that esotericism should be qualified more by virtue of the content of the revelation than by the formal, and mainly literary, modes of presentation. The content of the revelation is mostly connected with Scripture, and claims to expose the latent, inner and exclusive sense of Scripture. The authority of an angel is in this case an almost inevitable ingredient, all the more so when to it is added the authority of one of the illustrious sages of antiquity to whom the angel presented the revelation.

E

It must, however, be noted that not all the pseudepigraphic books are necessarily of an esoteric nature in our sense of the term. A notable example of an apocalyptic book which has no full esoteric qualities is *4 Ezra*. Although the book is pseudepigraphically attributed to Ezra the Scribe, and contains angelic revelations, it nevertheless does not pretend to uncover systematically hidden layers of any specific scriptural passages. In addition, the book contains a well-defined eschatological scheme, but, as it does not always bear a direct relation to Scripture, it cannot be called esoteric in the sense in which we have defined esotericism in *Pesher Habakkuk* and in *Jubilees*.

Apocalyptic, as we saw, could, but did not necessarily, mean the re-writing of Scripture. *Jubilees* certainly rewrites Scripture but so does also *Pseudo-Philo Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*,[63] which tells its

[61] See most recently, S. Zeitlin, *Studies in the Early History of Judaism*, New York, Ktav Publishing House, vol. I (1973), pp. 183-211; and further vol. II (1974), pp. 116-164.

[62] See above n. 4.

[63] See lately, D. J. Harrington, "The Original Language of *Pseudo Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*", *Harvard Theological Review* LXIII (1970), pp. 503 ff.;

own version of what happened from the days of the creation of the world till the days of King Saul. But, while the Book of Jubilees poses as an angelic revelation, it presses some kind of additional ideological pattern on history and on religious practice, and this by making manifest alleged hidden meanings of Scripture, the Book of the Antiquities is more in the manner of a running midrash, which adds or subtracts from the biblical account of events, but adds no ideological schemes to the manifest content of Scripture. Above all, it does not claim angelic authority for itself. Yet, there are several passages in the Book of Antiquities which freely rewrite Biblical stories,[64] and hence its partial resemblence at least to *Jubilees*. Admittedly, the process of rewriting Scripture was widely spread and applied, and what characterizes the esoteric apocalyptic way of rewriting Scripture therefore is its claim to be an exclusive supernatural revelation regarding the secret meaning and significance of the scriptural text. As a matter of fact, traces of rewriting Scripture can already be detected in Scripture itself: the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler are two famous examples of that. In a wider sense one can regard the writings of Philo as drastic examples of rewriting Scripture, though his allegorical method of exegesis involved additional and complicated ways of interpretation.[65] Even Josephus Flavius, who wanted to reconstruct the ancient history of the People of Israel in his *Jewish Antiquities*, applied to a considerable extent the method of rewriting Scripture. And, finally, the rabbinical midrash-literature contains passages which, *de facto* at least, render Scripture in a rewritten form.[66] But in none of these does the re-written product claim to be a secret, angelic, revelation of the ultimate meaning of Scripture.

The process of rewriting Scripture thus turns out to be a widespread and acknowledged method in biblical exegesis, and is not restricted to esoteric writings. From Judaism the method was trans-

idem, *The Hebrew Fragments of Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum Preserved in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, Missoula, Montana, Society of Biblical Literature, 1974. A. Zeron, "Einige Bemerkungen zu M. F. Collins 'The Hidden Vessels in Samaritan Traditions'", *Journal for the Study of Judaism* IV (1974), pp. 165-168, repeats the theory that one can trace antisamaritan polemic in the book.

[64] Such as the Prayer of Moses in xii,8-9, and more emphatically even in the story of Bilam's blessings in xviii,10 ff.

[65] For a good description of Philo's method of biblical exegesis see, R. Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970.

[66] This aspect in rabbinical midrash has not yet been studied.

ferred to Christian writers, and especially to the writers of Gnosticism.[67] Several of the major texts of Gnosticism, some of which have been found at Nag Hammadi, based their subject matter on biblical stories, notably those found in the first chapters of *Genesis*, and presented them in a rewritten form.[68] What is more, most of these gnostic texts are in one way or another attributed to supernatural revelations, and at least in one of them we find the angel saying that the new revelation is not as Moses said.[69] It is here that the delicate borderline between esotericism and heresy has been crossed. By attributing the revelation to an angel who pertains to disclose the innermost secrets implied in the scriptural text almost everything that a writer wanted to propagate could be said. Since everything bore the trademark of an exclusive secret there was neither limit nor criterion as to what should or could be said. Thus, to come back to Jewish apocalyptic, a considerable amount of mythical material could find its way into that literature. Generally, as we know, Scripture maintained a reserved and hesitant attitude towards mythological material. At least, very little of ancient mythology found its way into Scripture.[70] Apocalypticism, however, could digest almost everything, particularly so if it contributed to furthering the ideological purposes of the writer, and had the authority of an angel and of antiquity.

Thus, some of the apocalyptists preached the existence of dualistic forces in the world.[71] We find in apocalypticism a well developed angelology which, most likely, derived a good deal of its characteristic features from foreign sources. These sources, whatever their nature and quality, reached the apocalyptists in a variety of ways, most of which are no more recognizable. Yet, the place they succeeded in occupying in apocalyptic is so dominant as to give the whole of this literature some of its idiosyncratic character. What is

[67] See R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1959, pp. 32 ff.

[68] Two important examples are, *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, ed. R. A. Bullard, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970; and *Die koptisch-gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag Hammadi*, ed. A. Böhlig and P. Labib, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1962. See further, below Chapter Four, n. 62.

[69] See *Apocryphon Johannis*, ed. S. Giversen, Copenhagen, Prostant Apud Munksgaard, 1963, plates 61,20; 70,22; 71,3; 77,6.

[70] For a recent discussion of the mythological elements that found their way into Scripture see F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1973.

[71] For a detailed discussion of the dualism of the Qumran sect see, J. Gruenwald in: *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), pp. 77 ff.

so outstanding in this mythological material in general and in the angelology in particular is once again the fact that it poses as the real, true and inner meaning of Scripture. Scripture is rewritten in such a way as to include the whole lot of these foreign elements. The legitimation of this material comes, as we saw, from the fact that it has the authority of the angelic revelation, and partly also from the fact that the revelation is—fictitiously so—given to one of the sages of scriptural times.[72]

The conclusion that can be reached from the previous discussion is, that apocalypticism transcended the world of Scripture not only in supplying information which is not explicitly contained therein, but also in attempting to open to man, at least to a chosen elite of the People of Israel, a wider range of emotional and intellectual experience. Whatever purposes apocalypticism consciously served in the eyes of those who cultivated its ideas and forms of expression, it also paved the way for the experiences and literature of the mystical circles from the time of the Tannaim onwards. But before we turn to the Jewish mysticism of the time of the Tannaim and Amoraim, we shall look at the mystical passages found in some of the apocalyptic books.

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[72] Unfortunately L. Hartman, *Prophesy Interpreted*, Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1966, softens the theological radicalism of apocalyptic, and this mainly because he does not pay full attention to the esoteric qualities of that literature.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MYSTICAL ELEMENTS IN APOCALYPTIC

A

In the previous chapter we discussed several elements of Jewish apocalyptic in the light of some characteristic notions found in biblical Prophecy and Wisdom. It could be noticed that the writer subscribed to the view, that apocalyptic cannot be adequately explained in the light of *either* Prophecy *or* Wisdom.[1] Apocalyptic is much too complex a phenomenon to be explained by an either/or-theory. Nor can justice be done to the phenomenon if only *one* central quality is selected as its more characteristic feature, and the one that best explains it. Prophecy and Wisdom both had their respective share in the formation of apocalyptic, but there were also other factors which contributed in their own ways to endow apocalyptic with its idiosyncratic shape and content. Hence, the present chapter will be devoted to a discussion of the mystical elements in apocalyptic. Particular attention will be given to those apocalyptic books which describe heavenly ascensions and contain relatively detailed accounts of visions in which the God and His hosts of angels appear to the apocalyptists.

These mystical visions too had their antecedents in biblical literature, yet the way these visions are described in apocalyptic, and also the place they occupy there, make it clear that a new religious mood and interest are pervasive in these books. It would be difficult to assess with certainty the role and place that these mystical visions occupied within the general apocalyptic experience. What, in any event, seems safe to say is, that in comparison to the parallel material in Scripture, the mystical visions found in apocalyptic literature are much more intense and elaborate in the embellishment of the description. The passages in Scripture which contain such visions are: *1 Kings* xxii,19;

[1] In recent years it was G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, München, Ch. Kaiser Verlag, 1966, Band II, p. 327, who advocated the Wisdom-origin of apocalyptic: "die apokalyptischen Schriften ... in der Überlieferung der Weisheit wurzeln".

Isaiah vi,1 ff.; and *Ezekiel* i; iii,22-24; viii,1 ff.; x.[2] In a broader sense one can include here the theophany at Mount Sinai (*Exodus* xix,16-18; xx,15-18; xxiv,16-18; *Deuteronomy* v,19-24), and the prologue to *Job*. Finally, we find the vision of *Daniel* vii,9-10, which evidently is in line with the visions described in *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*, but because of its date of composition is already considered as apocalyptic literature. Summing up certain features in the theophany-tradition in the early history of the People of Israel, F. M. Cross says that "It is not coincidental that the language of theophany and the imagery of revelation derived from the mythology of the storm-God largely fell out of use, beginning in the ninth century, and including the two centuries to follow, in prophetic Yahwism. The prophets chose another language, other imagery with which to describe their intercourse with Yahweh, drawn as we have seen from the concept of the messenger of the Council of 'El... Nevertheless, they used a refined or purged language of revelation, because Yahweh, so to say, no longer used the storm as a mode of self-manifestation".[3] Professor Cross obviously has in mind the difference in the language and the imagery between such theophanies as those described in *2 Samuel* xxii,8-16, on the one hand, and those described in *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*, on the other. But schematizations whenever they are made should be applied with caution, and it seems that *Ezekiel* i,4, for instance, has still something in common with the storm-God theophanies. And although God is described in the theophany of *2 Samuel* xxii as riding the stormy clouds, He still occupies there a Palace (*Hekhal*; *ibid.*, v.7) as He does in *Isaiah* vi,1.[4]

There is a vast literature in which the various types of biblical theophany are extensively discussed.[5] We may, therefore, immediately

[2] A similar vision is referred to in xliii,3-4; but the vision in viii,2 is most probably that of an angel. Compare also *Daniel* x,5-6.

[3] F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1973, p. 191.

[4] It is useless to enter here the discussion whether Isaiah saw the *Hekhal* in heaven or on earth in the temple in Jerusalem. A rather fantastic view on the subject is expressed by A. Aptowitzer in *Tarbiz* II (1931), p. 144/5. According to Aptowitzer, Isaiah actually saw the *Hekhal* in the Jerusalem-Temple but in the course of the vision Isaiah himself translated the whole scenery unto heaven!

[5] Some of the more recent extensive studies of the subject of biblical theophanies are: J. Lindblom, "Theophanies in Holy Places in Hebrew Religion", *Hebrew Union College Annual* XXXII (1961), pp. 91-106; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1965; F. M. Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff.

turn to those visions in Scripture which are more mystically oriented, that is, visions in which God appears to man in a man-like form and seated upon a throne. The relevant visions in this respect are those in *2 Kings*, in *Isaiah*, in *Ezekiel* and in *Daniel*. Taken together these visions display the following characteristic features:

a. God is sitting on a throne;
b. He has the appearance of a man (*Ezekiel*) and particularly that of an old, white-haired man (*Daniel*);
c. God is sitting in a palace (*2 Kings*, *Isaiah*, and *Daniel*);[6]
d. Fire occupies an important position in the vision (*Ezekiel*, *Daniel* and indirectly also in *Isaiah*);[7]
e. God is accompanied by angels who minister to Him (*2 Kings*, *Isaiah*, *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*);
f. The angels recite hymns (*Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*).

All these elements became major components in the mystical visions found in apocalyptic and later on in the Merkavah visions of the *Hekhalot* literature (= the mystical writings of the time of the Talmud). If one can speak of a Jewish mystical tradition that had more or less unified qualities, then, it seems, the above enumerated features are the more characteristic ones in that tradition. This is not to say that these elements are all simultaneously found and equally stressed in all the visions we know of. Although later visionaries allowed themselves freedom of imagination, it may be said that they followed some kind of standard, the nature of which was basically modelled on these features.

We shall now turn to an analysis of the various mystical visions in apocalyptic literature. Our attention will be given chiefly to those elements in the visions which were dominant in later developments of Jewish mysticism.

[6] As for Isaiah see above n. 4. The visions in *2 Kings* and in *Daniel* do not explicitly mention a palace, but there is nothing in them that contradicts the assumption that a divine palace is actually presupposed there. In *Ezekiel*, however, it is clear that God is moving about in the cosmos. The visions in *Amos* vii,7 and ix,1 seem to belong to a different type of theophany: the allegorical elements in them is predominant.

[7] Decisive in this respect was the theophany on Mount Sinai where God revealed Himself in the Great Fire (*Deuteronomy* iv,7). See E. E. Urbach, "The Traditions about Merkabah Mysticism in the Tannaitic Period", *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1967, Hebrew Section, pp. 7 ff. It should be noted that from *Ezekiel* onwards crystal and sapphire play a major role in mystical visions. We shall come back to this point soon.

B

First, we will deal with the two visions contained in the *Ethiopic Enoch* xiv and lxxi. These two visions do not belong to the same literary stratum, and it is generally believed that the second one belongs to the latest part of the book. What, however, they have in common is, that in contradistinction to the mystical visions in Scripture, they maintain that the visions were granted in the course of heavenly ascensions.[8] It has been noted in the previous chapter that according to Scripture nothing attainable to man is to be searched for in heaven. Everything that man should know can be revealed in such a manner that people need not search for extraordinary and supernatural experiences. Unfortunately, lack of literary evidence makes it difficult for us to state with certainty when heavenly ascensions were first systematically practised in Judaism. But, what can be said is, that at least at the time of the composition of the Book of Enoch, the practice was already seriously considered by the people to whom the book was addressed.

The vision of *1 Enoch* xiv comes in the middle of the scene where Enoch is described as having ascended unto heaven to intercede on behalf of the fallen angels. It is introduced in xiv,8 where Enoch says that in his dream-vision he saw himself uplifted to heaven by clouds.[9] The first thing which Enoch says he saw in heaven is "a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire" (xiv,9). As it turned out to be, the wall surrounded a house. The house, no doubt, is identical with the heavenly divine palace,[10] yet

[8] Aramaic fragments of this vision as they were found in Cave 4 at Qumran are now published by J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976, pp. 348-351. Unfortunately, the texts are too fragmentary to draw any conclusions from them, and Milik's attempts to reconstruct the text cannot be discussed here. According to J. Daniélou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*, Tournai, Desclée & Co., 1958, pp. 131 ff., heavenly ascensions are the trade mark of Jewish-Christian apocalyptic. Yet, this view has its obvious tendentious shortcomings.

[9] The details of the ascent are not sufficiently clear, though the whole description most likely derives from *2 Kings* ii,11. See further *1 Enoch* xxxix,3; lii,1; lxx,2; *2 Enoch* iii,1 (version A). In midrashic literature it is told that Moses ascended to heaven in (!) a cloud: *Pesikta Rabbati*, ed. M. Friedmann, 96b (= A. Jellinek, *Bet Ha-Midrasch*, vol. I, p. 59). In *Tanḥumā* (ed. Buber), "*Ẓav*", Parag. 16, it is said that the just ones ascend to heaven in clouds which God supplies for that purpose.

[10] The analysis of this vision as found in H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1951, p. 54, by no means exhausts the material.

the way it is described requires some comment. The house, its walls, its floor and its groundwork, was built of crystal.[11] Now, this description of the crystal-like appearance of the walls most probably derives from *Ezekiel* i,22, where the prophet says that "Over the heads of the living creatures there was the likeness of a firmament, shining like crystal".[12] This description of what the walls of the house looked like is quite rare, and actually its main parallel is to be found in two places connected with the visions of the *Hekhalot* mystics.[13] What equally strikes the eye in the sight of the walls is the fact, that they are surrounded by fiery flames. Twelve times is the fire mentioned in this vision, and this naturally enhances the numinous quality of the vision.[14] The fact that Enoch went into the tongues of fire without being burned could be reminiscent of *Isaiah* xliii,2—"when you walk through fire you shall not be burned etc."—with all its eschatological connotations. But it also bears resemblance to *2 Enoch* xxii, where it is told of Enoch that he was divested of his earthly garments and clad in heavenly ones so as to protect him against the various

[11] The Greek fragments of *1 Enoch* here use two separate terms: of the wall surrounding the house (verse 9) it is said that it was built ἐν λίθοις χαλάζης (= of hailstones; cf. *Isaiah* xxx,30), while of the walls mentioned in verse 10 it is said that they were in the likeness of snow (*Telag* is the Aramaic term used in the text published by Milik). The existence of hailstones in heaven could well be inferred from *Joshuʿa* x,11 and *Job* xxxviii,22; see also *1 Enoch* lxix,23, to say nothing of the fact that hail comes from the sky! See further *Ezekiel* xxxviii,22; *Revelation* xvi,21. Cf. also *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael*, ed. Horovitz-Rabin, p. 111. *Job* xxxviii,22 likewise mentions the heavenly origin of snow. In *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b, the treasuries of snow and hail are said to be found in the sixth heaven, *Makhon*, while *2 Enoch* v,1 locates the treasuries of hail in the first heaven! Rivers of hail and treasuries of snow are also mentioned in *Maʿaseh Merkavah* (ed. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*: Appendix C, pp. 103 ff.) paragraphs 3 (p. 103) and 10 (p. 108; rivers of hail only). See further *Tanḥumā*, "Terumah", Parag. 11. The heavenly snow is actually considered as the material out of which the earth was created: *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. iii; Rabbi Yoḥannan in *Bereshit Rabbā*, ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 75. Cf. H. F. Weiss, *Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des hellenistischen und palästinischen Judentum*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1966, pp. 96-97. The material collected in L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, Rome, Biblical Institute Press, 1970, pp. 118-119, by no means does justice to the wealth of material available.

[12] Thus according to the LXX. The Hebrew text here implies a slightly different sense: "awesome crystal". All this provided that the Hebrew *qeraḥ* really is the equivalent to the Greek 'krystalos'. See however above n. 8!

[13] *Hekhalot Zutreti* (quoted and translated in G. Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 15), and *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b. We shall come back to this point in greater detail in the next chapter.

[14] Urbach, *art. cit.*, p. 18.

dangers that might befall a mortal who is bodily translated onto heaven.[15] Professor Scholem has rightly explained such experiences in terms of a mystical transfiguration,[16] and they certainly belong to the heart of the apocalyptic and mystical experiences.[17] In any event, Enoch had here to pass twice through such fiery flames, first when he passed through the wall and then when he entered the house.

When he entered the house, Enoch was overwhelmed with fright, and typical of a state of extreme terror he felt cold and hot almost simultaneously (verses 14-15).[18] Then, as it turned out, he saw another house, which was within the first one.[19] This second house, Enoch says, "excelled in splendour and magnificence" the first one, but generally speaking, apart from the ceiling, it more or less resembled the first one.[20] The second house contained the Throne of God,

[15] See, similarly, *Ascension d'Isaie*, ix,9, ed. E. Tisserant, Paris, 1909. See further J. Maier, "Das Gefardungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalyptik und 'Gnosis'", *Kairos* V (1963), pp. 18-40.

[16] Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 60. To the parallel material which Scholem collected there, pp. 56-64 and 132, one should add *Pistis Sophia*, English Translation G. R. S. Mead, London, John M. Watkins, 1963, p. 18, where Jesus is reported to tell his disciples that he had clad himself in special light-vestures by the help of which he succeeded in passing the various heavenly evil-beings without being harmed by them.

[17] M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 243-244, sees in the synoptic tradition about the Transfiguration of Jesus a piece of key information about the mystical activity of Jesus. Yet, the way Professor Smith infers the kind of baptism-mysticism which Jesus alledgedly practised seems to be rather hypothetical and cannot be regarded conclusive.

[18] This terror which seizes the apocalyptic visionary is typical almost of all the apocalyptic and mystical visions. A notable exception to the rule is *Revelation* iv, where no such feeling is reported. We shall come back to this vision later on.

[19] H. Bietenhard, *op. cit.* p. 54 sees in the first house "eine Vorhalle". Yet, from the *Hekhalot* literature we know that the seven palaces in the seventh heaven were like "a room within a room". See, for instance, *Hekhalot Rabbati* xv,1. However, the Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* published by Milik (above, n. 8) make the impression that the visionary saw only one "house". Compare the expression *hadrei hekhal demamah* in *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii,1 and vii,5. It should be noticed that the term *demamah* does not imply here quietness but a whisper. See E. Y. Kutscher, in: *Archiv of the New Dictionary of Rabbinical Literature*, 1, Ramat-Gan, Bar-Ilan University, 1972, pp. 77-78 (in Hebrew). See further *Sifre to Numbers* (ed. Horowitz), p. 56, where the angels are said to speak in low voice.

[20] While it is said of the ceiling of the first house that it was "like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were fiery cherubim, and their heaven was clear as water", the ceiling of the second house is only briefly described: "its ceiling also was flaming fire". It should be noticed (1) that cherubim are seen only in the ceiling of the first house; (2) the "heaven" in connection with the first ceiling is not quite clear; and (3) both descriptions are only loosely

and of it Enoch says: "its appearance was as crystal,[21] and the wheels thereof as the shining sun,[22] and there was the vision of Cherubim" [23] (verse 18). From underneath the throne there came out streams of fire [24] which made it difficult for Enoch to look at the Throne.[25]

From the vision of the Throne Enoch passes on to the vision of the Godhead. He says that "the Great Glory [26] sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than the snow.[27] None of the angels could enter and behold His face by

influenced by the way Ezekiel describes the firmament which he saw above the heads of the Creatures.

[21] The description of the "lofty throne" (θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ) derives from *Isaiah* vi,1 (LXX: θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ) and also from *Ezekiel* i,26. The "crystal" of which the throne is made of is unique. *Ezekiel* says that the throne was "in appearance like sapphire" (i,26; x,1). Sapphire was the stone which, as a matter of general rule, the throne was described as being made of. See *Exodus* xxiv, 10; *Bavli Hulin* 89a: ". . . and the firmament is like the sapphire, and the sapphire is like the throne of the Glory". Similarly it is said of the rod of Moses that it was made of sapphire; *Tanḥumā*, "*Beshalaḥ*", xxi. The Tablets of the Law were likewise said to be hewn from the Sapphire (*Tanḥumā*, "*Ki Tisā*", xxix). At one place we also hear that the ark was made of sapphire! (*Tanḥumā*, "*Beshalaḥ*", xxi; compare *Exodus* xxv,10 ff.). As for the colour of the sapphire, it is generally considered to be blue (*Bavli Hulin* 89a: ". . . since blue is like the sea, and the sea looks like the firmament, and the firmament is like the sapphire, and the sapphire is like the throne of the Glory"). But in one place (*Lekaḥ Tov*, *ad Exodus* xxiv,10) it is said that the sapphire is white! See further, G. Scholem, "Farben und ihre Symbolik in der jüdischen Überlieferung und Mystik", in: *Judaica* III, Frankfurt a.M., Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970, pp. 117-119.

[22] See *Ezekiel* i,16 and *Daniel* vii,9.

[23] There is a vast literature dealing with the cherubim. Still relevant is the discussion of W. F. Albright, "What Were the Cherubim", *Biblical Archeologist* I (1938), pp. 1-3. See further P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen*, Berlin, Walter der Gruyter, 1975, pp. 18-20.

[24] *1 Enoch* xiv,19: ποταμοὶ πυρὸς φλεγόμενοι. Compare *Daniel* vii,10, where only one ποταμὸς πυρός is mentioned. In *3 Enoch* xix and xxxiii four and seven streams of fire are mentioned respectively. In *Maʿaseh Merkavah* iii (Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 103) twelve thousand streams of fire are referred to, while *Revelation* iv,5 has no streams of fire at all. See also G. Scholem, *ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

[25] The idea that no human being can see the face of God and survive is first expressed in *Exodus* xxxiii,20. *Hekhalot Rabbati* xi,4 contains a beautiful description of how the four Creatures come out from underneath of the Throne and dance before God. It is said there that in the course of their dance they uncover their faces, while God covers His own. In another place there (viii,2) it is said that he who looks at God is immediately destroyed. Even the angels cannot serve Him but for one day "since they were utterly weakened and their face was completely burned; their heart was totally confused and their eyes were darkened". (viii,2).

[26] xiv,20: ἡ δόξα ἡ μεγάλη.

[27] God's raiment is a central theme both in Jewish apocalyptic and in Merkavah

reason of the magnificence of the glory, and no flesh could behold Him.[28] The flaming fire was round about Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him".[29] At the end, Enoch describes the angels that minister unto God: "ten thousand times ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no counsellor.[30] And the most holy ones who were nigh to him did not leave by night nor depart from Him".[31]

We have extensively quoted from this vision of Enoch, since it is the oldest Merkavah vision we know of from the literature outside of the canonical Scriptures. It contains, on the one hand, several motives already found in the "Merkavah" visions in Scripture, and, on the other hand, there is already a great deal in this vision that became typical of later Merkavah visions. Indeed, one can consider this particular vision a model-vision of Merkavah mysticism. Although in the *Hekhalot* literature certain magicotheurgic practices are added, the Enoch-vision of chapter xiv contains in principle many important mystical elements. To begin with—as we have already said—it presupposes a heavenly ascent. But—quite unlike other heavenly visions in apocalyptic literature and in the *Hekhalot* mysticism—no angel is reported here to accompany Enoch on his heavenly journey.[32] This fact, that Enoch makes this heavenly trip with no angelic accompaniment, is even more emphatically stressed when Enoch himself says (verse 21): "None of the angels could enter and behold His face".[33] In this respect Enoch is here more privileged than all the angels, and even more so when he finds himself addressed

mysticism. See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnostisicm* etc., pp. 56 ff. It should be noticed that contrary to *Daniel* vii,9 and *1 Enoch* xlvi,1 and lxxi,10, Enoch does not describe here the hair of God. See further *Revelation* i,14.

[28] See above note 25. See also *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii,4.

[29] Compare *Deuteronomy* iv,36; v,21-24. See also above note 7.

[30] It is interesting to notice, that in both Merkavah visions in *1 Enoch*, here and in lxxi, there is no angelic song mentioned. But there is one in xxxix,12-13.

[31] The presence of angelic beings at night is noteworthy for two reasons: (1) In *Bavli ʿAvodah Zarah* 3b it is said that what God does at night is to hear the song of the Creatures (in *Bavli Ḥulin* 91b another tradition states that the angelic song is recited only at daytime). (2) In *Hekhalot Rabbati* we find that God descends from the eighth heaven to His throne in the seventh only at the hours of prayer of the People of Israel, in the morning and in the afternoon! Cf. *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii,3 and ix-xi. We shall come back to this interesting point later on.

[32] For the function of the *angelus interpres* see P. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[33] There seems to be some kind of discrepancy between this verse and the next one, where it is said that the angels *do* stand before God.

directly by God (xiv,24-xvi,4). Thus it may be said, that in the eyes of the apocalyptist, Enoch enjoys a qualitative superiority over the angels. However, it is difficult at this stage to say with certainty whether this vision can be considered as the direct source of the Enoch-Metatron speculations, or whether we have to look for their source in a completely different direction.[34] What, however, is certain, is that the remark made in xv,1 about Enoch, who is described as a "righteous man and scribe of righteousness", actually brings this vision of Enoch very close to that Enoch-Metatron tradition.[35] In addition, it should be noticed, that Enoch sees two houses, one inside the other, and this we find later on to be characteristic of the *Hekhalot* visions.[36] Then we also have the terror which overwhelms Enoch just before the climax of the vision is reached. This is typical of many apocalyptic and Merkavah visions,[37] and one may argue that this terror, which results in a swoon, is later on in the Merkavah visions transformed into the danger-theme.[38] Finally, the vision of the Godhead seated on His throne with a great number of angels ministering to Him has since the days of *Daniel* and *Enoch* become classical.

Before we go on to the second central Merkavah vision in *1 Enoch*, that of chapter lxxi, mention should be made of the several minor Merkavah-passages in the book. First, we have the short reference in xviii,8-9 to the "throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the throne was sapphire". Here the throne is not in a house, as the throne which Enoch described in chapter xiv, but on the peak of a mountain. This mountain, again, is the middle one in a series of seven mountains which Enoch is allowed to see, and the

[34] We need not enter here the difficult problem of the identification of Enoch with the Son of Man, as it occurs in the Book of Similitudes (*1 Enoch* xxxvii-lxxi). See mainly E. Sjöberg, *Der Menschensohn im Äthiopischen Henochbuch*, Lund, 1946. Notice too the detailed discussion in H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, Reprint: New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1973, pp. 69 ff., and the commentary there pp. 6 ff.

[35] See also xii,3. Charles in his commentary overlooked the technical implications of the terminology used here in connection with Enoch. Compare *Jubilees* iv,16-17 with the tradition preserved in the *Targum Yerushalmi* to *Genesis* v,24 (version A). Cf. *3 Enoch* viii-xi. See further our discussion of *3 Enoch*, in Part Two of the present book.

[36] See above note 19.

[37] And in this sense it may reflect what R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, Harmondsworth, Pelican Books, 1959, pp. 26 ff., has identified as the "Mysterium Tremendum"-element in religion.

[38] See J. Maier, "Das Gefärdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der Jüdischen Apokalyptik und 'Gnosis'", *Kairos* V (1963), pp. 18-40.

theophany which Enoch experiences thereon is obviously reminiscent of the theophany on Mount Sinai. Particularly so, since Enoch goes on to say: "And I saw a flaming fire".[39] A similar vision recurs in xxv,3. Here Enoch reaches another place of the earth, where again he sees seven mountains the middle one resembling the throne of God (xxiv,3).[40] When Enoch inquires of the accompanying angel the meaning of what he sees, the angel Raguel,[41] says: "This high mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness" (xxv,3).[42]

Another of the smaller Merkavah passages in *1 Enoch* belongs to the so-called Book of Similitudes (xxxvi-lxxi). In xxxix Enoch describes his vision of the "dwelling-places of the holy, and the resting-places of the righteous". All this occurred in the course of a heavenly ascent (xxxix,3), which is of great interest for our study. The place to which Enoch is translated is most probably the Paradise of Righteousness (Aramaic: *Pardes Qushtā*),[43] though the term itself occurs only elsewhere: xxxii,3; lx,23 (see also verse 8); and lxxvii,3.[44] Enoch sees there not only the dwelling places of the righteous of Israel, but also the dwelling places of the angels,[45] and, last but not

[39] On the theme of the divine throne and temple situated on mountains see, J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, Salzburg, Otto Müller Verlag, 1964, pp. 97 ff.

[40] It should be asked whether this vision is not a duplication of the previous one in xviii. See Charles' commentary *ad* viii,6.

[41] For Raguel see P. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 22.

[42] For a discussion of the parallels in other Jewish writings see, I. Gruenwald, *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, in: *Temirin* I (1972), p. 138.

[43] In Greek: παράδεισος τῆς δικαιοσύνης. See next note.

[44] There is a vast literature dealing with the idea of the Paradise, both from the eschatological and theosophical points of view. See lately, M. Stone, "Paradise in *4 Ezra* iv,8 and vii,36; viii,52", *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, XVII (1966), pp. 85 ff.; M. Gil, "Enoch in the land of Eternal Life", (In Hebrew), *Tarbiz* XXXVIII (1969), pp. 322 ff.—It should be observed that the term "Paradise of Righteousness" is used in apocalyptic literature as the heavenly equivalent for the Garden of Eden in *Genesis* ii. As far as our knowledge goes, Hebrew texts in Tannaitic times, and even later on, always referred to the eschatological "Garden" as the Garden of Eden, while the term "Pardes" was reserved to designate mystical speculations. It seems that the turning point in the use of the word "Paradise", from an eschatological to a mystical sense, could be traced back to *2 Corinthians* xii,4, which should be compared with *Vita Adae et Evae* xxv,3. Compare also the terms "Paradise of God" in *Ezekiel* xxviii,13 and xxxi,8-9 (LXX!) and "Garden of Life" in *1 Enoch* lxi,12. Yet, see *infra* our discussion of *2 Enoch* viii-ix.

[45] The heavenly, and possibly also the earthly, participation of human beings

least, of the Messiah himself.[46] Some scholars have been inclined to detect in the messianic passages in the Book of Similitudes Christian influence; yet, it should be observed that the inclusion of the Messiah in Merkavah visions is also known from the *Hekhalot* literature.[47] Since there is much more in this vision that has its parallel in Jewish sources—such as the notion that "all the righteous and elect before Him shall be shining as fiery lights" [48]—the Christian origin of the Book of Similitudes is not from this point of view as self-evident as some scholars take it to be.[49] In the concluding section to the vision Enoch describes the angels and the doxologies which they recite. There are two doxological formulae mentioned here. The one, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits", takes as its model the Sanctus of *Isaiah* vi,3; and the other one, "Blessed be thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever", is reminiscent of the Benedictus of *Ezekiel* iii,12. In either case the biblical opening phrases are, as it were, the doxological

in the angelic community is one of the most striking features of the eschatology of the Qumran sect. See now P. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.

[46] See xxxix,6: "And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One ... and I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits." Later on, in Kabbalah-literature, the Messiah was allocated a heavenly (mystical) palace. See G. Scholem, "The Sources for 'The Story of Rabbi Gadi'el, the Infant' in Kabbalistic Literature", (in Hebrew), in: *Devarim Bego*, Tel Aviv, 'Am Oved, 1975, pp. 270-283. See also the vision described in *1 Enoch* xlvi,1.

[47] See, for instance, the additions to *Hekhalot Rabbati* printed in A. Jellinek, *Bet Ha-Midrash*, V, pp. 167-169. Although these additions apparently belong to a rather late stage in the creation of the *Hekhalot* literature, the idea could well be of a much earlier date. See further, Y. Even-Shemuel, *Midreshei Ge'ulah*, Jerusalem-Tel Aviv, Bialik Institute, 1954, p. 7.

[48] See *Sifre* on *Deuteronomy*, ed. L. Finkelstein, p. 104/5, and parallels. Notice also the famous saying of Rav (*Berakhot* 17a), that in the world to come the righteous will sit peacefully before God with "their diadems on their heads, enjoying the divine Glory (Hebrew: *ziv ha-shekhinah*)". "To enjoy the divine Glory" (Hebrew: *Lehanot mi-ziv ha-shekhinah*) is a technical expression in rabbinical literature and its meaning is: to have all the physical needs supplied from the divine Glory.

[49] The case for the post-Christian origin of the Book of Similitudes has recently gained new momentum: it has been observed that the only part of the Book of Enoch not represented in Qumran is that very Book of Similitudes. See J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, London, SCM Press, 1959, p. 33. Strong as this argument from Qumran may sound, it is still nothing but an *argumentum ex silentio*. And even when the post Christian date of its composition is taken for granted, the Jewish origin of the Book of Similitudes is not necessarily challenged. See E. Sjöberg, *op. cit.* (above note 34), p. 39. See also Chapter One, n. 15.

trade-mark, while the main body of the doxology is more or less in the form of a free variation on the biblical *Vorlagen*.

It goes beyond the purpose of the present study to investigate those doxologies for all their morphological and theological contents. There are, however, one or two points to be made in connection with doxologies and these concern the way these doxologies are tagged on to the above mentioned verses in *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*.

Although, as has been mentioned before, the opening words are kept, the rest is but loosely and freely connected to the biblical wording. Some scholars have attempted to show that certain principles underlie these changes in and deviations from the biblical models. While to some of the scholars interpretative tendencies could be detected in the post-biblical doxologies,[50] to others theological considerations, both Jewish and Christian, appeared to have determined the variations in the wording.[51] However, if all these examples of angelic doxologies are taken together, it appears that a variety of factors variety will have to be considered.[52] In addition, certain liturgical formulae taken from the Temple service were introduced into these doxologies.[53] What is important for us here is to observe that when the biblical doxologies were not considered as strictly binding in their wording, significant changes could be introduced into them, and the way stood open for the composition of the more elaborate angelological hymns of the kind and lyrical quality found in the *Hekhalot* texts.

We shall have to return later on to a detailed discussion of the *Hekhalot* texts. What can already be said is that certain inner developments in those apocalyptic doxologies could in themselves have paved the way for the lyrical and structurally more complex composition of the *Hekhalot* hymns. A glance, for instance, at the doxologies found in *Revelation* would well show how the doxological elements underwent certain inner developments, both from the point of view of length and of the diversification of themes. But what at

[50] See D. Flusser, "Sanktus und Gloria", in: *Abraham unser Vater: Festschrift für Otto Michel*, Leiden, 1963, pp. 129-152.

[51] See the survey of views in E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, New York, Schocken Books, 1970, pp. 282 ff.; see also H. Bietenhard, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.

[52] For a survey of some of the motives that played their respective role in the development of the Jewish *Qedushah*-liturgy see I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Reprint: Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 1962, pp. 61 ff., 521/2.

[53] See E. Werner, *ibid.*, pp. 277-291.

this stage seems to be of much greater importance for our study is the angelological liturgy of the Qumran sect. Professor John Strugnell published in 1960 two fragments from an angelic liturgy found among the manuscripts of the fourth cave at Qumran.[54] Professor Strugnell inclined to date these manuscripts between the years 75 and 50 B.C.E., though the liturgy itself could well go back to an earlier date. In other words, these fragments belong to the flourishing days of Jewish apocalyptic. Professor Strugnell is presently preparing some additional material of the same texts for publication in the series of "Discoveries in the Judaean Desert" (Oxford). When this material becomes available to the public, it will be seen that the Qumranites' interest in heavenly liturgies and hymns was greater than has previously been thought, when only the brief references in the Scrolls themselves and the small published fragments were known.[55] It is difficult to tell from these Qumran texts, whether real heavenly hymns are quoted or whether the Qumran writer only gave picturesque descriptions of the orders of the angels who are said to sing the hymns. The language of these fragments is so rich that it is very often difficult to decide whether a hymn is quoted or only a description of how it is sung is given. The bad condition in which these manuscripts are preserved makes it even more difficult to decide whether a description ends or a possible hymn begins. At any rate, when published, the fragments will be a major contribution to our understanding of one milieu in which the doxologies found in apocalyptic grew and also of the literary and conceptual background of the hymnological material in the *Hekhalot* literature. It now seems that if certain hymnological passages in rabbinic literature [56] are added to the evidence from apocalyptic and Qumran, then the sort of literary sources behind the *Hekhalot* hymns can be fairly well exemplified.

[54] J. Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran, 4Q ...", *Vetus Testamentum Supplement* VII (1960), pp. 318-345. Professor Y. Yadin has unearthed in *Mezadah* another fragment of the same angelic Shabbat-liturgy.

[55] See, for instance, 1 QH (= *Hodayot*) III,21-23: "... Thou hast made a mere man to share the lot of the Spirits of Knowledge (= the angels) to praise thy name in their chorus ..." (English translation: Th. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures*, New York, Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., 1964, p. 145).

[56] See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc.", pp. 22 ff. It must be remarked that the Song of the Kine quoted *ibid.*, p. 25 is in its form and in its style closer to the angelological liturgy of Qumran than (as Professor Scholem inclines to think) to the *Hekhalot* hymns.

Finally, we come in this series of short Merkavah-like visions in *1 Enoch* to the visions described in xlvii,3 and in lx,1-4. First, in xlvii,3, the visionary says that he saw "the Head of Days when He seated Himself upon the throne of His glory, and the books of the living were opened before Him; and all His Host which is in heaven above and His counsellors stood before Him". Apart from the fact that the description follows in its general lines those found in *1 Kings* xxii,19 and in the Prologue to the Book of Job, a similar vision is recorded in xlvi,1, where the Messiah is included too. What should be noticed in the vision of xlvii,3 is the fact, that the scene is that of the final, eschatological, judgement.[57] The vision described in lx,1-4, however, is interesting for the report it contains of the great excitement of the apocalyptist, and also for the fact that the righteous are described there as standing before God together with the angels. This last point could well fit into the previously mentioned idea stressed in the Qumran writings about the eschatological participation of the angels in the community of the righteous, and, *mutatis mutandis*, of the community of the righteous in the heavenly orders of the angels. It should be noticed, too, that the inclusion of the righteous among those who stand before God is once again stressed in the Merkavah vision in *Revelation* iv. There, apart from the four Creatures, the Messiah and the seven Spirits of God, only the twenty-four elders are present before God. The angels are not mentioned there, which is quite remarkable in comparison with other Merkavah visions.

C

The second major Merkavah vision of *1 Enoch* is the one found in lxxi. Although some of its characteristic features are in a way a repetition of those already found in the first major Merkavah vision (ch. xiv), there are some new items which this vision presents. Most noteworthy is the fact that Enoch is taken into what could be interpreted to be two separate heavens, and the fact that God is described as leaving His palace in order to welcome Enoch. But before we go into the details of that vision, some remarks are in order concerning its place in the book. In chapter lxx the final translation of Enoch is described, that is, the translation after which he did not return down

[57] For the biblical background of the idea see Charles' Commentary *ad locum*. See further H. Bietenhard, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.

to earth.[58] It is, therefore, quite peculiar to hear once again in lxxi about yet another translation of Enoch. Indeed, several of the interpreters of the Book of Enoch have thought this chapter to be an artificial addition to the main body of the book, and there are excellent reasons for accepting arguments that follow this line of thought. However, there is also another way of looking at the problem. *1 Enoch* has long been thought to be composed of at least five main parts. Chapter lxxi was most probably a loose fragment which the editor(s) of the book did not exactly know where to place. Realizing that this fragment bears a number of similarities to the other visions contained in the Book of Similitudes, the editor decided to place it at the end of this part of the whole book. Thus it happens that after Enoch had been finally translated onto heaven, another translation comes in the form of an appendix.

Now to the vision itself. It falls into two parts:[59] verses 1-4 describe Enoch's journey through the first heaven, while verses 5-17 apparently describe his journey through the second heaven.[60] In the first heaven Enoch sees "the holy sons of God",[61] that is, the angels, and his description of them—"their garments were white and their faces shone like snow"—reminds one of the description of the angel

[58] The idea of Enoch being translated at least twice, once in his lifetime and once at his death, is obviously inspired by the twice repeated phrase "Enoch walked with God" in *Genesis* v,22&24. The notion of his final translation derives from the concluding remark in verse 24 to the effect that "he was not, for God took him".

[59] There is no absolute necessity to distinguish between two separate visions in this chapter, as suggested by Charles and others. Yet there is some difficulty in the literary structure of the chapter. In verse 3, Michael is mentioned as the guiding angel of Enoch during the latter's tour in the first heaven. In verse 8 Michael is once again mentioned, but this time as one of the four archangels in the second heaven. In addition, at the end of verse 2 we read: "and I fell on my face before the Lord of the Spirits", though God actually appears only later on in verse 10, that is in the second heaven! It should be noticed in this respect too that in the first part of the chapter God is referred to as the "Lord of the Spirits", while in the second part He is called "the Head of Days". However, if we take verses 2 & 3 to include some later interpolations, then these difficulties could be removed.

[60] Actually this vision of the journey through two separate heavens is nowhere else found in *1 Enoch*, though it is typical of *2 Enoch*, and some other apocalyptic books. This again may account for the fact, that the vision of chapter lxxi found no integral place in the book.

[61] It seems that the derogatory associations in connection with the appellation "Sons of God" given to the evil angels in *Genesis* vi,2 did not persist for long. See *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (in Hebrew), vol. II (1954), coll. 172-174. Still, it is noteworthy, that they are here called "the *holy* Sons of God".

which Daniel saw (*Daniel* x,5-6).[62] Typical of such visions, Enoch sees fire everywhere, though in contradistinction to the vision in chapter xiv Enoch also receives here revelations about the secrets of nature. In verse 5, the second part of the vision begins. Actually it is here that the more interesting Merkavah material of the vision is to be found. Enoch says that the angel Michael "translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens" [63] and that there he saw "a structure built of crystals". This structure obviously corresponds to the house or houses which Enoch saw in the vision of chapter xiv. Once again Enoch saw "tongues of living fire", and he remarks that the house itself was surrounded by "a girdle" of fire. Four classes of angels—Seraphim, Cherubim, Ophanim and 'Irim—together with countless other angels are present on the scene, the first ones (those distinguished as classes) guarding the throne of God and the second ones encircling the house. There Enoch also sees the four angels, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel and Phanuel, who together with other angels "go in and out of that house". Actually these four angels accompanied by the other angels escort God, called here "the Head of Days", when He comes out of the house to welcome Enoch! The idea of God coming out of His palace to welcome the visionary is found only here in the Merkavah visions we know of. It could be explained as a reflection of some biblical theophanies in which God is said to come out of the heavens.[64] When Enoch sees God, his whole body and soul are transfigured: "and my whole body became relaxed, and

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[62] Compare *Revelation* i,13-15 and x,1; xviii,1. It seems that the supernatural appearance of the angels, as described in *Daniel* and in other apocalyptic books is a comparatively late development in Jewish angelology. In *Judges* xiii, for instance, where Mano'ah's wife sees the angel and yet confusedly thinks him to be *'Ish Elohim*, a man of God (verse 6), an appellation generally given to the prophets. Even Abraham, the Patriarch, seemingly could not distinguish between angels and common men; *Genesis* xviii,1. Nor did Joshu'a for that matter realise that the man standing before him with his sword drawn was in reality an angel (*Joshu'a* v,13-14). However, for a different interpretation of the angel-scene in Joshu'a see A. Rofé, *Israelite Belief in Angels in the Pre-Exilic Period as Evidenced by Biblical Traditions* (Dissertation. In Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1969, pp. 271 ff.

[63] Elsewhere it has been shown by the present writer that the designation 'Heaven of Heavens' (in Hebrew: *Shmei Ha-Shamayim*) is a common one for the second heaven in Palestinian lists of seven heavens. See in *Temirin* (above note 42), pp. 116 ff. If our interpretation of this vision is correct, and it really describes the ascent to two heavens, then this seems to be the first literary evidence for the name given here to the second heaven. But compare *1 Kings* viii,27!

[64] See, for instance, *2 Samuel* xxii,10-11 = *Psalms* xviii,10-11; and also the visions described in *Ezekiel* i & x.

my spirit was transfigured".[65] Consequently, Enoch sings songs of praise to God, a fact not mentioned before in *1 Enoch*. This could therefore be considered to be one of the earliest references to a Merkavah hymn recited not by the angels but by the visionary himself![66] The vision ends with a comparatively long reference to the Son of Man and a description of some of his eschatological functions.

The purpose of this extensive analysis of the so-called Merkavah passages in *1 Enoch* was to stress some of the more characteristic features of these passages in comparison with the parallel biblical material and in anticipation of the corresponding material in the Merkavah literature. In the first chapter of the present book, a general outline has been given of two particular qualities of Jewish apocalyptic in relationship to Scripture. The aim of this chapter is to exhibit yet another quality of Jewish apocalyptic, that is, the special interest it shows in theosophy. It has been shown that certain mystical elements found in Scripture were picked up by the apocalyptists and worked into a, comparatively speaking, full-scale model of mystical experience. Needless to say, this Merkavah material in Jewish apocalyptic had its own important share in shaping the mystical experience of the kind which we find later on in the *Hekhalot* literature. Although it is quite difficult to show the direct historical connection between Jewish apocalyptic and the *Hekhalot* literature, the literary connections between these two types of literature are almost self-evident. It must be admitted that even in the case of the mystical passages in Scripture it is difficult to say that they really and directly gave rise to the mystical preoccupation in Jewish apocalyptic. Although one may well argue even in this case for the presence of real historical connections, literary connections too could in themselves account for the formation of the mystical tradition in Jewish apocalyptic.

A mystical sensibility is a common phenomenon in almost all the religions of the world. The rise of an interest in mystical speculations, or even the mystical experiences themselves, in one age or another, could be explained either by some kind of now unattested traditions which linked the ages, or else by an independent mystical impetus that annexed itself to traditional modes of expression, or most likely by both. Whether we view these connections as merely of a

[65] For a characterisation of such feelings in the course of ecstasies see, E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, London, Methuen, 1960, pp. 359 ff.

[66] A parallel to this is to be found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. We shall later on come back to this point in connection with the *Hekhalot* hymns.

literary quality or as real historical affiliations, the fact that the ancient Jewish mystical tradition is mainly focused upon the vision of the divine Merkavah is more telling from the point of view of the historical connections than is sometimes admitted by scholars. More difficult, however, is the question of the connection between the Merkavah mysticism and later medieval developments of Jewish mysticism. The book which marked the change from Merkavah mysticism to the kind of mysticism which was later on designated by the term "Kabbalah" (= literally: tradition), was *Sefer Yeẓirah* or: The Book of the Formation of the World.[67] It was compiled sometime at the beginning of the Islamic period,[68] but some of its more characteristic elements belong to a much earlier period. Although it contains some references to the Merkavah lore (paragraphs 5, 8, 14, and 38), it is the starting point for quite a new language and direction in the history of Jewish mysticism, and hence presents some new historical and literary problems.

Returning to the Merkavah passages in Jewish apocalyptic, they show an extensive interest in mystical experiences, an interest that increased, at least in some Jewish circles, once Jewish apocalyptic was no more in the vogue. In addition, there is still much left for further investigation and thought concerning the place—or as some would like to call it: the "*Sitz im Leben*"—of these mystical scenes in Jewish apocalyptic. But in the present study considerations of the kind known as *Formgeschichte* would lead us off the main track, which is a thematic description of the Merkavah-tradition in Jewish apocalyptic, in the Talmudic literature and in the *Hekhalot* literature. We shall now turn to the Merkavah passages found in some of the other texts of Jewish apocalyptic, and first to the so-called *Slavonic Enoch*, or *2 Enoch*.

[67] There is a vast literature on the book; see G. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, 1974, pp. 205/6.

[68] Professor N. Allony has recently published a series of articles in Hebrew in which he argued for the post-Islamic origin of *Sefer Yeẓirah*. Allony argues that the linguistic theory embodied in *Sefer Yeẓirah* could be explained only on the ground of the *Kitab al-ʿEin* of the first known Arab lexicographer, Ḫalil ibn Aḥmad (died in 797). It must be admitted, that the arguments presented by Allony cannot be easily dismissed as wrong, yet there is still a lot in the *Sefer Yeẓirah* that has its origin in earlier speculations, and particularly so the doctrine of the ten *Sefirot*. See further the article referred to above in Chapter One, note 18. Whatever its date, the book had a tremendous influence on all later developments of Jewish mysticism. And that part of the book which exercised the greatest conceptual influence is the first one, that is, the older one which deals with the *Sefirot*, and not the second, and later one, which deals with the letters of the alphabet!

D

The Merkavah material in *1 Enoch* belongs to the period preceeding the destruction of the Second Temple. This is probably true also concerning the material found in the so-called Book of Parables (Similitudes), that is, chapters xxxvi-lxxi. Although reasons could be found for dating this particular part of the book to a later period, it seems certain that the Merkavah material contained therein is similar to the Merkavah material included in the earlier parts of the book. But all the other apocalyptic books we are going to discuss hereafter belong to a period which is very close to the destruction of the Temple and it may be said, that the writers had some particularly pressing problems to solve. It has been said in the previous chapter, that some parts of Jewish apocalyptic seem to express a crisis regarding the fulfilment of prophecy. Since a considerable part of the Scriptural prophecies remained unfulfilled, apocalyptic came to reassure people of the validity of biblical prophecy. With the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, however, apocalyptic had to face a bitter crisis regarding itself. Indeed, it appears that Jewish apocalyptic hardly overcame this crisis. Within thirty or forty years from the destruction of Jerusalem, Jewish apocalyptic literature disappeared—at least for the time being—from the literary scene.

Yet, before it finally did so, it underwent a noteworthy change. Its natural interest in the world of the divine Merkavah gained more power and significance. Thus one can find in the apocalyptic texts which were written under the tragic impression of the destruction of Jerusalem a marked interest in theosophical subjects. In addition, the very rise of rabbinic Merkavah mysticism was connected with the name of Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai, who was himself an eye-witness to the events that led to the destruction of Jerusalem. Thus, in a sense, the preoccupation with mystical problems could well be interpreted as being one of the ways in which people reacted to the disasters which befell them. When the cultic centre of the nation was no longer available, some people adapted beliefs and cultivated experiences which in some sense could replace experiences which had once been connected with the now destroyed Temple and with the immanence of God which it had signified. Yet, again, this is not to say that the *Sitz-im-Leben* of Jewish Merkavah mysticism was in the Temple cult.[69] It seems that it would be safer to say that the destruc-

[69] See J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, Salzburg, Otto Müller Verlag, *passim*.

tion of the Temple brought about a reaction which could well be characterized as a kind of mystical escapism. The stresses and distresses of reality pushed people to find comfort and consolation in super- or infra realistic realms. Thus we find a marked intensification in the interest in, and in the preoccupation with, mystical speculation. Yet, even here it would be incorrect to interpret this increase in mystical speculation only as a result of the disappointment and grief felt at the destruction of Jerusalem. This intensified interest in mysticism could also, at least partly so, be inspired by parallel phenomena in the hellenistic culture of the period.[70] Other motivations, hitherto only vaguely identified, could also have had their share as contributing factors in instigating the mystical speculations of the period. Thus, internal and external, literary and historical, factors played their respective roles in preparing the conditions necessary for the flourishing of mysticism in the post-destruction period.

We shall now turn to the apocalyptic writings which were, in all likelihood, composed in that period. These apocalypses still reveal a marked interest in eschatology while the curiosity in cosmological and natural phenomena which is so characteristic of *1 Enoch* is somehow suspended. Since the apocalyptic writings of the period which we shall discuss here describe ascents to a number of heavens, one may to some degree be justified in qualifying them as mystical apocalypses, without indeed overlooking their general eschatological interest. The number of the heavens to which the apocalyptist is said to ascend is generally seven, though Paul describes an ascent to the third heaven (*2 Corinthians* xii,2; see also *Testament of Levi* iii). Seven heavens are mentioned or described in *2 Enoch*, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (they are referred to in chapter xix), in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, in the *Greek Baruch* (only five heavens are described) and in the fragment of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* which was preserved by Clement of Alexandria (only the fifth heaven is briefly described). It seems that only in *Revelation* we find once again the older concept of the existence of one heaven.

As already said, we shall first discuss the Merkavah material in the Slavonic Book of Enoch, or *2 Enoch*. It is quite likely that its date of composition coincided with the events that terminated in the destruction of Jerusalem, yet the historical references in the book are rather vague and leave room for a number of guesses. In addi-

[70] E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, Cambridge University Press, 1968, *passim*.

tion, the book presents some extremely difficult textual problems, the most difficult of which, namely the determination of the original version of the book, has not yet been conclusively solved. In our discussion of the Merkavah material found in the book, we shall pay equal attention to the long (A) and the short (B) recensions as they are printed in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. II, pp. 431 ff.[71] *2 Enoch* contains, among other things, a description of the ascent of the hero to the seven heavens, and the great interest of the description lies in the details it gives of the things which the hero saw in each of the heavens. This extensive description of the contents of the seven heavens has a number of parallels in Jewish apocalyptic literature as well as in later Jewish mystical and cosmological writings.[72] However, not all the details of this description directly belong to our subject; we shall limit ourselves to those details which directly concern us.

Generally speaking, the descriptions of what the seven heavens contain reveal a cosmological, or astronomical, interest. Yet, when it comes to the description of these things, one can always find a basic interest in theosophical matters.[73] Whatever one sees and finds in heaven always has a close connection to the divine and, thus, even the heavens below the seventh include items which are affiliated to the Merkavah material. This, naturally, reminds us of the fact already observed by various scholars, that, in apocalyptic literature and, also, in later mystical literature the interest in cosmological and theosophical matters goes hand in hand.

When we come to *2 Enoch*, the point that should be noticed about chapters viii-ix is the fact that the hero there is said to see Paradise, the place of retribution for the righteous and compassionate ones, in the third heaven. This is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, while in *1 Enoch* this Paradise is just said to be in heaven, here in *2 Enoch* it is located in the third heaven. The location of Paradise in the third heaven is also known from *Apocalypse of Moses* xxxviii,4, and it seems that even in the case of Paul (*2 Corinthians* xii,2; 4) the same holds

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[71] The best edition still is: A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets d'Hénoch*, Paris, Institut d'Études Slaves, 1952.

[72] The relevant writings are: *Reʾuyot Yeḥezkel*, *Beraita De-Maʿaseh Bereshit*, *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b, and *Sefer Ha-Razim*. Among the apocalyptic writings, mention should be made in this connection of *Greek Baruch* (= *3 Baruch*) and the fragment of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* found in Clement, *Strom.* V 11 77.

[73] See F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York, 1912, particularly pp. 101 ff.

true. Secondly, the word "Paradise" in *2 Enoch* is still a place in heaven and not a *terminus technicus* for theosophical speculations. The technical change in the use of the word can almost certainly be observed in Paul's account (*ibid.*), and it is already taken for granted in the story about the four sages who entered the *Pardes*. Thus it appears that *2 Enoch* was composed either at a time when the shift in the terminological usage, already imminent in Paul, was not yet known, or else by someone who was not aware of the shift.

In some sense, however, the Paradise-description in *2 Enoch* is already connected with the Merkavah lore. It is said in viii,8 (in both versions) that many angels (in A: three hundred) keep the garden and "with incessant sweet singing and never silent voices serve the Lord throughout all days and hours". This is a characteristic feature of *2 Enoch*, where the song of the various angelic beings is repeatedly referred to. Only the angels in the fifth heaven do not sing their celestial song (according to A only!). More important in this respect, however, is the fact that the apocalyptist says that "in the midst of the trees (is) that of life, in that place whereon the Lord rests, when he goes up into Paradise" (viii,3; A and B). As Charles remarks in his notes *ad locum* (p. 434), "this is a familiar feature in Jewish Apocalypse".[74] We may add that wherever this particular idea occurs, it refers to the original abode of *Shekhinah* before the *Shekhinah* ascended to heaven on account of the sins of mankind. Thus, we find in *3 Enoch* v, that "From the day when the Holiness, blessed be He, expelled the first Adam from the Garden of Eden, *Shekhinah* was dwelling upon a *Keruv* under the Tree of Life. And the ministering angels were gathering together and going down from heaven in parties... to do His will in the whole world. And the first man... (was) sitting outside of the gate of the Garden to behold the radiant appearance of the *Shekhinah*".[75] This description has obvious points of connection with the one found in *2 Enoch*, the only difference being that the Paradise described in *2 Enoch* is the celestial abode of retribution while the Garden in *3 Enoch* is still in its original terrestrial environment. Wherever this Paradise is located, either on earth or in heaven, the Tree of Life could be the place on which God rests, and

[74] Cf. indirectly *Ezekiel* xxviii,13, where it appears that the notion of God's abode in the Garden of Eden is an ancient oriental tradition.

[75] English translation in H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, Reprint: New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1973, p. 13 ff. See also Odeberg's commentary, *ibid.*, where parallels are quoted.

God's theophany on the Tree of Life is, thus, a counterpart to His theophanies in the Temple and on His Throne of Glory.

Most important, of course, is the description of what happened to Enoch in the seventh heaven.[76] When Enoch reached that heaven with the two men who lifted him up to heaven,[77] he became afraid and began to tremble in great terror. The two men encouraged Enoch and showed him "the Lord from afar, sitting on His very high throne". Around the throne were the various classes of the angelic beings who served God. Then the two men departed and Enoch was left alone in great fear. Consequently, the archangel Gabriel was sent by God to carry Enoch and place him before His face. When Enoch fell prone and worshipped God, he heard God telling Michael to take him "out from his earthly garments, and to anoint him with sweet oil, and (to) clothe him in garments of glory" (version B xxii,8). Michael did so, and consequently Enoch was transfigured and looked "like one of His glorious ones". Then God summoned one of His angels [78] to bring forth books and a reed so that Enoch could write down in them all that had happened to him in heaven together with some other secrets that were revealed to him.

The book contains two additional references of Merkavah material: in chapter xxxi, version A only, a Merkavah vision of Adam is described, and in xxxvii Enoch experiences a final vision of a most fearful angel.

E

After *2 Enoch* let us turn to the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Chapters ix-xix of the book contain one of the most important Merkavah visions in apocalyptic literature. This Merkavah vision is introduced

[76] In version A there seems to be a certain confusion in the enumeration of the heavens. In xx,3 a tenth heaven, Aravat (= ʿAravot; see *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b), is mentioned; and in xxi,6 the names of Muzaloth (= Mazaloth) and Kuchavim (= Kokhavim) are given to the eighth and the ninth heavens respectively. Only these three heavens are mentioned by name and it thus appears that B, which has only seven heavens, preserves the more original version.

[77] The fact that two men (= angels) escort Enoch in his heavenly journey is quite remarkable since it is similar to the idea of the two angels who carry the Merkavah mystic when he passes from one palace to the other. See *Hekhalot Rabbati* xvii.

[78] The name of the angel is given in A as Pravuil, and in B as Vretil. M. Margalioth, *Sefer Ha-Razim*, p. 56, n. 5, assumes that Pravuil is a corruption of Raziel. Yet, he adds: "This is a mere guess which I suggest with great reservation." However, Margalioth is less careful in suggesting all kinds of other links between *2 Enoch* and *Sefer Ha-Razim*.

in the course of the apocalyptic retelling of the story of the making of the Covenant in *Genesis* xv. In fact, as Box has already remarked in his notes to his translation of the book,[79] *Genesis* xv became a *locus classicus* for the introduction of all kinds of apocalyptic speculations. The *Apocalypse of Abraham*, however, is unique in the significance that it bears also for the study of ancient Jewish mysticism in general.

This part of the *Apocalypse* begins with the description of Abraham being ordered to bring a pure sacrifice to God and being promised that through that sacrifice God would bestow upon him a revelation of future events together with some other "great things which thou hast not seen" (ix). Very soon, however, the story in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* departs from its biblical source and Abraham is told to "abstain from every form of food that proceedeth out of the fire, and from the drinking of wine, and from anointing (thyself) with oil, forty days".[80] These preparatory practices which Abraham was instructed to follow are all well known from other apocalyptic works and in our general discussion of the *Hekhalot* literature (Chapter Four) they will receive proper attention. The narrator goes on to state that Abraham was overwhelmed with fear and, consequently, fell down upon the earth in a trance. Then, Abraham heard a voice speaking to the angel Jaoel telling him to raise Abraham to heaven "by means of the ineffable name".[81] Jaoel came to Abraham, introduced himself, and led him up towards heaven.

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[79] G. H. Box, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, London, 1919, p. 44. All my quotations are from that edition. *The Apocalypse of Abraham* has no division into verses.

[80] These forty days are certainly an allusion to the forty days during which Moses stayed on Mount Sinai abstaining from sustenance. See *Deuteronomy* ix,11. As we are going to see in chapter 4, different periods of time were prescribed as a preparation for the apocalyptic and mystical experiences.

[81] This practice of speaking out holy names in order to bring about a mystical experience is well known from the *Hekhalot* literature. In *Heklahot Rabbati* xiv,4-5 we read: "And when a man wants to descend into the Merkavah, he should conjure Suriah, the Prince of the Countenance, and to call him a hundred and twelve times by the name of Tetrasii ... He should be careful neither to add to that number of one hundred and twelve nor to subtract from it; for if he adds or subtracts, he is liable to die: but his mouth should speak out the names and his fingers should count a hundred and twelve. Then, for sure, he descends and masters the Merkavah". In his commentary to *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b (s.v., "They entered the Pardes"), Rashi says: "They ascended to heaven by means of a Name". This explanation evidently displays Rashi's acquaintance with the mystical lore. See also Rav Hai Ga'on's *Responsa* in B. Lewin, *Otzar Ha-Geonim*, vol. IV, Jerusalem, 1931, "Tractate Chagiga", pp. 22 ff. See also G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 54. It should be noticed that in *Mishnah 'Avot* i,13, Hillel the

Some of the things which Jaoel says when he introduces himself to Abraham are of importance to our subject and merit discussion. Jaoel says that he is called by that name "by Him who moveth that which existeth with me on the seventh expanse upon the firmament". The firmament is here, as also in the *Ascension of Isaiah* vii,9, a domain distinct from the seven heavens.[82] Yet, in spite of the fact that Jaoel here mentions the "seventh expanse", Abraham is not described as having in reality experienced an ascent through seven heavens. Only almost at the end of the vision (xix) it is said that Abraham, who was standing on the peak of the Mount Horeb, was granted a vision—from above—of the seven heavens that were so to speak below him. Jaoel also mentions that he possesses "a power in virtue of the Ineffable Name that is dwelling in me". This may well be the earliest occurrence of the idea found also in several places in midrashic literature to the effect that "A tablet with the Name of the Holy One, blessed be He, is engraved on the hearts of the angels ...".[83] The idea which lies behind this midrashic saying is in all likelihood that the suffix "el" at the end of the names of many angels indicates not only their divine origin, but also the divine power or authority (exousia) which they possess. In the case of Jaoel, his name actually is a combination of the three root-letters of the Tetra-

Elder is reported to have said: "He who uses the Crown (Aramaic: *Tāgā*) is to pass away". According to the explanation found in *'Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* (ed. Schechter) version A, chapter xii, the meaning of Hillel's saying is: "He who uses the *Shem Ha-Meforash* (= the Ineffable Name) has no share in the world to come." It should be noticed that while Hillel warns him who "uses the Crown" of real death, the Scholia of *'Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* threatens only with the loss of future life. It is a well known fact, not only in the case of Ben *'*Azai who entered the Pardes (see next chapter), but also from the *Hakhalot* literature in general, that people who were not careful enough in their mystical experience were expected to suffer severe affliction and sometimes even death. We know of a certain tradition which speaks of the Name which was pronounced by the priests while reciting their Benediction in the Temple; see *Bavli Qidushin* 71a, where the Gemārā brings two views, the one about the Name which consisted of twelve letters and the other one about the Name which consisted of 42 letters! Now, Hillel, who lived in the days of the Temple, could well have meant that no one who was not authorized should "use" the Names for whatever purpose. He could have had in mind a priest who abuses the knowledge he gained in the Temple for a variety of theurgic purposes which were not connected with the priestly Benediction. Hillel, however, could have likewise meant people who gained knowledge of these Names and who were liable to use them for profane purposes.

[82] In the *Ascension of Isaiah* it is the place where Sammael and his hosts are.

[83] For the discussions of the different versions of this saying see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 71, 133; E. E. Urbach, *The Sages*, pp. 139, 150, 742, 749.

grammaton with the usual "el" ending (the Hebrew spelling of his name would thus most certainly be *Yhwel*). This is what Jaoel seems to imply when he says: "a power in virtue of the Ineffable Name that is dwelling in me".[84]

After Jaoel has introduced himself by name and mentioned the special rank he enjoys among the angels, he proceeds to refer to his functions in heaven. First he says: "I am the one who has been set to restrain, according to His commandment, the threatening attack of the living creatures of the Cherubim against one another". This hostility of the living creatures, the *Ḥayyot*, of the Merkavah is nowhere else mentioned, at least not in those apocalyptic texts that came down to us. Generally, the hostility of the angels is directed only against human beings who ascend to heaven and the idea expressed here in connection with Jaoel is thus quite extraordinary. Yet, it should be remarked that there are some rabbinic sayings to the effect that a certain hostility does in fact exist among the angels,[85] and thus, the tradition preserved in *Apocalypse of Abraham* does not stand altogether alone.[86]

Next Jaoel says that he teaches "those who carry Him the song of

[84] It goes beyond the present discussion to decide whether Jaoel is actually identical with Metatron, who is also called "little Jao" (*3 Enoch* xii; "And He called me The Lesser YHWH"), or whether at this stage Jaoel is still a separate angelic being not connected in any way to the Metatron tradition. See further, G. Scholem, "Über eine Formel in den Koptisch-Gnostischen Schriften und ihren jüdidischen Ursprung", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* XXX (1931), pp. 170 ff.

[85] The most striking rabbinical parallel is in *Pesiktā Rabbati*, ed. Friedmann, fol. 97b, where it is told of *Galizur* that "his wings are spread out to receive the vapour of the *Ḥayyot*, for if he does not receive it, the ministering angels are burned by that vapour". See also the material collected in the next note.

[86] First we find the saying attributed to Bar Kaparā in *Shir Ha-Shirim Rabbā* viii,11: "Why are the ministering angels called 'fellows' (*Haberim*)?—Because there is neither hatred nor jealousy nor enmity nor hostility ... among them". Whatever its original purpose, this saying has obvious polemical overtones, which can be clearly heard if due attention is given to such sayings as: "Rabbi Yoḥanan said ... 'Dominion and fear are with Him, He makes peace in his high heaven'. (*Job* xxv,2)—'Dominion' this is Michael, and 'Fear' this is Gabriel, 'With Him' and He makes them live in peace, and none of the two does any harm to the other"; *Pesiktā de-Rav-Kahanā*, ed. Mandelbaum, p. 5. In *Devarim Rabbā* (ed. Lieberman, p. 100) Reish Lakish is quoted as explaining this to be the result of the fact that Michael is made of snow while Gabriel is made of fire. See further *Bavli Sanhedrin* 99b: "Rabbi Alexandrei said: He who studies the Torah for its own sake causes peace to reign among those above and those below". See also Rav Safrā's prayer in *Bavli Berakhot* 16b-17a; and *Agadath Shir Hashirim*, ed. Schechter, p. 4.

the seventh hour of the night of man". The references given by Box *ad locum* make it sufficiently clear that there circulated a view according to which the angels did not sing their songs of praise to God during the day-hours, thus avoiding any interference with the prayers of the Sons of Israel. Yet, the more common view, which is also represented in the *Hekhalot* literature, is that the angels wait till the Sons of Israel have finished their day-prayers, notably the *Qedushah*, before they begin their own songs of praise. However, what Jaoel says is not sufficiently clear, and it is only with reservation that it can be viewed as a parallel in apocalyptic literature to the idea that the angelic song is heard only at night.

At the beginning of chapter xi, a detailed description is given of the appearance of Jaoel: "The appearance of his body was like sapphire, and the look of his countenance like chrysolite, and the turban upon his head like the appearance of the rainbow, and the clothing of his garments like purple; and a golden sceptre was in his right hand". This description of Jaoel derives in its essential details from such descriptions of God and of the heavens found, for instance, in *Daniel* x,5-6 and *Joshua* v,13 and its parallels are to be found in several places in apocalyptic literature too.

Then a description follows of Abraham going with Jaoel to Mount Ḥoreb and of the sacrifice which Abraham offered there. Following the sacrifice, Abraham receives certain eschatological revelations and then experiences an ascent to heaven. Abraham says that "the angel took me with the right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon, and set himself on the left wing of the turtle dove which had neither been slaughtered nor divided", when Abraham offered his sacrifice. This description of the ascent is quite a peculiar one and its details will be discussed in chapter four.

Upon his arrival in heaven, Abraham experiences the main part of his Merkavah vision. This part of the vision is important for two reasons: First, it contains the longest Merkavah hymn in apocalyptic literature; and second, it contains a detailed description of the Throne of the Glory. We turn first to the Celestial Song, which was recited while Abraham and the angel were still in the air. It is of a composite nature and in spite of the various hymnological elements which it contains, has very little in common with the lyrical and numinous qualities of the *Hekhalot* hymns.[87] In form and content it is more like

[87] See A. Altman, in *Melilah* II (1945/46), pp. 1-24. See further J. Maier,

a liturgical hymn or sapiental psalm which recites the grace of God and His benevolence.[88] The song is, in fact, recited by Jaoel who tells Abraham to join him. From the words which Jaoel addresses to Abraham—"Only worship, Abraham, and utter the song which I have taught thee"—it appears, that the song also had the function of a protective charm. Abraham observes that he actually wanted to fall down upon the earth and thus pay reverence to the voice of the Divinity which he heard, but, since there was "no earth to fall upon", Jaoel told him to "Recite without ceasing".[89]

Next follows the Merkavah vision itself (chapter xviii). In its general form it derives from the description of the vision of Ezekiel, except that Ezekiel did not experience an ascent, which Abraham is here described as having had. This part of the vision begins when Abraham sees a huge flame of fire rising upwards and hears "a voice like the roaring of the sea".[90] When "the fire raised itself up, ascending into the height", Abraham saw "under the fire a throne of fire, and round about it all-seeing ones,[91] reciting the song". Under the throne Abraham saw the four Living Creatures. Yet, although Ezekiel had described them as having each four wings (i,6, 11), Abraham saw them as having six wings, like the Seraphim in *Isaiah* vi,2.[92] Interestingly, Abraham sees from where the six wings grow: from the shoulders, from their sides (?), and from their loins.[93] And he adds:

"Serienbildung und 'Numinoser' Eindruckseffekt in den poetischen Stücken der Hekhalot-Literatur", *Semitics* III (1973), pp. 36 ff.

[88] Because of textual problems, it is quite difficult to tell what in this Celestial Song really belongs to the original and what was later on added.

[89] All the quotations in this paragraph are from chapter xvii.

[90] This could be a reference to *Ezekiel* i,24.

[91] In *Ezekiel* i,18 we find that the backs of the four creatures were full of eyes. This gave rise to a number of similar descriptions in apocalyptic and *Hekhalot* literature. See *3 Enoch* chapters ix; xviii; xxii; xxv; *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii,4; xxii,5; xxiii,1; *Masekhet Hekhalot* (in Jellinek *Bet Ha-Midrasch* II, p. 42) chapter v. In some of the references, the alleged number of those eyes is given as well as their measure.

[92] The Living Creatures in *Revelation* iv,8 likewise have six wings, and it may be argued that in this particular detail, some Christian translator or editor of *Apocalypse of Abraham* adapted the irregularity found in *Revelation*. See further *Bavli Ḥagigah* 13b where an attempt is made to harmonize between the number of the wings described by Isaiah and those described by Ezekiel.

[93] Another interesting description, attested to by some of the MSS, is that each of the Creatures had four faces, "so that the four creatures had sixteen faces". The number of the Creatures' faces was an important issue in Jewish mystical calculations. In *Hekhalot Zutreti* (in Sh. Musajoff, *Merkavah Shelemah*, Jerusalem, 1921, fol. 7a) Rabbi Akiva is quoted as introducing the special secret

"with the (two) wings from their shoulders they covered their faces, and with the (two) wings which (sprang) from their loins they covered their feet, while the (two) middle wings they spread out for flying straightforward".[94] Then the Apocalypse refers once again to the hostility of the Creatures, "And when they had ended the singing, they looked at one another and threatened one another". Jaoel interfered and "turned the countenance of each living creature from the countenance immediately confronting him, in order that they might not see their countenances threatening each other". In addition to that Jaoel "taught them the song of peace". This part of the vision ends with a description of the Throne of the Glory, a description which follows quite closely the one given in *Ezekiel* i. The book ends with an extensive apocalyptic prophecy which tells the story of the Sons of Israel till the eschatological salvation. Before this conclusion of the vision, Abraham says that he was standing, in fact, in the seventh firmament and that God opened to him all the firmaments below.[95]

F

Another vision of the Merkavah is included in *The Ascension of Isaiah*. There it comprises the second part of the book (chapter vi onwards) and from the date given at its beginning it appears that the writer did not intend to identify it with the vision described in *Isaiah*

wisdom which deals with the number of the faces and the wings of the *Ḥayyot*. Interestingly, the number of faces is also given in the gnostic so-called *Koptisch-Gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag-Hammadi*, ed. A. Böhlig & P. Labib, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1962, p. 52/3. Both in *Hekhalot Zutreti* and in the Aramaic Targum to *Ezekiel* i,6 sixty four faces and two hundred and fifty six wings are mentioned. See further Chapter Four, Section B.

[94] Compare the Aramaic Targum to *Isaiah* vi,2: "with two (wings) they cover their faces so as not to see (the Godhead); and with two they cover their bodies so as not to be seen (in their nakedness), and with two they perform (their) service (to God)". The service referred to here is the Celestial Song which according to a current tradition was voiced with two of their wings. See, for instance, *Bavli Ḥagigah* 13b, where "the wings with which they say the song" are said to have been taken away from the Creatures when the Temple was destroyed. See further, *Tanḥumā*, "Qedoshim". paragraph vi; *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, ed. Mandelbaum, p. 151; *Pirkei de-Rav Eliezer* iv; *Bavli Sanhedrin* 37b (Tosafot, s.v. "*Miknaf Ha-ʾAretz*"); *ʿArugat Ha-Bosem*, ed. E. E. Urbach, vol. I, p. 213.

[95] This unique description is reminiscent of what Rabbi Yuda said in the name of Rabbi Yoḥanan about the experience which Abraham had had: "He raised him above the dome (Hebrew: *Kippah*) of the firmament. God told Abraham: 'Look at the heaven', and 'Look' (Hebrew: *Habet*) implies a look from above to below". *Bereshit Rabba*, ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 432/3.

vi. The vision begins when King Hezekiah and all the people of his court, together with the prophet Isaiah, heard "a door which had opened and the voice of the Holy Spirit" (vi,6).[96] This idea of a door which is heard or seen being opened at the beginning of a mystical vision is also known from *Revelation* iv,1, and it may reflect a mystical interpretation of the words "the heavens were opened" in *Ezekiel* i,1. Yet, while Ezekiel experienced no ascension, such an experience is presupposed in *The Ascension of Isaiah* and in *Revelation*.[97] Indeed, the idea of a door which is opened in heaven is characteristic of the tradition describing heavenly ascensions. Thus the so-called Mithras Liturgy mentions such doors,[98] and in *Hekhalot Zutreti* such a door or gate [99] is said to have been pre-established by God before he made heaven and earth.[100] In *Hekhalot Rabbati*, the gates of the seven palaces and the special means which should be applied in order to pass through them safely become a central theme. However, there are several instances in Jewish mystical literature in which the phrase "the heavens were opened" or "the heavens were torn asunder" occur, but then they do not indicate a heavenly ascension.[101]

Soon Isaiah fell into a trance,[102] and an angel came to show the vision to him. Isaiah goes into some detail when he describes the glory of that angel: he was "a glorious angel not like unto the glory of the angels which I used always to see" (vii,2). Obviously, this remark is directed to distinguish between this vision—which entailed a heavenly ascent—and the one in *Isaiah* vi, which the writer apparently believed to entail no such experience. In fact, the angel said that he

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[96] This door is only mentioned in the Ethiopic text of the *Ascension of Isaiah* but not in the Latin texts. See R. H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, London, 1900, p. 99. See further E. Tisserant, *Ascension d'Isaie*, Paris, 1909, p. 136.

[97] Compare also *Syriac Baruch* xxii,1, where the words of Ezekiel are repeated and again no heavenly ascension is presupposed.

[98] A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Reprint: Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966, p. 10/11, lines 19-20.

[99] The word used here is a *hapax-legomenon*. See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 78, n. 9. See further, E. Ben Iehuda, *Thesaurus*, vol. IV, p. 1821, s.v. "*Ḥatirah*".

[100] See further *3 Maccabees* vi,18, and *Testament of Levi* v,1.

[101] See G. Scholem, *op. cit.* p. 68. See further *Mark* i,10 (and parallels), and also *Revelation* xix,11: "Then I saw the heaven open", where once again—in contradistinction to iv,1—no heavenly ascension is maintained.

[102] Interestingly, the physical symptoms of that trance are given in the following words: "he became silent, and he saw not the men who stood before him, though his eyes indeed were open. Moreover his lips were silent ... But his breath was in him" (vi,10-12).

had come from the seventh heaven (vi,13) and that he did not want to reveal his name to the visionary (vii,4-5).[103]

Then follows the description of what Isaiah was shown in each of the seven heavens. Before he reached the first heaven, however, he had passed through the firmament which was between the earth and the heaven.[104] Only afterwards did Isaiah reach the first heaven. Generally, the description of each of the first six heavens is more or less the same, only that every new heaven was more glorious than the preceding one. In each of the first five heavens, Isaiah saw "a throne in the midst, and on its right and on its left were angels".[105] This is probably the only occurrence in Jewish apocalyptic of the idea of the existence of a throne, a Merkavah, in each of the heavens. The idea is, however, repeated in an early Merkavah-midrash, *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, where Ezekiel is said to have seen a Merkavah in every one of the seven heavens. In *Re'uyot Yeḥzekel*, we also find the idea, which is first mentioned in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, that God is sitting only in the throne of the seventh heaven.[106] In addition, the *Ascension of Isaiah* says that the angels "who stood on the right had the greater glory, and they all praised with one voice. . .[107] and those who were on the left gave praise after them; but their voice was not such as the voice of those on the right, nor their praise like the praise of those".[108]

Then Isaiah passes upwards to the second heaven. First, however, he remarks that "the height of that heaven is the same as from the

[103] Indirectly, this could reflect the Essene practice of not revealing the names of the angels. See Josephus, *Bellum* II, viii,7. Generally speaking, the apocalyptic writers did keep secret the names of the angels, while of the Merkavah mystics the contrary can be said to be the truth.

[104] This is quite unique a concept. Yet see Charles's commentary *ad locum*.

[105] The present writer slightly differs here from Charles's translation. Charles thinks that the 'throne' is an angel of the class of the θρόνοι and, therefore, translates: "on *his* right and on *his* left . . .". Yet, according to the Latin, the throne is a throne indeed: *vidi ibi sedem*. The textual evidence for the existence of somebody who sits on the throne from the second heaven upwards is somehow questionable. See further Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc. p. 18/9.

[106] In *Re'uyoth Yehezkel* each of the seven *Merkavot* has a mystical name. See in *Temirin* I (1972), pp. 119 ff. A plurality of chariots is also mentioned in the yet unpublished angelic liturgy found at Qumran and in *Mezadah*.

[107] For the idea of the angels singing in one voice see G. Scholem, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 129, to which, however, more material could be added.

[108] This lack of equality between those standing on the right and those standing on the left is in a way repeated in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xvii, where it appears that the gate-keepers on the right are more important than those standing on the left.

heaven to the earth". Similar utterances can be found in rabbinic literature [109] and in some of the Merkavah texts.[110] But once again the occurrence of this measure in *The Ascension of Isaiah* could well be taken to be the first of its kind in Jewish apocalyptic and mystical tradition. When Isaiah, the visionary, ascends to the second heaven, he again sees a throne with two groups of angels standing on its right and on its left. However, in contrast to the throne seen in the first heaven, at least some of the manuscripts can be understood here to imply that somebody could be seen sitting in the throne. Yet, as has already been said,[111] the readings in the manuscripts could well be a result of the misunderstanding of the copyists.[112] Yet, the words of the *angelus interpres* in vii,21—"Worship neither throne nor angel which belong to the six heavens"—seem to imply that, after all, the throne did not remain unoccupied and that some kind of angelic being—a 'thronos'—was envisaged as occupying it. Yet, this seems to defy the Jewish tradition that angels cannot fold their legs and, thus, cannot sit.[113] In any event, the "one who sat on the throne" is again mentioned in the third heaven (vii,27), in the fourth heaven (vii,31) and in the fifth (vii,35). In the sixth heaven, however, "there are no longer angels on the left, nor a throne set in the midst" (viii,7).[114]

When Isaiah reached the seventh heaven, he heard a voice saying: "How far will he ascend that dwelleth in the flesh?" (ix,1). This question obviously reflects the traditional theme of the angelic opposition to the ascent of man to heaven.[115] But immediately another

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[109] In *Beraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit* (ed. N. Séd, in: *Revue des Études Juives* CXXIV (1965), p. 58), the distance is given as 502 "years of walk", which equals the total sum of the years which Abraham, Isaac and Jacob lived. These were later on rounded out to become 500 "years of walk". See next note.

[110] See the material collected in my edition of *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, in: *Temirin* I, pp. 121 ff.

[111] See above n. 105.

[112] Thus we find in vii,21 that L^2 (in Charles' edition, p. 109) reads "ut *adorem eum*", while S (= the Slavonic version) implies "adoravi eos"! The "eum" could well refer to God who is in the seventh heaven, and not necessarily to the throne, or to the alleged being who is sitting thereon.

[113] See *Bereshit Rabba*, ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 738, and parallels. See further in *Temirin* I, p. 129. Only Metatron could enjoy the privilege of sitting, and this most probably because he had once been a human being (= Enoch). See *Bavli Ḥagigah* 15a.

[114] The special numinous quality of the sixth heaven reminds us of the special quality of the sixth palace as described in the *Hekhalot* literature.

[115] In the case of *The Ascension of Isaiah*, the voice came from the angel who "is over the praise-giving of the sixth heaven". See further J. Schulz, "Angelic Opposition to the Ascension of Mosis and the Revelation of the Law", *Jewish*

voice was heard to the effect that "It is permitted to the holy Isaiah to ascend hither; for here is his garment" (ix,2). As it turned out, this was God's voice, who here and elsewhere in parallel cases, set out to protect the ascending hero from the wrath of the jealous angels (ix,5). The first thing which Isaiah saw in the seventh heaven were all the righteous, "stript of the garments of the flesh" (ix,9). They were, in fact, like angels, "in their garments of the upper world" [116] (*ibid.*). What strikes Isaiah's attention is the fact that these righteous dwelling in heaven "have received the garment but have not the thrones and the crowns".[117] This is explained by the angel thus: "Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive, till the Beloved will descend in the form in which you will see Him descend into the world in the last days". This part of the vision obviously belongs to the Christian editor or interpolator of the book and it transforms at least one traditional Jewish theme, the wearing of crowns,[118] into a Christian apocalyptic theologumenon.[119]

Quarterly Review LXI (1970/1971), pp. 282-307. Schulz rightly observes: "Thus there appear to be two lines of thematic development, one in which the angels serve as guides for the ascending hero, the other in which they protest or try to prevent his ascension". (p. 288). In *Pesiktā Rabbati* (ed. Friedmann) p. 96b, the opposing angels are referred to as "angels of destruction" (*Mal'akhei Ḥabbalah*), which obviously means that the author was disturbed by the idea that good angels could oppose the ascension of Moses to receive the Torah. See further P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1975, pp. 128 ff. For the development of the term *Mal'akhei Ḥabbalah*, see in *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), p. 97. See further, *Apocalypse-of Abraham* xiii, where this type of angelic opposition is put into the mouth of Azazel!

[116] These "garments of the upper world" could have two distinct functions: (a) they are the white garments of the righteous as described several times in *Revelation* (see mainly iv,4), and in *Vita Adae et Evae* (Greek version), xl (in: Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 21). In all these cases they are eschatological garments; but we do have another type of heavenly garments: (b) mystical garments. These garments most likely are to protect the mystical visionary from all kinds of dangers. This could well be the meaning of God's words in *Ascensio Isaiae* ix,2. See further *2 Enoch* xxii, *3 Enoch* xii; *Pesiktā Rabbati*, ed. Friedmann, fol. 98a (= *Bavli Shabbat* 88b). It should also be noted that in one of the liturgical poems of Amram Dare, a Samaritan poet of the fourth century, it is said of Moses' ascension: "And the Good says: 'Let my prophet be exalted. Let the prophet be great and let him be beautiful and let him grow and reach the heaven. Indeed he will be vested by me in a garment that no being is worthy to wear". English translation in: S. Leiter, "Worthiness, Acclamation, and Appointment: Some Rabbinic Terms", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. XLI-XLII (1973-1974), p. 156. Unfortunately, Leiter was not aware of the possible mystical connotations of this passage.

[117] Compare *Revelation* iv,4.

[118] *Bavli Berakhot* 17a, see also above n. 48.

[119] In fact, it is quite difficult to state with certainty what in ix,11 ff. actually

In fact, the whole of the description of the seventh heaven in *The Ascension of Isaiah* is impregnated with Christian material and it is quite difficult to differentiate between the Jewish origin and its Christian recasting. What, in any case, should be noticed in this part of the vision is: (a) Isaiah was transformed and became an angel (ix,30);[120] (b) Isaiah could not see the Great Glory, but he noticed that the righteous could (ix,37-38);[121] (c) Isaiah heard the celestial song of praise (ix,40 ff.); (d) Isaiah saw the descent of the Messiah into the terrestrial world (x,8 ff.);[122] and finally (e) Isaiah saw the Messiah ascending again through the heavens and reaching the seventh heaven. The terminology used in (d) and (e) comes very close to the terminology used in some of the texts of gnosticism, and it may, furthermore, be asked whether the Christian part of the book was not recast in some gnosticistic circles.

G

The Merkavah vision in *Revelation* iv is an interesting example of how Jewish Merkavah material was recast in the new Christian environment. It is generally believed that *Revelation* was composed by a certain John who was familiar with the apocalyptic writings of the Jews before the destruction of the Temple. Although the *Apocalypse of John* received its final shape some twenty years after the destruction of the Temple, its Merkavah material is nevertheless typical of its Jewish counterpart before the destruction. There is no plurality of heavens in the book and this might mean that the book was primarily conceived either in circles which had not adapted the idea or by someone who had simply ignored what was becoming a central concept or fashion in Jewish apocalyptic. In addition to that, it is believed that the *Apocalypse of John* is the only one of its

belongs to a Christian editor or interpolator. There are good reasons to believe that the book as a whole is of Jewish origin and that all the clear Christian references belong to a later editor or interpolator. But it is difficult to decide whether everything from ix,11 ff. belongs to him or whether one has even here to try to distinguish between the Jewish origin and the Christian additions.

[120] This, as we have already seen, signifies a mystical transformation. See above n. 16. Compare also the transformation of Enoch into Metatron in *3 Enoch*.

[121] Compare *Sifra*, ed. Weiss, fol. 4a-b. It should be noticed that some of the MSS of the *Ascension of Isaiah* here read "Him" referring to the celestial figure of Jesus and not to God!

[122] The description here comes very close to the description of the descent of the Saviour at the opening pages of *Pistis Sophia*. Yet, it would be beyond the scope of the present discussion to compare in detail *The Ascension of Isaiah* and *Pistis Sophia*.

kind that is not pseudepigraphically attributed to some biblical figure. This may be explained by the fact that the book purports to be a prophecy which should be revealed to the community of the believers (i,3; xxii,6 ff.). There are some discrepancies in the vision described in chapter iv and they, in turn, could be explained by the rather eclectic nature of the material contained in the vision. As we are going to see, the vision brings together several traditions and it could well be asked whether it describes a genuine experience or whether it is a mere compilation of literary motives. Of course, the question of the genuineness of the vision is quite a difficult one, and skeptics could find a great number of reasons to justify their doubts. Generally speaking, however, discussions of this kind do not lead very far in any sincere attempt to understand and evaluate the experience once it is cast as a literary document.

John, the apocalyptist, introduces his vision with the remark that he saw a "door opened in heaven". This expression may, of course, be reminiscent of the opening words used by Ezekiel to describe the beginning of his vision. However, since John does not literally repeat the words of Ezekiel "the heavens were opened" (*Ezekiel* i,1), we may well infer that John here uses technical terminology. Indeed, the reader may remember that the Ethiopic text of *Ascensio Isaiae* vi,9 says that Isaiah heard, not saw, a door being opened and then his vision began.[123] The technical sense in which John's words, "a door opened in heaven", becomes evident when they are compared with another of John's introductory remarks in xix,11. There John, together with Ezekiel, says that he "saw the heaven opened". In this last case, as also in that of Ezekiel, no heavenly ascent is assumed, while the phrase 'a door opened in heaven' usually introduces such an ascent. To be exact, however, the opening of the door in heaven in *Revelation* iv,1 is not directly followed by John's ascension. He first heard a voice, which he had previously heard (i,10), calling

[123] See above n. 96. See also *Testament of Levi* v,1. In *Yerushalmi Sanhedrin* 28c (bottom) we hear of the secret opening which God opened under His throne so as to receive the prayer of the repenting King Manasseh.—The cosmological concept of gates that mark the entrance to the upper world and mainly to the netherworld is, in fact, very old and almost universal. For ancient Greece see G. S. Kirk & J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, Cambridge University Press, 1973, pp. 10 ff. Scholars are often inclined to see the origin of certain Greek concepts and beliefs in the East and sometimes in Egypt. See the interesting text published in H. Frankfort and others, *Before Philosophy*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1954, pp. 167 ff. The mystical implication of this cosmological concept, however, becomes evident only in such passages as *Revelation* iv,1.

him to ascend to heaven. Only verse 2 says: "And immediately I was there in spirit". In contradistinction to similar experiences in apocalyptic literature, the writer does not state how he actually arrived,[124] although his manner of imparting what happened to him may well be in line with Paul's description in *2 Corinthians* xii,2 & 3.[125] Then, John says, he saw that "a throne was set in heaven, and on the throne (was) one seated". It is noteworthy that—unlike Ezekiel, Daniel and Enoch—John does not refer to the "one" seated on the throne in anthropomorphic terms. Instead John says that "he that sat was to look upon like a jasper stone and a sardius" (iv,3). While Ezekiel (i,27/8) refers to the appearance of fire in connection with the "one" seated on the throne, Daniel (vii,9) says that the "throne was fiery flames" and that God himself appeared to him as "ancient of days" and that "his raiment was white as snow and the hair of his head like pure wool". Indeed, there are two traditions, so to speak, concerning the description of the appearance of God on His throne. The one, initiated by the vision of Ezekiel, stresses the appearance of fire, while the other refers to God in terms of an old man dressed in white. *1 Enoch* xiv,20 describes "the Great Glory" on the throne thus: "His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and was whiter than any snow". Similarly *1 Enoch* lxxi,10, speaks of the "Head of Days" in terms that are reminiscent of *Daniel* vii: "His head was white as pure wool, and his raiment indescribable". In the *Hekhalot* literature, however, the fiery appearance of God is a key notion, although greater attention is paid there to the separate speculations about His raiment, (Hebrew: *Ḥaluq.*)[126]

Before John continues describing the Throne of God, he is struck by the vision of twenty four elders sitting on twenty four thrones. Who these elders are and what they signify in this particular Merkavah vision is a question often debated among scholars. Their number, twenty four, was considered as pointing to the twenty four divisions of priests as they were first enumerated in *1 Chronicles* xxiv.[127] Indeed,

[124] See our discussion in chapter 4.

[125] For the problems involved in the interpretation of this verse see R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (*The International Critical Commentary*) Edinburgh, 1920, Vol. I, pp. 109-111. For the present study, the commentaries of W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannes*, Reprint: Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966, and of H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, Reprint: Ann Arbor, Michigan, Cushing-Malloy, Inc. N.D. have been consulted too.

[126] G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 26/7. 58 ff.

[127] Cf. W. Bousset, *op. cit.*, *ad locum.*

their priestly, or levitic, function is further enhanced by the fact that they sing songs of praise (iv,10/1; v,9; vii,12; xi,17; xix,4) just as the levites were used to do in the Temple-service; and the "kithara" which each of the elders holds in his hands (v,8) is reminiscent, again, of the traditional Temple-psalmody.[128] In addition, the golden bowls of incense which they likewise hold in their hands are more than a clue to their priestly function.[129] The same can also be said concerning the white garments in which the elders are clad (iv,4).[130] Generally speaking, however, white garments are taken in the *Apocalypse of John* to signify the special status of those who believe in Jesus [131] and the same kind of garments are also elsewhere mentioned in connection with angels.[132] Indeed, the elders have an angelic function too: the incense which they present before the Lamb (= Jesus) is considered to be "the prayers of the saints" (v,8).[133] As Charles has pointed out in his commentary (p. 145/6), the idea of an angel, or archangel, offering the prayers of mankind to God is found quite often in apocalyptic literature. In rabbinic literature, however, it is a more complicated issue. In three places in the Bab. Talmud, it is stated that Michael, the archangel (or, in Hebrew, *Sar Ha-Gadol*) is ministering before the altar.[134] In a different context we hear that the angel Syndalphon ties crowns to the head of his Creator (*Bavli Ḥagigah* 13b). S. Lieberman has collected material which shows that in several instances this singular tradition about Syndalphon was interpreted as meaning that the crowns are made of the prayers of the angels.[135] This particular interpretation of the

[128] See H. B. Swete, *op. cit.*, *ad locum*. This could well imply conditions conceivable after the destruction of the Temple. See further x,21/2. Cf. A. Büchler in *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentische Wissenschaft* XIX (1899), pp. 93-133; 329-344; XX (1900), pp. 97-135. In *Hekhalot Rabbati* viii,4 the lute-playing of the Living Creatures is mentioned too.

[129] *Revelation* v,8.

[130] The holy linen garments mentioned in connection with the High Priest in *Leviticus* xvi,4 are called "garments of white" in *Mishnah Yoma* iii,6. See also *Ezekiel* xliv,17.

[131] *Revelation* iii,4/5; vii,13-17; xix,8. Compare *Ecclesiastes* ix,8.

[132] *Ethiopic Enoch* lxxi,1.

[133] Charles, *op. cit.*, *ad locum* (p. 400, n. 3), considers this phrase to be a gloss, but his reasons for doing so, as expounded in his commentary, are not conclusive.

[134] *Tal. Bav. Menaḥot* 110a; *Zevaḥim* 62a; *Ḥagigah* 12b. See Scholem, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff. Scholem also discusses there the relationship between the traditions about Michael and Metatron. See further, I. Gruenwald, *'Re'uyot Yeḥezkel'*, p. 128/9.

[135] S. Lieberman, *Shki'in* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1939, p. 13 f. As for the crowns which the elders put before the throne (*Revelation* iv,10) compare *3 Enoch*

Syndalphon-tradition is very close to the idea of the elders in *Revelation* who offer incense composed of the prayers of the saints. It is, of course, quite difficult to say whether there exists any direct connection between the two ideas or whether what John says is derived only from parallel material found in apocalyptic literature (as collected by Charles). But one thing seems to be clear: John here attributes to the elders an angelic function and this apart from their levitic and priestly functions which we have already discussed. The contamination of these three functions, though it may be explained partly by the kind of Christian-priestly theology developed in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, is nonetheless highly peculiar. This may again be related to the suggestion made before, to the effect that John's manner of writing (and eventually his visionary imagination) is of a highly eclectic nature.

An additional word must be said about the crowns of gold which the elders wear on their heads. The closest Jewish parallel to this item in the vision is the saying of Rav (third century) describing the eschatological reward of the just: They are sitting before God with crowns (*'Atarot*) on their heads (*Bav. Berakhot* 17a). The eschatological context of this saying of Rav is very similar to the vision of the elders in *Revelation* and not unimportant is also the statement in both sources that the elders and the just are actually sitting. We know that according to one tradition, Elish'a ben 'Avuya saw Metatron while sitting. (*Bav. Ḥagigah* 15a; *Sefer Hekhalot* [*3 Enoch*] xvi). Knowing that nobody is allowed to sit in heaven, Elish'a ben 'Avuya came to the conclusion that there must be two powers in heaven.[136] We also saw that the angels cannot fold their legs into a sitting position.[137] The just and the righteous ones are here described,

xviii. It must be noticed that in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xi,1 the Angel (of the Divine) Countenance (= *Mal'akh Ha-Panim*) ties crowns to the Living Creatures. In xvi,5, moreover, God is called the Lord of the Crowns (= *Adon Ha-Ketarim*). The *Musaf-Qedushah* of Shabbat and Festivals according to the Sepharadic (East European) Prayerbook opens with the words: "A Crown will be offered to you by the multitude of the angels on high together with your people gathered below". —J. N. Epstein, in *Revue des Études Juives* LXXIII (1921), p. 33, drew the attention to the magical implication of the Hebrew term QASHAR. This may well apply to what is said about Syndalphon in *Bav. Ḥagigah* 13b: "He (= Syndalphon) says (a magical) name and the crown of its own goes up and places itself on the head of God". See also *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii,2, where the Living Creatures are called 'those who tie crowns' (= *Qoshrei Ketarim*).

[136] We shall come back to this point in our discussion of *3 Enoch*.

[137] *Bereshit Rabbā*, p. 738: "... there is no sitting in heaven ... they have no joints". *Yerushalmi Berakhot* 2c: "The angels have no joints". Both sayings are

however, as sitting even in the presence of God. This is a privilege that angels do not have.[138] In a different context, moreover, we hear that "In the days to come God is going to sit (in judgement) and the angels offer thrones to the illustrious ones among the People of Israel and they sit, and God, the president of the court, with them, in judgement on the nations of the world".[139] It must, however, be remarked that the elders in the *Apocalypse* have no judiciary function [140] and that what is said about their doxologies is similar to what several sages say about the future heavenly banquet presided over by God and in which the righteous say words of praise to Him.[141] Although the frequent doxologies recited by the elders in the *Apocalypse* may be associated to the Merkavah hymns of the *Hekhalot* literature, they still lack the lyrical pathos of those hymns. On the other hand, the Merkavah hymns serve many purposes,[142] but they definitely lack the eschatological and messianic tones of the doxologies in the Book of Revelation.

Particularly interesting is John's description of the Divine Throne. Although there are many peculiar items in this description, we shall concentrate here on only two of them. It is said, firstly, that the four Living Creatures are "in the midst of the throne and round about the throne". The two phrases are generally considered to be self-contradictory and hence a suggestion was made to see in the first one—"in the midst of the throne"—an interpolation. Logically speaking, this phrase really causes difficulty, yet some kind of solution may be found in Rabbi 'Akiva's saying in *Sifra* about the throne

introduced by Rabbi Ḥaninah b. Andrei in the name of Rabbi Shemuel b. SITIR (*Yerushalmi*: SOTR). Rabbi Ḥaninah could be the same Rabbi Ḥaninah who is quoted as saying that the names of the angels are of Babylonian origin: *Bereshit Rabbā*, p. 485. If so, he most probably belongs to the Palestinian Amoraim of the third century.—In *Wayyikra Rabbah*, (ed. Margolioth) p. 135, Rabbi Shemuel bar Naḥman is quoted as saying that "the angels of destruction (*Mal'akhei Ḥabbalah*) have no joints". See further, *Temirin* I, p. 129, n. 115.

[138] See also the quotation from Karaite sources in S. Lieberman, *op. cit.*, p. 14 (bottom). See further our discussion of *Ascensio Isaiae*, above n. 113.

[139] *Tanḥumā ad Leviticus*, ed. Buber, p. 72. The midrash is an attempt to explain the plurality of thrones mentioned in *Daniel* vii,9.

[140] But compare the scene described in *1 Enoch* lx,2.

[141] *Yerushalmi Megilah* 73b. See S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950, p. 15/6; W. C. van Unnik, "A Note on the Dance of Jesus in the *Acts of John*", *Vigiliae Christianae* XVIII (1964), pp. 1-5.

[142] See A. Altman, in: *Melilah* II (1964) (in Hebrew), pp. 1 ff.

and the Living Creatures. In a passage dealing with the question of who may see God, and under what circumstances, it is said (according to the good reading of MS. Vatican 66, fol. 9a): "Even the Living Creatures who are carried in the Merkavah cannot see the Divine Glory". Although Ezekiel clearly says that the Living Creatures carry the firmament over their heads, and it is on this firmament that the Throne of God is placed (*Ezekiel* i,22 ff.), the midrash conceives of the Creatures as being on the same plane as it, and as being carried by the Merkavah. Exactly the same concept is to be found in *Hekhalot Rabbati*, chapter iii. Even in the discussion of the seven heavens and what they contain as it occurs in *Bav. Ḥagigah*, the Creatures are placed on the seventh heaven together with the Divine Throne. Only after *Ezekiel* i,22 was introduced by the Gemārā, in a manner questioning this description, was the tradition of an eighth heaven introduced.[143]

In addition, it is said in *Revelation* iv that the four Living Creatures which were seen by John were like a lion, an ox,[144] a man and a flying eagle. These are the same as those mentioned by Ezekiel, though the latter introduced them in a different order: man, lion, calf, eagle.[145] While Ezekiel stresses the fact that each of the creatures had four faces, nothing explicit is said in the *Apocalypse* about the fourfold structure of the Creatures' faces.[146] Moreover, while Ezekiel mentions that each of the Creatures had four wings, John describes them as having six wings, the number of the wings which the Serafim

[143] See also *Hekhalot Rabbati*, iii. For discussions of the traditions about the existence of eight, and not seven, heavens see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 65 ff.; I. Gruenwald, in: *Temirin I*, pp. 116 ff.; *idem*, in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. 52 ff.

[144] The distinction made in *Bav. Ḥagigah* 13b between the ox (*Ezekiel* i,10) and the *Keruv* (Cherub) in *Ezekiel* x,14 is midrashic but unjustified from a philological point of view. Though the exact etymology of the word KERUV is not quite clear, there are good reasons to relate it to an ox. See *Encyclopedia Biblica* (Hebrew), vol. IV, coll. 238 ff. In post-biblical Merkavah literature the ox was frequently changed into a calf. The earliest occurrence of this change seems to be in a Midrash on *Ezekiel* i found at Qumran, and which Professor J. Strugnell is preparing for publication. See further, S. Lieberman, in: Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 122/3.

[145] The order of appearance of these creatures seemingly did not bother Ezekiel himself. At least there is a change in their order between chapters i and x. In *Bav. Ḥagigah* 13b the order is: lion, calf, eagle, man; and in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxvi,5 the order is: man, calf, lion, eagle. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* xviii the order is: lion, man, calf, eagle.

[146] See above n. 93.

of *Isaiah* vi had.[147] Again this blending together of motifs may be proof of the eclectic qualities of our visionary, particularly so since John hears the Creatures sing the Sanctus of Isaiah!

H

Naturally, not every apocalyptic book which contains Merkavah material could be included in our discussion. The choice fell upon the main texts and upon those visions which are most clearly of a Jewish origin. There is still relevant material to be found in such books as the *Testament of Levi* [148] and *3 Baruch*,[149] yet the Merkavah material contained therein does not warrant extensive discussion here. However extensive our discussion of the Merkavah material found in Jewish apocalyptic was, it should be noticed that a number of important philological problems had to be left unsolved. The reason for this is that not all these texts were preserved in their original language of composition. Many changes have in all likelihood been introduced into the texts in the course of the translation and some of the texts were translated at least twice. In addition, most texts suffered from the hands of interpolators, who used the opportunity of introducing Christian *theologumena* into them. Room must likewise be left for the supposition that some Jewish *theologumena* were dropped by those interpolators or translators. However, it stands to reason to assume that the Merkavah sections were less affected by these processes than the rest of the material, particularly

[147] For an attempt to harmonize between the number of the wings of the Seraphim in *Isaiah* vi and the number of the wings of the Creatures in *Ezekiel* see *Bav. Hagigah* 13b.

[148] The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Testament of Levi* among them, are famous for the debate concerning their Jewish or Christian origin. It is here assumed that the *Testaments* are of Jewish origin, although they include obvious Christian interpolations.—In the case of the *Testament of Levi*, the Merkavah material can be briefly summarized thus: Levi describes his ascent to the third heaven where the angels showed him "the holy Temple and upon a throne the glory of the Most High" (v,1). In that Temple, Levi is ordained for his priestly offices. Yet, before this, in the first two heavens, Levi saw the places where all unrighteousness and iniquity is punished.

[149] *3 Baruch*, or the Greek Book of Baruch, contains the description of an ascent to five heavens. It is full of allegorical visions and one may, therefore, assume that in spite of its clear mythological and pagan overtones, the vision of the sun in the third heaven (vi,1-2) actually is an allegorical Merkavah vision. But compare the magical practices in connection with the desire to "see the sun at daytime sitting in the Merkavah and rising", in *Sefer Ha-Razim*, pp. 97 ff. It should be noticed that *3 Baruch* is unique in having a door at the entrance of each heaven. See *Psalms* lxxviii,23.

so since the Church adapted Jewish angelology and the related subjects almost *en bloc*. Thus, we find in one of the first and most important Christian apocalypses, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which we shall discuss immediately, a statement to the effect that the celestial song is recited in Hebrew!

In fact, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, in spite of its Christian origin, leans heavily on Jewish material. The Apocalypse describes, among other things, two visions of Paradise and it is particularly here that the Jewish material most clearly comes to the fore. In chapter xxx, the visionary asks the guiding angel: "What is Alleluia?",[150] to which the angel replies: "Alleluia is spoken in the Hebrew, that is the speech of God and of the angels". Notwithstanding the controversy found in rabbinical literature as to whether the Torah was given in "Assyrian" (that is, the common Hebrew letters) or in the old "Canaanite" script,[151] it is quite evident from a number of sources, that Hebrew is the language of God.[152] The angel's reply, moreover, mentions Hebrew as the language of the angels too. There are parallel statements in the rabbinical writings, notably the saying of Rabbi Yoḥanan to the effect: "He who prays for the fulfilment of his needs in Aramaic, the ministering angels do not come to his help, since the ministering angels do not understand Aramaic".[153] Elsewhere

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[150] Thus according to the English translation of M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 527 ff. The Greek text, however, has here: λέγεται Ἑβραϊστι θεβελ μαρηματά, λαλιὰ τῳ θεῳ τῳ θεμελιουντι τὰ πάντα . . . The sentence is not very clear, particularly the words θεβελ μαρηματα. On first sight the Greek θεβελ seems to be a transcription of the Hebrew *Thevel* = 'world'. But still the phrase remains unclear. Professor S. Liebermann has suggested to me to interpret θεβελ as a corrupt rendering of the Aramaic *Ṭav El* = 'God is blessed' or 'the good God'. As for μαρηματα, Professor Liebermann again suggests to see in it a corrupt rendering for the Aramaic *Maranā ātā* = 'our Lord will come'. The Syrian version of the *Apocalypse of Paul* here reads: "Hallelujah in the language of the Hebrews means: Praise the Lord. Praise God, who was the first of all. Unto him do the angels, without ceasing, raise Hallelujah, and praise him who sent us salvation and created for us all things". (English translation in Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 56).

[151] See *Yerushalmi Megilah* 71b-c, and parallels.

[152] See *Jubilees* xii,25-26: "'Open his (= Abraham's) mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with his mouth, with the language which has been revealed ... and I (= Abraham) began to speak with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation". For further references see L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, vol. V, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955, p. 205 6.

[153] *Bavli Shabbat* 12b; *Sotah* 33a.

it is explicitly said that the ministering angels speak Hebrew.[154] Such sayings regarding the language which the angels speak and understand could well have had polemical functions, since we know that particularly within those circles which practised magic, angels were conjured in Greek [155] and in Aramaic.[156]

In addition, the guiding angel has also something to say about the way the angelic song is recited: [157] "if any sing Alleluia, and they that are present sing not with him, they commit a sin in that they sing not with him". This passage resembles, though not exactly, the one found at the end of *Hekhalot Rabbati* (chapter xxx) to the effect that the angels sing "in perfect unison, in one voice... and there is no one who preceeds his fellow or follows him in the recital of the song. And he who delays his voice in the spelling out of Your name even at an hair's breadth is turned out and burning fire devours him".[158]

In chapter xliv of the Apocalypse, Paul, the visionary, experiences another vision of the Merkavah: "I beheld and saw the heaven shake like unto a tree that is moved by the wind: and suddenly they [159] cast themselves down upon their faces before the throne: and I saw the four and twenty elders and the four beasts worshipping God". This part of the vision most obviously depends on the vision of *Revelation* iv: particularly so since the twenty four elders are mentioned in both cases. The second part of the vision, however, is even more interesting because of the new material it contains:

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[154] *Bavli Ḥagigah* 16a; *mesaprin bilshon ha-qodesh*. See further *Wayyikra Rabbah* (ed. Margulies), p. 28.

[155] Particularly interesting in this respect are the Greek prayers—in Hebrew transcription!—in *Sefer Ha-Razim*, pp. 80, 99. See also *Hekhalot Rabbati*, xix (end), and J. H. Levi, *Studies in Jewish Hellenism* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1969, pp 259 ff.

[156] See, for instance, the text published in Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 111 (paragraphe 20). See also the *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, published by J. Montgomery, Philadelphia, 1913. See further, B. Levine, "The Language of the Magical Bowls", an appendix to J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, vol. V, pp. 343-375.

[157] In the additions to *Tanhuma* from MS Oxford 183 Sh. Buber published a passage which refers to the *Takhsisei Ha-Shir*, that is, the "orders" (τάξις) of the angelic song. See Buber's "Introduction", p. 126/7.

[158] See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 29-30, 129. See also *Apocalypse of Paul* xliii (end): "And they, when they heard these words cried out and wept sore, and all said *with one voice*: Have mercy upon us, O Son of God".

[159] It seems that the angels are here implied, though the "they" in text here generally signify those "which say that Christ rose not from the dead, and that this flesh riseth not again" (xlii).

"and I saw the altar and the veil and the throne and all of them were rejoicing, and the smoke of a sweet odour rose up beside the altar of the throne of God". The altar and the veil make it evident that the heavenly Temple is meant. What, however, is the throne of God doing in the heavenly Temple? It may be argued that the visionary here links himself to the vision described in *Isaiah* vi,1, where God is seen sitting on His throne in the Temple. Yet, there are here some peculiar details of the vision not mentioned in *Isaiah*. The altar and the veil are not expressly referred to in *Isaiah*, though their existence there may be self-understood from the context. But apart from *Isaiah* vi the Temple is nowhere mentioned in any Merkavah vision.[160] On the contrary, in the list of the seven heavens and what is contained therein as described in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b, the heavenly Temple is said to be in the fourth heaven, *Zevul*. There it is said too that Michael, the archangel, offers sacrifices on the altar found therein.[161] In *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, the heavenly Temple is said to be located in the fifth heaven, *Sheḥaqim*.[162] In any event, there is no Temple in the seventh heaven which contains the Throne. Thus, it seems that both in *Revelation* and in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the visionaries or the writers, brought together inconsistent literary elements which were not found in this manner in other Merkavah visions. This could be well explained by the fact that once "ecstatic" apocalyptic declined, an allegedly new type of apocalyptic arose. In this new type of apocalyptic, mere "literary" motives were blended together. A full discussion of this new type of apocalyptic, however, is not within the scope of the present study.

[160] But in *Testament of Levi* v,1, there *is* a Temple in the third heaven, and it contains also the divine Throne.

[161] These sacrifices are generally explained to be the souls of the righteous. See also *Bavli Menaḥot* 110a, *Zevaḥim* 62a. In the *Apocalypse of Paul* only "the smoke of a sweet odour" is mentioned, but it is not said who offers the incense. See further *Revelation* v,8 and Charles's commentary *ad locum*.

[162] See the writer's edition, pp. 128 ff.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MERKAVAH SPECULATIONS IN THE LITERATURE OF THE TANNAIM AND AMORAIM

A

In the previous chapter we discussed the Merkavah material in apocalyptic literature. We shall now turn to the attitude towards the Merkavah speculations in the literature of the *Tannaim* and *Amoraim*. But before doing so, it should be remarked that in considering the mysticism of the period it would be wrong to restrict ourselves only to Merkavah mysticism. There are several utterances in rabbinical literature that refer to the Godhead in quite unusual modes of speech. Consequently, one may ask whether they display a kind of mysticism which is not directly related to the Merkavah tradition.[1] These utterances, few as they are, are highly important and despite the fact that they are sometimes far from clear, they reveal traces of a concept of God that comes close to mysticism.[2] In addition, some of the

[1] There are not many examples which may reflect this kind of apparently non-Merkavah mysticism, but a discussion of them all requires a study in itself. Two examples from the *Mechiltā d'Rabbi Ismael* (ed. Horovitz-Rabin) may give the reader a fairly clear idea of what could be meant by this non-Merkavah mysticism. To the words "And all the people were seeing the sounds" (*Exodus* xx,18) Rabbi Akiva is quoted to have said: "Seeing and hearing that which is given to sight; they saw a word (Hebrew: *Dibber*) of fire coming out of the mouth of the *Gevurah* (= *dynamis*) and being hewed on the Tables" (p. 235). For a discussion of this saying and its parallels in rabbinic literature see what the present writer wrote in *Revue des Études Juives* CXXXII (1973), pp. 501 ff. The other example from the *Mechiltā* concerns the words: "Behold, I will stand before you there on the rock at Horeb" (*Exodus* xvii,6; RSV). The *Mechiltā* says: "God told him (= Moses): wherever you find a place with the imprint of a man's foot, there I am in front of you!" (p. 175). See, however, Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 129, who, wrongly it appears, suggests that this version of the saying in *Mechiltā d'Rabbi Ismael* is secondary to the one found in *Mekhilta de-R. Shimon ben Yoḥai*, and which contains a gloss referring to *Ezekiel* i,26. See further the *Targum Yerushalmi to Exodus* xvii,6.

[2] In this respect the various sayings which refer to God in terms of place are of relevance for our discussion. See E. E. Urbach, *The Sages*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1975, pp. 66 ff. See further the various sayings about the *Shekhinah* and the space it metaphorically occupies, in: *Pesiktā de-Rav Kahanā* (ed. Mandelbaum), pp. 1-8. Some of the sayings there are of great importance but were not always correctly interpreted.

utterances in Philo's writings have been taken as evidence of a Jewish hellenistic mystery-mysticism.[3] One may, therefore, speak of a variety of mystical tendencies in the Judaism of the time of the Mishnah and Talmud, the existence of which has not been admitted without controversy, both in the literature of the period and in the scholarly assessment of that literature. We shall now turn to that literature and to the views expressed by some scholars regarding the mystical utterances found therein. Yet, before doing so, it should be remarked that in spite of that controversial attitude later rabbinical writings still persisted in referring to and even quoting from the mystical material found both in rabbinical writings and the so-called *Hekhalot* literature. Thus in post-talmudic times, one can find references to the Merkavah tradition in *Pirkei-de-Rabbi Eliezer* (composed most probably in *Eretz Yisrael* at the beginning of the eighth century) chapters iii-iv, and in some of the writings of the *Ge'onim*, notably in the halakhic and exegetical Responsa of Rav Hai Ga'on (939-1038).[4]

The mystical tradition of the Jews during the talmudic period is called *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (= the work of the divine chariot) and together with the so-called *Ma'aseh Bereshit* (= the work of the creation of the world) it forms the two branches of the so-called esoteric teachings of Judaism at that period. Both terms occur for the first time in *Mishnah Ḥagigah* ii,1 (= *Tosefta Hagigah* ii,1). The term "*Merkavah*", however, was used with reference to the visions of *Ezekiel* (but not by Ezekiel himself) in *Ben Sira* xlix,8. The Hebrew text there reads *Zenei Merkavah* where the Greek has ἅρματος χερουβιν. While the sense of the Greek is clear, the Hebrew, with the Syriac *genasa*, is taken to mean "the kinds of the chariot", which is a little vague.[5] Elsewhere we find the term '*Merkavah*' in the above mentioned fragment of the so-called angelological liturgy of Qumran which was first published by J. Strugnell. The term '*Merkavah*' is also used in *Mishnah Megillah* iv, 10 and applied there to chapter one (and pos-

[3] See especially, E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism*, Reprint: Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1969. Goodenough's thesis is not always convincing, and Professor David Winston informs me that he is to take up a new study of the subject.

[4] See B. M. Lewin, *Otzar Ha-Geonim*, vol. IV, Jerusalem, 1931, part 2, pp. 10-24; 53-61.

[5] For the suggestion that *Ezekiel* i originally contained yet another—now lost—vision, see Sh. Spiegel, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LIV (1935), p. 168. But see Rashi to *Ezekiel* i,9. For the term *Minei Ha-Kavod* (= the kinds of the Glory) see *Midrash Ha-Gadol* to *Genesis* xvii,22 (and parallels).

sibly also chapters eight and ten) of *Ezekiel*. And finally, the mystics of the time of the Talmud are called *Yoredei Merkavah*, that is, those who descend, so-to-speak, into the mystical vision of the divine chariot.[6]

The central utterance in rabbinic literature with regard to the speculation of the Merkavah is to be found in *Mishnah Ḥagigah* ii,1: "It is forbidden to discourse... on the Creation of the World in the presence of two, and on the *Merkavah* in the presence of one, unless he is wise and able to understand of himself".[7] The ensuing discussion in *Talmud Bavli Ḥagigah* 11b, and also the text of the Mishnah as it is explicated in *Tosefta Ḥagigah* ii,1, make it clear that the meaning of the Mishnah is that "it is forbidden to discourse on the Creation of the World with two (students), nor on the *Merkavah* with one, unless he is wise and able to understand of himself". The technical details as to how this particular kind of discourse on the matters of the Merkavah was conducted in Tannaitic circles is well exemplified in a much discussed and often misunderstood story about Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai and his disciple Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh recorded in *Tosefta Ḥagigah* ii,1 and in two major parallel versions in *Yerushalmi Ḥagigah* 77a and *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b.

The story there tells of Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai who was travelling on a donkey while his disciple El'azar ben 'Arakh was walking behind. At a certain point on their way, the student requested his master to teach him "a chapter in the Work of the Divine Chariot". The master, however, was reluctant to fulfil the student's request and said: "Did I not teach you some time ago that one should not discourse on the Merkavah with a single (student) unless he is wise and able to understand of himself". Rabbi El'azar promptly grasped what his master had implied and, as the version found in *Jer. Ḥagigah* explicitly says, asked for permission to hold a discourse himself before his Rabbi. This was to convince the master of the abilities of his pupil, before the former revealed his knowledge. Soon, Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai descended from the donkey, put on, as the

[6] Cf. the bibliography listed in G. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, 1974, pp. 204-206; 459. For the earliest recorded occurrence of the term 'Merkavah' in a context relevant for our discussion, see *1 Chronicles* xxviii,18.

[7] For the text of the Mishnah see Y. N. Epstein, *Mavo LeNusah HaMishnah*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1964, p. 1115; *Idem*, *Mevo'ot LeSifrut HaTannaim*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1957, p. 48. [See now also D. J. Halperin, *Merkabah and Ma'aseh Merkabah according to Rabbinic Sources* (Dissertation: University of California, Berkeley), 1977. Halperin's work deserves more attention than can be given to it now].

custom was in many religious and legal practices,[8] his *Tallit* and both of them sat down on a stone in the shade of an olive tree. After Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh had finished his discourse, Rabban Yoḥanan stood up and kissed him on his head and blessed him for "knowing how to understand and to discourse in matters pertaining to the Glory (*Kavod*) of his Father in Heaven". In addition, Rabban Yoḥanan praised his student for being one "who discourses well and performs well".

Now, this last sentence, which has been considered not to be in its right place,[9] could well mean in this particular context that Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh was not only able to discourse correclty but that he also knew, as the first part of the story so clearly shows, how to introduce such a discourse on the Merkavah. (This notwithstanding the fact that later on Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh fell out of grace in the eyes of his colleagues, and Rabbi Yehoshu'a was then considered to be Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai's senior student in the matters of the Merkavah.[10]) The parallel versions of this story about Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai and Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh in both Talmuds contain the description of a mystical experience that took place while Rabbi El'azar was discoursing before his master. We shall come back to this experience only after making some additional comments regarding the story as it is told in the *Toseftā*.

The terminology used in this story, like that of the *Mishnah*, clearly indicates that the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* speculations in Tannaitic circles

[8] Compare *Toseftā Pisḥa* ii,16 (ed. Lieberman, p. 147 f.).

[9] See E. E. Urbach, "The Traditions about the Merkabah Mysticism in the Tannaitic Period", *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem on his Seventieth Birthday*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1967, Hebrew Section, p. 3.

[10] *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b. Here he is said to be one of those who discoursed before their master but before whom nobody later on discoursed. On the ground of several Tannaitic sources (*Kohelet Rabbā* vii,1,7; *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*, Version A, ch. xiv, and Version B, ch. xxix (ed. Schechter, p. 58/9); and *Bavli Shabbat* 147b) it appears that Rabbi El'azar ban 'Arakh did either not follow his master to Yavneh or else that he soon left that place. Rabbi El'azar is reported to have followed his wife to Emmaus, where he forgot all that he had learned. The tragic end of Rabbi El'azar was often discussed by scholars. See recently, J. Neusner, *A Life of Yoḥanan ben Zakkai*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970, p. 249. The change in the attitude of the sages towards Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh is best reflected in *Misnah* *'Avot* ii,9 where Rabbi El'azar is still considered Rabban Yoḥanan's favourite student, while the preceeding mishnah, ii,8, already considers Rabbi Eli'ezer ben Horkenos as the most deserving of Rabban Yoḥanan's students. Nevertheless, Abba Shaul still tries to insist there on the original attitude towards Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh.

primarily were of a midrashic nature. Such terms as *Darash* (discourse), *Shanah* (teach), *Pereq* (a chapter), are terms which clearly show that as a matter of didactic principle there was no substantial difference in the way the Scriptural Merkavah material was studied from the way other biblical passages were handled in rabbinic circles.[11] Yet, there was a major difference between the two, namely, in the number of those allowed to participate in the study. Otherwise, the technical procedure of the study seems to be the customary one in both cases.[12] Moreover, the Babylonian Talmud (*Ḥagigah* 13a) discusses the question: "Which verses (in the first chapter of *Ezekiel*) correspond to the *Ma'aseh Merkavah*". There are two answers given to the question, which vary from verse 28 (according to Rabbi Yehudah Ha-Nasi) to the word *Ha-Ḥashmal* (most likely the one mentioned in v.,27;[13] according to Rabbi Yiẓḥak). Thereafter, several suggestions are made as to how the material in its various parts should be studied: According to one view, till the word "*wa'ere*" (*Ez.* i,4) one may teach in the regular manner while from that word onwards only *Rashei Peraqim*[14] should be taught. According to

[11] See my article "Yannai and the Hekhalot Literature" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiẓ* XXXVI (1967), p. 258/9. We shall later on come back to the "midrashic" terminology found in the *Hekhalot* literature itself.

[12] Except, of course, for the fact, that in the case of the Merkavah-midrashs the student, and not the master, is expected to begin the discourse. As we are going to see, even this procedure was later on reversed.

[13] The Hebrew text here reads: *Ḥashmal* (without the definite article). Doubtless the word *HaḤashmal* (with the definite article) in verse 4 could not be meant here.—The word *Ḥashmal* itself had an interesting role in the rabbinic Merkavah speculations. First, we hear of two cases in which young and inexperienced students discoursed on the word *Ḥashmal* and a fire came out and devoured them (*Bavli Ḥagigah* 13a). Then, we also know that the *Ḥashmal* occupied a special chapter in the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* speculations; see *Midrash Mishlei* x. See also E. E. Urbach, *art. cit.* (above n. 8), p. 26. In addition, the word *Ḥashmal* is interpreted in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 13a-b as indicating the order of the angelic song. Angelic beings called *Ḥashmalim* are quite frequent in Jewish liturgical poetry. In the *Hekhalot* fragments published in *Tarbiẓ* XXXVIII (1969), p. 370.1.48 we find: "And the *Ḥashmal* is singing before you". Finally, in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxv,5 a section is inserted which discusses the perils which might befall the unworthy mystic at the gate of the sixth palace. Since at that stage *Hekhalot Rabbati* is already discussing matters that pertain to the seventh palace, this section is to all likelihood to be considered as an interpolation. The section begins with a quotation from *Ezekiel* i,27—"*wa'ere ke'ein Ḥashmal*"—and may constitute an independent Merkavah-midrash. In some of the MSS. of the *Hekhalot* literature this section is quoted separately, and not in this place in *Hekhalot Rabbati*. It should also be noticed that in no other case in *Hekhalot Rabbati* is any of the sections introduced by the quotation of a scriptural phrase.

[14] For a definition of the term see, *Yerushalmi Megilah* 72a. It appears that

another view in the Gemara, till the word "*wa'ere*" one may teach *Rashei Peraqim* while the rest could be taught only when the student is "wise and able to understand of himself".[15] All these, and also some additional elements which we shall presently discuss, clearly testify to the midrashic character of the Merkavah study in Tannaitic and Amoraic circles. Thus, the principal meaning of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* in these circles was a midrashic explication of the text of the first chapter in *Ezekiel*. Whether any mystical experiences were involved in that study remains to be considered later on in our discussion.

As for the terminology used in the story about Rabban Yoḥanan and Rabbi El'azar, it would be best to begin our discussion with the term *PEREQ* (a chapter). As W. Bacher indicated, the term *pereq* designated in Tannaitic literature a section of the oral law [16] and in Amoraic usage it also referred to the chapters of the *Mishnah*.[17] Generally speaking, a *pereq* may well equal a pericope of midrashic exposition, that is, a passage in which a biblical word or phrase is introduced and followed by a midrashic saying. When Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh asked Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai to teach him one chapter of the *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, he most probably meant that Rabban Yoḥanan should quote any of the biblical phrases found in *Ezekiel* i and offer his own midrashic interpretation to it. Rabban Yoḥanan refused, and as we have seen, Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh "opened and discoursed",[18] i.e., he cited a biblical phrase and interpreted it accordingly. We do not know what the student discoursed before his master, but we know what his discourse was believed to have brought about. To this part of the story, however, we shall turn only later on.

In the time of the *Amoraim*, the term *pereq* was used in a new com-

Rashei Peraqim are the first verses of a biblical chapter in the massoretic division. See also G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 25 n. 14; Sh. Spiegel, in *Journal of Biblical Literature* LIV (1935), p. 166, n. 7; S. Lieberman, *Toseftā Kifshutah: Shabbat*, p. 104. In the yet unpublished angelic liturgy from Qumran one finds the term *Rashei Tushbaḥot*, which could well correspond to the *Rosh Shirot* found in *Hekhalot Rabbati* ii,4, but may also be a class of angels.

[15] *Bavli Ḥagigah* 13a.

[16] W. Bacher, *Die Exegetische Terminologie der Jüdischen Traditionsliteratur*, Leipzig, 1899, Erster Teil: "Die Bibelexegetische Terminologie der Tannaiten," p. 154.

[17] *Ibid.*, Zweiter (Schluss-) Teil: "Die Bibel- und Traditionsexegetische Terminologie der Amoräer," p. 163 f.

[18] For the technical use of *PATAḤ* see *ibid.*, Erster Teil, p. 162/3; Zweiter Teil, pp. 174 ff.

bination: *Rashei Peraqim*. It is said in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 13a that Rabbi Ḥiyya allowed one to "deliver *Rashei Peraqim*" to a single student who wanted to study the *Ma'aseh Merkavah*. From the way Rabbi Ḥiyya's words are introduced after the quotation from the *Mishnah*, "and not (in the matters of the) Merkavah to a single (student)", it clearly appears that Rabbi Ḥiyya intended to relax the ruling of the Mishnah. He says: "But one may deliver to him *Rashei Peraqim*". This phrase most likely means that the teacher could refer the student to the opening phrases from Scripture upon which the student was then allowed to introduce his own exposition. In giving to the student to the biblical reference, the master already does a great deal, particularly in stimulating the subject of the student's discourse on the matters of the Merkavah. Rabbi Zera (the first, who came from Babylonia), however, could not agree to this procedure and said: "One should deliver *Rashei Peraqim* only to the head of the study-house (*Beit Din*) and to him who sincerely worries".[19] In both cases, what seems to be almost certain is, that at least some of the Amoraim tolerated a more lenient attitude towards the procedure of the study of the *Ma'aseh Merkavah*.[20]

A parallel change in the attitude of the Rabbis towards the Merkavah material can also be seen from the story told about Rabbi Yoḥanan and Rabbi El'azar (both Palestinian *Amoraim* of the third century C.E.). Rabbi Yoḥanan offers to instruct Rabbi El'azar in the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (*Bavli Ḥagigah* 13a). Rabbi El'azar declines the offer, saying that he is not old enough for that kind of study. No details are given here as to what the proper age for the study of the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* was and it is hardly conceivable that the subjective feeling of the candidate could be accepted in that matter.[21] When Rabbi El'azar

[19] The Gemarā adds here a comment to the effect, that there were some who said that the words "he who sincerely worries" refer back to the head of the studyhouse. Heads of Yeshivot were later on, in Ge'onic times, considered to be recipients of esoteric knowledge. See B. M. Lewin, *Otzar ha-Geonim*, vol. VI, Jerusalem, 1934, p. 21, where it said that God's secret name of 22 letters was known "in Kabbalah" (oral transmission) to the heads of the Yeshivah. See also *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eli'ezer*, ch. viii, in comparison to *Bavli Qiddushin* 71 a.

[20] Here the writer agrees with Urbach's contention, *art. cit.* (n. 9), *passim*.

[21] From the text of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* published by G. Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 108, it appears that the age of thirteen (!) was already considered as the ripe age for the study of esoteric lore. Compare *Mishnah Avot* v,21 where it is said in the name of Yehudah ben Temā that 10 is the proper age for the study of the Mishnah, while 15 was considered as the suitable age for the study of the Talmud. The Qumranites, however, considered the age of 20 as the right age for the esoteric study of the Torah. And finally, the *Sefer Raziel* (ed. Amsterdam, 1701) which

reached the right age, Rabbi Yoḥanan died. So Rabbi Assi came forward with a similar offer to Rabbi El'azar. Obviously, all this runs counter to the ruling of the Mishnah and, consequently, the Gemārā finds it necessary to state that Rav Yoseph refused to teach the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* to the Elders of Pumbedita, even in exchange for their teaching him the *Ma'aseh Bereshit*. It should be noticed that Rav Yoseph lived in Babylonia, while the other Amoraim mentioned in the Gemārā lived in *Eretz Yisrael*. Thus, one may argue that there was some kind of difference in the attitude to the study of the Merkavah lore between those living in Babylonia and those living in *Eretz Yisrael*.

Indeed, we find (*Bavli Shabbat* 80b) that a certain Galilean came to Babylonia and was asked by the people there to discourse on the matters of the Merkavah. When he did so, he was afflicted and died. This anecdote speaks for itself, and from yet another saying of the *Talmud Yerushalmi Ḥagigah* 77a it clearly appears, that in *Eretz Yisrael* later generations tried to relax the strict ruling of the Mishnah while the sages in Babylonia were less lenient in their obedience to the

collects a good many ancient texts related to magic and Merkavah mysticism says that "this book which is called "The Secrets of Raziel" should be delivered only ... to him who has reached the middle of his life". This is based on *Bavli Qiddushin* 71 a, where the conditions for the revelation of God's secret name are listed. As a matter of fact, 30 was regarded by many to be the earliest date for the study of Jewish Kabbalah. Yet see G. Scholem, *Sabbatai Ṣevi*, Princeton University Press; 1975, p. 114.—The qualities of those who want to study esoteric subjects is variously enumerated in ancient literature. The Qumranites laid great stress on the general demeanour of the candidate, and he had to wait at least two years before he could become full member of the sect and, this, not before he underwent a thorough examination of his moral behaviour and intellectual qualities (I QS VI,13-22). In addition, there was a yearly test of the moral and intellectual qualities of the members of the sect (I QS V,24). According to another text found at Qumran, the candidate had to pass a close examination of his physiognomy in relationship to the astrological signs at his birthtime (4 Q 186). In the *Hekhalot* literature great stress is laid on the perfection of the mystic in the study of the Torah and in his observance of the law (*Hekhalot Rabbati* xiii,2; in: A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, vol. III, p. 93). Among the *Hekhalot* mystics we too find the physiognomic examination of the candidate (G. Scholem, in: *Liber Amicorum ... Bleeker*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1969, pp. 175-193; I. Gruenwald, in: *Tarbiẓ* XL (1971), pp. 301-319).—From the days of the Second Temple we hear that the secret name of God was delivered only to "the humble among the priesthood" (*Bavli Kidushin* 71a, and parallels). Finally, Maimonides says that the secrets of physics and metaphysics (in his terminology: *Ma'aseh Bereshit* and *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, respectively) should be studied only by those who have fed themselves with much study of the Law (*Mishneh Torah*, *Sefer ha-Mad'a*, iv,13). See also the discussion in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14a, concerning those who are allowed to study the secrets of the Torah.

Mishnah. It is said there in *Talmud Yerushalmi*: "How does he do (= how is the study of the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* carried out)?—At the beginning his master opens with the *Rashei Pesuqim* [22] while the pupil listens in silence and examines if his own speculations concur with those of his master". Obviously, this is a procedure that is diametrically opposed to what may be inferred as being what Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai thought was the proper procedure in studying the Merkavah lore.[23] In any event, where the terms *Rashei Peraqim* and *Rashei Pesuqim* are referred to (*Bavli Ḥagigah* 13a and *Yerushalmi Ḥagigah* 77a) one clearly finds a break with the ruling of the Mishnah. Thus, under certain circumstances it was the master who was allowed to open the discussion in the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* with either *Rashei Peraqim* or *Rashei Pesuqim*. One might even go as far as to say that the idea of *Rashei Perqaim* or *Rashei Pesuqim* was introduced to legitimize the deviation from the ruling of the Mishnah.

This less rigorous Palestinian attitude towards the study of the Merkavah lore, as opposed to the strict adherence to the law of the *Mishnah* as it could be observed with some of the Babylonian sages, may be taken to reflect indirectly a more general attitude towards the mysticism of the Merkavah in Amoraic circles. It may be argued that the strict observation of the *Mishnah* as seen in the circle of Rabbi Yoḥanan ben Zakkai's students continued to be the rule as long as the tradition of the Merkavah speculations was a live one in *Eretz Yisrael*. When it ceased to be so, a more lenient attitude was adopted. However, in Babylonia the Merkavah speculations continued to be a most holy subject for a long time, so that even in the days of the later *Amoraim* there the attitude prescribed in the *Mishnah* was still strictly observed. We now know that certain Merkavah texts initially composed in *Eretz Yisrael* were transferred to Babylonia and adapted there for local purposes.[24] There are, therefore, good reasons for

[22] See above, n. 14.

[23] One may suggest that the opposite procedure, namely that the master opens the discourse, was aimed at keeping a uniform procedure of study in the old Yeshivot even in matters of the Merkavah. See *Yerushalmi Bava Metzi'a* 8d: "Who is to be considered one's teacher that taught him wisdom?—Everybody who opened to him the discourse—this is the opinion of Rabbi Me'ir".

[24] In the *Hekhalot* text published by the present writer in *Tarbiẓ* XXXVIII (1969), pp. 354 ff. mention is made of a certain sage connected to the Merkavah circles who was to occupy a prominent position among the Jews in Babylonia. See, *ibid.*, p. 357, ll. 13 ff. The text is based on *Hekhalot Rabbati*, and in some cases even quotes from it. Yet, it comes even closer to the *Sar Torah*, which is generally appended to *Hekhalot Rabbati* (ch. xxvii-xxx). And in some of the

believing that the Merkavah tradition in Babylonia outlived its counterpart in *Eretz Yisrael*. One may likewise say that the more lenient attitude shown by the *Amoraim* of *Eretz Yisrael* reflects the fact that the Merkavah speculations became known in fairly wide circles and there was no longer the previously felt need to keep these speculations under the most severe restrictions. However, whatever the reasons and whatever the practice, the control required on the part of the master over his students was somehow relaxed, but not altogether cancelled. Finally, whether the above-mentioned difference in the attitude towards the Merkavah-midrashim was also influenced by a parallel attitude towards the *Heklahot* literature or not remains for the moment an open question.

B

We have now to turn to the verbs *DARASH* and *SHANAH* found in the story of Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai and Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh. These two verbs, which imply the study of the subject of the *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, are in line with the ruling of the Mishnah: "'*Ein Dorshin*", "one should not discourse". It thus appears that a study and no mystical experience is here involved. These two verbs and the verbs *GAMAR* (to study and to teach), *PATAḤ* (to open a midrashic discourse usually by quoting a biblical verse the relationship of which to the verse under midrashic discussion is the subject of the discourse),[25] and *HIRẒAH* (to lecture), which are repeatedly used in Tractate *Ḥagigah*, in both Talmuds, make it clear that the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* speculations of the *Tannaim* basically were of a midrashic nature. Moreover, from the words "many have discoursed in the Merkavah and have not seen it during their lifetime" (*Toseftā Megilah* iii (iv), 28) it clearly appears that in Tannaitic circles a clear distinction was maintained between the midrashic speculations about

MSS of the *Sar Torah* we find the following passage: "This (i.e. the conjuration of the *Sar Torah*) was done by Rabbi Eliezer and he was answered but did not trust (his success), and it was repeatedly done by myself and I did not trust (my success) either, till I brought a fool who repeated what I had done. (Consequently) they told Rabbi 'Akiva to go abroad ... and when Rabbi 'Akiva descended to Babylonia, and conjured (the angel) and was answered, he returned and told us (of his success) and we rejoiced." The passage obviously stresses the fact that the theurgic practices connected with the conjuration of the *Sar Torah* could be perfected (a) by every layman; and (b) not only in *Eretz Yisrael* but also—and most significantly so—in Babylonia.

[25] See above note 18.

the Merkavah and its mystical perception.[26] In other words, even in these circles one could not completely rule out the possibility of a mystical vision of the Merkavah and this in spite of the fact that no detailed descriptions of such visions were preserved in Tannaitic sources.

However, one may ask whether we can really accept the view as expressed by Prof. E. E. Urbach that the mystical experiences of the *Tannaim* are devoid of any real ecstatic elements and that "the prevailing tone (in the esoteric tradition of the *Tannaim*) is that of an ascetic ecstasy"![27] Apart from the fact that the idea of an "ascetic ecstasy" is far from being clear, it must be asked what kind of mystical experience did the *Tannaim* after all have and how should the historicity of the documents we have to consult for an answer be judged. In the case of the story about Rabban Yoḥanan and Rabbi El'azar, there are two, almost parallel, interpolations in the versions found in *Talmud Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b and *Talmud Yerushalmi Ḥagigah* 77a.[28] According to the version in the *Yerushalmi*, when Rabbi El'azar began his discourse, Rabban Yoḥanan "descended from the donkey, saying: 'It is not proper for me to hear the Glory of my Creator while I am riding the donkey' ". When both of them sat down beneath a tree, "fire came down from heaven and surrounded them, and the ministering angels were dancing in front of them as groomsmen rejoicing before the bridegroom". It is furthermore reported in *the Yerushalmi* that "one angel was speaking from within of the fire saying: 'It is as you say, Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh, this is what the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is!' ". The end of the story follows, using the same words as in the *Tosefta*. According to the version found in the *Talmud Bavli*, after Rabban Yoḥanan had descended from the donkey, Rabbi El'azar asked him: "Why have you descended from the donkey?"—Rabban Yoḥanan answered: "Is it not improper for me to ride a donkey while you are discoursing in the *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, the Shekhinah is with us, and the ministering angels are accompanying us?". Immediately Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh began his discourse in the *Ma'aseh Merkavah*.[29] Only then, as the story in *Tal. Bavli* goes, did

[26] See Urbach, *art. cit.*, p. 7, n. 25.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[28] See also *Mekhilta d'Rabbi Sim'on b. Jochai*, ed. Epstein-Melamed, p. 158/9.

[29] According to this version of the Bavli, before Rabban Yoḥannan descended from the donkey Rabbi El'azar asked him for permission to say something which "you have taught me".

the fire come down from heaven and surrounded all the trees in the field. The trees, thereupon, began to sing a song of praise [30] and only afterwards do we hear of the angel who spoke from within of the fire confirming: "This is the *Maʿaseh Merkavah*!" [31]

Although it is quite likely that the version found in *Bavli* is dependent on the one found in *Yerushalmi*, it is equally true to say that both versions are dependent on a common source, introducing their own changes. It remains to be considered what kind of relationship this alleged source and, consequently, the two versions in the Talmudim bear to the story as it is told in the *Toseftā*. According to Professor Urbach, on the one hand, the two versions of the Talmudim reflect the more lenient attitude towards the Merkavah material as it is found in Armoraic circles. Thus, Urbach says, the original version of the story is that of the *Toseftā*: it is short and truly expresses the reserved mood of the mysticism of the *Tannaim*. On the other hand, the present writer has expressed the view that the stories found in the Talmuds, in spite of the differences between them, reflect the mystical mood of the original, while the *Toseftā*, which is more concerned with straightforward halakhic regulations, represents a shortened form of the story.[32] Professor Urbach, furthermore, maintains that the fire-motif which is found in the versions of the Talmuds is not necessarily to be taken as indicating a real ecstatic experience. Urbach quotes several sayings and stories in which the vision of fire by several

[30] Corresponding to *Psalm* cxlviii,7-9.

[31] The *Bavli* adds another story about Rabbi Yehoshuʿa and Rabbi Yossi Ha-Kohen who too discoursed in the matters of the Merkavah. It is told that "Clouds gathered in the sky, and a rainbow was seen, and the angels were gathering and coming to hear, as people who come to watch the festivities performed in honour of the bridegroom and the bride". Rabban Yoḥannan had also a special blessing for these two Rabbis. In *Yerushalmi Ḥagigah* the story is told, with some changes in the account, about Rabbi Yossef Hakohen and Rabbi Shimʿon ben Netanʾel. Urbach, *art. cit.*, p. 7, inclines to distinguish between two branches of the tradition: the one concerning Rabbi Elʿazar ben ʿArakh, and the other about Rabbi Yossi Ha-Kohen and Rabbi Yehoshuʿa. Concerning the rainbow which is seen by the two sages it must be remarked that Ezekiel mentions (i,28) the "appearance of the bow that is in the cloud on the day of rain" (RSV). Hence, the description in the text of *Shiʿur Qomah* (in: *Merkavah Shelemah*, ed. S. Musajoff, Jerusalem; 1921, fol. 38b): "the body (of the Godhead) is like a rainbow". See also *Bavli Berakhot* 59a: "Rabbi Alexandrei in the name of Rabbi Yehoshuʿa ben Levi said: Whosoever sees the rainbow must fall upon his face, as it is said (*Ezekiel* i,28; see above): 'And when I saw it, I fell upon my face'". See also *Bavli Ḥagigah* 16a: "Everybody who looks at three things is liable to lose his eyesight: at the rainbow . . .". Compare *Revelation* x,1.

[32] See the article quoted above in n. 11, pp. 260 ff.

sages is introduced in association with the fire seen at the theophany on Mount Sinai. Only the song of the trees which is recorded in both Talmuds is taken by Urbach to express the ecstatic experience of the mystics. It may be argued, however, that fire is always expressive of a mystical experience [33] and the theophany-fire seen on Mount Sinai is, for that matter, no prototypal exception to the rule. Moreover, the present writer finds it difficult to follow Urbach when he argues that the relative freedom of expression of the *Amoraim* when they discussed the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* shows that in comparison to the *Tannaim*, the *Amoraim* were more familiar with the esoteric doctrines of the mystics while the *Tannaim* were more or less ignorant of the writings of the mystics. To begin with, we have already observed a noticeable distinction between the Palestinian and Babylonian *Amoraim* with regard to the attitudes they maintained towards the study of the Merkavah lore. Hence, it would be difficult to generalize concerning the differences between the *Tannaim* and the *Amoraim*, at least not as emphatically as Urbach tries to do. In addition, it is quite risky to reach conclusions about alleged differences of opinion just on the grounds of literary expression,[34] particularly so when we deal with secret lore.

It is really very difficult to guess what the Merkavah speculations of the circle of Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai were like. What is reported concerning these speculations in the rabbinic sources is actually so restrained in matters of content and literary expression that almost everything can be said about it with equal justification. One can say, with Urbach, that what is said is, materially speaking, everything that was known; but one can also maintain that a great deal more than what was said was in fact known. Admittedly, it is quite reasonable to say that the Tannaitic speculations about the Merkavah did not depend on the *Hekhalot* literature which was composed at a later age. But it seems equally reasonable to say that the *Tannaim* did not have to wait for the *Hekhalot* literature to discover the ecstatic potentials for the Merkavah mysticism.

It must, therefore, be admitted that the original version of the story

[33] J. Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, London, 1913, pp. 39 ff.

[34] To do so, however, is very much in line with the methods used by those who subscribe to the *Formgeschichte*. *Formgeschichtliche* considerations should, however, be applied in the study of the literature of the Sages with great care, since in the process of oral transmission a lot was changed in the way of expression without necessarily indicating real differences of opinion.

of Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai and Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh is hidden within the realm of guesswork. Was it the short version of the *Toseftā*, or was it perhaps a presently unknown source from which both the *Yerushalmi* and the *Bavli* drew their own versions and from which the editor of the *Toseftā* formed his shortened version. Of course, the answer to the question of whether the original story at all contained an ecstatic experience decisively depends on what the original version was. But whatever the conclusion on this particular issue will be, one cannot ignore the possibility that ecstasies still *were* familiar experiences in the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* speculations of the *Tannaim*. A discussion of the famous story about the four sages who "entered the Pardes" will show it to be a good example in which in spite of the lack of straightforward evidence in the talmudic and midrashic sources, one has to assume that the existence of an ecstatic experience was nevertheless implied. The main versions of this story (in *Toseftā Ḥagigah* ii,3; *Yerushalmi Ḥagigah* 77b; *Midrash Rabbā* to *Shir Ha-Shirim*, ed. Vilna, 7d-8a) do not contain any explicit references to an ecstatic experience. But on the ground of the terminology used there, one may reach the conclusion that such an experience was *a priori* assumed. To this, one should add that the version of the story found in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b and 15b (bottom) actually contains explicit references to an ecstatic experience of the kind and nature found in the *Hekhalot* literature.

As is well known, the story tells of the four sages, Ben 'Azzai, Ben Zomā, Rabbi 'Akiva and Elisha ben 'Avuyah, who "entered the *Pardes*". It is said that Ben 'Azzai (*Yerushalmi*: Ben Zoma) "cast a glance and died"; Ben Zoma (*Yerushalmi*: Ben 'Azzai) "cast a glance and was afflicted" (Rashi explains: [35] went out of his mind). Elisha ben Avuyah "cast a glance and cut down the saplings"; and only Rabbi 'Akiva "ascended (or, as another version goes: entered) safely and descended (came out) safely". Professor G. Scholem [36] has rightly interpreted this story in terms of the ascension stories known from apocalyptic literature and particularly from the ascension into Paradise described by Paul the Apostle in *2 Corinthians*

[35] Rashi writes here in accordance with the tradition preserved in the Responsa of Rav Hai Ga'on (cf. *Otzar ha-Ge'onim*, vol. IV, to *Ḥagigah*, p. 14/5). Rav Hai Ga'on actually quotes there from *Hekhalot Zutreti* (see the two versions of the text quoted in Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 15, notes 2 & 3).

[36] G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1955, pp. 52-54; *Idem*, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 14-19.

xii,1-4.[37] Even Professor Urbach here admits that the *Pardes* has to be interpreted in terms of the vision of the Merkavah,[38] although he parts ways with Professor Scholem in his interpretation of the words attributed to Rabbi 'Akiva in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b. Rabbi 'Akiva is reported there as having said to the other sages involved in the experience (or, more generally, to his students): "When you reach the pure marble stones, do not say: 'Water, Water!', as it is said: 'no man who utters lies shall continue in my presence' " (*Psalms* ci,7; RSV). Urbach admits that terms like "enter the *Pardes*", "cast a glance" (Hiẓiẓ), and "ascend" ('Alah) evidently point to experiences quite different from those implied by the terms of midrashic activity which we have encountered in the Rabban Yoḥanan story. Still, however, Urbach argues that these terms are worlds apart from "the imaginary compositions about 'ascensions' in apocalyptic literature, in Hellenistic literature, and in the late Merkavah literature".[39] Moreover, Urbach argues that Rabbi 'Akiva's utterance concerning the marble stones is to be interpreted allegorically as indicating a warning against spiritual processes the likes of which are known as *Sobria Ebrietas* or sober drunkenness.[40] More relevant, however, is Scholem's analysis which interprets Rabbi 'Akiva's warning in the light of the information which can be gained from the *Hekhalot* literature.

In two of the *Hekhalot* writings, *Hekhalot Zutreti* and *Hekhalot Rabbati* (the Small Book of the Palaces and the Great Book of the Palaces, respectively),[41] there are descriptions of the special experience the mystics are to encounter at the gate of the sixth palace. They see there the glistening marble stones and are warned against crying out "Water, Water!". If they are not able to restrain themselves, the mystics are liable to endanger themselves physically and mentally. Now, this is exactly the context out of which come the words at-

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[37] Cf. also H. Bietenhard, *Die Himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1951, pp. 161 ff.

[38] *Art. cit.*, p. 13.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 17, and the references there.

[41] Unfortunately, no definitive critical editions of the Hekhalot literature are yet available. A list of major MSS. and prints of the *Hekhalot* literature is given in Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 5-7; to which one should add the list of texts, published mainly by the present writer, in: *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), p. 88/9, n. 4. Compare also J. C. Greenfield, "Prolegomenon" to H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1973, pp. xxvii-xx. See also Part Two of the present study.

tributed to Rabbi ʿAkiva. One should, however, notice that Rabbi ʿAkiva merely warns his colleagues, while the descriptions in the *Hekhalot* literature go into the details of what might actually befall the mystics at the gate of the sixth palace. Although Rabbi ʿAkiva does not mention the gate of the sixth palace, as the *Hekhalot* tractates do, the relationship of his words to those found in the *Hekhalot* books seem to be self-evident. The purpose of the descriptions in the *Hekhalot* literature is to warn off those who are not fully qualified mystics from undergoing experiences which they are liable not to survive. Actually, the behaviour of the mystics at the gate of the sixth palace is considered to be the final serious test which they undergo before they are granted right of passage to the sixth and then to the seventh palace found in the seventh heaven. Admittedly, Rabbi ʿAkiva's words are quoted in *Bavli Ḥagigah* out of that particular context, namely as an ordeal at the entrance to the sixth palace, but this fact does not permit us to interpret the whole utterance in allegorical terms. It is, therefore, closer to the truth to maintain with Professor Scholem "that the later Merkavah mystics showed a perfectly correct understanding of the meaning of this passage (= Rabbi ʿAkiva's words), and their interpretation offers striking proof that the tradition of the Tannaitic mysticism and theosophy was really alive among them, although certain details may have originated in a later period".[42] On the grounds of Scholem's presentation of the relationship between the utterance of Rabbi ʿAkiva and the *Hekhalot* literature, it has been suggested by the present writer that the words of Rabbi ʿAkiva actually reflect the same tradition which is incorporated in the above-mentioned passages in the *Hekhalot* literature.[43] It is not, as Professor Scholem argues, that the *Hekhalot* literature contains the correct interpretation of the saying of Rabbi ʿAkiva, but that the words attributed to the sage are words virtually taken from what already was, or was soon to become, the established *Hekhalot* tradition.[44] It should be added that it is a question of a different order whether the words of Rabbi ʿAkiva are authentic or apocryphally attributed to him, as are some of the *Hekhalot* writings themselves.

Since it is unanimously agreed that the entrance into the *Pardes* does correspond to a vision of the Merkavah, it remains to be asked

[42] G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, p. 52.
[43] *Art. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 261 ff.
[44] Urbach's criticism *art. cit.*, p. 15, n. 62, is therefore unjustified.

what exactly was meant by a mystical vision of the Merkavah in Tannaitic circles. There are some hints to the answer found in the *Talmud Bavli*. The first one has already been discussed and it concerns Rabbi ʿAkiva's utterance about the pure marble stones. The second also centres round the figure of Rabbi ʿAkiva. The *Gemārā* (*Bavli Ḥagigah* 15b, bottom) reports: "And the ministering angels wanted to drive away [or: kill] Rabbi ʿAkiva, too, but God told them: 'Leave that wise man alone, as he is worthy of experiencing my Glory' ".[45] Now, this peculiar sentence reminds us of the hostile attitude the angels showed to Moses when he reached Heaven to receive the Torah [46] and it also reflects the general theme of the angels' hostility to the ascension onto heaven of human beings.[47] This hostility of the angels is known from apocalyptic literature [48] and from the *Hekhalot* literature [49] and it may be said that the gnosticistic concept of the Archons who try to prevent the soul of man from returning to its Source of Light is in many ways inspired by this motif.[50] In our case of Rabbi ʿAkiva, it may again be argued that

[45] For a discussion of the theurgic term "*lehistamesh bakavod*" (literally, to use the Divine Glory) see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 54/5. The parallel text of *Hekhalot Zutreti* here reads "lehistakel bikhvodi" (= to look at my Glory). See Scholem, *ibid.*, p. 77, n. 7.

[46] *Bavli Shabbat* 88b, where Moses is said to have been afraid that the angels were going to burn him with the vapour of their mouths. In a different context it is said that when Moses was due to descend from heaven, angels again came to kill him (*Shemot Rabbā*, ch. xlii,4; and parallels). In *Pesiktā Rabbati*, ed. Friedmann (Wien, 1880), fol. 96b it is told of Qemuʿel, "who was in charge of 12 000 angels of destruction" (*Malʾakhei Ḥabalah*) (see: *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), p. 97, n. 36), and of his colleague, Hadarniel, who intimidated Moses upon his ascension to heaven to receive the Torah. *Pesiktā Rabbati* also mentions the name of Galiẓur, who, among his other duties, "stretches out his wings to receive the vapour of the Living Creatures. For if he does not do so, the ministering angels might be burned up by the vapour of the Living Creatures". The hostility of the angels against each other was discussed in Chapter Two in connection to the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, ch. x, and ch. xvii.

[47] See J. Maier, "Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalyptik und 'Gnosis'", *Kairos* V (1963), pp. 18-40; J. P. Schultz, "Angelic Opposition to the Ascension of Moses and the Revelation of the Law", *Jewish Quarterly Review* LXI (1970/1), pp. 282-307.

[48] Cf., though indirectly, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, ch. xiii, p. 51/2. It is Azazel who speaks there!

[49] Actually the whole of the *Hekhalot* literature is full of accounts which make it clear how dangerous it was for the mystic to carry out his journey in heaven. See specifically *3 Enoch*, ed. Odeberg (Cambridge, 1928; New York, 1973), ch. vi, p. 12 (English translation, p. 20).

[50] Actually, the motif—in various variations—is known from many ancient cultures. See, for instance, N. K. Sandars, *Poems of Heaven and Hell from Ancient*

it belongs to a later tradition than the story of those who entered the *Pardes*, but as the theme was already known in apocalyptic literature which preceded Tannaitic times, it may well be considered as belonging to the original milieu of the *Pardes*-story. The third clue concerns ʾElishʿa ben ʾAvuyah. It is asked in the *Gemārā* (*Bavli Ḥagigah* 15a): "What did he (ʾElishʿa ben ʾAvuyah) actually do?—He saw Metatron, who was given permission to sit and write the merits of the people of Israel.—He (ʾElishʿa) said: We have learnt that up in heaven there is no one sitting.., can it be that there are two *reshuyot* (= two Gods)?—So they pulled Metatron out and beat him with sixty lashes of fire. They asked him: 'Why didn't you stand up when you saw him (ʾElishʿa ben ʾAvuya)?' ".[51] Much has been written about the angel Metatron [52] and in spite of all that we now know about the development of the traditions concerning his name,[53] it would be too daring to maintain that this Metatron-passage in connection with the name of ʾElishʿa ben ʾAvuyah actually belongs to the original phase of the story.

Thus we find in the discussion of the *Pardes* tale in *Talmud Bavli* three passages: one of which (the angelic hostility towards Rabbi ʿAkiva) could well go back to Tannaitic times; one (the saying concerning the pure marble stones) which could also go back to Tannaitic times; and one (the Metatron passage) which most probably belongs to a later period. All these passages, however, cannot be taken to be more than fragmentary hints to the solution of the problem what exactly the nature of the Merkavah-experience of the *Tannaim* was.

A more significant answer to the question may be found in the term *Pardes* itself. As we know, the term was used in a mystical context by Paul, and it is thus a crucial one in the characterization of the nature and scope of Jewish mysticism at the time of the early *Tannaim*. Paul says: "I must boast; there is nothing to be gained by it, but I will go on to visions and revelations of the Lord. I know a man in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third

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Mesopotamia, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1971, pp. 117 ff. For the Greek sources cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. II, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1974, pp. 9-13.

[51] See also *3 Enoch*, ch. xvi, p. 22/3 (English translation pp. 43-45).

[52] Cf. Scholem, *Kabbalah* (above n. 6), pp. 377-381; M. Black, "the Origins of the Name Metatron", *Vetus Testamentum* I (1951), pp. 217-219. See also Appendix A to the present book.

[53] G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 43 ff.

heaven—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows. And I know that this man was caught up into Paradise—whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows —and he heard things that cannot be told, which man may not utter" (*2 Corinthians* xii,1-4). Assuming that Paul speaks about himself ("a man in Christ") and that verses 2 and 4 reflect one and the same experience, one may conclude that for Paul "Paradise" was a place in the third heaven.[54] Now, this heavenly Paradise was commonly conceived of as the place of divine retribution for the just, or for their souls.[55] It is interesting, however, to notice that Paul, who most probably was aware of the terminology used in apocalyptic literature, did not here use the term found in the Greek translations of apocalyptic literature, "Paradise of Righteousness".[56] He does not even refer to the Aramaic term "Pardes Qushtā", which literally underlies the Greek "Paradise of Righteousness" and which Paul could have known if he read, and it appears that he did, the apocalyptic books in their original.[57] Paul simply uses the word "Paradise" without its qualification, and this brings his experience even closer to the story of the four who entered the *Pardes*. It therefore, seems, safe to maintain, with Scholem, that Paul in his *Epistle to the Corinthians* and the Rabbis who told the story of Rabbi ʿAkiva and his friends spoke the same theosophical language. Thus, we may assume that at a certain point in Jewish thought and terminological usage, the term *Pardes* came to be used not only as the place where the just and the righteous receive their after-life bonus, but also in connection with the apocalyptic experience in which a man saw himself snatched onto or entering heaven to see, *in his lifetime*, that place and all that it contained, including, as we saw in the previous chapter, the

[54] There are various theories about the location of the heavenly Paradise. The clearest parallel to its location in the third heaven, as Paul assumes, is in: *Apocalypsis Mosis* xxxvii,4, in: K. von Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (Leipzig, 1866), p. 20. See also A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets d'Hénoch*, Paris, Institut d'Études Slave, 1952, pp. 8-11. The idea of the location of Paradise in the third heaven was later on exchanged for the idea of its location in the seventh heaven.

[55] See D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London, SCM Press, 1964, p. 283/4; M. E. Stone, "Paradise in *4 Ezra* iv,8 and vii,36, viii,52", *Journal of Jewish Studies* XVII (1966), pp. 85-88.

[56] For a discussion of the various references in apocalyptic literature see H. Bientenhard, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 ff.

[57] The Aramaic *Kushtā* translates both Hebrew terms: *Ẓedek* (= righteousness), and *ʾEmet* (= truth). See further M. Gil, "Enoch in the Land of Eternal Life" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiẓ* XXXVIII (1969), p. 329/30. Gil presents a comparative study of the *Pardes*-terminology in Ethiopic, Aramaic and Greek.

Merkavah. No records are left of that particular usage,[58] but this alleged usage might well explain the theosophical usage we encounter in Paul and in the Rabbis, where the *Pardes* is no more a place of retribution.

When Paul uses the term *Pardes*, it already designates the more general "visions and revelations... (and) things that cannot be told, which man may not utter". No further specifications are given and the same holds true concerning the story about the four who entered the *Pardes*. While in the case of Paul almost no clues are given, the *Gemārā* in the *Talmud Bavli* at least tries to make things a little more explicit. Hence, we must conclude that if the term *Pardes* actually relates to an ecstatic experience, its true nature is nowhere explicitly and extensively described. Only on the basis of the three short passages in *Talmud Bavli Ḥagigah* which hint at material that is contained in a more explicit form in the *Hekhalot* literature is it permissible to identify the *Pardes* experience with a mystical vision of the Merkavah. Those, however, who insist on denying the intrinsic connection between the additional material found in *Bavli Ḥagigah* and the story as it appears in its short form in the *Toseftā* are prevented from maintaining even this, namely that the *Pardes*-story is in any way connected to the mystical vision of the Merkavah.

We may, therefore, conclude that both stories, that of Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai and Rabbi El'azar ben 'Arakh and that of the four sages who entered the *Pardes* do not explicitly supply everything one might wish for a clear proof that the Merkavah speculations in Tannaitic circles virtually corresponded to the mystical experiences which one finds in *Hekhalot* literature. What may be maintained with relative certainty is that these mystical speculations of the *Tannaim* entailed ecstatic experiences the nature of which may be surmised from a comparison between (a) the various versions of the stories under discussion and (b) these stories and the *Hekhalot* literature. It should, however, be noticed that while in the case of Rabban Yoḥanan the ecstasy was an experience restricted to an earthly surrounding, the story of the four who entered the *Pardes* allegedly entailed a translation onto heaven.

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[58] See further J. T. Milik in *Revue Biblique* LXV (1958), pp. 70-77. See also F. Nötscher, *Altorientalischer und Alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglauben*, Darmstadt, 1970, p. 282 f.

C

We shall now turn to the controversy among the Tannaim regarding the possibility or impossibility, of experiencing heavenly ascensions. On the basis of *Psalm* cxv,16—"The heavens are the Lord's heavens, but the earth he has given to the sons of men"—Rabbi Yossi is quoted as saying: "Neither did Moses and Elijah ascend to heaven nor did the Divine Glory (*Kavod*) descend to earth".[59] This controversial utterance which runs counter to a number of verses in Scripture, becomes the subject of a discussion in *Bavli Sukkah* 5a where it is finally modified to say that Moses ascended to God "but did not come nearer than ten handbreadths", while God descended on Mount Sinai "but did not come nearer than ten handbreadths". Rabbi Yossi probably aimed at a criticism of those who practised heavenly ascensions, or believed in the descriptions and prophecies of those who claimed such ascensions. These could well be either apocalyptic visionaries or practising mystics among the circles of the *Tannaim*, or both. Thus, one could see in the words of Rabbi Yossi a polemical response to the experiences implied by the very term *Pardes*, as it was used by Paul and in the story of the four who entered the *Pardes*. However, Rabbi Yossi, seems to be in the minority among the *Tannaim*, while most of his colleagues appear to have accepted the possibility of heavenly ascensions. The same problem was again raised in the circles of the Palestinian *Amoraim*, this time concerning the figure of Enoch.[60] One may assume that these polemical utterances could have had anti-Christian overtones too, that is, they could be a polemic against the ascension of Jesus.

More relevant to our discussion is the second problem, namely, the controversy among the *Tannaim* as to whether it is possible to see God and, if so, when and under what conditions. In an interesting attempt to define the nature of the prophecy of Moses, it is said that only Moses could hear the voice of God while those standing outside of the Tabernacle heard nothing.[61] Then Rabbi Dosā is quoted: "It is said: '... for man shall not see my face and live' (*Exodus* xxxiii,20)—during their lifetime they do not see, (but) they do see when they die". To this Rabbi 'Akiva makes the following comment:

[59] *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael*, ed. Horovitz-Rabin, p. 217. Some of the MSS. drop the name of Moses, and others the name of Elijah.—See also *1 Macc.* ii,58.

[60] *Bereshit Rabba*, ed. Theodor-Albeck, pp. 238-239. See *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), pp. 66-67, n. 20.

[61] *Sifrā* (*Torat Kohanim*) quoted from MS. Vatican 66, fol. 9a-b.

"Even the Living Creatures (*Ḥayyot*) which are carried (in the Divine Throne) do not see the Divine Glory (*Kavod*)". To this Rabbi Shim'on ben 'Azzai in turn adds: "Even the ministering angels, whose life is eternal,[62] do not see the Divine Glory".[63] It is certainly in place to notice that two of the *Tannaim* mentioned here, Rabbi 'Akiva and Shim'on ben 'Azzai, were also involved in the above-mentioned *Pardes* experience. This could be interpreted to imply that whatever Rabbi 'Akiva and his colleagues said in the matters of the Merkavah was based on their alleged visions. As a matter of fact, the idea that the mystics and the angels cannot see God is also stressed several times in the *Hekhalot* literature. Despite the daring modes of expression one can find in that literature about the contents of the mystical experience, the possibility of a direct visual encounter with God is generally ruled out.[64] The mystics whose experiences are described in the *Hekhalot* literature, expect to see "the King in (all) His beauty", but when it comes to a face to face meeting with God, one repeatedly hears of what is and should be done in order to avoid the experience.

However, we have seen that Rabbi Dosā said that one can see God after one's death. The belief in the afterlife encounter of the just with God is quite a common idea in midrashic literature.[65] The idea is also previously found in apocalyptic literature and it plays a prominent role in *Revelation*.[66] Yet, a visual encounter with God is also presupposed by the *Shi'ur Qomah* speculations, that is, the speculations concerning the corporeal appearance of God and its definition in terms of length and mystical names.[67] Apart from the texts which specifically deal with the subject,[68] there are quite a number of midrashic sayings based on the *Song of Songs* which Professor Saul Lieberman considers to be related to the *Shi'ur Qomah* specula-

[62] The eternal life of the ministering angels is not always maintained. See, for instance, *Bereshit Rabbā*, p. 916 (and parallels); *3 Enoch*, ch. xlvii; *Hekhalot Rabbati*, ch. xxx.

[63] Compare *Siphre ad Numeros*, ed. Horovitz, p. 55/6 and 101/2. Cf. Urbach, *art. cit.*, p. 19, n. 81. See further *Bavli Yevamot* 49b.

[64] See *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii,3-4.

[65] *Sifre on Deuteronomy*, ed. Finkelstein, p. 18 and 105; *Sifrā* (*Torat Kohanim*) ed. Weiss, p. 111, col. b; *Bavli Sanhedrin* 102a; *Wayyikra Rabbā*, ed. Margulies, p. 32; *ibid.*, pp. 240-242 (and parallels) and, finally, *Matthew* v,8.

[66] *Revelation* iv,4; see also *4 Ezra* vii (v),97/8.

[67] G. Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit*, Zürich, Rhein-Verlag, 1962, pp. 7-47: "*Schi'ur Koma*; die mystische Gestalt der Gottheit"; *idem*, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 36-42.

[68] They are printed in S. Musajoff, *Merkavah Shelemah*, Fol. 34a ff.

tions.[69] These particular midrashim to the *Song of Songs* reveal two views: the one, attributed to Rabbi ʿAkiva and his followers, according to which the *Song of Songs* was recited at the theophany on Mount Sinai; and the second, attributed to Rabbi Eliʿezer and his followers, which believes that the *Song of Songs* was said when God revealed Himself personally on the Red Sea. Particularly noteworthy is the saying of Rabbi Eliʿezer: "A maidservant at the Red Sea saw things that were not even seen by Ezekiel... When God revealed Himself on the Red Sea nobody had to ask: 'Who is the King', but as they saw Him, they (immediately) recognized Him".[70] Although there is no exact parallel saying of Rabbi ʿAkiva with regard to the theophany on Mount Sinai, Rabbi ʿAkiva is quoted as saying in a different context: "This (= the renewal of the moon in *Nissan*) is one of the things which God showed Moses as if with His finger!".[71] This saying of Rabbi ʿAkiva may be interpreted as implying that at least Moses saw a certain corporeal manifestation of God. Now, it may be claimed that this saying of Rabbi ʿAkiva contradicts the one we have already seen, to the effect that even the Living Creatures cannot see the Divine Glory. However, the prophecy of Moses was never intended to be a criterion for the prophecy and for the mystical experiences of others. It must be noticed, moreover, that Rabbi ʿAkiva considered the *Song of Songs* to be the holiest book,[72] and that it was recited at the theophany on Mount Sinai. In the light of what has been said, it may be concluded that Rabbi ʿAkiva experienced what he thought was a mystical ascension to the *Pardes*, although this did not entail a direct and immediate vision of the Godhead. What exactly happened could only be guessed on the grounds of the different versions of the *Pardes* tale, mainly those recorded by Paul, in the *Talmud Bavli* and in the *Hekhalot* literature. But it is certainly important

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[69] G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., Appendix D, pp. 118-126: "*Mishnath Shir Ha-Shirim*" by Professor Saul Lieberman. See further, J. Maier, *Geschichte der jüdischen Religion*, Berlin & New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1972, p. 201. Maier inclines to date the *Shiʿur Qoma* speculations in "der spättalmudischen und gaonäischen Zeit". From the evidence produced by Scholem and Lieberman it appears that the *Shiʿur Qoma* belongs to the earlier phases of the *Hekhalot* literature.

[70] *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael*, p. 126/7. Compare *Mekhilta d'Rabbi Simʿon b. Jochai*, ed. Epstein-Melamed, p. 154/5. Rabbi Eliʿezer seems to extend here the view expressed by his father, Rabbi Yossi Haglili, to the effect that even babies and little children saw the Shekhinah on the Red Sea. *Yerushalmi Sotah* 16c; *Mekhilta d'Rabbi Simʿon b. Jochai*, p. 73/4. See Lieberman in Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[71] *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael*, p. 6 (emended according to parallels).

[72] *Mishnah Yadayim* iii,5 (and parallels).

to notice that the tones struck by Rabbi ʿAkiva's saying, to the effect that no man can see God,[73] are repeated in the *Hekhalot* literature too. However, as we are going to see, a different view is attributed to Rabbi ʿAkiva in *Shiʿur Qomah*.

In completing this picture of the mystical concepts in the writings of the Tannaitic period, mention should be made of the belief that priests could have special experiences when they took the incense into the Holy of Holies.[74] Thus we hear of the High Priest, Simʿon the Just, who on entering the Holy of Holies used to encounter on every Day of Atonement an old man dressed in white (cf. *Daniel* vii,9);[75] and another High Priest, called Yishmaʿel ben Elishʿa, is reported to have seen God Himself sitting on His throne (cf. *Isaiah* vi,1).[76] Yoḥanan, the High Priest, heard a prophetic utterance from the Holy of Holies [77] and Luke tells of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, that an angel appeared to him in the Temple.[78] Naturally, it would go too far to say that all Jewish mysticism from the times of the *Tannaim* onwards derived in many essential ways from the cultic life of the Temple.[79] It must equally be noticed, however, that some of those *Tannaim* who dealt with the *Maʾaseh Merkavah* were priests.[80] At any rate, if the experiences recorded in the Tannaitic

[73] It is here that I find myself disagreeing with S. Safrai, *Rabbi ʿAkiva ben Joseph: His Life and Teaching* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1970, p. 59. Safrai writes: "The ministering angels do not deserve the privilege of seeing the divine glory, while a human being, who is exalted by his good deeds does deserve the privilege of seeing the divine glory". Rabbi ʿAkiva's words in *Sifrā* are not in opposition to the words of Rabbi Dosa, but, on the contrary, they are complementing them. This is the meaning of the word "even" which introduces Rabbi ʿAkiva's saying to the effect that the living creatures do not see the divine glory.

[74] See J. Z. Lauterbach, "A Significant Controversy between the Saducees and the Pharisees", *Hebrew Union College Annual* IV (1927), pp. 173-205. Lauterbach's Saduceean interpretation of these stories was variously challenged.

[75] *Yerushalmi Yomā* 42c (and parallels). Compare also *Yerushalmi Sotah* 24b.

[76] *Bavli Berakhot* 7a. See Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 51 ff.

[77] *Toseftā Sotah* xiii,5 (and parallels).

[78] *Luke* i,8-22.

[79] J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, Salzburg, Otto Müller Verlag, 1964. See K. Schubert, "Das Zeitalter der Apokalyptik", in: F. Leist (ed.), *Seine Rede geschah zu Mir*, München, Manz-Verlag, 1965, pp. 265-285.

[80] Although there were scholars who thought that Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai himself was a priest, it seems safer to maintain with G. Alon, *The History of the Jews in Eretz Yisrael in the Time of the Mishnah and Talmud* (in Hebrew), second edition, Tel Aviv, 1954, vol. I, p. 56, that no conclusive proof could be produced for the priesthood of Rabban Yoḥanan. See further G. Alon, *Studies in Jewish History* (in Hebrew), Tel Aviv, 1957, vol. I, pp. 255-256, where a certain

sources and which refer to the Temple life really occurred, Judaism of that period must have been prepared for the mystical experiences of the kind we find in the *Hekhalot* writings in a manner seriously misrepresented by the scepticism of some of the scholars who have discussed the phenomenon.

rift between Rabban Yoḥanan and the priests is discussed. However, Rabbi Yossi and Rabbi Shimʿon ben Netanʾel, who were Rabban Yoḥanan's students and engaged in the Merkavah speculations (*Yerushalmi Ḥagigah* 77a), were both priests, though they seem to have left their master after the destruction of the Temple. See G. Alon, *Studies* etc., vol. I, p. 256, n. 9. In *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b Rabbi Yehoshuʿa takes the place of Rabbi Shimʿon ben Netanʾel. See above note 11. It must be remembered, that Ezekiel, the prophet, also was a priest.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HEKHALOT LITERATURE

A

In the present chapter we shall discuss some of the general characteristics of the *Hekhalot* literature. In the second part of the book, a detailed introduction to each of the *Hekhalot* books will be given.

The first scholar who attempted a serious evaluation of the *Hekhalot* literature, and also suggested a historical sequence for its composition, was H. Grätz.[1] In a series of three articles published in the *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* VIII (1859), Grätz reached the conclusion that the so-called *Hekhalot* literature was composed in post-talmudic times, and that the first text in the series was *'Otiyot de-Rabbi 'Akiva*. Grätz's dating of that literature is still considered by some people to be true, though the sequence of the composition of that literature as suggested by him is no more accepted. Professor G. Scholem in a series of studies of that literature, suggested a different order of composition and a much earlier date of composition.[2] Scholem's views on these two issues are here followed, and the discussion which follows deals with some aspects of that literature which still deserve attention. In addition, Scholem's suggestion to interpret the Merkavah mysticism as a Jewish concomitant to gnosticism will be re-examined.[3]

Generally speaking, the three main subjects dealt with in the

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[1] Grätz dismisses the chapter dealing with Jewish mysticism in L. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, 1832, pp. 165-170, as "so nichtssagend als nur möglich".

[2] See mainly his: *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1955, pp. 40-79: "Merkabah Mysticism and Jewish Gnosticism"; *Jewish Gnosticism Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, Second, Improved Edition, New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965; *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbalah*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1962, pp. 15-20: "Die vor-kabbalistische jüdische Geheimlehre über die Schöpfung und die Merkaba-Literatur der Hekhaloth und jüdische Gnosis"; *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit*, Zürich, Rhein Verlag, 1962, pp. 7-47: "*Schi'ur Koma*; die mystische Gestalt der Gottheit"; *Kabbalah*, Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, 1974, pp. 14-22; 373-376.

[3] Here the writer will mainly follow his "'knowledge' and 'vision'—Towards a Clarification of two 'Gnostic' Concepts in the Light of their Alleged Origins", *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), especially pp. 88-107; and: "The Jewish Esoteric Literature in the Time of the Mishnah and Talmud", *Immanuel* 4 (1974), pp. 37-46.

Hekhalot literature are: heavenly ascensions, the revelation of cosmological and other secrets, and the special secret method of studying and memorizing the Torah. From the point of view of literary genre, the *Hekhalot* literature falls into two types: the description of heavenly ascensions and the description of the appearance on earth of angels who reveal secrets. A similar distinction with regard to the literary genre can be made concerning apocalyptic literature, but in contradistinction to apocalyptic literature, the *Hekhalot* literature gives detailed descriptions of the various means and practices by which the desired experiences or revelations are gained. In fact, it may be said that the whole of the *Hekhalot* literature might be defined as technical guides, or manuals, for mystics. A lot of the material contained therein is introduced by technical questions. A short paraphrase of some of the *Hekhalot* texts would begin thus: "What is the mystic required to do if he wants to bring about the following mystical experience". These technical details, the "praxis" of the mystical experience, generally consist of special prayers or incantations, of prolonged fasts and special diets, of the utterance of magical names and the use of magical seals, and of the ritual of cleansing the body. Although some of those means are already known from apocalyptic literature, their description in the *Hekhalot* literature is more detailed. They are also known from non-Jewish mysticism and magic.[4]

In contrast to Prophecy, which seems to be spontaneous, and sometimes even comes to those least desiring it, the kinds of experience described in apocalyptic and in Merkavah mysticism necessitated certain preparatory practices.[5] Already in *Daniel* x,2-3, we hear of an extended period of fasting and praying before the visionary received a vision: "In those days I Daniel was mourning for three whole weeks, pleasant food I did not eat, nor did flesh and wine come to my mouth, nor did I anoint myself at all, until the fulfilling of three full weeks".[6] This kind of self-preparation for the apocalyptic

[4] See W. Bousset, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*, Reprint: Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960; A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Reprint: Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, University of California Press, 1964, pp. 283-311.

[5] For the question to which extent prophecy was spontaneous or not see, for instance, J. Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*, Cambridge University Press, 1963, pp. 1 ff. For a discussion of some psychological and phenomenological aspects of prophecy see, J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1965, pp. 6 ff.

[6] Compare also ix,3. See J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel* (ICC), p. 407.

experience is also known from later Jewish apocalyptic. Thus we find in *2 (Syriac) Baruch* ix,2 that Baruch and Jeremiah rent their garments, wept, mourned and fasted seven days, before God revealed himself to Baruch.[7] These fasts in apocalyptic literature, whether they meant total abstention from any kind of food or whether they entailed special diets, were usually practised over periods of seven days, and their repetition two or three times. In *4 Ezra* the apocalyptist is told at least three times to fast for seven days (v,13 – v,20; vi,31-35; xii,50).[8] The three books mentioned here, *Daniel*, *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*, do not contain heavenly ascents, yet the practice of fasts was also known where ascents were experienced. Thus, as we already saw, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* ix, Abraham was ordered to "abstain from every form of food that proceedeth out of the fire, and from the drinking of wine... forty days". This period of forty days is likewise known from other cases,[9] and it was most certainly influenced by what we know of Moses [10] and Elijah.[11]

Sometimes instead of prolonged fasts only special diets were prescribed. Thus we hear in *4 Ezra* xii,50 that the apocalyptist sustained himself for one week only on "the flowers of the field... (and) of the herbs". In the Merkavah texts, however, all vegetables are strictly forbidden during the period of time in which the mystic

[7] To be exact, these practices were initially performed as a sign of mourning over the destruction of Jerusalem, but it is no mere coincidence that as a result of these, God revealed himself to Baruch. Other fasts are reported in *2 Baruch* in xii,5 and xxi,1.

[8] For further examples of this kind see D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London, SCM Press, 1964, pp. 169-173.

[9] See the text published in Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., Appendix C, paragraphs 11, p. 108 and 14, p. 109. In MS. Oxford 1531, 46a we find: "He who wants to study this *Mishnah* and to utter the Holy Name of God should fast for forty days". In both cases no ascent is maintained; but see the Responsum of Rev Hai Ga'on in B. Lewin, *Otzar Ha-Geonim*, vol. IV (Tractate ... Chagigah), p. 14 where fasts are mentioned in connection with ascents to heaven.

[10] *Exodus* xxxiv,28; *Deuteronomy* ix,9,18. In another tradition preserved in *Bavli Yomā* 4a (= *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* Version A, Chapter i), Rabbi Nathan is quoted as saying that six days had to pass before Moses could receive the word of God. This had to happen "so that he would be cleansed of all the foods and drinks in his bowels, and thus become like the angels". In *Bavli Hagigah* 16a we hear that the angels do not eat. See further the discussion between Rabbi 'Akiva and Rabbi Yishmael in *Bavli Yomā* 75b as to whether the angels eat and of what their nutrition consists.

[11] *1 Kings* xix, 7-8. See further, R. Arbesmann, "Fasting and Prophecy in Pagan and Christian Antiquity", *Traditio* VII (1949/1951), pp. 1-71; S. Lowy, "The Motivation of Fasting in Talmudic Literature", *Journal of Jewish Studies* XIX (1958), pp. 19-38.

prepares himself for his ecstatic experience.[12] In addition, it is said there several times that he should bake his bread himself,[13] and that he should particularly avoid the bread baked by a woman.[14] In the Merkavah texts, fasts and diets go hand in hand and no distinction is drawn between them: "...he should sit in fast for forty days, his morsel should be eaten with salt only" (*Ma'aseh Merkavah*, paragraph 11).[15] Generally, all these ascetic means are also well known from other sources,[16] and even in some rabbinic circles it was maintained that the study of the Torah entailed an ascetic, or austere, way of life.[17] But when we come to the *Hekhalot* literature, and particularly to those sections which describe the practices of conjuring angels to reveal secrets, these ascetic means become a mystical rite.[18]

Together with these diets and fasts we find ritual baths. The initiate preparing himself for his mystical experience is told to take daily ritual baths, preferably every evening before he eats his daily meal. This special procedure is prescribed, again, only in the case of the conjuration of angels in order to come down to earth and to reveal secrets.[19] Sometimes, the number of such ritual baths is given:

[12] See, for instance, "Sar Torah" (= *Hekhalot Rabbati*) xxx,1 and in Musajoff, *Merkavah Shelemah* 5a: "He should not taste any vegetables".

[13] "Sar Torah", *ibid.*; *Merkavah Shelemah* 4b.

[14] MS. Oxford 1531, 46b (= MS. Jewish Theological Seminary 828, 25a): "He should not eat bread baked by a woman, nor should he drink water touched by a woman; but he should knead with his own hands, and grind himself, and bake for himself one bread every day and eat" (translated from Aramaic).

[15] In fact, as *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxx,1 explicitly says, one could break one's fast every evening, but then only special kinds of food could be eaten. As we shall soon see, before touching the food, one had to take a ritual bath.

[16] For asceticism as it is viewed by Philo, see H. Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967, p. 215.

[17] *Mishnah 'Avot* vi,4: "This is the way of the Torah: A morsel with salt shalt thou eat and water by measure shalt thou drink; and thou shalt lie upon the earth, and thou shalt live a life of hardship, and labour in the Torah". (English translation: R. Travers Herford, *The Ethics of the Fathers*, New York, Schocken Books, 1962, p. 154). For a general summary of the rabbinical views on asceticism, see E. E. Urbach, "Ascesis and Suffering in Talmudic and Midrashic Sources" (In Hebrew), in *I. F. Baer Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem, 1960, pp. 48-68.

[18] We shall come back to this point in Part Two of our book, where a detailed description of the texts will be given. We also know from rabbinic sources that fasts were in practice when people desired the revelation of Elijah the Prophet; see *Jerushalmi Terumot* viii (46b).

[19] The technical term for this process in Hebrew is: *ZQQ*, literally 'to bind (by an oath)'. See in *Tarbiz* XXXVIII (1969), p. 365, note to line 31.

in one case we find twenty four,[20] and in another seven.[21] In one or two cases specifications are given as to how the ritual baths are to be taken: "at the end of his fast-days and his ritual cleansing he should go and sit in water up to his neck. . . ".[22] Yet, whatever is prescribed in these cases is quite innocent in comparison to the elaborate magical practices known from some of the Greek magical papyri and from the Hebrew magical treatises such as *Sefer Ha-Razim* and *Sefer Ha-Malbush*. In these magical texts, the performer is told to bring animal offerings, wine libations and all kinds of strange instruments and objects which are said to aid the magical performance. It is probably through the influence of these magical performances that we find in some *Hekhalot* texts the idea that certain practices are useful only for bringing about certain experiences at specific dates. Thus we find special practices for mystical experiences and revelations which are to be accomplished on the Feast of Shavu'ot, on New Year Day, at the beginning of every month, etc.[23]

In the *Hekhalot* tractates which deal with heavenly ascents, the theurgic practices which are applied are mainly incantations (or

[20] *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, paragraph 11, p. 108. It should be noticed that it is difficult to harmonize between this number—twenty four—and the forty days of fasting prescribed in the same context.

[21] See *Merkavah Rabbā* in: S. Musajoff, *Merkavah Shelemah*, 1b.

[22] *Ibid.* A similar procedure is described in the case of Adam's penitence in *Vita Adae et Evae* vi: Adam was spending forty days fasting and told Eve to "go to the river Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to thy neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech out of thy mouth". Adam also told Eve to "stand in the water of the river thirty seven days". He himself spent forty days in the water of Jordan. In vii,2 it is again said that "Adam walked to the river Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water". A similar tradition is preserved in *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* xx, where it is told of Adam's penitence that "Adam went to the upper *Giḥon* till the water reached his neck, and he fasted seven weeks . . ." For the whole subject see L. Ginzberg, The *Legends of the Jews*, vol. V, pp. 114-115. However, Ginzberg observes that "both sources (= The *Vita* and *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*) go back to the old Halaka"; yet, as Professor Lieberman pointed out to me, the opposite is the truth. In *Bavli Yomā* 78a (not 87a, as indicated by Ginzberg) Rav Yoseph is quoted as saying that a ritually unclean woman may take a cleansing bath while she is immersed only up to her neck in water. The Gemārā, however, remarks that this is not the accepted ruling (and a woman is cleansed only if she immerses completely into the water; see also *Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae*, xxxvi,4, in Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 135). See further *Tosefta Kippurim* iv (v),5, and *Bavli Yomā* 77b (twice); *Bavli Berakhot* 25b.

[23] Cf. Ms. Oxford 1531, fol. 67a-b (= Ms. New York 828, fol. 39a).—Compare, for instance, K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, vol. II, Stuttgart, Verlag Teubner, 1974, p. 13, where the days which are unsuitable for magical performance are listed. In *Sefer Ha-Razim* we find several references to the days and hours, which are most suitable for the magical performance.

hymns), the saying of names, charms and magical seals. As for the incantations or hymns, *Hekhalot Rabbati* opens with the question: "What are the incantations which should be said by him who wants to contemplate the vision of the Merkavah, to descend safely and to ascend safely" (i,1). As the last words indicate, the function of these incantations is to conduct the visionary safely through all the dangers which might befall him during his mystical experience. Indeed, we have already seen in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* that the angel Jaoel told the visionary to worship and "to utter the song which I have taught thee". It appears that he did so in order to protect the visionary and to strengthen him against the things he experienced in heaven. The theurgic quality of these incantations also becomes evident from two passages in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*. Both passages are introduced as questions which Rabbi Yishmael asked Rabbi 'Akiva. In the first one, Rabbi Yishmael enquired: "How can a man gain a vision of what is above the Seraphim who stand above Rozaya, Lord God of Israel?". To which Rabbi 'Akiva answered: "When I ascended to the first *Hekhal*, I said a prayer and [then] I saw from the first *Hekhal* in heaven to the seventh *Hekhal*".[24] The second passage brings the question: "How can a man have these visions and see what Rozaya, Lord God of Israel, does?" Rabbi 'Akiva's answer accordingly was: "I prayed a prayer of compassion and thus I was saved".[25]

However, reading these hymns and incantations, their protective function does not immediately come through. On the contrary, some of these hymns are extremely lyrical in their tone and form. They appear to be songs of praise, and only occasionally is a phrase introduced that betrays their real function. Thus, for instance, one of these songs in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (paragraph 16, p. 110) contains one line which reads: "And rescue me from all these hostile ones (= the angels of destruction) which stand [behind the Holy Creatures], so that they shall become the bearers of my love before You". The theurgic functions come even more directly to the fore in the "five prayers" quoted in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, paragraphs 26-31. These prayers combine lyrical poetry with magical names. The prayers begin with the remark, attributed to Rabbi Yishmael: "I was praying

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[24] Paragraph 33, p. 116.

[25] Paragraph 4, p. 103. See also paragraph 9, p. 107: "I (Rabbi 'Akiva) said the *Qedushah* before him who created and ordered (into being) all the creatures, so that the ministering angels should not consume me". See also there paragraph 17, p. 110.

each of these prayers with its names, both on my descent to and ascent from the Merkavah, and thus no harm was caused to my limbs". Notwithstanding these examples, the general truth remains that these songs were conceived of as songs of praise said by the angelic beings, and even by the Throne of Glory,[26] to God. The mystic who ascended to heaven learnt them in order to apply them also as theurgic means.[27] However, whether these hymns were said as autohypnotic means or whether they were recited in heaven as protective means,[28] their numinous quality [29] establishes them as outstanding specimens of Jewish poetry in Talmudic times.

Even, more important from the magico-theurgic point of view is the saying of names, mainly the secret names of the Deity and of the angels. We already saw that there were various traditions, going back to the ritual practice of the second Temple, which refer to the secret names of God.[30] Thus, we know of the secret name pronounced out by the priests in their blessing.[31] In another place we hear of a secret name that was enunciated in the special oath which God used in the creation of the world.[32] We also know of so-called *nomina barbara* said in adjurations.[33] Finally, mention should also be made of the theurgic material found in the magical papyri,[34] and

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[26] For the idea that the Throne of Glory adresses God with words see *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii,2. In xxiv,1 we read: "When he (= the mystic) is standing before the Throne of Glory, he opens and says the song which the Throne of Glory sings every day". In MS. Vatican 228 these words are headed by the title: *Shir Kisē*, "The Hymn of the Throne".

[27] See *Hekhalot Rabbati* iv,2 we read: "Rabbi Yishmael said: all these songs Rabbi ʿAkiva heard when he descended to the Merkavah; and he caught and learned them in front of His Throne of Glory when His ministers were singing to him".—For an analysis of these hymns and their theurgic functions see A. Altman, "*Shirei-Qedushah Be-Sifrut Ha-Hekhalot Ha-Qedumah*", in *Melilah* II (1945-6), pp. 1 ff.

[28] See A. Altman, *ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

[29] See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 20 ff.

[30] See G. Scholem, "Der Name Gottes und die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala", in *Judaica III*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970, pp. 7 ff.

[31] See above, Chapter Two, n. 81. See also L. H. Schiffman, "A Forty-Two Letter Divine Name in the Aramaic Magic Bowls", *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies*, vol. I. (1973), pp. 97 ff. Schiffman's explanation seems rather hypothetical.

[32] *I Enoch* lxix,14 ff. Compare also *Sifre on Deuteronomy*, ed. Finkelstein, paragraph 330, p. 380.

[33] See S. Lieberman, "Some Notes on Adjurations in Israel", *Texts and Studies*, New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1974, pp. 21-28; and more specifically in *Toseftā Ki-Fshutah* to *Shabbat*, pp. 91 ff.

[34] See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 75 ff.: "The Theurgic Elements

which in some respects derived from old Jewish magical practices.[35] In short, there is much in the traditions of the time preceding the *Hekhalot* literature that could well explain the background of the names-praxis of the *Hekhalot* mystics.

Names and adjurations are the two main theurgic means found in the *Hekhalot* literature applied in connection with the descent to the Merkavah and the invocation of angels to come down to earth and to reveal secrets. Most illuminating in this respect is the following passage from *Hekhalot Rabbati*: "When a man wants to descend to the Merkavah, he should call Suriya, the Prince of the Countenance, and conjure him a hundred and twelve times in the name of Tetrasii, Lord God... He should neither add nor subtract from that number of a hundred and twelve, for if he does, he fatally endangers himself. His mouth should utter the names and his fingers should count a hundred and twelve, and he immediately descends and masters the Merkavah" (xiv,4-5). It is interesting to notice that not only does the exact number of the names guarantee the success of the mystical experience, but that in fact any deviation from it is physically endangering the mystic. Similarly, we find in the case of the conjuration of angels that the mystic is told to "pronounce names, and his fingers should count till he reaches the number one hundred and eleven".[36] As we see, the number of names can slightly vary from 112 to 111, but in any event, a deviation from the number prescribed does not only result in failure but virtually works harm on the mystic.

However, there are also other sets of numbers prescribed for the conjurations.[37] In one case,[38] we read that God is conjured by a series

of the *Lesser Hekhaloth* and the Magical Papyri". See also E. E. Urbach, The *Sages*, Chapter Seven, pp. 124 ff. Urbach, however, does not refer to the *Hekhalot* material.

[35] For a recent discussion of the relevant eastern and hellenistic magical material, see J. M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, London, SCM Press, 1974. Unfortunately, Hull is not acquainted with the relevant Jewish sources and thus his treatment of the subject is incomplete. More relevant for our discussion, however, is M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark*, Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 220 ff. Most valuable too is E. R. Dodds' article "Theurgy" now reprinted as Appendix II to his *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, pp. 283 ff.

[36] "*Merkavah Rabbah*", in: Musajoff, *Merkavah Shelemah*, 46. Compare also *Maʿaseh Merkavah*, paragraph 30, p. 114.

[37] In *Maʿaseh Merkavah* paragraph 12, p. 109 we find three names: In *Merkavah Rabbah* (in: *Merkavah Shelemah* 1b), there are fourteen names. In the *Sar Torah* section of *Hekhalot Rabbati* (xxx,4) twelve angels are conjured by their secret names.

[38] *Hekhalot Rabbati* xii,4.

of sixteen names all of which begin with "*tetra*" (or: "*totro*", as some of the Hebrew manuscripts reproduce the name). In addition, it is said there in Aramaic: "And the sign of this *Halakhah* is to learn these Great Names[39] from Tetrasii till Tetrasit: he should learn them in the following sequence...".[40] Interestingly, the importance of the correct sequence is stressed here, but never do we hear anything of the importance of correctly uttering the names. We know of the great importance attached in the magical papyri to the correct pronunciation of the names of the conjured gods (ἐγφώνησις), but nothing of the kind is explicitly said in our texts.

All in all, the theurgic elements of the *Hekhalot* literature have their decisive share in giving this literature its idiosyncratic quality. In contradistinction to the view expressed by A. Jellinek, to the effect that the theurgic content of the *Hekhalot* literature was introduced ("untergeschoben") at a comparatively late period, it must be maintained, with G. Scholem, that that particular element in the *Hekhalot* literature actually belonged to its very heart and this almost from its very beginning.[41] In fact, one of the earliest *Hekhalot* texts we possess, *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, explicitly refers to those who are in possession of the mystical secret knowledge as "*Meshamshin Ba-Shum*", which is the Aramaic equivalent for theurgists, that is, those who "acted upon" the gods by the power of their secret names.[42]

Last in this catalogue of mystical practices are the seals. The mystic who descends to the Merkavah has to prepare all kinds of mystical

[39] MS. Budapest (Kaufmann) 238, p. 174: *shmahatā ravrevayā*. This is the plural of *shmā rabbā*, the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew *shem gadol*, which is to be interpreted as "a most powerful magical name". See the opening three paragraphs of *Hekhalot Zutreti*, (especially nos. 2 & 3) in Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 77, n. 6. To this compare also *Hekhalot Rabbati* ix,5 and xxii,1. See further B. A. Levine, "The Language of the Magical Bowls", Appendix to J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, vol. V, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970, pp. 372-373. The "Great Name" also occurs in a text describing the Ascension of Moses: "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Michael, Go and teach him (i.e. Moses) my Great Name, so that the flame of the Shekhinah shall not consume him ...'". See, *The Ascension of Moses and the Heavenly Jerusalem*, translated by H. W. Attridge, in: *Studies on the Testament of Moses*, edited by G. W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr., Society of Biblical Literature, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973, p. 123. See also *Mishnah Ta'anit* iii,8.

[40] There follow the sixteen letters which correspond to the various endings to the "Tetra" root-form. See also *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, paragraph 30, p. 114, where the "Tetra" root-form was not corrupted.

[41] See A. Jellinek, *Bet Ha-Midrash*, vol. VI, Introduction, p. XXVII f. See further G. Scholem, *ibid.*, p. 75.

[42] Compare E. R. Dodd, *ibid.*, p. 283 seq.

seals which he is told to show to the gate-keepers at the entrance of each *Hekhal*. These seals are to grant him passage through the various gates and to protect him against the hostility of the gate-keepers. Nothing is said in the *Hekhalot* texts about the detailed contents of those seals. What we, however, hear in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xvii, is that at each of the first six gates the mystic has to show two seals, one to the gate-keepers standing to the right and one to those standing on the left. The seals are designated by their mystical names. These names are as unclear as the names uttered in the adjurations and invocations. Professor Scholem has shown that at least in two cases the numerical value of pairs of letters which build up the names of the seals can explain the forms of the names.[43] But, in spite of the fact that some additional formal principles—such as changes in the order of the letters or in the endings of the names—could be pointed out too, the real contents and meaning of these seals are still by and large obscure. Much work has still to be devoted to the deciphering of the names of the seals and of the spells scattered in the literature of the period. As a matter of fact, only the combined efforts of scholars from different branches and fields of knowledge can bring about the desired progress in the study of the magico-theurgic practices found in the magical papyri, in the amulets and bowls, in the writings of gnosticism, and in Jewish mysticism and magic. Only a comprehensive and comparative study of all this vast material will enable us to understand the technique of creating these names and spells, and this notwithstanding the fact that in several cases the names were obscured on purpose, so as to prevent people from using or misusing them. In addition, it should be noticed that errors and confusion were often introduced by careless and ignorant copyists.

What still deserves attention, is the fact that the occurrence of these theurgical practices in the *Hekhalot* literature makes it evident that at least in one of its more central features this literature apparently came under the spell of parallel elements found in the pagan religious syncretism of the time. Indeed, it is quite tempting to argue that in this respect the *Hekhalot* literature virtually betrays indebtedness to pagan and Christian (or gnosticistic) syncretism. If we take into account the fact that the *Hekhalot* mystics were in no way opposed to rabbinic Judaism, then the presence of such syncretistic elements can in no way be taken as a side issue which may be relegated to

[43] G. Scholem, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

carelessness or chance. As Professor Scholem has pointed out, these mystics were learned Jews who greatly valued the study of the Law and advocated strict obedience to its rulings.[44] Thus the magical and theurgical elements in their writings can really be taken to imply a challenge to some of the established views on the nature of Judaism in Talmudic times. Having in mind our short observations concerning the theurgical elements in the *Hekhalot* literature, it seems quite safe to maintain that the last word in the characterization of that Jewry, or at least of certain parts in it, has not yet been said. Later on—in the Introduction to Part Two of our study—we shall have an opportunity to come back to this point. In addition, *Sefer Ha-Razim* confronts us with much graver questions than the ones involved in the discussion of the theurgical elements in the *Hekhalot* literature. At the moment suffice it to say, that the picture of the life and beliefs of the Jews living in the Talmudic times as we are used to viewing it from the commonly studied rabbinic sources, will have to be supplemented from less commonly studied sources among which we include the *Hekhalot* literature.

However, there is nothing new or strange today in the recognition that one form or another of magic was known and practised in the circles of the Jewish sages of the Mishnaic and Talmudic era. There is a lot in the rabbinical sources that points to the fact that magic was not spread among the unlearned and vulgar people alone.[45] It may be argued that magic was almost universally taken for granted, and even practised by many, without the least concern for the fact that Scripture has fought a bitter fight against it and the pagan world-view that it entailed. No wonder, then, that theurgical practices found their way into Merkavah mysticism. Actually, where autohypnotic and autosuggestive experiences were cultivated, one could expect to find the suitable soil for the theurgical and magical seeds to grow. Having in mind these observations, Rashi's commentary to the story of the four who entered the *Pardes* is a most telling one: Rashi explains the words "entered the *Pardes*" by saying: "They ascended to heaven by means of a Name"![46] The matter-of-fact way in which Rashi introduces his commentary to the story almost succeeds in diverting the attention from the theological problem involved. But

[44] G. Scholem, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-13. See also Appendix B, below p. 241f.

[45] Still relevant for this point is L. Blau, *Das Altjüdische Zauberwesen*, Budapest, 1898 (Republished in 1970 by Gregg).

[46] See above Chapter Two, n. 81.

when one gets behind his comment, one discovers a scenery rich in theurgic and magical prescriptions and practices.

Finally, it should be noticed that the theurgical means which we have just discussed were also applied in the cases of the conjuration of angels. Thus we hear in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (paragraph 12, p. 109) that Arpedes,[47] the Angel of the Countenance, told Rabbi Yishmael that "he who wants to make use of this great secret (of the *Sar Torah)* should... invoke [48] those three names, and I shall descend".[49] Similarly, seals were also used on such occasions: "Rabbi Yishmael said: I sealed myself with seven seals, when Padkeres, the Angel of the Countenance, descended" (paragraph 15, p. 109). We also have in this text a detailed description of how the mystic put on seven seals: one on his (right?) leg, one on his heart, one on his right arm and one on his left arm, one on the neck, one "to protect my body",[50] and one on the top of his head.[51]

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All in all, the practices which we have discussed here almost amount to a magical ritual.[52] Yet, we should be careful not to confuse magic with mysticism. In spite of all the similarities between the two, the *Hekhalot* mysticism cannot be classified in terms of magic or theurgy. There are magical and theurgical elements in Merkavah mysticism,

[47] The name of an angel Arpada, or Arpeda, is known from *Sefer Ha-Razim*, ed. Margalioth, p. 82, l. 27. It should be noticed that many of the names of the angels occurring in the *Hekhalot* literature do in themselves sound like magical names; and, in any event, those engaged in the study of etymologies may quickly find out that the names of angels are slippery ground.

[48] The verb here used is *qara*. The root QR'A is generally used in the Aramaic and Mandaic incantations in the sense of evil invocation against which one seeks protection. See, for instance, C. H. Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums", *Archiv Orientalni* VI (1934), p. 324, Text B, line 6; *idem*, "Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls", *Archiv Orientalni* IX (1937), p. 96, Text M, line 11.

[49] There follows a series of nine words whose meaning is not clear. In the next paragraph, mention is again made of "the three names which are said by the Angels of the Glory". Again nine unidentifiable words are given. In addition, this paragraph (13) mentions the "three letters which are uttered by the *Hayyot* when they see *Archas* (= Arche?), Lord God of Israel", and also the "three letters which the wheels of the (divine) chariot say when they sing their song to the Throne of the Glory".

[50] Apparently, this seal is put on the chest. See *Song of Songs* viii,6.

[51] See also paragraph 11, p. 108.

[52] See further the comparative references in M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim*, Tel-Aviv: 1966, p. 8 ff.

but Merkavah mysticism is neither a magical nor a theurgic experience. E. R. Dodds described theurgy as "magic applied to a religious purpose and resting on a supposed revelation of a religious character".[53] Dodds also remarked that "whereas vulgar magic used names and formulae of religious origin to profane ends, theurgy used the procedures of vulgar magic primarily to a religious end".[54] It should be noted that Dodds here uses the word magic in the sense applied to it in the Greek magical papyri, and not in the sense in which the nineteenth century anthropologists understood it, that is, as a rudimentary form of religion. In any event, practices known from popular magic infiltrated into the various forms of Merkavah mysticism, but this should not be taken to mean that Merkavah mysticism is a form of magic.

In addition, some of these magico-theurgic practices—and specifically ritual baths, seals and names—bear strong resemblance to practices and to the symbolism known from various gnostic writings.[55] It may thus be asked whether the occurrence of these practices in the *Hekhalot* literature is not also indicative of either a real gnostic influence on it, or, at least, of the existence of certain points of connection between the *Hekhalot* mysticism and gnostic beliefs and practices. As we know, it has been argued by Professor Scholem that the *Hekhalot* writings are a Jewish concomitant to gnosticism. The present writer, however, has expressed the view, that since these writings are basically mystical writings with no immediate redemptive claims, they are to be strictly distinguished from the gnostic concepts and writings which have an emphatic redemptive quality.[56] In this respect, one has to distinguish between certain eschatological hopes mentioned in the *Hekhalot* writings or attached to the mystical activity,[57] and the basic redemptive functions of gnosticism and its

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[53] *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

[54] *Ibid.* See further A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Harvard University Press, 1972, vol. I, p. 189, n. 81.

[55] See W. Bousset, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*, Reprint: Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, (n.d.), pp. 5 ff. Bousset's arguments to the effect that the practices applied in ascension-experiences are to be viewed in the light of similar practices known from the Iranic religion are no more acceptable.

[56] Cf. *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), pp. 88 ff.

[57] There are clear eschatological passages in the *Hekhalot* writings and the most emphatic eschatological claim, in this respect, is attached to the study of the *Shi'ur Qomah*. See in *Merkavah Shelemah*, fol. 38b, where Rabbi 'Akiva is quoted as saying that an after-life is promised to everyone who knows the mystical dimensions of the divinity.

writings. While gnosticism by and large means a final escape from the bonds of the material, evil, world, the mysticism of the Merkavah presupposes that the mystic always returns from his celestial adventures to his body on earth. If he fails to do so, that is if he dies in the course of his experience, or as a result of it, this indicates that he did not "deserve to see the King in His beauty", as a common phrase in *Hekhalot* literature goes.[58]

Moreover, the angels who try to stand in the way of the ascending mystic do not share the evil qualities of the Archons (the evil rulers of this world) who try to capture the soul of the redeemed person and to prevent it from ascending to Incorruptibility, or to the Source of Light. Although these angels in the *Hekhalot* literature —and in the rabbinic literature related to it—are sometimes referred to as 'angels of destruction', they are not in their essence opposed to the divine. On the contrary, they are zealous in their desire to keep God aloft and apart from any undeserving human being. It is only when God personally intervenes on behalf of the visionary, or when the appropriate seals are produced, that passage is granted to the ascending human being. Thus, the relevant material in the *Hekhalot* writings bears at its best only a formal resemblance to concepts and to practices known from gnosticism. However suggestive this resemblance may appear, it does not justify the virtual interpretation of Jewish Merkavah mysticism in terms of gnosticism. Admittedly, in following such an interpretation for a short time we gained a lot in our understanding of certain important details in Merkavah mysticism, but we should now be careful not to follow this interpretation in all directions. We always have to keep in mind that gnosticism was a religious phenomenon diametrically opposed to everything Jewish; in fact, the God of the Jews was considered by the gnostics an evil deity. If we keep this in mind, it becomes clear that the Jewish mystics, who were everything but downright heretics, avoided all conscious contacts with the gnostics, their concepts, their practices and their writings.[59]

On the contrary, in recent years it has increasingly become evident that many of the gnostic writings were in one way or another in-

[58] See S. Leiter, "Worthiness, Acclamation and Appointment: Some Rabbinic Terms", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. XLI-XLII (1973-1974), pp. 143 ff.

[59] On this see further, D. Flusser, "Scholem's Recent Book on Merkabah Literature", *The Journal of Jewish Studies* XI (1960), 59-68.

fluenced by Jewish thought and beliefs. Although the exact way these Jewish ideas reached gnosticism is still a riddle, one may assume that certain Jews who underwent conversion to gnosticism brought their knowledge along with them.[60] In addition, Christian writers who were familiar with Jewish writings could have served as literary intermediaries. In any event, it is clear today that a number of Jewish ideas and concepts found their way into gnosticism, and this in spite of the fact that gnosticism totally rejected Judaism. In this manner, we may, for example, understand the occurrence of two Merkavah passages in two of the gnostic writings: in the so-called "Die Schrift ohne Titel vom Ursprung der Welt" [61] and in the "Hypostasis of the Archons".[62] Both texts contain detailed descriptions of the creation of the world. The background of the descriptions is the biblical story in *Genesis* which is interpreted to contain the gnostic truth. Both treatises are strongly interrelated, and it seems that they derive from a third, common, source, which is no longer known to us.[63]

We begin with the "Untitled Work on the Creation of the World". Its declared purpose is to show what had existed before Chaos came into being, what was the nature of that pre-existent entity and what happened to Chaos when it was shaped into the material world. Briefly, the theory developed in the book is that there had been an immense domain of light beneath which a veil (παραπέτασμα) was spread. That veil created a shadow, and in that shadow Chaos came into being. Pistis, who is also called Sophia, and who came from above the veil, created a ruler over that Chaos. This ruler, or Archon, was called Yaldabaoth [64] and he was responsible for the creation of everything that came into being beneath that veil.

[60] See I. Gruenwald, "Jewish Sources for the Gnostic Texts from Nag Hammadi?", *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress for Jewish Studies*, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. 45 ff. See also the curious statement made by Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, I, xxiv,6, to the effect that the gnostics claim that they are not any longer Jews or Christians.

[61] A. Böhlig and P. Labib, *Die koptisch-gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag-Hammadi*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1962.

[62] See B. Layton, "The Hypostasis of the Archons", *Harvard Theological Review* LXVII (1974), pp. 351 ff.; and R. A. Bullard, *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1970. My quotations, however, are from Layton's English translation of the Coptic text.

[63] J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, New York, The Viking Press, 1960, p. 163, assumes that "much of this treatise (= *The Hypostasis of the Archons*) is manifestly an abridgement of a certain *Book of Norea*".

[64] The name "Yaldabaoth" has caused difficulties and a number of theories were suggested for its explanation. See most recently G. Scholem, "Jaldabaoth

Among the things which he created were seven archangels, who possessed masculine and feminine qualities and names, and to whom he allocated heavens. These heavens contained, among other things, thrones, temples and chariots (150,11 ff.). When Yaldabaoth saw all the magnificence of his creation, he boasted and declared himself to be the only God (151,12). Pistis, who heard this blasphemy, condemned Yaldabaoth and told him that a 'Son of Light' would come and destroy him and all his Creations. However, Sabaoth, one of the offspring of Yaldabaoth, heard the voice of Pistis, praised her and joined her in her condemnation of his father and mother. As a reward Pistis stretched out her finger and poured over him Light. Consequently, Sabaoth was endowed with great power and became the Lord of all the Powers (152,9). He loathed all his kinsfolk, and they in turn waged war against him in the seven heavens. Pistis, who saw what was going on, sent seven archangels to rescue Sabaoth and they snatched him up to the seventh heaven. There, she erected for him a heavenly kingdom (152,23). In addition, Pistis gave him the Place of Rest (τόπος ἀνάπαυσις) for his repentance (μετάνοια). She also brought to him her daughter Zoe so that she might teach him about all that existed in the Ogdoad, that is, in the eighth heaven (152,26 ff.). Then Sabaoth, who was very powerful indeed, made for himself a dwelling-place which was big and wonderful. In fact, this dwelling-place was even bigger than its counterparts in the other heavens (152,31-35). In front (!) of that dwelling-place he created a

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Reconsidered", in: *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (1974), pp. 405-421. Scholem writes (p. 418): "... Jaldabaoth is a composite of *jald - abaoth*. I propose that it owes its invention to a heretical Jew familiar with Aramaic, the Hebrew Bible and the literature or practice of the magicians, a Jew who, in the context of the Ophitic myth, created it as a secret name of Samael". The element *Yald* designates, according to Scholem, not the son but the begetter (p. 419), and the element *abaoth* "originated as an abridged form, or substitute, of Sabaoth" (p. 420). Scholem's explanation is the best so far, though it may be argued that the 'yald'-element actually conveys Yaldabaoth's double role as the one begotten (by Pistis Sophia, and hence called in the Untitled Work νεανίσκος) and the one who begets! That in the explanation of the alleged etymology of the name Yaldabaoth one should not overlook his status as the *begotten* one becomes evident from the Untitled Work 148,1 ff. (p. 40/1 f.) where among the things mentioned as Yaldabaoth's roles, nothing is said of his role as the one who begets. It is here that Pistis Sophia calls him by the name of νεανίσκος, that is "child", or in Hebrew *Yeled*. Only later on does the Archon discover in himself the desire to create and to beget. Then the shift occurs from the status of the one begotten to the one who begets, or in Aramaic: *Yalda*. If our explanation is correct, then the etymology of the first element in the name actually derives both from Hebrew and from Aramaic.

big throne which was placed on a chariot (ἅρμα = Merkavah!). The chariot had four faces (πρόσωπον), and it was called Cherubin. Now, the Cherubin had four forms (μορφή), one on each of its four corners: lion forms (!) calf forms, human forms, and eagle forms. The number of all the forms thus amounted to sixty-four. Before the throne stood seven archangels. Sabaoth himself was the eighth; thus all the forms amounted to seventy-two, which the Untitled Work assumes is the number which corresponds to the number of the nations of the world.

Before we go on with the description of the installment scene in the Untitled Work, a few remarks are in place concerning the preceding part of the narrative. To begin with, the description of Sabaoth's throne is quite peculiar and causes some difficulties, the main one being how exactly the author conceived of the faces of the "Forms"? He says that each of the four corners of the throne, called "Cherubin", had eight forms, that is, the four forms—the lion, the calf, the human form, and the eagle—which were all placed at every corner had two faces each. This is quite remarkable in itself, and when we multiply the eight faces by four (= corners) we get only thirty two faces, and not sixty four, as the author himself counts (153,9). Elsewhere, in *Hekhalot Zutreti* (in: *Merkavah Shelemah* 7a) we read that each of the Holy Creatures in the divine chariot had four faces, and since there were four Creatures at every corner of the throne there were all in all sixty four faces (4 Creatures × 4 faces × 4 corners = 64!). A similar calculation is preserved in the Targum to *Ezekiel* i,6: every creature had four faces, and there were four creatures at every corner, so that the sum total of the faces was sixty four. Evidently, the tradition preserved in the Untitled Work is dependent on such Merkavah-speculations, and it may be argued that its details should be emended in order to fit the Merkavah material known from *Hekhalot Zutreti* and the Targum to *Ezekiel*. As for the order in which the "Forms" are enumerated in the Untitled Work, it should be noticed that it preserves the order given in *Revelation* iv,7.

Another point which deserves attention is the instruction given by Zoe [65] concerning all that is in the Ogdoad. Though nothing explicit is said in the text about the contents of Zoe's teachings and the

[65] In 154,6, however, it is Pistis Sophia herself who is instructing Sabaoth. Yet, from the parallel passage in the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, it becomes evident that Zoe, and not Pistis Sophia, instructs Sabaoth. See also the Untitled Work 155,4.

Ogdoad, we may conclude that since the Ogdoad represents the domain of light of the Imperishability, the teaching about it is of a theosophical nature, and may also include the secrets of redemption. The idea, that whatever belongs to the Ogdoad is top secret is also found in the Jewish Merkavah speculations. In *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b a detailed description is given of the seven heavens and what they contain. Then (13a, top) the Gemārā quotes Rabbi 'Aḥa bar Ya'aqov's question to the effect that there is yet another, eighth heaven, which is above the heads of the *Ḥayyot*. The question refers to *Ezekiel* i,22 ff., where the prophet sees a firmament stretched above the heads of the Holy Creatures. The response given in the Gemārā is: "Till this place (= the seventh heaven) you may discourse, from here onwards (= the eighth heaven) you have no permission to discourse". The Gemārā also refers the student to *Ben-Sira* iii,21-22 which is taken to support the idea. However, it should be noticed that while the Gemārā forbids any speculations of the eighth heaven, the Untitled Work maintains that knowledge of the Ogdoad was granted to Sabaoth. Now, in some respects, Sabaoth in the Untitled Work reminds one of the fate of Enoch who was translated to heaven, transformed into the angel Metatron, and thus received all kinds of honours and revelations of secrets.[66] Both Enoch-Metatron and Sabaoth enjoyed exceptional fates, yet the different contexts of their experiences forbid us from pushing their points of resemblance beyond their formal aspects.

The Merkavah account in the Untitled Work ends with the description of how Sabaoth created above that throne a host of angelic beings (153,16 ff.). One class of the angels was called "Seraphim". Their form was that of serpents [67] and they were always praising Sabaoth.[68] Sabaoth also created a first-born one called "Israel", which in a common etymology of the time [69] was taken to designate "the man

[66] See mainly *3 Enoch*.

[67] This is a rather peculiar—yet typically gnostic—interpretation of *Numbers* xxi,6. See also next note. The Coptic text here uses the Greek word δράκον. In Jewish laws of idolatry, the dragon-form received special attention: *Mishnah 'Avodah Zarah* iii,3. According to *Talmud Yerushalmi* (fol. 42d), a dragon has spikes growing out of his neck. See further *Bavli 'Avodah Zarah* 43a.

[68] See *Isaiah* vi,2-3 in comparison to xiv,29 and xxx,6. It is still an open question as to what made Isaiah call the holy angels by a word he uses also for dragons.

[69] See J. G. Kahn, "Israel - *Videns* Deum", (in Hebrew), *Tarbiẓ* XL (1971), pp. 285-292. Kahn (= Y. Cohen-Yashar), however, was not aware of the existence of the gnostic parallels, as given by A. Böhlig in his notes, p. 54. See also J. Z. Smith, "The Prayer of Joseph", in: *Religions in Antiquity*, ed. J. Neusner, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1968, pp. 262-268.

who sees God".[70] It is noteworthy that the People of Israel receive in this text a place of honour among the celestial beings. Yet, whatever their status, they still belong to the unredeemed world of the Archons. They are in the hosts of the angels serving Sabaoth, and Sabaoth, to be sure, though he had been transferred to the seventh heaven, did not reach the Domain of Light of the Imperishability. Concerning that Domain, he received only oral instruction. In addition to these angelic beings, Sabaoth created another being called "Jesus Christ", who was like the saviour who was in the Ogdoad. This "Jesus Christ" had a special throne on the right of the throne of Sabaoth,[71] while on its left was sitting the virgin, which represented the holy spirit of Christian theology. Before Sabaoth were also standing seven other virgins in whose hands were zithers, psalteries and trumpets. Finally, Sabaoth himself is described as sitting on a Throne of Light [72] which was surrounded by a great cloud. This description of the throne is familiar from Jewish sources.[73]

As already mentioned before, a similar description of the installment of Sabaoth in the seventh heaven is found in another gnostic text — *The Hypostasis of the Archons*. There, the description is part of the instruction of Eleleth to Norea,[74] after she had resisted the

[70] At the end of *Midrash Conen* (in A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, vol. II, p. 39) mention is made of one Creature (*Ḥayyah*), called "Yisrael", and which stands in the middle of the firmament and says praises to God. In all likelihood, this Creature is meant to be a mystical representation of the People of Israel in heaven.

[71] This is in line with the Christian interpretation of *Psalm* cx,1.

[72] A literal translation of the Coptic text here reads: upon a throne in the light in a great cloud. As Professor Bentley Layton observed in an English translation of these pages which he has kindly prepared for me, the text seems to be corrupt. Layton suggests to read "a luminous throne" in a great cloud! "A luminous throne" is nothing but the translation of the Hebrew *Kisse Ha-Kavod*, the Throne of (the) Glory.

[73] See *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael* to *Exodus* xx,18 (p. 238).—The idea that God is covered from the sight of men and angels by a cloud is also known from a so-called Jewish Orphic poem from the second or third century B.C.E. The poem was preserved in two versions, which were recently re-discussed in Y. Gutman, *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1958, pp. 153 ff. In the first version preserved in *Cohort. ad. gent.*, attributed to Justin Martyr, God's invisibility is accounted for by the cloud which covers him. And in the version attributed to Aristobulus (quoted in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* XIII,12) God is hidden from the sight of men by "a tenfold mist" (νέφος . . . δεκάπτυχον). The so-called tenfold mist most likely corresponds to the ten heavens known by the Pythagoreans.—For the Palestinian nomenclature which refers to the fourth heaven by the name of ʿArafel (νέφος), see my edition of *Reʿuyot Yeḥezkel*, p. 118.

[74] For the studies dealing with the figure of Norea see B. Layton, *art. cit.*, p. 388.

temptation of the Archons to lead her astray. In its form and content, the description there is an abridgement of the source from which it drew.[75] In any event, as becomes clear from a number of differences between the two narratives, the account of the installment of Sabaoth in *The Hypostasis of the Archons* does not derive from its counterpart in the Untitled Work. For instance, in contradistinction to the Untitled Work, where to the left of Sabaoth's throne one can find the Virgin of the Holy Spirit, *The Hypostasis of the Archons* reports that on the left of the throne the Angel of Wrath was placed. Thus, one finds Unrighteousness occupying the left of what may be called the sub-Ogdoadian Deity, a fact which implies a symbolism that in a sense draws from the writings of Qumran, and which later on was a key notion in the Kabbalah.[76] Since Sabaoth, in spite of his substantial prominence over the other Archons, still occupies the place which is *beneath* the veil that separates between the Above and the Below, he cannot fully equal the qualities of the God of the Jews in Jewish thought. The degraded Sabaoth here is a gnostic concept and he belongs to the inferior world of the Archons. Thus, even in the conceptual framework of *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, the existence of the Angel of Wrath in the realm of the seventh heaven next to Sabaoth cannot be viewed in such radical dualistic terms as one is used to consider evil in gnostic thought. It has to be noticed too that in the Untitled Work (154,11 ff.) Pistis Sophia places Sabaoth on her right while the Archigenetor (= Yaldabaoth) is called to occupy a place on her left. Thus, both books conceive of evil as being in the vicinity of a divine or semi-divine being. This not only emphasizes the reality of its existence, but also, and even more so, makes it clear that however rebellious the powers of evil may appear, they are still under the control of the supreme divinity. Thus, we once again realize that dualistic religious systems may nontheless be monistic at their very heart.[77]

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[75] See above n. 63.

[76] In the Untitled Work 154,12 ff. Pistis Sophia is said to call Sabaoth to her right and the Archigenetor (= Yaldabaoth) to her left, thus forming a cosmic scheme of righteousness *versus* unrighteousness. This division comes very close to the one portrayed in the Qumran *Rule of the Community* (1 Q S), III,13 ff. See G. Scholem, "Gut und Böse in der Kabbalah", in *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit*, Zurich, Rhein Verlag, 1962, pp. 49 ff.—Professor Scholem called my attention to *Masekhet Hekhalot*, in *Bet ha-Midrash*, vol. II, p. 46, where life and death are placed to the right and left of God respectively.

[77] I have discussed this issue in *Israel Oriental Studies* III, (1973), pp. 77 ff.

We have gone into some detail in our presentation of certain Merkavah-passages in two gnostic writings so as to suggest that just as a number of gnostic elements found their way into Merkavah mysticism so did also certain Merkavah elements find their way into gnosticism. A comparative study of Merkavah mysticism and gnosticism will certainly render important results, one of which will prevent us from overdoing our job by interpreting the one phenomenon in terms of the other. The points of connection between the two can tell us a lot about their own spirit and of the character of the syncretism of the first centuries of the Christian Era. Speaking about "Syncretism", the term can mean many things, yet here it is understood to imply the transference and reception of religious beliefs and practices. The degree of receptivity which some Jewish circles showed to ideas originating from pagan sources is still one of the most bewildering problems which the student of the Judaism of the Talmudic period faces. It will in no way ease the problem if we assume that some Jewish circles timidly and carelessly collected whatever they found in the international market of religions. But it seems equally true to maintain that once foreign ideas had found their way into Judaism they were not—or even could not be—easily swept under the carpet. Although one may argue that in certain cases the Jews were not fully aware of the real qualities—and of the imminent dangers—of the beliefs and practices which they adopted, this argument can hardly explain the whole of the truth. In most cases, however, the impression one gets is that those people were attracted by complex pictures even when these pictures were composed of the most heterogeneous elements. The artificial combination of various and sometimes even conflicting religious elements was the fashion of the day, and if this was believed to enrich one's religious experience, the question of the cost was not raised. On the contrary, the gain appeared to be enormous, and people seem to have been sure that nothing was lost in their own integrity. Thus gnosticism could refer to the Jewish Scripture and "discover" there its own cosmology, while the Jewish mystics partook of rites and practices that grew on the soil of magic and gnosticism. Nontheless, neither side believed that it lost by this anything of its own identity. On the contrary, new sources opened new directions and this in turn resulted in deepening the experience.

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In the previous section, we discussed some problems in connection with the relationship between gnosticism and Merkavah mysticism. On the whole, it must be remarked that gnosticism owes much more to Judaism than *vice versa*. In fact, there is very little in Judaism that was inspired—even negatively so—by gnosticism. The various sayings, for instance, refuting the two powers (*Shtei Reshuyot*) doctrine need not necessarily be an explicitly anti-gnostic theologumenon. As for the theurgical elements in *Hekhalot* mysticism, it may be argued that they were so common and widely spread in those days that their attribution to gnosticism alone cannot be conclusively proved.

In this section we shall make some additional remarks about the techniques of the ascension, both in apocalyptic and in Merkavah mysticism. In apocalyptic literature we know of at least three kinds of ascensions. The most common description is that of an ascension on clouds in the course of a storm. Thus we find in *1 Enoch* xiv,8-9 the following description: "And the vision was shown to me thus: Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist summoned me and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and hastened me, and the winds in the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven".[78] No doubt, the description takes after its model, the ascension of Elijah (*2 Kings* ii.11), but it should be noticed that the visionary here clearly distinguishes between reality (his sleep) and what he saw in his dream-vision (his ascension). Elijah's ascension also left its traces on the description of three other ascensions: on *1 Enoch* lxx,2 ("And he was raised aloft on the chariots of the wind"); on *1 Enoch* xxxix,3 ("and in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth") and on lii,1 ("... I had been carried off in a whirlwind"). Although in the last instances no dream is explicitly mentioned, one may assume that the manner in which the ascension is described in *1 Enoch* xiv,8-9 still holds true in the other cases too. In *2 Enoch* iii, however, the visionary is described as being raised on the wings of two angels.[79] In like manner, as we al-

[78] Compare the description of the ascension of Moses in *Pesikta Rabbati* (ed. Friedmann, 96b): "When Moses was about to ascend to heaven, a cloud came and prostrated itself before him. However, Moses did not know whether to ride on it or to hold it, so the cloud opened and Moses entered ... and the cloud carried him and he walked in the heaven".

[79] See also *1 Enoch* lxxxvii,2-3: "And I saw in vision, and behold there came

ready saw in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, both the visionary and his guiding angel were raised to heaven on the wings of a bird. In *Greek Baruch* ii,1 and in the *Ascension of Isaiah* vii,2, it is simply said that an angel carried the visionaries to heaven. In *Testament Levi* ii,6-7 and in *Revelation* iv,1-2, it appears that the visionary did not need any assistence in his ascent. Yet, the expression "and I was there in spirit" (*Revelation* iv,2) apparently was a technical term used to designate experiences which the visionary saw in a trance.[80]

More elaborate, however, are the details given about the ascensions in the *Hekhalot* literature. A recurring image in *Hekhalot Rabbati* is the ladder which the mystic is said to use as a means for his ascension. Thus, we read that the Merkavah mystic is like "a man who has a ladder in his home which he ascends and descends, and nobody can interfere with what he does" (xiii,2; xx,3). In yet another place, mention is made of a "heavenly ladder which stands on earth and reaches up to the right leg of the Throne of Glory" (xiv,1). The idea behind this description evidently is Jacob's ladder (*Genesis* xxviii,12), though the ones climbing it up and down were the angels.[81] In one late *Hekhalot* fragment,[82] we find that the angels climb out of the bath they take in the rivers of fire by help of a "ladder of fire". Another ladder is mentioned in connection with the souls of the righteous ones which are said to climb that ladder in the celestial garden of Eden.[83] Finally, a ladder with seven rungs (κλῖμαξ ἑπτάπυλος), which symbolizes the ascent of the soul through the seven gates of the heaven, is known from the temples of Mithra.[84]

In several instances in the *Hekhalot* literature, various kinds of

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forth from heaven beings who were like white men ... and those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took me up ..."

[80] See Charles's Commentary *ad loc.*

[81] See A. A. Altman, "The Ladder of Ascension", *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to G. G. Scholem*, p. 1 ff. Altman has brought most of the relevant material from early Jewish mysticism. See further *Bavli Sotah* 35a: "... if Moses is to tell us to make ladders and to ascend to heaven will we not obey him? ...". See also, E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, vol. VIII (1958), pp. 148-157. See also the next three notes.

[82] In A. Jellinek, *Bet-ha-Midrasch*, vol. III, p. 162. See also S. A. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*, vol. I, p. 46.

[83] A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, vol. II, p. 28.

[84] See A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Reprint: Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966, pp. 183-184. F. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, Reprint: Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963, p. 123. All this material escaped the eyes of J. Danielou, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*, Tournai, 1958, pp. 131-138, where he discussed the subject of L'échelle Cosmique.

wagons or carriages are mentioned. In one instance, *Hekhalot Rabbati* xviii,5-6, we read that Qazpiel, one of the angels who stands at the gate of the sixth palace, "brings you a whirlwind, and he places you in a wagon of light".[85] This wagon is used in the course of the passage from the sixth to the seventh *Hekhal*.[86] In *3 Enoch* vi we read of Enoch's translation with the help of ʿAnafiel [87] in a carriage of fire.[88] Once again, we must notice that the idea of the wagon or carriage is inspired by the description of the ascent of Elijah (*2 Kings* ii,11), though it should be equally noticed that in Plato's *Phaedrus* too the soul is described as ascending to heaven in a chariot. Generally, however, the passage from one heavenly palace to the other is performed with the help of two angels who accompany the mystic on both his sides. New accompanying angels take the place of the former ones in every new palace. In two cases, we even find that the mystic is dragged on his knees till he reaches the Throne of Glory.[89]

To end this general introduction to the *Hekhalot* literature, two additional characteristics will be pointed out. We have seen in the previous chapter that the *Maʿaseh Merkavah* speculations in rabbinic circles were subject to severe restrictions regarding the number of those allowed to participate in the study and the manner in which the discourse on the Merkavah should be introduced. Briefly, we saw that the Merkavah material could be studied only in the presence of one student, provided that he was wise and able to understand by himself. At first, it was the student who had to open the discourse, and only later permission was granted to the teacher to introduce the discourse by suggesting the *Rashei Pesuqin* or *Rashei Peraqim*.[90]

[85] See also A. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, p. 183-184; G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 18,82. See further the expression "carriages of gold" in *Bavli Kidushin* 76b.

[86] The details of this stage in the mystical ascent are given in *Hekhalot Rabbati*, chh. xix-xxiii.

[87] In *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxii,4 ff. ʿAnafiel is described as a most distinguished angel, and some of his extraordinary qualities actually remind of some of the qualities of Metatron.

[88] See further the so-called *Apocalypsis Mosis* xxxiii, where Adam's body is described to be carried up to heaven after his death in a chariot of light borne by four eagles. In the gnostic *Letter of James* it is said that when the revelations have come to an end Christ rises to Heaven in a Chariot of Pneuma: see G. Quispel, "The Jung Codex and its Significance", in: *Gnostic Studies* I, Istanbul, 1974, p. 8.

[89] See *Hekhalot Rabbati*, iii,1 and the *Hekhalot* text published in *Tarbiz* XXXVIII (1969), p. 359, ll. 30 ff.

[90] Only after the completion of Chapter Three has G. A. Wewers's book, *Geheimnis und Geheimhaltung im rabbinischen Judentum*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter,

In the *Hekhalot* writings, however, no specific demand for secrecy is included, and even contrary to the tone struck in Jewish apocalyptic, there is no claim for the exclusiveness of the revelation. What one does repeatedly hear in the *Hekhalot* writings are the details of the extraordinary dangers which the mystics have to overcome. Only the most deserving ones will come out safely from the series of ordeals and tests which they have to undergo. The imminent dangers of the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* are already stressed in the discussions found in both Talmuds on the first *Mishnah* of Tractate *Ḥagigah*. In the *Hekhalot* writings, the danger-motif comes even more emphatically to the fore, evidently in order to prevent the undeserving from realizing the experiences described. The theurgic elements in these writings also belong to this aspect of that literature. In fact, the mystic is taught all these theurgic practices and means in order to be able to overcome the dangers which he has to encounter in the course of his mystical experience. Only the knowledge of their correct application is to guarantee him physical and psychical safety.

But, it is interesting to notice that the *Hekhalot* writings do not declare these theurgic means to be secret. In contrast to the reserve felt in the pages of the *Talmuds* with respect to everything relevant to the subject, the *Hekhalot* writings do no even refrain from discussing openly the theurgic means which are to be used in every case. No secrecy is demanded from the initiate, and although we may assume that such secrecy was elementary, one still remains puzzled by the outright manner in which the material is displayed. The fact that people were aware of the extreme dangers involved in such experiences did not guarantee that no leak will be found in the wall of secrecy. Dangerous experiences only arouse the curiosity of people, and in many cases nothing can stop them from trying out the mystical experiences described.[91]

It is hardly conceivable that those who put the *Hekhalot* tractates into writing were not aware of the dangers involved in putting these writings before the ignorant public. And yet they did so. Thus, the question arises if we have to interpret this fact as indicating that the

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1975, reached me. Unfortunately Wewers' discussion does not add anything substantial to our understanding of the material he handles. Although he touches some of the important problems, his original contribution is quite hypothetical. He could have done better had he made use of the *Hekhalot* literature etc. In addition, Wewers was not aware of a number of studies published in recent years and reference to which could have opened his eyes in many essential points.

[91] See in *Tarbiẓ* XXXVIII (1969), p. 358.

process of putting the *Hekhalot* literature into writing took place only after the *Hekhalot* mysticism had become a memory of the past and decayed so-to-speak into a mere literary phenomenon?

There is very little, if anything at all, in the *Hekhalot* literature that may justify its classification as esoteric, at least not in the sense in which esotericism was applied in Jewish apocalyptic. In our discussion of Jewish apocalyptic, it was pointed out that its esoteric quality was mainly lying in its explicit or implicit claim that what had been revealed to the visionary in many cases was an exclusive angelic revelation, or at least some kind of heavenly inspiration. Although secrets are sometimes referred to in the *Hekhalot* literature, it cannot, thus, be defined as esoteric. The *Hekhalot* writings did not claim secrecy for themselves, and what was assumingly in them that could prevent their contents from being misused were the dangers described therein. In a sense the description of the details of these dangers can be much more effective in restraining people from misapplying the information gained from the *Hekhalot* literature than the mere formal demand to keep its contents secret.

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

As indicated before, the second part of our book contains detailed introductions to the various *Hekhalot* writings we possess. The first part of the book was devoted to an analysis of some of the major problems involved in the study of the development of the Merkavah tradition in the time of the Mishnah and Talmud. After an attempt had been made to qualify the esoteric features of Jewish apocalyptic (Chapter One), we passed on to examine the place and nature of the Merkavah tradition incorporated in that literature. It was seen that some of the apocalyptic books contain detailed Merkavah visions which follow the Merkavah tradition found in books like *Ezekiel*, *Isaiah* and *Daniel* (Chapter Two). In Chapter Three the attitude of the rabbinical circles to the Merkavah material was examined. Finally, in Chapter Four, a general introduction to the *Hekhalot* writings was presented.

However, two major problems still have to be discussed in a more detailed manner. The first one is the question of the continuity of the Merkavah tradition. It has been shown that there existed at least a thematic continuity between the so-called Merkavah tradition in Scripture and the one in apocalyptic literature. There is even a thematic continuity which can be traced from apocalyptic literature on the one hand to the Merkavah material in rabbinical literature and to the *Hekhalot* writings on the other hand. The question now arises as to whether a historical continuity can be pointed out in addition to this thematic continuity. The answer to this question is particularly difficult for a number of reasons: First, we lack almost all the literary documents which were created between the fifth century B.C.E., that is the days of the last prophets, and the middle of the third century B.C.E., that is the early hellenistic period. This is a long period of silence, and doubtlessly in that period all the foundations were laid for the creation of the Jewish hellenistic literature. Second, we lack any direct evidence that the circles which produced the apocalyptic corpus of writings were historically related to those circles that engaged in Merkavah speculations and experiences from the Tannaitic times onwards. Third, no conclusive proof has yet been found that the *Tannaim* and the *Amoraim* were directly involved in the creation of the *Hekhalot* writings. Although the existence of

alleged points of connection between all these circles can be concluded from the thematic affinities which the writings under discussion display, no direct proof has yet been found for the existence of real historical connections between them.

However, when we come to the hellenistic period, we find that at least one of its major works contains a so-called Merkavah vision. The work we have in mind is the play written by Ezekiel, the Tragedian, and which describes events connected with the Exodus from Egypt.[1] Among other things, it contains a dream-vision which Moses experienced when he was wandering with the flocks of Jethro in the desert. In his vision, Moses saw himself on the top of Mount Sinai, and there he saw a high throne which reached to the heaven. On the throne was sitting someone who looked like a man wearing a crown on his head and holding a sceptre in his left hand. With his right hand, the figure on the throne gestured to Moses to come forward and to approach the throne. When Moses stood near the throne the being sitting on it gave him the crown [2] and the sceptre, and

[1] Y. Gutman, *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature* (in Hebrew), vol. II, Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1963, pp. 66-69, argues that Ezekiel was a citizen of Berenice in Cyrenaica, and lived there in the first century B.C.E. However, M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1974, vol. I, p. 109, vol. II, p. 109, n. 396, represents the more common view that Ezekiel, the Tragedian, lived in Alexandria in the second century B.C.E. It should be remarked that Gutman's discussion of Ezekiel and his work contains a number of rather hypothetical arguments. For example, in his interpretation of the vision of Moses on Mount Sinai, Gutman argues that the man whom Moses saw sitting on the throne was no divine figure, but a real man. The reason for this Gutman finds in the word φώς used by Ezekiel and which Gutman (probably following a remark in Liddell & Scott s.v. φώς III) takes to be used only "opp. a god". But had Ezekiel used the word ἄνθρωπος, he would not have changed matters in any substantial way. It is only in the Septuaginta and in the New Testament that ἄνθρωπος received its divine or messianic connotations! For the Greek text of *Ezechielus Tragicus*, see A.-M. Denis, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae Supersunt Graeca*, Leiden, Brill, 1970, pp. 210-216.

[2] The idea of a crown which was given to Moses, is several times repeated in Jewish literature. It complements, most probably, the description of the skin of his face, which was reported to be shining (*Exodus* xxxiv,29 ff.). The most striking parallel to Ezekiel Tragicus is the Shabbat morning service in which we find that God gave to Moses "a crown of glory [*Kelil Tif'eret*] when he stood before You on Mount Sinai". See further J. Liver, *The House of David* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1959, p. 100-101, who pointed out the various functions of the *'Atarah* (στέφανος) in the ancient Near East. In the Qumran writings, we find that the members of the sect were to be endowed with a "crown of glory" (*Kelil Kavod*) as a sign of their eschatological blessing. See 1 QS IV,7; 1 QH IX,25. See further *Bavli Berakhot* 17a where the righteous are described in the world to come as sitting in the presence of God with crowns (*'Atarot*)

pointed to him to take his seat on the big throne. Then the 'man' left the throne, and Moses had from above a vision of the whole earth.[3] Finally, Moses says that he saw the hosts of the heavenly stars falling down on their knees before him,[4] and then marching past his throne. The vision obviously implied the initiation of Moses into the heavenly realms and his nomination to his kingly office. However, it is quite doubtful whether real deification was also implied by it. Deification, as we know, was generally believed to occur only after the hero's death and not during his lifetime. Thus, one may see in the vision a description of the enthronement of Moses as viewed within a mystical, or semi-mystical, framework.[5]

In spite of its obvious mystical setting, the vision described in the scene is certainly no Merkavah vision in the full sense of the term, and it is noteworthy that no angels are described in it.[6] Yet, it is also noteworthy that a Jewish drama written in Greek contains such a vision. This fact is evidently telling something about the public for which the play was written: they apparently expected such a scene or at least found nothing strange in its inclusion. Admittedly, this scene has a tremendous dramatic effect, but it also betrays the fact that people in Alexandria were familiar with such experiences and that they clearly understood what such experiences implied. If so, we may assume that mystical, or semi-mystical, experiences were part of the intellectual milieu of the Jewish-hellenistic world.[7]

on their heads. The idea became a current one in Christian theology and is well known from Christian iconography. Professor Morton Smith drew my attention to the fact that the "crowns" were really diadems, that is bands tied around the head, which were the Greco-Roman symbol of royalty.

[3] See Y. Gutman, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-46. This part of the dream could have been the model for the writer of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* xix.

[4] The reference here most certainly is to Joseph's dream in *Genesis* xxxvii,9. See also *Nehemiah* ix,6, where the stars are said to be worshipping God in a similar manner.

[5] For Deification after death, see E. Rohde, *Psyche*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1925, pp. 524 ff.—For the motif of the enthronement, see G. Widengren, "Iran and Israel in Parthian Times with Special Regard to the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*", in: *Religious Syncretism in Antiquity*, ed. Birger A. Pearson, Missoula, Montana, Scholars Press, 1975, p. 126 f. Widengren, who was unaware of Ezekiel the Tragedian, suggests that Indo-Iranian as well as ancient Near-Eastern material was the background of the kind of enthronement described in *1 Enoch* lxxi.

[6] However, the absence of angels from the vision cannot be attributed with certainty to polemical motivations.

[7] See M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Piety*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1948, pp. 124 ff., though some of Nilsson's generalizations, particularly those concerning gnos-

This conclusion may also be inferred from Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, 158 where Moses is described as entering "into the darkness where God was, that is into the unseen, invisible, incorporeal and archetypal essence of existing things".[8] The reference here is to *Exodus* xx,21, which in rabbinical literature too was interpreted as implying a special mystical experience.[9] To be sure, what Philo describes in his writings is no Merkavah vision, but it points to a kind of sensibility that in others could, and actually did, induce a Merkavah-imagery. Thus, to come back to the scene in Ezekiel the Tragedian, we hear that Moses saw himself elevated to see God on His throne, a vision that evidently draws its imagery from its counterpart in *Isaiah* vi. Yet, there are already some details in this vision that go beyond and differ from the material presented in *Isaiah* vi. We have already mentioned the fact that unlike the vision which Isaiah saw the being sitting on the throne offered to Moses his crown, sceptre and very throne. In addition, it should be noticed that unlike *Isaiah* vi,1, the scene in Ezekiel's tragedy does not take place in a palace but on the summit of Mount Sinai.[10] Finally, as we already observed, in contradistinction to *Isaiah* no angels were present on the scene. What in later apocalyptic and Merkavah literature—as already in *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*—was the function of the angels was here performed by the heavenly stars. Nevertheless, all the differences notwithstanding, we may see in the scene in the *Tragedy of Ezekiel* a live link in the development of the Merkavah tradition between Scripture and apocalyptic literature. Thus, the historical continuity of that tradition

ticism, cannot be accepted without criticism. More important, however, for our purposes is the chapter "The Mystic Moses" in E. R. Goodenough, *By Light, Light*, Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1969, pp. 199-234. This is not to say that the present writer agrees with Goodenough's thesis regarding the existence of a fully developed Jewish hellenistic mystery religion.

[8] Similarly in *De Mutatione Nominum*, 7: "So Moses the explorer of nature which lies beyond our vision, Moses who, as the divine oracles tell us, entered into the darkness by which figure they indicate existence invisible and incorporeal, searched everywhere and into everything in his desire to see clearly and plainly Him, the object of our much yearning, Who is good".

[9] See *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael*, p. 238. See further Goodenough, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 ff.

[10] Compare *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael*, pp. 216 & 238 (= *Bavli Sukkah* 5a) where it becomes clear that the virtual descent of the *Kavod* on Mount Sinai, as also the ascent of Moses, became a controversial subject in Tannaitic literature.—The picture of the divine throne which is placed on the summit of mountains is a familiar one in antiquity; see J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, Salzburg, Otto Müller Verlag, 1964, pp. 97 ff.

at least up to apocalyptic literature is more clearly attested to than has hitherto been assumed. In any event, the inclusion of Merkavah material in Jewish apocalyptic is now more solidly accounted for: it is not merely the natural interest in things heavenly which explains the presence of this material in that literature, but also an allegedly live tradition which sought soil for its growth.

The second question to which attention must be given here is: How widespread the Merkavah tradition really was. We have already seen that there were various degrees of secrecy which restricted the discourse in the matters of the Merkavah to a small and highly qualified number of students. No wonder, then, that only few, but choice ones, enjoyed acquaintance with the subject. We saw too that the kind of experiences which the *Hekhalot* writings describe was connected with the knowledge of practices that verged on magic and theurgy. Magic and theurgy evidently were branches of knowledge and ritual that could hardly be tolerated in so-called orthodox circles. One may thus advance the conclusion that Merkavah mysticism was confined to a narrow elite of initiates who let themselves be exposed to practices that could be defined as idolatry. But, can it be maintained that people who lived at the very heart of Judaism of the time participated in practices that fell under the immediate spell of the pagan syncretism of the time? The question is no easy one to answer, and it bears decisively on our understanding and evaluation of the nature of Judaism in Talmudic times. It was variously argued, mainly in connection with the discussion of the problem of Jewish receptivity to customs emanating from idolatry, that the sages had no easy job in their attempts to control and to limit the measure of the exposure of many of their kinsfolk to idolatry. The practices we encounter in the *Hekhalot* writings only add fuel to the fire, and we are faced with the problem that, as it appears, traces of pagan syncretism which broke the rules of the Law, did after all reach the very heart of the Judaism of the period.

Since the *Hekhalot* writings are in no other way opposed to the concepts of the Law and the obedience to it, the question becomes even more difficult to answer. In addition, the *Hekhalot* writings have distinctive literary qualities and from this point of view alone it cannot in any way be maintained that they were produced by illiterate, ignorant, Jews who were not able to pass judgement on their own activities. The insistence found in these writings on the observation of the Law and the preoccupation with the problems

of the study of the Law and its memorization make it again evident that the solution to our problem cannot be sought in marginal heterodox groups or associations. The problem thus concerns the very heart of the Judaism of the period, and we may say that the occurrence in these writings of magical and theurgic practices can illuminate things that were to all likelihood going on in circles which were not so tightly controlled by the sages. Naturally, the *Hekhalot* writings contained a refined form of magic and theurgy in comparison with the more vulgar form of these practices as it could be found among those less learned and pious. It therefore seems permissible to infer that certain elements of pagan syncretism penetrated into wide Jewish circles, and this in various degrees of intensity and in a manner that cannot leave us indifferent to the problems involved. It is hardly conceivable that the Jews who practised these things did not really believe in the efficacy of the powers they invoked and of the practices they applied. Thus, when it came to it, certain established standards of behaviour and norms of belief had to be suspended. This is particularly so, where the end was worth justifying the means.

Another point which should be considered here is whether we can define the knowledge of the Merkavah material among the common people as mysticism. The interest in what is going on in heaven is a natural component of religion and should not be too easily identified with mystical practice and speculation. It has been pointed out by Professor David Flusser that Jewish liturgy in the times of the Second Temple contained so-called mystical elaborations to the angelic doxologies quoted in *Isaiah* vi,3 and *Ezekiel* iii,12.[11] Flusser referred to the close connections between the material found in Jewish apocalyptic and in Merkavah mysticism on the one hand and in Jewish and Christian liturgy on the other. Indeed, there were ways in which the liturgy of the synagogue was influenced by apocalyptic and *Hekhalot* material.[12] But it is a question of a different order as to how deep this knowledge of the apocalyptic and *Hekhalot* material really went. It is quite likely that those who composed the

[11] D. Flusser, "Sanktus und Gloria", *Festschrift für Otto Michel*, Leiden, Brill, 1963, pp. 129 ff.

[12] See J. Schirmann, "Hebrew Liturgical Poetry and Christian Hymnology", *The Jewish Quarterly Review* XLIV (1953), particularly pp. 138-140; I. Gruenwald, "Yannai and the Hekhalot Literature" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* XXXVI (1967), pp. 257 ff. G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 20-30 has investigated some qualities of the Merkavah hymns, yet the subject of the literary qualities of the *Hekhalot* literature still waits a scholarly discussion.

liturgy connected with the three forms of the *Qedushah* [13] were in fact more familiar with the mystical material which was alluded to in their composition than were those who participated in the daily service in the synagogues. And it will not be far from the truth if we assume, that those liturgical poets were responsible—sometimes even more than were the mystics themselves—for the spreading of the mystical Merkavah material. But it would be wrong to say that the common man was really aware of the mystical implications and connotations of the prayers he used to say.

Turning now to the *Hekhalot* writings themselves, it should again be observed that no voices of dissidence are heard in these writings, nor can it be said that they contain any explicit form of criticism towards non-mystical circles. Contrary to some of the writings of Jewish apocalyptic, the *Hekhalot* writings bear no sectarian trademarks. Furthermore, the *Hekhalot* writings do not indulge in apocalyptic visions of the imminent destruction of the world, nor do they display the apocalyptic belief according to which the messianic future is reserved to a small group of the elite. Although there are several instances in which the bliss of the world to come is promised to the *Hekhalot* mystics,[14] the general tone of their writings is not eschatological.

[13] See E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, New York, Schocken Books, 1970, pp. 282 ff.

[14] Thus, for instance, it is said of those who know the *Shi'ur Qomah* that future life is promised to them, "on condition that they study this *Mishnah* (= of the *Shi'ur Qomah*) everyday". See the text published in Musajoff, *Merkavah Shelemah*, 38b.

RE'UYOT YEḤEZKEL

Re'uyot Yeḥezkel, or the Visions of Ezekiel, is listed by Professor Scholem as the earliest Merkavah text we possess.[1] It is not a *Hekhalot* text in the strict sense of the term. In fact, the word *Hekhal* never occurs in the text. Instead, the work enumerates the various things which the prophet Ezekiel allegedly saw in his Merkavah vision. In fact, *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* is a mystical midrash on the first chapter of the Book of Ezekiel. The names of the rabbinical authorities quoted in the text may justify the conclusion that the text was probably composed in the fourth or the fifth century C.E. In addition, all the names of the rabbinical sages quoted belong to Eretz Yisrael and thus there is good reason to believe that the book was composed and edited there.

The mystical part of the book begins with the statement (p. 106) that "God opened to Ezekiel seven divisions of the lower world and as Ezekiel was looking at them, he saw everything that was in the heaven". The divisions mentioned here by their names are subterrestrial "earths", that is, layers of seven earths which correspond to the seven heavens.[2] In fact, *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* incorporates elements of cosmological speculations, the nature and significance of which are beyond the common mystical interest.[3] However, cosmological

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[1] A fragment of the text was first published by Marmorstein in: *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, VIII (1917-1918), pp. 367-378, from a Genizah fragment at the British Museum. Later on, J. Mann and Sh. A. Wertheimer published the whole text in two different editions. All these editions have been shown to be faulty, and the present writer has published a new critical edition and commentary in *Temirin* I (1972), pp. 101-139. The extent to which the previous editions were faulty can best be illustrated by the fact that the text became known as *Re'iyot* (!)*Yeḥezkel*, while the colophons of the manuscripts read *Re'uyot*. Although the term is rare, it can nontheless be explained as: Visions.—[Notice that line 14 in my edition has been misplaced by the printer to become, erroneously, line 10 on p. 104. It should be replaced as the last line of the text on p. 105!].

[2] The names of these divisions as they are given in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* are: *'Adamah*, *'Eretz*, *Ḥeled*, *Neshiyah*, *Dumah*, *She'ol*, *Tit Ha-Yaven*. In other rabbinical sources, different names are given. See my edition, pp. 107-108.

[3] There are several Jewish texts which deal with such cosmological speculations. Two of these are the *Beraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit* (ed. N. Sed, in *Revue des Études Juives* CXXIV (1965), pp. 23-123; with a French translation); and *Midrash Konen* in *Bet ha-Midrash II*, pp. 23 ff. As for the *Beraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit*, Sed used all the bad manuscripts which he could find. The pagination of these manuscripts

secrets are frequently referred to in the *Hekhalot* writings, though only with few specifications. Here, in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, the basic structure of the universe is referred to, though, as might be expected, only the celestial world receives extensive attention.

As a matter of mystical technique, Ezekiel is described as looking downward and seeing what is above: "Ezekiel was standing on the River Chebar looking down at the water and the seven heavens were opened to him and he saw the Glory of the Holy One". To illustrate this rather peculiar procedure the text brings the following comparison: "This matter is like the following story: A man entered a barber's shop, and he cut his hair. He gave him a mirror and he looked in it. As he was looking in it, the king passed by. He saw the king and his retinue by the doorway. The hairdresser said to him: 'Turn around and see the king'. He said to him: 'I have already looked in the mirror' ". From a technical point of view this passage is of great interest. It tells something unusual about the apocalyptic and mystical technique: The visionary is standing near a river or a sea and while looking at the water, he sees the reflection of heavenly visions. From Scripture and from apocalyptic literature we know of several instances in which the prophet or the apocalyptist described himself as standing near water or at the banks of a river.[4] The water thus served as a mirror of the things shown in heaven. This is reminiscent of the famous distinction drawn in rabbinical writings between the prophecy of Moses and that of the other prophets. It is said that all the prophets gazed upon nine mirrors while Moses gazed upon one only, or that Moses gazed upon a shining mirror while the other prophets gazed upon an opaque mirror.[5] Looking at the mirror-like surface of the water thus turns out to be—at least in some of the cases—an integral part of the prophetic and apocalyptic technique. This procedure could be a means of avoiding the immediate sight of the Godhead and the heavenly beings. In any event, if our interpretation is correct, the passage under discussion in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* sheds light on a most interesting detail in the visual experience of some prophets and apocalyptists.

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is confused, and Sed was unfortunately unaware of the existence of manuscripts which contain the correct pagination.

[4] *Daniel* vii,2-3; viii,2; x,4-5; *4 Ezra* ix (xi)-xi (xiii); *2 Baruch* xxi,1; *3 Baruch* ii,1. Compare also *1 Enoch* xiii,7. See also G. Scholem, "Tradition und Neuschöpfung im Ritus der Kabbalah", in: *Zur Kabbalah und ihrer Symbolik*, Zürich, Rhein-Verlag, 1960, pp. 182-183.

[5] *Wayyikra Rabbah*, ed. M. Margulies, i,14, p. 30-31; *Bavli Yevamot* 49b.

Looking at the waters of the River Chebar, Ezekiel is said to see the "Holiness" opening to him the seven heavens and thus giving him an opportunity of seeing the "*Gevurah*" (the Dynamis).[6] Furthermore, it is said that Ezekiel not only saw the Divine Glory [7] but also all the heavenly creatures as they were tied to the Merkavah. "They were passing in the heaven and Ezekiel was watching them (reflected) in the water". The names of the seven heavens are given: *Shamayim*, *Shemei Shamayim*, *Zevul*, *ʿArafel*, *Sheḥaqim*, *ʿAravot*, and *Kissé Kavod*. This is a rather peculiar list, which is nowhere repeated in the various lists of the names of the heavens either in rabbinical writings or in writings connected with the *Hekhalot* literature. The names of the first two heavens make it evident that the list is of Palestinian origin.[8] Interestingly, some of its idiosyncratic names also occur in the liturgical poetry of Yannai.[9] However, the list of the heavens as it is repeated later on in the text includes slight changes: *Raqiʿa*, *Shemei Ha-Shamayim*, *Zevul*, *ʿArafel*, *Sheḥaqin*, *Makhon*, *ʿAravot*, *Kissé Ha-Kavod*. In comparison to the first one, this list mentions *Raqiʿa* (instead of *Shamayim*) as the first heaven and it adds the name of another heaven, *Makhon*, thus bringing the total number of the heavens to eight. We shall later on, in our discussion of *Hekhalot Rabbati*, see that the *Hekhalot* mystics actually conceived of the existence of eight heavens. The eighth heaven is the place where God abides while he is not sitting on His throne in the seventh palace in the seventh heaven. But in the second list in *Reʾuyot Yeḥezkel*, the eighth heaven is called by the name of *Kissé Ha-Kavod*, which clearly indicates that the throne of God is placed here. Thus, if we harmonize *Reʾuyot Yeḥezkel* with *Hekhalot Rabbati*, it follows that

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[6] For a discussion of this sentence see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 68. To the references given there for parallel expressions to the phrase "God opened to him the seven heavens" one should add: *Tanḥuma* (ed. Buber), *Toledot*, paragraph 22; *ʾAgadat Shir Ha-Shirim* (ed. Schechter), p. 39 (line 1134); *The Acts of the Apostles* vii,55-56. See further H. Bietenhard, *Die Himmlische Welt*, pp. 7-8, n. 1, who observes that the plural *ouranoi* in *Acts* should not be interpreted as meaning that a plurality of heavens is maintained. See also L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, Rome, Biblical Institute Press, 1970, pp. 41-42, where the view is expressed that *Shmei Ha-Shamayim* is "an all-inclusive term to denote the space above the earth" (p. 42). Yet, at least in *Reʾuyot Yeḥezkel* the plurality of heavens is clearly said to derive from the plural form of the verb "the heavens were opened" in *Ezekiel* i,1.

[7] The terms *Gevurah* (= dynamis) and *Kavod* (= doxa) are interchangeably used in the text!

[8] See the discussion in my edition pp. 116 ff.

[9] See the present writer's article in *Tarbiẓ* XXXVI (1967), pp. 269-270.

when God leaves His throne, he ascends to the ninth heaven, or else that *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* does not conceive of the existence of a so-called super-celestial abode of God.[10]

What is also unique in the seven heavens doctrine as it is displayed in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* is the idea, which is quoted in the name of Rabbi Me'ir, to the effect that "God created seven heavens and there are seven chariots (*Merkavot*) in them". This statement, which apart from its clear reference to the existence of seven (!) heavens, is reminiscent also of the idea which we met in *Ascensio Isaiae* (above, Chapter Two), namely that a throne is placed in every heaven. But, in contradistinction to *Ascensio Isaiae*, in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* no one is seen as occupying the Merkavah in the first six heavens. In addition, each of the Merkavot in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* has a name, and, generally, these names are derived from biblical verses. Only the Merkavah in the heaven *Zevul* has a non-biblical name, Haluyah,[11] and, as we have already said,[12] the heaven *Makhon* has no Merkavah at all. In addition, the text states that "Thus did the Holiness, Blessed be He, say to Ezekiel: 'I am showing the Chariot to you on condition that you expound it to Israel... But you should convey them to the people only as much as the eye can see and the ear hear' ". As we shall see in our discussion of *Hekhalot Rabbati*, there are several utterances in the *Hekhalot* literature which make it clear that no special demand for secrecy was laid down these writings. As we notice here, Ezekiel is called upon to reveal to the People of Israel the content of his mystical vision of the Merkavah, though, of course, with a certain degree of reservation: only what the eye can see and the ear hear.[13] This is a statement which no apocalyptic writer could conceive of. The words addressed to Ezekiel by God are also important from another point of view. God says: "I am showing the Chariot to you...". "To see the Chariot" is used here in its plain sense and has no technical overtones.[14] In the other *Hekhalot* texts, the expression

[10] Interestingly, in contradistinction to the other heavens no Merkavah is mentioned in *Makhon*. This by itself could support the view that *Makhon* was a later addition introduced in order to harmonize between the list in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* and the lists found in other sources.

[11] This may well be a corrupt rendering of a name that can no more be identified.

[12] See above n. 10.

[13] A similar expression is found in *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael*, p. 235 in connection with the theophany on Mount Sinai. See also the notes in my edition, p. 121.

[14] Compare *Tosefta Megilah* iii,28 (ed. Lieberman, p. 361-362): "They said to him (= to Rabbi Yehudah): many discoursed in the Merkavah but had never

"to see the Chariot" has a technical sense, and stands for the mystical experience as a whole.[15]

When the text turns to the discussion of the seven heavens and what they contain, it does so by quoting an introductory remark in the name of Rabbi Yiẓḥaq: "From the earth to *Raqi'a* there is a distance of a five hundred years' walk". Curiously, the biblical verse quoted as supporting this measure is *Deuteronomy* xi,21: "That your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, in the [land which the Lord swore unto your fathers to give them, *as the days of the heaven upon the earth*]".[16] The cosmological measure given here in the name of Rabbi Yiẓḥaq is elsewhere[17] attributed to Rabbanan: "(The width of the firmament) is like the years of the lives of the Patriarchs. (As it is written:) 'as the days of the heaven upon the earth' ".[18] The sum total of the years of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob amounts to five hundred and two, and this is also the measure given for the distance between the earth and heaven in *Beraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit* (ed. Sed, p. 58).[19] The measure of five hundred years' walk is repeated in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* as the regular distance between each of the heavens. If we may learn anything from the description of the space between the first and the second heaven, then all the spaces between the heavens are filled with water. It is said: "And the water which is above *Raqi'a* is five hundred years' of walk", and there are good reasons to believe that the same could be said of the other "inter-celestial" spaces too.

It would deflect us from the main course if we were here to discuss all the details of the cosmological speculations of what all the seven heavens contain. In fact, the whole subject deserves a separate study in which justice will be done to the various elements involved. It should be remarked that in addition to a few items which repeat

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seen it before". See also G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish mysticism*, p. 358, n. 18.

[15] Instead of the present expression "to see the Chariot" we find in later *Hekhalot* writings the expression "to see the King in His beauty". See S. Leiter, "Worthiness, Acclamation, and Appointment: Some Rabbinic Terms", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*" XLI-XLII (1973-1974), pp. 143-145.

[16] The words in square-brackets are not quoted in the text. The underlined words are the most relevant ones to the saying of Rabbi Yiẓḥaq.

[17] In *Yerushalmi Berakhot* i,1 (2c).

[18] Compare also *Yerushalmi Berakhot* ix,1 (12a). There Rabbi Levi gives the distance of 500 years.

[19] In *Midrash Konen* (in: Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* II, p. 27) the number of the years of the Patriarchs is wrongly given as 500. In any event, 500 years is a round number and was probably preferred to 502 for the sake of convenience.

themselves in all the parallel sources there are many others that vary from source to source. Thus, we shall concentrate here only on those items that bear direct significance to our subject. To begin with, the angels who say the *Qedushah* are said to be in the second heaven. Generally, these angels are described as being in the fifth heaven,[20] and their existence here in the second heaven may reflect an ancient tradition according to which there were only two heavens.[21] Evidently, in this case of the existence of two heavens only, God was abiding in the second heaven and there one expected to find the ministering angels too. Curiously, however, where there were more than two heavens the angels who recite hymns to God were not always located in the same heaven as the one in which the throne of God was said to be located. Considering the seven-heavens system in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, it is noteworthy that the sanctifying angels are located in the second heaven, while the seventh heaven contains, in addition to the Merkavah, only the hooves of the Living Creatures and their wings.

It is also said of these sanctifying angels that their existence in the second heaven is not permanent. In fact, they are renewed everyday. This idea, which is also documented in midrashic literature,[22] might express the notion that apart from God,[23] nothing in the world, not even the angels, enjoys permanent existence. The substantial difference between the Creator and the things which He creates lies in the transiency of the things created. Whether the angels are destroyed because they do not recite their hymns properly,[24] or whether they undergo a process of self-annihilation,[25] they carry out only one message and then new ones are created in their place.[26] According

[20] Thus, for instance, in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b.

[21] That tradition is explicitly assumed by Rabbi Yehudah in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b. We also saw (in Chapter Two) that *1 Enoch* lxxi,5 ff. could also be interpreted as giving expression to the two-heavens doctrine. Indeed, the angels are described in *1 Enoch* lxxi as being in the second heaven.

[22] See my notes *ad locum* (p. 125). To the literature referred to there add E. E. Urbach, *The Sages*, pp. 181-182. However, Urbach does not discuss the theological implications of this idea.

[23] The Living Creatures, the *Ḥayyot*, and the archangels (Michael, Raphael etc.) also enjoy "immortality".

[24] *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxx (end); *3 Enoch* xl.

[25] *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14a: "Every day the Ministering Angels are created from the River of Fire ('*Nehar di-Nur*') and they utter a song and are annihilated!". In *Hekhalot Rabbati* viii,1-2, it is said that the angels can serve God only once, because their faces and their eyes are burned by the beauty of their King.

[26] We shall later on see that there were two distinct theories concerning the

to *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, the angels recite their hymns from sunrise till sunset, an idea that contradicts several midrashic sayings according to which the heavenly beings sing their songs only at night, while at daytime God listens to the prayers of His People.[27]

In the third heaven, *Zevul*, one finds the *Sar*, that is the Heavenly Prince. He is described as filling with his presence the whole of that heaven, and thousands upon thousands of angels are said to serve him. *Daniel* vii,9-10 is quoted as supporting the idea, and one might rightly ask whether the author of *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* did not think that the *'Atiq Yomin* described in the Book of Daniel was identical with the *Sar* of the Heaven *Zevul*. Admittedly, the identification is not explicitly made, but one may assume that it could have been implied when the relevant verses in *Daniel* were quoted in connection with the *Sar* of *Zevul*.[28] A number of names are suggested for this *Sar*, two of which are of particular interest for us.[29] The first of these is Komes,[30] that is a minister in the king's court, and the other is Metatron. Recently,[31] Professor S. Lieberman has suggested that

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creation of the angels. According to the one, the angels are created from the words which God utters; and according to the other, they are created from the river of fire. See further *3 Enoch* xl.

[27] See *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b; *'Avodah Zarah* 3b. On the other hand, *Bavli Ḥulin* 91b concurs with the idea found in the *Hekhalot* writings that the angels in fact sing also at daytime. They do so in correspondence with the prayers of the People of Israel. In the apocalyptic writings which refer to the song of the angels, no explicit restriction is maintained regarding the singing hours of the angels. However, in *1 Enoch* xxxix,13 we read: "And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not: they stand before Him and bless and say ...". Now, "those who sleep not" are in all likelihood those who say their hymns at night. But as has variously been recognized, "those who sleep not" are a class of angels invented by a mistranslation. *Daniel* iv mentions the Aramaic *'Ir* and the *'Irin* as a class of angels. If the word *'Ir* means "messenger", then the translation ἐγρήγορος, "wakeful", suggested in the LXX, is wrong. See, however, J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel* [ICC], Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1964, pp. 231-234. See further *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem), s.v. "Song, angelic".

[28] It should be noticed that the *Sar* is mentioned three times in Talmudic writings: *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b; *Menaḥot* 110a; *Zevaḥim* 62a. In all three cases it is the angel Michael who is called "the Great Prince" (*Ha-Sar Ha-Gadol*), and he is said to offer sacrifices on the heavenly altar. However, the *Sar* in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* does not offer sacrifices, and this probably because the heavenly Jerusalem is here described as being in another heaven. The term *Sar Ha-Gadol* derives from *Daniel* xii,1, and is there the appellation given to the Angel Michael.

[29] In any event, the greater number of the names are not clear to us: they seem to be "mystical" names.

[30] In the manuscript wrongly: Kimos.

[31] In a Study Conference devoted to the *Hekhalot* literature and held in the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem on June 13, 1976. Professor Lieberman publishes his remarks in an appendix to the present book.

Metatron reflects the older form of *synthronos*,[32] that is, the God enthroned alongside with a major deity. This idea of the *synthronos*, or as it was allegedly later on substituted by the *metathron(os)*, is also implied by the name Komes given here to the *Sar*. It should be noticed that the term *Metatron* is frequently qualified by such phrases as "whose name is like that of his master",[33] "whose name is like that of the Dynamis",[34] and even the "Small Yah".[35] All these qualifying phrases stress the close affinity between God and His *Sar*, an affinity that is adequately expressed in the names Komes and Metatron.

The next heaven, *'Arafel*, contains the "Canopy of the Law" and the Merkavah in which God descended on Mount Sinai.[36] The location of these two items in *'Arafel* is easily explained by *Exodus* xx,21 (MT!). The fifth heaven, *Sheḥaqim*, contains the heavenly Jerusalem and all the vessels of the Temple. *Makhon* is the name of the next heaven and it contains the treasuries of snow and hail, and the future rewards for the righteous and the wicked. *'Aravot* is the seventh heaven and it again contains both the treasuries of snow and the future rewards for the righteous and the wicked. This repetition is rather peculiar, and it may perhaps be explained by the fact, that the heaven *Makhon* was interpolated into the text of *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* by a writer who wanted to harmonize the lists of the heavens in *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* with those found in other Jewish sources.[37] In any event, apart from these things, *'Aravot* also contains the treasuries of the souls.[38] Finally, the highest heaven, *Kissé Ha-Kavod*, contains the hoofs of the *Ḥayyot* and the edges of their wings as well as the Big Merkavah in which God will descend in order to judge all the nations. The text ends with the remark that God is above the wings of the *Ḥayyot*.[39]

[32] See Liddell & Scott, p. 1717. The prefix "syn" was gradually superseded by the prefix "meta", which implied even a closer union than "syn". See Liddell & Scott, p. 1108.

[33] *Bavli Sanhedrin* 38b.

[34] *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, which may represent an older tradition than the one given in *Bavli Sanhedrin*. Another name, suggested by the theurgists (*Meshamshin Ba-Shum*) is: SLNS QS BS BS QBS "like the name of the Demiurgos (*Yozer Ha-'Olam*)".

[35] *3 Enoch* xii.

[36] For both details see my commentary *ad locum*, pp. 131-132.

[37] See my commentary, pp. 116-120. It should, however, be noticed that in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b, *Makhon* is said to contain the treasuries of snow and hail.

[38] In the list of heavens in *Bavli Ḥagigah*, the treasuries of the souls are likewise found in *'Aravot*.

[39] The fact that the wings of the *Ḥayyot* are mentioned twice in this heaven may be explained as indicating the two pairs of wings mentioned in *Ezekiel* i,6.

HEKHALOT ZUTRETI

Hekhalot Zutreti (or: *Zutrati*) is in all likelihood the oldest *Hekhalot* text proper that we possess. It is a collection of several short Merkavah-passages, some of which are in Aramaic. Professor Jonas Greenfield, who undertook a linguistic study of the Hebrew and Aramaic sections of the book, inclines to locate it in Eretz-Yisrael, most probably in the second or third century C.E. This conclusion concurs with that of Professor Gershom Scholem, who on the basis of an analysis of its contents regards the book as representing the Merkavah lore of the Tannaitic, possibly early Amoraic, period. The text in its entirety has never been published, though about three quarters of the text are printed in Musajoff's collection of Merkavah texts, *Merkavah Shelemah*.[1] However, our discussion here will be based on the texts contained mainly in MSS Oxford 1531 and Jewish Theological Seminary Mic. 8128.

The text begins with a short introduction: "If you want to be singled out in the world and that the secrets of the world and the mysteries of wisdom should be revealed to you, you have to study this Mishnah and be careful about it till the day of your death (?).[2] You should neither try to understand what is behind you, nor inquire into the sayings of your lips.[3] Just understand what is in your heart and keep quiet, so that you will be worthy of the Beauties of the Chariot.[4] You should be careful about the Glory of your Creator, and do not cause Him to descend.[5] And if you have caused Him to

[1] See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 6 and 76 ff.

[2] The term used here *Yom Perishah* could also be taken to mean: as long as you are engaged in the ascetic practices connected with the Merkavah experience.

[3] This is a mystical paraphrase of *Ben Sira* iii, 19-21. The phrase "Do not investigate the words of your lips" can be interpreted as meaning that one should not venture explaining words uttered as *glossolalia*. However, the more simple meaning, namely, that there are matters relating to the secret lore which should not be discussed in public, cannot be ruled out. See further S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah to Ḥagigah*, p. 1295.

[4] For the expression "the beauties of the Chariot" (*Yofiyot Ha-Merkavah*) see, S. Leiter, "Worthiness, Acclamation and Appointment: Some Rabbinic Terms", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XLI-XLII (1973), p. 144.

[5] Professor S. Lieberman suggested to me to see in the Hebrew words *We'al tered lo* (= "and do not make him descend"?) a reference to the saying in *'Avot de-Rabbi Natan* Version B, xxxiii (ed. Schechter, p. 72): "He (= Ben Zoma) used to say: Do not peep into a man's vineyard; and if you peeped into it do not

descend, do not enjoy anything of Him; and if you have enjoyed anything of Him you are likely to be turned out of this world. 'It is the Glory of God to keep (His) word secret',[6] so that you will not be turned out of this world". This passage includes one of the rare occasions in which a claim for secrecy is uttered in the *Hekhalot* literature.

After this introduction, there comes in MS Oxford a short paragraph which is connected with the *Sar-Torah* speculations.[7] It says: "When Moses ascended on high to God, God taught him: Everybody whose heart is going astray,[8] should call the following names...:[9] 'that I may keep in my mind everything that I hear and study... and I shall never forget it, neither in this world nor in the one to come' ". As we shall see later on, the *Sar-Torah* sections incorporated in the *Hekhalot* literature in all likelihood belong to a period when real mystical experiences were no longer practised. If this is true, then the *Sar-Torah* passage in *Hekhalot Zutreti* was introduced into the text at a rather late stage, probably in the sixth century C.E.[10] If not, then this very section was the model for the later *Hekhalot* texts, most of which contain material related to *Sar-Torah*. The gist

enter (lit. descend into) it; and if you entered do not look; and if you looked do not touch; and if you touched do not eat. For if a man eats he loses his soul's share both in this world and in that to come". In *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah* to *Hagigah*, p. 1291, Lieberman suggests to see in Ben Zoma's words an old parable used by him for mystical purposes. See further *Sifre* to *Numbers* (ed. Horowitz), p. 191, l. 15.

[6] *Proverbs* xxv,2.

[7] See our discussion of *Hekhalot Rabbati* (end).

[8] The Hebrew here reads: *Shogeh*; however, one of the variant readings here has *Shoneh*, that is, studies.

[9] Among the magical names listed here one finds SMOSLM and MARMARAOT. Both names are known from the syncretistic magical papyri and their exact meaning is still under dispute among scholars. See Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 76 and 134. On page 76 Scholem explains the first name as being "perhaps a corruption of the Hebrew *Shemesh ʿOlam* (= Sun of the World)", while on p. 134 (in the Second Edition of the book) he writes: "... the magical name *Semiselam* so frequently used in the magical papyri, seems to come from the Aramaic. The word does not represent the Hebrew *Shemesh ʿOlam*, but rather the Aramaic phrase *Shemi Shelam* which literally means: 'my name is peace' ". In the unpublished *Registers* to K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, p. 230, Preisendanz explains the word as implying "Ewige Sonne" (= Eternal Sun).—I am indebted to Professor Morton Smith for preparing for me a xerox copy of the *Registers*.

[10] Professor Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 77 likewise assumes that the opening passages of *Hekhalot Zutreti* "may not constitute an original part of the *Urform* of the book." However, since the whole text is rather fragmentary it is quite difficult to decide what really belongs to its original layer of composition.

of the *Sar-Torah* speculations is the secret theurgical method of studying the Law and of its memorization. MS. New York (The Jewish Theological Seminary) later on quotes a longer *Sar-Torah* section, which lists several magical names,[11] and in addition mentions the special qualities of *Hekhalot Zutreti*: "This book is (a book of) wisdom, sagacity and knowledge, and inquiries about the things above and the things below, the hidden things of the Torah and of heaven and of earth, and the mysteries which (God) gave to Moses, the son of 'Amram,... and revealed it to him on Mount Ḥoreb, and by the means of which the world is sustained. In addition, by the means of (this book) Moses performed all the wonders and the miracles in Egypt, and with its help he beat the Egyptians. It is the fire of the burning-bush. And Metatron revealed himself to Moses...". This passage is interesting for a number of reasons. Briefly, it maintains a secret revelation of a certain mystical or magical book to Moses on Mount Sinai. In this respect, we may go back to the Book of Jubilees which also claims to have been revealed by the angels to Moses on Mount Sinai. In fact, the revelation of a secret lore to Moses in addition to the exoteric Law constituted an important branch in ancient Jewish esotericism.[12] We find it also repeated in other Merkavah texts,[13] and in magical texts.[14] In our case, however,

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[11] One of which is YHOEL.

[12] See B. Z. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College, 1974, pp. 71 ff.: Chapter Three: "The Hellenized Moses—Jewish and Pagan".

[13] See the beginning of the text *Ma'aseh Merkavah* (in Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 103, paragraph 1): "Since you have revealed to Moses the secrets and the secrets of the secrets, the mysteries and the mysteries of the mysteries, and Moses [taught] them to (the People of) Israel, so that they can learn with them the Torah and multiply with their help the study of the Torah". See also *3 Enoch* (*Sefer Hekhalot*), xv(b) and xlviii(d).

[14] The famous magical text called "The Sword of Moses" and first published by M. Gaster (London: 1896) begins in MS. Oxford 1531 fol. 35a, with the following statement: "This is the Sword of Moses which was delivered to him in the burning bush, and was (henceforth), revealed to Rabbi Yishma'el ben Elish'a in the Ma'aseh Merkavah!". The "Sword of Moses" is a technical expression for magical practices connected in some way with the staff of Moses, regarding which, we know, several magical and supernatural traditions circulated in midrashic writings. See mainly *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to *Exodus* ii,21 and *Pirkei de-Rabbi 'Elie'zer*, xl. Both texts reflect a rather late stage in the transmission of a tradition that has its origins in tannaitic times. See *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* (ed. Mandelbaum), p. 308. As for the term "The Sword of Moses" see M. Magalioth, *Sefer Ha-Razim*, pp. 29-31, who rightly refers to the Greek term ξίφος (= sword) as implying also a magical formula. To the secret magical books attributed to Moses which Magalioth lists (p. 30, n. 8) one can add the ἀρχαγγελικὴ βίβλος attributed in one of the Paris amulets to Moses. See R. Reitzen-

we may assume that the book which is meant is none but *Hekhalot Zutreti* itself. The book was believed to contain all the important secrets of the world and of the Torah; at least it was considered to be a magical key to their revelation.

The third paragraph of *Hekhalot Zutreti* introduces the Name which "was revealed to Rabbi ʿAkiva when he contemplated the Maʿaseh Merkavah; and he descended [15] and taught it to his students. He said to them: 'My sons, be careful about the Name; it is a great name,[16] a holy name and a pure name.[17] For whoever uses it in terror, in fright, in purity, in holiness and in meekness—his seed will multiply, and he will be successful [18] in all his ways and his days will be long' ". In fact, a great part of *Hekhalot Zutreti* deals with magical and theurgical names, so that the kind of warning attributed here to Rabbi ʿAkiva is quite in place. It is interesting to notice that in *Hekhalot Rabbati* iv,3 we read that Rabbi Yishmael said: "All these incantations Rabbi ʿAkiva heard when he descended unto the Merkavah: he caught them and taught them from before of His Throne of Glory, when His ministers were singing them to Him". The purpose of such utterances is to show that the theurgical practices of the *Maʿaseh Merkavah* are no human invention but of heavenly origin. Consequently, one has to be particularly careful in their application. The

stein, *Poimandres*, Reprint: Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966, p. 292 f. See further in *Tarbiẓ* XXXVIII (1969), p. 355. See also A. Böhlig and P. Labib (eds.), *Die Koptisch-gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag Hammadi*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1962, p. 47. In one of the Aramaic magical bowls published by C. H. Gordon in *Archiv Orientalni* IX (1937), p. 87 we read: "By the Lord and the great throne belonging to the Master and YHWH, the Ineffable Name that was revealed to Moses in the bush" (English translation on p. 88). These are almost the very opening words of the second paragraph of *Hekhalot Zutreti*. See further, G. Scholem, "Der Name Gottes und die Sprachtheorie der kabbala", in: *Judaica III*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1973, pp. 7 ff.

[15] Contrary to the more current usage of the verb "to descend" (= to enter into the trance of the Merkavah experience), the verb here implies what was in other texts, designated by "to ascend".

[16] The term "Great Name" is a frequent one in Greek, Aramaic and Hebrew magical texts. It is to be understood in the sense of "a most powerful Name".

[17] "Purity" (*Toborah*) in connection with magical names implies the fact that this is the real name, in contrast to its corresponding *nomen barabarum*. See further G. Scholem, "Über eine Formel in den koptisch-gnostischen Schriften und ihren jüdischen Ursprung", *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* XXX (1931), pp. 170 ff. See also below n. 19.

[18] The Hebrew verb *ZLḤ* has a special meaning in a magical context. It implies that one's magical charm was efficacious. See further H. Tawil in *Journal of Biblical Literature* xcv (1976), pp. 405-413.

same idea is also implied at the end of our paragraph in *Hekhalot Zutreti* where a blessing is quoted for the purpose "of the sanctification of the Name".[19]

A central place in *Hekhalot Zutreti* is occupied by the story of the four who entered the *Pardes*. Since *Hekhalot Zutreti*, like *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, does not mention the seven palaces, it is of particular interest to notice that in the version of this story as it is told in *Hekhalot Zutreti* the sixth palace is mentioned. This can only be explained by the fact, that *Hekhalot Zutreti* is a compilation of mystical passages which represent different layers in the history of the *Hekhalot* literature. It has already been pointed out above in Chapter Three that the version, or, rather, the versions, of the story of the four who entered the *Pardes* as told in *Hekhalot Zutreti* represent the true meaning and possibly also the original setting of Rabbi 'Akiva's saying in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b, to wit: "When you reach the pure marble stones, do not say: 'Water! Water!' ". It would be superfluous to repeat here a full-scale discussion of the relation between the saying in *Ḥagigah* and the story in *Hekhalot Zutreti*. However, what requires additional comment here is the fact that the so-called water-episode is repeated in the manuscripts in three different versions:

(a) Ben 'Azai cast a glance into the sixth palace and saw the brilliance of the air of the marble stones that were decorating the palace. His body could not endure (i.e., the magnificence of the vision) and he opened his mouth and asked them:[20] "These waters, what are they?" And he died.[21]

(b) Ben Zoma cast a glance at the marble stones and thought that they were (made of) water. His body could endure not to ask them, nevertheless his mind could not. And he went out of his mind.[22]

(c) Rabbi 'Akiva said: Ben 'Azai was found worthy and stood at the gate of the sixth *Hekhal*. And he saw the brilliance of the

[19] In this respect *Hekhalot Zutreti* constitutes a mystical elaboration on the rulings regarding the transmission and study of the Ineffable Name in priestly circles in the days of the Second Temple. See *Bavli Kidushin* 71a. See also the Responsum in *Otzar Ha-Geonim* to *Ḥagigah*, pp. 22-23. See further E. E. Urbach, *The Sages*, pp. 124 ff.

[20] Probably, the alleged accompanying angels.

[21] MS. New York, 16b.

[22] *Ibid.*

> pure marble stones. He opened his mouth twice and said: 'Water, Water'. Immediately they cut his head off and threw upon him eleven thousand iron bars. This should become a lesson for future generations, that a man should not commit the (same) mistake at the gate of the sixth palace.[23]

As we shall see in our discussion of *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxv, the gate of the sixth palace was the place where the last tests were put before the ascending mystic. The worthiness of the mystics was, in fact, tested at every gate, but the sixth gate entailed some crucial tests and temptations, most of which may be called water-tests. The visionary saw marble stones, and the manner in which he reacted to the vision was taken to be proof of his worthiness to proceed.

After the tale of the four who entered the *Pardes*, Rabbi ʿAkiva is quoted as saying: "At that hour, when I ascended on high, I put a sign at the vestibules of the firmament. There are more of them (in heaven) than in my house, and when I approached the *Pargod*, angels of destruction came out to beat me. But God told them: leave that sage alone, since he is worthy of gazing at my glory". Once again this sentence comes close to something that is said in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 15b (bottom): "The ministering angels even wanted to kill Rabbi ʿAkiva, but God told them: leave that sage alone, since he is worthy of using [24] my glory". Both passages underline in their own particular way the extraordinary qualities of Rabbi ʿAkiva which make him the model Merkavah mystic. In contrast to the apocalyptic writers who selected their fictitious heroes from the gallery of biblical heroes, preferably from antedeluvian times, the Merkavah mystics were more selective in their choice and affiliated themselves to the two great heads of halakhic schools in the Tannaitic period. The purpose of this was, among other things, to find authorization for mystical activities in quarters that had a decisive say in halakhic Judaism. This is not to say that the historical founders of rabbinic Judaism were enstranged to the *res mysticae*. On the contrary, we find that from the days of Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai onwards the leaders of halakhic Judaism were involved in mystical speculations.[25] It is, however, remarkable that from Rabbi ʿAkiva onwards we lose the chain of

[23] MS. New York, 23a.

[24] A common variant reading here is (as in *Hekhalot Zutreti*): "gazing". For a discussion of the terms and their meaning see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 54.

[25] See *Bavli Hagigah* 14b.

the mystical tradition. But we may well assume that it was continued, in spite of the fact that the links of that tradition seem to us today to be discontinued.

This account of the *Pardes*-story brings to an end the Hebrew section of *Hekhalot Zutreti*. What follows is, first, a list of subjects that are assumingly revealed to the Merkavah mystic.[26] The list contains items relating both to cosmology and to theosophy. In fact, it again becomes clear that in the *Hekhalot* literature the two subjects are closely interrelated, and that he who is worthy of the secrets of the Merkavah is also worthy of the secrets of the cosmos. It should be noticed that these revelations are said to come to the mystic in the course of a heavenly ascent: "Before God made heaven and earth, He had established a vestibule [27] to heaven, to go in and to go out". Through this vestibule the mystic ascends to receive his secrets. But all ascensions reach their climax with the mystical vision of the Deity.

The text continues with a comparatively long discussion of the question how it is possible to have a physical vision of God when it is explicitly said that no man can see God and remain alive. Rabbi ʿAkiva is quoted as settling the issue by saying: "It is as if He resembles us; but He is greater than everything else, and that is His glory which is hidden from us. And Moses says to those and to those: 'Do not reflect upon your own words, since He, blessed be He, is in His place' ". The reference here obviously is to *Ezekiel* iii,12, which in Midrashic literature is interpreted as indicating the fact that God's real place of dwelling is completely unknown.[28]

A central place among the things which are revealed to the mystic is occupied by the appearance of the Holy Creatures. The text calculates how many faces and wings the Creatures have, and what they do with their wings. Then the text describes all that is to be seen between the Creatures and the Throne of Glory. The text ends with a rather long discussion of various magical names, in which the Greek

[26] See Scholem, *op. cit.*, p. 78, and our discussion above in Chapter One. See further in *Israel Oriental Studies* III (1973), pp. 70 ff.

[27] See Scholem, *ibid.*, n. 9, to which one may add *Bavli Bava Batra* 74a where it is told in the name of Rava bar bar Ḥanah that a certain Yishmaelite merchant showed him where heaven and earth met together. At that place they also saw the window of heaven (Aramaic: *khwata de-reqiʿa*). In *Shemot Rabbā* xlii,4 it is said that God opened to Moses a small window (*Pishpash*) under the Throne of Glory so that he could escape from the wrath of the angels of destruction.

[28] See, for instance, *Bavli Hagigah* 13b.

elements play a prominent role. This last part of the text is of a highly technical nature, and can hardly be summarized. However, it is of great importance for a comparative study of magic and theurgy, and it may prove to be one of the earliest texts of its kind in that literature.

HEKHALOT RABBATI

This is the major *Hekhalot* tractate we possess. It is preserved in a comparatively great number of manuscripts,[1] and there are a number of printed editions of the text.[2] The main body of the text consists of twenty-six chapters, while the last four, or sometimes five, chapters which are appended to them belong to the *Sar-Torah* speculation, that is to the secret technique of the study of the Law and its memorization.[3]

The text begins with the question: "What are the incantations which should be recited by him who wants to behold the vision of the Merkavah, to descend safely and to ascend safely".[4] This opening

[1] The two best manuscripts are: Vatican 228 and Budapest/Kaufmann 238. Other manuscripts are: Oxford, Neubauer 1531 (printed in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* III, though in a rather negligent manner: both the man who copied the manuscript for Jellinek and, probably, the printer introduced misreadings and misprints); New York: Jewish Theological Seminary 8128 (this manuscript and the one previously mentioned seem to derive from the circles of the old Ḥasidim in Germany); Firenze Laurentiana 44.13; MS. Jerusalem 4 (Scholem, *Codices Codicum Cabbalisticorum Hebraicorum*, Jerusalem, 1930, p. 22; this is the manuscript which Sh. A. Wertheimer printed in his *Batei Midrashot*, I, p. 67 ff. See next note); Munich 22 & 40. There are also some manuscripts which contain parts of the texts. Several Genizah fragments were preserved too.

[2] The best known texts are those printed by A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* III, pp. 83-108; V, pp. 167-169; and by Sh. A. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot* (see previous note). The text printed by Wertheimer has a different chapter division than all other texts known to us, and from xxxii,4-xl,5 it contains an apocalypse which uses old material re-written in circles connected with Sabbatai Zevi. A less known publication of *Hekhalot Rabbati* is the one incorporated in the collection of short writings by Isaiah Lev, *Sod ʿEẓ Ha-Daʿat* (= "The Secret of the Tree of Knowledge"), edited by S. Musa[joff], Jerusalem, 1891 (it too contains the text printed by Wertheimer). In spite of its obvious defects, Wertheimer's edition is so far the best available: it contains selective *variae lectiones* and also a commentary.

[3] Other texts which deal with the technique of the *Sar Torah* are: several sections in the text called *Maʿaseh Merkavah* (published by G. Scholem in: *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 103-117), and parts of the *Merkavah Rabba* (published by Sh. Musajoff in: *Merkavah Shelemah*, fol. 1a-6a). As we saw, *Hekhalot Zutreti* too contained *Sar-Torah* material, and, as we shall see, *Sefer Hekhalot* (*3 Enoch*) too contains *Sar Torah* material.

[4] The English translation is generally made from MS. Vatican 228; however, MS. Budapest/Kaufmann 238 has constantly been consulted. In fact, any future critical edition of the text will have to be based on these two manuscripts. The chapter division in them is the same one as in the text published by Jellinek, though there are slight differences in the numbering of the sections.

question is noteworthy for a number of reasons. First, it stresses the technical aspects of what follows. Indeed, *Hekhalot Rabbati* as also the other *Hekhalot* writings, are cast as mystical manuals, describing at some length what should be done in order to achieve the desired experience and how to overcome the perils that stand in the mystic's way. In this respect the *Hekhalot* writings are not mere descriptions of mystical experiences, but mystical guides to experiences the nature of which is described so-to-speak *en passant*. Second, the opening question makes it clear that mystical incantations occupy a central part in achieving the desired experiences. Third, in iv,3 it is claimed that those incantations were learnt by a mystic ("Rabbi 'Akiva") during a heavenly ascent.

The opening question is repeated in ii,3 where the incantations are introduced. From i,1(b) to ii,3 the text lists the special accomplishments which are attributed to the Merkavah mystics. The mystics are believed to have all kinds of supernatural knowledge and powers, which are supposed to gain them special social status. The mystic is, for instance, able to identify all kinds of criminals and transgressors of religious law. In addition, his social position is strengthened through his ability to know what will happen to people in the future. Last but not least, supernatural protection against his enemies is offered the Merkavah mystic. All this sounds rather peculiar. If this is no mere propaganda for recruiting novices, it may be argued that this section of the book belongs to a stage, or place, where no real mystical experiences were in the reach of those who believed themselves worthy of having them. Otherwise, it is quite difficult to understand why the mystics had to praise themselves for having all kinds of quasi-magical proficiencies instead of being content with the inner satisfaction which the mystical experience obviously brings.[5] In fact, the opening sections of *Hekhalot Rabbati* may be interpreted as reflecting a stage in which mysticism declined into mere wonder-making. If anything certain can be said regarding the process of editing the texts of the *Hekhalot* literature, one may say that these opening sections are an editorial addition.

As already said, the introductory question is repeated in ii,3: "What is the utterance of the incantations which a man recites when he descends into the Merkavah?" The song which is henceforth

[5] Similar supernatural qualities are attributed to the initiates at the beginning of *Sefer Ha-Razim* and *Sefer Ha-Malbush*, both stemming from circles which claimed to be in possession of magical powers.

quoted maintains, as we have already observed, that the mystic actually recites the same songs of praise that are sung by the angelic beings to Him who sits on the divine throne. It is stated that "All these hymns Rabbi 'Aqiva heard when he descended unto the Merkavah. He absorbed them and learnt them as he was standing in front of the divine throne. (They were the very hymns) which His servants were singing to Him". What originally were the hymns of the angels have become theurgical incantations which help the mystic to achieve his goal.[6] The idea of the mystics sharing the song of the angels comes close to the idea expressed by the Qumran sectarians that the special merit of the believers was to enjoy partnership with the angels.[7] But what the *Hekhalot* mystic actually maintains is that he can use the angelological hymns for his own theurgic purposes. G. Scholem has rightly referred to these incantations as "numinous hymns"'[8] and J. Maier has pointed out some of their poetical characteristics.[9] On the whole, however, the literary qualities of the *Hekhalot* hymns still require systematic study. Such a study will discuss the *Hekhalot* hymns also in the light of the doxologies found in apocalyptic literature, including the Book of Revelation, and in comparison to later developments of Jewish liturgical poetry—some of which was influenced by the *Hekhalot* hymnology.

Chapter iii begins with a short dialogue between God, who is here called Zohariel (= God of the Shining Light), and the mystic as to why the mystic is so terrified. The mystic answers that he is called before God for six hours every day, and that the angels drag him

[6] See A. Altman, in *Melilah* II (1946), pp. 1 ff. Altman, in fact, draws on the conclusions reached by G. Scholem in his analysis of the *Hekhalot* literature in general and of *Hekhalot Rabbati* in particular. See *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, pp. 40 ff. See also M. Smith, "Observations on Hekhalot Rabbati", *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. A. Altman, Cambridge, Mass., H.U.P., 1963, pp. 142-160. Smith's observations are most valuable to the study of the text, though the present description and analysis of the text differs in a variety of points from that of Morton Smith. See further A. Goldberg, "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Quellen und den Redaktionellen Einheiten der Grossen Hekhalot", *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge*, Heft 1 (1973), pp. 1-49, which suffers at times from mistranslations.

[7] See, for instance, 1 QS XI,8; 1 QSb IV,26. M. Weinfeld has recently published a comparative study (in Hebrew) in which the idea of the liturgical partnership between men and angels is traced back to ancient Near Eastern, mainly Sumerian, sources. See *Beth Mikra*, 1974, pp. 136 ff.

[8] *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 21.

[9] See J. Maier, "Serienbildung und 'Numinoser' Eindruckseffelet in den poetischen Stücken der Hekhalot Literatur", *Semitics* III (1973), pp. 36-66.

on his knees till he reaches the divine throne.[10] When the mystic learns that what the angels do is authorized by their King, he proceeds to describe the magnificence of the divine throne. The throne is described as hovering ever since the creation of the world. The Living Creatures are carrying it, but even they do not place their feet on the ground of the firmament.[11] Then follows a most interesting account of the throne which, so-to-speak, bows down before God, asking Him to be seated on it. The description is extremely interesting, though scholars have unfortunately failed to note its importance. What the throne is here described as doing and saying implies that God is not always present on His throne in the divine palace. When God is absent from the seventh *Hekhal*, where he usually receives the prayers of His People and the songs of His angelic servants and where He is given to mystical contemplation, He, so the text of *Hekhalot Rabbati* evidently assumes, resides in the eighth heaven which is above the heads of the Living Creatures.[12] The seventh *Hekhal* is thus taken to be the official, so-to-say public, court of God. He attends there, as we are going to see, two or three times a day, corresponding to the hours of prayer of the People of Israel. The rest of the time, we must assume, He spends in the eighth heaven. Thus, even the *Hekhalot* literature actually supposes a certain degree of divine transcendence.

The text in *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii which describes God's descent to the seventh *Hekhal* says:

> Wonderful loftiness, strange power,
> Loftiness of grandeur, power of majesty
> that the Angel of the Countenance of God behaves thus thrice daily in the heavenly court before Your Throne of Glory, when He comes and

[10] The text here reports of "a thousand times they drag me on my knees till I reach Your Throne of Glory". The *Hekhalot* text published by the present writer in *Tarbiz* XXXVIII (1969), p. 359, says of Ben Zoma that he was dragged "a hundred times on the first *Hekhal*, ... two hundred times on the second *Hekhal*, four hundred times on the third *Hekhal*, eight hundred times on the fourth *Hekhal*, one thousand and six hundred on the fifth *Hekhal*, three thousand and two hundred on the sixth *Hekhal*, and six thousand and four hundred on the seventh *hekhal*". The sum total here is: 12700. The text there adds: "However, one does not suffer even one scratch!".

[11] Compare *Pirkei de-Rabbi ʾEliezʿer* iv: "... and His throne is exalted and suspended above in the air ...".

[12] This is a clear allusion to *Ezekiel* i,22-23. See also my article, "Jewish Sources for the Gnostic Texts from Nag Hammadi?", in the *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress for Jewish Studies*, 1977, pp. 45-56.

> arrives on the heavens above the heads of the *Cherubim*, above the heads of the *Ofanim* and above the heads of the heavenly Creatures.[13]
>
> And the *Cherubim*, *Ofanim* and the heavenly Creatures, bound, stand beneath the Throne of the Glory. And when they see Him coming on the firmament which is above the heads of the *Cherubim*, the *Ofanim* and the Holy Creatures, they retreat and are frightened and fall back in swoon.[14]

Needless to say, this description is unique in the way in which it conceives of the manner in which God enters and departs from His abode in the eighth heaven. When God appears on His throne in the seventh palace, He is clad in His divine garment (*Ḥaluq*).[15]

Let us return for a moment to the description of God's descent to the seventh *Hekhal* in the seventh heaven. As is explicitly stated in *Hekhalot Rabbati* ix, God's descents to His throne correspond to the times of the three daily prayers of the People of Israel. The idea that there is a liturgical and ritual connection between the saying of the *Qedushah* by the People of Israel and the *Sanctus* recited by the angels is a common one in Jewish and Christian sources.[16] What is new here in *Hekhalot Rabbati* is the concept that prayers said even by those who are not consciously practising mystics do in fact have mystical consequences. This adds a novel dimension to prayer, and it was the privilege of the Merkavah mystics to reveal that new aspect of prayer. The mystical aspects of prayer were considerably developed through the Middle Ages, both in Judaism[17] and in Christianity,[18] but attention has not yet been given to this particular significance which the daily prayers have: they are, in fact, taken to be invocations to God to descend to His throne in the seventh *Hekhal*.

To complement this idea of prayer as it is conceived of in *Hekhalot Rabbati*, we must refer to xi,3-4 where God is described as addressing, twice daily, words of blessing to those officiating before Him. In the blessing said in the morning, God asks the angels to be silent so as

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[13] Originally there was no real difference between the Cherubim and the Living Creatures (*Ḥayyot*). Both terms were synonymously used in the visions in *Ezekiel* i and x.

[14] The English translation here follows the draft-translation of *Hekhalot Rabbati* prepared for me by Mr. Yehoshuʿa Schwartz of Jerusalem.

[15] For a detailed discussion of the theme of the *Ḥaluq* see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 58 ff.

[16] See above, Introduction to Part Two, n. 11.

[17] See I. Tishbi, *The Wisdom of the Zohar* (in Hebrew), vol. II, Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1961, pp. 247-306.

[18] See F. Heiler, *Prayer*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. 172-202.

to enable Him to listen to the prayers of His People. However, nothing is said about the contents of the blessing said by God at the time of the *Minḥah*-prayer. On the whole, mystical ideas of prayer occupy in *Hekhalot Rabbati* a much more prominent place than has hitherto been noticed. A significant proportion of the description found in the book is in one way or another connected with the appearance of God on His throne. And as we have seen, God descends to the throne from his abode in the eighth heaven at the daily prayer-times of the People of Israel. If this idea is carried to its logical conclusion, it appears that a mystical descent to the Merkavah was carried out only during these official hours of prayer. Indeed, there are several instances in the *Hekhalot* writings that make it relatively clear that the mystical prayers, or invocations, were introduced into or appended to the daily prayers. Furthermore, the various descriptions in *Hekhalot Rabbati* as to how the throne is prepared for that descent (chapters x and xi) are substantially connected with the prayer-times of the People of Israel. Chapter x contains a mystical hymn to encourage the Holy Creatures to perform their heavenly duties, while chapter xi describes what the Prince of the Countenance does when he prepares the throne for God. In addition, chapter xi contains a request of the mystic to the Holy Creatures to carry the throne willingly. In xi,4, the ecstatic ritual dance of the angels before the throne of God is described,[19] while in chapter xii, the office of the angels is extended to include the power to intercede on behalf of the People of Israel.[20] Thus perfect correspondence is achieved between the terrestrial—assumingly even non-mystical—human prayer and the angelic liturgical performance. Consequently, the ideas of the angelological liturgy known from the published and yet unpublished texts from Qumran [21] seem to have undergone a substantial mystical transformation.

We deliberately refrain from referring to the angelological liturgy from Qumran, and, for that matter, to the corresponding angelological material in apocalyptic literature, in full mystical terms. On the one hand, although the Qumranites appear to have possessed clear notions about a certain liturgical correspondence between the "orders of

[19] See also viii,3 which could be interpreted to imply that God's throne itself is revolving.

[20] Later on, in medieval Jewish mysticism, this motive of the intercession of the angels on behalf of the People of Israel became a central issue in the concept of prayer.

[21] See our discussion in Chapter Two, Section B.

men" and the "orders of angels",[22] the texts we have do not prove that they had special mystical practices which enabled them to experience these heavenly scenes. On the other hand, the richness of the style and the vividness of the description may give the impression that, after all, lying behind the text, were real visionary experiences of the sort known from some apocalyptic writings. Compared to the parallel experiences in the *Hekhalot* literature, the relevant experiences found in apocalyptic literature are, so-to-speak, proto-mysticism, that is they contain all the necessary elements which could easily turn into mysticism. But we must remember that it was not the ultimate goal of the apocalyptists to experience the Deity. Some of them experienced heavenly ascensions in the course of which they also had a vision of the Deity. Thus, in contrast to the *Hekhalot* mystics who ascended in order to attain a vision of the Beauties of the Merkavah, the apocalyptists were translated to heaven in order to have first hand contact with the secrets of the world. These secrets generally entailed information about the cosmological order of the world and the historical process that leads from creation to redemption. When a vision of the Deity occurred, this only added a mystical ingredient but did not turn the whole of the apocalyptic experience into mysticism.

Another substantial difference between Merkavah mysticism and apocalyptic comes to the fore in *Hekhalot Rabbati* ix. Here, in relation to the mystical ideas expressed in connection with prayer, God is quoted as asking the mystics, the so-called *Yordei Merkavah*,[23] to "tell my sons what I am doing during the morning and afternoon prayers [24]... teach them and tell them... and testify unto them what you saw me doing to the countenance of the face of Jacob, your patriarch, which is engraven on my throne". Here the mystics are explicitly asked to tell and to reveal to the general public ("to my sons") this element of their vision. This, of course, is not in line with

[22] The terms *Seder ʾAnashim* and *Seder Malʾakhim* occur in fragments connected with the angelological liturgy.

[23] In spite of the many attempts to explain the term, it has not yet been satisfactorily explained. See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, p. 20, n. 1. See also Ph. Bloch, "Die *Yordei Merkavah*, die Mystiker der Gaonzeit, und ihr Einfluss auf die Liturgie", *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* XXXVII (1893), pp. 22 ff.

[24] Some manuscripts here add the word for the evening prayer too: *ʿAravit*. Yet, this addition, also found in some of the quotations of this passage in Halakhic sources discussing the *Qedushah* said in the daily service, seems to be out of place, since the evening prayer never contained the recital of the *Qedushah*.

the idea of secrecy as maintained in apocalyptic, and it speaks for the non-esoteric quality of the rest of the *Hekhalot* literature. This non-esoteric quality of the *Hekhalot* literature is further stressed in x,3, where it is emphatically stated: "May the decree of heaven be upon you, descenders unto the Merkavah, if you do not tell and say what you have heard; and if you do not tell what you have seen upon the countenance of grandeur, might, wonder and glory". And again in xvi,3 and 5, God is described as waiting for the mystics to descend unto the Merkavah so as to be able to "see and tell to the seed of Abraham, His beloved". Of course, one may argue that the ones to whom the mystics have to report their experiences are none other than the members of the mystical group.[25] But, one should notice that the *Hekhalot* writings almost never require secrecy. In addition, no esoteric layers of Scripture are revealed in them. As we have already seen, the dangers described in the *Hekhalot* tractates could prevent unworthy people from undergoing experiences which they could neither physically nor emotionally endure. But no straightforward requirement of secrecy is expressed in them, and, as we just saw, the mystics are told not to keep for themselves the contents of their revelation.

Before we go on with our discussion of *Hekhalot Rabbati*, a word is due regarding the ten-martyrs-apocalypse incorporated in the text (iv,3-vi, end.).[26] It is not clear when this apocalypse was introduced into the text, but it is clear that it belongs to a comparatively early stage of the text. All manuscripts known to the present writer contain the apocalypse, some with a longer version than usual. In addition, the apocalypse is known as a separate composition in a number of manuscripts.[27] Since there are several historical or semi-historical figures alluded to in the text, attempts have been made to date the apocalypse and hence to determine the *termini a quo* and *ad quem* of the whole work.[28] However, it is always difficult to date and locate

[25] See the description of the mystical-"seance" in chapter xviii, and the comments thereon by M. Smith, *art. cit.*, pp. 144 ff.

[26] See Ph. Bloch, "Rom und die Mystiker der Merkavah", *Festschrift für Jacob Guttman* Leipzig: 1915, pp. 113-124; and Scholem's remarks in *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, p. 357, n. 10.

[27] My colleague, Professor Joseph Dan, is now preparing a critical edition of this apocalypse. For the time being see the two versions printed in *Bet ha-Midrasch* vols. II and VI.

[28] See the suggestion concerning the dating of the apocalypse made by Professor Morton Smith. He writes: The "use of the title 'Caesar' for the Emperor (= Lupinus, in the apocalypse) suggests a date prior to Diocletian, the *-inus* ter-

stories of religious persecution, particularly so when the sages of antiquity are called upon to serve as models of religious devotion for later, less illustrious, generations.

The raison d'etre for the apocalypse in *Hekhalot Rabbati* becomes clear from iv,4, where Rabbi Neḥuniah ben Ha-Qanah asks Rabbi Yishmael to descend unto the Merkavah and to find out in heaven the reason for the Roman decree to put to death four of the sages of the People of Israel or eight thousand students as their ransom. The four sager are: Shim'on ben Gamli'el, Yishmael ben 'Elish'a, 'El'azar ben Dama and Yehudah ben Bava. Later on, in v,1, it becomes evident that the decree actually concerns ten sages whose names are not always given in the manuscripts.[29] The reason for this savage decree is that the ten martyrs have to expiate the sin of the ten brothers who sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites (*Genesis* xxxvii,27-28). As it is written (*Exodus* xxi,16) "Whoever steals a man, whether he sells

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mination and the slaughter of the Roman administrators reflect the troubled years of the midthird century when relations between the emperors and the Senate were particularly bad ... The folk-tale motif of transformation and substitution of persons was popular at the time; we find it, for instance, in the third century strata of the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies". See, *art. cit.*, p. 149. However, this suggestion finds no support in Professor S. Lieberman's summary of the historical and halakhic evidence for alleged religious persecutions in the third and fourth centuries. See his article "*Redifot Dat Yisra'el*" in: *The S. Baron Jubilee Volume* (Hebrew Part), 1974, pp. 234 ff. Professor Lieberman finds no historical evidence for the existence of religious persecutions in Eretz Yisrael in the third and fourth centuries C.E. If so, the apocalypse of the ten martyrs reflects no real historical situation of religious persecution. Professor Lieberman pointed out to me in a private conversation that Jewish stories of martyrdom could have arisen in the third or fourth century at the time when many Christians had suffered martyrdom. The alleged purpose of these stories was to show that Jews too were ready to pay with lives for their belief and religious practice. Indeed, these stories were pseudepigraphically projected back to the second century, when Jews had really suffered religious persecution mainly at the time of Hadrian. Such historical retrojections were common literary phenomenon in the literature dealing with martyrdom. For the halakhic and historical sources dealing with second century religious persecution see S. Lieberman, *art. cit.*, p. 213-234.

[29] In MS. Vatican 228, for instance, the names were added in the margin by a second hand. Of these names, two, at least, are generally erroneously identified: Rabbi Yishma'el and Rabbi Shim'on known from the rabbinical sources as martyrs were not the sons of 'Elish'a and Gamli'el respectively. Their exact identity is unknown though it is clear that they were martyred before Rabbi 'Akiva suffered martyrdom. See S. Lieberman, *art. cit.*, p. 227. Lists of the martyrs found in rabbinical writings considerably vary one from the other. Compare, for instance, the list found in *Hekhalot Rabbati* with the ones found in *'Eikhah Rabba* ii (ed. Buber, fol. 50b), and in *Midrash Tehillim* ix (ed. Buber, fol. 45a). See also next note.

him or is found in possession of him, shall be put to death", the ten martyrs have to pay with their lives for the sin of their forefathers. Recently Professor E. E. Urbach rightly traced threads of the legend back to *Jubilees* xxxiv,18-19, and pointed out the occurrence of the idea in some medieval midrashic writings which in turn were probably influenced by the *Hekhalot* literature.[30] Urbach likewise remarks that "when the Temple was destroyed, the sin (of the selling of Joseph) allegedly remained without an atonement, and it appears that the burden of expiation was imposed on the righteous in each generation" (p. 521).[31] However interpreted, the legend and its theological consequences are, to say the least, rather peculiar in Jewish thought, and they certainly contradict the basic Jewish concept of retribution as expounded, for example, in *Deuteronomy* xxiv,16 and in *Ezekiel* xviii.

The rest of this ten-martyrs apocalypse is, in fact, of little concern for our subject, so that we may leave the discussion of the apocalypse at this point. It should be noted, however, that later on (in chapter xiv) [32] the ten martyrs are called together to form a kind of mystical group which participates in the ecstasy of a medium who descends unto the Merkavah. We shall come back to this scene in due course.

Chapters viii-xii give an extensive account of the angelic ceremony in heaven. They include long poetical passages, which are masterpieces of lyrical composition. The description chiefly concerns the manner in which the angelic beings prepare themselves and the divine throne for the appearance of God in the seventh *Hekhal*. Long stretches in these descriptions are devoted to the angelic song and dance.[33] It is repeatedly emphasized that this angelic ceremony takes place when the People of Israel recite their *Qedushah*; thus, the heavenly perfectly corresponds with the earthly ritual. At one point a piece of *Shi'ur Qomah* speculation is introduced: "From the Throne of His Glory the height of God is a hundred and eighty thousand

[30] E. E. Urbach, *The Sages*, pp. 521-522 and the notes on p. 921 f., which contain references to further bibliography.

[31] According to *Hekhalot Rabbati* iv,4 the decree is to last till the future day of revenge, when Sama'el, the heavenly prince of Rome, will be slain together with the other heavenly princes. It is said there that they will be lying slain "as lambs and sheep (offered on) the day of atonement". Here the text points back to *Jubilees* xxxiv,18.

[32] See also chapter xviii.

[33] *Hekhalot Rabbati* viii,3. The paragraph can also be taken to mean that the throne revolves around itself. The angelic dance is again described in xi,3.

times ten thousand parasangs and from his right arm to his left arm His width is seventy thousand times ten thousand parasangs" (x,1).[34] These measures (unless interpolated) show that the writer of *Hekhalot Rabbati* was aware of the *Shi'ur Qomah* speculations and that the latter, although little room is given to them in the *Hekhalot* writings, were part of the ancient Jewish mystical tradition.[35]

Not only has the throne of God to be prepared, but so do also the Living Creatures who carry it. In chapter xi, the Angel of the Countenance crowns each of the Living Creatures with thousands upon thousands of "crowns". He falls upon his face every time he puts a "crown" on their heads. When the Living Creatures see that God is, so-to-speak, angry with the People of Israel, they untie their "crowns" and beat them on the ground thus asking forgiveness for the People of Israel (chapter xii).

Chapters xiii-xxvi contain a long and detailed description of the ascent unto the Merkavah.[36] It begins with a pseudohistorical paragraph that links the description with the ten-martyrs apocalypse: "Rabbi Yishma'el said: When Rabbi Nehunyah ben Ha-Qanah saw Rome planning to destroy the mighty of Israel, he at once revealed the secret of the world: that is the virtue of the one who is worthy of gazing on the king and His throne...".[37] The impression one may gain from this introductory passage is that the revelation of the secrets of the world was made public as a result of religious persecutions. At least on that occasion, as we shall later on see, it became necessary to use the mystical services of a medium. In xiii,2 the virtues of the mystic are given: "What is the technique of the Merkavah mystic like? It is like having a ladder in one's house and being able to go up and down at will. This may be done by anyone who is pure of idolatry, sexual offenses, bloodshed, slander, vain oaths, profanation of the Name, impertinence, and unjustified enmity,

[34] Some of the MSS. contain even a longer *Shi'ur Qomah* passage which quotes a sentence said by Metatron and also several verses from the *Song of Songs* v,10 ff. In any event, the *Shi'ur Qomah* passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati* is only partly known from the largest preserved *Shi'ur Qomah* text. See in *Merkavah Shelemah*, 37b.

[35] See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 36 ff.; *idem*, *Von der Mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit*, Zürich, Rhein-Verlag, 1962, pp. 7 ff.: "Schi'ur Koma ..."; S. Lieberman, "*Mishnat Shir Ha-Shirim*", Appendix D to Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 118-126.

[36] See M. Smith, *art. cit.* (above, n. 6), pp. 144 ff.

[37] The translation is—with some changes—that of Professor Morton Smith.

and who keeps every positive and negative commandment".[38] The ladder-motif which is mentioned here [39] is known both from Greek philosophy [40] and from Islamic philosophy and mysticism,[41] but in our case it could also indicate the angel-like quality of the Merkavah mystic.[42] In any event, the ladder is used here only metaphorically, while the real means of the ascension are different ones.

When Rabbi Yishma'el heard what the qualifications of the Merkavah mystic were, he felt discouraged and said to Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah: "If so, there is no end to the matter, for there is no living man so pure".[43] In response to that Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah told Rabbi Yishma'el to gather all the "heroes of the assembly and all the distinguished people of the academy" so that he might tell them the most secret mysteries of "the beam of the web upon which rest the perfection of the world and its beautiful construction. And also the axle of heaven and earth to which are bound, sewed, connected, hung and fastened all the edges of the earth and the universe and also the edges of the celestial firmaments. And also the pathway of the heavenly ladder which leads from earth to the right leg of the Throne of Glory" (xiv,1). This description of the creation of the world is also known from other sources,[44] and its

[38] See previous note. This passage among others was interpreted by Professor Scholem as indicating "The Halakhic Character of *Hekhalot* Mysticism"; see *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 9-13.

[39] See also xiv,1 which should be compared with the text published by L. Ginzberg, *Genizah Studies* I, New York, 1928, pp. 185-187. See also xx,3.

[40] Professor David Winston drew my attention to the following references: Plato, *Symposium*, 211c: Regarding the candidate to be initiated in the mysteries of Love it is said: "... he must for the sake of that highest beauty be ever climbing aloft as on the steps of stairs (ὥσπερ ἐπαναβαθμοῖς χρώμενον) ..."; Philo *De Praemiis et Poenis* 43. Speaking of those who have by the power of their intellect recognized the operation of God in Nature, Philo says; "These no doubt are truly admirable persons and superior to the other classes. They have, as I said, advanced from down to up by a sort of heavenly ladder (διά τινος οὐρανίου κλίμακος) and by reason and reflection happily inferred the Creator from His works". [Both translations are from the Loeb Classics; that of Plato, however, with a slight change according to Liddell & Scott, p. 606, s.v. ἐπαναβαθμός]. See also E. R. Dodds, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*, p. 52.

[41] See A. Altman, "'The Ladder of Ascension'", in: *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem*, Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, 1967, pp. 1 ff. Although Altman deals mainly with later medieval sources his discussion is most relevant for our passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati.*

[42] See *Genesis* xxviii,12.

[43] See above note 37.

[44] See S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah to Tractate Kippurim*, pp. 772-773.

inclusion here again speaks for the close connection between mystical and cosmological speculations. On the other hand, some of the Jewish cosmological texts, such as the *Beraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit* and *Midrash Konen*, contain important mystical sections. This link between mystical and cosmological speculations has already been shown to be present in some of the Jewish apocalyptic writings and is also characteristic of later Jewish mysticism, the *Kabbalah*. In principle, the secrets of the Deity and the secrets of nature may be classified as two distinct branches of knowledge, but in practice they are usually interrelated, and so they also appear in the *Hekhalot* writings.[45]

To come back to *Hekhalot Rabbati* xiv, when Rabbi Yishma'el heard the request to gather the distinguished members of the academy, he did so and "assembled every Sanhedrin, great or small, at the third gate of the temple. Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah was sitting on a bench made of pure marble which Elish'a my (= Rabbi Yishma'el's) father gave him from the property of my mother and which had been part of the dowry that she brought to him".[46] In xiv,3 nine names of sages are given who, together with Rabbi Yishma'el, were sitting before Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah. All the rest of the *Ḥaverim* (colleagues), however, were standing on their feet, because "they saw globes of fire and torches of light separating *us from them*". The italicized words indicate that actually three groups of people were present.[47] The first was a one-man group, and it consisted of Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah only. The second group consisted of the ten sages, whose names are given. In the third group were those to whom the text refers to as "the multitude of the colleagues" (*hamon ḥaverim*). Only Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah "was sitting expounding all the matter of the Merkavah, the descent and the ascent, how one descends unto and how one ascends from (the Merkavah)". The others were either carefully listening to him or writing down what he was saying.

See also my article "Jewish Sources for the Gnostic Texts from Nag-Hammadi?", in: *The Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress for Jewish Studies*, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. 45-56 ff.

[45] See also *Hekhalot Rabbati* ix,4, and *3 Enoch* ix *seq.*, where the secrets of the Torah are added to the cosmological and theosophical secrets.

[46] Here M. Smith translates only in a summary form.

[47] Professor Morton Smith informs me that he too noticed that three groups were involved, as can be seen from his translation of the passage: "... and R. Neḥunya sat and instructed the chosen few who sat before him, *while the rest of the scholars* stood at a distance, separated from them by globes of fire and torches of light."

Then follows a detailed description of the "praxis", that is, how the descent should be carried out. This description of the descent unto the Merkavah begins with the words: "When a man wanted to descend to the Merkavah he would call Suriyah, the Prince of the Countenance, and conjure him a hundred and twelve times". In addition, it is said that the mystic should be careful neither to add nor to subtract from that number, for if he does, he might fatally endanger himself. "He should utter the names while his fingers count a hundred and twelve times".[48] Then follows the description of the seven palaces and of the doorkeepers. Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah says: "Totrosi'i, Lord God of Israel, dwells in seven palaces, one inside the other, and at the gate of each palace there are eight doorkeepers, four on either side" (xv,1). The names of the doorkeepers of the first six palaces are immediately given, while we have to wait till chapter xxii,1 for the names of the doorkeepers standing at the seventh palace.[49] Here it is only said that those standing at the seventh *hekhal* are most fearful ones (xv,8). Chapter xvi goes into some detail about the fearful horses on which those doorkeepers ride, and it is said that in spite of everything the *Yordei Merkavah* ascend (!) and are not harmed. In fact, it is said that God is waiting, almost impatiently, for the mystic to undergo a descent to the Merkavah. The passage through the doors is granted only when two seals are shown, one to those standing on the right and one to those standing on the left (chapter xvii). At the door of the sixth *Hekhal*, however, a slight change is introduced: two seals have to be shown to those standing on the right and one to those on the left (xviii,5-6). Only when the seals are shown, do the doorkeepers accompany the mystic to the next door.

In xvii,6, however, an observation is made by Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah to the effect that the doorkeepers of the sixth palace are so fearful that they inflict destruction on those who descend unto the Merkavah but are not considered as descenders unto the Merkavah. In spite of the fact that the doorkeepers were severely punished for that—they were burned and replaced—the new ones show no better

[48] In a genizah-fragment found in Leningrad (Antonin Collection 186), and which contains a hitherto unknown Merkavah text it is said: "How does he count?—On every finger he counts ten times; then he repeats and counts ten on his first finger and two on his second one".

[49] In xxii,3 it is said that a difference exists between the names of those who keep the doors on the way in and the names of those who keep the doors on the way out.

qualities. When the members of the mystical group heard this, they asked Rabbi Yishma'el to call Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah back from his celestial vision, so that he might identify this particular class of mystics called "those who descend unto the Merkavah but do not [really] descend unto the Merkavah". Rabbi Yishma'el fulfilled their wish and woke Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah from his trance. He did so in the following manner: he put on the knees of Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah a piece of fine and white wool which had previously been touched very slightly by a menstruating woman who had been declared to be pure by a majority of the rabbinical court. According to Jewish law, menstrual blood renders women unclean, and this uncleanliness is considered to pass over to people and things which are touched by them. We have already pointed out (in Chapter Four) that ritual purity was a necessary prerequisite for any mystical experience. The mystic had to undergo a series of ritual baths before he could begin with the more technical "praxis" of the mystical experience. Now, to wake him from the trance a piece of fine and white wool—*Mela Parhava*—which was generally used in order to examine the blood of menstruating women was put on the knees of Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah.[50]

In discussing this passage in *Hekhalot Rabbati*, Professor Gershom Scholem referred to it as a "set of fictitious circumstances". However, in an appendix to this book, Professor Saul Lieberman analyses the details of this process of awakening Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah from his trance, and reaches the conclusion that the story is an ingenious construction of mystical imagination based on halakhic knowledge.[51] When Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah was "dismissed from before of the throne of Glory where he had been sitting and beholding", he was asked who were those who were called "those who descend unto the Merkavah but do not descend unto the Merkavah". His answer to this was that those people were the ones whom the real *Yordei Merkavah* placed before them, either standing

[50] In *Bavli Niddah* 17a we also find the *mela parhava* as a means of testing the menstrual blood of a woman. It is there identified with a kind of material that is either Pikkulin (cotton?) or pure and soft wool. Rashi, however, explains *mela parhava* as cotton, but brings also a parallel explanation: "a pure and soft wool". As for the *parhava*, it still remains a riddle.

[51] See now L. H. Schiffman, "The Recall of Rabbi Neḥuniah ben Ha-Qanah from Ecstasy in the *Hekhalot Rabbati*", *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, I (1976), pp. 269-281. Schiffman's analysis mistinterprets both the halakhic and magical aspects of the passage!

or sitting, and told them to keep alert and hear and write down all that the mystics said and heard when they reached the throne of Glory.[52] If those people were not worthy of the experience, the door-keepers of the sixth *Hekhal* beat them. It was, therefore, necessary to be very careful in the choice of those who participated in the mystical seance. Although those people were only amanuenses, they had to be men of purity and piety comparable to those of the *Yordei Merkavah* themselves.

The sixth door entails a series of particularly challenging tests for the mystic. Some of the tests are described here and some elsewhere (in xxv,5-6, and in *Hekhalot Zutreti*). The angel in charge of those standing on the right side of the door is Qeẓfiel ("The Wrath of God"), and he holds in his hand a drawn sword. This sword is a most fearful one: lightening bolts come out of it, and it shouts "destruction". On the left side stands Dumi'el ("Divine Silence") about whom the text has some interesting things to say. First, his real name is not Dumi'el but Averghidrihm. This curious name was rightly explained by Professor Johanan H. Levy as a corrupt transcription of the three Greek words: ἀήρ, γῆ, ὕδωρ (air, earth and water, respectively). These are three of the four elements in Greek philosophy.[53] It may be argued that the reason for the change in the angel's name could be explained by the fact that an angel bearing a name composed of the three or four elements out of which the world was created could be misunderstood to be the Demiurge. Since we know that the angels themselves were created,[54] their participation in the creation of the world was generally considered in rabbinic thought to be a gnostic blasphemy.[55] The reason which the text, however, gives for the change in the name is: "He should be called Dumi'el after my name: just as I see and remain silent so does he.[56] His post of duty is at the right side of the door-post. But

[52] In this respect they resemble the scribes of the Sanhedrin. See *Mishnah Sanhedrin* iv,3-4.

[53] See J. H. Levy, *Studies in Jewish Hellenism* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1969, p. 261. Levy suggests seeing in the rather strange ending of the word a corrupt rendering of the Greek πῦρ, fire.

[54] According to the Book of Jubilees the angels were created on the first day. Later on, however, their creation was said to have taken place on the second or even the fifth day. See *Bereshit Rabba* iii, ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 24. The theological difficulties caused by *Genesis* i,26 ("let us make a man") have given rise to a vast literature. See next note.

[55] See E. E. Urbach, *The Sages*, pp. 203 ff.

[56] See *Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael*, p. 142, line 10, where it is said of God that

Qeẓfiel, the Prince, used to push him aside. Nevertheless, he (= Dumi'el) felt towards him neither malice nor rivalry. Both of them do whatever they do in my honour".

When the mystic shows the proper seals, Qeẓfiel calls a whirlwind for him and puts him in a carriage of light and blows trumpets and horns for him while Dumi'el paces in front carrying a "present" (xix,1).[57] What is this present? It is of pure theurgic function. First of all, it consists of the magical seals which the mystic has to produce at the gates of every one of the seven palaces. But, even more important, it consists also of the document in which the legal knowledge and observance of the mystic is recorded. This document is obtained in the following manner: When the Merkavah mystic arrives at the sixth gate, he is met by Dumi'el who is sitting on a bench made of a pure stone.[58] The angel greets the mystic with a Greek blessing: "*Extraordinary day. Show the seal. Shalom*",[59] and then invites him to take his seat beside him. Then Dumi'el addresses the mystic, warning him that only he who has studied all the various categories of the written and oral law *or* (!) he who strictly observes all that is said therein may pass onward to the seventh *Hekhal*. If the mystic claims that he possesses either of these qualities, Dumi'el calls Gabri'el, the Scribe,[60] and asks him to make a note of this fact on a piece of paper. This paper is hung on a mast [61] on the carriage of light in which the Merkavah mystic is placed before he passes through the sixth *Hekhal*. When the doorkeepers of the seventh *Hekhal* see Dumi'el, Gabri'el and Qeẓfiel walking in front of the carriage of the Merkavah mystic, they cover their faces and sit down. Before, however, they were standing in a most intimidating manner, but

before the time of the future redemption He watches the miserable state of His People without uttering a word. See further J. H. Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 262, who identifies in our paragraph a transcription of the Greek word σιγή, silence. In fact 1 *Kings* xix,12 inspired a number of speculations about the divine silence.

[57] The Hebrew text here uses a Greek loan word : δώρον.

[58] The word used here is λίθικος, which means "of stone". See Liddell & Scott, p. 1048, s.v. λιθ-ίδιον.

[59] See J. H. Levy, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261. Levy assumes that at least two more words can be identified in the corrupt Hebrew transcription of the Greek words. But upon examination of the good manuscripts, it appears that only three phrases can be deciphered with certainty.

[60] In Jewish apocalyptic and mystical tradition, it is generally Enoch-Metatron who is the heavenly scribe. The allocation of that function to Gabriel in *Hekhalot Rabbati* seems to be unique!

[61] The word used here is SKRIYA. See *'Aruch Completum*, vol. I, p. 199, s.v. ASKRAYA.

now they loosen their drawn bows and return their drawn swords to their sheaths. Nevertheless, the mystic has to show the doorkeepers of the seventh *Hekhal* "a great seal and a fearful crown".[62] When the gatekeepers see all this, they enter the seventh *Hekhal* to fetch all kinds of musical instruments,[63] and thus they escort the Merkavah mystic till they offer him a seat near the heavenly Creatures that carry the Throne of Glory and minister to it.

Chapter xxi begins with a digression: it suddenly turned out that the names of the gatekeepers of the seventh *Hekhal* were not given. When the members of the mystical company appealed to Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah, he told them that this was on purpose. The names of the gatekeepers of the first six *Hekhalot* could be revealed, and the mystics were allowed to make use of them. But one was allowed neither to mention nor use the names of the gatekeepers of the seventh *Hekhal*. Now that he was asked to reveal their names, Rabbi Neḥunyah agreed to do so, on condition that all the members of the company stood up. However, whenever he uttered a name, they had to fall on their faces. The chapter ends with the remark that immediately all the members of the mystical company "stood on their feet before Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah: he uttered [the names], and they fell on their faces, and the scribes were writing".

The names of the gatekeepers of the seventh *Hekhal* are given in chapter xxii. It is remarked that there is a difference in the names of those keeping the gates on the way of the descent and the names of those on the way of the ascent. A prominent role among the gatekeepers of the seventh *Hekhal* is given to ʿAnafi'el. "And why is he called ʿAnafi'el?—Because of the branch[64] of the crown of the crowns that was placed on his head and used to cover all the chambers of the palace of the firmament *ʿAravot*. (And in this) he resembles the demiurge.[65] As it is pointed out about the demiurge:

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[62] In the Greek words, which here follow in the text Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 262, hypothetically identifies the words: θεὸς οὐρανὸς γῆ ὁ δεσπότης. However, Morton Smith, *art. cit.*, p. 146, suggests a slightly different reading. The opening prayer of *Hekhalot Zutreti* is sometimes called "The prayer of the Great Seal and of the fearful crown". See Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 6, n. 12; pp. 54-55. [See now P. Schäfer, "Prolegomena zu einer kritischen Edition und Analyse der Merkava Rabba", in: *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge*, Heft 5 (1977), pp. 65 ff.]

[63] Literally: "all kinds of music and song".

[64] In Hebrew: *ʿAnaf*.

[65] In Hebrew: *Yozer Bereshit*. See Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 28, 34 and 46-48.

'His glory covers the firmament' (*Habakkuk* iii,3),[66] so it is also with 'Anafi'el, the minister, who is a servant that is called after the name of his master".[67] For a description of God in similar terms we have to turn to chapter xxiv,3 where it is said: "King of Kings, God of Gods and Lord of Lords / He who is exalted with chains of crowns / Who is encompassed by the branches of the rays of brilliance / Who covers the firmament with the branch of His glory".[68] The "branch" here can well be a metonym for the crown and indeed it seems that 'Anafi'el belongs to the category of angels of the highest rank. In this respect he may be viewed as an equal to Metatron, 'Akatri'el and Synadelphon.

It is 'Anafi'el who opens for the Merkavah mystic the gates of the seventh palace. And when the holy creatures of that palace try to assault the mystic, 'Anafi'el assists him, "he and the sixty three gatekeepers of the seven *Hekhalot*".

Chapters xxiv-xxvi contain the so-called "Song of the Throne" [69] which the mystic utters when he stands before the Throne of the Glory. In xxv,5-6, however, a short interpolation describes how those who are not worthy of descending unto the Merkavah are prevented from entering the gates of the palaces. If he is a true Merkavah mystic, then, when he is told to enter the gate, he does not stir. He only enters when he is invited a second time. But the false Merkavah mystic has only to be invited once. He almost tries to force his way into the palace, but the angels stand in his way and throw upon him thousands of iron bars. Another test is the one at the gate of the sixth palace. Here the gatekeepers throw upon the descender unto the Merkavah something that looks like thousands upon thousands waves of water. But in reality there is not even a drop of water there. If he asks: "What are these waters", the angels pursue him and reproach him: "Worthless man, are you of the seed of those who kissed the golden calf,[70] and thus unworthy of beholding

[66] Professor G. Scholem has rightly recognized the connection between the Psalm of Habakkuk and the Merkavah speculations.

[67] The last words—"who is called after the name of his master—are frequently found in connection with Metatron. See Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 46 ff.

[68] The English translation is basically that printed in G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 62, though several changes have been introduced into it.

[69] The term "Song of the Throne" is mentioned in MS. Vatican 228, and in the famous responsum of Rav Haj Ga'on (in Lewin, *Otzar Ha-Geonim* to *Ḥagigah*, p. 24).

[70] For the picture of Israel kissing the golden calf, see *Pirkei de-Rabbi 'Eli'ezer*,

the King and His Throne?". Thereupon a voice from heaven declares this suspicion to be justified, and they throw upon him thousands of iron bars.[71] A similar test is described in *Hekhalot Zutreti*, and its connection to a saying attributed to Rabbi 'Akiva in *Talmud Bavli Ḥagigah* 14b has already been discussed above in Chapter Three.[72] The text ends with another hymn at the end of which Metatron and his eight secret names are mentioned.[73]

The last part of *Hekhalot Rabbati* does not belong to the main body of the text. With chapter xxvii begins the famous *Sar-Torah* section, which generally consists of five chapters. It deals with the secret, magical method of studying the Torah and memorizing that study. As a number of Merkavah texts deal with that subject, it seems that the problems discussed in the *Sar-Torah* obstinately occupied the minds of the *Hekhalot* mystics. *Sar-Torah* passages are found in *Hekhalot Zutreti*, in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, in *Merkavah Rabbah*, in *Sefer Hekhalot* (*3 Enoch*) and in the *Hekhalot* fragments published by the present writer. It may be argued that these *Sar-Torah* passages belonged to a period where real mystical experiences were no more practised, and new applications had to be found for the old theurgical practices.[74] The text of *Sar-Torah* in the appendix to *Hekhalot Rabbati* is in the form of a dialogue between God, the People of Israel and the angels. The pseudo-historical circumstances are the days of the construction of the Second Temple.[75] The speakers, however, are once again the pseudepigraphical *Hekhalot* mystics: Rabbi Yishma'el

xlv: "Rabbi Yehudah said: Sama'el entered into it (= the golden calf) ... and when Israel saw it, they all kissed it ...". For kissing as a kind of idolatry see *Mishnah Sanhedrin* vii,6.

[71] See *2 Samuel* xii,31.

[72] Professor Z. Werblowski drew my attention to the fact that in the *Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra*, paragraph 10, a series of meditations is enumerated, the second one of which—after the perception of the sun—is the preception of water, "clear and pure". Then follows the perception of ice, and as "thou seest the ice shining and transparent, thou shouldst imagine the appearance of lapis Lazuli". See *Sacred Books of the East* XLIX part 2, p. 170. See also the writer's article "Mysticism, Science and Art", *Leonardo* VII (1974), pp. 123-130.

[73] The number eight here is certainly significant. See, Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 102, n. 6; and D. Sperber, "Ligaturae: Something about Amulets in the Talmudic Period" (in Hebrew), in *The Bar Ilan Yearbook* XIII (1976), p. 128, n. 21.

[74] See E. E. Urbach in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem*, Hebrew Section, pp. 23 ff.

[75] The expression used here for the Second Temple—*Ha-Bayit Ha-Aḥaron*—is taken from *Haggai* ii,9.

and Rabbi ʿAkiva, who speaks in the name of Rabbi ʾEliʿezer Ha-Gadol.

The text begins with the statement that although the Torah had been given on Mount Sinai, its splendour and glory were not revealed until the days of the Second Temple. The splendour and glory of the Torah evidently are the oral law. This is a remarkable statement, since the customary Jewish concept of the oral law is that it was given to Moses together with the written law.[76] When the people saw, so the text says, that two tasks—that of building the Temple and that of studying the Torah—were laid upon them simultaneously, they were constrained to complain to their Father in Heaven. The two tasks were too much for them, they said, so they wanted to know which of the two they could abandon. God's answer to that complaint is quite remarkable. God is quoted as saying that as long as His people were in exile they did not study the Torah, and now He desires to hear "the voice of my Torah from your mouth". In addition, it is reported that God told His People that it was improper for them to disobey His commandments and that consequently He had to drive them into exile, and that He repented of His rash judgement against His people. As for their complaint itself, He thinks that it is justified, and is thus ready to compensate them for the extra toil put upon them. They only have to express their wish and God will supply everything from His infinite store-houses. Since God is aware of the fact that the People of Israel wish to study the Torah intensively, He is ready to do everything in His power to make them famous and respected throughout the whole world. For that purpose He gives them "a seal" and "a crown", that is, theurgical means, to use whenever they study the Torah. In this manner neither fool nor stupid man will be found in their number.

But, in contradistinction to the theurgical practices of the descent unto the Merkavah, it is here said that the theurgical practice which should be applied in the study of the Torah is a secret. God remarks that His servants, the angels, are sad about its being revealed. In addition, not only the jealousy of the angels is aroused by that revelation, but actually everybody on earth that is informed about this secret practice becomes envious. In fact, with the knowledge of the Torah come fame, riches and respect. It now becomes clear that

[76] For the development of this concept in Judaism see E. E. Urbach, *The Sages*, pp. 286 ff.

"the People of Israel" to whom God is reportedly speaking are in reality the mystics of the Merkavah, to whom it is promised that they will become the real leaders of the People. With this we actually return to the beginning of *Hekhalot Rabbati* where the qualities and virtues of the mystics are listed. It has been pointed out in our discussion there that these extraordinary qualities which are attributed to the Merkavah mystic probably belong to a period when no real mystical visions were anymore experienced. This alleged devaluation of the mystical experience had to be made up for in some manner, and hence the attempt to allure those who would carry on the tradition, by the promise of special social status and economic security. This part of the *Sar-Torah* ends with God remarking that the angels opposed His decision to reveal these theurgical means.

The essence of the angel's opposition is that if these secrets were revealed, men would actually become like angels. It is proper for the Torah to be studied with great effort; and it is to the glory of the Creator if people, because they forget what they have studied, have to repeat it constantly. People should pray to God to preserve their learning in their minds. "But if you reveal that secret to your sons, a young man will be like an old one, and a fool like a wise man". The angels seem to reflect in their words the opposition of certain Jewish circles who criticized the practices and possibly also the arrogance of the mystics. God, nevertheless, decided to disclose the secret to "the faithful seed", so as to compensate His People for their troubles in the exile. God has already given His People everything that he has in His storehouses: gold, silver, precious stones and all kinds of foods. "But what is the world still lacking?—This secret and this mystery!" After this secret had been revealed, so the story goes, the people returned to building the temple. However, it is stressed that God did not reveal His secret before His People forced Him by an oath to do so. They refrained from putting "one stone upon the other in the temple" before God acceded to their request. The text tells how God descended on His throne into the temple, and this only when the skeleton of the building was finished. This allegedly was to prove Haggai's prophecy (ii,9) that the glory of the second temple would be even greater than that of the first one.

Thus the author of the *Sar-Torah* believes that the revelation of the oral law together with the theurgical means of practising it distinguishes the days of the second temple from those of the first

one. The actual theurgical means mentioned in the *Sar-Torah* appended to *Hekhalot Rabbati* are comparatively scanty. Those enumerated in *Merkavah Rabbah* and in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* are much more detailed ones. The essence of them all is that one has to prepare oneself by observing absolute ritual cleanliness and special diets or even fasts. In the *Sar-Torah* of *Hekhalot Rabbati* the preparatory practices are said to last twelve days, during which one has to live in absolute seclusion. Special prayers are to be said three times a day in the course of which the *Sar-Torah* (= the Minister of Law) is conjured by twelve secret names. "And when the twelve days have passed he may engage in every activity he wishes in connection with the study of the Law: whether it is Scripture, the Mishnah or the Talmud, and even beholding the Merkavah. For he now lives in purity and in asceticism. For it is a lesson in our hands, an ordinance of the patriarchs and a tradition of the ancient ones who wrote and issued the decree for future generations to the effect that only modest people may use it. And he who is worthy is answered when using it". It should be noticed that beholding the Merkavah is here considered a part of the *Sar-Torah*!

The last part of the *Sar-Torah* tells how Rabbi 'Eli'ezer Ha-Gadol performed the practice and was answered; but he did not trust its efficacy. Even Rabbi Yishma'el did not trust its efficacy before he brought a stupid man who went through the practice "and he became like me". Then it was performed by simple and unlearned shepherds and they likewise were successful. Finally Rabbi 'Akiva was sent to the diaspora and the secret of the *Sar-Torah* turned out to be efficacious even there. It is quite obvious that this last remark in connection with Rabbi 'Akiva was to indicate that people in Babylonia were anxious to show that the Merkavah practice was not limited to the Country of Israel. On the contrary, there are a number of instances—some of which will be discussed later on—which make it clear that in later days the Merkavah lore was mainly practised in the diaspora, first in Babylonia and then in Italy.[77] It is from Italy that the Merkavah tradition was transmitted to the circles of the German Ḥasidim.[78] Parallel to the transmission of the Merkavah lore to the diaspora we

[77] See, for instance, the Merkavah material incorporated in *Megillat Aḥima'aṣ*, ed. B. Klar, Jerusalem, Tarshish Books, 1973. The "Scroll" describes events which happened in Oria, in South Italy.

[78] See G. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, 1974, p. 33.

find the *Sar-Torah* speculations developed in the circles of the Ge'onim and the German Ḥasidim of the Middle Ages.[79]

[79] See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 13. Scholem also assumes that "it is ... quite plausible that procedures for getting this angel (= of the *Sar-Torah*) to impart some of his treasures to the students of the Law could have been very old". But he admits that "we may safely assume that many of the injunctions for a perfect knowledge of the Law do in fact belong to a later stage".

MERKAVAH RABBAH

This is a compilation of several technical and difficult Merkavah texts. Its main subject matter is the theurgical techniques of adjuring angels to descend on earth and to reveal secrets to man. In this respect, *Merkavah Rabbah* has a number of similarities to the *Sar-Torah* practices as described in the chapters bearing that name and annexed to *Hekhalot Rabbati*. *Merkavah Rabbah* is printed in Musajoff's collection of Merkavah texts, *Merkavah Shelemah*, and it is also known from a number of manuscripts.[1] Our quotations here are from the manuscripts.

The text begins with a question which Rabbi 'Akiva asks Rabbi Eliezer Ha-Gadol: "How is the Minister of the Countenance adjured to descend on earth and to reveal to man the secrets of heaven and earth...?" Rabbi Eliezer's answer is: "My son, I once caused him to descend and he wanted to destroy the whole world. He is the most magnificent angel in the heavenly family, and is always standing and ministering to God...". What this answer seems to imply is that mystical experiences which are inadequately undertaken are liable to bring disaster. We have already seen that unworthy mystics were liable to endanger themselves in the course of the heavenly journeys which they should not have undertaken. In our case, the adjured angel threatens to bring destruction on "the whole world". However, the words "the whole world" may be understood metaphorically as implying the mystic only. It is not said what had been done wrong that aroused the angel's wrath, but his hostile behaviour is no surprise to those who should know of the angels' hostile attitude to men. However, the text goes into great detail to describe what should be done to control the angel and to protect oneself from his threats. It soon becomes clear that, as in the case of the ascending mystic so also in our case the mystic adjuring angels to descend has to seal himself with special protective magical seals. In our case, the prescribed seal is that of the Name of the Forty-Two Letters,[2] upon

[1] See Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 6, n. 15.

[2] The question what is the Name of the Forty-Two Letters has not yet been conclusively settled and this in spite of the recent article published on the subject by L. H. Schiffman in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies* I (1973), pp. 97-102. In fact, one can find in magical literature a variety of ways in which the rather enigmatic name of Forty-Two Letters—first mentioned in a tradition that allegedly goes back to temple times—was to be rendered. See *Bavli Qidushin* 71a.

the sealing of which on himself the practitioner has to say a special prayer: "I adjure you and constrain you by an oath to continue to be bound to my will... and fulfil my wish: Do not frighten me, and do not make me tremble... And I shall be strengthened so that the oath shall be pronounced properly and the Name shall be well ordered in my mouth[3]... Thus I shall not be devoured by the fire, by the blaze, by the storm and by the whirlwind which are accompanying you".

But even before the seal is applied and its prayer is said, certain preparations have to be made by the mystic. Again we hear of fasts, ritual baths and incantations which constitute the mystic's practice of self-preparation. Thus, we realize that as a matter of theurgical practice there was no essential difference between the means prescribed in the case of ascensions and those to be followed when angels were adjured to descend on earth. Yet, it seems that in the case of the adjuration of an angel more room is allowed for describing the magical names and their applications. In fact, there are two sets of names: the one which is said in the manner called *Meforash* and the other in the manner referred to as *Kinuy*.[4] The Name—*Meforash* generally is a name of an angel taken from the more or less common inventory of angelic names, while the name in the *Kinuy*-mode is a *nomen barbarum* to which certain combinations of the letters Y, H and W are added.[5] The number of these double-names in our case is

[3] The meaning of this request most probably is that the forty-two letters of the Holy Name should be said in the right order.

[4] Professor Scholem explains *Meforash* as "a secret name" while *Kinuy* is understood by him as meaning "a name that may be pronounced". See in *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* XXX (1931), p. 175. However, this habit of giving double-names to deities, and then to angels in magical practices, seems to be very old. In Jewish tradition we know that the name of God was pronounced in one way in the temple and in another way out of the temple. See *Mishnah Sotah* vii,6 and *Tamid* vii,2. See also *Mishnah Sanhedrin* vii,5 and the discussions in both Talmuds: *Bavli* 56a ff.; *Yerushalmi* 25a ff. Since there is a vast literature on the subject, so suffice it here to mention only J. Z. Lauterbach, "Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* II (1930-31), p. 39 ff.; and Z. Ben Hayyim in *Sefer Eretz Yisrael* III (1954) p. 147 ff. (in Hebrew). It seems that in later magical literature the magicians, or writers, praised themselves with the knowledge of the double reading of the names without paying to much attention to the fact which of the two was the secret one.

[5] Sometimes, however, the difference between the two kinds of names is hardly discernable. Thus, for example, we find the name *Meforash* KNGIALIYA, and its *Kinuy* ẒẒMKHT SYYHU YH WYHWH. The only difference can be observed in the addition of Y-H-W-element in the case of the *Kinuy*-name.

fourteen, four of which are said to be engraved on the heads of the Holy Creatures, four on the four corners of the Throne, four on the four crowns of the *Ofanim* who stand opposite of the Holy Creatures, and two are engraved on the crown of God. Curiously, the names which are said to be thus engraved are not identical with the ones that are uttered in the course of the previously mentioned adjurations. After the names have been uttered, the mystic repeats his request: "I swear you, I constrain you and bind you to hasten and to descend to me I, N. son of N., you and not your messenger. And when you descend, I should not be driven out of my mind. And reveal to me all the hidden things that are on high and below... as a man who speaks to his friend".

However, it appears, one round of incantations and all that they contain seems not to have had its desired effect, and the mystic is compelled to repeat: "Once again I call you with five names, the holiest ones of your names... you have been ordered by God that when you hear an oath containing these names, you will do honour to your name. And hasten and do the will of the one who adjures you. And if you delay, I shall push you into a river of fire,[6] and replace you by another one who is under your command...". But even this turns out to be insufficient; the angel still seems not to be constrained, so the mystic invokes him again: "I call you once again, in the greatest of your names, a lovely and pleasant (name), (by which you are called) in the name of your Master. Your name has one letter less than His,[7] and by that name He created and founded everything and sealed by it all the work of His hands".[8]The first part of *Merkavah Rabbah* ends with what seems to be a prayer which should be said on the angel's departure: "Ascend in peace, and I shall not be terrified at the hour of your departure from me". Again names are to be uttered in combination with certain phrases from Scripture.

The second part of *Merkavah Rabbah* contains two prayers called

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[6] The word used here for river, *Rigyon*, is not clear. See Y. Levy, *Studies in Jewish Hellenism* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1969, pp. 264-265, who suggests to interpret the word as the stream of lava flowing from a volcano.

[7] In the *Hekhalot* fragments published by the present writer in *Tarbiz* XXXVIII, pp. 257-358, it is said that the secret name of God contains five letters: TNRʾEL! In that case the name of the angel here is of four letters.

[8] Again it is said that the name has two modes. This time they are called *Perush* and *Leshon Tohorah*. These two modes are to all likelihood parallel to the ones mentioned before.

"The Great Seal" and "The Awesome Crown".[9] There is nothing particularly magical about these prayers, though it is said in the name of Rabbi Yishmael: "Everybody who practises the Great Seal and Awesome Crown [10] and does not say prayers on each of them is likely to be hurt".

The third part of the book contains a mystical elaboration on the short Synadelphon passage in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 13b. Briefly, the "Secret of Synadelphon", as it is here called, is the theurgical practice that is to bring illumination (*'Or*) into the mystic's heart.[11] In all likelihood, what is here meant is an inner illumination concerning the study of the Torah, that is a practice similar to the one of the *Sar-Torah* which is also sometimes called *Or-Torah* (= the Light of the Torah).[12] New in our passage is the fact that the names of the angels are not only said but also written down. The practice of writing the names of angels for theurgical purposes is also known from the *Sar-Torah* passages in the *Ma'aseh Merkavah* published by G. Scholem[13] and is also frequent in magical texts, such as *Sefer Ha-Razim*.

Following this *Sar Torah* section comes another section which contains a series of prescriptions for magical practices, mainly those performed on certain dates throughout the year. There are prescriptions for practices which are performed on the Jewish Feast of the Weeks (*Shavu'ot*), on New Year Day, on New Moon Day and on the first day of the Month of *'Adar*. It seems that these practices are connected with the prediction of events, at least nothing to the contrary is indicated in the text. The common procedure in all these practices is that the practitioner writes the names on leaves of plants or on his finger nails and then puts them into his mouth so as to delete the holy names with his saliva. Only the practice of the first

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[9] This part is not printed in *Merkavah Shelemah* 3a. However, the prayer of the Awesome Crown is printed thereafter on page 6a (at the beginning of *Hekhalot Zutreti*). [See also above p. 167), n. 62].

[10] Here the terms are used to indicate certain theurgical practices which are not described in the text. See *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxviii,3-4 (*Sar-Torah*).

[11] In this respect, it is interesting to compare this passage with the ones containing the phrase "to lighten one's heart" and the like in the Qumran writings, 1 QS II,3; IV,2 etc. See now M. Kister, "Levi = Light" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* XLV (1976), pp. 327-330.

[12] That this is the case can be seen from the five shepherds which are mentioned here and at the end of the *Sar-Torah* sections appended to *Hekhalot Rabbati*.

[13] Interestingly, the angel Synadelphon is also mentioned there—together with Metatron—in a similar context. See *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, paragraph 19, p. 111.

day of the last month of the year, *'Adar*,[14] breaks this rule: In this particular case the names are written on the inside of a silver bowl and then wine is poured into it in order to delete the names. It seems that the deletion of the names here is not part of the practice itself, but on the contrary, marks it cessation.[15] The power of the spell or the charm is broken when the names are deleted.[16] But we know from *Sefer Ha-Razim* that in certain cases the ink with which holy names were written was deleted in oil and then a charm was said over that oil.[17]

The next section of the text is again devoted to the *Sar-Torah*.[18] What is of particular interest in this part of the text is that it establishes the alleged sequence of the esoteric tradition in Judaism: God "revealed the secrets of the secrets and the mysteries of the mysteries to Moses, and Moses to Joshu'a, and Joshu'a to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets to the *Ḥasidim* (the Pious Ones), and the *Ḥasidim* to those who feared God,[19] and those who feared God to the Men of the Great Assembly, and the Men of the Great Assembly revealed them to all the People of Israel.[20] And the People of Israel were learning with their help the Torah and multiplying its study". The fact that the secret of the *Sar-Torah* was revealed to all the People of Israel reminds of the *Sar-Torah* text appended to

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[14] It seems that the magical year began in *Nissan*; see *Sefer Ha-Razim*, p. 101 (lines 13-14). New Year Day, however, signifies the first of *Tishri*. See further *Mishnah Rosh Ha-Shanah* i,1. See also S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah* to *Rosh Ha-Shanah*, pp. 1017 ff.

[15] However, the unfaithful woman (*Sotah*) is brought to test by drinking the water of bitterness into which the priest washes off curses written on a scroll. These curses contain the Holy Name. See *Numbers* v,16 ff., and *Mishnah Sotah*, chapter ii. The water of bitterness which contains the washed-off ink in which the holy name was written has no holiness whatever and may be spilt, if the woman admits her unfaithfulness before she drinks of it. See *Tosefta Sotah* ii,2.

[16] In *Sefer Ha-Razim* we find magical practices which entail the saying of names or charms on vessels of water. See Margalioth's Introduction p. 5 (where also parallels from the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* are quoted).

[17] See *Sefer Ha-Razim*, pp. 71-72; 102.

[18] In MS. Oxford 1531 it is preceded by the story of the four who entered the Pardes. This version of the story is the same one as the one in *Hekhalot Zutreti*. In *Merkavah Shelemah* we find instead of the Pardes-story an interpolation of a mystical-eschatological nature which is also printed in *Bet Ha-Midrasch* V, pp. 167 ff.; and in *Midreshei Ge'ulah* (ed. Even Shemuel), pp. 3 ff.

[19] Obviously, the term "those who feared God" (*Yir'ei Ha-Shem*) is not used here in its ancient technical sense as "half proselytes". On the technical use of the term see, for instance, S. Pines in the *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* II/7 (1967).

[20] The dependence of this list on *Mishnah 'Avot* i,1 is self-evident.

Hekhalot Rabbati. However, we saw there that the words "all the People" could be understood in a less democratic way; in fact, they seemed to imply there the "aristocracy" of the Merkavah mystics.

In connection with this *Sar-Torah* section another section dealing with the same subject is introduced.[21] Rabbi Yishma'el tells how at the age of thirteen Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah saw him "in great grief". The reason for that grief was that Rabbi Yishma'el was quickly forgetting all his studies. Nothing that Rabbi Yishma'el did helped in bringing about a change in that sad condition. He was leading an ascetic way of life and still no change occurred. So Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah took him from his father's house, brought him to the temple, and there made him take the Oath of the Great Seal. As it happened, this oath was the one of the Secret of the Torah. Immediately, so the pseudohistorical story goes, Rabbi Yishma'el experienced an illumination of the Torah and thus he no longer forgot his studies. Evidently, Rabbi Yishma'el felt himself as if born anew and "everyday it seemed to me as if I was standing before the Throne of the Glory". This last remark is a most interesting one: it betrays the fact that the *Sar-Torah* experience was considered a substitute for the ascension unto the heavenly Merkavah. When Rabbi 'Akiva saw all this, he told Rabbi Yishma'el to return to Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah and to ask him to reveal the details of that particular practice. Rabbi Neḥunyah gave the following answer: "Go back and report the following answer: The servants are sworn in the name of their king and the slave [22] is sworn in the name of his master". Rabbi 'Akiva easily understood this hint and consequently "his mouth pronounced names while his fingers were counting a hundred and eleven times".

Merkavah Rabbah ends with a detailed description, attributed to Rabbi Yishma'el, of how the practice of the *Sar-Torah* should be carried out. It is made clear that the main practice is to be performed in the morning when one gets out of bed. Then one should wash one's hands twice and anoint them with oil. Then one puts on the *Tefilin* and stands before one's bed to pray. It again becomes

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[21] This section bears strong resemblance to the *Sar-Torah* paragraphs in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, §§ 11 ff.

[22] It soon becomes clear that the slave, *'Eved*, is Metatron. For the appellation *'Eved* as directed to Metatron, see H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch* x, p. 28, n. (3). The text which Odeberg identifies there as "Hekhalot Zotreti" in the Oxford MS. is in fact—as has already been recognized by G. Scholem—nothing but our *Merkavah Rabbah*.

clear that the theurgical prayers are said in the course of the daily prayers which every Jew is expected to say. In addition to the names and theurgical prayers said in the course of the adjuration of the *Sar-Torah*, one has to lead an ascetic life for forty days. It is important to notice that in one of the concluding sentences of the text it is reported that Rabbi ʿAkiva learnt all this from before of the Throne of Glory and was told to teach the secret to his colleagues. This is reminiscent of what is said in *Hekhalot Rabbati* about Rabbi ʿAkiva and the special manner in which he learnt the heavenly songs.

MA'ASEH MERKAVAH

This is the text which Professor Scholem published in Appendix C to his *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition.*[1] The text is an interesting combination of two kinds of Merkavah traditions: heavenly ascents and adjurations of angels in connection with the *Sar-Torah* practices. Our quotations will be according to the paragraph division in Scholem's edition.

The first part of the book consists of paragraphs 1-10. Its main subject matter is the incantations that should be said before and in the course of the ascensions. This part also contains a description of the seven *Hekhalot*. The text begins with a question which Rabbi Yishmael asked Rabbi 'Akiva: "What is the prayer which one should pray when one ascends (!) to the Merkavah?". In answer to that, a short prayer is quoted in which the mystic blesses God for revealing the secrets to Moses. As we know from other texts, the "secrets" mentioned here should be understood in a technical sense: they are magical or theurgical practices. In paragraph 3 Rabbi 'Akiva describes the heavenly bridges on which the singing angels stand. These bridges connect the vestibules of all the *Hekhalot* and they are stretched "like a bridge across the river so that everybody may cross them".[2] There are a hundred and twenty million of such bridges, half of which are stretched above the vestibule and the other half below. There are also rivers of fire, rivers of hailstone, treasuries of snow and wheels of fire—all of which encircle the angels that stand on the bridges.

In paragraph 4 the question is asked: "How can one look at them?" To This Rabbi 'Akiva replies: "I prayed a prayer of compassion, and in this manner I was saved". It is said that he who wants to study

[1] The first edition of the book was published in 1960. Before the publication of the Second Improved Edition the present writer has reexamined the manuscripts from which Professor Scholem printed the text of Appendix C. However, for technical reasons not all the corrections could be introduced into the text. In addition to MSS. Oxford and New York which were used by Professor Scholem, one has to refer to MSS. Munich 22 and 40, both of which contain only parts of the text.

[2] The paragraphs which describe these bridges are also printed separately in *Bet Ha-Midrasch* VI, pp. 153-154, and as chapter 22b and c in Odeberg's edition of *3 Enoch*. See further G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, p. 71; and *Hekhalot Rabbati* xiii,1.

this secret (of the ascension) should "learn it every day at dawn, and he should clean himself of all injustice, fraud and evil, so that ROZAYA, Lord God of Israel, will do him justice every day in this world... and it is promised that he will enjoy future life". There follows the first of the Merkavah hymns which the text contains. It should be noticed that *Maʿaseh Merkavah* contains two types of hymns: The first type lacks the ecstatic quality of the hymns we meet in *Hekhalot Rabbati* and thus resembles common religious poetry. These hymns are written like Psalms, giving expression to the poet's praise of God and enumerating His omnipotence and omniscience. The mystical setting comes to the fore almost in passing when the angels and their heavenly duties are referred to or described. A typical example of this kind of Merkavah hymns is the famous "*ʿAlenu le-Shabeʿaḥ*" ("we have to give praise") which is also known from the daily Jewish prayerbook.[3] Had it not been for their context, we would not even have noticed the relationship of this type of hymns to the *Hekhalot* literature. The other type of hymns included in *Maʿaseh Merkavah* is that of the series of "prayers" at the end of the book (paragraphs 26-33). These "prayers" are a classic example of Merkavah hymns. What is particularly interesting in them are the long series of magical and theurgical *voces* which they contain. In this respect they resemble the magical prayers, the ἐπαοιδαι, of the magical papyri. In tone and structure these "prayers" also resemble the hymns of *Hekhalot Rabbati*, the only difference being that the latter do not contain the lists of magical names. It may thus be argued that the "prayers" of *Maʿaseh Merkavah* are the only ones of their kind that so clearly expose their theurgical function. In fact, one may argue that what the hymns of *Hekhalot Rabbati* practically lack is that very theurgical element so forcefully displayed in the hymns of *Maʿaseh Merkavah*. Indeed, the question arises whether the *Hekhalot Rabbati* hymns were not actually deprived of those so-to-speak non-poetical elements. If that is so, though there is no evidence for it in any of the manuscripts, then the *Maʿaseh Merkavah* "prayers" represent a more original phase of *Hekhalot* hymnology than do their counterparts in *Hekhalot-Rabbati*.[4]

[3] In *Maʿaseh Merkavah* this prayer is introduced in the singular form *ʿAlai* (I have to) instead of the plural form known from the prayer books. See also I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, Reprint: Hildesheim, Olms, 1962, pp. 80-81, 143.

[4] See, however, A. Altman in *Melilah* II (1946), p. 8 ff. (in Hebrew), who thinks that the second type of the hymns of *Maʿaseh-Merkavah* belongs to a later

The theurgical function of the hymns belonging to the first type is nevertheless indicated in the several utterances which accompany them. Thus, for instance, we read: "Rabbi 'Akiva said: After I had prayed this prayer, I saw 6400000000 angels of glory standing before the Throne of Glory and I saw the knot of the *Tefillin* of Gedudiya,[5] Lord God of Israel, and I gave praise with all my limbs" (paragraph 5).[6] In another place it is again said in the name of Rabbi 'Akiva: "Blessed is the man who stands and with all his power sings hymns to Barukhiya, Lord God of Israel. He gazes at the Merkavah and sees all that is done before the Throne of Glory upon which Barukhiya, Lord God of Israel, is sitting" (paragraph 8). And in paragraph 9 we read: "In the sixth palace I said the *Qedushah* before Him who said and created (the world); and He ordered that none of the Angels of the Service should destroy me". This last quotation refers us to one of the most interesting problems connected with the *Hekhalot* hymns. It is generally believed that there is a strong connection between these hymns and the *Qedushah* poems in the prayerbook. That the *Qedushah* (*Isaiah* vi,3 and *Ezekiel* iii,12) is a very old element in Jewish liturgy need not be proved here. We know that one of the first literary documents in which the angelic hymnology was taken as a model for human liturgy is the one in the angelic liturgy at Qumran, which in turn should be viewed within the general context of Jewish apocalyptic.[7] But this does not mean that the idea of the correspondence between celestial hymnology and human liturgical service is a registered patent of the apocalyptists. As far as we know, the apoc-

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age than the first one. If Scholem's view, that the theurgical elements of the *Hekhalot* literature belong to the earliest stratum of that literature, is correct, then there is no basis for Altman's view. See Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 75: "The theurgical element was not a later addition to the texts but a basic component, one which the editors of such books as the Greater Hekhaloth, *3 Enoch*, and the *Massekheth Hekhalot* attempted to minimize or to discard entirely." Scholem recognizes the importance of *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, but I am reluctant to agree with him that the text represents a stage of "a progressive hyperthrophy of this (theurgical) material as to amount to a process of degeneration" (*ibid.*).

[5] Interestingly, the attribute of Synadelphon, who crowns God with the *Tefilin* as described in *Merkavah Rabbah* (based on the story in *Bavli Hagigah* 13b), is *Gedud*. See in *Merkavah Shelemah* 1a (beginning).

[6] In *Bavli Ḥagigah* 13b it is noticed that nobody can see God, and consequently it is impossible to crown God with His *Tefilin*. The solution suggested there is that Synadelphon actually conjures the *Tefilin* and they go up and place themselves on the right spot. In our text, it appears, Rabbi 'Akiva is described as having been allowed to see more than the angel in *Ḥagigah*.

[7] See our discussion above in Chapter Two.

alyptists were mainly those who developed the *Qedushah* to what it became both in the *Hekhalot* writings and in the daily service. It is likely that those who composed the relevant sections in the prayer-book were familiar with so-called esoteric hymnology, but this again does not mean that everything in the prayer book that refers to the angels derives from apocalyptic or *Hekhalot* writings. On the other hand we may argue that at least in the case of some of the later *Hekhalot* writings, knowledge of the prayer book has to be assumed. But nothing absolutely certain in either direction can be proved and we may leave the issue open at this point assuming that Jewish liturgy and the *Hekhalot* writings were mutually influenced in their concepts of the earthly and heavenly *Qedushah*.

Where the concept of *Hekhalot* hymnology in *Maʿaseh Merkavah* also differs from its counterpart in *Hekhalot Rabbati* is in the fact that according to *Maʿaseh Merkavah* there are thousands upon thousands of chariots in each of the heavenly palaces which are said to give praise to God. The praise they give is not in the form of hymns but in the form of short doxologies, which remind of their counterpart in the various *Qedushah*-sections in the prayer book and in apocalyptic literature (see particularly *Maʿaseh Merkavah*, paragraph 6).

The second part of *Maʿaseh Merkavah* belongs to the *Sar-Torah* practices (paragraphs 11-22). It is probably the longest and most detailed *Sar-Torah* piece that we have, though in paragraph 17 an interesting transition from the *Sar-Torah* to the *Hekhalot* speculations occurs. Like the *Sar-Torah* section in *Merkavah Rabbah*, it begins with a statement made by Rabbi Yishmaʾel to the effect that everything that he is about to tell happened when at the age of thirteen [8] he was fasting in order to receive the revelation of the *Sar-Torah*. When Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah disclosed the secrets of the *Sar-Torah*, that is, after Rabbi Yishmaʾel had received the necessary theurgical information as we find it explicated mainly in *Merkavah Rabbah* and in *Hekhalot Rabbati*, Suriyah, the Prince of the Countenance, revealed himself to Rabbi Yishmaʾel and told him: "The Prince (= Sar) of the Torah is called Yofiel,[9] and everybody who wants him (to appear) should fast for forty days.[10] He should eat his morsel

[8] See *Mishnah ʾAvot* v,24.

[9] See S. Leiter, in: *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* XLI-XLII (1973-1974), p. 144. However, this place escaped his eye.

[10] The forty days should be reminiscent of the forty days which Moses spent on Mount Sinai to receive the Torah. *Deuteronomy* ix,9: "I remained on the

in salt and eat nothing that defiles the body. He should immerse himself twenty-four times,[11] and he should not gaze on any coloured clothes.[12] He should cast his eyes at the ground only.[13] He should say his prayer with all his might, and concentrate himself on his prayer. He should seal himself with his seals and say twelve spells".[14]

Particular attention in the *Sar-Torah* practices of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* deserve the things which the mystic has to do in order to guard himself against evil demons (*Maziqim*). In fact, our text is one of the rare examples in the *Hekhalot* literature that refers to the evil spirits. Generally, we know, the mystic has to protect himself against the angels of destruction. These angels have no demonic role, and it is, thus, noteworthy that in *Ma'aseh Merkavah* special performances are devoted to the protection against those evil spirits. Thus, for example, we read: "He should lift his eyes to heaven so that he might not die. He should stand up and say a name and give praise, so that all his limbs should be sealed. Wisdom and insight are in his heart. He should offer a prayer to the *Sar-Torah*. And he should draw a circle on the ground [15] and stand in its midst, so that the evil spirits shall not come and appear to him as angels and kill him"! (paragraph 11, end). In another place, the practitioner asks for protection against destructive angels and evil spirits alike: "And I said three names... so that the angels and the evil spirits should not touch me" (paragraph 15, end).

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mountain forty days and forty nights; I neither ate bread nor drank water". See also *1 Kings* xix,8. See also the discussion, above in Chapter Four.

[11] I find it difficult to account for that number.

[12] See *Mishnah Megillah* iv,8. It should, however, be noticed that coloured clothes worn by women were considered as having a tempting effect on men. See *Mishnah Zavin* ii,2; *Bavli Yevamot* 76a; *Bavli 'Avodah Zarah* 20a-b. See also *Yalkut Shim'oni* to *Bereshit*, paragraph 44. Compare *Ethiopic Enoch* viii,1 (Greek Version).

[13] For that kind of posture, see Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, p. 49.

[14] The Hebrew word used here is *Davar*, which in a magical context always means "a spell" or "a charm".

[15] The drawing of circles for magical purposes is a widespread technique. However, in the *Hekhalot* literature this is the only occurence of that particular practice. We know of Ḥoni, the circle maker, who drew a circle before he prayed to God for rain: "... I swear by Your great name that I shall not move until You have had mercy upon Your children". See *Mishnah Ta'anit* iii,8. In the light of what we have seen in the present study, the magical functions of Ḥoni's practice and prayer need no further comment. See A. Büchler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety*, Reprint: New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1968, pp. 196 ff. Büchler collected many relevant sources but was not aware of their connection to popular magic. See also the discussion in G. Alon, *Studies in Jewish History* I, Tel Aviv: 1957, pp. 194 ff. (in Hebrew).

In paragraph 14 Rabbi Yishma'el reports of an interesting, though somewhat terrifying, experience he has had: "I was fasting for twelve days, and when I realized that I could not endure it any longer, I used the name of forty-two letters and the angel PDKRS descended in anger. He said to me: 'You most disgraceful man, I am not going to give in before you sit (in fast) for forty days'. I was shocked and said three letters and he ascended... And I was fasting for forty days, praying three prayers in the morning, three at noon time and three in the evening, and every time I said twelve theurgical formulae. On the last day I prayed three times and said twelve "words". Consequently PDKRS, the Angel of the Countenance, and some angels of compassion, descended and planted wisdom into my heart".

Another theurgical practice is described in the Aramaic part of the book (paragraphs 18-20). It is again connected with the secret of the *Sar-Torah*, and in contradistinction to the other *Sar-Torah* practices this one should be performed at the beginning of the Month of *Sivan*. Here too the mystic has to perform the usual practices of fasting, special diets, immersion and praying. However, in this particular case new elements are added. First, it is said that the mystic should not sleep alone, so that he will not be harmed. This may be due to the role the evil spirits played in the mind of the writer(s) of this text. Then, the mystic has to take a leaf of a fig tree, three olive-leaves,[16] a silver goblet, some wine and an egg.[17] With everyone of these objects he has to perform magical practices. For example, the practitioner has to say the following adjuration on the leaf taken from the fig tree: "I adjure you, Synadelphon, the angel who ties a crown to his master, that you shall go up (!) and tell those two angels, Metatron and 'AGMITYA, that they should (plant) wisdom into the heart of that man (= that is, the practitioner himself), so that I shall know and be wise, learn without forgetting, study without forgetting...". The other objects are used in similar manner.

Already before this Aramaic part of the book the text quotes another of Rabbi Yishma'el's questions: "I asked Rabbi Neḥunyah ben Ha-Qanah: when one says the twelve words how can one gaze at the glory of the *Shekhinah*?" [18] Here an interesting transition occurs:

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[16] On the writing on olive-leaves see S. Lieberman, *Toseftā Ki-Fshutah to Shabbat*, p. 176, n. 29.

[17] For the use of eggs in magical practices see S. Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in Later Jewish Literature*, London, 1913, pp. 7 ff.

[18] Paragraph 17.

Rabbi Yishma'el inquires if the theurgical practice used in the case of the *Sar-Torah* is also applicable in the case of the descent unto the Merkavah. We have already observed that the *Sar-Torah* apparently developed from the Merkavah practices and that it probably was a substitute to the latter ones. Here we see that the mystic wants to reverse the process: from *Sar-Torah* theurgy to the Merkavah vision. Indeed, the subject of the Merkavah vision is again taken up in paragraph 21, but in paragraph 22 the two subjects are for a moment linked together again: "Rabbi Yishma'el said: When I received this information from Rabbi Nehunyah ben Ha-Qanah I stood on my feet and asked him all the names of the ministers of wisdom (*Sarei Ha-Hokhmah*).[19] As a result of that question I saw light in my heart comparable to the light of the first days of the creation of the world".[20] When Rabbi Yishma'el stood up and saw his face shining with his wisdom,[21] he uttered the names of all the angels that were guarding the seven palaces. However, the names of these angels are only seldom identical with the ones listed in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xv. The differences could be explained either by the existence of parallel traditions, or by the fact that in the course of their oral or written transmission these lists underwent changes. In addition, the distinction made in *Hekhalot Rabbati* as to the alternate lists of angels on the way in and on the way out is not repeated here.

The third part of *Ma'aseh Merkavah* is mainly devoted to the five prayers that should be said during the descent to and ascent from the Merkavah.[22] As already indicated above, these prayers include marked theurgical elements. The flow of each hymn is broken in the middle by lists of theurgical names and words. The text ends with two additional hymns which help the mystic gaze at the *Shekhinah* (paragraphs 32-33).

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[19] This is a clear reference to the procedure described in *Hakhalot Rabbati* xxi,3.

[20] The literal translation here would be: "light . . . like the days of the heavens". However, my translation takes into account the aggadic sayings about the storing away of the light that was shining before the fourth day of the creation. See *Bereshit Rabba*, p. 21 and parallels.

[21] See *Sifre* to *Numbers* (ed. Horowitz), p. 44, paragraph 41 (beginning).

[22] Paragraphs 26-31.

"HEKHALOT" FRAGMENTS

These "*Hekhalot*" Fragments, published by the present writer in *Tarbiz* XXXVIII (1969), pp. 354-372,[1] from *Genizah* fragments at the University Library at Cambridge, are a clear proof that not all the once extant Merkavah texts reached us. Apparently, some of the writings were altogether lost; others were only fragmentarily preserved.[2] However, it seems that the basic texts, which had a wider circulation than the others, were preserved. The "*Hekhalot*" fragments which we shall discuss here seem to be part of two different compositions, and they are of special interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, although they extensively quote from *Hekhalot Rabbati*, they contain material that was hitherto unknown to us. Secondly, these fragments, at least the first one, contain historical—though enigmatic—references. Finally, they claim to be a systematic angelic revelation: it is the angel who describes the celestial world to the mystic, and not the mystic who experiences a heavenly ascent. The angel teaches the mystic "the study of the descent unto the Merkavah". It seems that the complete texts described the details of the descent from the very beginning, that is, from the stages of the preparation, until the entrance into the seventh *Hekhal*. Unfortunately, what was preserved of the texts belongs only to the last stage of the ascent. To make the loss even more painful, some of the lines are badly damaged and it is almost impossible to reconstruct them.

The MS begins with some mutilated lines which make no sense. Then follows a description of the creation of the world in the metaphorical terms of the weaver's work. The description derives from *Hekhalot Rabbati* xiv,1,[3] though some interesting details are added.[4] Then comes a considerably long passage (lines 13-23) which—in a

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[1] Additional notes were published in *Tarbiz* XXXIX (1969), pp. 216-217.

[2] The present writer knows of more Genizah material relating to the *Hekhalot* literature which he hopes to publish in due course.

[3] See our discussion there.

[4] What is added is mainly the description of the whip with which God is described to have beaten heaven and earth after their creation. Professor S. Lieberman suggested to me that this part of the description is a reference to the stick which the weaver uses to harden the finished piece of cloth. See *Tosefta Shabbat* viii(ix),2, and S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah* to *Shabbat*, p. 107. However, the description as a whole still seems to be unclear.

highly enigmatic manner—refers to one of the leaders of Babylonian Jewry whose name, consisting of five letters, has been fixed from the days of the creation of the world. The whole passage sounds like political propaganda in favour of a certain leader who seeks divine support for the position for which he is campaigning, or else has to defend himself against some unidentified opponents (cf. *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxviii, 5).

In line 23 the angel turns to the Merkavah mystic and says: "And now return, my friend, to the study of the descent unto the Merkavah which I was explicating to you and teaching you: thus one descends and thus one ascends; this is the quality of the first *Hekhal*; and thus does one conjure, and thus does one adjure. For I have interrupted you! And now write it down and leave the seal of the descent unto the Merkavah to all the people of the world, and to everybody who wants to descend and cast a glance at the King and at His Beauty. He will take that path and see without being hurt. I have written it for you on a scroll, and you saw it, and then you descended and saw. You tried it out without being hurt, because I made all the paths of the Merkavah to you like light...". The passage speaks for itself. Here a unique procedure is recorded: the angel had taught the Merkavah mystic all the necessary things in connection with the mystical ascent; the mystic then followed his instructions, and afterwards the angel and the mystic met for a further discussion of the matters involved. No similar procedure is known from any of the other *Hekhalot* writings.

Then follows a long section (lines 28-38) which describes the various dangers and temptations that might befall the Merkavah mystic in his passage from one *Hekhal* to the other. In fact, the mystic resembles a man who loses his way in a wood and suddenly arrives at a place full of all kinds of beasts which attack him and threaten to tear him to pieces. However, the mystic who uses his seals correctly is not hurt. In line 38 we find the angel turning to the mystic: "And return, my friend, to the theurgical means,[5] about which you have been warned concerning the sixth *Hekhal*... so that you shall not be destroyed". The angel describes the various kinds of fires emerging from the seventh *Hekhal*, and he tells the mystic that when he sees

[5] The term used here is *Siman*, (Greek: σῆμα) which may be taken here to refer to the seal(s) with which the mystic protects himself against the hostile angels. However, similar terminology is used in *Hekhalot Zutreti* (in MS. New York [Jewish Theological Seminary] Mic. 8128, fol. 23a), and there the *Siman* is used in the sense of warning.

these fires, he should step aside and not stand in the middle of the doorway. However, knowing that the mystic will be frightened by that vision, the angel gives him the following instructions. "If you are standing, sit; and if you are sitting, lie down; and if you are lying on your back, lie with your face down; and if you are lying with your face down, stick the nails of your fingers and your toes into the ground of the firmament. And put cotton in your ears, and cotton in your nose, and cotton in your rectum so that your soul shall not depart from your body until I come [to your rescue]...!" This again is a most extraordinary description, and no parallel to it is found in any of the other *Hekhalot* texts.

The greatest part of the text (pp. 361-367) describes what is happening in the seventh *Hekhal*. Again, many lines in the manuscript are badly damaged, but their subject matter seems to be the various steps the angel takes to rescue the mystic. When the mystic enters the seventh *Hekhal* he sees Metatron (*Na'ar*) coming from behind the Throne of Glory. His appearance is a most wonderful one, and he places the mystic on a seat before the Throne of Glory. A great deal that is said in the text hereafter is in the form of short remarks on various mystical subjects. Among the subjects mentioned is the *Sar-Torah* (p. 366, lines 36-37).[6] In another place (p. 369, line 20) the *Sar-Talmud* is mentioned. It appears that our text maintained the traditional connection between the Merkavah material and the *Sar-Torah* speculation. We cannot end this short description of the text without pointing out its elaborate angelology. Many of the names of the angels mentioned in the text are unknown from other sources. In addition, some of the mystical names attributed to God in our text are likewise unknown from parallel sources.

With all its curiosities and oddities, the "*Hekhalot*" Fragments seem to represent a hitherto unknown line of development within the Merkavah tradition. On the one hand, we find in it long quotations from *Hekhalot Rabbati*,[7] and on the other hand great portions of the text display completely new *Hekhalot* material. The colophon, which is partly preserved, mentions the "seven great and little palaces", which could well be a reference to *Hekhalot Rabbati* ("The Greater *Hekhalot*") and to *Hekhalot Zutreti* ("The Smaller *Hekhalot*"), thus indicating some of the sources of the text or its all-encompassing quality.

[6] See also p. 371, lines 10-12; and p. 372, lines 20-28.

[7] There are also references to short quotations from other *Hekhalot* writings; e.g. p. 370, line 48.

SEFER HEKHALOT (3 ENOCH)

Sefer Hekhalot, or as it became known: *3 Enoch*, is probably the best known *Hekhalot* text. Odeberg's famous edition of the book, which also contains an English translation and commentary, made the book available to the scholarly world. In spite of all its deficiencies,[1] Odeberg's edition has done justice to the subject, and in many cases his commentary and long introduction contain interesting and valuable material. *Sefer Hekhalot* is the longest and most complex of the *Hekhalot* writings, and by the manner in which it fuses together a number of esoteric traditions it can be viewed as a romance or grand summary of the Jewish apocalyptic and mystical traditions.

Although it is clear that the book draws its material from a variety of sources, it is not always possible to identify them and to assess the special manner in which the book uses them. Even in the case of the *Hekhalot* material incorporated in the book it is not always easy to show where it derived from. From the manner in which the writer, or compiler, of the book put his material together we may conclude that it is not an original work, as for example *Hekhalot Rabbati* or even *Sefer Ha-Razim* are. In fact, *Sefer Hekhalot* fuses traditions together in a rather artificial way, and one is justified in characterizing it as an eclectic composition. In addition, the writer, or compiler, of the book used his terminology in a rather loose, even careless, manner, and the reader sometimes wonders at the degree of literary degeneration the *Hekhalot* literature has reached with *Sefer Hekhalot*. In fact, none of the original components of the *Hekhalot* writings are present in *Sefer Hekhalot*. Nothing is said in it about the special technique of the ascent; it lacks any reference to the theurgical means which protect the mystic on his journey in heaven; and it contains no *Hekhalot* hymns. However, in spite of all its literary shortcomings, the book is a treasure-house of information about the

[1] For an excellent summary of the main problems of the book as they are seen by a modern scholar, see J. Greenfield's "Prolegomenon" to the Ktav Publishing House Reprint (1973) of H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch*. In spite of all its deficiencies Odeberg's is still the only *Hekhalot* text that received scholarly treatment. A new translation and commentary is now being prepared by Dr. Philip Alexander of Manchester for Doubleday, New York. My translations here follow mainly those of Odeberg, though at times I differed from him, mainly because his text is based on completely wrong textual presuppositions.

esoteric traditions at the time of its writing. The book seems to have been written, or compiled, in post-talmudic times, probably in the 6th century C.E. In any event, it is clear that it was composed at a rather late stage in the creation of the *Hekhalot* literature. However, J. T. Milik's attribution of the book to the Kabbalistic literature of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries only shows how little Milik knows of both the *Hekhalot* literature and of the Cabbalah.[2]

From a literary point of view, the book is affiliated to the ancient Enoch tradition, and it appears that in spite of its late date of composition it contains a great deal that derives from the early Enoch tradition and literature. The book may be divided into several parts, and this division may help us in analyzing and understanding the special manner in which the writer handled his material. The first part of the book (chapters 1-12) describes Enoch's translation unto heaven and his transformation into the angel Metatron. However, in order to affiliate itself to the Merkavah tradition, the book begins with a description of the mystical ascent of Rabbi Yishma'el to behold the vision of the Merkavah (chapters 1-2). This description of Rabbi Yishma'el's ascent is a literary device, which defines the setting of the book: it is a rewritten version of the Enoch tradition in terms of the Merkavah tradition. In this way many of the original traits of the apocalyptic Enoch tradition are preserved, though they are recast in a story that was to become part of the Merkavah tradition.

In line with the common Merkavah tradition, Rabbi Yishma'el is described as having passed from palace to palace until he reached the seventh palace. Before he entered the seventh *Hekhal*, he had said a prayer so that he might be saved from the wrath of Qeẓfiel and his retinue. We already met Qeẓfiel in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xviii, where he was one of the gatekeepers of the sixth *Hekhal*. His new post in

[2] See J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976, pp. 125-135. There is nothing in *Sefer Hekhalot* that betrays either the style or the symbolism of Jewish medieval Kabbalah. Milik's contention that the identification of Enoch with Metatron does not "appear in Western Europe until the twelfth century" (p. 134) has no basis. Equally strange is Milik's dating of the Greek original of the *Slavonic Enoch* (*2 Enoch*) "to the ninth if not tenth century" (p. 126). A post-Byzantine dating of *2 Enoch* is simply inconceivable to anyone who has the slightest idea of the history of literature. In addition, Milik's explanation of the name Metatron as deriving "from the Latin *metator* through the Greek μητάτωρ, μιτάτωρ" (p. 131) has very little, if any, substantiation. A closer study of the *Hekhalot* literature and its relationship to Jewish apocalyptic could have saved Milik from falling into many pitfalls.

Sefer Hekhalot at the gate of the seventh *Hekhal* may of course be explained by the occasional inconsistencies in the *Hekhalot* literature regarding the names of the angels and their roles in heaven. But we may also argue that Qeẓfiel's post at the seventh gate is a characteristic example of the idiosyncratic manner in which the writer of the book used his sources. We shall have several occasions to show this idiosyncrasy of the writer, or compiler, of the book. As said, Rabbi Yishma'el prayed that Qeẓfiel might not "get power over me and throw me down from heaven". Although this appears to be the only case in the book in which any theurgical practices are referred to, there is something in this prayer that gives reason for speculation. Usually in the *Hekhalot* writings the angels threaten to kill the mystic or to chase and hurt him, but nothing is said of throwing the mystic down from heaven. We may, therefore, see in Rabbi Yishma'el's prayer an echo or interpretation of sayings like: "The ministering angels wanted to push Rabbi 'Akiva away" (*Bavli Ḥagigah* 15b).[3] In any event, the prayer is characteristic of late mystical literature and one of its literary parallels is to be found in Midrash *Ma'ayan Ḥokhmah* (= *Pesikta Rabbati* 97a) where Moses expresses his wish to fall down from the cloud on which he has ascended to heaven.

On hearing Rabbi Yishma'el's prayer, God called Metatron to his rescue. Metatron came "with great joy... to meet me so as to save me from their hands". He took Rabbi Yishma'el by his hand and said to him: "Enter in peace before the high and exalted King and behold the picture[4] of the Merkavah". However, when Rabbi Yishma'el entered the seventh *Hekhal*, he encountered other angelic beings who frightened him. Metatron again came to his rescue, but this time Rabbi Yishma'el was completely exhausted. As he himself says: "there was not in me strength enough to say a song before the

[3] However, it should be noticed that "to push him away" is a literal translation of the Hebrew verb used here *DAḤAF*. But as can be seen from *Bavli Sanhedrin* 103(b) (bottom), the real meaning of the phrase is "to kill".

[4] The Hebrew word which is used here is *Demut*, which is a synonym of *Ẓelem*. Both terms indicate the corporeal appearance of God or man. See *Genesis* i,26; v,3. Here, as elsewhere in the text, terms which are loaded with meanings and associations are somewhat profusely used, or at least they appear to be arbitrarily introduced into new contexts and combinations. The term *Demut Ha-Merkavah* does not occur in the *Hekhalot* writings which we have hitherto discussed. The equivalent technical term which we met in *Hekhalot Zutreti* was *Yofiot Ha-Merkavah* ("The Beauties of the Chariot"). In *Hekhalot Rabbati* we frequently find the expression "to look at the King and His Throne" (xiii,1; xviii,5; xxv,6) [*le-histakel ba-melekh We-kis'o*].

Throne of Glory". However, after a short while, Rabbi Yishma'el recovered his senses and he was able to recite the proper song, which was promptly answered by the *Qedushah* of the angels.

The kind of reception Metatron gave Rabbi Yishma'el aroused the envy and resentment of the angelic beings ministering to the Throne of Glory. They asked Metatron why he let a human being look at the celestial Merkavah. Metatron replied that Rabbi Yishma'el was from the tribe of Levi, and from the seed of Aaron, that is, Rabbi Yishma'el was a priest. This apparently convinced the angels and they said: "Indeed, this man is worthy of beholding the Merkavah". Professor Scholem rightly pointed out that the tradition that presents Rabbi Yishma'el of the *Hekhalot* literature as a priest, is a fiction.[5] However, we have already referred to the fact that according to an ancient Jewish tradition, high priests could experience visions of the Divine Presence in the Holy of Holies. Consequently Rabbi Yishma'el, the alleged high priest, would also gaze at the divine Merkavah.[6]

To sum up our observations on the first two chapters of *Sefer Hekhalot*, we may say that they are a typical example of the kind of work the compiler of the book did. He put together a great number of literary elements which were collected from a variety of sources. The ascent of Rabbi Yishma'el needs no further comment, though as we saw, the description lacks many of the technical characteristics that are present in parallel descriptions in the *Hekhalot* literature. The angel Qeẓfiel, is known from *Hekhalot Rabbati*, though what he attempts to do in our text does not exactly follow the same lines as his actions in *Hekhalot Rabbati*. While in *Hekhalot Rabbati* Qeẓfiel is one of the three angels that escort the wagon of the Merkavah mystic into the sixth *Hekhal* (xviii,5 ff.), he appears here as the leader of a group of angels that stand in the mystic's way. In *Hekhalot Rabbati* Qeẓfiel is appeased by the seal that the mystic shows him, but in *Sefer Hekhalot*—which mentions no protective seals—his opposition has to be overcome by another angelic being, namely Metatron. Also the manner, in which the angels express their objection to Rabbi Yishma'el's ascent has no parallel in other *Hekhalot* writings. As we saw in our discussion of *Hekhalot Rabbati*, the gatekeepers were appointed to check the passage of the mystic from palace to palace.

[5] See G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, p. 356, h. 3.

[6] The fact that Ezekiel himself was a priest was certainly a major factor in the development of that tradition.

The mystic had to show his seals and also convince them of his moral and intellectual accomplishments. The gatekeepers rarely speak. All this theurgical procedure is missing from *Sefer Hekhalot*. There are no gatekeepers and no seals to be shown to them. Instead the angels express their verbal opposition to the mystic's ascent. What they say is in line with similar utterances in *aggadic* literature, but unlike what they do in the *Hekhalot* literature. Finally, it should be noted that although Metatron is mentioned in other *Hekhalot* writings, he is nowhere else identified with the transfigured Enoch. In his case, *Sefer Hekhalot* blends together apocalyptic and mystical traditions.

Speaking about Metatron, not all the problems connected with his name, status and offices, have satisfactorily been solved. To begin with, we have to consider the name "Metatron" and its etymology. In an appendix to the present book, Professor Lieberman suggests that the name Metatron is a derivation from an earlier form: *Synthronos*. A *Synthronos* was, Professor Lieberman argues, a title given to someone whose throne stood alongside the throne of a king or a deity. Professor Lieberman maintains that the word *Synthronos* could be used either as a substantive or as an adjective, and that whatever we find about Metatron in our sources, both in midrashic literature and in the Merkavah writings, very well fits the idea of the ancient *Synthronos*, that is, the one who is seated on a throne alongside God. Professor Lieberman's explanation is fully acceptable from the point of view of its concern with the etymology of the name. One may, of course, argue that no *Synthronos* is found in any of the extant Jewish writings, but Professor Lieberman has shown that the idea of a *Synthronos* obviously lies behind the story of 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah's blasphemy as described in *Bavli Ḥagigah* 15a and *Sefer Hekhalot* xvi. The story there tells of how 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah saw Metatron sitting in heaven. Knowing that the angels cannot sit, 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah was led to the false conclusion that there were two powers in heaven. And, indeed, the name of Metatron is also elsewhere mentioned in relation to the two-powers heresy (*Bavli Sanhedrin* 38b). The status and offices of Metatron in heaven could really induce impressions of the kind 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah had. In order to avoid such false impressions, so the story reports, Metatron was beaten with sixty lashes of fire and reproached for not standing up in the face of 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah. However, *Sefer Hekhalot* x suggests a different solution to the problem: Metatron received a throne not in the seventh palace itself, alongside the Throne of Glory, but at

the gate of that palace. True to his method of mixing up traditions, the writer of *Sefer Hekhalot* was not content with that solution, and when he retold the story of 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah in chapter xvi, he again changed the story. In its new "improved" version, 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah's heresy was not induced by the mere fact that he saw Metatron *sitting* (see *Bavli Ḥagigah*), but by the fact that he saw Metatron "sitting upon a throne like a king with all the ministering angels standing by me (Metatron) as my servants and all the princes of the kingdoms adorned with crowns surrounding me".

In short, the name "Metatron" signified the office and status of the angel who acts as a vice-regent or divine plenipotentiary. Finally, it should be noticed that in *Bavli Sanhedrin* 38b Rav Idi, who is described as an authority in the disputations between Jews and heretics (*Minim*), told one of the heretics with whom he argued over the status of Metatron, that he would not even accept him as a (divine) messenger (the term used here for mission is the Persian word Parwanka = Parwanak). In this office, Metatron may be viewed as the Jewish counterpart to Hermes, who was the divine messenger in Greek mythology. It is interesting to notice in this connection that in one of the *Aramaic Incantation Texts* published by James Montgomery, Hermes and Metatron are mentioned side by side.[7]

Sefer Hekhalot also refers to Metatron with the appellations *Yahweh Ha-Qatan* (Yahweh the Smaller, or: the Lesser Yahweh) and *Na'ar* (Youth). As Professor Scholem has shown,[8] the first appellation, *Yahweh Ha-Qatan*, may derive from the early tradition concerning the angel Yaho'el. And indeed, Yaho'el occurs as one of Metatron's names not only in the list of the seventy names of Metatron,[9] but also in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls.[10] The term *Yahweh Ha-*

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[7] See J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 123; J. T. Milik, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-131. However, the reading Hermes is not certain!

[8] In *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 43.

[9] *Sefer Hekhalot* xlviii (D). The first two names there are Yaho'el Yah and Yaho'el. Compare also *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxvi,8.

[10] Misled by Montgomery, his followers, (including H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch*, p. 110) read Yeḥi'el instead of Yahoel. See Plate XXIV (Text 25), line 7; Ch. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, Missoula, Montana, Scholars Press, 1975, has added nothing but his own mistakes to the First Editions and Publications of the Bowls. Thus he repeats on p. 87 Montgomery's misreading: Yeḥi'el. It also appears that the Bowl of the Ashmolean Museum, No. 1932.620, first studied by C. Gordon, in *Orientalia* X (1941), p. 280, and re-studied by J. T. Milik, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130, contains the name of Yaho'el and not of Yeḥi'el. Admittedly, Montgomery in his notes to Text 25 (p. 208) raises the possibility

Qatan apparently signifies—as Professor Lieberman thinks—"a smaller god" (*deus minor*) or the semi-divine status of Metatron. It should be remembered that according to the story told in *Sefer Hekhalot*, Metatron had formerly been the man Enoch,[11] and thus whatever his status in heaven his previous human existence should not be forgotten.[12] As Metatron he was raised to a very high position among the angelic beings; in fact, he was made their superior. He was not deified, but was turned into an angel. By calling him *Yahweh Ha-Qatan* one probably wanted to indicate the authority which the appellation lent. This authority is clearly implied by relating the term *Yahweh Ha-Qatan* to *Exodus* xxiii,21: "For my name is in him" (*Sefer Hekhalot* xii).[13] It is true that the Christian gnostics referred to a divine figure called "the little Jao, the Good".[14] But unlike "the little Jao" of the gnostics, Metatron, or *Yahweh Ha-Qatan* as he is called in *Sefer Hekhalot*, is the mystically transformed Enoch! We may well assume

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that the correct reading is Yaho'el and not Yeḥi'el. This may explain Epstein's silence on the issue in his "Gloses Babylo-Araméennes", *Revue des Études Juives* LXXIII (1921), p. 53. Isbell and Milik could have avoided repeating the erroneous reading had they consulted J. C. Greenfield, "Notes on some Aramaic and Mandaic Magic Bowls", *Gaster Festschrift* [*The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* V (1973)], p. 156, n. 40. It should be noticed that Greenfield also discusses the alleged and real "Enochian echoes in the magical bowls" (pp. 150 ff.).

[11] The most important parallel to this identification of Enoch with Metatron is to be found in Targum of Jonathan to *Genesis* v,24. Milik, *op. cit.*, p. 128, remarks on the end of the verse ("and He called his name Metatron, the Great Scribe"): "But the second part of this passage is certainly, in my opinion, a very late addition, as it does not appear in other Palestinian Targums". Could Milik really overlook a tradition that dates back to *Jubilees* iv?

[12] It may be due to his previous human existence that Metatron is able to sit. Other angels, as we saw, could not fold their legs into a sitting position! It should be noted, however, that the class of the angels called *Shotrim* in *Sefer Ha-Razim* had chairs to sit upon. It is interesting to notice that one of the appellations given to Metatron in the Aramaic Magical Bowls is: *Metatron 'Isara Rabba de-Kurseh* ("Metatron the Great Prince of the Throne"); cf. C. H. Gordon, "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Baghdad Museums", *Archiv Orientalni* VI (1934), pp. 328-329.

[13] The same verse is quoted in relation to Metatron in *Bavli Sanhedrin* 38b. As G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, p. 366, n. 107, pointed out, the Qaraite author Qirqisani quoted the passage in *Sanhedrin* as saying: "... Metatron is *Yahweh Qatan*". Scholem remarks that "the name *Yahweh Qatan* was deliberately eliminated from the Talmudic manuscripts because of its heretical connotations". However, I incline to agree with E. E. Urbach, *The Sages*, p. 743, n. 15, that it was Qirqisani who interpolated the name into the Talmudic passage and not *vice versa*.

[14] Cf. *Pistis Sophia* vii (in G. R. S. Meads edition, p. 9); in chapter cxl we find several times the term "the little Sabbaoth, the Good"!

that the appellation *Yahweh Ha-Qatan* was given to Metatron by people who knew of "the little Jao" of the gnostics, but when they did so they had in mind the special authority given to the angel and not his divine essence.

The other appellation given to Metatron is *Na'ar* (Youth). This appellation was probably inspired by *Exodus* xxxiii,11, and if so, it could imply the status of a chief servant and even of a deputy.[15] The explanation given in *Sefer Hekhalot* to the appellation tells the story of the ascent of Enoch to heaven and his transformation into Metatron (chapter iv). As the story there tells, God elevated Enoch to heaven in the days preceding the Flood. When God saw the evil deeds of the generation of the Flood, He took Enoch up to heaven so that he could be preserved as a witness against the sinful people of that generation.[16] What Enoch was expected to testify against was that not only did the people of his generation rebel against God but that their animals shared their sinful behaviour. Thus no injustice was done to anyone in the Flood.[17] As far as we know, this part of the story derives from apocalyptic literature;[18] however, the second part of the story adds new tones to the original Enoch tradition. It is said that when Enoch came up to heaven, three angels, 'Uzah, 'Azah and 'Azael,[19] came forth and claimed before God that it was improper for a human being to ascend to heaven. Their claim was not solely directed against Enoch, but against the whole of mankind, of which he was to become the representative. Man is a sinful being and should not have been created, and now he is even permitted into heaven. In their objections, the angels combined two traditions of the angelic opposition to man. The first tradition speaks of the opposition of the angels to the creation of man,[20] while the second speaks of their

[15] Obviously, this verse which refers to Yehoshu'a ben Nun could not be quoted in relation to Metatron, and thus we find later sources quoting *Psalm* xxxvii,25 and *Proverbs* xxii,6, as biblical references to Metatron.

[16] Compare *Mishnah Sanhedrin* x,3 and parallels.

[17] Compare *Jubilees* v,2; *Bereshit Rabba* (ed. Theodor-Albeck) p. 266.

[18] See *Jubilees* iv,22-24 and parallels.

[19] Some of the manuscripts give only two names: 'Aza and 'Aza'el, and this appears to be the better reading. See Odeberg's note to the place (pp. 10 ff.). For the various spellings of the names of these angels see D. Dimant, "*The Fallen Angels*" *in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them* (Dissertation, in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1974, pp. 55 ff.

[20] See P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1975, pp. 75 ff.

opposition to the ascent of human beings to heaven.[21] As we saw, the blending together of traditions is a typical trait of the compiler of *Sefer Hekhalot*, and it appears that he misses no opportunity of doing so.

God's answer to the angels' claim is resolute: He wants Enoch to be in heaven and to become their superior. In accepting Enoch into heaven, and in transforming him into Metatron, God may be said to declare that He wants the chief angelic being in heaven to be of human origin. From a human point of view, this may be interpreted to imply the idea that mankind has a representative in heaven; this representative was even raised to occupy the highest angelic position. However, once Enoch had left his earthly existence to become a celestial being, he had in fact nothing to do with mankind. He is the *Na'ar* of God,[22] and in charge of whatever the angels do. However, Enoch-Metatron himself explains his appellation thus: "And because I am small and a youth among them... therefore they call me *Na'ar*" (chapter iv, end). In point of fact, however, only God calls Metatron by that appellation, while the other heavenly beings call him by the seventy names he has, corresponding to the seventy languages in the world.[23] In our discussion of *Merkavah Rabbah* we saw that some of the angels have at least two names. There is an exoteric and an esoteric mode of the angels' names. Metatron, however, has many names and appellations. In *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel* we met the *Sar* who dwells in the heaven *Zevul*. Several, mostly esoteric, names were suggested there for that *Sar*, one of which was: "Metatron, like the name of the *Gevurah*" ("Dynamis").[24] In *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxvi,8 Metatron is said to have eight names. In the Aramaic Magical Bowls Metatron is called *'Isara Rabba* ("the great minister"), and in an ancient *Shi'ur Qomah* fragment Metatron is called *Shamasha Reḥima Sara Rabba de-Sahaduta* ("the beloved servant, the great prince of testimony").[25] This last appellation clearly includes the various

[21] See J. Schultz, "Angelic Opposition to the Ascension of Moses and the Revelation of the Law", *Jewish Quarterly Review* LXI (1970/71), pp. 282-307.

[22] Notable exceptions to this rule are: *Bavli 'Avodah Zarah* 3b where Metatron is said to teach Torah to the souls of dead infants, and *Bemidbar Rabba* xii,12 where Metatron is said to sacrifice in the heavenly temple the souls of the righteous ones (compare *Bavli Menaḥot* 100a where the angel Micha'el is described offering sacrifices on the heavenly altar).

[23] In chapter xvii the parallel tradition of 72 languages is mentioned. The seventy names of Metatron are enumerated in xlviii(d).

[24] See G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 46, notes 13 and 14.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

aspects of Metatron: he is God's choice servant; [26] he is the Great Prince; [27] and he is to bear testimony against the generation of the Flood.[28]

We cannot enter here a detailed discussion of everything that the book says about Metatron and what he told and showed Rabbi Yishma'el. Sometimes parallel and conflicting episodes are piled one upon the other, as for example in chapters iv and vi where two different accounts are given of the angelic opposition to the ascent of Enoch. The one, as we noticed, was put in the mouth of the evil angels, and the other, in the more traditional manner, was attributed to the angels of service. However, the eclecticism of the compiler may be viewed as his *felix culpa*: it enables us to have a panoramic view of the esoteric traditions in the post-Talmudic period. In this respect, it is interesting that Metatron is identified with Enoch. Nowhere [29] in Jewish midrashic and Talmudic literature are the two, Metatron and Enoch, identified. On the contrary, we find that some of the Palestinian sages of the third century expressed negative views about Enoch.[30] These views, which were expressed as polemical utterances in disputes with *Minim* ("heretics"), may be viewed as reflecting anti-Christian positions. Since Enoch and his like who experienced heavenly ascensions could have pre-figured the Ascension of the Christ,[31] some sages found themselves obliged to clear Jewish tradition from the events and experiences which served the early Christians in building up their religion. If one claimed, as these sages did, that Enoch was not entered in the book of the righteous and that he was not translated unto heaven but died a natural death, one clearly aimed at depriving the Christians of some of their alleged roots in the Jewish religion. The sages who undermined the righteousness of Enoch could hardly comply with books such as *Sefer Hekhalot*. Yet, even from their point of view the identification of Enoch with Metatron could have served in their alleged anti-Christian polemic. Enoch was not a messianic figure who was translated to heaven in order to

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[26] See *Sefer Hekhalot* viii: "... Metatron ... said to me: Before He appointed me to attend (*le-shamesh*) the Throne of Glory"; and chapter x: "... This is Metatron, my servant ...".

[27] Cf. *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*.

[28] *Sefer Hekhalot* iv.

[29] *Targum Yerushalmi* to *Genesis* v,25 is the only exception to the rule.

[30] In *Bereshit Rabba* (ed. Theodor-Albeck, pp. 238-239).

[31] See *Hebrews* xi,5, though the context there is not the question of the Ascension but of belief. Compare also *Jude* 14; and particularly *1 Clement* ix,3.

complement his mission and function as Son of Man, as the Christians thought of their Christ, but a man who ascended to heaven to become an *angel*. Thus, one may see in the Enoch's metamorphosis into the *angel* Metatron an attempt to overcome the so-called Christian overtones which the apocalyptic legends about Enoch had. By merging apocalyptic and mystical traditions, the Enoch-Metatron legends could have helped, theologically speaking, certain esoteric groups in finding legitimation for a tradition which, under the circumstances, was no longer as fashionable as it had once been in esoteric circles.

In chapter v Metatron tells Rabbi Yishma'el another version of how he ascended to heaven. The story begins with Adam's expulsion from the Garden of Eden. At that time God was dwelling upon a *Keruv* under the Tree of Life. God's initial presence in the Garden of Eden is a constant theme in aggadic literature.[32] But, in contrast to the aggadic utterances which state that God already ascended to the first heaven after the Original Sin had been committed, *Sefer Hekhalot* tells a different story: God ascended only later on, in the days of Enosh (Genesis iv,26),[33] when the angels convinced Him that it would be improper for Him to stay on earth among sinful people. It should be noticed that the subject of God's ascent from earth to heaven is an aggadic theme and has nothing to do with the subject dealt with in the *Hekhalot* literature. Even in apocalyptic literature God is always conceived of as dwelling in heaven, and His presence in Paradise, as described in *Apocalypsis Mosis* xxii,3-4, is an exception to the rule. What, then, is the purpose of this extraordinary chapter in *Sefer Hekhalot*? Odeberg may be right in saying (see his commentary, p. 13) that this chapter provides another explanation for the translation of Enoch into heaven. There is nothing that can prevent the writer of *Sefer Hekhalot* from introducing yet another explanation for this translation, an explanation that does not concur with the one given in chapter iv. Odeberg is, thus, certainly right when he comments (p. 13): "As regards the relationship between ch. iv on the one hand and chs. v and vi on the other, it might be safe to assume that they represent respectively two different lines of tradition as to the translation of Enoch".

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[32] See *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* (ed. Mandelbaum), pp. 1-3, and parallels. See also Odeberg's notes, p. 14.

[33] According to *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana*, in the days of Enosh God ascended to the second heaven, while the generation of the Flood caused God to ascend to the third heaven.

However, Odeberg was not sufficiently aware of the problems emerging from the eclectic method which the writer of *Sefer Hekhalot* applies in his book. Thus, for example, in chapter vi we hear that ʿAnafiʾel was sent to fetch Enoch up to heaven. In discussing this chapter Odeberg quotes a number of literary parallels without qualifying and analyzing them. For instance, Odeberg should have noticed that this practice of sending an angel down to earth to fetch the visionary up to heaven is characteristic of some apocalyptic writings, but is never the case in the *Hekhalot* literature. In *2 Enoch* i-iii we hear of the two angels who came to take Enoch up to heaven, and in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* x we read that Jaoʾel was sent to raise the visionary to heaven. But already in *1 Enoch* no angel comes down to fetch the visionary up to heaven; there are only angels who guide him in the course of his heavenly journeys. However, in *Sefer Hekhalot* ʿAnafiʾel was sent to bring Enoch to heaven. We already met ʿAnafiʾel in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxii-xxiii where he is described as one of the gatekeepers of the seventh *Hekhal*. It should be observed that some of the things that are said there about ʿAnafiʾel are actually found elsewhere in connection with Metatron,[34] and it may be argued that Metatron received the status and offices of ʿAnafiʾel. Nevertheless, it is still an extraordinary fact that in *Sefer Hekhalot* ʿAnafiʾel is described as the divine herald who brought Enoch up to heaven. Since in *Hekhalot Rabbati* ʿAnafiʾel is described as ushering the Merkavah mystic into the seventh *Hekhal*, it appears that the writer of *Sefer Hekhalot* could not find a more distinguished angel to carry out the mission of translating Enoch onto heaven. As it were, Enoch ascended to heaven upon a fiery chariot with fiery horses, and in that he resembled Elijah (*2 Kings* ii,11).[35] But Enoch and ʿAnafiʾel

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[34] Just to give two or three examples: (1) It is said of ʿAnafiʾel (*Hekhalot Rabbati* xxii,4) that he is the "ʿ*Eved* ('Servant') who is called after the name of his master". We know that similar words are used in connection with Metatron (*Hekhalot Rabbati* xxvi,8; *Sefer Hekhalot* x). (2) ʿAnafiʾel bears the ring which has the seal of heaven and earth on it (*Hekhalot Rabbati* xxii,1), and we read of Metatron's name being "written in one letter with which heaven and earth were created and which was sealed by the ring of ʾEheyeh ʾasher ʾEheyeh" (*Shiʿur Qomah* in: *Merkavah Shelemah* 39b). (3) The angels worship ʿAnafiʾel (*Hekhalot Rabbati* xxii,2) as they worship Metatron (*Sefer Hekhalot* xiv).

[35] See also Odeberg's notes *ad locum*. It should be noticed that in chapter vii Enoch says that he was raised on the wings of the storm. See *1 Enoch* xiv,8 as compared to lxx,2.

were not alone on that occasion: "And he lifted me up to the high heavens together with the *Shekhinah*".[36]

When Enoch reached heaven, the angels gave expression to their "traditional" opposition to the ascent of man. But, as was customary on such occasions, God silenced them, saying: "But this one whom I have taken from among them (the children of men) is a choice one... and he is equal to all of them in faith, righteousness and perfection of deed".

From chapter viii onwards Metatron describes the special gifts and qualities which God bestowed upon him. God adorned Metatron with special angelic features and attributes, and placed him on a throne at the gate of the seventh palace. This throne was made in the likeness of the Throne of Glory. Chapter viii describes the great wisdom bestowed upon Metatron. The chapter is written in the form of a *Hekhalot* hymn. Chapter ix describes how Enoch-Metatron was transformed into a huge angel. In chapter x Metatron tells Rabbi Yishma'el how he was appointed as God's representative and ruler over all the celestial princes of the kingdoms. However, Metatron was not appointed over the eight high princes called by the name of the Ineffable Name. The names of these angels are not mentioned in the text, and all the attempts made by Odeberg to identify them either by their office of by their names only add to the confusion.[37] However, it appears that what the writer had in mind were the seven archangels described in chapter xvii, and which, together with 'Anafi'el, were appointed over the seven heavens. In addition, Metatron was appointed over secret knowledge and sciences; in fact, nothing was hidden away from him (chapter xi). God made for Metatron a garment of glory and put a royal crown on his head (chapter xii).

Most interesting is the description of Metatron's crown (chapter xiii). It is said that God wrote on it with his finger the letters with which he had created heaven and earth and all that they contain. The letters of the alphabet which were used by God in the creation of the world played a prominent role in Jewish mysticism,[38] but it is only here that it is said that they are written on Metatron's crown.

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[36] This is, of course, incompatible with the earlier description (chapter v) according to which God ascended to heaven in the days of 'Enosh.

[37] The nearest parallel to our passage can be found in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xxvi,8, where the *eight names* of Metatron himself are enumerated.

[38] See G. Scholem, *Judaica 3*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970, pp. 7 ff.: "Der Name Gottes und die Sprachtheorie der Kabbala".

In this respect, it may be true to say that Metatron's crown contained the mystical or magical formula of creation. A similar idea is found in *Shi'ur Qomah* where it is said that Metatron's name was written in "one letter with which heaven and earth were created".[39] This idea is later (in chapter xiv) complemented by the idea of the celestial curtain, *Pargod*, which is said to be spread before the Holy One and upon which are engraved "all the generations of the world and all their doings".

Chapter xiv is the first of a series of chapters which contain a most elaborate angelological system. It should be observed that very few of the angels mentioned in the other *Hekhalot* writings are also found in *Sefer Hekhalot*. In fact, *Sefer Hekhalot* has a different kind of angelology than do the other *Hekhalot* tractates. Most of the angels mentioned in our text perform cosmological duties, and their names derive from the Hebrew names of the objects and phenomena in Nature over the function of which they are appointed. Thus, for example, the angels appointed over the day and the night are called *Shemeshi'el* and *Laila'el*, *Shemesh* being the Hebrew word for sun and *Lailah* the Hebrew for night. It may thus be argued that the angelology of *Sefer Hekhalot* is of a cosmological nature. This type of angelology is known from the apocalyptic Enoch literature and it should be distinguished from yet another type of angelology—magical angelology—which is found in *Sefer Ha-Razim* and in the Magical Papyri. Since the whole subject of Jewish angelology still requires a systematic study, the three types of angelology referred to here (cosmological, mystical and magical angelologies) should be considered only as a provisional classification. Although general classifications can never be conclusive, they are helpful in pointing out essential differences of context and function.

Curiously, in chapter xv we return to the mystical metamorphosis of Enoch into Metatron. A more suitable place for this chapter would have been after chapter viii, principally because chapter ix already described the huge angelic dimensions of Metatron. The opening words of chapters viii and xv are almost identical, and indeed the two chapters are artificially separated. In both chapters we hear of what had happened to Enoch before he became the chief servant before the Throne of Glory. The sequence of the chapters in *Sefer Hekhalot*, particularly in the first part of the book, raises a

[39] See in *Merkavah Shelemah*, 39b.

number of questions, which, unfortunately, have to be left unanswered. Since we do not know the literary sources used by the compiler of the book, we cannot determine the method he applied in organizing his material. The only thing that may be said with some certainty is that the book betrays the fact that it was compiled from a number of sources, which were put together in a manner that leaves the reader with many questions. One also has to take into account the fact that some of the manuscripts add to the confusion by introducing heterogeneous material. Thus, for instance, we find that some manuscripts interpolate into chapter xv a fragment which describes the ascent of Moses! [40] As for the details of the mystical metamorphosis itself, they recall what is said in *2 Enoch* xxii about Enoch's mystical transformation, although a basic difference still exists between the two descriptions. In *2 Enoch* the hero is anointed with special oils so as to enable him to stand in the presence of God, while in our text Enoch is said to be turned into a fiery angel.

Chapter xvi tells the story of 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah's apostasy. The story derives from *Bavli Ḥagigah* 15a, though, as we already saw, several details are changed or added. Unlike the story in *Ḥagigah*, the story here is told as seen from the point of view of Metatron, and, most significantly, it is said that 'Anafi'el was the one who treated Metatron with sixty lashes of fire. We have already pointed out the fact that in contrast to *Ḥagigah* where 'Elish'a ben 'Avuyah only saw Metatron sitting, in our text it is said that he also noticed the special services rendered him by the angels. Chapter xvii describes the seven archangels who are nominated over the seven heavens and the five angels who are appointed over the astral world. In chapter xviii a description is given of the special manner in which the angels pay homage to their superiors, first the angels of the seven heavens and then the angels of the seven *Hekhalot*. The description appears to derive from *Hekhalot Rabbati* xi,1, though it is implied there (xxii,2) that the angels do not pay homage to one another. According to *Hekhalot Rabbati*, only before the *Sar Ha-Panim* may the angels fall down, and this only by a special permission from God (*Hekhalot*

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[40] Printed in Odeberg's edition as chapter xv/b. It describes Moses' ascent to heaven, and it may be considered a mystical version of the story found in *Bavli Shabbat* 88b. Another mystical version of the same story is found in *Pesikta Rabbati* (ed. Friedmann), 96b-98b. A slightly different version of the story found in *Pesikta Rabbati* is known as *Ma'ayan Ḥokhmah*; see A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, I, pp. 58-61.

Rabbati xxii,2). The writer of *Sefer Hekhalot* may have overlooked this fact, but one may also argue that the writer of our text did not feel himself dogmatically bound to concepts and notions which he found in the sources that he used. The obligation he felt towards his literary sources should not be overestimated. As we saw, he felt free to invent new mystical situations and unknown classes of angels. For instance, he describes the angels which inhabit the seventh *Hekhal*, and among the names which he mentions we find several ones that in *Hekhalot Rabbati* and in *Maʿaseh Merkavah* are said to be stationed in other places in heaven.[41] To give only one example of this process of shifting angels from one station to the other in heaven, we may mention the angel Gevurati'el, who, according to *Hekhalot Rabbati* xv,5, is one of the gatekeepers of the fourth *Hekhal* and in *Sefer Hekhalot* xviii he was promoted to be one of the angels of the seventh *Hekhal*.

Referring to its angelology, it should be observed that the book is rich in angelological etymologies. It is not clear whether the compiler invented these etymologies or whether he found them in the sources he used. Comparatively speaking, the other *Hekhalot* writings only seldom engage in etymologies, and, thus, the practice of our compiler deserves special attention. Chapters xix-xxii describe more angels who are stationed in the seventh palace before the Throne of Glory and their roles and duties. These chapters are distinguished by their poetical richness. They are interrupted by two chapters—xxiii-xxiv—which enumerate the various kinds of spirits (*Ruḥot*) and chariots of God. Chapter xxv again takes up the subject of the angels. First we hear of Ofafani'el, the prince of the 'Ofanim, and later (chapter xxvi) of Sarafi'el, the prince of the Serafim. The physical description of Sarafi'el is strongly influenced by the *Shiʿur Qomah* terminology. In connection with Sarafi'el, an interesting etymology is brought to explain the word "Serafim": "Why are they called Serafim?—Because they burn (*sorfim*) the writing tables of Satan. Every day Satan is sitting together with Samael, the Prince of Rome, and with Dubiel, the Prince of Persia, and they write the iniquities of Israel on writing tables which they hand over to the *Serafim*, in order that they may present them before the Holiness, blessed be He, so that He may destroy Israel from the

[41] It must however be admitted that in this respect there are even substantial differences between *Hekhalot Rabbati* and *Maʿaseh Merkavah*. Compare, for instance, *Hekhalot Rabbati* xv with *Maʿaseh Merkavah* paragraph 23!

world. But the *Serafim* know the secrets of the Holiness, blessed be He, that He desires not that the people of Israel should perish. What do the *Serafim* do?—Every day they take them from Satan and burn them in the burning fire which burns in front of the high and exalted Throne".

The presence of Satan here is rather unusual. Satan does not figure in the *Hekhalot* texts known to us, but Samael—who is generally taken to be his main configuration—is mentioned in the Martyrs-Apocalypse in *Hekhalot Rabbati*. The person of Satan is also rarely mentioned in the rabbinic writings of the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods. Living in an age in which Christianity and gnosticism flourished, the rabbis probably felt that too much of the Satan would draw attention in the wrong direction. It is noteworthy that according to *Sefer Hekhalot* the powers of Satan have access to heaven.[42] In fact, nothing is said of their Fall.[43] In comparison with later developments of Jewish mysticism, it may be said that the *Hekhalot* literature had almost nothing to say about the powers of evil. As we saw, *Ma'aseh Merkavah* mentions the demons and here Satan and some of his powers are referred to, but these two exceptions to the rule cannot but bring us back to the conclusion that *Hekhalot* mysticism was only indirectly influenced by gnosticism.

The subject of the heavenly court is carried on until chapter xxxiii, and in chapter xxxiv a new angelological section is introduced. Its main subject matter is the heavenly *Qedushah*. A great deal is said concerning the details of the ritual, but no hymns are quoted. This section ends with chapter xl, and in xli Metatron reveals to Rabbi Yishma'el a series of cosmological secrets. The descriptions here resemble those of the heavenly journeys known from apocalyptic literature, notably in the Enoch writings, though several details borrowed from the Merkavah writings are added. These descriptions practically lead to the end of the book (chapter xlviii), where some of the manuscripts add a number of appendices. It should be noticed that chapter xlviii contains several references to the future redemption.

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[42] Odeberg in his notes (p. 93) rightly observes that a similar concept is found in *1 Enoch* xl,7.

[43] See also *Sefer Hekhalot* iv and v, where 'Uza and 'Azael are twice mentioned in heaven. Compare *Bavli Yoma* 67b: "It was learnt according to Rabbi Yishma'el: 'Azazel (*Leviticus* xvi,6 ff.) [is called by that name] because he atones for the deeds of 'Uza and 'Aza'el". See Rashi to the place. Compare also *Sifra* (ed. Weiss) 43c (letter c), and L. Ginzberg, *Genizah Studies*, Vol. I (New York, 1928), p. 83 and *Pesikta Rabbati* 191a.

One of these appendices, printed in Odeberg's edition as chapter xlviii (d), is an interesting résumé of the Metatron legend.[44] Among other things this résumé contains the list of the seventy names of Metatron, and it ends with a section that links Metatron with the *Sar-Torah*. After Moses had suddenly forgotten all that he had learnt from the mouth of God, Metatron is said to have revealed the secrets of the Torah to Moses on Mount Sinai.[45] This is a typical *Sar-Torah* episode, and its inclusion at the end of the book was probably aimed at reminding the reader of the parallel ending of *Hekhalot Rabbati*.

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[44] A similar résumé is also known from *ʾOtiyot de-Rabbi ʿAkiva*, Version A, Letter Aleph.

[45] Compare *Maʿaseh Merkavah*, paragraph 1.

MASEKHET HEKHALOT

Masekhet Hekhalot is the most frequently published *Hekhalot* text we have,[1] and there are also many manuscripts of the text.[2] The text is also known as *Ma'aseh Merkavah* or *Pirkei Hekhalot*, and it consists of seven chapters. The first chapter is divided into two: the first part enumerates six names by which both God and His Throne are called. Biblical verses are quoted to substantiate this parallelism in the nomenclature. In the second part of the chapter the question is asked: "How many thrones does God have?", in answer to which eleven names are given together with the biblical verses from which they allegedly derive. The material in this chapter bears the marks of a free midrashic composition, and it has almost nothing to do with the material found in the other *Hekhalot* writings. It is neither said where the eleven thrones are placed, nor is any explanation offered for the different number of thrones given in the first part of the chapter and the one given in the second part.

The second chapter describes the huge dimensions of the Throne. In fact the beginning of this chapter may be described as the *Shi'ur Qomah* of the Throne. In addition, it is said that God has "seventy thrones of kingdoms... which are like his own Throne". These thrones correspond to the seventy kingdoms of the world. God also has seventy crowns of glory and seventy sceptres, and thus all the kings of the world are under His dominion. They depend on God for all the glory that they have. It should be noticed, in comparison, that in *Sefer Hekhalot* (*3 Enoch*) Metatron is appointed over the kingdoms of the world. Chapter iii goes on in describing the magnificence of the Throne of Glory. The appearance of the Throne "is like *Ḥashmal*", which the writer of the text explains as meaning that "three hundred and seventy-eight [3] kinds of light" are fixed in the throne. The throne is covered by a garment from which emanate all kinds of

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[1] See, for instance, A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch* II, pp. 40-47; and Sh. A. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot*, I, pp. 51-62 and 387-390. The text published by Wertheimer is much better than that published by Jellinek, but even Wertheimer's text should be amended according to the MSS. mentioned in the next note.

[2] From the great number of manuscripts which the present writer has examined it seems that MSS. Firenze-Laurentiana 44/2, fol. 159a-162a, and Parma 3531 (Stern 91) [no pagination] are the best.

[3] This is the numerical value of the Hebrew term *Ḥashmal*.

light. Thus none of the heavenly beings can look at the throne and at God. This garment is reminiscent of the *Pargod* which according to *Sefer Hekhalot* xlv is said to be spread before the Throne of Glory. However, it is interesting to note that the writer of *Masekhet Hekhalot* does not use the term *Pargod* (curtain),[4] but the rather strange term *Beged* (garment). It appears that by doing so he wanted to allude either to the *Ḥaluq* (garment) of God which is described in *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii,4 and iv,2, or to the "cloth of all blue" (*Beged Kelil Tekhelet*) with which the ark of the testimony was covered when carried from place to place (*Numbers* iv,6).[5]

Chapter iv introduces more familiar and interesting Merkavah material than that contained in the first three chapters. The chapter begins with a description of the seven heavens and their luminous light. Particular attention is given to the seventh heaven, *Aravot*. It is said that four walls of fire—the names of which are given—encircle the Throne of Glory. Within these walls of fire there are the seven *Hekhalot*, but the text does not explicate how these seven palaces are situated among the four walls of fire.[6] Every palace has 8766 gates of lightnings, which correspond to the number of the hours of one year of 365 days.[7] Every such gate has 365,000 kinds of light, and in every gate stand 3,650,000,000 angels. It seems that like the writer of *Sefer Hekhalot* our writer allowed himself a considerable amount of freedom in his descriptions. He did not feel himself bound by the *Hekhalot* texts which he knew, and there are good reasons to consider him an epigone who looked for artificial means of decorating his subject matter. His manner of writing may betray his origin: he probably belonged to the circles of German *Ḥasidim* (about 1150-1250). According to the writer of *Masekhet Hekhalot*, not only the angels sing their celestial song but also their horses. We have already met celestial horses in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xvi, where only their fearful appearance is described. In *Masekhet Hekhalot*, however, these horses are said to have four wings, like the angels

[4] The MSS. mentioned in note 2 contain in chapter vi a short sentence which refers to the *Parokhet* (curtain) that is spread before the Throne of God.

[5] It should be noted that in *Hekhalot Rabbati* xi,4 a different procedure is recorded: when the angels uncover their faces to look at God, God covers His face. No garment or curtain is mentioned there. We shall come back to this point in our discussion of chapter vi.

[6] It is unlikely that the writer of *Masekhet Hekhalot* conceived of four sets of seven palaces.

[7] In reality, only 8760 divided into 365 makes 24!

who ride them, and like the angels they speak seventy languages! The chapter ends with a description of the eight very important angels who stand at the gates of the seventh palace, and who check all those who enter to see the Throne of Glory.[8]

Chapter v describes in some detail the seventh palace and all that it contains. We find in it a long list of the classes of angels who minister in this palace, some of which are not known from the other *Hekhalot* writings.[9] In chapter vi more angelological material is introduced. Its main subject matter is the details of the celestial *Qedushah*. Among other things it is said that clouds of fire envelop the faces of the angels, so that they should not look at the vision of the *Shekhinah*. This remark is particularly interesting, since the text already said (chapter iii) that God is hidden away from the angels by the "garment" that is spread over the Throne of Glory. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that the writer of the text used different sources, or else that he invented new details without paying too much attention as to how these details harmonized. In any event, the writer also mentions the fact that a *Parokhet* (curtain) is spread before the Throne. Seven angels, those who were first born, are said to serve God. In addition, a detailed description of the *Ḥayyot* is given. Parts of that description seem to be the result of the writer's misunderstanding of his literary sources.[10] The chapter ends with another angelological section, which describes a variety of angelological hierarchies.

The seventh chapter describes *Me'onah*,[11] which is the firmament above the heads of the *Ḥayyot*. Although the writer does not explicitly allude to it, it appears that he has in mind the eighth heaven.[12] How-

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[8] In fact, the chapter has a short epilogue: a passage is quoted from *Bavli Hagigah* 13a in which the limbs of the Hayyot are described.

[9] Thus, for instance, we find a class of angels called *Ḥadudei Panim* ("the angels with the shining faces"). For *Ḥadudim* in the sense of rays of light see "Livre de Noé" in: *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I*: *Qumran Cave I*, ed. D. Barthélémy and J. T. Milik, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 85. See also E. Kimron, in *Lešonenu* XXXVII (1973), pp. 96-98, to which one has to add the expression *Ẓinorei Shemesh* (rays of the sun) in *Sefer Ha-Razim*, p. 92, l. 5.

[10] Thus, for instance, the writer says that each *Ḥayyah* has "four faces within four faces, and four wings within four wings". He may have used *Hekhalot Zutreti*, but obviously his interpretation of the relevant passage there will not fit the calculation of the number of faces and wings as it is explicated in *Hekhalot Zutreti*.

[11] The name, which is unknown from other sources, derives from *Deuteronomy* xxxiii, 27.

[12] See our discussion of *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*.

ever, what the writer says about this heaven is not very clear, and he seems to have used descriptions of the seventh heaven which he found in different sources. He mainly used *Hekhalot Rabbati*, where he rightly noticed the fact that God descends from the eighth heaven to His Throne in the seventh palace in the seventh heaven. However, the manner in which he refers to *Hekhalot Rabbati* is another proof of the freedom he allowed himself in handling his material. Among other things, he assumes that a dialogue is held between the Angels of Idolatry [13] and the Angels of the Synagogues and Study Houses, as to who God is. Naturally, the Angels of Idolatry are unable to recognize God when He descends from the upper heaven. They ask "Who is the King of Glory?", to which the guardian angels of Israel answer: "The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory".[14] The chapter ends with a series of quotations from midrashic and *Hekhalot* sources which discuss the creation of the world [15] and the Throne of Glory.[16] Once again, the writer handles his sources in a free manner, as can easily be seen from the way he quotes *Hekhalot Rabbati* iv,3 in the concluding sentence of his text.

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[13] *Sarei ʿAvodah Zarah*, which in this particular context seem to be the guardian angels of Christianity.

[14] The reference is to *Psalms* xxiv,8-10. I cannot find a parallel or source to this interpretation of the biblical text.

[15] First he quotes *Bereshit Rabba* xii (ed. Theodor-Albeck, pp. 108-109) on the creation of the world with the two letters *Yod* and *Hei*. Then he quotes *Sefer Yeẓirah* i,13 (ed. I. Gruenwald, in: *Israel Oriental Studies*, I (1971), p. 146, paragraph 15). Between the quotations from *Bereshit Rabba* and that from *Sefer Yeẓirah* a number of short aggadic sayings are introduced.

[16] See *Hekhalot Rabbati* iii,2.

SHIʿUR QOMAH

With *Shiʿur Qomah* we begin the discussion of a series of texts which are not *Hekhalot* writings in the narrow sense of the word, but which belong to the ancient Merkavah tradition.[1] Among these texts *Shiʿur Qomah* is the most controversial one.[2] It describes the physical measures of God's limbs and gives their mystical names. In contrast to the *Hekhalot* tradition which refers back to the terminology and imagery of Ezekiel, the *Shiʿur Qomah* speculations attach themselves to the *Song of Songs*.[3] The term *Shiʿur Qomah* means "The Measurement of the Body", and it derives from the *Song of Songs* vii,8. It is first found in Tannaitic literature in connection with the vessels of the Temple.[4] However, *2 Enoch* xxxix,6 may contain the first reference to the *Shiʿur Qomah* of God.[5] In the Middle Ages the *Shiʿur Qomah* was one of the targets which the Qaraites attacked in rabbinic Judaism.[6] Even some of the rabbis were not happy with those provocative speculations.[7] Interesting in this respect was the position taken by Maimonides: in his youth he believed in the book, while in his later days he nervously rejected its Jewish origin.[8]

Since the book abounds in mystical names and measurements, its contents are difficult to convey. The only full text is printed in Musajoff's *Merkavah Shelemah*, and it contains textual information

[1] For the connections between the *Hekhalot* tradition and the *Shiʿur Qomah* speculations, see G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 36-42.

[2] For the various theological problems involved in the *Shiʿur Qomah* speculations, see G. Scholem, *Von der Mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit*, Zürich, Rhein-Verlag, 1962, pp. 7 ff. For a survey of the medieval controversy over *Shiʿur Qomah* see A. Altmann, "Moses Narboni's Epistle on Shiʿur Qoma", in: *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. A. Altmann, Harvard University Press, 1967, pp. 225 ff.

[3] See S. Lieberman in G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., pp. 118-126.

[4] *Yerushalmi Shabbat* 2d in the name of the ʾAmora, Rabbi Ḥananiah bar Shemuʾel.

[5] The visionary says: "I have seen the measureless and harmonious (B: incomparable) form of the Lord. To Him there is no end".

[6] See, for instance, Salmon ben Jeruchim, *The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, ed. I. Davidson, New York: 1934, pp. 114-124. See further, L. Nemoy, "Al-Qirqisani Account of the Jewish Sects and Christianity", *Hebrew Union College Annual* VII (1930), pp. 331, 350 ff.

[7] See above n. 2.

[8] See S. Lieberman in Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 124.

gleaned from a number of sources.[9] The text begins in a manner familiar from the *Hekhalot* literature: "Rabbi Yishma'el said: I saw the King of the Kings sitting on a high and exalted throne, and His servants were attending Him on His right and on His left". Metatron appears and reveals to Rabbi Yishma'el the measurement of God's body. The description begins from the feet and goes up to the head. Every limb is measured by parasangs. On page 38a the fantastic size of these parasangs is given: "Every parasang equals three miles, and every mile equals ten thousand ells, and every ell equals three small fingers. The small finger is that of God, and His small finger fills the whole world".

It is hard to say whether any method lies behind these measures, but we may assume that originally the measures aimed at conveying the notion of ideal proportions. These proportions were shared by God and man alike: "Rabbi Natan, Rabbi Yishma'el's student, said: He (Rabbi Yishma'el) gave me the measure of the nose too, from the right and from the left. And also (the measure of) the lips and (of) the cheekbones... the width of the forehead equals the height of the neck; the shoulder is as long as the nose (?), and the nose is as long as the small finger,[10] and the height of the cheekbones is like the hemisphere of the head. And this is also the size of every man". Since man was created in the image of God, those interested in the subject felt entitled to make inferences from the physical proportions of the human body to that of God.

Every limb has also a mystical name. This may be explained in different ways: First, we already saw that according to *Merkavah Rabbah* the angels have two parallel sets, or modes, of names. Allegedly, one is their exoteric, official name and the other is the esoteric, mystical, appellation. We may thus assume that in the case of the *Shi'ur Qomah* a similar concept was employed. But we may also say that since nobody was allowed to conceive the corporeal configuration of the Deity,[11] the mystics had to use mystical metonyms when they described His corporeal features. Thus the mystical language which was invented for that purpose aimed at circumventing the anthropomorphic problem. But there is yet another way of looking

[9] The text printed there on pages 30a-36a comes from the sources of the German Ḥasidim. However, we shall refer here only to the text printed on pages 36a-44a.

[10] See S. Lieberman, *Shkiin*, Jerusalem, 1939, p. 12.

[11] See *Exodus* xxxiii,20.

at these mystical names. At one stage the text says: "The appearance of the face is like that of the cheekbones, and the appearance of the cheekbones and the face is in the likeness of the spirit and in the form of the soul. Nobody can recognize Him. His body is like the *Tarshish*,[12] and His glory flashes in an awesome manner from out of the darkness. Clouds and mists encircle Him... We do not possess any measure, but only the names are revealed to us".[13] If taken literally, these sentences, and particularly the last one, indicate that the mystical names replace the measures. Thus the mystical name may refer to a particular limb and also indicate its measurement.

The degree of anthropomorphism maintained in *Shiʿur Qomah* is really remarkable. At one point the measure of God's beard is given (37a) and at another that of His eyebrows and of His curls (38b). Naturally, Rabbi Yishma'el was shocked by all that Metatron had revealed to him, so Rabbi ʿAkiva felt it necessary to strengthen Rabbi Yishma'el's self-confidence: "Everybody who knows this measure of our Creator and His corporeal configuration[14] which is hidden from the people, is promised life in the world to come..." (38b). Apparently, these words had their expected calming effect and Rabbi Yishma'el turned to his pupils: "I and Rabbi ʿAkiva give our pledge that he who knows this measure of our Creator and the corporeal configuration of the Lord is promised life in the world to come, on condition that he studies it every day". The condition expressed in the last words is reminiscent of the *Sar-Torah* speculations which, as we saw, should be studied or said daily.

The second part of *Shiʿur Qomah* (38b-39a bottom) extends the principle to God's arrows, sword, Throne and Living Creatures. Each of them has its secret mystical name as well as its huge dimensions. The second part of the text ends with an interesting remark. Referring to the Living Creatures which have just been described, it says: "Those are the ones who say the *Sanctus* and those are the ones who say the *Benedictus*. As it is said (*Psalms* cxlvii,19): 'He declares His word to Jacob'.[15] And everybody who does not conclude

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[12] The reference here is to *Daniel* x,6, which describes one of the angels which Daniel saw. As for the *Tarshish* itself, it is generally believed to indicate the sea. See M. Mishor in *Lešonenu* XXXIV (1969-70), pp. 318-319.

[13] *Merkavah Shelemah* 37a.

[14] The Hebrew term used here is *Shevaḥ*, and it resembles the Arabic *Shabaḥ*, meaning "human figure indistinctly seen from a distance". See also A. Altmann, *art. cit.*, pp. 228-229.

[15] It is not made clear why this particular verse is quoted at this place. The

with the 'order of the work of creation' (*Seder Ma'aseh Bereshit*) errs concerning God's glory (*Shogeh be-tif'arto shel Ha-Qadosh Barukh Hu'*). Similar words to the last ones are introduced when earlier the *locus classicus* of the *Shi'ur Qomah* speculations, *Song of Songs* v,10 ff., is quoted: "And everybody who does not conclude with this verse errs". There probably was an established procedure according to which the *Shi'ur Qomah* speculations were explicated. Every deviation from this customary order of explication was a grave mistake. However, in contrast to the *Hekhalot* writings, nothing is said regarding what might befall the erring mystic.

The third part of the text (39a bottom-40a) is devoted to a description of the celestial *Qedushah*. It begins with the words: "His glory fills everything" (*Tif'arto mele ha-kol*). The words obviously refer to the Glory of God which has just been mentioned in connection with the erring mystic, but it is not clear whether this part of the text really belongs to the original *Shi'ur Qomah*. In several manuscripts this part, and the one following, are reproduced out of their present context as parts of *Shi'ur Qomah*. However, the *raison d'être* for their inclusion here is clear: Metatron who revealed the secrets of the *Shi'ur Qomah* to Rabbi Yishma'el is playing a major role in organizing the celestial *Qedushah*. In addition, the concluding sentences of the second part of the text already refer to the celestial *Qedushah* said by the *Hayyot*. This (third) part of the text is divided into two sections. In the first section a description is given of how Metatron and the angels perform the ritual of the heavenly *Qedushah*, while in the second part, Merkavah hymns [16] and Psalms [17] form the hymnological conclusion of the text. One point in this description of the celestial *Qedushah* is particularly noteworthy: Metatron is described putting "the fire of deafness" into the ears of the *Hayyot* so that they might not hear the voice of God and the Ineffable Name which Metatron utters. We do not know of a similar procedure in any of the other *Hekhalot* writings, and even *Sefer Hekhalot* (*3 Enoch*) which describes

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same verse is also quoted before (37a) in connection with the "Shi'ur Qomah" of the tongue. However, *Psalm* cxlvii contains another verse (5) which is also taken to refer to God's "Shi'ur Qomah". See Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit*, p. 16. Was *Psalm* cxlvii believed to be a "Shi'ur Qomah" psalm? Though the sources do not bear direct evidence to this, it is noteworthy that two verses are quoted from that psalm in the same connection.

[16] One section of these hymns equals the "Seventh Heaven" of *Sefer Ha-Razim*. See Margalioth's edition of *Sefer Ha-Razim*, p. 107, n. 1.

[17] *Psalms* xxix, xxiv, *Nehemiah* ix,6-8, and *1 Chronicles* xxix,11-13.

Metatron's role in the celestial *Qedushah* has no reference to that effect.[18] It appears that the compiler of *Sefer Hekhalot* was ignorant of this part of the *Shi'ur Qomah* text, since nothing of it is quoted in his text. Towards the end of these hymns a short personal prayer is introduced (42a-42b), in which the Merkavah mystic asks for several personal favours.

[18] However, *Sefer Hekhalot* xv(b) contains a paraphrase of this passage. But this part of the book, which refers to Moses, is no integral part of it.

PHYSIOGNOMY, CHIROMANCY AND METOPOSCOPY

In our discussion of *Shi'ur Qomah* we noticed that underlying it possibly was a certain theory regarding the ideal proportions of the human body. These proportions were assumed to be shared by God and man alike. Naturally, man who was created in the image of God reflected the same ideal physical proportions as God. And, *mutatis mutandi*, those who engaged in speculations regarding the anthropomorphic features of God could use their observations about the structure of the human body in relation to what they believed was the corporeal configuration of God. However, the human body was not only conceived as revealing a secret mystical doctrine of the *corpus Dei*, but also supplied necessary information about man's character and future fate. This information was gained by examining the shape and relative size of several parts of the body.

The earliest Jewish source known to us that refers to the examination of the human body in order to define the moral and spiritual qualities of a person is a cryptic document from Qumran now published as 4Q 186.[1] The quintessence of this document is that man's moral and spiritual qualities can be defined through an examination of the size and shape of his thighs, toes, fingers, hair, eyes, beard, teeth and height. Even the quality of his voice has something to tell about his righteousness or wickedness. When the information gained through such an examination is added to the zodiacal sign of a man's birth, a perfect sketch of the moral and spiritual qualities of that man may be drawn. According to the theory maintained in that document, man has a share either in the House of Light or in the House of Darkness and that share is determined by a total number of nine points. The ratio of 4:5 is always the critical one in the decision to which of the two Houses he belongs. As Professor J. Licht rightly observed,[2] the information gained by such an examination together with the annual tests of a man's intellectual accomplishments was to help the leaders of the Qumran sect to decide who was worthy of sharing the sect's lot, and who had either to quit or be rejected.

Another document found at Qumran (Cave 4), written in Aramaic,

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[1] See: *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. V: Qumran Cave 4*, ed. J. M. Allegro, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968, pp. 88-91.

[2] In *Tarbiẓ* XXXV (1966), p. 18 ff.

possibly defines the corporeal features of the future Messiah.[3] Since these Qumran texts were preserved in a rather fragmentary condition, much that could help us in defining the scope and origin of their underlying theory is missing. However, we know that similar theories were spread in the ancient Near East, and since it has recently been argued that at least a certain fraction of the Qumran sect came from Babylonia,[4] it is quite likely that the Qumranites adapted in this case an ancient Babylonian theory and practice. Unfortunately, no traces of such a theory are preserved in either the pseudepigraphical corpus of writings or in the rabbinical writings. Admittedly, there are a few instances in these writings that could be interpreted as indicating a similar theory, but their true meaning could also lie elsewhere. To begin with, *Ben Sira* xix,29-30 says: "A man is known by his appearance, / And the wise man recognizeth him by his look / ... / And his gait showeth what he is".[5] Indeed, these verses of Ben Sira can only be a paraphrase of *Isaiah* iii,9,[6] but the words *Hakarat Panim* mentioned in this verse became a technical term for metoposcopy, the art of reading the lines of the forehead, and for the art of reading special signs on one's face in general. In addition, we find in *Testament Shim'on* v,1: "For some of the trouble of the spirit the face manifesteth". But this can, of course, be only a general statement with no technical overtones.

In rabbinical writings we find at least two cases in which certain corporeal features were singled out to determine certain halakhic problems. In the first case we have the abortion of an embryo. His degree of development is determined by the possibility of recognizing on him what the *Mishnah*[7] calls *Zurat Adam*, the shape of man. Referring to the same *Mishnah*, the *Tosefta*[8] uses the term *Zurat Panim*, the shape of the face, and the *Talmud Yerushalmi*[9] uses the

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[3] J. Carmignac, "Les Horoscopes de Qumran", *Revue de Qumran* V (1965), pp. 206-217.

[4] See J. Murphy-O'Connor, "The Essenes and their History", *Revue Biblique* LXXXI (1974), p. 215 ff.

[5] The text was preserved only in Greek. The English translation is that of Box & Oesterley in Charles, *Apocrypha*, p. 384. See the translators' note *ad locum*.

[6] It should, however, be noticed that the Greek of *Ben Sira* does not repeat the LXX of *Isaiah* iii,9.

[7] *Mishnah Niddah* iii,2. Compare *Mishnah Bekhorot* viii,1.

[8] *Tosefta Niddah* iv,6-7; see also *Bavli Niddah* 25b.

[9] *Yerushalmi Niddah* 20c. The terms *Hakarat Panim*, *Parzuf Panim* (*Mishnah Yevamot* xvi,3) and *Qelaster Panim* (*Wayyikra Rabba*, ch. xviii, ed. Margalioth, p. 391), are all synonyms.

term *Hakkarat Panim*, that by which the individual features of the face are recognized. In another case, the finding of a corpse, the *Hakkarat Panim* is determined by means of the nose, the cheekbones and the forehead.[10] As Professor Scholem rightly remarked, this material can only be taken as a general background to the esoteric material which we shall presently discuss.[11]

We now know that the Merkavah mystics engaged in detailed speculations about what can be learnt from the various parts of a man's body concerning his moral quality, his social and economic status, his health, his family, and his future lot in general. A number of texts, published by G. Scholem[12] and the present writer,[13] give a fairly wide picture of the scope of these speculations among the Merkavah mystics. Unfortunately, however, what is said in these texts is of a highly enigmatic character. The technical terminology used in the text is nowhere graphically displayed and analysed, so that the reader has to guess what the various signs really imply. Particular importance is attached in these texts to the lines found on one's palm and forehead. These lines, and particularly those of the palm, have long been subject to all kinds of theories, and some modern psychologists of the Jungian school find them helpful in their psychological diagnosis of their patients. The science of looking at the lines of the palm is called chiromancy, while the observation of the lines of the forehead—the younger of the two sciences– is called metoposcopy. However, the Merkavah mystics did not confine themselves to the hand and the forehead, but added speculations about the other parts of the body, including the sex organs. On the

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[10] See *Mishnah Yevamot* xvi,3. The Mishnah states that the dead man's identity is determined by his face (*Parzuf Ha-Panim*) together with his nose. In *Yerushalmi Yevamot* 15c Rav Yehudah is quoted as saying that the nose together with the cheekbones determine the dead man's identity, while Rabbi Yirmiyah in the name of Rav quotes *Isaiah* iii,19 and infers that the *Hakkarat Panim* is qualified by the nose only. A similar view to the last one is brought there also in the name of Rabbi 'Abba bar Kahana. In *Bavli Yevamot* 120a Rabbanan are quoted as saying that the dead man's identity is determined by either the forehead or the *Parzuf Panim* and the nose. In any event, the nose is taken to be the most important part of the face to determine the identity of a dead man. In *Yerushalmi Nidda* 20c it is said that the degree of development of an embryo is determined by an examination of the following "signs": the forehead, the eye-brows, the eye, the ear, the cheekbone, the nose, the cheeks (lit. the beard), and the jaw-bone. Rabbi Shim'on ben Yohai adds even the fingernails.

[11] See G. Scholem in *Sefer Assaf* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1953, p. 462.

[12] See previous note.

[13] In *Tarbiz* XL (1971), pp. 301 ff.

whole, the discipline that is displayed in these texts is that of an occult science, by the help of which the Merkavah mystics either exhibited their superior modes of knowledge [14] or tested the qualities of those who wanted to join their ranks.[15]

The physiognomic and chiromantic texts of the Merkavah mystics raise a number of interesting problems. We shall refer here only to those problems not discussed in the studies which Professor Scholem published on these texts.[16] The first problem concerns the historical continuity of the physiognomic and chiromantic tradition in Judaism. Scholem states that "Chiromancy appears first in Judaism in the circle of Merkabah mysticism".[17] From what we saw in the Qumran writings it appears that the physiognomic tradition in Judaism is much older than Merkavah mysticism. If the *Responsa* of Hai Ga'on and his father, Sherira Ga'on,[18] supply the necessary documentary bridge between the chiromantic writings of the Merkavah mystics and the physiognomic and chiromantic passages in the *Zohar*,[19] no such links are known to exist between the relevant texts of the Qumran people and the chiromantic texts of the Merkavah mystics. Admittedly, we found in some of the rabbinic writings certain terms that later on became key notions in the chiromantic texts of the Merkavah mystics. But while these terms as they appear in the rabbinic writings only indicate general physiognomic notions, the Merkavah mystics were in possession of fully developed disciplines of chiromancy and metoposcopy.

However, it was already noticed that several technical terms used in the Qumran texts do reappear in the chiromantic texts of the Merkavah mystics.[20] This fact may be interpreted as indicating the

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[14] See *Hekhalot Rabbati* i-ii, where the recurring phrase *Yode'a umakir bo* may be taken to indicate familiarity with the physiognomic tradition and terminology.

[15] See G. Scholem, in *Sefer Assaf*, p. 459.

[16] Apart from the article published in *Sefer 'Assaf* Scholem published "Ein Fragment zur Physiognomik und Chiromantik aus der Spätantiken jüdischen Esoterik" in: *Liber Amicorum: Studies in Honour of Professor Dr. C. J. Bleeker*, Leiden: 1969, pp. 175 ff.; and the article "Chiromancy" in: *Kabbalah*, Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, 1974, pp. 317-319. "Ein Fragment etc." is a revised and updated German version of the article in *Sefer Assaf*; and the article "Chiromancy", which should have been an updated version of Scholem's article on that subject in *Encyclopedia Judaica Jerusalem*, was, unfortunately, printed without the additional notes.

[17] See *Kabbalah* (see previous note), p. 317.

[18] Scholem, *ibid.*

[19] See I. Gruenwald in *Tarbiz* XL (1971), p. 301, n. 3.

[20] See my discussion in *Tarbiz* XL (1971), pp. 304-305. See also J. Greenfield, "Prolegomenon" to *3 Enoch*, pp. XXXV-XXXVII.

existence of a historical continuity between these two facets of the physiognomic and chiromantic tradition. In discussing certain striking similarities between the Qumran documents and the Qaraite writings, Professor N. Wieder observed: "It may reasonably be assumed that the remnants of the Qumranites formed one of the dissident elements that went into the formation of the Qaraite sect, and that the Qumran element was able, either through sheer spiritual and intellectual weight, or through numbers, or both, to exert a preponderant influence on the medley of heterogeneous groups and individuals that rallied to 'Anan's banner".[21] However, Wieder had to admit that in "the absence of documentary data we are naturally thrown back upon theory and hypothesis, but, fortunately, not upon blind conjecture".[22] Wieder's words stating the relationship between the Judaean Scrolls and Qaraism ideally fit the problem of the transmission of esoteric traditions in general. Esoteric traditions appear and disappear and the assumed underground streams that connect them give rise to speculations. Hundreds of years passed between the composition of the Qumran texts and the relevant ones of the Merkavah mystics. Yet, one wonders whether it is merely coincidence that the Merkavah mystics repeated some of the technical terms of the Qumranites. Or do we have to assume that hitherto unidentified underground links are to account for the continuation of the physiognomic tradition through the ages.

Turning to the physiognomic texts of the Merkavah mystics, it should be noted that it is difficult to discover in them a coherent system. In fact, certain irregularities can easily be pointed out. For example, the texts frequently refer to certain letters of the alphabet the shape of which is believed to be inscribed in various parts of the human body. Neither is there any regularity in the enumeration of these letters, nor can any coherency be found regarding the part of the body in which these letters appear to be inscribed.[23] Since these letters appear to belong to the heart of this kind of

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[21] N. Wieder, *The Judean Scrolls and Karaism*, London, East and West Library, 1962, pp. 254-255.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 254.

[23] See I. Gruenwald in *Tarbiz* XL (1971), p. 307, n. 16. It should be noticed in this connection that some scholars claimed that they discovered certain secret letters in the Qumran Rule of Discipline. See, for instance, E. Ettisch, "Eschatologisch-Astrologische Vorstellungen in der Gemeinderegel (X,1-8)", *Revue de Qumran* II (1959), pp. 3-19. However, almost everything that was said about the letters in question appears to be of a highly speculative nature.

esoteric physiognomy and chiromancy—they are also mentioned in the chiromantic and physiognomic passages of the *Zohar* –it is to be expected that particularly in their case a fixed system should be discovered. However, this is not the case, and the impression one gets is of casualness and arbitrariness. In another case, we find that a certain terminology is differently used in two texts.[24] And in yet another case the same fate is obtained from two different signs of the body.[25] One may easily explain such discrepancies by the existence of parallel traditions or differences of opinion regarding the identification of the signs and their meaning. And it may be argued that in the case of such a popular science no absolute consistency is to be expected. What really mattered in the eyes of those people was the practice itself and its various functions, but not the methodological consistency of the technique.

Another problem that concerns the physiognomic texts of the Merkavah mystics is the inclusion of astrological speculations in some of these texts.[26] Judaism considered astrology as idolatry, and from biblical times onward it fiercely fought all kinds of astral beliefs. However, we know that there were times in which the popular belief in astrology was stronger than the laws forbidding its practice. In many countries and for a long time astrology was the queen of the sciences, so that it was almost inevitable that Judaism of Talmudic times should succumb to the general—pagan—fashion of the time. There are a great number of utterances in rabbinic writings about the efficacy of the astral bodies and the dependence of man on their powers.[27] But it would be wrong to think that Judaism of Talmudic times shared the pagan astrological beliefs without any reservation. On the contrary, there are some sharp utterances against the belief in astrology. On the whole, it may be argued that Judaism of that time maintained an ambivalent attitude towards astrology. On the one hand one finds attempts towards a systematization of this belief; [28] on the other hand one finds views which, in spite of their recognition of the efficacy of astrology, deny its power over an obedient Jew.[29]

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[24] See Gruenwald, *art. cit.*, p. 311, n. 19.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 312, n. 7.

[26] Particularly in the first text published by the present writer in *Tarbiẓ* XL (1971).

[27] Despite many attempts to deal with the subject, there is still room for a comprehensive study of the various Jewish attitudes towards astrology.

[28] See particularly *Bavli Shabbat* 156a.

[29] See in *Tarbiẓ* XL (1971), pp. 302-303. To which one should add Tosafot *ʿAvodah Zarah* 3b (s.v. *Shomer Nafsho*).

However, in our text, it appears, no room is left for ambivalence: astrology is taken to support and to complement chiromancy and metoposcopy in their prognostic faculty. In fact, if the whole text had been preserved it could have been a grand display of these occult disciplines. Unfortunately, only small parts of what seems to have been a detailed treatise on these subjects have come down to us, and from the few small pages a great deal has to be inferred.

SEFER HA-RAZIM

The publication in 1967 of the *Sefer Ha-Razim* by the late Professor M. Margalioth drew the attention of the scholarly world to the existence in Hebrew of a fully developed magical literature. The nature and scope of that literature in Hebrew does not fall short of the parallel Greek magical papyri and the Aramaic Incantation Bowls. In fact, in addition to *Sefer Ha-Razim* we know of the existence of a great number of Hebrew manuscripts which contain similar material of no less importance than the *Sefer Ha-Razim*.[1] The subject matter of *Sefer Ha-Razim* consists mainly of magical prescriptions for a great variety of purposes: medicine, subjugation of one's enemies, discourse with supernatural powers, etc. The technical term for these practices is *Baqashah* (Request), and most of them begin with the words *'Im Biqashta* (If you expressed the wish). The technical terms used in the book for magic, or the magical practice, are *Davar*, *'Eseq* and *Ḥefeẓ*. The common Hebrew term for magic, *Keshafim*, is only used twice in the book (p. 86, l. 95; p. 94, l. 42), and this only when the magical practice of one's enemy is mentioned. This is probably to say that the book does not designate itself as an inferior kind of pagan or idolatrous magic. This is no black magic for subduing people to the powers of the devil, but white magic used for allegedly constructive purposes.

Although we have dealt extensively in the present book with theurgical and magical practices, magic as such does not directly belong to our subject matter. In fact, the whole question of Jewish magic still deserves a full-scale study which will take into account the details of the relationship between Jewish magic and the Greek magical papyri on the one hand, and the Aramaic Incantation Bowls on the other. Despite L. Blau's monograph, *Das Alt-jüdische Zauberwesen*, first published in 1898 and still a notable cornerstone in the study of Jewish magic, and the many subsequent studies, we still await a comprehensive study of Jewish magic and its connections with other

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[1] Two such manuscripts—Sassoon 290 (now sold) and Gaster 177 (now in Manchester)—are described by M. Benayahu in *Temirin* I, (in Hebrew), Jerusalem: 1972, pp. 187 ff. Although the manuscripts are comparatively late—probably of the 16th century—they contain versions of *Sefer Ha-Razim*, *Ḥarba De-Moshe*, *Sefer Ha-Malbush*, etc.

magical systems.[2] Our concern with *Sefer Ha-Razim* results mainly from its unique combination of magic and Merkavah material and our comments revolve around this curious combination of literary elements.

One of the magical practices of the book contains a historical reference,[3] on the basis of which attempts have been made to date the book as belonging to either the third or fourth century C.E.[4] However, it appears that despite the fact that the book contains some early elements, it was compiled rather late (6th or 7th century C.E.) by a compiler who did not always understand the material available to him.[5] In any event, the book presents a unique combination of esoteric beliefs and practices which permeated certain circles in the Judaism of Talmudic times. In this respect, it gives us an opportunity to look back and reconsider some of the problems which have been discussed in the present book.

Before we begin our discussion of *Sefer Ha-Razim*, a few words must be said about Margalioth's edition. To begin with, Margalioth published an eclectic text. The book should not therefore be quoted without a close study of the *variae lectiones* printed at the end of the text. In addition, Margalioth tampered with the text, in some cases even where the manuscripts supply good and interesting readings.[6] After a careful study of the book the present writer came to the conclusion that a new critical edition is required. In a new edi-

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[2] To give one example of what we have in mind we can mention John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, London, SCM Press, 1974. In spite of the fact that Hull's book was published seven years after the publication of *Sefer Ha-Razim*, the latter is not mentioned in Hull's discussion and survey of Jewish and hellenistic magic! And this is not the only shortcoming of that book.

[3] See *Sefer Ha-Razim*, p. 68, ll. 27-28: "These are the angels who attend to the magical practice in the first and in the second year of the cycle of fifteen years reckoned by the 'Kings of Greece'". See next note.

[4] In a letter to the editor of the book, Professor A. Rosenthal interpreted the date quoted in the previous note as referring to the cycle of the *Indictiones* started by Diocletian in Egypt in 297, and by Constantine in 312. Professor Rosenthal inclines to date the book in the fourth century C.E., while Margalioth himself argues for an earlier date (in the third century C.E.). See, Margalioth's "Introduction", pp. 24-26.

[5] This is particularly true in the case of the many Greek words which the book contains. Not all the corrupt transcriptions can be attributed to careless copyists.

[6] To give just one or two examples: On p. 66, l. 27 he omitted the word *Ha-Razim* after the third word in the line. In line 30 Margalioth changed the clear *Taskil* into the curious *Taskit*.

tion a commentary should be added and the *indices* enlarged and improved.[7]

Sefer Ha-Razim begins with an Introduction which tells the history of the transmission of magic from the days of Noah. That Noah was selected to be the first recipient of magic may be due to the tradition that goes back to *Jubilees* x,12-14, where the angels teach Noah how to cure all kinds of illnesses. Noah writes everything down in a book. However, it should be noted that *Sefer Ha-Razim* was given to Noah before the Flood, while *Jubilees* x,12-14 refers to events that took place after the Flood. The Introduction lists all the things that can be known or achieved with the help of magic. Yet, very little of what the Introduction lists as the efficacy of magic is later displayed in practice in the course of the book. In fact, the Introduction is also known from other books,[8] and its omnibus catalogue of subjects could indeed fit a number of purposes. The Introduction begins with the statement that *Sefer Ha-Razim* was revealed to Noah by the angel Raziel before the former entered his ark. From Noah the book was transmitted down the many generations until it reached King Solomon. As a matter of fact, the Introduction speaks about a plurality of *Sifrei Ha-Razim* ("Books of Mysteries"). Our *Sefer Ha-Razim* is thus only one in a series of such books, and according to the Introduction, it was one of the magical books which King Solomon allegedly possessed.[9]

Reading the details of the Introduction, one can see that the efficacy of magic stretches over the whole of Nature. Magic may help man to gain all kinds of secret knowledge, to divine the future, and to influence the course of events. Magic is efficacious in astronomy, in astrology, in meteorology, and so on. All that one has to do is to study the *Sefer Ha-Razim* and to learn its practices and prescriptions.

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[7] It is a curious fact that all those who reviewed Margalioth's edition did not refer to its obvious textual shortcomings. Attempts have already been made to translate the book, or parts of it, into English, French and German. None of the translators were aware of the fact, that the text published by Margalioth cannot be trusted without checking the variant readings! Only half of the book is contained in the Genizah fragments, the discovery of which made Margalioth announce it as a sensation.

[8] See A. Jellinek's remarks in *Bet ha-Midrasch* III, pp. XXX-XXXIII.

[9] As far as I can see, the first writer who attributed the knowledge of magic to King Solomon was Josephus Flavius in *Antiquities* VIII, 45-48. At least, Josephus is the first datable written source to the tradition that was variously dispersed in antiquity. See further, J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, New York, The Viking Press, 1960, pp. 170-172.

Indeed, the existence of such a book in Hebrew could cause its editor severe dogmatic difficulties. Magic was strictly forbidden in Judaism. Even in apocalyptic literature the teaching of magic to mankind was attributed to the evil angels.[10] However, in rabbinic literature a more complex view was held on magic. We cannot include here a detailed summary on the rabbinic view of magic,[11] but it may briefly be said that some of the sages were familiar with certain magical practices and others also practised magic. The official reason for this deviation from the obvious biblical prohibition to practise magic was that one may study—and perform—magic for the purpose of familiarizing oneself with the subject. We may well assume that the common people were less conscientious in restricting their use of magic.

When it comes to *Sefer Ha-Razim*, we find magical practices organized in what appears to be a systematic magical manual. From an orthodox Jewish point of view this is all the more perplexing, since the *Sefer Ha-Razim* is the only systematic magical treatise we know of in (post) Talmudic times. Neither the magical papyri nor the Aramaic Incantation Bowls, to say nothing of the various kinds of magical amulets and gems, are in any sense of the word magical books.[12] All these magical documents are shorter or longer collections of magical practices, and no attempt is made in them to organize the material in any coherent method or system. The way *Sefer Ha-Razim* organizes its magical subject matter is thus rather interesting. The book is divided into seven parts, corresponding to the seven heavens. The names of two of these heavens resemble those found in the so-called Palestinian lists of heavens,[13] a fact that underlines the assumption that the book was composed in *Erez-Yisrael*, or at least by a Jew who was familiar with peculiarities of the Palestinian Merkavah tradition. The organization of this Merkavah material is particularly interesting. The "First Heaven" contains no Merkavah material at all. From the "Second Heaven" onwards, the higher we proceed in the "Heavens" the more Merkavah material, and the less

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[10] See, for instance, *1 Enoch* vi-viii, and lxix.

[11] See E. E. Urbach, *The Sages*, Chapters vi-vii.

[12] It should be noticed that magical books are sometimes referred to in the Greek magical papyri published by Karl Preisendanz.

[13] See I. Gruenwald, in *Tarbiz* XXXVI (1967), pp. 269-270. More evidence for the Palestinian origin of the book is supplied by Margalioth, though he inclines to locate its place of composition in Alexandria.

magical material is introduced. In the "Seventh Heaven" no magical material is found at all.

Sefer Ha-Razim contains a rather elaborate angelology which in itself underlines the structure of the book. In the "First Heaven" we find a class of angels, called *Shotrim*, ("Scribes"), sitting (!) on seven thrones and presiding over seven camps of angels who serve them. Each camp of angels is responsible for a certain magical activity. In the course of his magical performance, the magician has to call out the names of the proper angels or to write them down—usually in blood—and thus send them on their magical mission. In this sense, one may see the angels as magical apprentices. The number of the angels varies from camp to camp. Although some of the manuscripts mention certain numbers, the actual number of names does not always correspond to the number given in the manuscripts. The reason for this discrepancy lies in copyists' errors. Because the names of the angels in *Sefer Ha-Razim* are rather unusual and mostly incomprehensible, the copyists had difficulty in dividing those completely incomprehensible chains of letters into words. Nothing could direct them as to how to split groups of letters into words. Only in cases where the names had the usual—'el—ending did the copyists find themselves on safe ground.

The "Second Heaven" is formally divided into twelve classes of angels. They are called *Ma'alot* ("Steps"), since, like the Levites in the Temple, they stood on twelve steps in the "Second Heaven". Although many of these angels have the traditional—'el—ending, their names are almost as incomprehensible as the names which do not have that ending. Three angels are in charge of the "Third Heaven". As in the previous two heavens, these angels too preside over groups of angels. Accordingly, this "Heaven" is sub-divided into three parts. The "Fourth Heaven" is divided into two parts corresponding to the two classes of angels that inhabit it: the angels of the day and the angels of the night. In the "Fifth Heaven" there are the twelve angels called The Presidents of Glory (*Nesi'ei Ha-Kavod*). The number corresponds to the twelve months of the year. Evidently, these angels are in charge of information of what may happen in the respective months over which they preside. However, the "Fifth Heaven" is not subdivided into twelve corresponding parts. It contains only a general instruction of what one should do in order to know in which month one will die. The "Sixth Heaven" is once again divided into two parts, corresponding to the two

groups of angels inhabiting the west and the east of that Heaven. Since the "Seventh Heaven" does not contain any magical practices, no specific classes of angels are mentioned therein.

When it comes to the magical practices described in the book, a number of interesting features should be emphasized. To begin with, the conjuration of the angels is frequently connected with ritual performances which, according to traditional standards, are downright idolatry. One is expected to offer libations to the angels and incense to the astral bodies.[14] In one case one even has to sacrifice a white cock to the moon and stars.[15] Most surprising is the prayer to Helios, which one has to say if one desires to see the sun rising in its chariot.[16] These and other idolatrous practices described in the book led Margalioth to the conclusion that *Sefer Ha-Razim* is in fact a heretical book.[17] And indeed a book that contains a magical practice for necromancy [18] cannot but arouse orthodox antagonism.[19] In the enlarged Hebrew edition of his book *Greek and Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (pp. 73 ff.), Professor Saul Lieberman discussed the problem of the penetration of heathen and pagan beliefs in astrology and magic into the world of the Jews in Talmudic times. According to Professor Lieberman, it cannot be denied that the Jews of Talmudic times were influenced by the beliefs and practices maintained and performed among their non-Jewish neighbours. However, according to Professor Lieberman, the Jews absorbed from that world only that which was commonplace in everyday life. Thus, the magical and astrological information contained in rabbinic writings still bears the marks of the strong resentment felt by the rabbis towards that kind of material.

Yet, it may be asked whether a book like *Sefer Ha-Razim*, and similar material contained in manuscripts, does not betray, in a more reliable manner than do the rabbinic writings, the nature and scope of these occult practices among the common people. After all, the rabbis and those who put their sayings into writing had certain standards to maintain. Their responsibility and obligations as religious and social leaders imposed on them restrictions and modes of ex-

[14] See Margalioth, "Introduction", pp. 10-11.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 14 ff. Margalioth quotes Church Fathers who attacked the Jews for (a) praying not to God but to angels and (b) practising magic.
[18] "First Heaven", ll. 176 ff.
[19] *Leviticus* xix,31; *Deuteronomy* xviii,10-11.

pression that were not always applied among the common unlearned people. Despite the distinctive literary qualities of *Sefer Ha-Razim* which may suggest that its origin was in literate and educated circles, it still seems to represent the popular spirit of the time which engaged in magic and astrology. Magic and astrology, we should remember, were respected sciences. In practising these sciences, the Jews of the time were only following the intellectual fashion of the day. If this is true, then halakhic and doctrinal considerations were suspended in the light of the practical functions these sciences played in everyday life.

In spite of the fact that *Sefer Ha-Razim* bears strong points of resemblance to the Greek magical papyri, one should not view it as a mere Hebrew imitation of the magical material contained in those papyri. There are some outstanding characteristics in the book which make it an original contribution in the history of magical literature. The writer, or compiler, of the book was in all probability familiar with the material found in the magical papyri—he even uses several Greek technical terms found in them—but this fact makes his own contribution to the subject all the more interesting. In contrast to many of the magical practices found in the magical papyri, *Sefer Ha-Razim* repeatedly stresses the importance of the preparatory steps, which, similar to the preparatory stages in the *Hekhalot* mysticism, insist on the ritual purity of the performer and on the special diets he has to keep. In addition, *Sefer Ha-Razim* sometimes refers to the special magical signs and letters—the so-called *kharakteres* of the magical papyri—but it totally omits any reference to the magical words and formulae of the magical papyri. Instead, *Sefer Ha-Razim* displays a highly developed angelology, and the invocation of these angels comes in the place of the magical formulae (*Zauberwörte*) in the magical papyri. It is also interesting to note in this connection that the names of many angels in *Sefer Ha-Razim* sound like magical words, a fact that may be due not to the mere caprice of the writer of the book, but may rather reveal his desire to judaize certain essential elements of the magical papyri.

The magical papyri contain prayers and applications to the various magical spirits and demons which are invoked. These magical prayers are sometimes replaced in *Sefer Ha-Razim* by semi-Merkavah hymns. The Merkavah material in *Sefer Ha-Razim* is interesting for a number of reasons. On close examination, its poetical quality is of a different nature from the hymns in the *Hekhalot* writings. It

lacks the ecstatic tone of the *Hekhalot* hymns, and in its style and form it resembles the liturgical poetry, the *Piyyutim*. Although the Merkavah material of *Sefer Ha-Razim* apparently derived from mystical sources that sprang, if not exclusively, from the *Hekhalot* literature, one may see in this Merkavah material a more or less independent development of the *Hekhalot* literature.

As previously mentioned, there is no Merkavah material in the so-called "First Heaven". The "Second Heaven" begins with a description of what it contains: "Frost,[20] treasure-houses of snow, treasure-houses of hail, angels of fire, angels of fright, spirits of fear and spirits of awe". We know of similar lists which enumerate what each of the heavens contains (*Bavli Ḥagigah* 12b-13a; *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*; *Beraita de-Ma'aseh Bereshit*; etc.). There are significant differences between these lists regarding what is contained in each of the heavens. *Sefer Ha-Razim* does not follow any of the parallel lists, and it may be said that the writer of the book was not seriously interested in cosmological problems. The incorporation of cosmological material into his book probably followed the fashion of the day. *Ma'aseh Bereshit* (cosmology) and *Ma'aseh Merkavah* went hand in hand, but the manner in which the writer of *Sefer Ha-Razim* used them for his magical purposes is rather unique. To give one example of the use the writer made of the cosmological material, one may refer to his description of what the first two heavens contain. In the parallel cosmological lists we find that the first two heavens are always connected with the operation of the heavenly luminaries. However, in *Sefer Ha-Razim* nothing is said about the first heaven apart from the fact that it is inhabited by the seven *Shotrim* ("Scribes"). The second heaven in *Sefer Ha-Razim* contains elements which in the other lists are contained in the sixth and seventh heavens. It should be noted too that the treasure-houses of snow and of dew are found, according to *2 Enoch* iv-vi, in the first heaven. It thus appears that *Sefer Ha-Razim* was not the first to break established facts of cosmological descriptions.

The "Second Heaven" also contains twelve groups of angels which are described at some length. For example, the first group is described in the following manner: "They stand in a frightening position. / They are wrapped up in wrath. / They are girdled with fear. / / They are encircled by trembling. / Their garment is like that of fire. /

[20] The text uses two words, *Kefor* and *Qitor*, which appear to be synonyms.

Their face is like the vision of lightning. / Their mouth does not cease from many things. / But their voice is not heard. / Since their job is to silence and to terrify and to frighten him who stands up against the one who conjures them in ritual purity". The twelfth group is described thus: "They are encircled by justice. / And they have rays of glory on their heads. / They are full of sagacity. / They are qualified by their song. / They stand in two groups. / Half of them sing, and half of them say the response. / There is healing in their tongue and binding up in their speech. / And you shall be successful in everything that they are conjured for". This is more or less the style and form of the Merkavah material in the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Heavens. It mainly concerns the angels, their features and their activity in heaven.

In the 'Seventh Heaven', which contains no magical material, a description is given of God sitting on His Throne of Glory. The degree to which the writer was familiar with the *Hekhalot* literature is clearly seen from the fact that no palaces are mentioned in that heaven. Instead, God is said to be sitting in His Holy Abode, *Me'on Qodsho*, a term that derives from *Deuteronomy* xxvi,15. Books of fire are said to be opened before Him,[21] and streams of fire are pouring forth from underneath the Throne.[22] God is not even seen by His angels. He is carried by the *Ḥayyot*. Before the angels sing the *Qedushah*, they immerse in "streams of purity" (*Naharei Ṭohorah*) and wrap themselves up in garments of white fire.[23] The description ends with a Merkavah hymn, the phraseology of which is strongly influenced by biblical images. In contrast to the *Hekhalot* hymns, the lyrical elements of *Sefer Ha-Razim* owe a great deal to the poetry of Scripture. In fact, whole biblical verses are quoted in the Merkavah hymns of *Sefer Ha-Razim*, and in this respect we may repeat that the Merkavah material of the book comes closer to the *Piyyutim* than to the *Hekhalot* hymns. In any event, most of them lack the ecstatic tone and style of the *Hekhalot* hymns.

To sum up, *Sefer Ha-Razim* was included in our discussion of the *Hekhalot* writings because of the Merkavah material it contains. It is

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[21] Compare *Sefer Ha-Razim*, p. 89, ll. 142-143; *3 Enoch* xxvii, xxviii, xxx, xxxii, xliv. See *Daniel* vii,10.

[22] Compare *Sefer Ha-Razim*, p. 96, l. 3. Heavenly streams (of fire) are also mentioned in *Ma'aseh Merkavah*, paragraphs 2 and 10, and in *3 Enoch*, *passim*. Needless to say, the idea derives from *Daniel* vii,10.

[23] For the parallels in the *Hekhalot* literature, see the writer's notes to *Re'uyot Yeḥezkel*, pp. 126-127, n. 65. See also *Sefer Ha-Razim*, p. 96, ll. 6-7.

no mystical treatise in the proper sense of the term, but it is an interesting example of the interplay of magic and mysticism in antiquity. The book still deserves a full-scale revaluation, but not before a new critical edition of the book is available. Then the whole subject of Jewish and pagan magic will be re-opened in light of the material found in the Greek and Coptic magical writings on the one hand, and the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls on the other.[24]

[24] See E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, vol. II (1953), pp. 153-295. Goodenough gives an English translation of several magical papyri and bowls, but his discussion of the material he quotes *in extenso* is far from satisfactory. [After the completion of this book, P. Schäfer drew my attention to J. H. Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln aus dem 'Buch der Geheimnisse'*, Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim & New York, 1975. Niggemeyer produced a systematic and serious work.]

APPENDICES

by Saul Lieberman

1. *Metatron, the meaning of his name and his functions*

The origin of the name מיטטרון was discussed by many scholars. The whole material was collected by H. Odeberg in his edition of *3 Enoch*, p. 137 ff. He first quotes the conjecture that Metatron is "equivalent to σύνθρονος, co-occupant of the Divine Throne", and he then cites a number of other theories. In conclusion he summarizes : "Of these different modes of interpretation that regarding Metatron as equivalent to σύνθρονος can be easily dismissed. There is not a single instance in any known Jewish source of Metatron being represented as the co-occupant of the Divine Throne".

The scholars took for granted that the use of σύνθρονος is similar to the use of σύνναος (sharing the same temple), i.e. sharing the same throne. Professor G. Scholem was therefore quite right in rejecting (*Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, p. 60-70) all the conjectures cited by Odeberg. However, the exact meaning of σύνθρονος was misunderstood by Odeberg and his predecessors. E. Cornemann (*Klio* I, p. 55) correctly pointed out that *living* dignitaries were often called σύνθρονοι θεοί, the technical expression for such honors was ἰσοθεοὶ τιμαί.[1] It appears that in our sources Μετάθρονος (= σύνθρονος) is a mere title, [ἄγγελος] μετάθρονος, as he is frequently called in *3 Enoch* : מטטרון מלאך.[2] This last source correctly understood that the chair of the angel stood alongside the Throne of his Master.[3] *Genesis* (41 :43) says about Joseph, the viceroy of Pharaoh : "*And he* (i.e. Pharaoh) *made him ride in the second chariot* etc." which Rashi correctly understood to mean that Joseph rode alongside Pharaoh's chariot. *Test. Levi* (xiii,9) uses the following expression : σύνθρονος ἔσται βασιλέων, ὥσπερ Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀδελφός μου. Lucianus in his mockery oracle [4] maintains : ἥρωα μέγιστον σύνθρονον Ἡφαίστῳ

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[1] Comp. also the material adduced by A. D. Nock, *Essays in Religion* etc., p. 135 and notes *ibid.*

[2] And not מיטטרון המלאך!

[3] See *3 Enoch* ch. 7 and ch. 10. In ch. 48, p. 66 it is explicitly stated: ועשיתי לו כסא כנגד כסאי. In later literature σύνθρονος is simply a πάρεδρος, assessor. See further Liddell and Scott, s.v. σύν !

[4] *de mor. Peregrini* 29.

καὶ Ἡρακλῆϊ ἄνακτι. Peregrinus was eager that his throne should stand alongside the throne of Heracles, as Lucianus said above :[5] συνοδεύει παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα.[6] For our purpose it is important to note that σύνθρονος is a common feature in the heathen temples (*heikhaloth*). In the earlier sources σύνθρονος represents the highest personalities in the temples, mostly the *living* emperors, or their immediate families.[7]

We shall cite here two inscriptions.[8] An inscription of the first century C.E. mentions [9] a "priestess of Athena Nikephoros and Athena Polias and Julia, *enthroned with her*, as *Young Nikephoros*, daughter of Germanicus Caesar".[10]

And again an inscription published by A. von Premerstein [11] contains an order of the Athenian people that an image of the empress Julia Domna be dedicated under the same roof as Polias, in order that she should be synthronos with the god.[12]

Depicting a *noisy* heathen procession, the rabbis describe [13] it as follows : "They carry a *great god* to a *small god*",[14] i.e. when the pagans want to increase the prestige of a temple they introduce a great god alongside with the smaller god dwelling in the temple. The rabbis were familiar with the term "small god". And indeed, the heathen temples were replete with gods and godesses, great gods and small gods (*di maiores* and *di minores*), half gods and even "small gods among the lesser gods".[15] The sources sometimes do

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[5] *Ibid.*, 24.

[6] But, of course, after being cremated he might have aspired to become an equal of the gods, to become a god himself.

[7] See Liddell and Scott, s.v. σύνθρονος.

[8] Not referred to by Liddell and Scott, but one of them is listed in the Index of *OGIS*, the other is referred to by Nock, *Essays*, etc., p. 229, n. 155.

[9] *OGIS* 474 : ἱέρειαν . . . τῆς Νικηφόρου καὶ Πολιάδος [Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ] Ἰουλίας συνθρόνου, νέας Νικη[φόρου, Γερμα]νικοῦ καίσαρος θυγατρός.

[10] On νέοι θεοί (like: νέος Διόνυσος, νέος Ἀπόλλων, etc.), see Nock, *ibid.*, p. 43, n. 84, p. 149, n. 73, p. 151, n. 82. On the meaning of νέος θεός, see *ibid.*, p. 149 and n. 73 *ibid.* Similarly Metathronos (= Synthronos), like our Julia Synthronos, was also styled יה קטן (see below, n. 24). In biblical Hebrew it could signify: Νέος Ἰάω.

[11] *Jahreshefte d. Österreichishen Arch. Inst.* XVI (1913), p. 250.

[12] ἵνα σύνθρονος ᾖ τῇ θεῷ. See *ibid.*, p. 254.

[13] TP *ʿAboda Zarah* II, 3, 41b. Comp. Lucretius II. 608 ff.

[14] מוליכין עבודה זרה גדולה אצל עבודה זרה קטנה. The reading of the text is sure. It is also corroborated by the commentary of Rabbenu Hananel TB *ibid.* 32b. Rabinovitz *Shaare Torath Eretz Israel*, p. 562, needlessly emends the text. He misunderstood the purport of the procession.

[15] *Anthol. Pal.* IX 334: τὸν ἐν σμικροῖς ὀλίγον θεόν.

not deign to mention the names of the subordinate gods,[16] but simply state: Διὶ Ὀγμήνῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοῖς[17] exactly as it frequently appears in the legal documents:[18] ὁ δεῖνα καὶ οἱ σὺν τῷ αὐτῷ.

The ancients were much less sensitive to the term god than our modern society. Mortals are styled "gods" during their lifetime. The Jews living in a polytheistic society were very well aware of it. The term "small god" would be shocking to us, but it was not so to the ancient mind. As long as no worship is involved the "small god" remains a mere title (see below).

One rabbi maintained[19] that Moses was a ἡμιθεός, a semi-god, his upper half a god, his lower half a man. According to other rabbis, he was sometimes a man and sometimes a god.[20]

Again, we read in *Ps.* 8:6: "*Yet Thou hast made him but little lower than God, and hast crowned him with glory and honor* etc." The rabbis understood[21] this verse as referring to Moses and God.[22] Symmachus translates the verse: καὶ ἐλαττώσεις αὐτὸν ὀλίγον παρὰ θεόν.[23]

Similarly, Metatron was called[24] a minor god,[25] his name being like that of his master.[26] He is also styled in Palestinian Targum ספרא רבה, "the great scribe",[27] a very important title.[28] He is cred-

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[16] Comp. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, p. 115.

[17] *Journal of Hellenic Studies* X, p. 227, cited by Nock, *Essays in Religion*, etc., p. 239.

[18] See Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* II, p. 521, s.v. σύν.

[19] *Debarim Rabba* xi,4.

[20] *Ibid.* and *Pesikta de Rav Kahana* (towards the end), ed. Mandelbaum, p. 443 ff. and parallels.

[21] TB *Nedarim* 38a.

[22] And not angels.

[23] TB *ibid.* explains that Moses was only a little lower than God, because he was endowed with forty nine "gates of Binah". Comp. *3 Enoch*, ch. 48c, p. 67, in the variants.

[24] See Scholem, *Major Trends*, p. 366 *passim*, *Jewish Gnosticism* etc., p. 47.

[25] In heathen literature, Enoch would never be able to escape this title. Any mortal who was taken up (bodily) to heaven becomes a god, See Bickerman, *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique*, vol. XIX, 1973, p. 14-15. A monotheist would never accept it, but this mortal may become almost a god, a small god.

[26] See Scholem, *ibid.*, p. 68, p. 366, n. 103. Comp. *Aggadath Shir Hashirim*, ed. Schechter, p. 9 and Brüll *Jahrbücher* I, p. 224 and n. 6, *ibid.* The association of the number "seventy" with that of the languages is a later speculation.

[27] The same title is given to Moses in the Talmud and *Targumim*, See Lieberman יוונית ויוונות באי, p. 212, and notes *ibid.* Add: *Vayyikra Rabba* I,3, p. 12: הסופר שהיה ספרן של ישראל The argument of Krauss in הגורן VII, p. 29 ff. is childish. Comp. Ezra 7: 11 *passim*.

[28] See Lieberman *ibid.* The wording in TB *Hagiggah* 15a is probably a later

ited [29] with the task of teaching babies [who died in their infancy]. *3 Enoch* [30] is more specific : "He is teaching the souls of the embryos that died in their mothers' womb etc.".[31] This is a very old legend. Clemens of Alexandria [32] cites the Apocalypse of Petrus which in his turn asserts : "The *Scripture* saith (ἡ γραφὴ φησι) that the children who have been exposed are delivered to a care-taking angel, by whom they are educated and brought up etc.". The same fate is allotted to *abortive* babies,[33] exactly like in the tradition of *3 Enoch*. According to one tradition of the Talmud [34] this function of Metatron was subsequently taken over by the Lord himself.

Here we have to note that there is no contradiction [35] between the different titles of Metatron. The rabbis saw a great similarity between the hierarchy of the kingdom on earth and that of the kingdom on heaven.[36] At a certain period during the imperial times the slaves and the *libertini* of the emperors exercised a great power over the empire, or, as the rabbis put it : "A slave of a king is a king".[37] However, at the very same time they could be humiliated and even decapitated at the whim of their master. A small god might wield a lot of power over mortals, but the greater god could destroy him at his will.

A *synthronos* could be the most powerful figure (call him : the Prince of the world), a minor god, but at the same time he is a servant, a slave of his master.[38] Metatron, the great prince (שׂרא רבא), the *Synthronos*, was also styled a נער, a servant,[39] in the same sense as "*And his servant Joshua the son of Nun, the attendant* (נער), *did*

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sophistication, Comp. Scholem, *Gnosticism*, etc. p. 51, n. 24. With regard to the prophet Elijah, see V. Aptowitzer in *Tarbiẓ* II (1931), p. 260, n. 7.

[29] TB *ʿAbodah Zarah* 3b.

[30] Ch. 48c, p. 70; *Midrash Othioth de R. Akiba*, ed. Wertheimer, 1914, p. 11.

[31] See Lieberman, *H. A. Wolfson Jubilee volume*, p. 523 ff.

[32] *Eclogae Proph.* 41.

[33] *Ibid.* 48: τὰ βρέφει <τὰ> ἐξαμβλωθέντα.

[34] *Ibid.* (above n. 29).

[35] As a rule, (repeated many times in Geonic literature, see Lieberman, *Shkiin*, p. 83) we do not ask questions with regard to contradictions in *Haggadic* (legendary) literature. Inconsistency is part of the very essence of that literature. But in our case there is not the slightest conflict between the functions of Metatron, as we shall presently see.

[36] TB *Berakhoth* 58a.

[37] *Sifre Deuteronomy* 6, p. 15.

[38] Moses was a slave of God (*Deut.* 34:5), and it was considered a great compliment. See *Sifre* a.l. 357, p. 428.

[39] See Scholem, *Gnosticism* etc., p. 50, n. 23.

not budge from the tent" (*Ex.* 33 : 11). "He was tied to Moses".[40] Metatron was a servant, a קימוס (read קמיס) [41] an attendant,[42] and a great prince. The rabbis did not see any discrepancy in those terms; they were well aware of the realities of the Roman government.

However, the people could be sometimes inclined to consider the *synthronos* as an equal to his master. Diodorus Siculus (XVI, 92 and 95) stated that the image of Philip of Macedon (while alive) was borne alongside the twelve gods,[43] insinuating the arrogance of such behavior. The master would certainly not tolerate such confusion. We may cite two anecdotes to this effect. Midrash *Bereshith Rabba* [44] records in the name of Rabbi Hoshaya:[45] "When the Holiness blessed be He created Adam, the angels were about to recite the *Trisagion* to him. This [situation] could be likened to a king and an eparchus sitting together in one chariot [46] (קרוכין, καρροῦχα) and the people wanted to acclaim one of them '*Domine*', but they did not know which one of them was the king. What did the king do? He pushed the eparchus, and threw him out of the chariot". In other words, the people did now realize who is the *synthronos* [47] and who is his master. By being thrown out of the chariot the subordinate position of the *synthronos* was revealed.

We find exactly the same situation with regard to Metatron. The Babylonian Talmud relates [48] that Aḥer (Elisha the son of Abuyah) once found Metatron *sitting* [49] and recording the merits of Israel.

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[40] TP *Yebamoth* IV. 2, 6a, *Nidda* I, 4, 49b.

[41] *Visions of Ezekiel*, ed. Grünwald in *Temirin* I, p. 129. See note *ibid.*

[42] In the new fragments of *Heikhaloth literature*, published by Grünwald in *Tarbiz*, vol. 38, 1969, p. 367 (last line) קברקליאל השר is mentioned. Since the differences between ר and ד are indistinguishable in many manuscripts (see *Tosefta Kifshuta* IV, p. 583, note, p. 607 *passim*), we may perhaps read קביקליאל *Cubicularius*.

[43] σύνθρονον . . . τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς. See Nock, *Essays*, etc. p. 247, and Nock's conjecture with regard to Alexander, *ibid.* p. 135.

[44] VIII, 9, p. 63.

[45] Fl. in the beginning of the third century C.E.

[46] i.e. the eparchus was the *synthronos* of the king. Socrates (*Eccl. Hist.* II, 16) depicts the following scene: Μακεδόνιος ἐν τῷ ὀχήματι σύνθρονος τῷ ἐπάρχῳ κτλ. Makedonios was *synthronos* of the eparchus in the chariot.

[47] See above n. 46.

[48] *Hagiggah* 15a. Comp. *3 Enoch* ch. 16, p. 23.

[49] The Talmud does not designate explicitly the place from where he was taken out. But *Arukh* s.v. פלס$_3$ quotes מאחורי הפרגוד. From a new fragment of the *Hekhaloth literature*, published by I. Grünwald (*Tarbiz* 38, 1969, p. 362, line 13 ff.) it also appears that he was sitting in the ἄδυτον. He was therefore carried out from "behind the curtain", and was flogged, exactly like the angel

He remarked to himself: We have a tradition that there is no "sitting on high",[50] perhaps there are two Powers? Whereupon Metatron was carried out and administered sixty fiery lashes.[51] This passage of the Talmud and the parable in the Midrash reflect the same situation. The Master showed who is the Master and who is the *synthronos*.[52]

To summarize: We may say that when we combine all the sources, the earlier and the later ones, we gain the definite impression that Metatron is a title, and it could be used both as a substantive and an adjective (exactly like *synthronos*).[53] Metatron might have originally borne another name, but subsequently he was raised to the rank of Metatron, and finally assumed this name as a substantive. This is, of course, a matter of speculation, and we leave it to the specialists.

As for the spelling of מיטטרון,[54] it is perfectly normal. מיטרון = μετάτρονος = μετάθρονος = σύνθρονος. The Semites transliterating Greek words which contain both a τ and a θ often spelled them with two ט, like טיאטרון (instead of תיאטרון) and אנטיפוטה (instead of אנתיפוטה).[55]

Gavriel, according to TB *Yoma* 77a (in the uncensored editions). However it is evident from the parallel passage in *Vayyikra Rabba* XXVI, 8, p. 608-609, that Gavriel was never admitted "behind the curtain".

[50] Comp. also *Bereshith Rabba* LXV, 21, p. 738. But the privilege of "sitting" was also granted to Moses, as it is explicitly stated in *Midrash Tannaim*, ed. Hoffmann, p. 19. Comp. also *Sifre* Deut. 305, p. 326, and parallels. See further Gruenwald, in *Tarbiz* XXXVIII (1969), p. 362, l. 13, and p. 363, l. 17.

[51] Comp. *3 Enoch* ch. 28, p. 47, ch. 44, p. 57. This is of course, a *topos*, comp. above, n. 49. The same is said about Elijah the Prophet in TB *Baba Meziʿa* 85b, as a punishment for revealing heavenly secrets. However, other angels were exiled from their compartments for a period of one hundred and thirty eight years for the same misdemeanor, but were not flogged.

[52] Rabbenu Hananel (a.l. 16a) records in the name of a *Gaon* that the purpose of the lashes was only to show that there is a Master over Metatron.

[53] See Sophocles, s.v. σύνθρονος.

[54] The י in מיטטרון indicates that it should be pronounced Metatron with an E (see Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim* II, p. 227, line 22; Epstein, *Introduction to the Text of the Mishnah*, p. 1242, p. 1243 s.v. ויוד אחרי ש), and not Mtatron. This is especially true in the transliteration of Greek words, see Krauss LW I, p. 16, § 24, A. 2-3. It is more frequently used in the middle of words like (μετάξιον) נומירון מיטכסון (μελία) מילה, מיטון מיליניה, מיתורין, טיטרפלין, טיטרטון and many other words.

[55] In Syriac it is also spelled אנטיפוטה. See also Odeberg, p. 140. For the interchange of θ and τ in Byzantine literature, see S. B. Psaltes, Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chroniken, p. 69. Compare also Liddell and Scott, s.v. κολοκύνθη.

The use of Metathronos instead of Synthronos appears to be a special feature of the κοινή. It was already established by A. Thumb that the κοινή abounds in Ionic and poetic elements.[56] Let us cite two instances which are very similar to our term. The usual Greek use for sitting together is συνίζειν. However, Homer (Odyss. XVI, 362) uses μεταΐζειν.[57] Again, the normal verb for dwelling together is συνναίειν, but the Homeric hymns (*Ad Cer.* 87) use : μεταναιετάειν. Similarly, in the Theogony ascribed to Hesiod 401 we read : μεταναίετας. The Jews might have had serious reasons for avoiding the term Synthronos with regard to an angel. It was used by the Christians as a title for Jesus,[58] and it is not surprising that the Jews shunned this term as an appellation of the Angel.

2. *The Knowledge of* Halakha *by the Author (or Authors) of the* Heikhaloth

Chapter 18 of the *Heikhaloth* retains a puzzling and enigmatic passage. It can be understood only in the light of the specific, detailed, and minute laws governing the rules with regard to the impurity of a menstruant woman. According to the strict *Halakha* such a woman imparts impurity to any man who touches her body, or the cloth *on her body*.

Similarly, any cloth (or any object which is fit for sitting, or lying) on which this woman sits, or presses (leans against) with the greatest part of her weight [59] imparts impurity to any man who touches or carries it.[60] However, those objects which were merely touched by that woman (without sitting or leaning on them) do not impart impurity to either man or vessel.

However, we possess a strange book,[61] in which these laws are pushed to the very extreme. Although this source is replete with absurdities and nonsense, many medieval rabbinic authorities

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[56] See the references by Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, p. 48, n. 111, p. 63, n. 226.

[57] The Greek lexicons quote it as a *hapax*.

[58] See the numerous references by G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 1331, s.v. σύνθρονος. 2. We may add the Christian epigram in *Anthol. Palat.* I, 24.: σύνθρονε καὶ συνάναρχε τεῷ πατρί.

[59] Mishnah *Zabim* IV, 5.

[60] *Ibid.* V, 5, *Ahiloth* I, 5, *passim*.

[61] *Beraitha de Massekheth Niddah V*, (hereafter = *Beraitha d'Niddah*), ed. Ch. M. Horowitz 1890. The work was composed not later than the Geonic period (see below).

treated it very seriously.[62] It cannot therefore be ignored, since this work was current in rabbinic circles. We must add that this book contains some mystic elements,[63] and it stands to reason that the mystics considered the stringent laws of that source binding on persons who pretended to be admitted to the different precincts of heaven. According to that book the very sand on which a menstruating woman treads imparts uncleanliness to man.[64]

Now let us proceed with the explanation of the above mentioned cryptic passage of the *Heikhaloth*. Its essence consists of a plot devised by a group of rabbis which aimed at luring Rabbi Neḥunya ben Ha-Qanah out of his place in heaven. The surest way would be by bestowing impurity upon him, and then he would automatically be removed from his place. But, firstly, it is not permitted to convey uncleanliness to a man sitting in heaven, and, secondly, there is a risk that the rabbi might become aware of it and prevent the action.

In order to understand the plot and its denouement we must bear in mind the following laws and situations. The law requires women with fixed periods of menstruation to examine themselves at the beginning of those periods in order to learn whether they became impure. However if a woman neglected to do so, but subsequently tested herself and found that she is now pure, her status is questionable. According to the majority opinion she is considered ritually pure, but a minority, and it includes Rabbi Eliezer, dissented.[65]

It could be expected that Jewish women would undergo ritual immersion in such cases,[66] but, under circumstances of inconvenience, they would certainly stick to the opinion of the majority.[67] The group of rabbis conceived the following plan. They instructed

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[62] See the sources adduced by Horowitz *ibid.* IV (פתחי נדה) p. 7 ff. V. Aptowitzer (in his book מחקרים בתקופת הגאונים, Jerusalem, 1941, p. 168) bitterly complained against modern writers who treated the book earnestly. However, I know no modern scholar who acted in such way. The only exception is, apparently, Aptowitzer himself. See his notes to his edition of the *Sefer Rabiah* I, Berlin 1912, p. 45, notes 10-12. But here we are interested in medieval authorities only.

[63] See *Beraithah d'Niddah*, *ibid.*, p. 45.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 13. It appears that the source *mistakenly* compared the sand on which the woman trode to the מסמא stone (*Mishnah Kelim* i,3, and *Tosefta Parah* viii,2, *passim*), and it considered the sand as *Midras*, thus imparting uncleanliness to both man and vessel. Compare also below n. 79.

[65] TB *Niddah* 16a. Comp. *Tosafoth* a.l. s.v. ורב.

[66] In order not to involve themselves in doubtful laws.

[67] See *Tur Yoreh De'ah* 184.

the slave of Rabbi Akiba to put a strip of Parhaba [68] woolen cloth [on the ground] next to a woman who underwent ritual immersion that turned out to be invalid.[69] According to the stringent laws of *Beraitha d'Niddah* the cloth would become unclean even if it was not touched by the woman.[70] The slave was then ordered to immerse the strip of cloth in ritual water to render it pure. This procedure was necessary in order to indicate that the immersion was performed with direct intention to purify it from stringent impurity (טומאה חמורה). In such way the cloth would be declared pure even in the opinion of those rabbis who followed the strictest views of these laws.[71] The woman was then advised to approach the rabbis and explain to them the ways of her periods. The result of the enquiry would be that the majority (i.e. of the group mentioned in the *Heikhaloth* ch. XIV) would declare her "pure".[72] But one of that group would rule her "unclean",[73] and since her previous immersion was invalid, she is now impure.

They instructed the woman to touch the strip of cloth with the tip of her middle finger, but to be careful not to press it, but to touch it slightly, with "a light gesture, like a man who removes something that fell into his eye".[74] But here again they run a certain risk. Some of the rabbis were able to detect menstrual blood by its odor,[75] and Rabbi Neḥunya might belong to this body of experts,[76] and he might be able to discover in time that the strip was touched by an impure woman. He would never permit the placing of that kind of cloth on his knees.

What did Rabbi Ishmael do? He pressed a myrtle twig full of *foliatum* soaked in pure balsam (אפלסמן, βάλσαμον) into this

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[68] The etymology of the word is obscure (see Geiger *apud* Krauss in his *Additamenta ad Librum Aruch Completum*, p. 337, s.v. פרהבא), but it is evident from TB *Niddah* 17a that it is a white soft piece of wool.

[69] The slightest interposition between the nude body and the water would invalidate the immersion. See Mishnah *Mikwaoth* IX,1-4 *passim*.

[70] See above, n. 64.

[71] With regard to "intention" in immersion, see Lieberman *Tosefta Ki-fshuta* V, p. 1307 ff.

[72] I.e. that immersion was not necessary, and it is therefore immaterial whether her previous immersion was valid or not.

[73] The "one" is Rabbi Eliezer, see TB *Nidah* 16a.

[74] The rabbis took precautions to instruct the woman not to press and lean against the cloth in order not to confer on it *Midras* (מדרס) impurity.

[75] TB *Niddah* 20b.

[76] Comp. *Baraitha d'Niddah*, p. 9. Rabbi Ḥanina ben ha-Kanah is certainly identical with Rabbi Neḥunya ben ha-Kanah.

strip. This balsam was famous for its pleasant and very strong odor,[77] and the strip of cloth having been permeated with this balsam would repress any other odor. The rabbi would never be able to detect the suspicious odor. The plot was safe. The strip of cloth was placed on the knees of Rabbi Neḥunya, and he was immediately dismissed from his seat.

The rabbis legitimately achieved their purpose. According to the *Halakha* prevailing on earth no impurity was imparted to Rabbi Neḥunya. The woman was ritually pure, for such was the ruling of the majority of the rabbis. Moreover, even if the woman would be impure she would not confer *Midras* (מדרס) impurity on the cloth by merely touching it. Our Rabbi would, in any case remain pure when he carried the strip of cloth on his knees.

In heaven, however, the rules of Rabbi Eliezer prevailed,[78] and in his opinion the woman was ritually impure. According to the laws of the *Beraitha d'Nidda* any object touched by a menstruating woman (not only *Midras*) imparts impurity to a man.[79]

As surmised above, the mystics considered these stringent laws as binding on any man who wanted to be admitted to the precincts of heaven. Rabbi Neḥunya carrying the strip of cloth on his knees became impure and consequently dismissed from his seat. The group of rabbis achieved their purpose without violating any principle of the *Halakha* valid on earth.

This passage of the *Heikhaloth* demonstrates that the Jewish mystics were not רבנן דאגדתא (rabbis who dealt with *Aggada* only), but were scholars also at home in the subtle intricacies of the *Halakha*.

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[77] See TP *Maʿasser Sheni* IV, 55d, TB *Sanhedrin* 109a, *Bereshith Rabba* XXVII, 3, p. 257. Compare also Gruenwald's note in *Tarbiẓ* XXXVIII (1969), p. 370, n. 48.

[78] See TP *Moʿed Katan* III, 1, 81d, TB *Baba Meziʿa* 59b. Comp. also *Pesikta de Rav Kahana* IV, ed. Mandelbaum, p. 73, and parallels. *Beraitha d'Niddah* (p. 21) claims that in heaven they follow the rules of the school of Shammai.

[79] See p. 50: דילמא נגע במידי דנגעה היא ואתי לאטמויי

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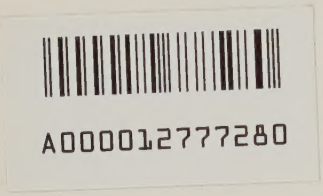
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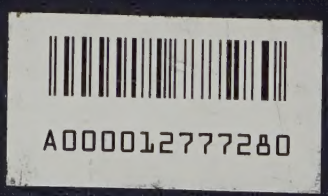
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Third Baruch

From The Apocrypha and Pseudeipgrapha of the Old Testament by R. H. Charles, vol . II , Oxford Press

Prologue. 1 A narrative and revelation of Baruch, concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God. Bless Thou, O Lord. A revelation of Baruch, who stood upon the river Gel weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem, when also Abimelech was preserved by the hand of God, at the farm of Agrippa. And he was sitting thus at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of holies lay.

III BARUCH

Date: first to third century A.D.

translation by H.E Gaylord, Jr.

Chapter one

1 Woe, now I Baruch (was) weeping in my mind and considering the people and how King Nebuchadnezzar was permitted by God to plunder his city, saying

2 Lord, why have you set fire to your vineyard and laid it waste? Why have you done this? And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but rather handed us over to such heathen so that they reproach us saying, Where is their God?

3 And behold, while I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me, Know, O man, greatly beloved man, and do not concern yourself so much over the salvation of Jerusalem. For thus says the Lord God Almighty,

4 and he sent me before you in order that I should proclaim and disclose to you all things of God

5 For your prayer has been heard before him and has entered the ears of the Lord God;

6 And when he told me these things, I became clam, and the angel said to me Cease irritating God, and I will disclose to you other mysteries greater than these.

7 And I Baruch said, As the Lord lives, if you disclose a word to me and I hear it from you, I shall speak no further. May God add to me punishment on the Day of Judgment if I speak in the future.

8 And the angel of hosts said to me, Come and I shall disclose to you the mysteries of God.

Chapter two

1 And taking me, he lad me to where the heaven was set fast and where there was

a river which no one is able to cross, not even one of the foreign which God cre
ated.
2 And taking me, he led me up to the first heaven and showed me a very large doo
r. And he said to me, Let us enter through it. And we entered as on wings about th
e distance of 30 days journey.
3 And he showed me a plain within the heaven. And there were men dwelling on it
with faces of cattle and horns of deer and feet of goats and loins of sheep.
4 And I Baruch asked the angel, Tell me, I pray you, what is the thickness of thi
s heaven in which we have journeyed, and what is its width, and what is this pla
in, that I may report these to the sons of men.
5 And the angel, whose name was Phamael, said to me, This door which you see is (
the door) of heaven, and (its thickness) is as great as the distance from earth
to heaven, and the width of the plain which you saw is the same (distance) again
.
6 And agin the angel of hosts said to me Come and I will show you greater mysteri
es.

7 And I said, I pray you, show me what those men are. And he said to me These are t
he ones who built the tower of the war against God, and the Lord removed them.
Chapter three
1 And taking me, the angel of the Lord led me to a second heaven, And he showed
me there a door similar to the first. And he said, Let us enter through it.
2 And we entered, flying about the distance of 60 days journey.
3 And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of men, and their appeara
nce was like (that) of dogs, and their feet (like those) of deer.
4 And I asked the angel, I pray you, lord, tell me who these are.
5 And he said, These are the ones who plotted to build the tower. These whom you
see forced many men and women to make bricks. Among them one woman was making br
icks in the time of her delivery; they did not permit her to be released, but wh
ile making bricks she gave birth. And she carried her child in her cloak and con
tinued making bricks.
6 And appearing to them , the Lord changed their languages; by that time they ha
d built the tower 463 cubits (high).
7 And taking an auger, they attempted to pierce the heaven, saying, Let us see wh
ether the heaven is (made) of clay or copper or iron.

8 Seeing these things, God did not permit them (to continue), but struck them wi
th blindness and with confusion of tongues, and he made them be as you see.

Chapter four

1 And I Baruch said, Behold, lord, you have shown me great and wondrous things. N
ow show me all, for the Lord s sake.

2 And the angel said to me, Come, let us go through ....with the angel from that pl
ace, a journey of about 185 days.

3 And he showed me a plain and a serpent who appeared to be stone. And he showed
me Hades, and its appearance was gloomy and unclean.

4 And I said, What is this dragon and this monster around it?

5 And the angel said. This dragon is the one which eats the bodies of those who p
ass through their lives badly, and he is nourished by them.

6 And this is Hades which is like him, in that also he drinks about one cubit fr
om the sea, and nothing is diminished from it (the sea).

7 Baruch said, And how is that? And the angel said, Listen, the Lord God made 360 r
ivers, the primary ones of them being the Alphias, the Aburos, and the Gerikos,
and because of these the sea is not diminished.

8 And I said, I pray you, show me which is the tree which caused Adam to stray. An
d the angel said, It is the vine which the angel Samail planted by which the Lord
God became angered, and he cursed him and his planting. For this reason he did
not permit Adam to touch it. And because of this the devil became envious and tr
icked him by means of his vine.

9 And I Baruch said, And since the vine became the cause of such evil and was cur
sed by God and (was) the destruction of the first formed, how is it now of such
great use?

10 And the angel said, Rightly you ask; when God caused the Flood over the earth
and destroyed all flesh and 409,000 giants, and the water rose over the heights
15 cubits, the water entered Paradise and killed every flower, but it removed th
e sprig of the vine completely and brought it outside.

11 And when the earth appeared from the water and Noah left the ark, he started
to plant (some) of the discovered plants.

12 He also found the sprig, and taking it, he considered in his mind what it was
. And I came and told him about it.

13 And he said, Should I plant it, or what (should I do with it)? Since Adam was
destroyed by means of it, will I also encounter the anger of God through this? A
nd while saying these things, he prayed for God to reveal to him what he should

do with this.
14 And in 40 days he completed his prayer and entreating much and crying, he sai

d, Lord, I implore you to reveal to me what I should do with this plant.
15 And God sent the angel Sarasel, and he said to him, Rise, Noah, plant the spri
g, for the Lord says this: Its bitterness will be changed into sweetness, and its
curse will become a blessing, and its fruit will become the blood of God, and j
ust as the race of men have been condemned through it, so through Jesus Christ E
mmanuel in it (they) will receive a calling and entrance into Paradise.
16 Then know, Baruch, that just as Adam through this tree was condemned and was
stripped of the glory of God, thus men now who insatiably drink the wine derivin
g from it transgress worse than Adam, and become distant from the glory of God,
and will secure for themselves eternal fire.
17 For (no) good derives from it. For those who drink excessively do these thing
s: Brother does not have mercy on brother, nor father on son, nor children on pa
rents, but by means of the fall through wine come forth all (these): murder, adu
ltery, fornication, perjury, theft, and similar things. And nothing good is acco
mplished through it.

Chapter five

1 And I Baruch said to the angel, May I ask you one question, lord?
2 Since you told me that the serpent drinks one cubit from the sea, tell me how
large its belly is.
3 And the angel said, Its belly is Hades. As far as 300 men can throw a weight, s
o great is his belly. Come now and I will show you works greater than these.

Chapter six

1 And taking me, he led me where the sun goes forth.
2And he showed me a chariot drawn by four horses and fire underneath it. And upo
n the chariot sat a man wearing a fiery crown. The chariot was drawn by forty an
gels. And behold, a bird runs along before the sun, as large as nine mountains.
3 And I said to the angel, What is this bird? And he said to me, This is the guardi
an of the world.
4 And I said, Lord how is the guardian of the world? Teach me.
5 And the angel said to me, This bird accompanies the sun and spreading its wings
absorbs its fire-shaped rays.
6 For if it did not absorb them none of the race of men would survive, nor anyth

ing else that lives, so God appointed this bird.
7 And he unfolded his wings, and I saw on his right wing very large letters like the place of a threshing floor, having the space of 4000 media, and the letters were gold.
8 And the angel said to me, Read them. And I read, and they said thus: Neither eart h nor heaven bear me, but the wings of fire bear me.
9 And I said, Lord, what is this bird, and what is its name?
10 And the angel told me, His name is Phoenix.
11 And what does he eat? And he told me, The manna of heaven and the dew of the ear th.
12 And I said, Does the bird excrete? And he said to me, He excretes a worm, and fr om the excretion, the worm, cinnamon comes into existence, which kings and princ es use. But wait and you will see the glory of God.
13 And while he was speaking, there was a thunderclap and the place where we sto od was shaken. And I asked the angel, My lord, what is this sound? And the angel s aid to me, The angel are opening the 365 gates of heaven now, and light is separa ting itself from darkness.
14 And a voice came saying, Light giver, give splendor to the world!
15 And hearing the sound of the bird, I said, Lord, what is this sound?
16 And he said, This is what wakens the cocks on earth, for just as articulate be ings do, thus also the cock informs those on the earth according to its own tong ue. For the sun is being prepared by the angels and the cock is crowing.

Chapter seven

1 And I said, And where does the sun begin to work after the cock crows?
2 And the angel said to me, Listen, Baruch, everything I have shown you is in the first and second heaven; and in the third heaven the sun passes through and giv es splendor to the world, But wait and you will see the glory of God.
3 And while I was speaking to him, I saw the bird, and he appeared ahead and gre w little by little, and became full sized.
4 And after him (I saw) the sun gleaming and with him angels carrying (him) and a crown on his head; we were not able to look directly into this sight and see..
5 And at the same time as the sun shone out, the phoenix spread out its wings. S eeing such glory, I became overcome with a great fear and fled and hid in the wi ngs of the angel.

6 And the angel said to me; Do not fear, Baruch, but wait and you will see them s etting.

Chapter eight

1 And taking me, he led me to the west. And when the time of the setting (of the sun) came, I saw again the bird coming in front and the sun coming with the ang els. When he came, I saw the angels, and they removed the crown from his head.

2 And the bird was overcome and let his wings droop.

3 And when I saw these things, I said, Why do they remove the crown from his head and why is the bird so overcome?

4 And the angel said to me, When the day is completed, 4 angels take the crown of the sun and carry it to heaven and renew it because it and its rays are defiled upon earth. And every day it is renewed.

5 And I Baruch said, Lord, by what are its rays defiled upon earth? And the angel said to me, By the sight of the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men committing fornication, adultery, theft, robbery, idol-worship, drunkenness, murder, disco rd, jealousy, slander, murmuring, gossip, divination, and other things which are unacceptable to God. By means of these it is defiled, and because of this it is renewed.

6 And now, concerning how the bird becomes overcome; It is overcome because it c hecks the rays of the sun and the fire and burning the whole day.

7 For if its wings did not draw around the rays of the sun as earlier said, no l iving being would survive.

Chapter nine

1 And when they had withdrawn, night arrived, and with it the moon and the stars

•

2 And I Baruch said, Lord, explain this also to me, please. How does it depart an d where is it going, and in what pattern does it travel?

3 And the angel said, Wait and you will see this shortly. And on the morrow I saw this also in the form of a woman, seated in a wheeled chariot. And in front of i t were oxen and lambs near the chariot, and also many angels.

4 And I said, Lord, what are the oxen and lambs? And he said to me, These are angel s also.

5 And again I asked, Why does it sometimes grow larger and sometimes grow smaller ?

6 Listen, O Baruch: This which you see was designed by God to be beautiful with o ut peer.

7 And during the transgression of the first Adam, she gave light to Samael when he took the serpent as a garment, and did not hide, but on the contrary, waxed. And God was angered with her, and diminished her and shortened her days.
8 And I said, And why does she not shine all the time, but only at night? And the angel said. Listen: Just as servants are unable to speak freely before kings, so also before the sun, the moon and stars are unable to shine. For the stars are p ermanently suspended, but they are dispersed by the sun; and the moon, while bei ng safe, is exhausted by the heat of the sun.

Chapter ten

1 And when I had been taught all these things by the archangel, he took me to a third heaven.
2 And I saw an unbroken plain and in the middle of it was a lake of water.
3 And in it were many birds of every species but unlike those here. But I saw a crane, like large oxen. And all were great, excelling those on earth.
4 And I asked the angel, What is the plain and what is the lake and what are the multitude of birds around it?
5 And the angel said, Listen, Baruch: This plain which surrounds the lake, and in which are other mysteries, is the place where the souls of the righteous come w hen they assemble, living together choir by choir.
6 And the water is that which the clouds receive to send as rain upon the earth, and (then) fruit grows.
7 And again I said to the angel of the Lord, What are the birds? And he said to me , These are the ones who continuously praise the Lord.
8 And I Baruch said, Lord, why do men say that the water which rains is from the s ea?
9 And the angel said, There is rain from the sea and from water on earth; but tha t which produces the fruits is from here. Know from now on that what is called t he dew of heaven comes from here.

Chapter eleven

1 And taking me from this, the angel led me to the fifth heaven.
2 And the gate was closed. And I said, Lord, will the gate be opened so that we c an enter? And the angel said to me, We are not able to enter until Michael the hol der of the keys of the kingdom of heaven comes. But wait and you will see the gl ory of God.

3 And there was a great noise like thunder, and I said, Lord, what is this noise?
4 And he said to me, The commander-in-chief Michael is descending to receive the prayers of men.
5 And behold a voice came: Let the gate be opened! And they opened, and there was a shriek as from thunder.
6 And Michael came, and the angel with me went to meet him and made obeisance to him and said, Hail, commander-in-chief of all our regiment.
7 And Michael said, Hail thou also, our brother, interpreter of revelations to th ose who pass through life rightly.
8 And after they greeted each other, they stood still. And I saw the commander-i n-chief Michael take hold of a very large bowl, its depth being so great as from heaven to earth, and its width so great as from north to south. And I said, Lord , what is it that Michael the archangel is holding?
9 And he said to me, This is where the virtues of the righteous and the good work s which they do are carried, which are brought by him before the heavenly God..
Chapter twelve
1 And while I was speaking with them, behold angels came carrying baskets filled with flowers, and they gave them to Michael.
2 And I asked the angel, Lord, who are these and what is it that they are carryin g?
3 And he said to me, These are the angels over the principalities.
4 And taking the baskets, the archangel emptied them into his bowl.
5 And the angel said to me, These above-mentioned flowers are the virtues of the righteous.
6 And I saw other angels carrying baskets which were less than full. And they ca me distressed, and did not dare to approach, for they did not achieve the full p rizes.
7 And Michael cried out, saying, Come also , you angels, bring what you have brou

ght.
8 And Michael was greatly distressed and so was the angel with me, because they had not filled the bowl.
Chapter thirteen
1 And then similarly came other angels crying and lamenting and saying with fear , See how we are, blackened, Lord, for we are handed over to evil men, and we wan

t to be withdrawn from them.
2 And Michael said, So that the enemy will not dominate at the end, you must not withdraw from them. But tell me what you desire.
3 And they said, We beg you, Michael our commander-in-chief, transfer us from the m, for we are unable to remain with evil and foolish men. For there is no goodne ss in them, but only every unrighteousness and greediness.
4 Indeed we have seen them enter into no church, nor (go) to the spiritual fathe rs, nor to anything good. But wherever there is murder, they are in the midst of it, and wherever there is fornication, adultery, theft, slander, perjury, envy, drunkenness, strife, jealousy, grumbling, gossip, idol worship, divination, and things similar to these, There are (with these men) works of such nature and wo rse; therefore we ask to be released from them.
5 And Michael said to the angels, Wait until I learn from the Lord what is to hap pen.

Chapter fourteen

1 And at that time Michael departed and the doors closed. And a noise like thund er came.
2 And I asked the angel, What is the noise? And he said to me, Now Michael is bring ing the virtues of men to God.

Chapter fifteen

1 And at that time Michael came down, and the gate opened, and he brought oil.
2 And for the angels who had brought the full baskets, he filled (the baskets) w ith oil saying, Take, give a hundredfold reward to our friends, and to those who have laboriously done good works. For those who have sown well, harvest well.
3 And he said to those who had brought the half-full baskets, Come you also, rece ive the reward according to what you brought, and give it to the sons of men.
4 Then he said to those who brought the full (baskets) and those (who brought) t he half-full (baskets), Go, bless our friends and tell them that thus says the Lo rd: You have been faithful over a little, he will set you over much; enter into the delight of our Lord.

Chapter sixteen

1 And turning, he said to those who had brought nothing, Be not sad, and cry not, but do not let the sons of men alone.
2 But since they have provoked me to anger by their deeds, go and provoke them t o jealousy, and provoke them to anger, and embitter them against those who are n o nation, against a people without understanding

3 Moreover, send forth caterpillars and locusts, rust and grasshoppers, hail wit
h lightning and fury. Punish them with the sword and death, and their children w
ith demons.
4 For they did not listen to my voice, nor observe my commands, nor carry them o
ur, but they despised my commands and my churches, and insulted the priests proc
laiming my words to them.
Chapter seventeen
1 And while he was speaking, the door closed and we withdrew

2 And taking me, the angel returned me to where I was at the beginning.
3 And when I came to myself, I praised God, who had deemed me worthy os such hon
ors.
4 And you, brethren, who happen upon these revelations, glorify God also so that
he will glorify us now and forever to all eternity! AMEN.
SELAH.

First page of "Gospel of Thomas" coptic manuscript. (Photo Courtesy of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont Graduate University)

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The (First) Apocalypse of James

Translated by William R. Schoedel

It is the Lord who spoke with me: "See now the completion of my redemption. I have given you a sign of these things, James, my brother. For not without reason have I called you my brother, although you are not my brother materially. And I am not ignorant concerning you; so that when I give you a sign - know and hear."

"Nothing existed except Him-who-is. He is unnameable and ineffable. I myself am also unnameable, from Him-who-is, just as I have been given a number of names - two from Him-who-is. And I, I am before you. Since you have asked concerning femaleness, femaleness existed, but femaleness was not first. And it prepared for itself powers and gods. But it did not exist when I came forth, since I am an image of Him-who-is. But I have brought forth the image of him so that the sons of Him-who-is might know what things are theirs and what things are alien (to them). Behold, I shall reveal to you everything of this mystery. For they will seize me the day after tomorrow. But my redemption will be near."

James said, "Rabbi, you have said, 'they will seize me.' But I, what can I do?" He said to me, "Fear not, James. You too will they seize. But leave Jerusalem. For it is she who always gives the cup of bitterness to the sons of light. She is a dwelling place of a great number of archons. But your redemption will be preserved from them. So that you may understand who they are and what kinds they are, you will [...]. And listen. They are not [...] but archons [...]. These twelve [...] down [...] archons [...] upon his own hebdomad."

James said, "Rabbi, are there then twelve hebdomads and not seven as there are in the scriptures?" The Lord said, "James, he who spoke concerning this scripture had a limited understanding. I, however, shall reveal to you what has come forth from him who has no number. I shall give a sign concerning their number. As for what has come forth from him who has no measure, I shall give a sign concerning their measure"

James said, "Rabbi, behold then, I have received their number. There are seventy-two measures!" The Lord said, "These are the seventy-two heavens, which are their subordinates. These are the powers of all their might; and they were established by them; and these are they who were distributed everywhere, existing

under the authority of the twelve archons. The inferior power among them brought forth for itself angels and unnumbered hosts. Him-who-is, however, has been given [...] on account of [...] Him-who-is [...] they are unnumbered. If you want to give them a number now, you will not be able to do so until you cast away from your blind thought, this bond of flesh which encircles you. And then you will reach Him-who-is. And you will no longer be James; rather you are the One-who-is. And all those who are unnumbered will all have been named."

<James said,>, "Rabbi, in what way shall I reach Him-who-is, since all these powers and these hosts are armed against me?" He said to me, "These powers are not armed against you specifically, but are armed against another. It is against me that they are armed. And they are armed with other powers. But they are armed against me in judgment. They did not give [...] to me in it [...] through them [...]. In this place [...] suffering, I shall [...]. He will [...] and I shall not rebuke them. But there shall be within me a silence and a hidden mystery. But I am fainthearted before their anger."

James said, "Rabbi, if they arm themselves against you, then is there no blame?"

You have come with knowledge,
that you might rebuke their forgetfulness.
You have come with recollection,
that you might rebuke their ignorance.
But I was concerned because of you.

For you descended into a great ignorance,
but you have not been defiled by anything in it.
For you descended into a great mindlessness,
and your recollection remained.
You walked in mud,
and your garments were not soiled,
and you have not been buried in their filth,
and you have not been caught.
And I was not like them, but I clothed myself with everything of theirs.

There is in me forgetfulness,
yet I remember things that are not theirs.
There is in me [....],
and I am in their [...].
[...] knowledge [...] not in their sufferings [...]. But I have become afraid before them, since they rule. For what will they do? What will I be able to say? Or what word will I be able to say that I may escape them?"

The Lord said, "James, I praise your understanding and your fear. If you continue to be distressed, do not be concerned for anything else except your redemption. For behold, I shall complete this destiny upon this earth as I have said from the heavens. And I shall reveal to you your redemption."

James said, "Rabbi, how, after these things, will you appear to us again? After they seize you, and you complete this destiny, you will go up to Him-who-is." The Lord said, "James, after these things I shall reveal to you everything, not for your sake alone but for the sake of the unbelief of men, so that faith may exist in them. For a multitude will attain to faith and they will increase in [...]. And after this I shall appear for a reproof to the archons. And I shall reveal to them that he cannot be seized. If they seize him, then he will overpower each of them. But now I shall go. Remember the things I have spoken and let them go up before you." James said,"Lord, I shall hasten as you have said." The Lord said farewell to him and fulfilled what was fitting.

When James heard of his suffering and was much distressed, they awaited the sign of his coming. And he came after several days. And James was walking upon the mountain which is called "Gaugelan", with his disciples, who listened to him because they had been distressed, and he was [...] a comforter, saying, "This is [...] second [...]" Then the crowd dispersed, but James remained [...] prayer [...], as was his custom.

And the Lord appeared to him. Then he stopped (his) prayer and embraced him. He kissed him, saying, "Rabbi, I have found you! I have heard of your sufferings, which you endured. And I have been much distressed. My compassion you know. Therefore, on reflection, I was wishing that I would not see this people. They must be judged for these things that they have done. For these things that they have done are contrary to what is fitting."

The Lord said, "James, do not be concerned for me or for this people. I am he who was within me. Never

have I suffered in any way, nor have I been distressed. And this people has done me no harm. But this (people) existed as a type of the archons, and it deserved to be destroyed through them. But [...] the archons, [...] who has [...] but since it [...] angry with [...] The just [...] is his servant. Therefore your name is "James the Just". You see how you will become sober when you see me. And you stopped this prayer. Now since you are a just man of God, you have embraced me and kissed me. Truly I say to you that you have stirred up great anger and wrath against yourself. But (this has happened) so that these others might come to be."

But James was timid (and) wept. And he was very distressed. And they both sat down upon a rock. The Lord said to him, "James, thus you will undergo these sufferings. But do not be sad. For the flesh is weak. It will receive what has been ordained for it. But as for you, do not be timid or afraid". The Lord ceased.

Now when James heard these things, he wiped away the tears in his eyes and very bitter [...] which is [...]. The Lord said to him, "James, behold, I shall reveal to you your redemption. When you are seized, and you undergo these sufferings, a multitude will arm themselves against you that <they> may seize you. And in particular three of them will seize you - they who sit (there) as toll collectors. Not only do they demand toll, but they also take away souls by theft. When you come into their power, one of them who is their guard will say to you, 'Who are you or where are you from?' You are to say to him, 'I am a son, and I am from the Father.' He will say to you, 'What sort of son are you, and to what father do you belong?' You are to say to him, 'I am from the Pre-existent Father, and a son in the Pre-existent One.' When he says to you, [...], you are to say to him [...] in the [...] that I might [...]."

'[...] of alien things?' You are to say to him, 'They are not entirely alien, but they are from Achamoth, who is the female. And these she produced as she brought down the race from the Pre-existent One. So then they are not alien, but they are ours. They are indeed ours because she who is mistress of them is from the Pre-existent One. At the same time they are alien because the Pre-existent One did not have intercourse with her, when she produced them.' When he also says to you, 'Where will you go?', you are to say to him, 'To the place from which I have come, there shall I return.' And if you say these things, you will escape their attacks.

"But when you come to these three detainers who take away souls by theft in that place [...] these. You [...] a vessel [...] much more than [...] of the one whom you [...] for [...] her root. You too will be sober [...]. But I shall call upon the imperishable knowledge, which is Sophia who is in the Father (and) who is

the mother of Achamoth. Achamoth had no father nor male consort, but she is female from a female. She produced you without a male, since she was alone (and) in ignorance as to what lives through her mother because she thought that she alone existed. But I shall cry out to her mother. And then they will fall into confusion (and) will blame their root and the race of their mother. But you will go up to what is yours [...] you will [...] the Pre-existent One."

"They are a type of the twelve disciples and the twelve pairs, [...] Achamoth, which is translated 'Sophia'. And who I myself am, (and) who the imperishable Sophia (is) through whom you will be redeemed, and (who are) all the sons of Him-who-is - these things they have known and have hidden within them. You are to hide <these things> within you, and you are to keep silence. But you are to reveal them to Addai. When you depart, immediately war will be made with this land. Weep, then, for him who dwells in Jerusalem. But let Addai take these things to heart. In the tenth year let Addai sit and write them down. And when he writes them down [...] and they are to give them [...] he has the [...] he is called Levi. Then he is to bring [...] word [...] from what I said earlier [...] a woman [...] Jerusalem in her [...] and he begets two sons through her. They are to inherit these things and the understanding of him who [...] exalts. And they are to receive [...] through him from his intellect. Now, the younger of them is greater. And may these things remain hidden in him until he comes to the age of seventeen years [...] beginning [...] through them. They will pursue him exceedingly, since they are from his [...] companions. He will be proclaimed through them, and they will proclaim this word. Then he will become a seed of [...]."

James said, "I am satisfied [...] and they are [...] my soul. Yet another thing I ask of you: who are the seven women who have been your disciples? And behold all women bless you. I also am amazed how powerless vessels have become strong by a perception which is in them." The Lord said, "You [...] well [...] a spirit of [...], a spirit of thought, a spirit of counsel of a [...], a spirit [...] a spirit of knowledge [...] of their fear. [...] when we had passed through the breath of this archon who is named Adonaios [...] him and [...] he was ignorant [...] when I came forth from him, he remembered that I am a son of his. He was gracious to me at that time as his son. And then, before <I> appeared here, <he> cast them among this people. And from the place of heaven the prophets [...]."

James said, "Rabbi, [...] I [...] all together [...] in them especially [...]." The Lord said, "James, I praise you [...] walk upon the earth [...] the words while he [...] on the [...]. For cast away from you the cup which is bitterness. For some from [...] set themselves against you. For you have begun to understand their roots from beginning to end. Cast away from yourself all lawlessness. And beware lest they envy you. When you

speak these words of this perception, encourage these four: Salome and Mariam and Martha and Arsinoe [...] since he takes some [...] to me he is [...] burnt offerings and [...]. But I [...] not in this way; but [...] first-fruits of the [...] upward [...] so that the power of God might appear. The perishable has gone up to the imperishable and the female element has attained to this male element."

James said, "Rabbi, into these three (things), then, has their [...] been cast. For they have been reviled, and they have been persecuted [...]. Behold [...] everything [...] from anyone [...]. For you have received [...] of knowledge. And [...] that what is the [...] go [...] you will find [...]. But I shall go forth and shall reveal that they believed in you, that they may be content with their blessing and salvation, and this revelation may come to pass."

And he went at that time immediately and rebuked the twelve and cast out of them contentment concerning the way of knowledge [...].

[...]. And the majority of them [...] when they saw, the messenger took in [...]. The others [...] said, "[...] him from this earth. For he is not worthy of life." These, then, were afraid. They arose, saying, "We have no part in this blood, for a just man will perish through injustice" James departed so that [...] look [...] for we [...] him.

The Apocalypse of James

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Gnostic Scriptures and Fragments
The Odes of Solomon

Archive Notes

The Odes date from the second century, and were probably written in Greek or Aramaic. At least one scholar has suggested they may have an origin in Valentinian Gnosticism, though this is of course speculative. The Church Father Lactantius (third century) quoted from them, and the Pistis Sophia mentions about five complete Odes.

In 1909 the English Scholar J. Rendel Harris discovered an old Syriac manuscript with contained all but the second of the 42 Odes. These texts evidence the close inter-relationship of Christian and Gnostic church piety. Translation below is by James H. Charlesworth. (Another more poetic translation of several odes -- from an unknown source -- follows the Charlesworth translation.)

In his commentary on the Odes, Charlesworth notes :

The date of the Odes has caused considerable interest. H. J. Drijvers contends that they are as late as the 3d century. L. Abramowski places them in the latter half of the 2d century. B. McNeil argued that they are contemporaneous with 4 Ezra, the Shepherd of Hermas, Polycarp, and Valentinus (ca. 100 C.E.). Most scholars date them sometime around the middle of the 2d century, but if they are heavily influenced by Jewish apocalyptic thought and especially the ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls, a date long after 100 is unlikely....

The 11th ode was found among the Bodmer Papyri in a 3d-century Gk manuscript (no. 11). Five were translated into Coptic in the 4th century and used to illustrate the Pistis Sophia (Odes Sol. 1, 5, 6, 22, and 25). Also in the 4th century Ode 19 was quoted by Lactantius (Div. Inst. 4.12.3). In the 10th century a scribe copied the Odes in Syriac, but only Odes Sol. 17:7-42:20 are preserved (British Museum ms. Add. 14538). In the 15th century another scribe copied them into Syriac, but again the beginning is lost (John Rylands Library Cod. Syr. 9 contains only Odes Sol. 3.1b-42:20). [--The Anchor Bible Dictionary, v. 6, p. 114]

The Odes of Solomon

Ode 1

The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall never be without Him.
Plaited for me is the crown of truth, and it caused Your branches to blossom in me.
For it is not like a parched crown that blossoms not;
For You live upon my head, and have blossomed upon me.
Your fruits are full and complete; they are full of Your salvation....

Ode 2

[There is no extant copy of Ode 2]

Ode 3

... I am putting on the love of the Lord.
And His members are with Him, and I am dependent on them; and He loves me.
For I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not continuously loved me.
Who is able to distinguish love, except him who is loved?
I love the Beloved and I myself love Him, and where His rest is, there also am I.
And I shall be no stranger, because there is no jealousy with the Lord Most High and Merciful.
I have been united to Him, because the lover has found the Beloved, because I love Him that is the Son, I shall become a son.
Indeed he who is joined to Him who is immortal, truly shall be immortal.
And he who delights in the Life will become living.
This is the Spirit of the Lord, which is not false, which teaches the sons of men to know His ways.
Be wise and understanding and awakened.
Hallelujah.

Ode 4

No man can pervert Your holy place, O my God; nor can he change it, and put it in another place.
Because he has no power over it; for Your sanctuary You designed before You made special places.
The ancient one shall not be perverted by those which are inferior to it. You have given Your heart, O Lord, to Your believers.
Never will You be idle, nor will You be without fruits;
For one hour of Your faith is more excellent than all days and years.

For who shall put on Your grace and be rejected?
Because Your seal is known; and Your creatures are known to it.
And Your hosts possess it, and the elect archangels are clothed with it.
You have given to us Your fellowship, not that You were in need of us, but that we are always in need of You.
Shower upon us Your gentle rain, and open Your bountiful springs which abundantly supply us with milk and honey.
For there is no regret with You; that You should regret anything which You have promised;
Since the result was manifest to You.
For that which You gave, You gave freely, so that no longer will You draw back and take them again.
For all was manifest to You as God, and was set in order from the beginning before You.
And You, O Lord, have made all.
Hallelujah.

Ode 5

I praise You, O Lord, because I love You.
O Most High, forsake me not, for You are my hope.
Freely did I receive Your grace, may I live by it.
My persecutors will come but let them not see me.
Let a cloud of darkness fall upon their eyes; and let an air of thick darkness obscure them.
And let them have no light to see, so that they cannot seize me.
Let their designs become hardened, so that whatever they have conspired shall return upon their own heads.
For they have devised a plan, but it was not for them.
They prepared themselves maliciously, but they were found to be impotent.
Indeed my confidence is upon the Lord, and I will not fear.
And because the Lord is my salvation, I will not fear.
And He is as a woven crown upon my head, and I shall not be shaken.
Even if everything should be shaken, I shall stand firm.
And though all things visible should perish, I shall not die;
Because the Lord is with me, and I with Him.
Hallelujah.

Ode 6

As the wind glides through the harp and the strings speak,
So the Spirit of the Lord speaks through my members, and I speak through His love.
For He destroys whatever is alien, and everything is of the Lord.
For thus it was from the beginning, and will be until the end.

So that nothing shall be contrary, and nothing shall rise up against Him.
The Lord has multiplied his knowledge, and He was zealous that those things should be known which through His grace have been given to us.
And His praise He gave us on account of His name, our spirits praise His Holy Spirit.
For there went forth a stream, and it became a river great and broad; indeed it carried away everything, and it shattered and brought it to the Temple.
And the barriers which were built by men were not able to restrain it, nor even the arts of them who habitually restrain water.
For it spread over the surface of all the earth, and it filled everything.
Then all the thirsty upon the earth drank, and thirst was relieved and quenched;
For from the Most High the drink was given.
Blessed, therefore, are the ministers of that drink, who have been entrusted with His water.
They have refreshed the parched lips, and have aroused the paralyzed will.
Even living persons who were about to expire, they have held back from death.
And limbs which have collapsed, they have restored and set up.
They gave strength for their coming, and light for their eyes.
Because everyone recognized them as the Lord's, and lived by the living water of eternity.
Hallelujah.

Ode 7

As is the course of anger over wickedness, so is the course of joy over the Beloved; and brings in of its fruits unhindered.
My joy is the Lord and my course is towards Him, this path of mine is beautiful.
For there is a Helper for me, the Lord. He has generously shown Himself to me in His simplicity, because His kindness has diminished His dreadfulness.
He became like me, that I might receive Him. In form He was considered like me, that I might put Him on.
And I trembled not when I saw Him, because He was gracious to me.
Like my nature He became, that I might understand Him. And like my form, that I might not turn away from Him.
The Father of knowledge is the Word of knowledge.
He who created wisdom is wiser than His works.
And He who created me when yet I was not knew what I would do when I came into being.
On account of this He was gracious to me in His abundant grace, and allowed me to ask from Him and to benefit from His sacrifice.
For He it is who is incorrupt, the perfection of the worlds and their Father.
He has allowed Him to appear to them that are His own; in order that they may recognize Him that made them, and not suppose that they came of themselves.

For towards knowledge He has set His way, he has widened it and lengthened it and brought it to complete perfection.
And has set over it the traces of His light, and it proceeded from the beginning until the end.
For by Him He was served, and He was pleased by the Son.
And because of his salvation He will possess everything. And the Most High will be known by His holy ones:
To announce to those who have songs of the coming of the Lord, that they may go forth to meet Him and may sing to Him, with joy and with the harp of many tones.
The Seers shall go before Him, and they shall be seen before Him.
And they shall praise the Lord in His love, because He is near and does see.
And hatred shall be removed from the earth, and with jealousy it shall be drowned.
For ignorance was destroyed upon it, because the knowledge of the Lord arrived upon it.
Let the singers sing the grace of the Lord Most High, and let them bring their songs.
And let their heart be like the day, and their gentle voices like the majestic beauty of the Lord.
And let there not be anyone who breathes that is without knowledge or voice.
For He gave a mouth to His creation: to open the voice of the mouth towards Him, and to praise Him.
Confess His power and declare His grace.
Hallelujah.

Ode 8

Open, open your hearts to the exultation of the Lord, and let your love abound from the heart to the lips.
In order to bring forth fruits to the Lord, a holy life; and to talk with watchfulness in His light.
Rise up and stand erect, you who sometimes were brought low.
You who were in silence, speak, for your mouth has been opened.
You who were despised, from henceforth be lifted up, for your Righteousness has been lifted up;
For the right hand of the Lord is with you, and He will be your Helper.
And peace was prepared for you, before what may be your war.
Hear the word of truth, and receive the knowledge of the Most High.
Your flesh may not understand that which I am about to say to you; nor your garment that which I am about to show you.
Keep my mystery, you who are kept by it; keep my faith, you who are kept by it.
And understand my knowledge, you who know me in truth; love me with affection, you who love;
For I turn not my face from my own, because I know them.
And before they had existed, I recognized them; and imprinted a seal on their faces.
I fashioned their members, and my own breasts I prepared for them, that they might drink my holy milk and live by it.
I am pleased by them, and am not ashamed by them.

For my workmanship are they, and the strength of my thoughts.
Therefore who can stand against my work? Or who is not subject to them?
I willed and fashioned mind and heart, and they are my own. And upon my right hand I have set my elect ones.
And my righteousness goes before them, and they shall not be deprived of my name; for it is with them.
Pray and increase, and abide in the love of the Lord;
And you who were loved in the Beloved, and you who are kept in Him who lives, and you who are saved in Him who was saved.
And you shall be found incorrupt in all ages, on account of the name of your Father.
Hallelujah.

Ode 9

Open your ears, and I shall speak to you.
Give me yourself, so that I may also give you myself.
The word of the Lord and His desires, the holy thought which He has thought concerning His Messiah.
For in the will of the Lord is your life, and His purpose is eternal life, and your perfection is incorruptible.
Be enriched in God the Father; and receive the purpose of the Most High. Be strong and redeemed by His grace.
For I announce peace to you, His holy ones, so that none of those who hear shall fall in the war.
And also that those who have known Him may not perish, and so that those who received Him may not be ashamed.
An everlasting crown is Truth; blessed are they who set it on their head.
It is a precious stone, for the wars were on account of the crown.
But Righteousness has taken it, and has given it to you.
Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord, and all those who have conquered will be inscribed in His book.
For their book is the reward of victory which is for you, and she sees you before her and wills that you shall be saved.
Hallelujah.

Ode 10

The Lord has directed my mouth by His Word, and has opened my heart by His Light.
And He has caused to dwell in me His immortal life, and permitted me to proclaim the fruit of His peace.
To convert the lives of those who desire to come to Him, and to lead those who are captive into freedom.
I took courage and became strong and captured the world, and the captivity became mine for the glory of the Most High, and of God my Father.
And the Gentiles who had been dispersed were gathered together, but I was not defiled by my love for them, because they had praised me in high places.

And the traces of light were set upon their heart, and they walked according to my life and were saved, and they became my people for ever and ever.

Hallelujah.

Ode 11

My heart was pruned and its flower appeared, then grace sprang up in it, and my heart produced fruits for the Lord.

For the Most High circumcised me by His Holy Spirit, then He uncovered my inward being towards Him, and filled me with His love.

And His circumcising became my salvation, and I ran in the Way, in His peace, in the way of truth.

From the beginning until the end I received His knowledge.

And I was established upon the rock of truth, where He had set me.

And speaking waters touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord generously.

And so I drank and became intoxicated, from the living water that does not die.

And my intoxication did not cause ignorance, but I abandoned vanity,

And turned toward the Most High, my God, and was enriched by His favors.

And I rejected the folly cast upon the earth, and stripped it off and cast it from me.

And the Lord renewed me with His garment, and possessed me by His light.

And from above He gave me immortal rest, and I became like the land that blossoms and rejoices in its fruits.

And the Lord is like the sun upon the face of the land.

My eyes were enlightened, and my face received the dew;

And my breath was refreshed by the pleasant fragrance of the Lord.

And He took me to His Paradise, wherein is the wealth of the Lord's pleasure.

I beheld blooming and fruit-bearing trees,

And self-grown was their crown.

Their branches were sprouting and their fruits were shining.

From an immortal land were their roots.

And a river of gladness was irrigating them,

And round about them in the land of eternal life.

Then I worshipped the Lord because of His magnificence.

And I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in Your land, and who have a place in Your Paradise;

And who grow in the growth of Your trees, and have passed from darkness into light.

Behold, all Your laborers are fair, they who work good works, and turn from wickedness to your pleasantness.

For the pungent odor of the trees is changed in Your land,

And everything becomes a remnant of Yourself. Blessed are the workers of Your waters, and eternal

memorials of Your faithful servants.
Indeed, there is much room in Your Paradise. And there is nothing in it which is barren, but everything is filled with fruit.
Glory be to You, O God, the delight of Paradise for ever.
Hallelujah.

Ode 12

He has filled me with words of truth, that I may proclaim Him.
And like the flowing of waters, truth flows from my mouth, and my lips declare His fruits.
And He has caused His knowledge to abound in me, because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word, and the entrance of His light.
And the Most High has given Him to His generations, which are the interpreters of His beauty,
And the narrators of His glory,
And the confessors of His purpose,
And the preachers of His mind,
And the teachers of His works.
For the subtlety of the Word is inexpressible, and like His utterance so also is His swiftness and His acuteness, for limitless is His progression.
He never falls but remains standing, and one cannot comprehend His descent or His way.
For as His work is, so is His expectation, for He is the light and dawning of thought.
And by Him the generations spoke to one another, and those that were silent acquired speech.
And from Him came love and equality, and they spoke one to another that which was theirs.
And they were stimulated by the Word, and knew Him who made them, because they were in harmony.
For the mouth of the Most High spoke to them, and His exposition prospered through Him.
For the dwelling place of the Word is man, and His truth is love.
Blessed are they who by means of Him have perceived everything, and have known the Lord in His truth.
Hallelujah.

Ode 13

Behold, the Lord is our mirror. Open your eyes and see them in Him.
And learn the manner of your face, then declare praises to His Spirit.
And wipe the paint from your face, and love His holiness and put it on.
Then you will be unblemished at all times with Him.
Hallelujah.

Ode 14

As the eyes of a son upon his father, so are my eyes, O Lord, at all times towards You.
Because my breasts and my pleasure are with You.
Turn not aside Your mercies from me, O Lord; and take not Your kindness from me.

Stretch out to me, my Lord, at all times, Your right hand, and be to me a guide till the end according to Your will.
Let me be pleasing before You, because of Your glory, and because of Your name let me be saved from the Evil One.
And let Your gentleness, O Lord, abide with me, and the fruits of Your love.
Teach me the odes of Your truth, that I may produce fruits in You.
And open to me the harp of Your Holy Spirit, so that with every note I may praise You, O Lord.
And according to the multitude of Your mercies, so grant unto me, and hasten to grant our petitions.
For You are sufficient for all our needs.
Hallelujah.

Ode 15

As the sun is the joy of them who seek its daybreak, so is my joy the Lord;
Because He is my Sun, and His rays have lifted me up; and His light has dismissed all darkness from my face.
Eyes I have obtained in Him, and have seen His holy day.
Ears I have acquired, and have heard His truth.
The thought of knowledge I have acquired, and have enjoyed delight fully through Him.
I repudiated the way of error, and went towards Him and received salvation from Him abundantly.
And according to His generosity He gave to me, and according to His excellent beauty He made me.
I put on immortality through His name, and took off corruption by His grace.
Death has been destroyed before my face, and Sheol has been vanquished by my word.
And eternal life has arisen in the Lord's land, and it has been declared to His faithful ones, and has been given without limit to all that trust in Him.
Hallelujah.

Ode 16

As the occupation of the ploughman is the ploughshare, and the occupation of the helmsman is the steering of the ship, so also my occupation is the psalm of the Lord by His hymns.
My art and my service are in His hymns, because His love has nourished my heart, and His fruits He poured unto my lips.
For my love is the Lord; hence I will sing unto Him.
For I am strengthened by His praises, and I have faith in Him.
I will open my mouth, and His Spirit will speak through me the glory of the Lord and His beauty,
The work of His hands, and the labor of His fingers;
For the multitude of His mercies, and the strength of His Word.
For the Word of the Lord investigates that which is invisible, and reveals His thought.
For the eye sees His works, and the ear hears His thought.

It is He who made the earth broad, and placed the waters in the sea.
He expanded the heaven, and fixed the stars.
And He fixed the creation and set it up, then He rested from His works.
And created things run according to their courses, and work their works, for they can never cease nor fail.
And the hosts are subject to His Word.
The reservoir of light is the sun, and the reservoir of darkness is the night.
For He made the sun for the day so that it will be light; but night brings darkness over the face of the earth.
And by their portion one from another they complete the beauty of God.
And there is nothing outside of the Lord, because He was before anything came to be.
And the worlds are by His Word, and by the thought of His heart.
Praise and honor to His name.
Hallelujah.

Ode 17

Then I was crowned by my God, and my crown was living.
And I was justified by my Lord, for my salvation is incorruptible.
I have been freed from vanities, and am not condemned.
My chains were cut off by His hands, I received the face and likeness of a new person, and I walked in Him and was saved.
And the thought of truth led me, and I went after it and wandered not.
And all who saw me were amazed, and I seemed to them like a stranger.
And He who knew and exalted me, is the Most High in all His perfection.
And He glorified me by His kindness, and raised my understanding to the height of truth.
And from there He gave me the way of His steps, and I opened the doors which were closed.
And I shattered the bars of iron, for my own shackles had grown hot and melted before me.
And nothing appeared closed to me, because I was the opening of everything.
And I went towards all my bound ones in order to loose them; that I might not leave anyone bound or binding.
And I gave my knowledge generously, and my resurrection through my love.
And I sowed my fruits in hearts, and transformed them through myself.
Then they received my blessing and lived, and they were gathered to me and were saved;
Because they became my members, and I was their Head.
Glory to You, our Head, O Lord Messiah.
Hallelujah.

Ode 18

My heart was lifted up and enriched in the love of the Most High, so that I might praise Him with my

name.
My members were strengthened, that they may not fall from His power.
Infirmities fled from my body, and it stood firm for the Lord by His will; because His kingdom is firm.
O Lord, for the sake of those who are in need, do not dismiss Your Word from me.
Nor, for the sake of their works, withhold Your perfection from me.
Let not light be conquered by darkness, nor let truth flee from falsehood.
Let Your right hand set our salvation to victory, and let it receive from every region, and preserve it on the side of everyone who is besieged by misfortunes.
You are my God, falsehood and death are not in Your mouth; only perfection is Your will.
And vanity You know not, because neither does it know You.
And You know not error; because neither does it know You.
And ignorance appeared like dust, and like the foam of the sea.
And vain people thought that it was great, and they became like its type and were impoverished.
But those who knew understood and contemplated, and were not polluted by their thoughts;
Because they were in the mind of the Most High, and mocked those who were walking in error.
Then they spoke the truth, from the breath which the Most High breathed into them.
Praise and great honor to His name.
Hallelujah.
Ode 19
A cup of milk was offered to me, and I drank it in the sweetness of the Lord's kindness.
The Son is the cup, and the Father is He who was milked; and the Holy Spirit is She who milked Him;
Because His breasts were full, and it was undesirable that His milk should be ineffectually released.
The Holy Spirit opened Her bosom, and mixed the milk of the two breasts of the Father.
Then She gave the mixture to the generation without their knowing, and those who have received it are in the perfection of the right hand.
The womb of the Virgin took it, and she received conception and gave birth.
So the Virgin became a mother with great mercies.
And she labored and bore the Son but without pain, because it did not occur without purpose.
And she did not require a midwife, because He caused her to give life.
She brought forth like a strong man with desire, and she bore according to the manifestation, and she acquired according to the Great Power.
And she loved with redemption, and guarded with kindness, and declared with grandeur.
Hallelujah.
Ode 20
I am a priest of the Lord, and Him I serve as a priest;
And to Him I offer the offering of His thought.

For His thought is not like the world, nor like the flesh, nor like them who worship according to the flesh.
The offering of the Lord is righteousness, and purity of heart and lips.
Offer your inward being faultlessly; and let not your compassion oppress compassion; and let not yourself oppress a self.
You should not purchase a stranger because he is like yourself, nor seek to deceive your neighbor, nor deprive him of the covering for his nakedness.
But put on the grace of the Lord generously, and come to His Paradise, and make for yourself a garland from His tree.
Then put it on your head and be joyful, and recline upon His rest.
For His glory will go before you; and you shall receive of His kindness and of His grace; and you shall be anointed in truth with the praise of His holiness.
Praise and honor to His name.
Hallelujah.

Ode 21

I lifted up my arms on high on account of the compassion of the Lord.
Because He cast off my bonds from me, and my Helper lifted me up according to His compassion and His salvation.
And I put off darkness, and put on light.
And even I myself acquired members. In them there was no sickness or affliction or suffering.
And abundantly helpful to me was the thought of the Lord, and His everlasting fellowship.
And I was lifted up in the light, and I passed before Him.
And I was constantly near Him, while praising and confessing Him.
He caused my heart to overflow, and it was found in my mouth; and it sprang forth unto my lips.
Then upon my face increased the exultation of the Lord and His praise.
Hallelujah.

Ode 22

He who caused me to descend from on high, and to ascend from the regions below;
And He who gathers what is in the Middle, and throws them to me;
He who scattered my enemies, and my adversaries;
He who gave me authority over bonds, so that I might unbind them;
He who overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads, and set me at his roots that I might destroy his seed;
You were there and helped me, and in every place Your name surrounded me.
Your right hand destroyed his evil venom, and Your hand leveled the Way for those who believe in You.
And It chose them from the graves, and separated them from the dead ones.
It took dead bones and covered them with flesh.

But they were motionless, so It gave them energy for life.
Incorruptible was Your way and Your face; You have brought Your world to corruption, that everything might be resolved and renewed.
And the foundation of everything is Your rock. And upon it You have built Your kingdom, and it became the dwelling-place of the holy ones.
Hallelujah.

Ode 23

Joy is for the holy ones. And who shall put it on but they alone?
Grace is for the elect ones. And who shall receive it but they who trusted in it from the beginning?
Love is for the elect ones. And who shall put it on but they who possessed it from the beginning?
Walk in the knowledge of the Lord, and you will know the grace of the Lord generously; both for His exultation and for the perfection of His knowledge.
And His thought was like a letter, and His will descended from on high.
And it was sent like an arrow which from a bow has been forcibly shot.
And many hands rushed to the letter, in order to catch it, then take and read it.
But it escaped from their fingers; and they were afraid of it and of the seal which was upon it.
Because they were not allowed to loosen its seal; for the power which was over the seal was greater than they.
But those who saw the letter went after it; that they might learn where it would land, and who should read it, and who should hear it.
But a wheel received it, and it came over it.
And a sign was with it, of the kingdom and of providence.
And everything which was disturbing the wheel, it mowed and cut down.
And it restrained a multitude of adversaries; and bridged rivers.
And it crossed over and uprooted many forests, and made an open way.
The head went down to the feet, because unto the feet ran the wheel, and whatever had come upon it.
The letter was one of command, and hence all regions were gathered together.
And there was seen at its head, the head which was revealed, even the Son of Truth from the Most High Father.
And He inherited and possessed everything, and then the scheming of the many ceased.
Then all the seducers became headstrong and fled, and the persecutors became extinct and were blotted out.
And the letter became a large volume, which was entirely written by the finger of God.
And the name of the Father was upon it; and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever.
Hallelujah.

Ode 24

The dove fluttered over the head of our Lord Messiah, because He was her head.
And she sang over Him, and her voice was heard.
Then the inhabitants were afraid, and the foreigners were disturbed.
The bird began to fly, and every creeping thing died in its hole.
And the chasms were opened and closed; and they were seeking the Lord as those who are about to give birth.
But He was not given to them for nourishment, because He did not belong to them.
But the chasms were submerged in the seal of the Lord, and they perished in the thought with which they had remained from the beginning.
For they were in labor from the beginning, and the end of their travail was life.
And all of them who were lacking perished, because they were not able to express the word so that they might remain.
And the Lord destroyed the devices, of all those who had not the truth with them.
For they were lacking in wisdom, they who exalted themselves in their mind.
So they were rejected, because the truth was not with them.
For the Lord revealed His way, and spread widely His grace.
And those who understood it knew His holiness.
Hallelujah.

Ode 25

I was rescued from my chains, and I fled unto You, O my God.
Because You are the right hand of salvation, and my Helper.
You have restrained those who rise up against me, and no more were they seen.
Because Your face was with me, which saved me by Your grace.
But I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many, and I was in their eyes like lead.
And I acquired strength from You, and help.
A lamp You set for me both on my right and on my left, so that there might not be in me anything that is not light.
And I was covered with the covering of Your Spirit, and I removed from me my garments of skin.
Because Your right hand exalted me, and caused sickness to pass from me.
And I became mighty in Your truth, and holy in Your righteousness.
And all my adversaries were afraid of me, and I became the Lord's by the name of the Lord.
And I was justified by His kindness, and His rest is for ever and ever.
Hallelujah.

Ode 26

I poured out praise to the Lord, because I am His own.
And I will recite His holy ode, because my heart is with Him.

For His harp is in my hand, and the odes of His rest shall not be silent.
I will call unto Him with all my heart, I will praise and exalt Him with all my members.
For from the East and unto the West is His praise;
Also from the South and unto the North is His thanksgiving.
Even from the crest of the summits and unto their extremity is His perfection.
Who can write the odes of the Lord, or who can read them?
Or who can train himself for life, so that he himself may be saved?
Or who can press upon the Most High, so that He would recite from His mouth?
Who can interpret the wonders of the Lord? Though he who interprets will be destroyed, yet that which was interpreted will remain.
For it suffices to perceive and be satisfied, for the odists stand in serenity;
Like a river which has an increasingly gushing spring, and flows to the relief of them that seek it.
Hallelujah.

Ode 27

I extended my hands and hallowed my Lord,
For the expansion of my hands is His sign.
And my extension is the upright cross.
Hallelujah.

Ode 28

As the wings of doves over their nestlings, and the mouths of their nestlings towards their mouths, so also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart.
My heart continually refreshes itself and leaps for joy, like the babe who leaps for joy in his mother's womb.
I trusted, consequently I was at rest; because trustful is He in whom I trusted.
He has greatly blessed me, and my head is with Him.
And the dagger shall not divide me from Him, nor the sword;
Because I am ready before destruction comes, and have been set on His immortal side.
And immortal life embraced me, and kissed me.
And from that life is the Spirit which is within me. And it cannot die because it is life.
Those who saw me were amazed, because I was persecuted.
And they thought that I had been swallowed up, because I seemed to them as one of the lost.
But my injustice became my salvation.
And I became their abomination, because there was no jealousy in me.
Because I continually did good to every man I was hated.
And they surrounded me like mad dogs, those who in stupidity attack their masters.
Because their thought is depraved, and their mind is perverted.

But I was carrying water in my right hand, and their bitterness I endured by my sweetness.
And I did not perish, because I was not their brother, nor was my birth like theirs.
And they sought my death but did not find it possible, because I was older than their memory; and in vain did they cast lots against me.
And those who were after me sought in vain to destroy the memorial of Him who was before them.
Because the thought of the Most High cannot be prepossessed; and His heart is superior to all wisdom.
Hallelujah.

Ode 29

The Lord is my hope, I shall not be ashamed of Him.
For according to His praise He made me, and according to His grace even so He gave to me.
And according to His mercies He exalted me, and according to His great honor He lifted me up.
And he caused me to ascend from the depths of Sheol, and from the mouth of death He drew me.
And I humbled my enemies, and He justified me by His grace.
For I believed in the Lord's Messiah, and considered that He is the Lord.
And He revealed to me His sign, and He led me by His light.
And He gave me the scepter of His power, that I might subdue the devices of the people, and humble the power of the mighty.
To make war by His Word, and to take victory by His power.
And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His Word, and he became like the dust which a breeze carries off.
And I gave praise to the Most High, because He has magnified His servant and the son of His maidservant.
Hallelujah.

Ode 30

Fill for yourselves water from the living fountain of the Lord, because it has been opened for you.
And come all you thirsty and take a drink, and rest beside the fountain of the Lord.
Because it is pleasing and sparkling, and perpetually refreshes the self.
For much sweeter is its water than honey, and the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it;
Because it flowed from the lips of the Lord, and it named from the heart of the Lord.
And it came boundless and invisible, and until it was set in the middle they knew it not.
Blessed are they who have drunk from it, and have refreshed themselves by it.
Hallelujah.

Ode 31

Chasms vanished before the Lord, and darkness dissipated before His appearance.
Error erred and perished on account of Him; and contempt received no path, for it was submerged by the truth of the Lord.
He opened His mouth and spoke grace and joy; and recited a new chant to His name.
Then He lifted his voice towards the Most High, and offered to Him those that had become sons through

Him.
And His face was justified, because thus His Holy Father had given to Him.
Come forth, you who have been afflicted, and receive joy.
And possess yourselves through grace, and take unto you immortal life.
And they condemned me when I stood up, me who had not been condemned.
Then they divided my spoil, though nothing was owed them.
But I endured and held my peace and was silent, that I might not be disturbed by them.
But I stood undisturbed like a solid rock, which is continuously pounded by columns of waves and endures.
And I bore their bitterness because of humility; that I might redeem my nation and instruct it.
And that I might not nullify the promises to the patriarchs, to whom I was promised for the salvation of their offspring.
Hallelujah.
Ode 32
To the blessed ones the joy is from their heart, and light from Him who dwells in them;
And the Word of truth who is self-originate,
Because He has been strengthened by the Holy Power of the Most High; and He is unshaken for ever and ever.
Hallelujah.
Ode 33
But again Grace was swift and dismissed the Corruptor, and descended upon him to renounce him.
And he caused utter destruction before him, and corrupted all his work.
And he stood on the peak of a summit and cried aloud from one end of the earth to the other.
Then he drew to him all those who obeyed him, for he did not appear as the Evil One.
However, the perfect Virgin stood, who was preaching and summoning and saying:
O you sons of men, return, and you their daughters, come.
And leave the ways of that Corruptor, and approach me.
And I will enter into you, and bring you forth from destruction, and make you wise in the ways of truth.
Be not corrupted nor perish.
Obey me and be saved, for I am proclaiming unto you the grace of God.
And through me you will be saved and become blessed. I am your judge;
And they who have put me on shall not be falsely accused, but they shall possess incorruption in the new world.
My elect ones have walked with me, and my ways I will make known to them who seek me; and I will promise them my name.
Hallelujah.

Ode 34

There is no hard way where there is a simple heart, nor barrier for upright thoughts,

Nor whirlwind in the depth of the enlightened thought.

Where one is surrounded on every side by pleasing country, there is nothing divided in him.

The likeness of that which is below is that which is above.

For everything is from above, and from below there is nothing, but it is believed to be by those in whom there is no understanding.

Grace has been revealed for your salvation. Believe and live and be saved.

Hallelujah.

Ode 35

The gentle showers of the Lord overshadowed me with serenity, and they caused a cloud of peace to rise over my head;

That it might guard me at all times. And it became salvation to me.

Everyone was disturbed and afraid, and there came from them smoke and judgment.

But I was tranquil in the Lord's legion; more than shade was He to me, and more than foundation.

And I was carried like a child by its mother; and He gave me milk, the dew of the Lord.

And I was enriched by His favor, and rested in His perfection.

And I spread out my hands in the ascent of myself, and I directed myself towards the Most High, and I was redeemed towards Him.

Hallelujah.

Ode 36

I rested on the Spirit of the Lord, and She lifted me up to heaven;

And caused me to stand on my feet in the Lord's high place, before His perfection and His glory, where I continued glorifying Him by the composition of His Odes.

The Spirit brought me forth before the Lord's face, and because I was the Son of Man, I was named the Light, the Son of God;

Because I was the most glorified among the glorious ones, and the greatest among the great ones.

For according to the greatness of the Most High, so She made me; and according to His newness He renewed me.

And He anointed me with His perfection; and I became one of those who are near Him.

And my mouth was opened like a cloud of dew, and my heart gushed forth like a gusher of righteousness.

And my approach was in peace, and I was established in the Spirit of Providence.

Hallelujah.

Ode 37

I stretched out my hands towards the Lord, and towards the Most High I raised my voice.

And I spoke with the lips of my heart, and He heard me when my voice reached Him.

His Word came towards me, in order to give me the fruits of my labors;
And gave me rest by the grace of the Lord.
Hallelujah.

Ode 38

I went up into the light of Truth as into a chariot, and the Truth led me and caused me to come.
And caused me to pass over chasms and gulfs, and saved me from cliffs and valleys.
And became for me a haven of salvation, and set me on the place of immortal life.
And He went with me and caused me to rest and did not allow me to err; because He was and is the Truth.
And there was no danger for me because I constantly walked with Him; and I did not err in anything because I obeyed Him.
For Error fled from Him, and never met Him.
But Truth was proceeding on the upright way, and whatever I did not understand He exhibited to me:
All the poisons of error, and pains of death which are considered sweetness.
And the corrupting of the Corruptor, I saw when the bride who was corrupting was adorned, and the bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted.
And I asked the Truth, Who are these? And He said to me: This is the Deceiver and the Error.
And they imitate the Beloved and His Bride, and they cause the world to err and corrupt it.
And they invite many to the wedding feast, and allow them to drink the wine of their intoxication;
So they cause them to vomit up their wisdom and their knowledge, and prepare for them mindlessness.
Then they abandon them; and so they stumble about like mad and corrupted men.
Since there is no understanding in them, neither do they seek it.
But I have been made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the Deceivers, and I myself rejoiced because the Truth had gone with me.
For I was established and lived and was redeemed, and my foundations were laid on account of the Lord's hand; because He has planted me.
For He set the root, and watered it and endowed it and blessed it, and its fruits will be forever.
It penetrated deeply and sprang up and spread out, and it was full and was enlarged.
And the Lord alone was glorified, in His planting and in His cultivation;
In His care and in the blessing of His lips, in the beautiful planting of His right hand;
And in the attainment of His planting, and in the understanding of His mind.
Hallelujah.

Ode 39

Raging rivers are the power of the Lord; they send headlong those who despise Him.
And entangle their paths, and destroy their crossings.
And snatch their bodies, and corrupt their natures.
For they are more swift than lightnings, even more rapid.

But those who cross them in faith shall not be disturbed.
And those who walk on them faultlessly shall not be shaken.
Because the sign on them is the Lord, and the sign is the Way for those who cross in the name of the Lord.
Therefore, put on the name of the Most High and know Him, and you shall cross without danger; because rivers shall be obedient to you.
The Lord has bridged them by His Word, and He walked and crossed them on foot.
And His footsteps stand firm upon the waters, and were not destroyed; but they are like a beam of wood that is constructed on truth.
On this side and on that the waves were lifted up, but the footsteps of our Lord Messiah stand firm.
And they are neither blotted out, nor destroyed.
And the Way has been appointed for those who cross over after Him, and for those who adhere to the path of His faith; and who adore His name.
Hallelujah.

Ode 40

As honey drips from the honeycomb of bees, and milk flows from the woman who loves her children, so also is my hope upon You, O my God.
As a fountain gushes forth its water, so my heart gushes forth the praise of the Lord, and my lips bring forth praise to Him.
And my tongue becomes sweet by His anthems, and my members are anointed by His odes.
My face rejoices in His exultation, and my spirit exults in His love, and my nature shines in Him.
And he who is afraid shall trust in Him, and redemption shall be assured in Him.
And His possessions are immortal life, and those who receive it are incorruptible.
Hallelujah.

Ode 41

Let all the Lord's babes praise Him, and let us receive the truth of His faith.
And His children shall be acknowledged by Him, therefore let us sing by His love.
We live in the Lord by His grace, and life we receive by His Messiah.
For a great day has shined upon us, and wonderful is He who has given to us of His glory.
Let us, therefore, all of us agree in the name of the Lord, and let us honor Him in His goodness.
And let our faces shine in His light, and let our hearts meditate in His love, by night and by day.
Let us exult with the exultation of the Lord.
All those who see me will be amazed, because I am from another race.
For the Father of Truth remembered me; he who possessed me from the beginning.
For His riches begat me, and the thought of His heart.
And His Word is with us in all our way, the Savior who gives life and does not reject ourselves.
The Man who humbled Himself, but was exalted because of His own righteousness.

The Son of the Most High appeared in the perfection of His Father.
And light dawned from the Word that was before time in Him.
The Messiah in truth is one. And He was known before the foundations of the world, that He might give life to persons for ever by the truth of His name.
A new chant is for the Lord from them that love Him.
Hallelujah.
Ode 42
I extended my hands and approached my Lord, for the expansion of my hands is His sign.
And my extension is the upright cross, that was lifted up on the way of the Righteous One.
And I became useless to those who knew me not, because I shall hide myself from those who possessed me not.
And I will be with those who love me.
All my persecutors have died, and they sought me, they who declared against me, because I am living.
Then I arose and am with them, and will speak by their mouths.
For they have rejected those who persecute them; and I threw over them the yoke of my love.
Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride, so is my yoke over those who know me.
And as the bridal chamber is spread out by the bridal pair's home, so is my love by those who believe in me.
I was not rejected although I was considered to be so, and I did not perish although they thought it of me.
Sheol saw me and was shattered, and Death ejected me and many with me.
I have been vinegar and bitterness to it, and I went down with it as far as its depth.
Then the feet and the head it released, because it was not able to endure my face.
And I made a congregation of living among his dead; and I spoke with them by living lips; in order that my word may not be unprofitable.
And those who had died ran towards me; and they cried out and said, Son of God, have pity on us.
And deal with us according to Your kindness, and bring us out from the bonds of darkness.
And open for us the door by which we may come out to You; for we perceive that our death does not touch You.
May we also be saved with You, because You are our Savior.
Then I heard their voice, and placed their faith in my heart.
And I placed my name upon their head, because they are free and they are mine.
Hallelujah.
And a second, more poetic translation of several of the Odes:

The Odes of Solomon

Ode I
The Lord is on my head like a crown
and I shall not be without him.

The Crown of truth was woven for me,
and caused your branches to blossom in me.

The Crown is not dry and sterile.

You live
and blossomed on my head.

Your fruits are full and perfect
and filled with salvation.

Ode III
I Clothe his limbs, his own limbs
and hang from them.
He loves me.

How would I know how to love the Lord
if he did not love me?
And who can tell us about love?
Only one who is loved.

I love the beloved and my soul loves him
and I am where he reposes,
and will be no stranger to him,

because he is not petty, my high merciful Lord.

I have gone to join him
for the lover has found
his beloved.

Whoever joins the Immortal becomes Immortal.
Whoever delights in the living one is living.

This is the spirit of the Lord.
It does not lie, it teaches us his ways.

Be wise,
Be understanding
and your eyes open.

Ode VI
As the hand moves over the harp and the strings speak,
so the Spirit of the Lord speaks in my members and
I speak by his love.

For he destroys what is foreign
and bitter.

So he was from the beginning and
will be to the end.
Nothing will be his adversary
The Lord multiplies his knowledge
and was zealous to make us know what he gives us
through his grace.

He gave us praise for his name
and our Spirits praise his Holy Spirit.

A stream went forth
and became a long and broad river.
It flooded and broke and carried away the temple.

Ordinary men could not stop it,
nor could those whose art is to halt the waters,
and it spread over the face of the whole earth,
filling everything,
And the thirsty of the earth drank
and their thirst was quenched.

The drink came from the highest one.
Blessed are the Ministers of that drink,
those who guard his water.

They assuage dry lips
They raise up those who have fainted.

Souls that were about to depart,
they have drawn back from death.

and limbs that had become crooked
they made straight.

They gave strength to our feebleness
and light to our eyes.

Everyone knew them in the Lord,
and by the water they lived forever.

Ode VII
As anger moves over evil
so joy moves over the beloved
and floods us with fruits.

My joy is the Lord and I move towards him
,The Way is excellent.

My helper is the Lord
who in his candor lets me know him thoroughly.
His kindness has humbled his magnitude.

He became like me so I could receive him,
He thought like me so I could become him
and I did not tremble when I saw him,
for he was gracious to me.

He took on my nature so I could learn from him,
took on my form so I would not turn away.

The father of knowledge,
is the word of knowledge.

He who gave birth to Wisdom,
is wiser than his works.

Ode XI

My heart was cloven and there appeared a flower,
and grace sprang up
and fruit from the Lord,

for the highest one split me with his holy spirit,
exposed my love for him
and filled me with his love.

His splitting of my heart was my salvation
and I followed the way of his peace,
the way of truth.

From the beginning to the end
I received his knowledge.

and sat on the rock of truth
where he placed me.

Speaking waters came near my lip
from the vast fountain of the Lord,

and I drank and was drunk
with the living water that never dies,
and my drunkeness gave me knowledge.

I threw off vanity,
turned to my God
and his bounty made me rich.

I threw off the madness of the earth,
I stripped it from me and cast it away,

and the Lord renewed me in his raiment
and held me in his light.

From above he gave me uncorrupt ease
and I was like land deep and happy in its orchards,
and the Lord was sun on the face of the land.

My eyes were clear,
dew was on my face.

and my nostrils enjoyed
the aroma of the Lord.

He took me to Paradise
where I knew Joy
and worshipped his glory.

Blessed are they
planted in your land,
in Paradise,
who grow in the growth of your trees
and change from gloom to light.

Your Servants are lovely.
They do good,
they abjure evil and turn to your pleasantness.

They are free of the bitterness of trees
ancient in their land.

You are everywhere,
always before your servants.

There is much space in Paradise
but no wasteland,
All is fruit.

Glory,Lord, and the eternal delight of Paradise.

Ode XIV
As the eyes of a son to his father,
so my eyes turn to you, O Lord, at all times,
for with you are my consolation and joy.

Do not turn your mercy from me, O Lord,
nor your kindness,
but stretch out your right hand,
and be my guide to the end.

Care for me,
save me from evil.

and let your gentleness
and love be with me.

Teach me to sing of truth,
that I may engender fruit in you.

Open the harp of your holy spirit
so I may praise you, Lord, with all its notes.

From your sea of mercy,
help me,
help me in my hour of need.

Ode XV
As the sun is joy for those who seek daybreak,
so my joy is the Lord.

He is my sun and his rays have lifted me up
and chased all darkness from my face.

In him I have acquired eyes
and seen his sacred day.

I have acquired ears
and heard his truth.

I have acquired knowledge
and been made happy in him.

I left the way of error and went to him
and was saved.

According to his bounty he gave me,
according to his beauty he made me.

I found purity through his name,
I shed corruption through his grace.

Death has died before my countenance,
hell is abolished by my word.

A deathless life appears in the land of the Lord,
is known to those with faith,
and given those with faith, uncessantly.

Ode XVII
I was crowned by God,
by a crown alive.

and my Lord justified me.
He became my certain salvation.

I was freed from myself
and uncondemned.
The chains fell from my wrists.

I took on the face and ways of a new person,
walked in him and was redeemed.

The thought of truth drove me.

I walked to it and did not wander off.

Those who saw me were amazed,
supposing me to be a strange person.

He who knew me and brought me up
is the summit of perfection.

He glorified me by kindness
and lifted my thought to truth

and showed me his way.
I opened closed doors,

shattered bars of iron.
My own shackles melted.

Nothing appeared closed
because I was the door to everything.

I freed slaves,
left no man in bonds,

I spread my knowledge
and love

and sowed my fruits in hearts
and transformed them.

I blessed them. They lived.
I gathered them and saved them.

They became the limbs of my body
and I was their head.

Glory to you, our head, Our Lord Messiah.

Ode XIX
A cup of milk I was offered
and I drank its sweetness as the delight of the Lord.

The Son is the cup
and he who was milked is the Father,
and he who milked him is the Holy Ghost.

His breasts were full
and his milk should not drip out wastefully.

The Holy Ghost opened the Fathers raiment
and mingled the milk from the Father`s two breasts.

and gave that mingling to the world, which was unknowing.
Those who drink it are near his right hand.

The Spirit opened the Virgin`s womb
and she received the milk.

The Virgin became a mother of great mercy;
she labored, but not in pain, and bore a son.
No midwife came.

She bore him as if she were a man,
openly, with dignity, with kindness.
She loved him, and swaddled him, and revealed his majesty.

Ode XXI
I raised my arms high
to the grace of the Lord,

for he had cast off my bonds.
My helper had lifted me to his grace and salvation.

I discarded darkness
and clothed myself in Light.

My soul acquired a body
free from sorrow,
affliction or pain.

The thought of the Lord restored me.
I fed on his incorruptible fellowship.

And I was raised in the Light
and went to him,
near him,
praising and proclaiming him.

He made my heart flood into my mouth,
made it shine on my lips.

On my face the exultation of the Lord increased,
and his praise.

Ode XXIV
The dove flew over the head of the Messiah
who was her head,
and she sang over him
and her voice was heard.

The inhabitants were afraid
and travelers shuddered.

Birds took flight
and all creeping things died in their holes.

Abysses opened and closed.
They were seeking God like women in labor.

They had no food.
None belonged to them.

The abysses sank and were sealed by the Lord
and people perished in their own thought,
ancient and new.

Everyone was imperfect and died.
They could say nothing.

The Lord destroyed the immagination
of all who did not have his truth.

They were weak in wisdom
and were rejected. They lacked his truth.

The Lord disclosed his way,
and spread his grace in alien lands.

Those who understood
know holiness.

THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

OR

3 BARUCH

Prologue.

1 A narrative and revelation of Baruch, concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God. Bless Thou, O Lord.

2 A revelation of Baruch, who stood upon the river Gel weeping over the captivity of 3 Jerusalem, when also Abimelech was preserved by the hand of God, at the farm of Agrippa. And he was sitting thus at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of holies lay.

1. 1 Verily I Baruch was weeping in my mind and sorrowing on account of the people, and that 2 Nebuchadnezzar the king was permitted by God to destroy His city, saying: Lord, why didst Thou set on fire Thy vineyard, and lay it waste? Why didst Thou do this? And why, Lord, didst Thou not requite us with another chastisement, but didst deliver us to nations such as these, so that they 3 reproach us and say, Where is their God? And behold as I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me: Understand, O man, greatly beloved, and trouble not thyself so greatly concerning the salvation of Jerusalem, for thus saith the Lord God, 4 the Almighty. For He sent me before thee, to make known and to show to thee all (the things) 5, 6 of God. For thy prayer was heard before Him, and entered into the ears of the Lord God. And when he had said these things to me, I was silent. And the angel said to me: Cease to provoke 7 God, and I will show thee other mysteries, greater than these. And I Baruch said, As the Lord God liveth, if thou wilt show me, and I hear a word of thine, I will not continue to speak any longer. 8 God shall add to my judgement in the day of judgement, if I speak hereafter. And the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee the mysteries of God.

The First Heaven.

2 1 And he took me and led me where the firmament has been set fast, and where there was a river which no one can cross, nor any strange breeze of all those which God created. And he took me and led me to the first heaven, and showed me a door of great size. And he said to me, Let us enter 3 through it, and we entered as though borne on wings, a distance of about thirty days' journey. And he showed me within the heaven a plain ; and there were men dwelling thereon, with the faces of 4 oxen, and the horns of stags and the feet of goats, and the haunches of lambs. And I Baruch asked the angel, Make known to me, I pray thee, what is the thickness of the heaven in which we journeyed, 5 or what is its extent, or what is the plain, in

order that I may also tell the sons of men? And the angel whose name is Phamael said to me: This door which thou seest is the door of heaven, and as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness; and again as great as is the distance (from North to South, so great) is the length of the plain which thou didst see. And again the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee greater mysteries. But 6, 7 I said, I pray thee show me what are these men. And he said to me, These are they who built the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them.

The Second Heaven.

3 1 And the angel of the Lord took me and led me to a second heaven. And he showed me there 2 also a door like the first and said, Let us enter through it. And we entered, being borne on wings 3 a distance of about sixty days' journey. And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of 4 men, whose appearance was like that of dogs, and whose feet were like those of stags. And I asked 5 the angel: I pray thee, Lord, say to me who are these. And he said, These are they who gave counsel to build the tower, for they whom thou seest drove forth multitudes of both men and women, to make bricks; among whom, a woman making bricks was not allowed to be released in the hour of child-birth, but brought forth while she was making bricks, and carried her child in her apron, and 6 continued to make bricks. And the Lord appeared to them and confused their speech, when they 7 had built the tower to the height of four hundred and sixty-three cubits. And they took a gimlet, and sought to pierce the heaven, saying, Let us see (whether) the heaven is made of clay, or of 8 brass, or of iron. When God saw this He did not permit them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of speech, and rendered them as thou seest.

The Third Heaven.

4 1 And I Baruch said, Behold, Lord, Thou didst show me great and wonderful things; and now 2 show me all things for the sake of the Lord. And the angel said to me, Come, let us proceed. (And I

proceeded) with the angel from that place about one hundred and eighty-five days' 3 journey. And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which appeared to be two hundred plethra in length. 4 And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and abominable. And I said, 5 Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him? And the angel said, The dragon is he 6 who eats the bodies of those who spend their life wickedly, and he is nourished by them. And this is Hades, which itself also closely resembles him, in that it also drinks about a cubit from 7 the sea, which does not sink at all. Baruch said, And how (does this happen)? And the angel said, Hearken, the Lord God made three hundred and sixty rivers, of which the chief of 8 all are Alphias, Abyrus, and the Gericus; and because of these the sea does not sink. And I said, I pray thee show me which is the tree which led Adam astray. And the angel said to me, It is the vine, which the angel Sammael planted, whereat the Lord God was angry, and He cursed him and his plant, while also on this account He did not permit Adam to touch it, and therefore 9 the devil being envious deceived him through his vine. [And I Baruch said, Since also the vine has been the cause of such great evil, and is under judgment of the curse of God, and was the 10 destruction of the first created, how is it now so useful? And the angel said, Thou askest aright. When God caused the deluge upon earth, and destroyed all flesh, and four hundred and nine thousand giants, and the water rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, then the water entered into paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed wholly without the bounds the shoot 11 of the vine and cast it outside. And when the earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out 12 of the ark, he began to plant of the plants which he found. But he found also the shoot of the vine; and he took it, and was reasoning in himself, What then is it? And I came and spake to 13 him the things concerning it. And he said, Shall I plant it, or what shall I do? Since Adam was destroyed because of it, let me not also meet with the anger of God because of it. And saying 14 these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do concerning it. And when he had completed the prayer which lasted forty days, and having besought many things and wept, 15 he said: Lord, I entreat thee to reveal to me what I shall do concerning this plant. But God sent his angel Sarasael, and said to him, Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot of the vine, for thus saith the Lord : Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing, and that which is produced from it shall become the blood of God; and as through it the human race obtained condemnation, so again through Jesus Christ the Immanuel will they receive in Him the 16 upward calling, and the entry into paradise]. Know therefore, 0 Baruch, that as Adam through this very tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God, so also the men who now drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the 17 glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire. For (no) good comes through it. For those who drink it to surfeit do these things: neither does a brother pity his brother, nor a father his son, nor children their parents, but from the drinking of wine come all evils, such as murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like. And nothing good is established by it.

5 1 And I Baruch said to the angel, 2 Let me ask thee one thing, Lord. Since thou didst say to me 3 that the dragon drinks one cubit out of the sea, say to me also, how great is his belly? And the angel said, His belly is Hades; and as far as a plummet is thrown (by) three hundred men, so great is his belly. Come, then, that I may show thee also greater works than these.

6 1 And he took me and led me where the sun goes forth; 2 and he showed me a chariot and four, under which burnt a fire, and in the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire, (and) the chariot (was) drawn by forty angels. And behold a bird circling before the sun, about nine 3 cubits away. And I said to the angel, What is this bird? And he said to me, This is the 4, 5 guardian of the earth. And I said, Lord, how is he the guardian of the earth? Teach me. And the angel said to me, This bird flies alongside of the sun, and expanding his wings receives its fiery 6 rays. For if he were not receiving them, the human race would not be preserved, nor any other 7 living creature. But God appointed this bird thereto. And he expanded his wings, and I saw on his right wing very large letters, as large as the space of a threshing-floor, the size of about four 8 thousand modii; and the letters were of gold. And the angel said to me, Read them. And I read 9 and they ran thus: Neither earth nor heaven bring me forth, but wings of fire bring me forth. And I said, Lord, what is this bird, and what is his name? And the angel said to me, His name is called 11 Phoenix. (And I said), And what does he eat? And he said to me, The manna of heaven and 12 the dew of earth. And I said, Does the bird excrete? And he said to me, He excretes a worm, and the excrement of the worm is cinnamon, which kings and princes use. But wait and thou shalt 13 see the glory of God. And while he was conversing with me, there was as a thunder-clap, and the place was shaken on which we were standing. And I asked the angel, My Lord, what is this sound? And the angel said to me, Even now the angels are opening the three hundred and sixty-five gates 14 of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness. And a voice came which said, Light 15 giver, give to the world radiance. And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said, Lord, what is this 16 noise? And he said, This is the bird who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth. For as men do through the mouth, so also does the cock signify to those in the world, in his own speech. For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the cock crows.

7 1 And I said, And where does the sun begin its labors, after the cock crows? 2 And the angel said to me, Listen, Baruch: All things whatsoever I showed thee are in the first and second heaven, and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives light to the world. But wait, and thou 3 shalt see the glory of God. And while I was conversing with him, I saw the bird, and he appeared 4 in front, and grew less and less, and at length returned to his full size. And behind him I saw the shining sun, and the angels which draw it, and a crown upon its bead, the sight of which we were 5 not able to gaze Upon, and behold. And as soon as the sun shone, the Phoenix also stretched out his wings. But I, when I beheld such great glory, was brought low with great fear, and I fled and 6 hid in the wings of the angel. And the angel said to me, Fear not, Baruch, but wait and thou shalt also see their setting.

8 1 And he took me and led me towards the west; and when the time of the, setting came, I saw again the bird coming before it, and as soon as lie came I saw the angels, and they lifted the crown 2, 3 from its head. But the bird stood exhausted and with wings contracted. And beholding these things, I said, Lord, wherefore did they lift the crown from the head of the sun, and wherefore is 4 the bird so exhausted? And the angel said to me, The crown of the sun, when it has run through the day-four angels take it, and bear it up to heaven, and renew it, because it and its rays have been defiled upon earth; moreover it is so renewed each day. And I Baruch said, Lord, and wherefore 5 are its beams defiled upon earth? And the angel said to me, Because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men, namely fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkenness, murders, strife, jealousies, evil-speakings, murmurings, whisperings, divinations, and such like, which are not well-pleasing to God. On account of these things is it defiled, and therefore is it renewed. 6 But thou askest concerning the bird, how it is exhausted. Because by restraining the rays of the sun through the fire and burning heat of the whole day, it is exhausted thereby. For, as we said before, unless his wings were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would be preserved.

9 1 And they having retired, the night also fell, and at the same time came the chariot of the moon, along with the stars. 2 And I Baruch said, Lord, show me it also, I beseech of thee, how 3 it goes forth, where it departs, and in what form it moves along. And the angel said, Wait' and thou shalt see it also shortly. And on the morrow I also saw it in the form of a woman, and sitting on a wheeled chariot. And

there were before it oxen and lambs in the chariot, and a multitude of 4 angels in like manner. And I said, Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs? And he said to me, 5 They also are angels. And again I asked, Why is it that it at one time increases, but at another 6 time decreases? And (he said to me), Listen, 0 Baruch: This which thou seest had been written 7 by God beautiful as no other. And at the transgression of the first Adam, it was near to Sammael when he took the serpent as a garment. And it did not hide itself but increased, and God was 8 angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days. And I said, And how does it not also shine always, but only in the night? And the angel said, Listen: as in the presence of a king, the courtiers cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine in the presence of the sun; for the stars are always suspended, but they are screened by the sun, and the moon, although it is uninjured, is consumed by the heat of the sun.

The Fourth Heaven.

10 1 And when I had learnt all these things from the archangel, he took and led me into a fourth 2 3 heaven. And I saw a monotonous plain, and in the middle of it a pool of water. And there were in it multitudes of birds of all kinds, but not like those here on earth. But I saw a crane as great as 4 great oxen; and all the birds were great beyond those in the world. And I asked the angel, What 5 is the plain, and what the pool, and what the multitudes of birds around it? And the angel said, Listen, Baruch : The plain which contains in it the pool and other wonders is the place where the 6 souls of the righteous come, when they hold converse, living together in choirs. But the water is 7 that which the clouds receive, and rain upon the earth, and the fruits increase. And I said again to the angel of the Lord, But (what) are these birds? And he said to me, They are those which 8 continually sing praise to the Lord. And I said, Lord, and how do men say that the water which 9 descends in rain is from the sea? And the angel said, The water which descends in rain-this also is from the sea, and from the waters upon earth; but that which stimulates the fruits is (only) from 10 the latter source. Know therefore henceforth that from this source is what is called the dew of heaven.

The Fifth Heaven.

11 1 And the angel took me and led me thence to a fifth heaven. And the gate was closed. And I said, Lord, is not this gate-way open that we may enter? And the angel said to me, We cannot enter until Michael comes, who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; but wait and thou shalt see 3 the glory of God. And there was a great sound, as thunder. And I said, Lord, what is this sound? 4 And he said to me, Even now Michael, the commander of the angels, comes down to receive the 5 prayers of men. And behold a voice came, Let the gates be opened. And they opened them, and 6 there was a roar as of thunder. And Michael came, and the angel who was with me came face to 7 face with him and said, Hail, my commander, and that of all our order. And the commander Michael said, Hail thou also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life 8 virtuously. And having saluted one another thus, they stood still. And I saw the commander Michael said, Hail thou also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life 8 virtuously. And having saluted one another thus, they stood still. And I saw the commander Michael, holding an exceedingly great vessel; its depth was as great as the distance from heaven to 9 earth, and its breadth as great as the distance from north to south. And I said, Lord, what is that which Michael the archangel is holding? And he said to me, This is where the merits of the righteous enter, and such good works as they do, which are escorted before the heavenly God.

12 1, And as I was conversing with them, behold angels came bearing baskets full of flowers. And 2 they gave them to Michael. And I asked the angel, Lord, who are these, and what are the things 3 brought hither from beside them? And he said to me, These are angels (who) are over the 4, 5 righteous. And the archangel took the baskets, and cast them into the vessel. And the angel 6 said to me, These flowers are the merits of the righteous. And I saw other angels bearing baskets which were (neither) empty-nor full. And they began to lament, and did not venture to draw near, 7 because they had not the prizes complete. And Michael cried and said, Come hither, also, ye 8 angels, bring what ye have brought. And Michael was exceedingly grieved, and the angel who was with me, because they did not fill the vessel.

13 1 And then came in like manner other angels weeping and bewailing, and saying with fear, Behold how we are overclouded, 0 Lord, for we were delivered to evil men, and we wish to depart from 2 them. And Michael said, Ye cannot depart from them, in order that the enemy may not prevail to 3 the end; but say to me what ye ask. And they said, We pray thee, Michael our commander, transfer us from them, for we cannot abide with wicked and foolish men, for there is nothing good 4 in them, but every kind of unrighteousness and greed. For we do not behold them entering [into Church at all, nor among spiritual fathers, nor] into any good work. But where there is murder, there also are they in the midst, and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, jealousies, drunkenness, strife, envy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like, 5 then are they workers of such works, and of others worse. Wherefore we entreat that we may depart from them. And Michael said to the angels, Wait till I learn from the Lord what shall come to pass.

14 1 And in that very hour Michael departed, and the doors were closed. And there was a sound as 2 thunder. And I asked the angel, What is the sound? And he said to me, Michael is even now presenting the merits of men to God.

15 1 And in that very hour Michael descended, and the gate was opened; and he brought oil. 2 And as for the angels which brought the baskets which were full, he filled them with oil, saying, Take it away, reward our friends an hundredfold, and those who have laboriously wrought good works. 3 For those who sowed virtuously, also reap virtuously. And he said also to those bringing the half-empty baskets, Come hither ye also; take away the reward according as ye brought, and 4 deliver it to the sons of men. [Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those who brought the half-empty baskets: Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus saith the Lord, Ye are faithful over a few things, I will set you over many things; enter into the joy of your Lord.]

16 1 And turning he said also to those who brought nothing: Thus saith the Lord, Be not sad of 2 countenance, and weep not, nor let the sons of men alone. But since they angered me in their works, go and make them envious and angry and provoked against a people that is no people, a 3 people that has no understanding. Further, besides these, send forth the caterpillar and the unwinged locust, and the mildew, and the common locust (and) hail with lightnings and anger, and 4 punish them severely with the sword and with death, and their children with demons. For they did not hearken to my voice, nor did they observe my commandments, nor do them, but were despisers of my commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaimed my words to them.

17 1 And while he yet spake, the door was closed, and we withdrew. 2 And the angel took me and 3 restored me to the p/ace where I was at the beginning. And having come to myself, I gave glory 4 to God, who counted me worthy of such honor. Wherefore do ye also, brethren, who obtained such a revelation, yourselves also glorify God, so that He also may glorify you, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

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Red numbers identify chapters

Black numbers within the text refer to verses -- the first full sentence following the number.

Alexander Kulik

3 Baruch

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Alexander Kulik

3 Baruch

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For my father and mother,
Eduard Kulik and Maria Neverodsky

Blessed is he who has acquired knowledge:
He is troubled neither by his people's calamity,
nor by an inclination to unjust action.
He observes the ageless cosmos of immortal nature,
how it has been formed, in what way and manner.
The urge to shameful deeds never dwells with such people.

Euripides, *Fr.* 910

Virtue, unlocking heaven to those who deserve not to die,
tries denied ways …

Horace, *Odes* 3.2

… you must firmly believe
In the beginnings and in the ends. You must know
Where Hell and Paradise lie in wait for us.
You are given a fearless measure
To measure all that you see.
Your sight – let it be strong and clear.
Erase accidental lines –
And you will see: the world is beautiful.

Alexander Blok, *Retribution*

With the farming of a verse
Make a vineyard of the curse,
Sing of human unsuccess
In a rapture of distress.
In the deserts of the heart
Let the healing fountains start,
In the prison of his days
Teach the free man how to praise.

W.H. Auden, *In Memory of W. B. Yeats*

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My special gratitude is due to my family: my parents, to whom I dedicate this book, and to Lara, Shlomit, Joseph, and Hanna for their long-enduring patience and help.

I would also like to address my reader and humbly ask for forgiveness for any mistakes, omissions or overly bold assumptions that may still be encountered in the text. The responsibility for them remains mine alone. I made a sincere effort to understand the book, and did my best to introduce innovations without at the same time impinging on the usefulness of my study as a handy and lucid reference tool.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Purposes and Methods

Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch (= *3 Baruch*) stands out among apocalyptic writings with respect to both the nature of the composition itself and its treatment in the history of research. Despite the fact that it is one of the six "major" early Jewish apocalypses (*1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *2 Baruch*, *3 Baruch*, *4 Ezra*), it has been relatively neglected in modern scholarship. This can be demonstrated by even a cursory glance at the index of sources in any monograph in relevant fields. Whereas citations and detailed analyses of other apocalyptic compositions abound, *3 Baruch* often does not appear in these works at all. At best, it is mentioned in footnotes, and even then, it tends to appear only in lists of other sources containing a common motif. To be sure, there have been some seminal studies devoted to *3 Baruch*, which have stimulated awareness of the book, and I gratefully acknowledge my debt to the authors of these works below. Nevertheless, the book has not been properly integrated into broader scholarly discussion, and in the absence of intensive and polyphonic academic discourse, even brilliant works that have appeared in recent decades cannot bridge the gap. It would seem that the reason for this situation is the fact that *3 Baruch* is one of the most difficult works to comprehend and classify. This sense of obscurity functions as both cause and effect in a vicious circle of lack of understanding and lack of scholarly attention. In addition to this, there are more factors that make this apocalypse one of the most challenging early Jewish texts:

– *3 Baruch* is not a typical apocalypse. The content of *3 Baruch* differs significantly from that of other writings of the same genre. The book preserves syncretistic ideas and tendencies which are combined in unique ways. Its seer (or "visionary") does not attain the experience of a theophany, which is the ultimate goal of most other seers. Furthermore, collective eschatology, the central issue of apocalyptic literature, does not find its place here. *3 Baruch* is most probably a Jewish composition, but it is universal in its interests, and the vision itself (in contrast to its prologue) does not explicitly mention any specifically Jewish values, concerns, or religious practices. Its lack of interest in the future is matched by its indifference to the past of the nation; it is as loudly silent about the sacral history of Israel as it is about eschatology.

In certain cases, the very fact that the book does not fully belong to a "classical paradigm" of ancient apocalyptic literature can help shed light on the enigmas of other, more typical, compositions. As we know from numerous fields of knowledge, marginal and atypical sources frequently offer a fresh perspective that can provide answers to the most sore questions raised with regard to more "central" and influential exemplars.

– The worldview, the message, and the very textual structure of *3 Baruch* are enigmatic in many aspects. As a result, the book has earned such descriptions as "a good example of a degenerative apocalypse … strange sights, the account of which is grotesque rather than impressive,"[1] "naïve childishness,"[2] "trivial invention,"[3] "amateurish."[4] I will try to show, however, that the incomprehensibility of *3 Baruch* is due to the fact that it is filled with non-explicit data, which may have been clear to its target audience while being hidden from modern readers. It appears that this mode of communication was employed in *3 Baruch* to a greater extent than in other esoteric compositions (see *Implied content* and *Method: Riddles and subtexts* below).

  Implicit meanings, structural links in the text, and conceptions behind the text are partly reconstructable, though there is inevitably a range in the probability of reconstructions of implied data. In this study, some bold assumptions and juxtapositions are introduced when they are needed to make the text intelligible. Such reconstructions are offered mostly when the passage or motif under discussion would otherwise be incoherent due to internal inconsistencies or factors pertaining to intertextual contexts. Thus, the basic methodological principle underlying this study is a commitment (1) to achieve a comprehension of initial and editorial meanings of the text at different stages of its development, as well as of its message, method, and worldview, while (2) taking into consideration a certain degree of distortion over the course of textual history and (3) defining the place and roots of these topics in Jewish lore and literary tradition, as far as they are preserved in early Jewish sources, including Jewish Hellenistic, Rabbinic, Gnostic, and Christian writings.

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1 Torrey, "Apocalypse," 674.
2 Ferrar, "Baruch," 93.
3 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 120.
4 Wright, *Heaven*, 168.

– *3 Baruch* is interesting also for its textual history. The Slavonic translation from Greek preserved a version more authentic than the extant Greek text. The latter is also very instructive, reflecting a reception of an older version by its early readers, and in fact looks like an explanatory *targum* to it. Their common proto-text has also undergone meaningful editorial changes before splitting into two rescensions. In the case of *3 Baruch* these changes may be traced and bring us closer to the original form of the book. The book is obviously of a composite nature, and in this case we need not rely upon such dubious criteria as types of outlook or style in order to identify the stratification of layers, since the hands of the redactors can be detected by relatively clear basic philological considerations.

Formally, the present study consists of the introduction, translation, notes, and commentaries.

The introduction classifies and summarizes the observations and argumentations given in detail in the commentary. Therefore, the introduction contains only the references to the text of *3 Baruch*, while all the argumentation, as well as references to primary sources and research literature may be found in the commentaries to the relevant verses.

The *translation* presents a synopsis of the Greek and Slavonic versions. The latter follows the synthetic text based mainly on ms L. In the cases of polysemantic forms, I have tried to choose the meanings common for both rescensions when they seemed likely to have derived from the common source, in contrast to other cases, when the divergence seemed more likely to have originated from discrepancies in their *Vorlagen*, or to be the result of translation technique or errors in the Slavonic version.

In the *notes* I have tried to confine my remarks to purely textual issues. However, when issues of content have had an impact upon textual choices, these points are raised in the notes as well. Conversely, where textual problems have had an influential role in interpretation, there is expansion of the textual discussion in the commentary. There are more notes to the Slavonic version, due to its more complicated textual history and the large number of copies that have survived from different periods and regions, in contrast to the two Greek manuscripts which contain insignificant, mostly orthographic, discrepancies.

The main body of the research is presented in the form of a detailed *commentary* which follows the order of the text. The fragmented nature of discussion prescribed by the genre of commentary is partly compensated by multiple cross-references to the issues common for different sections of the text. Furthermore, many key issues that arise in several passages and

demand an integrative analysis are treated separately in the introductory sections of the commentaries to specific chapters.[5]

As a rule, ancient sources cited in the commentary were either newly translated or their translations were significantly revised.

[5] In fact, there are three levels of generalization in this work: the introductory commentaries to chapters are summarized in the general introduction, which in turn is briefly summed up in the *General conclusions* below.

II. Manuscript Evidence

3 Baruch is preserved through two Greek and at least twelve South- and East-Slavic manuscripts (not including later reworkings). The Greek texts are found in the British Museum manuscript Add. 10.073 dated to the 15th–16th centuries (hereafter – ms A), and in the Monastery of the Hagia (the island of Andros), manuscript no. 46.39, dated to the beginning of the 15th century (ms B). There are no significant discrepancies between the two, and they even share numerous misreadings, grammatical errors and orthographic deviations. Although Picard regarded ms B as the earlier version, it is not a source for ms A (as is clear from the obvious parablepsis in 6:16, absent in ms A).[6]

The textual history of the Slavonic rescension was elaborated upon in the critical edition by Gaylord.[7] Among the Slavonic manuscripts, the one closest to the Greek version is the 13th century South-Slavic St. Petersburg, RNB, Greč 70 (ms L). Together with two East-Slavic abridged copies – Moscow, RGB, f. 272, Syn. 363 of the 15th–16th centuries (ms T) and Moscow, GIM, Barsov (signature unknown) of the 17th–18th centuries (ms B) – it constitutes the family α of the Slavonic rescension. Both T and B at times witness readings closer to the Greek version than ms L.

In the family β Gaylord distinguishes two groups of South-Slavic manuscripts:

(1) β^1, comprised of Belgrade, NB, 651 of the 13th–14th centuries (ms S), Zagreb, KJAZU III.a.20 [Šibenićki Zbornik] of the 16th century (ms N), the Glagolitic Zagreb, NSB, R4001 [Petrisov Sbornik] of 1468 (ms Z); and

(2) β^2 with Sofia, NBKM, 433 [Panagjurski Sbornik] of the 16th century (ms P), Vienna, ÜNB, Slav. 149 of the 16th century (ms V), Sofia, NBKM, 326 (Adžarskij Sbornik) of the 16th century (ms I), Goljamo Belovo, Bulgaria of the 17th–18th centuries (ms D).

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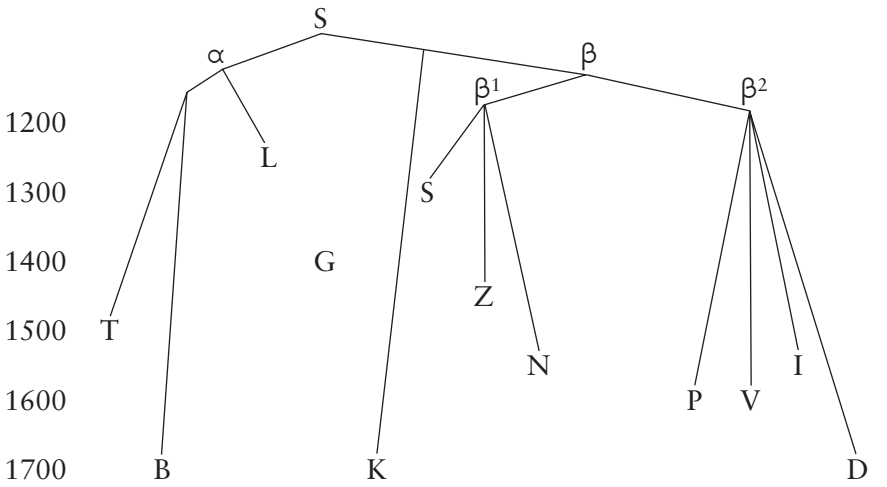
[6] Picard, "Apocalypsis."

[7] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, xxi–xxvii.

There are also two copies of which only fragments are preserved: Belgrade, NB, 828 of 1409 (ms G) and Kiev, CBAN, Sp. 168/III of the 18th century (ms K).

Although the family β is in general the result of inner-Slavic redaction (including expansions, omissions and revisions of earlier readings reflected in the Greek version and the family α) in some cases it preserves better readings. This means that the divergence between the textual families took place in the South-Slavic area prior to the 13th century. Some misreadings may witness the Glagolitic Slavonic proto-text and uncial Greek *Vorlage*. The stemma of the Slavic version according to Gaylord are as follows:



The relationship between the Greek and Slavic versions are examined in *Reconstructed Content* below.

III. Scholarship

As observed above, *3 Baruch* is an "underdog" among ancient Jewish apocalypses, and the history of its research is not rich. It was introduced to scholarship in 1886, when Stojan Novaković published the Slavonic ms N.[8] The Greek text found in British Museum by E. Cuthbert Butler was published by Montague R. James in 1897.[9] Since then six more Slavonic manuscripts have been published: ms T by Nikolaj Savvich Tikhonravov in 1894,[10] ms K by Mikhail Mikhailovich Speranskij in 1906,[11] mss BPS were published by Mikhail Iur'evich Sokolov in 1907,[12] and ms Z by Eduard Hercigonja in 1964.[13] Jordan Ivanov republished ms S with discrepancies from mss NP in 1925.[14] The bibliography published by Alexandr Ivanovich Jatsimirskij in 1921 included almost all of the manuscripts known today (except ms D).[15] The second known Greek copy was published by Jean-Claude Picard in his critical edition of the Greek text in 1967.[16] The decisive breakthrough in the textual research on *3 Baruch* was achieved by Harry E. Gaylord, who prepared a critical edition of the Slavonic version in his dissertation at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1983.[17]

The Slavonic ms N was translated to German by Gottlieb Nathanael Bonwetsch in 1896[18] and then into English by William R. Morfill in 1897.[19] Wolfgang Hage translated ms S into German in 1974,[20] while Donka Petkanova – the eclectic text based on mss SNPI to Bulgarian in 1981,[21] A. Iu.

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[8] Novaković, "Otkrivene."
[9] James, "Baruch,"
[10] Tikhonravov, "Otkrovenie;" cf. Milkov, "Otkrovenie," 480–87.
[11] Speranskij, *Izvestija*.
[12] Sokolov, "Apokrificheskoe."
[13] Hercigonja, "Videnie," 63–72.
[14] Ivanov, *Bogomilski*, 193–200.
[15] Jatsimirskij, *Bibliograficheskij*.
[16] Picard, "Apocalypsis."
[17] Gaylord, *Slavonic*.
[18] Bonwetsch, "Slavisch."
[19] Morfill, "Apocalypse."
[20] Hage, *Griechische*, 15–44.
[21] Petkanova, *Apokrifi*.

Karpov and Vladimir Vladimirovich Milkov – presented a Russian translation of ms T in 1990 and 1999 respectively.[22] The Greek version was first translated into German by Victor Ryssel in 1900,[23] into English by Henry M. Hughes in 1913,[24] into Hebrew by Eliyahu Shemuel Hartom in 1967,[25] into Spanish by Natalio Fernández Marcos in 1990,[26] and into Russian by Maria and Vadim Vitkovskij in 2001.[27] The parallel versions were translated by Harry E. Gaylord in 1983.[28]

Mikhail Iur'evich Sokolov, Emil Turdeanu, and Harry E. Gaylord have made the most noticeable contribution to the textual study of the Slavic rescension and its relation to the Greek version. Among relatively recent works, the studies by Richard J. Bauckham, John Collins, Mary Dean-Otting, George W. E. Nickelsburg, Andrei Orlov, Jean-Claude Picard, Rainer Stichel, and Edward J. Wright are of crucial significance in the collective attempt to understand *3 Baruch*.[29] The history of research of *3 Baruch* has culminated in two studies without which the present work would not be possible: the unpublished critical edition of the Slavonic version by Harry E. Gaylord[30] and the thorough and insightful monograph by Daniel C. Harlow.[31]

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22 Karpov, "Otkrovenie," 276–82; Milkov, "Otkrovenie," 488–93.
23 Ryssel, "Apokalypsen."
24 Hughes, "Greek."
25 Hartom, "Hazon."
26 Fernández Marcos, "Apocalipsis."
27 Vitkovskij, "Otkrovenie."
28 Gaylord, "Baruch."
29 See General Bibliography, *3 Baruch*: Articles and Chapters.
30 Gaylord, *Slavonic*.
31 Harlow, *Baruch*.

IV. Original Language

There is no evidence that the Greek text of *3 Baruch* had a Hebrew or Aramaic original. All obvious Hebraisms found in the book are biblicisms that are also attested in other Judeo-Greek texts. The gematria calculations, based on Greek words put into Hebrew letters, demonstrate that their author knew at least the Hebrew alphabet (4:7G; 4:10). The text probably has several wordplays, some of which are based on polysemy, homophony, and homeophony of Greek words: ἔλαιον "oil" and ἔλεος "mercy" (ms T 4:7S and 15:1S; πτώσεως (gen. sg.) "calamity" and πόσεως (gen. sg.) "drinking" (4:17G); παράπτω "kindle" and "transgress"; θλίβω "compress" and "afflict" (9:7G; 15:1S). A hypothetical wordplay may also refer to the similarity of Hebrew roots עוף "bird" and עיף "faint, weary" (8:2, 3, 6G; the same word-play is attested in *Exod. Rab.* 38).

V. Date

There are no decisive data indicating the dating of *3 Baruch*. Usually any reference to the destruction of the Temple serves as an argument for the post-destruction origin of a composition. Origen (*Princ*. 2.3.6) may provide a *terminus ad quem*, if his reference to a "book of the prophet Baruch," in which there are "very clear indications of the seven worlds or heavens", is understood as a reference to a version of *3 Baruch,* though with different ouranology (seven heavens instead of five or fewer in the original text) and different terminology ("world" for heaven) than the extant versions of the book.

VI. Provenance

Like most apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings, *3 Baruch* has been preserved in Christian tradition. As shown below (see *Reconstructed Content*) the earlier rescension of the book most probably did not include any specifically Christian materials. Nevertheless, as far as we can judge from the extant redactions, it contained contradictory tendencies, which could have been developed in either direction. On the one hand, the vision itself seems indifferent to the sacred history of Israel, both past and future: the latest historical figure mentioned is Noah, a universal patriarchal figure; there are no explicit references to any specifically Jewish values, or to the dichotomy of Israel and the nations, and collective eschatology is not treated at all. On the other hand, the setting of the vision shows a concern for the theodicy pertaining to the destruction of the Temple. The relationship of this "particularist" problem to the universalistic vision is not clarified, and may be interpreted in either Rabbinic or Christian terms – either as a consolation and theodical justification, or as a message about the insignificance of the terrestial Temple.

At the same time, the text is deeply rooted in Jewish lore and cannot be understood out of the context of traditions preserved in Jewish (and even specifically Rabbinic) literature. Thus, the question of whether its Jewish author believed that Jesus of Nazareth was the true messiah may seem irrelevant or at least impossible to determine, as long as the text does not directly reflect such a belief or a dependence on early Christian texts. Rabbinic Jewish and Christian Jewish authors of the period shared many common traditions and interests. The question of the potential compatibility of the book's content with Christian ideas is more relevant to the reception of the text, as a Christian hand is recognizable in reworked layers of the composition. Thus some readings of the reworked Greek version, in addition to Christian terminology, citations and paraphrases from the New Testament, may hint that the destruction of the Temple is not only deserved (as in 1:3S), but is not important (1:3G), and that the paradigmatic sinners are the Jews (16:2G). In the case of *3 Baruch* we are delivered from the vicious circle of the assumptions that the Christian passages must be interpolations since the text is Jewish, and that the text must be Jewish, since all that is Christian is interpolated. Here we are lucky to have the Slavonic

version, which serves as a witnesses to a pre-Christianized stage: the Slavonic version does not contain the Christian materials of the Greek reworking and preserves clues of an earlier redaction (see *Reconstructed Content* below).

Our text shares a significant number of unique or rare traditions with Gnostic writings; however, despite its transcendentalist and probably angelolatric tendencies, it has nothing to do with Gnostic theology. This observation counts in favor of the hypothesis that the uniquely Gnostic traditions which reappear later in Jewish mysticism may reflect a common Jewish heritage[32] or may even be rooted in more widely circulating Mediterranean lore. Among these proto-Gnostic traditions one might mention the presentation of the building of the Tower of Babel as a demonic plot (*Paraph. Shem* 24–25); blind celestial forces (cf. blind archons of *Hyp. Arch. passim*); the conception of the cosmic serpent as a place of torment in the afterlife (*Pistis Sophia* 3.126) or as a holder of Hades (*Acts Thom.* 32); traditions about five celestial trees (*Gos. Thom.* 19:3–4; Bala'izah Gnostic fragment; *Pistis Sophia* 1.1 and 10; 2.86; 3.95; etc.); the satanic and serpentine origin of vine (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 3.45.1.2); and chrismatic "seals" for the afterlife (*Ap. John* 31.22–25; Origen, *Cels.* 6.27, 34).

Our interpretation of the relationship between *3 Baruch* and Gnostic tradition may, with certain precautions, be implemented also for some commonalities found between *3 Baruch* and early Christian tradition. With the Gnostics, the contradiction between the availability of common material and the obvious disagreement of the respective outlooks point towards a common Jewish substratum rather than direct influence. Such a hypothesis would be less demonstrable for explaining Christian parallels: our text is preserved in Christian tradition and does not contradict Christian doctrines. Nevertheless, we can raise the possibility of proto-Christian motifs in *3 Baruch*, especially when significant variation in details testify against direct borrowing. These parallels would be of particular interest in instances when they provide a clarification or complementation for some unique or obscure early Christian imagery which, in turn, could have been rooted in the Jewish traditions witnessed by *3 Baruch*. Among these are the motifs of the Tree of Knowledge planted by Sammael (4:8) and the parable of tares; "false wheat" planted by "the Adversary" when the "man" (Adam?) is asleep (Matt 13:24–30; cf. the Tree of Knowledge as wheat in *Gen. Rab.* 15.7; *b. Ber.* 40a; *b. Sanh.* 70a); angels as bearers of the flowers (of the Paradise of Virtues?; 12:1G; cf. 4:7S; 4:10) and angels as harvesters

[32] Idel, *Kabbalah*, 30, 116.

of the same parable (Matt 13:39); the uprooted Vine of Knowledge planted by Sammael (4:10) and the uprooting of the "plant which my heavenly Father has not planted" (Matt 15:13; it is specifically the vine in *Gos. Thom.* 40 and par); the lake of the souls (10:5G) followed by the oil reward (from the Olive of Life?; 15:1–2); the washing in the "water of life" which provides the "right to the Tree of Life" (Rev 22:1–2, 14, 17 and par.); the "Kingdom of Heaven" as an abode of the righteous guarded by a key-holder in 11:2 and in Matt 8:11 and 16:19; the structurally similar descriptions of the angelic offering of flowers (12–15) and the angelic incense offering (Rev 5:8; 8:3–5); the locusts plague (16:3) opposed to the oil reward (chrismatic seal?; 15:2) and the locusts plague opposed to protective seal (Rev 9:3–11); and many more similarities with NT, as well as with Christian pseudepigrapha and the works of the Church Fathers. All these parallels, although only attested in Christian literature, do not contain specifically Christian conceptions, and in this they do not differ from abundant Christian parallels to other traditions more widely attested in early Jewish literature.

Another kind of question is the extent to which the author was influenced by non-Jewish Hellenistic traditions and whether the text reflects a provenance in Palestine or elsewhere. The work in its current form shows a substantial degree of Hellenization. This is evident in the language itself, in gematrias based on Greek words, in names of rivers, and in *translatio graeca* of Hebrew concepts such as the well known substitution of Sheol by Hades, or the correspondence, found only in *3 Baruch,* of the protective bird Ziz by Phoenix (adopting not only the Greek name, but also some of its characteristics). In addition to these elements, which could have been introduced or modified during translation or transmission, we also find Hellenistic concepts and images that are central to the composition. These include: the celestial afterlife, Acherusian lake (though unnamed), and solar and lunar chariots that bear anthropomorphic riders. At the same time, the cosmology of the apocalypse has nothing to do with new Greco-Roman theories, and some of the Hellenistic features mentioned above might have had Near Eastern equivalents, which could have been adopted by Jews without Greek mediation. Among the most prominent Near Eastern traditions partly shared with Greeks are the sun chariots, known to Jews since biblical times, and the complex of Egyptian ideas on the ascent of *ba* (soul-bird), its purification in the celestial lake, and the range of heavenly gates.

One feature that might point toward a Palestinian provenance is the idea that only rain water can cause plants to be productive. This is plausible in Palestine, where the agriculture is based primarily on rain water, but could hardly be raised in countries with developed irrigation cultures.

VII. Content

1. Extant Content

Below is a summary of the last redactions of *3 Baruch* as attested in the extant versions. The attempts to figure out the contents of earlier redactions, on the one hand, and the most obvious implied data behind the explicit account, on the other, are presented in the following chapters (*Reconstructed Content* and *Implied Content*).

Weeping at the gates of the destroyed Temple, Baruch seeks a theodicy for the catastrophe. In response, an angel sent by God promises to show him the "great mysteries." The angel takes him to "where heaven was set," and to the river that cannot be crossed by any "alien breath." Having arrived at the "first heaven," they enter the very large door, and after a month-long journey, they find a plain inhabited by strangely shaped creatures. Baruch's first question is about "the thickness of heaven in which we journeyed;" he learns that it is equal to the height of the sky and the width of heaven (thus G; S equates it to the width of earth, while the width of heaven is as the height of the sky).

The angel takes Baruch to the "second heaven," where they find almost the same creatures, only dog-faced, who are also identified as the builders of the Tower of Babel. Then Baruch learns how they afflicted a woman in the throes of childbirth and wanted to bore through heaven in order to study its composition; moreover, he learns how they were punished with blindness and confusion of languages.

After further long journey through another long gate, Baruch sees another plain with the Serpent and Hades "around him" (in G; below, the latter is also identified as a belly of the former). Baruch learns about the eating and drinking habits of the monster: "the dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly" (G; in S it eats earth instead) and drinks every day a regular portion of water from the sea, which still does not sink, being filled with rivers, a list of which is given.

The vision of Serpent-Hades is interrupted by Baruch's sudden request to see the Tree of Knowledge. In the response to this request, he hears a story (instead of seeing a vision), which contains the following episodes: (1) On the Garden, where the five different fruit trees were planted by five named

angels; among them, the olive tree was planted by Michael, while the vine was planted by Satanael (only in S); (2) On the Tree of Knowledge that turns out to be the vine planted by Sammael (in G; Satanael in S), and thus is forbidden to Adam, who was divested of the Divine glory for his transgression. (3) On the Flood, which destroyed many giants, entered Paradise, destroyed its flowers and either removed the vine completely (G) or brought a shoot from it outside (S). Noah, after severe hesitation, replanted the vine by God's order. However, he was warned that although "its bitterness shall be changed to sweetness," through excessive drinking major sins still come into the world. Here the account of the Beasts resumes with a question about the dimensions of Serpent's belly, which turns out to be Hades ("insatiable" according to S), and is measured by the distance of a thrown lead.

The angel and Baruch proceed to the east and observe the anthropomorphic figure of the crowned sun riding in its quadriga. It is accompanied by the bird, defined as the "guardian of the world" since it "goes before the sun and, stretching out its wings, receives its fire-shaped rays. For if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature." This bird is gigantic; it is called Phoenix, born in fire, and produces cinnamon. Here Baruch watches the sunrise from the celestial point of view: the 365 gates of heaven open with a great sound as the light is being separated from the darkness, the Bird commands the sun to shine, and the command wakes the roosters on earth.

Baruch wonders about how long the sun can remain motionless and learns that it is a very short period of time "from when the roosters cry until the light comes" (thus in S; in G he asks about its route, but this is probably secondary). Here G repeats the description of the rising sun and the Sun Bird's performances, which at this point is not only heard by Baruch, but is also witnessed by him firsthand.

Baruch then proceeds with the angel to the west to watch the sunset: the crown is taken from the sun's head for the nightly renewal "up to heaven," and the Bird looks exhausted. Baruch learns that the sun's crown is defiled through its rays by human sins, and and he learns that the Bird is exhausted by the sun's radiation.

The moon is located in the same heaven. It is shown to Baruch in the morning, in the likeness of a woman, also moving in its chariot of oxen. Although initially having been created "beautiful," now it waxes and wanes, since it did not hide itself during the transgression of Adam and Eve. G adds that the moon and the "suspended" stars do not dare to shine in the presence of the sun. The sun outshines the stars, and the moon, although "being intact," is exhausted by its heat.

In the next heaven, the "third" heaven (only in G), there is another plain

(G; or "mountain" in S) with a lake inhabited by diverse birds, and especially cranes (or birds similar to cranes in size in S). This is the place "where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir" (only G). The "pure" (only S) birds unceasingly praise God (both G and S). The lake is also a source of the rain and – according to G – the "dew of heaven." They are taken by clouds only from here (S) or also from the sea, while in the latter case only these celestial waters can cause the earth to produce fruit (G).

The angel takes Baruch to the next heaven, identified as the "fifth" heaven (although the "fourth" has not been mentioned), where Baruch faces the closed gate, upon which the names of men are inscribed (S). The gate opens only to admit the commander-in-chief Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom, descending from behind it with a great sound to receive the prayers of men. He holds a cosmically sized bowl, into which the "virtues" (G; from here on S always has "prayers" instead of the "virtues" in G) of men enter in order to be brought in it to God.

A procession of angels brings baskets filled with flowers and casts them into Michael's bowl. The flowers represent human virtues (or "prayers" in S). Then other angels, grieving, bring empty (or half-empty) baskets, the offerings from which "did not fill the bowl." Other angels (either the same "other" or a third group) weep and fear; they ask Michael twice to release them from evil men, whose transgressions they enumerate.

Michael goes behind the gate, which closes after him with a thunder signifying that he brings the virtues of men to God. The gate opens again, and Michael distributes the oil. He puts it into the same baskets (in S "mercy" substitutes for "oil"). This reward is given "to our beloved and those who have diligently done good deeds." Michael sends those who brought full and half-empty baskets to bless their charges.

Angels that have not brought any offerings are not allowed to leave their men but are ordered to "provoke against them No-Nation" (only G) and to send upon them locusts with "hail and lightning and wrath and cut them in twain with the sword and with death and their children with demons."

S adds to this a brief notion, that the guiding angel ordered Baruch to see the resting places of the righteous and the tortures of the impious. Baruch hears the lament of the latter and receives permission to weep on their behalf.

Finally, Baruch "comes to himself" (G), or descends to earth (S) and glorifies God.[33]

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[33] Many of the elements of the above narrative are not found in other Jewish texts. The claim for uniqueness is declared in the prologue to the vision, where Baruch is prom-

If this is the authentic content, it is no wonder that many have considered the book to be a chaotic conglomeration of non-coherent and bizarre fragments. At best this could have been regarded as a dream record, mostly devoid of inner logic and barely integrated into the literary tradition. This would not be typical for what we know about Jewish writings of the period. In other words, it would be highly surprising for a Jewish visionary of the period to see visions out of the context of traditional concepts, and even more so, to organize them in an unfamiliar literary form. I will try to demonstrate that the text, though admittedly laconic and even elliptic, is nonetheless internally coherent, and that many of its seemingly unique, bizarre or non-Jewish motifs are in fact deeply rooted in Jewish tradition. Moreover, the very preterition or paraleipses (deliberate but apparent omission of information) in the text, when they are well corroborated by parallel traditions, may paradoxically be useful – they can indicate which topics were taken as self-evident by the authentic author and his audience.

2. Reconstructed Content[34]

Some of the interpretive cruxes in *3 Baruch* must have arisen as a result of the complicated textual history of the book. Baruch's promise to "neither

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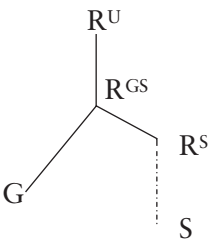
ised to see "great mysteries which no man had seen" (1:6S). Among the unique motifs are the following:
- Builders of the Tower of Babel banished to heaven (2–3)
- The twofold cosmic Serpent-Hades drinking the sea and eating the wicked (4–5G)
- Angels planting Paradise (4:7S)
- The Tree of Knowledge planted by Sammael/Satanael (4:7S; 4:8)
- Flood entering Paradise and destroying its plants (4:10)
- Cinnamon as excrement of worms excreted by the Sun Bird (Phoenix; 6:12)
- Daily separation of the light from the darkness (6:13)
- Moon's collaboration with Sammael in the seduction of the first men (9:7)
- Celestial lake of birds (10:2–7)
- The fifth heaven as the culmination of an ascent (11:1)
- Virtues (or prayers in S) as flowers (12:5)

There is also some unique terminology: "narration and revelation" (διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις) as a title of apocalypse (T:1G); "alien spirit" (ξένη πνοή; 2:1G; found once more in a late Byzantine text); "monster" (ἀπηνής) used as a noun and applied to Hades (4:4G); "Sarasael" (Σαρασαήλ / **Сарасаилъ**) as an angelic name (4:15); "the guardian of the inhabited world" (ὁ φύλαξ τῆς οἰκουμένης / **хранитель въселенѣи**) as an epithet of the Sun Bird (6:3).

[34] This section is based on my article (Kulik, "Veritas").

subtract nor add a word" (1:7S) was not implemented by the editors (and was even itself omitted from a more reworked G).

The book has been preserved in two rescensions, Greek (G) and Slavonic (S). The lost *Vorlage* of S (R^S) differed significantly from the tradition presented by G, which is replete with Christian interpolations, on the one hand, and with omissions of important fragments, on the other. We thus presume that R^S is a better witness for the Greek proto-text underlying both rescensions (R^{GS}). Both rescensions share traces of the same reworking, enabling us to distinguish R^{GS} from an *Urtext* (whether Greek or Semitic) or the earliest reconstructable version of the composition (R^U).



Hence, in addition to the two preserved rescensions, there are three textual layers (R^S, R^{GS}, and R^U), the elements of which can be reconstructed.

2.1. Greek Version (G)

2.1.1. Christian Interpolations

Both G and S show indications of independent Christian reworking. The most blatant are those interpolations which are not shared by both versions. These passages can be categorized as follows:

(A) Passages with obvious Christian terminology (in italics):

- " … and that which is begotten from it [the vine] shall become the *blood of God*; and as the human race obtained condemnation through it, so again through *Jesus Christ the Emmanuel* [and] in him is the receipt of the future invocation, and the entry into Paradise" (4:15G).
- "For we do not see them ever entering into assembly [or "*church*;" Gk ἐκκλησία], either into *spiritual fathers* or into any good thing" (13:4G).

(B) New Testament wording without christological terms (which theoretically could have been shared with other Jewish texts):

– "Prizes" as heavenly rewards (12:1G; cf. 1 Cor 9:24; Phil 3:14; Clement of Rome, *1 Ep. Cor.* 5.6).
– "Bring a hundredfold reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds. For those who have sowed well, reap well" (15:2G; cf. Matt 19:29 and 25:24, 26; Mark 10:30; Luke 15:8; 2 Cor 9:6; although a similar expression appears also in Hagg 1:6).
– "You are faithful over a little, he will set you over many things; enter into the joy of our Lord" (15:4G; cf. Matt 25:21, 23).

(C) Deuteronomic paraphrases (sometimes found also in NT) link the plagues for the sinners with the punishment promised to Israel, and thus identify the two. They are more likely to have been added than omitted in the process of Christian transmission of the text:

– "But since they [the sinners] angered me by their deeds, go and make them envious and angry and provoke against them No-Nation, a nation void of understanding" (16:2G; cf. LXX Deut 31:29; 32:21; cited in Rom 10:19).
– "[The plagues are sent to the sinners,] because they did not listen to my voice, nor observe my commandments, nor do them, but came to be despisers of my commandments and my assemblies, and offenders of the priests who announced my words to them" (16:4G; cf. LXX Deut 28:1; 1 Chr 16:22).

The latter verse mentions also "the priests, who announced my words to them," which would refer to Christian rather than to Jewish priests, and is probably a development of the topic of "spiritual fathers" of 13:4G.

(D) There is also a passage that may reflect Christian historiosophy. The suggestion not to "care so much for the salvation of Jerusalem" (1:3S) is significantly different from the theodical "it came to Jerusalem to accept this" in G.

2.1.2. Biblical Citations and Allusions

In addition to the Deuteronomic paraphrases serving ideological editing, G has more citations and allusions to the Bible (especially to LXX), absent in S:

– "And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but delivered us to such nations, so that they upbraid saying, 'Where is their God?'" (1:2G; cf. Pss 79:10; 115:2; Joel 2:17; Mic 7:10).

– "calamity of wine" (πτώσεως τοῦ οἴνου; 4:17G; cf. "wine of calamity" in LXX Ps 60[59]:5[3]).
– "little by little" (πρὸς μικρὸν μικρόν; 7:3G; cf. LXX Deut 7:22).
– "all breath" (πᾶσα πνοή; 8:7G; cf. LXX Ps 150:6).
– "in order that the Enemy may not prevail for ever" (ὑνα μὴ εἰς τέλος κυριεύσῃ ὁ Ἐχθρός; 13:2G; cf. LXX Ps 73:10).

2.1.3. Explanatory Expansions

Often G functions as if it were an explanatory *targum* for the laconic text of R^{GS} (as it is witnessed by S):

– "And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and impure. And I said, 'Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him?' And the angel said, 'The dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly, and he is nourished by them'" (4:3b–5G). The passage, absent in S, introduces the ideas of the "pairedness" and the "unity in two" of Serpent and Hades; Hades' function as the eater of the wicked; and Hades' darkness and impurity. Although these motifs are ancient and some of them may be deduced from 5:3, they are only made explicit by G.
– "That is why he did not permit Adam to touch it, and that is why the devil being envious deceived him through his vine" (4:8G). S confines itself to mention of the serpent, which is omitted in G and replaced by the expanded explanation. G provides biblical background, never given explicitly in S, and adds widely known motifs of the identification of the serpent of Eden with the devil, and their envy toward man.
– "It [Flood] removed the shoot of the vine completely" (4:10G). In S only one shoot is removed. G probably explains why Baruch does not see the requested Tree.
– "Know therefore, Baruch, that as Adam through this tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the Glory of God, so also now the men drinking insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, make a transgression worse than Adam, and become far from the Glory of God, and commit themselves to the eternal fire. For [no] good comes through it" (4:16G). G verbalizes the connection between the first humans' transgression and contemporary wine abuse, structurally implicit in S. The motif of the garment of Glory was widely known, including Christian traditions.
– "And I said, 'And how is it that it [the moon] does not also shine always, but only at night?' And the angel said, 'Listen, as before a king his household cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine before

the sun. For the stars are suspended, but they are outshined by the sun, and the moon, [although] being intact, is exhausted by the heat of the sun'" (9:8G). G complements the basic lesson on the moon, explaining not only its phases but also the absence of the moon and stars in daytime.

– "Listen, Baruch! The plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir" (10:5). Similarly to 4:3b–5G, the motif of soul-birds, very important and central in this apocalypse, is only implied in the unexplained image of the birds in S.
– "Dew," treated twice in G (6:11G and 10:9G), is totally absent in S. In the first case it complements the information on the drinking habits of the Sun Bird, on which S reports only "what it eats" (as on the other Beasts above we learn as on eating, so also on drinking). In the second, it serves as a reminder that the dew, and not only the rain, is of celestial origin.
– "For unless its wings, *as we said before*, were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would survive" (8:7) – inner explanatory reference to 6:6 absent is S.
– The men's virtues are brought "before the heavenly God" (11:9G; in 14:2G again God is mentioned only in G; cf. 15:2S). This is implicit in 13:5.
– "And the angel told me, "These flowers are the virtues of the righteous" (12:5G). This identification in S may easily be deduced from 11:9 and 12:4.

2.1.4. Other Textual Phenomena

G also shows textual developments which are free from ideological or hermeneutic considerations, like parablepsis in 4:2G or duplication in 7:3–5aG. The latter verse appears to provide a variant of the account of the sun and Phoenix already given in 6:2–5a. The same data, which in ch. 6 is presented in a dramatic form, is presented in ch. 7 as a description of a vision.

2.2. Slavonic Version (S) and Its Greek Vorlage (R^S)

In most cases, it is impossible to distinguish between the development of the rescension before the translation (R^S) or after it (S).

Like G, R^S or its translation might have been subject independently to interpolation of Christian content. There are passages which employ termi-

nology that is likely to be Christian, although *interpertatio judaica* is still possible in some of these cases:

– "For their wives flee to the Temple [or "church" or "assembly;" CS **црьквь**], and from there they bring them out to jealousy and to fornication and to envy, and they strive to many other things, which you, O Glorious One, know" (13:4S).
– "Be not idle, but prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple [**свѧтѣѩѧ црькви**]" (15:3S).
– "They do not fear God and they do not come to the Temple [**црькъвъ**] and to the place of prayers" (16:4S).

In distinction from G there is only one explanatory expansion – the "Slavonic Conclusion" (16:5–10S). This is best viewed as a later addition, as it stands in contrast with the rest of the narrative visuospatially and stylistically, and has an obvious harmonizing and conceptualizing agenda.

2.3. Common Proto-text of G and S (R^{GS})

2.3.1. R^{GS} as Witnessed by G

Some readings witnessed by G were corrupted in S during its transmission:
– "God-made tower" (**ѕтлъпъ бг҃отворьнъı**) instead of "Tower of War against God" (**ѕтлъпъ бг҃оборьнъı**) (2:7S).
– "And now show me all things for the Lord's sake" (4:1G), omitted due to homoioteleuton in S.
– "187" (**ϐ҃: и ѝ҃: и ӡ҃:**; 4:2S) instead of a hypothetical Glagolitic "185."
– "On an armed chariot" (**на орѫжнѣ колесьници**; 9:3S) instead of "on a wheeled chariot" (**на орѫжии колесьномь**; as ἐπὶ ἅρματος τροχοῦ in G).

Some readings were mistranslated in S:
– "With blindness" (3:8) mistranslated as "invisibly" by S.
– "Angels [who are] over the principalities [ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν]" (12:3G) mistranslated in S as "the angels who are in the power [**въ области**] of men."

Explanatory readings:
– "Oil" (15:1G) substituted by homeophonic "mercy" in S.

Harmonized readings:
– "Virtues" (11:9G; 14:2G) and "good deed" (15:2G) interchanging with "prayers" (11:4G), are consistently unified to "prayers" in S.

Some passages in G, absent in S, but well integrated into early Jewish literature, might be original:

– "And where there was a river which no one can cross, nor any alien spirit of all those that God created" (2:1G); this may either be original or interpolated due to influence of late Christian apocalypses.
– "As if [borne] on wings" (2:2G).
– "Baskets" (12:1G) substituted by neutral "offerings" in S.

2.3.2. R^{GS} as Witnessed by S

Readings corrupted in G:
– "Fiery horses" (**кони пламѣни**; * ἵππων πυρός; 6:2S) instead of "with a fire underneath" (ὃ ἦν ὑπόπυρον; both manuscripts have ο ην υποπυρος) of G.
– "'How much [or "how" ποῦ] does the sun rest [ἀποσχολάζει]?' {And the angel told me,} 'From when the roosters cry out until the light comes'" (7:1S; as a dialogue without am intermediate remark) misinterpreted as one replique "And where [ποῦ] does the sun begin its labors [ἀποσχολεῖται] after the rooster cries?" in G.

Harmonized readings:
– S has "chamber" (3:3S) and "mountain" (10:2, 4S) instead of the unified "plain" in all the cases in G.

Some passages in S, absent in G, but well integrated into early Jewish literature, might be original. Among them entire fragments:
– the account on planting the Garden (4:7S) omitted in G due to homoeoarchon
– 6:14b omitted by G due to homoeoteleuton

There are also shorter passages which could be original:
– "You will neither add nor omit [anything] … I will neither subtract nor add a word" (1:6–7S).
– "He showed me means of safety [σωτηρία]" (2:2S) retroverted from "he showed me salvation [**съпасениѥ**]."
– "As [the distance] from east to west" (2:5S).
– "Pure birds" (10:5S).
– "And he showed me large gates, and names of men were written [on them]" (11:2S).

Some readings of R^{GS} difficult or incomprehensible to later Christian scribes, were replaced by more neutral readings in G:
– "Be silent" (1:3S), an order with ambiguous message replaced with "understand" in G.
– "Great mysteries" (1:6S), the term, well attested in apocalyptic parallels, was replaced by "mysteries" in G.
– "… stirring [the clay for bricks]" (3:5S), paralleled in an aggadic account, replaced with "making bricks" in G.

Some mss of S present angels' names in Semitic (rather than Slavic or even Greek) rather than Slavic or even Greek) forms. Thus S has "Panuel" (**паноуилъ** in T:1S; cf. Phanuel **фаноуилъ** in 2:5), going back to Gk *Πανουηλ; Heb פנואל, instead of Phamael (Φαμαηλ; 2:5) in G. In 4:7S mss S and Z have Sarazael (**сараѕаиль**; Gk *Σαρ Ραζαιλ; Heb *שר רזאל) and Rasael (**расаилъ**; Gk * Ρασαιλ); cf. on Sarasael in both versions in 4:15 below).

There are three features of Serpent-Hades found in S but absent from G that are paralleled in the Bible – Serpent "eats earth like grass" (4:3S); God "kindled its heart" (4:7S); "Hades is insatiable" (5:3S). They could either be original or have been interpolated at any stage. Similarly, it is difficult to assess priority in 10:9 where S, holding to the ancient tradition, states that all rains originate from the celestial storage place, whereas G exhibits compromises with Hellenistic science.

The lists above show that although both rescensions were independently reworked, G has introduced more changes. These modifications reflect (1) ideological editing (Christianization); (2) intertextual sophistication which integrated authoritative textual traditions into the laconic report (by means of citations and allusions from the Bible and NT); and especially (3) explanatory (targumic) expansions. By contrast, S exhibits fewer signs of deliberate editorial activity. Although S contains certain distortions, mainly textual corruptions and mistranslations, it shows that R^S has been less reworked than G and is thus a better witness for R^{GS}.

2.4. Urtext (R^U)

Certain characteristics shared by both G and S, and thus belonging to R^{GS}, could nevertheless reflect editorial elaborations different from R^U. Among the most significant are:

– Duplication of the account of the Builders: sections 2:2–3, 7a and 3:1–5a as two variants of the same account (cf. duplication in 7:3–5G).
– The numbering of the heavens (2:2; 3:1; 7:2; 10:1; 11:1), inconsistent in both versions, must have been absent in R^U.

These two reworkings belong to the same editorial process. Fortunately, it was not consistent. The duplication hypothesis, which reduced one heaven from the total calculation, concords with the rudiments of the original numbering of heavens preserved in 7:2S and 10:1G. At the same time, the suggestion of the editorial origin of the numbering of the heavens helps to harmonize other indications of the intercelestial transfers – two or three

celestial journeys (2:2; [3:1;] 4:2) and two or three gates (three before the last in S and totally three in G; 2:2; [3:1;] 4:2; 11:2) – with the three heavens scheme (instead of five heavens of the extant text). Both the original scheme and its reworking to the models with additional multiple heavens, are well attested (for the detailed discussion see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

– The original model of two groups of angels representing two classes of men was supplemented with the intermediate group by a very delicate emendation. R^{GU} reads Gk ἀποκένους (15:3G) as "half empty" instead of "empty." This interpretation is reflected in both the corresponding verse of S (only in family α) and in the next verse of G (15:4G, obviously Christian). In light of this reading, the word "other" in 13:1 may be interpreted as referring to the third group, and not to the second which is also defined as "other" in 12:6 (see introductory comm. to 12:6–13:5). Such reworking of a twofold model of human classes into a threefold scheme may be suggested also in the versions of *Apocalypse of Adam* (see introductory comm. to 12:6–13:5).
– An interesting evidence on R^{U} is preserved in the unique name of the angel who communicates with Noah – "Sarasael" (Σαρασαήλ / **Сарасаиль**; 4:15). It must go back to *scripto continua* σαρρασαήλ – *שר רזאל "Prince Rasael/Rasiel," well known as Noah's interlocutor in Hekhalot literature.

The accounts of the celestial dimensions (2:4–6) and the vine (4:8–17G; 4:6–17S) – these intrude into the coherent narratives of the Builders (chs. 2–3) and of the Beasts (chs. 4–5) respectively – are to be regarded more as excursus than as interpolations. The excursus on the celestial dimensions could be misplaced (rather than interpolated) during the course of the compilation of two variants of the Builders story. The vine account, however, although intervening into the description of the Beasts, is thematically connected to it and to other sections of the apocalypse.

There also are no strong arguments in favor of the suggestion that R^{U} could have had a longer text that included an ascent to higher heavens (see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology: Seven heavens and abridged version*).

3. Implied Content

Even in comparison to other compositions of the same genre, *3 Baruch* strikes the modern reader as an extremely elliptic and fragmented narrative, and thus an enigmatic one. We may infer that the author(s) expected the tar-

get audience to be well-versed in the ancient lore that was requisite for filling the gaps between seemingly disconnected images. Relying on the knowledge base of the intended readers, the authors were free to concentrate on the visual and symbolic "highlights" of the revelation, leaving many implied connections unmentioned. In many cases, *3 Baruch* confines itself to apocalyptic *ekphrasis*, a description of the objects seen by the visionary which neither explains the meaning of each image nor makes clear the connections between them. This way of communication is characteristic of intentionally vague symbolic accounts that broaden the interpretation field and require on the part of the recipient a more active participation in building the narrative. This approach was only partly compensated for by a late version preserved in G, which gives explanations and expansions of the more laconic proto-text better reflected in S. The characteristics and possible reasons for applying such a form of expression are treated in *Method* below.

I have attempted to reconstruct these implied data on the basis of intertextual analysis. The overwhelming majority of reconstructions of the implied content below are introduced here for the first time. The sources and argumentation for the reconstructions may be found in the commentaries to relevant chapters. The summary of the account of *3 Baruch* as it was given in the section *Extant Account* above appears below in italics, while the reconstructed data complementing it are given in ordinary font:

Weeping at the gates of the destroyed Temple, Baruch seeks a theodicy of the Fall. In response, an angel sent to him by God promises to show him the "great mysteries." The angel takes him to "where heaven was set," and to the river, i.e., to the "ends of earth," where the River Oceanus surrounding the flat earth meets the "ends" of the hemispheric heaven. *It cannot be crossed by any "alien breath,"* since the boarder between the two worlds cannot be crossed by terrestial demonic "alien spirits."

Having arrived to the entrance to *the "first heaven"* (the numbers of heaven hereafter must be interpolated), *they enter the very large door,* which is a celestial opening located on the line where earth and heaven meet, *and after a month-length journey* through the "door," which is a tunnel-gate through the "thickness of heaven" measured below, they *find a plain inhabited by strangely shaped creatures* described as satyrs and cynocephali. These must be the demonic forces of the lower heaven. Identified below as the chief builders of the Tower of Babel, they could be the fallen angels' gargantuan progeny, most of whom perished in the Flood (as below), but some of whom survived either physically or as demonic spirits.

Baruch's first question is about "the thickness of heaven in which we journeyed," i.e., through which they passed inside the tunnel-gate. *He learns that it is equal to the height of the sky and the width of heaven (thus G; S equates it to the width of earth, while the width of heaven is as the height of the sky).*

The angel takes Baruch to the "second heaven," where they find almost the same creatures, only dog-faced, who are also identified as the builders of the Tower of Babel. It is a duplication of the previous account (thus the number of the heaven has to be ignored). *Then Baruch learns how they afflicted a woman in the throes of childbirth* (demons are especially dangerous for women giving birth and to newborns), *how they wanted to bore through the heaven, in order to study its composition* (a reference to a motif of Tower accounts pertaining to fighting or transfixing heaven with "sharp things") and possibly to reach celestial water supply treated below; *moreover, he learns how they were punished with blindness* (as blind archons and Sammael as "the god of the blind"), *and confusion of languages.*

After futher long journey through another long gate to the second heaven, *Baruch sees another plain with the Serpent and Hades "around him" (in G; below the latter is also identified as a belly of the former).* This is a chthonic dyad or a twofold monster intertwined as Leviathan and Behemoth or as snakes of caduceus. It shares many features with diverse cosmic, celestial, and sea serpents, on the one hand, and with the celestial or cosmic, sometimes also serpentine, Hell, on the other. The two Beasts must be part of a triad together with the Sun Bird appearing below, in correspondence with the Rabbinic triad of Leviathan, Behemoth, and Ziz. *Baruch learns about the eating and drinking habits of the monster: "the dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly" (G*, since the dead can enter Hell in body and be physically annihilated there; *in S it eats earth instead,* as the cursed serpent of Eden*) and drinks every day a regular portion of water from the sea, which still does nor sink, being filled with rivers, a list of which is given.* The function is vital for preventing a new flood, since the terrestial hydrosystem is not cyclic, being completed with celestial waters (as we learn below). This is also among the central functions of the Rabbinic Leviathan and Behemoth. By eating, the Beasts help to get rid of the sinners; by drinking, they help get rid of superfluous water.

The vision of Serpent-Hades is interrupted with Baruch's sudden request to see the Tree of Knowledge. The request about the Tree of Knowledge, the origin of sin, follows the description of the final destination of the sinners. There are more links between the Beasts and the subsequent account: serpents are known to guard cosmic trees; serpents are connected specifically to the vine and wine; the serpent of Eden and the celestial serpent may be

identified; although the eschatological banquet is not mentioned the Beasts and the "fruit of vine" are both its basic elements. *In the response to this request, he hears a story (instead of seeing a vision), which contains the following episodes:* (1) *On the Garden, where the five different fruit trees were planted by five named angels* (according to the number of the trees of Paradise known to Gnostics and Philo's "Paradise of virtues;" cf. also four basic virtues and the number of trees without Satanael's vine)*; among them the olive tree was planted by Michael, while the vine was planted by Satanael (only in S)*. This must be "Paradise of virtues," the flowers of which, i.e., the virtues, appear below in the scenes of the angelic offering and retribution, along with the oil from the celestial olive. (2) *On the Tree of Knowledge that turns out to be the vine planted by Sammael (in G; Satanael in S), and thus is forbidden to Adam, who was divested of the Divine glory for his transgression.* (3) *On the Flood, which destroyed many giants*, while the surviving giants initiated the construction of the Tower of Babel (above). *It also entered Paradise, destroyed its flowers* ("virtues"?) *and either removed the vine completely* (G; which explains thus, why Baruch is not shown the Tree) *or brought a shoot from it outside* (S). *Noah, after severe hesitation, replanted the vine by the God's order. However, he was warned that although "its bitterness shall be changed to sweetness," through excessive drinking, major sins still come into the world*, reflecting the dual valence of wine throughout ancient Jewish literature, associated with both sacral use and profane abuse. *Here the account of the Beasts resumes with a question on the dimensions of Serpent's belly, which turns out to be Hades ("insatiable" according to S), and is measured by the distance of a thrown lead.*

The angel and Baruch proceed to the east and observe the anthropomorphic figure of the crowned sun riding in its quadriga, a well known Greco-Roman image, probably also found in earlier Near Eastern contexts, and well attested in Jewish iconography. *It is accompanied by the bird, defined as the "guardian of the world," since it "goes before the sun, and stretching out its wings receives its fire-shaped rays. For if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature."* The bird functions exactly as Ziz of the Rabbinic tradition (and protective cosmic birds of Near Eastern iconography or other means that moderate the sun's heat known to Jewish lore), which is the third element of the triad of gigantic archetypical beasts together with Leviathan and Behemoth (corresponding to Serpent and Hades above). *This bird is gigantic,* similarly to Ziz and differently from the Greek phoenix; *it is called Phoenix and is born in fire and produces cinnamon* as the Greek phoenix – these are the only features of the Greek phoenix, probably not original in the text.

Here Baruch watches the sunrise from the celestial point of view: the 365 gates located on the circle of the horizon on the rotating sphere *of heaven open with a great sound. The* primordial *light is being separated from the darkness,* on a daily basis, probably presuming creatio aeterna. *The Bird commands the sun to shine. The command*, although inaudible to humans, *wakes the roosters on earth*, before the sunrise.

Baruch wonders about how long the sun can remain motionless *and learns that it is a very short period of time "from when the roosters cry until the light comes" (thus in S; in G he asks about its route, but this is probably secondary)*, in contrast to the belief in a more prolonged rest of the sun, which at any case moves also at night either beneath the earth, or above the lower firmament. *Here G repeats the description of the rising sun and the Sun Bird's performances, which at this point is not only heard by Baruch, but is also witnessed by him firsthand* (most probably a duplication).

Baruch then proceeds with the angel to the west to watch the sunset: the crown is taken from the sun's head for the nightly renewal "up to heaven," probably to be purified in the "lake," a baptismal basin of celestial waters in the next heaven (see below); *and the Bird looks exhausted. Baruch learns that the sun's crown is defiled through its rays by human sins, and he learns that the Bird is exhausted by the sun's radiation.*

The moon is located in the same heaven, in contrast to Hellenistic views. *It is shown in the morning,* probably during its daytime motion, hidden from sight above the visible sky, *in the likeness of a woman,* as Selene and Luna distinct from the male Helios, Sol, and Phoebus, *also moving in its chariot of oxen*, in *biga* (of 20 in S) of oxen and not in quadriga of horses as the sun, according to Hellenistic imagery. *Although initially having been created "beautiful"* as the sun, *now it waxes and wanes, since it did not hide itself during the first transgression of Adam and Eve*, as luminaries are supposed to do when they witness a cosmic tragedy. *G adds that the moon and the "suspended" stars* fixed to the rotating sphere as distinct from the wandering planets, *do not dare to shine in presence of the sun. The sun outshines the stars, and the moon, although "being intact," is exhausted by its heat*, as Israel whose symbol it is, is injured but survives in the destruction of the Temple.

In the next heaven, the"third" heaven (only in G; here the number may reflect the original order of ascent; according to S, Baruch is still in the same heaven*)* in the pure sphere beyond the moon separated from the sublunary impure heavens by the intermediate region of the luminaries, *there is another plain (G; or "mountain" S) with a lake inhabited by diverse birds, and especially cranes (or birds similar to cranes in size in S). This is the place "where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together*

choir by choir" (only G). *The "pure" (only S) birds unceasingly praise God (both G and S).* These ornithomorphic souls of the pious are similar to Egyptian *ba* and analogous images in Jewish belief; they remain on the lake on their way to their permanent resting places. Here they are baptized in the lake, which like the lake of Acherousia, is a purification and probably transformation basin, and await an anointing of eternal life that will be given to their angels in the next heaven (see below).

The angel then takes Baruch to the entrance to the *"fifth" heaven (although the "fourth"hais not been mentioned* – probably interpolated as a result of the duplication of the account of the Builders*). Baruch faces the closed gate, upon which the names of men are inscribed (S)*, who, in contrast to Baruch, are allowed to enter it (either alive or dead). This must be the inaccessible supercelestial heaven above the three or two heavens visited by Baruch. *The gate opens only to admit the commander-in-chief Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom,* and the angelic high priest, *descending from behind it with a great sound to receive the prayers of men.* This must be the well known "gate of prayer," behind which is the sacral realm accessible only to the high priest Michael. *He holds a cosmically sized bowl, in which the "virtues" (G; from hereon S always has "prayers" instead of "virtues" in G) of men enter in order to be brought in it to God.* They could literally "enter," since "Virtues" (depicted as flowers below) was known also as an angelic title.

A procession of angels brings baskets filled with flowers, as Greek kanephoroi or as Jewish processions with first-fruits carried in baskets decorated with plants or as the wreaths of human prayers woven by angels and put on God's head, *and cast them into Michael's bowl* (a procedure with many liturgic connotations). *The flowers represent human virtues*, probably connected to the "Paradise of virtues" planted also by angels above (or "prayers" in S).

Then other angels, grieving, bring empty (or *half-empty*) *baskets, the offerings from which "did not fill the bowl." Other angels (either the same "other" or a third group) weep and fear,* since the angels may be punished for the sins of their charges*; they ask Michael twice to dismiss them from evil men, whose transgressions they enumerate.*

Michael, as a high priest on the Day of Atonement, all alone and leaving other angels outside, *goes behind the gate, which closes after him with a thunder, signifying that he brings the virtues of men to God. The gate opens again, and Michael distributes the oil* of life from the celestial olive, the Tree of Life, that he himself planted (above). The oil must serve for an anointing of the eternal life and a protective chrismatic "seal." The wicked who are deprived of it are attacked by the demonic locusts (below) and destitute

of eternal life; they are annihilated, "eaten," by Hades (above). *He puts the ointment into the same baskets*, which means that they are not wreathed but rather cultic basket-shaped vessels called "baskets," well attested in Jewish and pagan liturgic practices. *In S* the word *"mercy" substitutes for "oil,"* (these are homeophonic in Greek), as in the "Fast of Mercy," an expression used to denote the Day of Atonement. *This reward is given "to our beloved and those who have diligently done good deeds,"* which may refer to two different groups, Israelites and righteous gentiles.

Michael sends those who brought full and half-empty baskets to bless their charges. This is an interpolation intended to replace a twofold division of mankind to the righteous and the wicked by a threefold one, including a middle group.

Angels that have not brought any offerings are not allowed to leave their men but are ordered to "provoke them against No-Nation" (only G; probably an interpolation intended to identify the sinners with Jews*) and to send upon them* demonic *locusts with "hail and lightning and wrath and cut them in twain with the sword and with death and their children with demons*," while the righteous are defended from the plague by the "seal" of anointing.

S *adds to this a brief notion,* probably interpolated, *that the guiding angel ordered Baruch to see the resting places of the righteous and the tortures of the impious. Baruch hears the lament of the latter and receives permission to weep on their behalf*, in contrast to the order to cease his bewailing of Jerusalem before the vision (above).

Finally Baruch "comes to himself" (G), which means that this was a spiritual experience and not a bodily ascent, *or descends to earth (S) and glorifies God.*

VIII. Message*

1. Consolation

3 Baruch presents a celestial tour given in response to the destruction of the Temple. This raises the question of the connection between the two. On the one hand, the revelatory angel seems to dissociate the two topics in his initial words (1:3), either distracting Baruch from the theodicy of the destruction (thus probably Christianized G), or briefly explaining it as a just punishment (as in S). In any case, the issue is not raised again, nor is there any promise of restoration.[35]

However, some kind of consolation must be implied. It may be simply a recognition of the magnificence of creation (as in Job). Possibly, Baruch should not "care so much" for Jerusalem (as in G), since despite the cessation of the terrestial worship, the heavenly liturgy continues to be performed (as shown in 12–14) and the gate of prayer still opens in due time (11:4–5). Certain consolation may also be found in the fact that "it came to Jerusalem to accept this" (as in 1:3S) – the punishment only demonstrates the proper functioning of the celestial judgment, a mechanism of retribution with punitive elements (shown in ch. 16).[36]

2. Retribution and Afterlife

At first glance, *3 Baruch* seems to be preoccupied with cosmology. Charles Torrey even maintained that "the religious element, usually so prominent in this literature, is almost wholly wanting" from this apoca-

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[35] For the attempts to read the vision as "an indirect, yet sustained and coherent response to the problem of Jerusalem's fate" (Harlow, *Baruch*, 109), see Picard "Observationes," 92–98; idem, "Autre mystères," 23–35; Harlow, *Baruch*, 29–31; 109–163; cf. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 302–303; Collins, "Genre Apocalypse," 538–40.

[36] The topic of wine, so central in *3 Baruch*, is connected to consolation in the following saying of R. Hanina: "Wine was created for the sole purpose of comforting mourners and rewarding the wicked, for it is said, 'Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto the bitter in soul' [Prov 31: 6]" (*b. Erub.* 65a).

* The following two sections are based on my article (Kulik, "Apocalyptic").

lypse.[37] However, Martha Himmelfarb has noticed that the central concern of *3 Baruch* must be reward and punishment brought into relation with the created world.[38] Developing this proposal, we suggest that, although more space is allotted to observations of physical aspects of the functioning of the world, the composition of the vision indicates its focus on retribution and its central element, the afterlife:

Structure	*Dominant Topics*
Builders	Abode of Demons
Scientific Excursus: Dimensions of Heaven	
Serpent-Hades	Abode of Wicked Souls
Scientific Excurses:	
Cosmic Hydrosystem I	
Tree of Knowledge	
Sun and Moon	
Lake of Birds	Temporary Abode of Just Souls
Scientific Excursus: Cosmic Hydrosystem II	
Gate to the Kingdom of Heaven	Gate to the Permanent Abode of the Just Souls
Angelic Service	Retribution Mechanism

The chart reflects a reading according to which post-mortem retribution, although scarcely mentioned explicitly, is a structurally dominant topic. This is the main agenda of this apocalypse: implicit in S and only partly explicated in G, it is obvious from the structure of the narrative. In this case, *3 Baruch* is to be read as follows: (1) The visionary proceeds through the lower heaven, with the abode of demons in it, first to the heaven of the final destination of the wicked (Hades; 4–5), (2) then to the heaven where the transition station of the pious souls is located (lake of birds; 10), (3) and finally he arrives to the gates of the Kingdom of Heaven, their destined permanent abode, where, due to being alive, he is not admitted (11). (4) There, at the completion of the ascent, he observes the mechanism of such selection to the seen abodes. All other materials are excurses that provide information about additional contents of the heavens, where the stations of the soul's ascent are found. At the first heaven the dimensions of the firmament are given. At the heaven of Hades, information is provided about the celestial water collector and luminaries, and at the heaven of the righteous, we are told about the celestial water supply.

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[37] Torrey, "Apocalypse," 674.
[38] Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 91.

The designation that defines Baruch's vision, "mysteries of God" (1:4S; 1:8G), which may refer to diverse phenomena, is specifically applied in Wis 2:22 to the mechanism of retribution: "As for the mysteries of God, they knew them not, neither did they hope for a recompense of holiness nor discern the innocent souls' reward."

This interpretation will relate *3 Baruch* to many Jewish (and non-Jewish) compositions which are concerned primarily with the fate of the dead and which contain tours of the world of the dead. Thus, also the tour of Baruch may be *nekyia*, though relocated to heaven (which is also not unique: all categories of the dead are located in heaven in *1 Enoch*; *2 Enoch*; and Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul*).

3. Cosmology

3.1. *Cosmographic escapism*. Even if one accepts the above interpretation, suggesting that there is an implicit agenda behind the cosmological descriptions of *3 Baruch*, "scientific" interest in the physical aspects of the way the world functions remains very relevant for this composition. While other, theophanic, apocalypses are focused on *Ma'aseh Merkaba*, and are concerned with theosophy as well as with eschatology, *3 Baruch* confines itself to *Ma'aseh Bereshit*, that is, to cosmogony and cosmology. This kind of wisdom, although restricted to chosen ones, is less protected: "*Ma'aseh Bereshit* must not be explained before two, nor *Ma'aseh Merkabah* before one, unless he be wise and understands it by himself" (*m. Hag.* 2.1).

The consolation for the destruction of the Temple and for the injustices of this world, which was quite commonly sought in theophany or in heavenly retribution and especially afterlife, is somehow quantitatively overshadowed in *3 Baruch* by another kind of consolation – the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity regarding cosmological issues. "Abraham" says that he can depart from life without sorrow after he has seen "all of the inhabited world and all the creations" (*T. Abr.* (A) 9:6). This curiosity might also have an escapist dimension: "My heart is not fixed on earthly things, since the earth and all that inhabit it are unstable. But my heart holds fast to the heaven, because there is no trouble in heaven" (*T. Job* 36:3 [8:9]).

3.2. *Pious curiosity.* However, beyond consolatory escapism there were other factors behind the introduction of cosmology. Cosmological knowledge was an integral part of religious experience in the ancient world, so that the boundaries between cosmography and theology are not always clear: *religio … est iuncta cum cognitione naturae* "religion … is joined with

a knowledge of nature" (Cicero, *Div.* 72 [149]). The cosmological knowledge could even bring about moral perfection: "Blessed is he who has acquired knowledge … he is not inclined to unjust action. He beholds the ageless cosmos of the immortal nature, how it has been formed, in what way and manner. The urge to shameful deeds never dwells with such people" (Euripides, Fr. 910). What in the pagan world was a religious concern for the life of gods, often identified with hierophanic nature, had to find alternative justifications for a Jewish explorer. A Jewish approach to the observation of nature was more ambiguous: on the one hand, "Lest you raise your eyes heavenward and observe the sun, the moon and the stars, and you are enticed to bow to them and serve them" (Deut 4:19), and on the other, "When I see your heavens, the work of your fingers, I am inspired to realize my insignificance in relationship to God, who is overwhelming" (Ps 8:4). The applied knowledge, like astrology, as an investigation of a connection between celestial bodies and human destiny on earth, equivocally treated but known to Jews (4Q186; 4Q318; 4Q561; *b. Shab.* 156a-b), does not seem to interest our visionary: this discipline is preoccupied with the future, while *3 Baruch* does not refer to it at all. The computation of time and calendar issues is also not represented here (except the fact of knowledge about the length of the solar year; 6:13). However, even non-applied scientific knowledge was not strange to the ancient Jewish intellectual. Astronomy and other phenomena of nature are treated in Job 28–40 and in apocalyptic works, which also address the ends of the earth, celestial openings, the expanse of heaven, sources of rivers, springs and abysses of the sea, origin of light, motion of luminaries, etc. (e.g., *1 En.* 17–19; 60:11–12; 72–87; cf. also *2 Enoch*; *Apocalypse of Abraham; 2 Baruch*; *4 Ezra*). God is recognizable through his creation (Wis 13:1) or in even more intimate manner through his habitation: "You will s[i]t upon (the) mountain of h(o)ly [S]inaios; … [you] who sit upon the s[e]a, … you who sit [upon] the s[er]pent gods, the [God who s]i[ts upon the s]un …" (*Pr. Jac.* 8). Wisdom, including "the accurate knowledge of all things that are, the structure of the world and the working of the elements, the beginning and the end and the midpoint of times, the changes in the sun's course and the variations of the seasons, cycles of years, positions of the stars, natures of animals, tempers of beasts, powers of the spirits and thoughts of men, uses of plants and virtues of roots," leads to righteousness (Wis 7:18–20). Interest in the movements of celestial bodies was considered pious by the Rabbis (*b. Shab.* 75a), and the high evaluation of mathematic and astronomical knowledge as "the aftercourses of wisdom" is found in *m. Ab.* 3.18; *b. Hor.* 10a; and *b. Suk.* 28a. Many Rabbinic discussions of astronomic and meteorological problems, including those raised in *3 Baruch*, are adduced in the commentary below.

IX. Method

Questions about the content and message of the writing cannot be detached from the interconnected problems of *Sitz im Leben*, creative method, and form of presentation.

We cannot say much about the *Sitz im Leben* of *3 Baruch*, nor of its creation or function. As for creation, it is difficult to determine whether any given apocalyptic text reflects an actual mystical experience or is a simulating literary invention. Moreover, hypothetical connections to mysterial rites remain unclear, since we do not know enough about these cryptic practices. As for functioning and target audience, these writings could either be esoteric or addressed to a lay audience (cf. one of the interpretations of "be silent" in 1:3S versus "Bring Baruch down to the face of earth, so that he will tell the sons of men what he saw and heard, and all the mysteries you gave him" in 16:1S).

The creative method and presentation of the work can be more effectively traced. The apocalyptic content of 3 *Baruch* must be a combination of

(1) traditional knowledge of three types:
  (1.1) mythology transmitted in Jewish and general lore;[39]
  (1.2) exegesis of authoritive texts;
  (1.3) apocalyptic tradition;
(2) ecstatic experience (either that of the immediate author of the writing or transmitted as an esoteric tradition);
(3) speculative thought rationalizing and organizing the former two into more or less coherent and systematic entity.
(4) As for presentation, the resulting report is given in deliberately enigmatic mode, which could have been conditioned by its ecstatic origin, esoteric function, mythological imagery, implicit intertextual references, and genre conventions.

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[39] Hellenisitic lore can hardly be discerned sometimes from Hellenistic speculative science. The influence of the latter is obvious only in 10:9G.

1. Inherited Wisdom

1.1. *Mythology.* Mythological imagery shared by many peoples of the Mediterranean and the Near East dominates this composition. The description of the ends of the earth (2:1–2), etiology of demons (derivable from 2–3 and known not only from *1 Enoch* 6–16 and *Jubilees* 5–10, but also from Hesiod and Plato), cosmic beasts, sea and celestial serpents (4–5), anthropomorphic luminaries and their chariots (6–8; very popular in Greco-Roman world), soul-birds (*ba* of Egyptian mythology), and post-mortem purification lake (known to Egyptians and Plato) all have clear parallels in universal mythological beliefs, while only some of them may be traced in specifically Jewish sources, including the Bible and apocalyptic tradition (like the dyad of Leviathan and Behemoth).

1.2. *Hidden exegesis.* As shown above (*Reconstructed Content*), most passages with direct citations, paraphrases, and allusions to the biblical texts in *3 Baruch* also contain indications of editorial reworking. The original layers of the text, common for both versions, refer only to three pre-Abrahamic accounts in their aggadic expansions (Adam and Noah in their connection to the Tree of Knowledge and the Tower of Babel in connection to celestial demonology). The Watchers account expected in this context is not entirely ignored but found implicitly in the demonological etiology of their progeny, the demonic Giants-Builders.

At first glance, the rest of the revelatory narrative, which is rich in mythopoeic images deeply rooted not only in Jewish but also in universal lore, looks free of the bounds of authoritive textual tradition. However, it is still possible that many of the mythopoeic motifs here are in fact linked to biblical texts by well known midrashic techniques.

Sometimes entire accounts in *3 Baruch* can be structured according to biblical models. The idea of a cosmic journey as presented in Ps 139(138):8–10 conforms perfectly to the order of visions in *3 Bar.* 3–8:

Ascent to heaven (2)	If I go up to heavens, you are there;
Hades (3–5)	if I descend to Sheol, here are you.
Sunrise and Phoenix (6)	If I take wings with the dawn,
Sun's route (7) and the sunset (8)	to come rest on the western horizon,
Angelic guidance	even there your hand will guide me, and your right hand will hold me.

One may also compare the sunrise as described in *3 Bar.* 6:13–16 with Eccl 12:4:

> And the doors to the streets will be shut,
> when the sound of the grinding becomes low,
> and it will rise at the voice of the bird,
> and all the daughters of singing will bow down.

It could be read in the following way: the celestial gate is closed behind the sun, the sound of the rotating solar wheel comes down,[40] the sun rises at the voice of the Sun Bird, and the earthly birds greet it.

The following are some more motifs juxtaposed to the biblical passages that could have served as their implicit prooftexts:

Serpent in the envoys to the Tree (3–5) and the universal image of the serpent guarding the Garden (cf. "the fence of Paradise," in Sataniel's account in mss LT *3 Bar.* 4:7S)	"who breaches a fence, will be bitten by a serpent" (Eccl 10:8)
"Serpent on a mountain of a rock" (4:3S; cf. *PRU* 2.3.8–10; = *UT* 1003.3–10; *1 En.* 60:8)	"*Behemoth* on a thousand mountains" (Ps 50:10); "a serpent on a rock" (Prov 30:19)
Five angels of Presence (4:7S)	"five men of them that saw the king's face [מראי פני המלך]" (2 Kgs 25:19)
Planting the celestial Garden (4:7S)	"planting the skies [Heb לנטע שמים]" (Isa 51:16)
Daily purification of the sun (8:4)	"and the sun set and he/it is purified [בא השמש וטהר]" (Lev 22:7)
Mountain of the bird-souls' (10:2S)	"How will you say to my soul, 'Take to the mountain, O bird!'" (Ps 11:1); cf. "all birds of mountains" (Ps 50:11)
Lake of the bird-souls (10:2)	"With you is the fountain of life" (Ps 36:10)
Oil reward (probably from the product of the celestial Olive, the Tree of Life; 15:1–2G; 4:7S)	"The fruit of the righteous is the Tree of Life" (Prov 11:30)

[40] The sun is known to make an extraordinary noise while grating against its wheel: "You may think that it glides in heaven, but it is not so, being rather like a saw which saws through wood" (*Gen. Rab.* 6.7 and many parallels).

Sometimes the link to the biblical text is even corroborated in midrashic tradition:

"as [the distance] from east to west, so great is the thickness of heaven, as the distance from earth to heaven, so great is its width – the plain where we are standing" (2:5S)	"What distance is longer, from heaven to earth or from east to west? Some said, "From east to west, because when the sun is at east or west, everyone can look at it, while when it is in the middle of the firmament, one cannot." But the Sages said, "Both dimensions are equal, because it is said, 'As heavens are high above earth,' etc. 'As east is far from west'" [כרחק מזרח ממערב; Pss 103:11 and 12]" (*b. Tamid* 32a)
Builders planning to transfix heaven with a bore (3:7; cf. other accounts associate the building of the Tower with sharp tools: *Gen. Rab*. 38.7; *Tan. B*. Noah 27; *Sefer HaYashar* 9.29; cf. *b. Git*. 56a).	"one speech [דברים אחדים]" (Gen 11:1) of the Deluge generation interpreted as "sharp things [דברים חדים]" (cf. *Gen. Rab*. 38.7, where חדים דברים[א] is interpreted as "sharp words")
"Adam … was divested of the Glory of God" (4:16G; cf. *Apoc. Mos*. 20:2; 21:5–6; cf. *Gen. Rab*. 19.6; *Tgs*. Gen 3:21; *Pesiq. R*. 37.2; *Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 6.5; *Pirqe R. El.* 14; etc.)	First humans' "garments of skin [כתנות עור]" (Gen 3:21) interpreted as "garments of light [כתנות [אור] ;" Ezek 28:13; *Gen. Rab*. 20.12; *Pirqe R. El.* 14.20; *Abot R. Nat*. B)
Sun Bird sheltering the world is called "the protector of the inhabited world" (6:3)	"R. Yohanan said, 'He [God] is also a protector of the whole world [Heb מגין על כל העולם כולו], as it is written, 'with the shadow of my hand have I sheltered you' [Isa 51:16]'" (*b. Sanh*. 99b)

1.3. Apocalyptic Tradition

We do not know to what extent the author of *3 Baruch* distinguished between canonical biblical texts and popular apocalyptic writings outside the canon. *3 Baruch* presents a unique fusion of traditions, and in many cases it is difficult to distinguish real textual influences from coincidence of single words or images taken out of their contexts. As already noted, most parallels to Jewish works from the same genre or period attest to common traditions rather than direct influences. Among the compositions that could have been in some sort of mutual dependence with *3 Baruch* is the *Apocalypse of Paul* with its incomplete ascent, cosmological depictions of the conduits to heaven (21; 31), intercelestial gates and the names on them (19), measurement of

Hades (32), the sun as a witness of human sins (4), the lake of the pious souls (22–23), interceding angels divided into the groups (7–10), Michael's role in the intercession (43), lists of vices (6), and the neglect of the prayer as a basic sin (10). None of these motifs is unique for these two compositions, but their abundance and sometimes the correspondence in details can hardly be coincidental. The mention of Abimelech spared in the Agrippa's estate (T:2G) alludes to the story known from *4 Bar.* 3:9–5:30. Another motif shared with *4 Baruch* is the idea that Michael is "the key-holder of the Kingdom of Heaven" (11:2): he "opens the gates for the righteous" also in *4 Bar.* 9:5; (cf. *T. Levi* 5:1 and 6 possibly also referring to Michael). The unique motif of the "alien breath" (2:1G), in its combination with similar cosmographic depictions, may be shared with *Hist. Rech.* (*Apoc. Zos.*) 2:9.[41]

The rich traditions of *1 Enoch* provide many important parallels, mainly from the *Book of Watchers*. Among the most significant is the Enochic etiology of demons (15:3–10), which underlies the implicit demonology of *3 Baruch* (2–4). The Builders of *3 Baruch* are banished to heaven just as the Watchers (probably their fathers) in the Enochic tradition: Hades is celestial in both compositions (*3 Bar.* 4–5; *1 En.* 18–19; *2 En.* 10) and the Watchers are also imprisoned in heaven (*1 En.* 18–19; cf. *2 En.* 7 and 18), just as are the Builders (probably their progeny) in *3 Bar.* 2–3. *1 En.* 60:7, developing Job 41:8–9, mentions the unity of "two monsters", undivided also in *3 Baruch* (4:4G; 5:3G). The division for "the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water" in the mountain (*1 En.* 22:9), may correspond to the description of S, where the lake of the pious souls is also located "in the midst of the mountain" (10:2S). A list of visions very similar to the combination found in *3 Baruch*, but in a changed order, occurs in *1 En.* 32:3–33:3. The tour of Baruch looks like an expansion of the following fragment:

3 Baruch	*1 En.* 32:3–33:3
Trees of Eden (4:7S)	… And I came to Paradise of Righteousness and saw beyond these trees many large trees growing there, large, very beautiful and glorious,
The Vine Tree of Knowledge (4)	and the Tree of Wisdom from which the holy ones eat and know great wisdom. That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are like those of the carob; and its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful; and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. Then I said, "How beautiful is the tree, and

[41] Some close parallels from late works, like *Desputatio Panagiotae*, *Physiologus*, etc., must be posterior to *3 Baruch*.

	how attractive is its look!" Then Raphael the holy angel, who was with me, answered me and said, "This is the tree of wisdom, of which your father of old and your mother of old, who were before you, have eaten, and they learned wisdom and their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the Garden."
Beasts (3–5)	And from there I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other;
Birds (10)	and [I saw] birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other.
Foundations of heaven (2)	And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven rests,
Gates of heaven (*passim*)	and the gates of heaven open.
Luminaries and their routs (6–9)	And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the gates out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, one by one, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their times and their months …

We may also note similarities between the lists of images in *2 Bar.* 10:10–12 and *4 Ezra* 7:38–42.

Many astronomic depictions of *3 Bar.* 6–8 belong to the same tradition as the ones of *2 Enoch:* there are two lower "corruptible" heavens (8:5); the solar and lunar tracks are in the same heaven (11); solar gates (13:1); the sun and moon chariots driven by angels (11:3–5; 12 (A):2; 14 (J):3; also in *1 En.* 72:4–5; 73:2; 75:4); the sun's crown taken away and brought back by four (or four hundred in J) angels (14:2–3); the call for or the song to the "light giver" (15 (J):2); phoenixes accompanying and greeting the sun (12:1–2; 15:1–2); and the sun's rest at night (14:3; contradicting *1 En.* 72:37). S shares with *2 Enoch* the name and the role of Satanael (18:3; 21:4; 29:4–5; 31:4). Some details of the transformational celestial anointing are common to*3 Baruch*, *2 Enoch* and the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*2 En.* (A) 8:5; 22:9; *Vita* 35; 36:2; 40:1–2; 42:1–2; *Apoc. Mos.* 9:4; 13:1–3).

Some features of the unique ouranology of *3 Baruch* are dispersed through several compositions. The *Testament of Levi* (rescension α) probably shares with *3 Baruch* its original cosmology of three heavens with intercelestial gates (5:1) and celestial waters (2:7), and holds also to the idea of "dark" lower heavens inhabited by punitive and demonic forces (3:1–3; cf. *2 En.* 8:5). There is also a Michael-like gate guardian (5:1, 6). See also *4 Ezra* 3:19, which may refer to four subsequent intercelestial gates, and in this case, imply the ouranology similar to that of *3 Baruch* and the *Testament of Levi*. Significant ouranological parallels are found also in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, which clearly divides between the five low and two

high heavens and mentions intercelestial gates (8–10) with their gatekeepers (10:23–31) and the demons of the first firmament (7:9). The *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, preserved in a fragmentary state, does not mention any heavens beyond the fifth. It reports on angelic intercession, although it describes it differently (3–4). At the gate of heaven, the visionary meets zoomorphic angels similar in their chimeric appearance and location to the Builders of *3 Baruch* (3–4), while later the seer is threatened near Hades by a serpent-like angel (6:1–8). In *3 Baruch*, both the demonic Builders and Serpent-Hades lack any explicit threatening characteristics, which could nevertheless have been an original *raison d'être* of these images in the narrative, describing the route of the soul's ascent with its obstacles and dangers. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the Book of Revelation also preserve the traditions combined in the image of Serpent-Hades: the former identifies Hades with the fiery belly of the serpent-like Satan (*Apoc. Abr.* 23:7–11 and 31:2–5), while the latter attests to the identification of the figure of the celestial serpent with Satan (Rev 12:9). *Apoc. Abr.* 23:5 is also the only non-Rabbinic source identifying the Tree of Knowledge as the vine (in *1 En.* the fruit of the "Tree of Wisdom" is only "like clusters of vine"; 32:4). *Apoc. Abr.* 17:18–19 may refer to the concept of daily kindling of the primordial light or the separation of the light and darkness (6:13).

3 Baruch does not have much in common with *2 Baruch*, except the identical title and similar details in the setting for the revelation, including its topography and preceding lamenting (3:5; 10:5; 11:1–2; 34–35:1; cf. also the description of the return to earth in *3 Bar.* 17:2 and *2 Bar.* 7:2). If there was some mutual awareness, it is likely to have been of a polemic nature: our Baruch does not share the prophetic ambitions of the protagonist of *2 Baruch*. See also *2 Bar.* 10:10–12, which declares that some of the central images of the revelation in *3 Baruch* (the vine, the sun and the moon, rain and dew) are no longer relevant after the destruction of the Temple (although this could simply be a coincidence; cf. also *4 Ezra* 7:38–42). The images of the twofold beast of *3 Bar.* 4–5 and Leviathan and Behemoth of *2 Bar.* 29:4 are widely known, but their unification with the vine is not common and may help to explain why the account of the twofold beast is interrupted with the vine account in *3 Baruch*. As human transgressions defile the sun or darken the angels in *3 Bar.* 8:5; 13:1, so also they darken heavenly waters in *2 Bar.* 58:1; 60:1.

Some unique traditions found in *3 Baruch* could also have been known to Philo. The five trees of Eden (4:7S; known also to Gnostics) and the flowers-virtues (12:5Gff) may relate to elements of Philo's conception of the five trees of Paradise of Virtues (*Plant.* 8–9 [32–37] and par.), "bearing their fruit in the form of the virtues" (*Opif.* 56.153).

2. *Cosmos Revealed*

There is an apparent contradiction between the cosmological content of the book and the condemnation of the cosmological curiosity of the Builders: "Having taken a bore, they were eager to bore heaven, saying, 'Let us see whether heaven is [made] of clay, or of copper, or of iron.' When God saw this he did not allow them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of languages, and rendered them as you see" (3:7–8). This appears just a few verses after Baruch himself was curious about the "thickness" of the same heaven (4:4–5). This double standard may be settled by the suggestion that it is not the interest which is improper, but the shamelessly empiric method employed to satisfy it. The conflicting or mutually complimenting methods of empiric observation, speculation, authoritive knowledge, and revelation were all known to ancient thought. In his discussion of the superiority of speculative thinking, Plato also condemned the "light minded" empiricism in cosmological matters of those who, "being students of the worlds above, suppose in their simplicity that the most solid proofs about such matters are obtained by the sense of sight" (Plato, *Tim.* 91d). The Rabbis, in their turn, also rejected empirical observations, but in favor of authoritive textual witnesses (e.g., *b. Tamid* 32a; see comm. to 2:5S). *3 Baruch*, like other apocalyptic writings, presents an alternative methodology to resolve scientific questions – revelatory experience. The author regards revelation as the ultimate method for acquiring knowledge of the physical world (or at least he refers to such a conception, when he ascribes the cosmological picture he constructed to revealed knowledge). Cosmological knowledge is revealed to other apocalyptic seers (see above), and scientific curiosity could even be among the main factors of mystic experience. In the *Mithras Liturgy* a potential visionary asks for a revelation in order "to ascend heaven as an inquirer and behold the universe" (484–85). Revelation as an ultimate tool of exploration is not strange to Greco-Roman science (Er's ascent in Plato, *Rep.* 10.614a–621d; Scipio's dream in Cicero, *Resp.* 6.29), and could have been naturally adopted by the Hellenized thinkers of a people whose own legacy was based on revelation. It is plausible that an ability to obtain mystically revealed knowledge could have been an element of the *Bildung* of a Jewish intellectual, just as mystical initiation was for his Hellenistic contemporary (cf. Philo, *Leg. All.* 3.33.100; *Cher.* 14.48–49; *Sacr.* 15.60; 16.62). The hypothesis that the origin of *3 Baruch* lay in real mystical experience may be corroborated by the report of passing through the tunnels (see comm. to 2:2), unique for early Jewish literature (and thus hardly traditional), but very well attested in clinical reports of dreams and near-death experience.

3. *Rationalized Mythology*

The revealed cosmographic knowledge is given in *3 Baruch* through mythopoeic images. In this respect, *3 Baruch* is a good example of "re-mythologized" Jewish thought."[42] This model was well developed by the Greeks, who tried to combine new empiric and speculative science with the images of traditional mythology. Thus already since the pre-Socratic Anaximander a speculative cosmogonic philosophy creatively integrated the elements of Hesiod's traditional theogony. Similarly the creator of *3 Baruch* resorts to *Ikonen*, mythologems or the symbolic language of Jewish and universal lore, integrating them into his more or less coherent ideas of "how the world works." Some of these ideas may be speculative invention, while most of them probably derived from the national oral tradition and written prooftexts, as well as from foreign lore and science.

The combination of traditional, revealed, and speculative elements is achieved through elegant harmonization of different traditions. The main conceptual tendency of this harmonization seems to be the uniquely systemized reconciliation of physical (astronomic and meteorological) and spiritual (retributive) functions traditionally ascribed to cosmic phenomena:

3.1. *Harmonized traditions*. An attempt at harmonization is inevitable for a composition based on such an approach. This applies both to the harmonization of different Jewish traditions and to the reconciliation of Jewish and Greco-Roman conceptions. The most remarkable examples are the following:

- the reconstructed account of celestial demons (2–3 and *T. Levi* 3:2; *Asc. Isa.* 7:9; *T. Sol.* 2:2; 4:6; 8:2; Eph 6:12; etc.) juxtaposed to the inaccessibility of heaven for terrestial demons (2:1G and *1 En.* 15:8–10);
- the story on the giants that perished in the Flood (4:10 and *1 En.* 89:6; *Sib. Or.* 2:283; 3 Macc 2:4; Wis 14:6; 4Q370 1.6; CD 2.19–20) harmonized with the traditions concerning the giants that survived the Flood (*1 En.* 15:3–10*; Jub.* 5 and 10; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Deut 3:11; *b. Nid.* 61a; *b. Zeb.* 113a-b; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; etc.) and instigated the building of the Tower (2–3 and Pseudo-Eupolemus 9.17.2–3; etc.);
- the motifs of the imprisonment of the fallen Watchers in heaven (*1 En.* 18–19; 2 *En.* 7; 18) and of their demonic offspring in the underworld (*Jub.* 10:7–11) woven into the idea of the imprisonment of the demonic progeny of the Watchers in heaven (2–4);

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[42] Cf. Koch, *Rediscovery*, 27; Fishbane, *Biblical*.

– the complex figure of the twofold beast (3–5) combining several characteristics of Leviathan and Behemoth; cosmic, sea and celestial serpents; Hades and Satan, dispersed among diverse traditions (*1 En.* 60:7; 63:14; *2 Bar.* 29:4; *4 Ezra* 4:42; 6:52; *Apoc. Abr.* 30; Rev 6:8; 20:13–14; 12; *Pistis Sophia* 3.126; *b. B. Bat.* 72b–75a; *Lev. Rab.* 22.9–10; etc.);
– the combined image of Jewish Ziz (6–8 and *Gen. Rab.* 19.4; *Lev. Rab.* 22.10 and par.) and Greek phoenix (Hesiod, *Frag.* 204; Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.73; etc.); and
– the dichotomy of productive masculine and non-productive feminine waters (10:9G and *1 En.* 54:7–8; *t. Taan.* 1.4; etc.) introduced in order to reconcile the tradition of the upper waters (*1 En.* 41:3; *b. Taan.* 10a; etc.) with the Hellenistic meteorology of the closed hydrosystem (Xenophanes, *Frag.* 11; Aristotle, *Meteor.* 2.9; etc.; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 13.10–11).[43]

See also below on the traditions concerning the drinking cosmic serpent and the devouring Hades as the serpent's belly (4–5); the consuming punitive sun and the protective bird (6–8); and the celestial water supply and the purification lake (10). It is difficult to judge whether these harmonized accounts are an innovation of *3 Baruch*, or whether, on the contrary, they reflect earlier forms of conceptions, which were subsequently separated into component parts in other preserved sources.

The conceptual collision of originally independent motifs sometimes produces an ironic, probably deliberate, effect:

– Builders intent to pierce the firmament (3:7), which is as thick as the height of the sky or the width of earth (2:4);
– Builders who wished to reach heaven, got what they wanted, and were taken there, but as a punishment for such an intention (2:7; 3:7–8); and
– Beasts, cosmic drinkers and man-eaters (4:5G; 4:6G; 4:4S; 5:1), are in other accounts eaten by men at the eschatological banquet.

See also obvious ironic discourses in *Apoc. Abr.* 1–6; in many sections of the *Testament of Abraham*; in the *Testament of Job* and the fragments of Artapanus; and in Josephus, *Ant.* 7.172, 195, 238; 11.247, 252. Similarly, we may note the famous ironic treatments of traditional mythological accounts by Euripides.

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[43] Thus also the ouranological depictions must be not a "misunderstanding of the Greco-Roman models" (Wright, *Heaven*, 177, 183), but rather a fusion of Greek and Near Eastern astronomic traditions (see comm. to chs. 6 and 11).

3.2. *Tamed myths*. There are different ways to rationalize mythology. *3 Baruch* does not rework the mythologems in the direction of Platonic spiritualization, assuming that every part of the universe must be "ensouled" and inhabited by a creature proper to it (*Tim.* 39e–40a). Furthermore, the celestial inhabitants of *3 Baruch* can hardly be archetypical or spiritual equivalents of earthly beings (as they probably are in *Apoc. Abr.* 22:2 and *passim*). At the same time, *3 Baruch* does not confine its cosmic forces to purely physical functions. Here the archaic monsters are tamed to serve the cosmic order also in its metaphysic dimensions, functioning as components of the mechanism of retribution (cf. *Message* above). This multifunctionality does not indicate spiritualization so much as an integration of both the physical and spiritual:

– The *Serpent-Hades*, by drinking, serves as a cosmic sewerage, disposing of superfluous water (cf. *b. B. Bat.* 74b; *Lev. Rab.* 22.9–10 and par.), whereas by eating, it serves as a cosmic executioner, disposing of the sinners (cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 30).
– The *sun* not only gives light, but is also a potential punitive force sensitive to human sins and destined to burn the wicked at the end of times (cf. Isa 30:26; Mal 3:19; *Apoc. Paul* 4*; Gen. Rab.* 6.6; etc.),[44] while the *sun bird* moderates its punitive power (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 19.4; *Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *b. Git.* 31b; *b. B. Bat.* 25b).
– The *lake of birds* serves as a cosmic water supply (cf. *1 En.* 41:3; *b. Taan.* 10a; etc.), and probably also functions as a purification basin for the sun and the soul-birds (cf. Plato, *Phaed.* 113a; *Apoc. Mos.* 37:3–5; *Apoc. Paul* 23; *Apoc. Pet.* 14; *Gen. Rab.* 6.6 and par.).

Thus, the seeming chaotic conglomerate of archaic images in *3 Baruch* is actually best viewed as a rather harmonious picture of the cosmos: the impure destination of lower waters and the wicked from beneath; the pure upper waters, the destination of the just, from above; and between them, the sun with its bird, a pair representing a balanced system of justice and mercy (6–8; cf. Job 25:2; *Apoc. Abr.* 10:9). See also the widely found Rabbinic conception of the balance of the attributes of Justice and Mercy (מידת הדין and מידת הרחמים): "You [God] conquer the attribute of Justice with Mercy." (*Sifre* Num. 134; cf. *Sifre* Deut. 26; *Mek.* Beshalah, Shira 3; etc.).

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[44] Cf. the universal motif of the Sun as a deity of justice, mention of the sun in the judgment contexts in Num 25:4; 2 Sam 12:11–12; Ps 19 and probably its ironic and polemical treatment in Eccl 3:16; 4:1; 8:9–10, 14–15 (see Gericke, "Injustice").

4. *Riddles and Subtexts*

As shown in *Implied content* above, our interpretation of *3 Baruch* is predicated upon the premise that the book speaks in riddles and preteritions. This text is not only laconic, but also deliberately elliptic, concealing the meanings of revealed images, and the connections between them. The text is furthermore rich in symbols and ekphrases which also contribute to the puzzling character of the narrative.

This character might have been connected to the *Sitz im Leben* of *3 Baruch*, as either a report of actual mystic experience or within a context of mysterial rites, such that it would reflect the logic of either a dream or ritual. Although both suggestions are plausible, neither is provable, and it is also possible for a high level of subtextuality to appear in a purely literary work. The subtexts, which to different extents are regular constituents of any piece of literature, are especially relevant for esoteric narratives, particularly so when they resort to myths. The equivocal and symbolic language referring to known myths and traditions, as well as to other texts, puts prerequisites of previous knowledge to the audience, widens the semantic field of the implicit message, and demands more active interpretational effort. An oracle "does not say and does not hide, but indicates" (σημανεῖ; Heraclitus apud Plutarch, *Pyth. Or.* 21.404e). Similarly myths "hint" or "speak in riddles" (αἰνίττονται; Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.1.7.27; cf. Plutarch, *Pyth. Or.* 407e).[45] Greek mythic αἰνίγματα in this respect may be phenomena similar to Jewish חידות: "I will open my mouth in a parable [משל], I will utter riddles from of old [קדם-חידות מני]" (Ps 78:2). Also Jesus "did not say anything to them without a parable [χωρὶς δὲ παραβολῆς]" (Mark 4:34; cf. 4:11). "Now we see [as] through a mirror in a riddle [ἐν αἰνιγματι]; then we shall see face to face" (1 Cor 13:12).

This way of expression may be characterized by the extreme mythopoeic concreteness and visuality of the narrative: virtues are flowers, mercy is oil, evil is wine, souls are birds, demonic spirits are satyrs, hell is serpent, etc. The visually puzzling images of *3 Baruch* are also a function of the fact that according to the conventions of the genre, the work is supposed to be a report of visual experience. The very genre of "vision" makes apocalyptic thinking ekphrastic (although it can be very difficult to discern when the text employs *ekphrasis*, as a verbal depiction, reflecting a real or imagined referent, and when symbols function as cultural codes without a concrete referent). Whether our author actually saw these images during mystical ex-

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[45] On the riddle language in antiquity see Stroumsa, *Hidden*.

perience or whether he developed them on the basis of known traditions, he will in either case have been influenced by the dominant physical imagery of the material culture of his civilization. Leaving aside verbal explanations, this is the complete list of what our visionary *saw* between the first and the last gates of heaven:

– satyrs/fauns (2:3; 3:3),
– intercoiling serpents (*caduceus*; 4:4G),
– four or five trees of Paradise (4:7S),
– vine tree (Eden; 4:8ff),
– sun's quadriga (6:1–2),
– sun bird stretching its wings before the sun (possibly the winged sun; 6:2–8; 7:3–6; 8:2),
– moon's chariot (9:3),
– lake with birds (10:2–3),
– cultic *phiale* (11:8),
– virtues (probably personified *Aretai*, V*irtutes*; 11:9G), and
– cultic baskets bearers (*kanephoroi*; 12:1).

All these images are found in Hellenistic and Near Eastern iconography, and some were very popular. Some of them, like the depictions of the vine or of the sun's quadriga, have been preserved also among the remnants of ancient Jewish art.

Ekphrasis causes the verbal narrative to assimilate to the dumb or "feebly mumbling" visual arts, at the same time lacking advantages of real visual presentation. While the interpretive potential of such a narrative grows, the explicit communicative efficiency becomes more limited. Visualization is a major factor in the incomprehensibility of apocalyptic literature for the uninitiated recipient, be it a stranger, an ignorant member of the originally intended audience, or a modern researcher. This fact is only partly compensated by the eratopocritic narrative accompanying these depictions. In *3 Baruch* most of the images pass unexplained and some are explicated only in the later rescension, thus presupposing the ability of the target audience to decipher them on their own.

X. Worldview

Below I adduce a systemized description of the world as seen by the author(s) or early editor(s) of *3 Baruch*, including their values and beliefs. In assembling and analyzing clues to the implied outlook of the composition as a whole, we must bear in mind that some of the evidence could have been introduced by individual redactors, who are likely to have differed from the original author(s), and from one another, in various aspects of their worldviews. When possible, we will aim to distinguish between these layers (see *Reconstructed Content*). Many descriptions below are the result of new interpretations, the basis for which may be found in the commentaries on the text.

1. *God*

God is mentioned in the setting of the vision and in the biblical excurses and other explanations heard by Baruch in its course, while in the vision *per se* God is completely absent. The vision of the "glory of God" promised to Baruch (4:2S; 6:12; 7:2; 11:2; 16:6S),[46] must refer not to theophany, but to other celestial mysteries.

The transcendentality of God is emphasized. God resides in the heaven (probably supercelestial) which is inaccessible even to angels, except for Michael (11, 14). Although God does communicate directly with humans – he sent an angel to Noah to declare his will in response to Noah's prayer (4:15) and similarly he heard and Baruch's prayer and sent him a revelatory angel (1:6),[47] – there are still two intermediate stages in human interaction with God (see the sections on *Angels* and *Retribution*).

Any dualistic assumptions are implicitly rejected. Although the Tree of Knowledge, the primary source of evil, was planted by Sammael, the historical, as well as cosmic, evil is controlled by God. He is the one who permitted Nebuchadnezzar to destroy Jerusalem, so that nations can ask:

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[46] G adds that Adam was "divested" of it, and all wine abusers "become far from it" (4:16G).

[47] Probably the later G adds that Abimelech was saved in the the destruction of the Temple "by the hand of God" (T:2G).

"Where is their God?" (1:1–2G). He brought the Flood about and destroyed the generation of giants (4:10). God created "alien spirits" (probably terrestial demons; 2:1G) and possibly "banished" those of them who initiated the building of the "Tower of War against God," from earth to the lower heaven (2:7).[48] He also cursed Sammael/Satanael and his plant (4:8). In the same manner, God is in full control over other celestial forces: he appointed the Sun Bird (6:5), created and punished the moon (9:8); celestial birds praise him (10:5S; 10:7G); Michael brings men's virtues to God (11:9G; 14:2G) and intercedes before God for other angels (12:5).[49] God is the judge of the Day of Judgment (1:7).

2. *Angels*

Angels are very central in this apocalypse which is deprived of a theophany. The heavenly experience of Baruch focuses on angelic beings with its culmination in the encounter with Michael, who is the "commander-of-chief" of the celestial army, the gate-guard of the "Kingdom of Heaven," the intercessor for humans and angels, and probably the high priest of the celestial liturgy (11–16). Four angels (of Presence), Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael, heading 200,000 other angels and the angel Satanael among them, planted Eden (4:7S). Two other angels, Sarasael (Sar Rasael) and Panuel, transfer revelations (4:15; T:1S; 2:4). Panuel is not only a transmitter but also an "interpreter of the revelations" (11:6G).

Angels in zoomorphic form serve the luminaries, drawing their chariots. They are the forty fiery winged horses of the sun's quadriga (6:2S) and the twenty oxen (and lambs in G) of the moon's vehicle (9:3). Four angels renew the sun's crown every night (8:4). The anthropomorphic lights themselves, although not defined thus, may be a kind of angelic beings, along with the three celestial Beasts (3–6). The birds of the celestial lake who praise God unceasingly, although defined in G as the souls of the pious (10:5G), could otherwise be regarded as angelic beings (10:3–7).

Among angelic orders there are the "angel of hosts [or "of powers"]," like Panuel (1:8G; 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S),[50] and the "angels over the principalities," as the attendants of humanity are called (12:3G). "Virtues"

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[48] He also "appeared" to the builders and "confused their languages" (3:6) and "smote them with blindness" (3:8).

[49] While human transgressions defiling the sun do not please God (8:5).

[50] He is also called "archangel" in 10:1G. Another detail we learn on him is that he is winged (7:6G; 8:6S)

(11:9G; 12:5G; 14:2G) are also treated as a name for an angelic class. The interceding angels are divided to groups assigned to the righteous and the sinners, and in the later redaction they are also assigned to average men (12–16). The angels of the sinners are "darkened" (13:1) and serve as a punitive force (16:3), but still are clearly distinguished from demonic forces (see *Demons* below).

Could *3 Baruch* feature any angelolatric beliefs? Baruch calls his guiding angel "Lord" (5:1; 6:4, 9; 11:2, 3, 8; 12:2), the same title he uses in addressing God (T:1; 1:2). Panuel orders Baruch to stop direct communication with God ("be silent" of 1:3S), and below the seer is shown that there are two mediatory stages in human interaction with God, and even the low-rank angels are deprived of the direct contact with him: they bring men's virtues (or prayers in S) before Michael, who transfers them further to God (12–16) and then returns them the recompense. According to its nature they serve as beneficial (15) or punitive angels (16). Although no human prayer to angels is mentioned, Panuel bows to Michael (11:6) and interceding angels pray him for reassignment (13:3). The special interest in luminaries can also be added to the indications of angelolatric tendencies (6–9).

All this may indicate that *3 Baruch* either shared some of the angelolatric beliefs or at least developed from a context in which such ideas were being held.

3. *Demons*

Demonology, so significant in the worldview of the ancients, is almost absent from the explicit narrative of this apocalypse. However, the traces of the implied Enochic demonology, slightly developed, are recognizable throughout the book. The implicit demonology of *3 Baruch* can be reconstructed as follows: Sammael-Satanael, who planted the Tree of Knowledge (4:7S; 4:8) is a fallen angel cursed because he seduced Adam (4:8). The gigantic progeny of the fallen angels has mostly perished in the Flood (4:10). The surviving giants or the demonic spirits of the deceased giants have initiated the building of the "Tower of War against God" (2–3). Their motive could be the incapability of the "alien spirits" to cross the border between earth and heaven (2:1G). As is typical for demons, in the course of the construction works they turned out to be especially harmful for women in childbirth and for newborns (3:5; the only demons named thus in *3 Baruch* hurt children in 16:3). As a punishment they were blinded, transformed into the likeness of satyrs, and "banished" to the very heaven which they so wished to reach, but ironically to its lower and impure realm (2–3), just

below Hades (4–5). They might have constituted one of the dangers of the lower stages of mystic or post-mortem ascents: just before meeting them, the guiding angel showed Baruch "means of safety" (according to one interpretation of 2:2S); the righteous bird-souls, whom we meet when they have reached the higher heaven (10:5G), must have passed through this lower realm as well. The locusts which punish the wicked (16:3) may also belong to the demonic locusts motif.

4. *Physical World*

The physical world consists of earth and heaven; no mention of the netherworld is made. Hades and the sources of fruitful waters are all in heaven. The rivers are mentioned, but their abyssal sources are not referred to, and the word "abyss," even in a figurative sense, never appears. If *3 Baruch* still reflects a tripartite cosmos, it is not the three realms of the Mesopotamian and ancient Israelite models as defined in Ex 20:4 and Deut 5:8: "heaven above," "earth beneath," and "water under the earth," but rather the three realms of those Psalms that consistently have the "sea" instead of the "water under the earth" (Pss 8:7–8; 33:6–8; 36:5–6; 69:34; 96:11; 104:1–2; 135:5; 146:6). This "sea" is reachable from both earth (4:7G; 4:5S) and heaven (4:6G; 4:4S; 5:1), and must include the River (Oceanus) that divides the two (2:1G).

4.1. *Earth*. In distinction to *1 Enoch*, *3 Baruch* contains almost no geographic descriptions. Exceptions to this are the list of rivers (4:7G; 4:5S) which belong rather to the water system; a few topographic details about Jerusalem and the area (T:2G); and mention of Babylon (1:1S). There may possibly be an implicit reference to the three "kingdoms" of the terrestrial realm, i.e., earth, water, and air, in the introduction of the three cosmic beasts. These probably correspond, respectively, to the spheres of Hades ("Behemoth on thousand mountains"), the sea dragon (Leviathan), and the gigantic bird (Ziz-Phoenix).

We must also take into account that when Baruch observes something, it does not necessarily mean that the object is situated in the heaven in which he stands. In this case, Leviathan and Hades might have been on earth below, while the sun and Phoenix could have been higher in the third heaven (cf. esp. 7:2G), with Baruch himself in the second. Thus, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the visionary from the seventh heaven explicitly observes earth and the contents of the lower firmaments (cf. Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul*; Cicero, *Resp*. 6.19).

4.2. *Waters*. Hydrology, and especially the water circle integrating terrestrial as well as celestial waters, is among the primary concerns of *3 Baruch*. It includes the uncrossable River (Oceanus) which separates heaven from earth (2:1G). Being thus located between the two realms, the Sea is filled by earthly rivers from the one side while being drunk by the celestial Beasts from the other. The terrestial rivers and the sea by themselves may constitute a closed cyclic system (as Eccl 1:7 and Aristotle's *Meteorology*), but it is rendered open by two supernatural factors. Rain and dew (or at least the fruitful ones) come from a celestial basin (10:6–9), so that in order to dispense superfluous water being accumulated this way (and thus probably to prevent a new deluge) the celestial Beasts must drink a regular portion from the Sea on a daily basis (4:6G; 4:4S; 5:1). The novelty of this system, probably implied also in the stories about the drinking beasts in rabbinic texts (Leviathan and Behemoth), is the fact that the ultimate water collector, the abyss-*tehom*, is located in heaven. Thus the terrestial water system is integrated into the cosmic one.

4.3. *Heaven*. Heaven, especially in its connections to physical and moral life on earth, is the chief object of Baruch's exploration. It is not flat, but hemispheric, and the "foundations of heaven" are separated from the "ends of earth" by the River (Oceanus) encircling the earth (2:1).

The round line of the horizon, where the Oceanus and heaven meet, is holed with 360 "gates of heaven" (6:13). From the fact that the gates are said to open at the sunrise and must serve the sun's movements, we can infer that the hemisphere revolves horizontally and that the sun passes each day of the solar year through a different opening, in order to continue to rise and set constantly in the east and west. Another indication of the revolving of heaven is the fact that otherwise we would be unable to explain the visible motion of the fixed stars, which are "suspended" on it (9:8G).

The hemispheric firmaments are very thick: only the lower one is as thick as the distance from earth to heaven (G; or as the width of earth in S; 2:5), and Baruch has to travel through it for a month (2:2). Since his journeys through the subsequent heavens are longer (3:1; 4:2; 11:2), their firmaments must be even more massive. This makes the gates look rather like tunnels, well attested in mystic and clinical practices.

Everything Baruch observes is located between the hemispheres (cf. "airs" of the heavens in *Asc. Isa.* 8:1 and 9:1), which are thus not necessarily higher than the surface of the gates of the sun (which means that the tour could be also not a literal ascent but a horizontal motion between the gates at the lower "ends of heavens"). The original text must have had three (or even two) such spaces between the firmaments below the highest heaven

inaccessible to Baruch (see comm. to ch. 11). The lower impure heavens contain demons and Hades (2–5). The realm of the luminaries (where defilement is still possible; see 8:4) separates the lower heavens from the higher pure heavens, known in other sources as "holy" or "incorruptible," where probably the sun's crown and the soul-birds are purified in the celestial lake (10). Every one of these heavens might contain one station in the celestial ascent of the soul-birds: Hades as a final stage for the wicked; the lake as a waiting abode for the righteous; and the eternal resting place in "the Kingdom of Heaven" behind the gate of the last firmament visited by Baruch.

5. *History*

The sequence of events of cosmic and national history appearing in *3 Baruch* is as follows: The angels planted Paradise (4:7S). God forbade Adam to touch (4:8G) the Vine-Tree of Knowledge planted by Sammael-Satanael (4:7S; 4:8). The latter deceived Adam, disguising himself as the serpent (4:8; 9:7). The moon did not hide itself, as it was supposed to do (9:7). As a result, God cursed Sammael and his plant (4:8) and punished the moon (9:7). God caused the Flood, which destroyed the giants, entered Paradise and washed the vine from there (4:10). Noah, when his hesitations were resolved by revelation, replanted the vine together with other plants he found (4:11–15). The Tower of War against God was erected by cruelly enforced labor to the height of 463 cubits, but God punished the builders (3:4–8). God permitted Nebuchadnezzar to capture Jerusalem, his own vineyard (1:1–2). The latter fact is the only national event mentioned in *3 Baruch*. Note that all the rest belong to the pre-Tower period of the universal undivided humanity.

6. *Moral*

While human vices are enumerated thrice (4:17; 8:5; 13:4), the content of positive moral demands is not mentioned at all, and virtues are mentioned without specification (and only in G: 11:9G; 12:5G; 14:2G). Prayer is mentioned in both versions in 11:4. S assigns a special weight to prayer, consistently putting it in place of "virtues" in G (11:9G; 14:2G). The interpolated fragments (one of which is in G) give special place to the neglect of public prayer as a basic sin (13:4G; 15:3S; 16:4S). The Vine excursus presents the abuse of wine as a "father" of the main sins (4:17). Human transgressions defile the sun (8:5) and darken angels (13:1–4).

The "virtues," although not specified, may be symbolically loaded. Presented as flowers (12:5), in the allegoric language of Philo they may be connected to the four trees of Eden planted by four archangels (4:7S; "paradise of virtues"), and thus may also be identified with the Hellenistic four cardinal virtues also attested in Jewish literature.

7. *Retribution*

The retribution mechanism is symbolically presented as a liturgic service of the angels exchanging the flowers – human virtues in G or prayers in S – for a due recompense: oil (deciphered as "mercy" in S) for the righteous (15:1–2) and locusts with hail and thunder for the sinners (16:3; specifically only the plague of the children is mentioned). If the oil reward for the pious may refer to a protective chrismatic seal, and also to the anointing for the eternal life and/or resurrection, the sinners must be punished in their lifetime by plagues (16:3) and, eaten by Hades, be deprived from the afterlife (4:5G). The Day of Judgment (1:7) might have referred to this procedure. It is not specified whether this day denotes extra-chronological, annual (the New Year or the Day of Atonement), lifetime, or eschatological judgment.

8. *Afterlife*

The afterlife is treated explicitly only in those passages which are not shared by both versions (4:5G; 4:16G; 10:5G; 16:5–10S) and which must be later explanatory interpolations into the content probably implied (at least from the point of view of the editors) by the rich imagery of *3 Baruch*.

G reports on three post-mortem abodes: Hades, the lake of birds, and the Kingdom of Heaven (S mentions also "the resting places of the righteous" [16:6S] probably identical to the latter). The souls of the deceased ascend in the form of birds to a higher heaven. Demons and Hades are located in the lower heavens which are probably on the way of the soul-birds (2–5). The wicked are eaten *in corpore* by Hades (4:5G), and thus are probably deprived of a further ascent, as well as of both immediate afterlife and resurrection. By contrast, the just arrive at the celestial lake (10:5G), probably their purification or transformation basin and temporary abode, where they praise God (10:7G; 10:5S) and await the ointment reward given to their angels (15:2). This chrism probably enables the just to ascend further and to enter the gate to the "Kingdom of Heaven" on which their names are already inscribed (11:2G).

9. *Numeric Symbolism*

God has "disposed all things by measure and number and weight" (Wis 11:20; on the importance of numbers, cf. Philo, *Opif.* 3 and *passim*; Origen, *Hom. Num.* 1; 4; 5.2.2–3; 7.4.4; 8.1.5; Augustine, *Gen. ad Lit.* 4.3.7–4.6.12). Numbers are abundant in *3 Baruch*. Examining the following list, one should take into account that letters with numerical values are highly susceptible to corruption during both translation and transmission of manuscripts. In the Slavonic rescension the possible transliteration from Glagolitic to Cyrillic script could have been an additional factor of corruption. The numbers not mentioned in the text explicitly but derived from it through calculation are marked with an asterisk (*).

1 cubit of water per day is drunk by Serpent (4:6G; 4:4S; 5:1)
*2 (2+1) heavens (see comm. to ch. 11)
3 primary rivers (4:7G; 9 in 4:5S)
*3 (or 3+1) heavens (see comm. to ch. 11)
*3 named angels of G (2:5; 4:15; 11:4ff)
*4 angels of presence planting the Garden of Eden (4:7S)
*4 trees of Eden planted by the angels of presence (4:7S)
*4 virtues (see comm. to 11:9G)
4 – the chariot-of-four of the sun (6:2)
4 angels taking care of the sun's crown (8:4)
*4 kinds of locusts of the total of 7 plagues (16:3)
*5 (4+1) total of named angels planting the Garden of Eden (4:7S)
*5 (4+1) total trees of Eden (4:7S)
5 numbered heavens of the extant versions (11:1)
*5 main vices of wine (4:17; cf. 13 vices in 8:5G; 13:4G)
*7 named angels of S (1:1; 2:5; 4:15; 11:4ff)
*7 plagues (16:3)
9 primary rivers (4:5S; 3 in 4:7G)
9 cubits away the sun the phoenix is circling (6:2G)
*13 vices (8:5G; 13:4G; cf. 5 vices in 4:17)
15 cubits of water above the heights (4:10)
20 angelic oxen drive the chariot of the moon (9:3S)
30 days journey to the first heaven (2:2)
36 angels accompany the sun at the sunset (8:1S; 40 of 6:2 minus 4 taking care of the sun's crown in 8:4)
40 days of Noah's prayer (4:14)
40 angels drive the chariot of the sun (6:2)
60 days journey to the second heavens (3:2G; 7 in S)

185 days journey to the third heaven (4:2; 187 in S)
*224 days of the whole journey according to S: 30 (2:2); 7 (3:2); 187 (4:2)
*275 days of the whole journey according to G: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); 185 (4:2)
300 men throw the plummet to the distance which measures the Hades' belly (5:3G; 255 in S)
360 rivers of which 3 (9 in S) are primary ones (4:7G; 4:5S; 373 or 364 in S)
365 gates of heaven (6:13; 65 in S)
*365 days of the whole journey according to the reconstruction of Frasson: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); **90 (10)*; 185 (4:2) (see comm. to 10:1)
463 cubits height of the Tower of Babel (3:6)
4,000 modia is the size of letters on the wings of the Sun Bird
200,003 angels planted the Garden of Eden with Michael (4:7S; 200,000 plus Michael and three other angels of Presence)
409,000 giants were destroyed by the Flood (4:10)

Noticeable is the lack of the basic typological numbers like 10, 12, and even such explicit use of 3 (except primarily rivers only in G) and 7. The low figures are all Babylonian divisors: 3, 4, 5, 9, 20, 36, 40, 60, 300, 360, while most higher figures are prime numbers: 463, 200,003, 409 (thousands) (except 185, 365).

Isopsephy-gematria techniques, although attested in general Hellenistic culture and abundant in Rabbinic sources,[51] are presented in sole examples in Hellenistic Jewish literature (*Syb. Or.* 1:232–331; 5:12–51; *Asc. Mos.* 9:1; Rev 13:18; 21:17). *3 Baruch* significantly supplements this list:

– 360, the number of rivers filling the sea drunk by the celestial dragon corresponds to the numerical value of the Hebrew loan word from Greek – דרקון;
– 409 thousands, the number of giants having perished in Flood, must be derived from the Gk κατακλυσμός in Hebrew letters – *קטקליסמס (unattested elsewhere).[52]

Less obvious may be the following: 300 in measuring Hades is a gematria of Heb מעמקים "depths" (cf. "out of the depth of the belly of Hades" in Sir 51:5); 463 cubits, the height of the Tower of Babel, is a numeric value of זנות "debauchery" (cf. "Babylon the great, mother of prostitutes and of earth's abominations" in Rev 17:1–6).

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[51] Cf. Collins, "Numerical," 116.
[52] These two gematrias were noticed by Bohak ("Gematrias").

XI. General Conclusions

The present treatment of *3 Baruch* hopes to provide the key for interpretation of one of the most enigmatic Jewish Hellenistic texts. The main general conclusions that can be derived from the summary above would be the following:

– The textual evidence enables a stratification of *3 Baruch* into at least four textual layers that bear witness to different stages of its editing. The differentiation of the content belonging to the *Urtext* (or at least the earliest reconstructable layer) makes possible the more efficient discussion of the points below.
– The elliptic and ekphrastic method of presentation, characteristic for the *Urtext* (and only partly compensated in later explanatory editorial layers) poses an obstacle for the understanding of *3 Baruch*. However, this method does not conceal a skilful construction of the narrative involving sophisticated harmonization of diverse traditions, and provides enough hints to enable a convincing reconstruction of the implied content, structure and message of the book.
– The reconstruction of the implied content of *3 Baruch* is corroborated by diverse and independent sources, and solves many problems of interpretation. The very feasibility of convincing reconstruction based mainly on parallels from Jewish sources, proves that the text has deep roots in early Jewish lore.
– *3 Baruch*, properly read, significantly enriches our data on the history of motifs of early Jewish lore, at times providing missing links between different stages of their development, and preserves important evidence on proto-Gnostic and proto-Christian traditions.

XII. Bibliography

Abbreviations

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ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Berlin-New York, 1972–
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research*
BEThL	*Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BLDR	*Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*. С.-Петербург: Наука, 1999
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BZNW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956-.
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CEJL	*Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature*
CH	*Corpus Hermeticum*
CIG	Boeckh, August. *Corpus Inscruptiones Graecae*. Berlin: Ex Officina Academica, vendit G. Reimeri libraria, 1828–1877.
CT	Faulkner, Raymond Oliver. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 3 vols. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1973–1978.
CTA	Herdner, Andrée. *Corpus des tablettes en cuneiforms alphabétiques* à Ras-Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale: P. Geuthner, 1963.
DK	Diels, Hermann and Walther Kranz. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker.* Zurich: Weidmann, 1985.
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EI	*Eretz Israel*
FGH	Jacoby, Felix. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Leiden: Brill, 1954–1964.
HR	Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A. Redpath. *A Concordance to the Septuagint and other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker, 1998.
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*

IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IG	Gaertringen, F. Hiller von et al., *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1913–
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBQ	*Jewish Bible Quarterly*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JE	Singer, Isidore et al., eds. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 12 vols. New York-London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–1905.
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JJTP	*Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*
JSHRZ	*Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1973–
JSIJ	*Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha*
KAR	Ebeling Erich, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Bd. 28, 34. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1919, 1923.
LPG	Lampe, Geoffrey W. H. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford-New York: Clarendon Press, 1961.
LSG	Liddell, Henry G., Robert Scott, and Henry S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon (with a Revised Supplement)*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
Mikl	Miklosich, Franz, Ritter von. *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*. Vindobonae: G. Braumüller, 1862–1865.
MMM	Cumont, Franz, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*. Bruxelles: H. Lamertin, 1896–1899.
NHC	Robinson, James McConkey. *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*. Leiden: Brill, 1972.
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
Or	*Orientalia (NS)*
Ostr	Остромирово евангелие 1056–57 г.
OTP	Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
PG	Migne, Jacques-Paul, ed. *Patrologia Graeca*. 162 vols. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1857–1866.
PGM	Preisendanz, Karl et al. *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. Leipzig-Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1928–1931.

PRU *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*
PVTG *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece*
RB *Revue Biblique*
REJ *Revue des études juives*
RHPR *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
SBLSP *Society of Biblical Literature Supplement Series*
Srezn Срезневский, Измаил Иванович. *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*. С.-Петербург: Тип. Имп. академии наук, 1893–1903.
SVTP *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha*
Supr Codex Supraslensis
Syll Dittenberger, Wilhelm. *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*. Leipzig: S. Hirzelium, 1915–24.
TSAJ *Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum*
TS 14th cent. Книга Бытия по рук. Троицко-Серг. лавры XIV в., Книга Исход по рук. Троицко-Серг. лавры XIV в.
Upyr Списки с рук, Упыря Лихого 1047 г.
UT Gordon, Cyrus H. *Ugaritic Textbook*. *Analecta Orientalia* 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965.
Vasmer Фасмер, Макс. *Этимологический словарь русского языка*. С доп. О. Н. Трубачева, под ред. Б. А. Ларина. Москва: "Прогресс", 1986–87.
VC *Vigilae Christianae*
VT *Vetus Testamentum*
WUNT *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*
ZAW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

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TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

A. Title

Greek	Slavonic
1 A narration and revelation of Baruch,	
about those ineffable things which he saw by command of God.	
Bless Thou, O Lord!	[Cf. T:2S]
2 A revelation of Baruch,	2 A revelation of Baruch
	when angel Panuel was sent to him by the command of the Lord on the holy mount Zion,
who was upon the river Gel weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem,	when he was weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem upon the river.
when {also} Abimelech had been saved in Agrippa's estate by the hand of God, and {he} sat at the Beautiful Gates, where the Holy of Holies lay.	
[Cf. T:1G]	Bless Thou, O Lord!

NOTES

T:1G. *About … God* om. B.

T:1G/T:2S. *Lord*. In T:1–2S two different words are used. The first (T:1S) is **владꙑка** rendering Gk δεσπότης (also in 16:6S) as in the Greek blessing G (T:1G), while the Slavonic blessing (T:2S) has voc. **господи** referring to Gk κύριος.

T:2S. *Angel Panuel* (**ангелъ паноуилъ**). SN Phanuel L angel Rafael TB om. PVIDG. In 2:5S there are only the forms Phanael L and Phanuel β. The reading of mss SN in T:1S is less widely attested and is closer to the Semitic form (פנואל). The variants of L and of 2:5S are widely known, and thus may reflect emendation (see comm. ad loc.).

T:2G. *Weeping*. ΚΛΕΟΝ of both mss here interpreted as κλαίων. Thus understood also by S: **плака сѧ** "was weeping" (see comm. ad loc. and to "be silent" in 1:3S). Less probable: κλέων "telling of."

Estate (χωρίον). Also "place" in general. In LXX renders Heb כרם "vineyard" (1 Chr 27:17); in *4 Baruch* the term is interchangeable with "vineyard" (3:10); cf. 1:2 and comm. ad loc.

COMMENTARY

In contrast to the rest of the book, the title is formulated in the third person, similarly to many other apocalypses (cf. *1 Enoch*; *2 Enoch*; *Apocalypse of Abraham*; *4 Ezra*; *2 Baruch*; *Revelation*). This convention appears to have its roots in biblical prophetic tradition (cf., e.g., Isaiah, Jeremiah, etc.). G has a double title, the first part of which (besides the blessing) has no parallel in S. The second section of the Greek title shows a certain acquaintance with the Temple topography and presupposes the reader's knowledge of the Abimelech story as known from *4 Baruch*.

T:1. *Baruch*. Why is the vision ascribed to Baruch? The choice of the protagonist as a witness of the destruction of the Temple and, probably, an archetypical survivor (especially if identified with Abimelech, see comm. to T:2G) is appropriate for the setting of the revelation. But is there a connection between the figure as he is known from early Jewish tradition and the content of the vision *per se*? The selection of Baruch may reflect a connection between the "incomplete" nature of the revelation in this work, which lacks theophany and apotheosis, on the one hand, and the dubiousness or second-rate status of Baruch as a prophet, on the other. In contrast to most other visionaries, our seer does not experience transformation or enthronement,[1] and does not even receive access to the "the highest heaven" (11:3S)[2]; nor does he see the Throne of Glory (on this issue in detail see introductory comm. to ch. 11 below). There is also no mention of Baruch having entered Paradise or having seen the Tree of Knowledge that he discusses with an angel (4:8G/4:6Sff.). He probably does not even ascend *in corpore* (see comm. to 17:3G).

Similarly, in contrast to other sources, only in *2 Baruch* is the protagonist presented as a full scale prophet, even linked in his characteristics to Moses and overshadowing Jeremiah.[3] Elsewhere, Baruch is either a non-visionary or at most a "minor" one. In distinction to most other visionaries, Baruch is more a sage, a successor to the prophets, than a prophet *par ex-*

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[1] Similarly to other so called "quasi-mystical" apocalypses, which contain only descriptions of the celestial world (Wolfson, "Mysticism," 194; Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 91).

[2] Cf. the same term in *1 En.* 72:5.

[3] Wright, "Evolution," 272.

cellence.[4] In Jer 45 and in *4 Baruch* he receives an oracle only through the mediation of Jeremiah.[5] In Jer 45:5, Baruch was warned not to seek "great things" (whatever this may mean). In *1 Baruch* he is merely a sage and a community leader. Baruch does not figure in the *Lives of the Prophets* (although he was regarded as a prophet by Eusebius in *Pr. Ev.* 10.14.6 and by Origen in *Hom. Jer.* 8.5).[6] He is mentioned in a probably negative (although vague) context together with another prophetic disciple, Gehazi, in CD 8.20. Rabbinic literature also indicates his semi-prophetic status. The Rabbis debated whether Baruch was a prophet at all: "Baruch was greatly distressed because he did not receive the prophetic spirit" (*Mek*. Bo Intr.), though some did recognize him as a prophet (*Sifre* Num 78; *Sifre Zut*. 75 on Num 10:29; *y. Sot*. 9.24b; *b. Meg*. 14b; *Seder Olam* 20). See also the conception of קיצרי הנבואה applied to minor prophets following Jeremiah, identified as the "last of all the prophets" (*Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 13.14).

Martha Himmelfarb states: "*3 Baruch* stands apart from the other apocalypses … in its rejection of the possibility of the visionary's achievement of angelic status." In distinction to Enochic tradition or the *Ascension of Isaiah*, he is not even equal to angels; thus he addresses the angel "Lord."[7] However, in light of the above, it is most probable that we are not dealing here with a polemic against the Enochic tradition, but rather with a case of a minor hero co-existing with the tradition, a special kind of more modest and limited mystical experience. The exclusiveness of Enoch's visionary experience is formulated as "no man will see as I have seen" (*1 En.* 19:3; cf. Dan 10:7). Note that *3 Baruch* does not stipulate that more advanced ascent would be unfeasible: we may infer that it was possible for those whose names are written on the last gate (unless this refers to dead individuals; see comm. to 11:2S). The situation may be compared to higher and lower levels of initiation into practices of Hellenistic mysteries. See the use of the term "mysteries" in *3 Baruch*, including "great" and "greater" mysteries promised (but probably not shown) to him (1:4S; 1:6; 1:8G; 5:3S;

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[4] Thus Wright, "Baruch the Ideal Sage." In this he may be close to the figures of the later sages-visionaries of the Hekhalot literature, although their apocalyptic ambitions were less limited.

[5] Although the placement of the oracle in LXX Jer 51 might hint that he was supposed to succeed Jeremiah (so Bogaert, "Baruch").

[6] It is difficult to judge whether the existence of a Gnostic *Book of Baruch* by Justin known from Hippolytus' *Refutatio* 5.21 (where Baruch is a name of an archon) has anything to do with the popularity of Baruch as a mystic figure. Probably there is no connection.

[7] Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 87. Cf. comm. to ch. 12.

17:1S) and the "Lesser" and "Greater Mysteries" as known from Eleusis, as well as the use of these terms applied to Jewish revelatory activity by Philo (*Leg. All.* 3.33.100; *Cher.* 14.48–49; *Sacr.* 15.60; 16.62; see comm. to 1:6).[8]

Narration (διήγησις). Among early texts, this title (or genre definition) is attested only in *Apocalypse of Moses* and *Testament of Abraham* (some mss of the rec. B), though it is very common in later Christian compositions.[9] Cf. biblical titles with Heb דברי / Gk ῥῆμα or λόγοι like "Words of Jeremiah, "Words of Amos," etc. (cf. Neh 1:1; Eccl 1:1; Tob 1:1; *1 En.* 1:1). Contrast Heb חזון / Gk ὅρασις ("Vision of Isaiah", "Vision of Obadiah"). In the Greek *3 Baruch* both types of titles are combined: "Narration and Revelation."

Revelation (ἀποκάλυψις). See also the verb ἀποκαλύπτω as "reveal" in 4:13 and 14. In Jewish literature, the noun is attested for the first time in Sir 22:22 in the meaning "revealing of the secret" (μυστηρίου ἀποκαλύψεως) where, however, the context is ethical rather than mystical. "Wonders" shown by God are called ἀποκάλυψις in *T. Abr.* 6:8. Paul already mentions "visions and revelations [ἀποκαλύψεις] of the Lord" (1 Cor 14:6, 26; 2 Cor 12:1, 7; cf. Luke 2:32 (φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν, based on LXX Ps 97:2 and *T. Abr.* 6:8.[10] The use of any equivalent term as a title or genre definition is not attested in the present corpus of Hebrew or Aramaic texts. It appears in the titles of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*; *Testament of Abraham* (rec. B ms E); *Apocalypse of Ezra*; *2 Baruch*; *3 Baruch*; Revelation; Gnostic *Apocalypse of Adam* and later Christian apocalypses.[11] Among these only the *Apocalypse of Abraham* obviously had a Hebrew original, but it is possible that the title is a later addition, especially since it is absent in some versions of the text, or appears in modified forms, as it does in *3 Baruch*. Nevertheless, there is some rudimentary evidence in favor of the existence of a Hebrew, or at least Jewish Aramaic, term for this genre.[12]

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[8] Cf. also the hierarchy of initiates in Mythraic mysteries. On Jews and Hellenistic mysterial cults, see Goodenough, *By Light*; cf., e.g., Lease, "Jewish."

[9] For details on the use of the term see Harlow, *Baruch*, 183, n. 70 and 71.

[10] In distinction to the noun, the verb ἀποκαλύπτειν (as in Ps 97:2 above) is widely attested in LXX, where it renders Heb גלה (Prov 11:13; cf. Sir 4:18; 41:23 (42:1); Amos 3:7; Num 22:31; 24:4, 16 (cf. *1 En.* 1:2); cf. 1 Sam. 2:27; 3:21; etc.) or Aram גלא (Theod Dan 2:19, 22, 28 *et seq.*, 47). In some of the above passages it refers to the revelation of mysteries about the future given by God (Torrey, "Apocalypse," 669).

[11] Cf. Smith, "History;" Harlow, *Baruch*, 183.

[12] See Chajes, *Lingua*, 9; cf. Klausner (*Jesus*, 75) and Goldstein (*Jesus*, 72) referring to Chajes; Pines, "Hearot;" Kulik "Genre."

Narration and revelation (διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις). Only in Greek. The combination is unique for early Jewish literature.[13] The closest parallels are Λόγος καὶ ἀποκάλυψις ("treatise and revelation") τοῦ ἁγίου προφήτου Ἔσδρα (Greek *Apoc. Ezra* 1; cf. also identical wording with the *Apocalypse of Ezra* in *3 Bar.* 1:6) and Διήγησις καὶ πολιτεία Αδὰμ καὶ Εὔας (*Apoc. Mos.*, Title). This compound title may conform to the most common structure for apocalyptic composition: first – introductory narration – prologue, and then an apocalypse *per se*. Note also the compound title of the *Ascension of Isaiah*: προφητεία ἀποκάλυψις καὶ μαρτύριον.

T:1G. *Ineffable things* (ἄρρητα). Probably, "unspoken, unnamed, unintelligible things." Alternatively, "things not to be spoken, divulged" (as in 2 Cor 12:4; see below), but this is less likely since Baruch does share his vision upon his return (although only in S; cf. 17:1S); cf. comm. to 1:3S: "be silent."

An equivalent Slavonic term – **неисповѣдаемъıи** – is applied to God's service (*2 En.* 22:2–3; and to the face of God according to Belgrade ms 321; cf. the same ms also in 1:1). God declares his own name "ineffable" in *Apoc. Abr.* 10:3 and 8. Philo mentions "revelation of his ineffable mysteries" (*Leg. All.* 3.8). In the third heaven,[14] Paul heard "ineffable words/things [ἄρρητα ῥῆματα], which it is not allowed for a man to utter" (2 Cor 12:4); cf. "far above of … every title that can be given" (Eph 1:21). "Ineffable majesty" of God is mentioned in Latin *Acts Pet.* (*Vercelli Acts*) 2. The "ineffability" of God and his mysteries became a basic term for Gnosticism (e.g., *Pistis Sophia* 6; 10; 45),[15] and a subject for philosophic discussion from Philo to Plotinus and Church Fathers.[16]

Understood literally, the term cannot refer to the whole vision, since some of its major objects are named and sometimes described in detail: seven named angels, Hades, Phoenix, luminaries. For the same reason, Michael can hardly be the ultimate object of the revelation, as suggested by some. The term could rather refer to the culmination of the vision – the Oil

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[13] Whereas it is found in late Christian texts, e.g., in the *Apocalypse of Mary* (Harlow, *Baruch*, 184, n. 72). In the *Testament of Abraham* both terms are found but in different manuscripts.

[14] According to one interpretation, this is also the ultimate destination of Baruch (see comm. to ch. 11).

[15] This is one of the most frequent terms of Irenaeus' *Adv. Haer.*, especially in characterizations of Gnostic teachings; see, e.g., "ineffable mysteries" that characterize aeons (1.3.2).

[16] See, e.g., Wolfson, "Negative;" Whittaker, "Catachresis."

Reward given for the righteous at the last gate (ch. 15), similarly to the "ineffable chrism" of Naassenes also received in the third celestial gate (Hippolytus, *Ref.* (5.9.22 [5.4]; see comm. to ch. 15). Alternatively, "ineffable" would be appropriate for a theophany, were one present in *3 Baruch* (cf. the unnamed "Father" of Basilides opposed to named angels; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.3–7). The use of the term in this case could count in favor of the hypothesis that the extant *3 Baruch* is the abridged version of an originally longer text including a theophanic climax (on this see comm. to ch. 11 below). The same form of the term (pl. abs.) is attested with the meaning of pagan mysterial practices (e.g., in Hippolytus, *Ref.* 1.1). In this sense it could have referred to Baruch's initiation into celestial secrets and his visionary experience in general rather than to its specific images.

T:1S. *Panuel*. Or Phanuel (see Notes), rendering Gk Πανουηλ or Φανουηλ. Cf. CS Phnauel (**ѳаноуилъ**) and Gk Phamael (Φαμαηλ) of 2:5 (which must be a corruption of Φανουηλ) and also CS Nopael/Koupael (**нопаиль/коупаилъ**) of mss SZ in S 4:7 (as a variant to Uriel), which may also go back to a corrupted Panuel (**паноуилъ**). Note the same development of the form Panuel to Phanuel in LXX Judg 8:8–9 and in Philo, *Conf.* 26, where the Tower of Babel is named "Phanuel" on the basis of Judg 8.

Panuel is called "angel of host(s)/power(s)" (Gk ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων; CS **ангелъ силъı**) in 1:8G; 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S and "archangel" in 10:1G (cf. "angels over the principalities" of 12:3). The name Phanuel appears in *1 Enoch* (40:9; 54:6; 71:8, 9, 13), where it substitutes for Uriel in the usual catalogue of the four angels of presence (*1 En.* 9:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 43:1; *Pesiq. R.* 46; *Pirqe R. El.* 4; *Num. Rab.* 2.10) and for Sariel of the *War Scroll* (1QM 9.12–16; in *Tg. Neof.* Gen 32:25–31 Jacob wrestles with Sariel). In mss of *3 Baruch* 4:7S, also containing the list of four angels (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel/Phanuel, Raphael), both traditions – with Uriel and Phanuel – are represented. The name is most likely to be derived from Peniel/Penuel of Gen 32:30 (translated by LXX as εἶδος θεοῦ, "Image of God").[17] Phanuel of *1 Enoch* is described as an angel of repentance: "the fourth, who is over all action of repentance unto the hope of those who would inherit eternal life, is Phanuel by name" (40:9; cf. 54:6; 71:8–12. Is he an angel of repentance also here? There may be a connection between

[17] Cf. Vermes: "In the circles represented by the Simultudes of Enoch, Qumran and the Neofiti variety of Palestinian Targum, the angelic adversary of Jacob was recognized as one of the four celestial princes and called alternatively as Sariel and Phanuel" ("Impact," 13).

repentance and revelation. Thus, weeping is a well-attested means of attaining revelation, implemented also by our seer (see comm. to "weeping" in T:2). In *T. Gad* 5:6–9 personified Repentance is connected to (revelatory?) knowledge and understanding: it "destroys ignorance, and drives away darkness, and enlightens the eyes, and gives knowledge to the soul, and leads the mind to salvation. And those things which are not learnt from man, are understood through Repentance." In *Herm. Vis.* 5.8 "the Shepherd" who reveals commandments and parables to a visionary is identified as "the angel of Repentance." See also personified Repentance in *Jos. Asen.* 15:7.

Note that in *1 Enoch* Phanuel's voice "expels the demons and forbids them from coming to the Lord of the spirits in order to accuse those who dwell upon earth" (40:7). In *3 Baruch* Panuel is defined as "an angel of powers" (see above), while "powers" are also known "to keep demons from destroying the creation of God" (*T. Adam* 4:5). These demonomachic functions of the guiding angel can be relevant for *3 Baruch*, where the angel is to lead the visionary through the lower heaven which is probably inhabited by demons and the "impure" Serpent-Hades (chs. 3–5).

James has raised the possibility that Panuel/Phanuel/Phamael of *3 Baruch* is an early corruption of Ramael/Remiel (*Ραμιηλ/Ραμαελ)[18] appearing in *2 Bar.* 55:3, 63:6; Greek *1 En.* 20:8 (Ρεμειηλ); Syriac *4 Ezra* 4:36 (Latin has *Hieremihel*); one of the versions of *Sib. Or.* 2.215 (here he also belongs to a group of five, probably fallen, angels); *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:15 (Eremiel). In LXX (B) Chr 2:33 and *3 Ezra* 4:36 the name corresponds to Jeremiel/Jerahmiel. Both Ramael of *2 Baruch* and Panuel/Phanuel/Phamael of *3 Baruch* are defined as interpreting angels: "the angel who is set over true visions" (*2 Bar.* 55:3; cf. 63:6) and "the interpreter of the revelations" (*3 Bar.* 11:7G).

T:1G. *Bless Thou, O Lord* (εὐλόγησον δέσποτα). Cf. T:2S. If this is an interpolation, it is an early one, since it is found in both the Greek and Slavonic versions. See the glorification in the very conclusion of the writing (17:4). The blessing at the beginning and the glorification at the end together form a frame that is characteristic of scribal custom. The initial blessing occurs, e.g., in the title of *Testament of Abraham* (resc. B), in *Apocalypse of Sedrach* with the same wording although reversed, and at the end of the title in *History of the Rechabites*,[19] in the expanded titles of *Acts of Thomas*, *Acts of John*, of the apocryphal *Apocalypse of John*, in the

[18] James, "Baruch", lvii.
[19] Cf. Gaylord, *Baruch*, 662.

opening of the prayer in *Apostolic Constitutions* 3.1; and in many later Christian works.[20] Similar blessings occur in the opening chapters of several New Testament epistles.

Perhaps the formula serves a specific ritual purpose, such as a benediction for writing or reading the text, in accordance with the Rabbinic concept "Whoever profits from this world without reciting a benediction defrauds it" (*b. Ber.* 35a)? The practice of writing down the benedictions was known and condemned by Rabbinic authorities: "Those who write down the benedictions are equal to such as burn the Torah" (כותבי ברכות כשורפי תורה; *t. Shab.* 13(19).4; *y. Shab.* 16.15c; *b. Ber.* 38a and 50a; *b. Shab.* 115b).

The *Book of Watchers* also begins and concludes with blessings: "The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect and righteous" (*1 En.* 1:1; dependent on Deut 33:1); note the conclusion:

> And as often as I saw [the portals of heaven and stars running through them] I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of his work to the angels and to spirits and to men [or "of men"], that they might praise his work and all his creation, that they might see the work of his might and praise the great work of his hands and bless him for ever (*1 En.* 36:4).[21]

Here blessings may be an integral part of an apocalyptic experience: "I, Enoch, was blessing the Lord of majesty and the King of the ages" (*1 En.* 12:3); "then I blessed the Lord of Glory and said, 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who rules for ever'" (22:14); "then I blessed the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who has prepared such things for the righteous, and has created them and promised to give to them" (25:7); "then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth his Glory and lauded him gloriously" (27:5); blessings continue in 81:3, 10; 83:11; 84:12. Sarah blesses God for the shown wonders defined as ἀποκάλυψις: "Glory to God who shows us wonders. And know, my Lord Abraham, that this means for us the revelation of some important matter, whether for good or for ill" (*T. Abr.* 6:8). This also finds a parallel in Rabbinic tradition, which prescribes the recitation of a blessing upon the sight of every remarkable phenomenon of nature, e.g., "Blessed be the Worker of Creation" (*m. Ber.* 9.2) or "Blessed is whose power fills the world," etc., or at a place of wonders: "Blessed be the Worker of Wonders" (*m. Ber.* 9.1); cf. Sir 43:11: "Look upon the rainbow and praise him that made it."

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[20] Harlow, *Baruch*, 84.

[21] Note that Nickelsburg regards chs. 34–36 as possibly being secondary in the *Book of Watchers*.

If *3 Baruch* in general and this verse in particular had a Semitic prototype, this formula would have included the name of the protagonist: גליון ברוך ... ברוך אתה ה'.

T:2. *Weeping*. Baruch weeps also in 1:1 and 1:3. Baruch laments over the Destruction according to Jer 45:3 and *2 Bar.* 6:2; 10:5; 35:1 (here also before the vision). Other visionaries usually weep before the revelation or other contact with God, as in Dan (10:2; cf. 7:15); *2 Enoch* (1:3); *4 Ezra* (5:13; cf. 3:1); and *T. Levi* (2:4; here just grieving). Moreover, Enoch weeps after his second vision (*1 En.* 90:41), and John weeps during the course of the revelation (Rev 5:4). The revelation was given to Ezra, because he "mourned greatly over Zion" (*4 Ezra* 10:38–39). Note also Noah, who weeps before his prayer (*3 Bar.* 4:13G/4:14S). Weeping and mourning as a technique of inducing mystical experience is attested in Jewish mystical practice.[22] As for weeping in other circumstances in *3 Baruch*, see Baruch weeping on behalf of sinners (16:9–10). Angels weep for the same reason (13:1; 16:1). The sun weeps for having been defiled by human sins (only in 8:5S β).

T:2G. *River Gel*. The name is unidentified. James assumes a corruption: Gk ΓΕΛ from abbreviated ΚΕΔ(ΡѠΝ), i.e., Kedron, since "the locality must be in or near Jerusalem, for we are told just after this that Baruch sat 'at the beautiful gates.' And further in *2 Bar.* 5:5; 21:1; 31:2 he goes to the valley of Kedron."[23]

However, Gel must be located together with "the Beautiful Gates, where the Holy of Holies lay." The only river which is suited to this location (if we understand that the place was at the Holy of Holies and not at the gate opposite to it; see comm. below) would have been a stream that is supposed to break forth in messianic times from under the Holy of Holies and flow towards the east (Ezek 47:1–12; Zech 14:8; *Masekhet Kelim* [*Bet HaMidr.* 88–91]). The Beautiful Gate was most probably located on the east side of the Temple mount as well (see comm. below).

Alternatively, if the last clause ("and sat at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of Holies laid") refers to Abimelech and the two are not identical (on

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[22] See Merkur, "Visionary;" Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 107; Idel, *Kabbalah*, 76–77.

[23] James, "Baruch," lv. Cf. also the late *Words of Gad the Seer*, where the first vision took place near Cedron too. This composition with a controversial dating has additional similarities to *3 Bar*, like Sammael, vision of luminaries and animals. See Schechter, "Notes" and Abrahams, "Words," both arguing for medieval dating, and Bar-Ilan, "Date," dating it to early first centuries CE.

this issue see comm. below), Gel may be an unidentified or fictitious Mesopotamian river, such as Chebar of Ezek 1:1 or Gur of *Apoc. Abr.* 2:9, and the whole vision would then take place in Babylon (in accord with the tradition of *1 Baruch* witnessing Baruch's descent to Babylon). Both lamenting (Ps 137:1) and revelations on Babylonian rivers are well attested: Ezekiel receives a vision on the river Chebar (Ezek 1:1,3; 3:23; 10:22), while Daniel does so "beside the Ulai River" (Dan 8:2) and on the Tigris (10:4). On the basis of these examples, there emerged a view in rabbinic literature that outside the Land of Israel revelations are possible only "in pure places," i.e., near rivers (*Tan.* Bo 5; cf. *Bate Midr.* 2.13.4), while according to *Mekhilta* (Bo, Intr.) revelations take place only in the Holy Land (cf. *b. Moed Q.* 25a; *Gen. Rab.* 74.1).

Whether in Palestine or elsewhere, rivers or other water reservoirs appear often in the setting of apocalyptic visions. In addition to the passages in Ezekiel and Daniel mentioned above, see Dan 7:2–3; *1 En.* 13:7; *2 Bar.* 21:1; *T. Levi* 2:7; cf. also *4 Ezra* 11–13.[24] Besides purity, there may be an additional factor which contributed to the attachment of such significance to the rivers. It may be connected to certain mystical techniques involving the act of looking into the water, as mentioned in *Reuyot Yehezkel*, where "Ezekiel was standing on the river Chebar looking down at the water and seven heavens were opened to him and he saw the Glory of the Holy One." Prophetic vision is compared to looking into mirrors in *Lev. Rab.* 1.14; *b. Yeb.* 49b. Such practices are attested also in other Hellenistic cultures.[25]

When {also} Abimelech was saved in Agrippa's estate. This is an allusion to the story of Abimelech (Ebed Melech) the Ethiopian – a character from Jer 38:7–13; 39:15–18 who was promised by God to be spared in Jer 39:16–17 – as is known from *4 Bar.* 3:9–5:30, where he is said to have fallen asleep in the estate of Agrippa at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and not to have awakened for sixty-six years.[26] Abimelech does not appear anywhere else in our apocalypse and has no discernable function in the narrative. Moreover, it is not fully clear which of the two persons mentioned (Baruch or Abimelech) is the subject of the last clause of the

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[24] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 115.

[25] "Water-divination of this sort, using a vessel filled with water (often with oil added) as a mirror in which the medium can see divine images, seems to have been common enough in the ancient world. Greek magical papyri from Egypt give several prescriptions for it, and there is evidence that some Romans practiced it around the beginning of the Christian era" (Halperin, *Faces*, 231)

[26] Cf. a variant of the same story in the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*.

sentence: καὶ οὗτος ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πύλας ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια "and *he* sat at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of Holies lay." Either figure could be the referent for Gk οὗτος, but the latter would be preferable. This reference might have been due to the fact that *3 Baruch* was composed as a continuation of *4 Baruch*, or that *3 Baruch* (or at least its title) was somehow posterior to *4 Baruch*.[27] However, in *4 Baruch* we face similar problems: (1) until the beginning of the third chapter, Baruch is the only companion of Jeremiah; (2) in 3:12 the prophet asks God, how he can spare Abimelech the Ethiopian (who does not appear in the narrative before) from the sight of Jerusalem's destruction; (3) in 3:18 Baruch again is mentioned as the only one who accompanies the prophet, while in 3:21–22 Jeremiah gives orders to Abimelech; (4) in 7:25–27 Baruch (and not Abimelech as in 3:12) is spared from having to see the destruction. The confusion between the two figures led Robinson to conclude that "the figure of Baruch is an intrusion here."[28]

The problems of both books might be solved if we assume that both texts go back to a common tradition identifying both characters, as it is found in a tannaitic midrash:

> "And Abimelech [Ebed Melech] the Ethiopian has heard …" [Jer 38:7]. Was he an Ethiopian slave? [No,] he was Baruch, son of Neria. As an Ethiopian differs by the color of his skin, so Baruch son of Neria differed by his deeds from all other courtiers, therefore he is called "Ethiopian." (*Sifre*, Num 99 [Behaalotekha 41];

See also *b. Moed Q.* 16b; *Pesiq. R.* 26; *Pirqe R. El.* 53; *Abot R. Nat.* B 43.122; *Sifre Z.* 12.[29] Abimelech, as well as Baruch (according to *2 Bar.* 76:2), is among those who entered Paradise alive or "never tasted death" (*Derekh Erets Zut.* 1 (end); *Gen. Rabbati*, Haye Sarah [24.34]; cf. *2 Alphabet of Ben Sira* 28b; *Yalk.* 2.367).

The whole situation is very similar to the identification of another visionary, Ezra, with another biblical figure, Salathiel (Shealtiel of Ezek 3:2; 5:2; Neh 12:1) in the very opening of the apocalypse in *4 Ezra* (3:1). This opening also sets a location of a visionary after the destruction of Jerusalem: "In the thirtieth year after the fall of our City, I Salathiel, who am also called Ezra, was in Babylon …" Cf. also identification of Ezra with Malachi (*Tg.* Mal 1:1; *b. Meg.* 15a) and other persons bearing two names: "Daniel … who was named Balteshazzar" (Dan 4:5), "Saul who was also Paul" (Acts 13:9).

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[27] Thus James, "Baruch," liv-lv.
[28] Robinson, "4 Baruch," 417.
[29] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6.412

The proto-text of *3 Baruch* might have lacked the word καί "and, also": ὅτε {καὶ} Ἀβιμελὲχ ἐπὶ Αγροίππα τὸ χωρίον τῇ χειρὶ θεοῦ διεφυλάχθη "when {also} Abimelech was saved in the Agrippa's estate by the hand of God." The verse was built according to a common model of biblical parallelism, mentioning two names of the same person; cf. "Do not fear O Jacob, do not be dismayed, O Israel" (Jer 46:27), "Who is this David, who is this son of Jesse" (1 Sam 25:10), etc.: "A revelation of Baruch, who is weeping …, when Abimelech was saved …"

Thus the long dream of Baruch-Abimelech in *4 Baruch* might be a revelatory one. Revelations are often obtained in dreams (e.g., Gen 15:12; *1 En.* 13; *4 Ezra* 3:1 and 5:14; *T. Levi* 2:5). On the vision of *3 Baruch* as a non-physical ascent, probably a dream, see comm. to 17:3G.

T:2G. *In Agrippa's estate* (ἐπὶ Ἀγροίππα τὸ χωρίον). The toponym is known only from the Abimelech story in *4 Baruch* (3:15; 5:5; interchanges with "vineyard" in 3:10). The name is obviously anachronistic for the First Temple period. Attempts to identify "Agrippa's estate" with known locations have been quite arbitrary. Thus Rendell Harris identified it with Solomon's Gardens and Etham of Josephus: "There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant. It is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; there he [Solomon] used to go out in the morning, sitting on high [in his chariot.]" (Josephus, *Ant.* 8.7.3; cf. Eccl 2:8).[30] Similarly, see Kohler's identification of it with the parks of Agrippa (*Bell.* 5.142–183; cf. *Ant.* 19.326–327)[31] and Herzer's suggestion that it refers to "the plain of the king" (2 Sam 18:18; *Ant.* 7.243).[32]

Beautiful Gates, where the Holy of Holies lay (τὰς ὡραίας πύλας ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια). Revelation experience in the Temple setting is known, e.g., from Luke 1:10–22 (Zechariah's vision); Acts 22:17–21 (Paul's vision); *t. Sot.* 13.5–6 (cf. Josephus, *Bell.* 1.69; *Ant.* 13.299–300); *Hekh. Rabbati* 13–23 (##198–250; Nehunyah b. ha-Qanah's ascent in a trance). Temple gates and the Holy of Holies – although separately – are the places of Baruch's lament and revelation, respectfully, in *2 Baruch*: "I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the Temple, and I lamented with the following lamentation over Zion …" (*2 Bar.* 10:5) and "I will only go unto

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30 Harris, *Rest*, 12.

31 Kohler, "Pre-Talmudic," 409.

32 Herzer, *4 Baruch*, 68–69. See also a further discussion of the location in ibid., 69–70.

the Holy of Holies to inquire of the Mighty One concerning you [the people] and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination: and after these things I will return to you. And I, Baruch, went to the Holy Place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept" (*2 Bar.* 34–35:1). An alternative location for Baruch's revelation (also following a lament) appears in *4 Baruch*: first "Baruch put dust on his head and sat [it is not designated where] and wept this lamentation saying, 'Why was Jerusalem made desolate?'" (*4 Bar.* 4:7), and then he went outside the city and "remained sitting in a tomb while the angels came to him and elaborated to him all the things that the Lord would reveal to him through them" (*4 Bar.* 4:12).

Does *3 Baruch* conflate two different locations of *2 Baruch*, or alternatively do all topographic references in *3 Baruch* refer to the same location? It is possible to reconcile all three conflicting topographic references of *3 Baruch*: the Beautiful Gate, the Holy of Holies, and the river Gel (understood as corrupted Kedron; see above). "The Temple gate called Beautiful" (τήν θύραν … τήν λεγομένην ὡραίον) is known from Acts 3:2.[33] Josephus refers to one of the Temple gates as larger and more adorned than the others:

> There was one gate, that outside the Sanctuary [ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεώ], which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only plated with silver and gold … The magnitudes of the other gates were equal one to another; but that over the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east over against the gate of the Sanctuary [ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνοιγομένη τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πύλης], was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits; and its doors were forty cubits; and it was adorned after a most costly manner, as having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold upon them than the other (*Bell.* 5.5.3).

Gk ναός/νεώς frequently refers to the Sanctuary or even specifically to the Holy of Holies in LXX and NT (as well as to inner shrines in pagan temples in various sources).[34] Moreover, the Sanctuary (Heb דביר, היכל) and the Holy of Holies within it frequently metonymically interchange in the literature of the period. Gk ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεώ "outside the Sanctuary" must imply "beside, against" since all gates are outside the Sanctuary. The same gate must be the subject of the Mishna: "the eastern gate which is against the Holy of Holies" שער המזרח שהוא מכוון כנגד בית קדשי הקדשים); *m. Ber.* 9.5; probably identical to the gate of Nicanor; see *m. Mid.* 1.4; *t. Yoma* 2.4). The

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[33] On other possible meanings, possibly with reference to "hour" or to "light," see Taylor, "Gate."

[34] See *LSJ*, 1160; *LPG* 897.

gate is mentioned in the context of the prescription "not to act frivolously against the eastern gate which is against the Holy of Holies" (לא יקל אדם את ראשו כנגד …). The reason for such precaution is clear from *m. Mid.* 2.4, which says that the inner space of the Sanctuary could be directly seen from the east (from the Mount of Olives) through an enfilade of gates.[35] Today there may be also some archeological corroboration for this, if we presume that the Holy of Holies was located not under the current Dome of the Rock but under the smaller cupola of Qubbat el-Arwah (Dome of the Spirits) or Qubbat el-Alouah (Dome of the Tablets): "This cupola is on a line directly perpendicular to the midpoint of the famous *Golden Gate,* itself shown recently to be above an earlier gateway,"[36] which might have been the Beautiful Gate.[37] The eastern gate close to the Sanctuary must have existed also in the First Temple period; cf. "entrance of the eastern gate of the House of the Lord [understood as Sanctuary]" (Ezek 10:19).

There is also another (less convincing) way to reconcile "gate" with "Holy of Holies." On the one hand, James suggests that these words, "where the Holy of Holies lay", "allude to the hiding of the sacred vessels" narrated in *4 Bar.* 3.[38] This suggestion however, requires an emendation: ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ {τῶν ἁγίων} ἅγια "where the holy things [קדשים] lay." This motif is also known from 2 Macc 2:4–8; *2 Bar.* 6:7; *4 Bar.* 3; probably *Apoc. Abr.* 27:3. 2 Macc 2 also mentions some "gate" (θύρα) closing the cave containing the Temple vessels. On the other hand, there is a Rabbinic tradition that the Temple gates were hidden: "All Temple vessels were exiled to Babylon … but the Temple gates were hidden on their own place, as it is said: 'Her gates have sunk into the ground' (Lam 2:9)" (*Tan.* Behaalotekha 9); cf. *b. Sotah* 9a: "The enemy had no power over the things made by David, as it is written: 'Her gates have sunk into the ground.'"

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[35] Fore more recent attempts to identify the gate of Acts 3, see Cowton, "Alms;" Taylor, "Gate."

[36] Kaufman, "Where"; Ritmeyer, Kaufman, "Where," 52–59, 72 and 60–61, 69.

[37] Garner, "Jerusalem."

[38] James, "Baruch," liv.

B. Prologue (1)

Greek	Slavonic
[1] O woe! I, Baruch, was weeping in my mind unceasingly about the people, and that Nebuchadnezzar the king had been permitted by God to destroy his city, saying,	[1]When Nebuchadnezzar the king captured Jerusalem and enriched Babylon, then I, Baruch, wept unceasingly and said,
[2] "Lord,	[2] "O Lord, in what way was Nebuchadnezzar the king righteous? Why did you not spare your city Jerusalem,
why have you set on fire your vineyard, and laid it waste?	why have you set on fire your vineyard, and laid it waste?
Why have you done this?	What have you done, O Lord?
And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but delivered us to such nations, so that they upbraid saying, 'Where is their God?'"	
[3] And behold, as I was weeping and saying such things,	[3] And behold, as I was weeping,
I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me,	and behold, an angel of the Lord appeared before me and told me,
"Understand,	"Be silent,
O human being, a beloved man,	O his beloved man!
and do not care so much for the salvation of Jerusalem,	It came to Jerusalem to accept this.
since thus says the Lord God, the Almighty,	But thus says the Lord, the Almighty,
[4] for he sent me before you, in order to make known and to show to you	[4] and he sent me before you, in order to tell you
all [the things] of God,	all the mysteries of God,
[5] for your prayer	[5] for your tears and your voice
was heard before him,	
and entered into the ears of the Lord God."	entered the ears of the Almighty God.

6 And when he had said these things to me, I became silent. And the angel told me: "Cease to provoke God,	
	6 But tell me that you will neither add or omit [anything]
and I will show you other mysteries,	and I will tell you great mysteries
greater than these."	which no man had seen.
7 And I Baruch said,	7 And I Baruch said to the angel,
"As the Lord God lives, if you show me, and I hear	"As the Lord God lives, if you show me, and I hear,
a word from you,	
I will not continue speaking.	I will neither subtract nor add a word.
	If I do omit,
God shall add to me a judgment on the Day of Judgment,	the Lord shall add to me a judgment on the Day of Judgment!"
if I say more!"	
8 And the angel of hosts told me, "Come, and I will show you the mysteries of God."	

NOTES

1:1G. *Was weeping in my mind unceasingly about the people* (κλαίων ἐν τῇ συνέσει μου καὶ ἔχων περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ). Here and below *praesens historicum* is translated by past tenses.

In my mind (ἐν τῇ συνέσει μου). Translated contextually, although the combination ἐν τῇ συνέσει means almost exclusively "in the understanding" (cf. LXX Job 39:17; Jer 28:15, where it renders Heb **בינה**).

About (ἔχων περί). Usually translated contextually and with emendation: "{and} concerning the people." Ryssel assumed here a corruption and proposed to add λύπην "grieve" or emend ἔχων to πενθῶν "grieving."[1] Alternatively, if a Hebrew *Vorlage* is presumed, this might be a misunderstanding of Heb **נהייתי** meaning both "be" and "be exhausted," like in Dan 8:27: **ואני דניאל נהייתי ונחליתי** "and I Daniel was exhausted and became ill."[2] In this case, the last part of the clause has to be read "and exhausted because [a regular meaning for περί] of the people." Gk ἔχω περι may mean also "be engaged

[1] Ryssel, "Baruch," 448.
[2] Hartom, "Baruch," 410.

with" ("engaged with the people").[3] The new reading "weeping … unceasingly" is based on the suggestion that we deal here with the Greek construction of *praesens* and a participle ἔχων adding "a notion of duration to the present action" (here of κλαίων).[4] Gk περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ could mean either "about the people," or "for the sake of the people," or "before ["in the sight of" or "ahead"] the people" (as Heb **לפני העם**; cf. Exod 17:5; Deut 3:28; and *passim*; cf. Baruch's communication with people in *2 Bar.* 31–34; 77).

1:3. *O human being, a beloved man / O his beloved man* (ὦ ἄνθρωπε ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν / **мѫжу желанию его**). Biblical Gk ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν, lit. "a man of desires," goes back to Heb **איש חמודות** (cf. MT and LXX in Dan 10:11,19 and 9:23). Theod Dan 8:17 has the same Greek phrase referring to Heb **בן אדם** "human being," lit. "son of man" of MT, which corresponds to the first part of the Gk addressing here (ἄνθρωπε). S has the same calque **мѫжу желанию** supplemented with pron. **его** "his" unattested in this combination in other Greek or Slavonic versions of the book Daniel.[5]

1:3 and 5S. *Almighty.* CS **вьседрьжитель** from Gk παντοκράτορ, lit. "the one who governs over all."

1:4. *He sent me before you*. πρὸ προσώπου σου / **прѣдъ лицемь твоимь**. One of many biblicisms found also in LXX, lit. "before your face" (Heb **לפניך**).

1:5S. *Voice*. **гласъ**. Only S has here a biblicism meaning "sound of voice" (Gk φωνή; Heb **קול**).

1:5. *Entered into the ears*. Biblicism (cf. Heb **בא באזני** in Ps 18:7).

1:7. *As the Lord God lives*. Biblical formula of oath (Heb **חי ה'**; cf. Judg 8:19 and *passim*).

If you show me, and I hear a word from you / if you show me, and I hear. ἐὰν ὑποδείξῃς μοι καὶ ἀκούσω παρά σου λόγον / **аще покажеши ми и слышѫ**. "Show" (ὑποδείξῃς / **покажеши**) without an object corresponds to the biblical usage of **הראה** without *acc. rei* (cf. Ezek 40:3; Esth 4:8), while "I hear a word from you" (ἀκούσω παρά σου λόγον) in G might go back to a biblical idiom **דבר שמע** "hear anything." If *3 Baruch* had a Hebrew original, it might have looked like this: **אם תראני ואשמע ממך דבר**.

1:7G. *I will not continue speaking. God shall add to me a judgment on the Day of Judgment, if I say more*. οὐ μὴ προσθήσω ἔτε λαλῆσαι προσθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως κρίσιν ἐμοί ἐὰν λαλήσω τοῦ λοιποῦ. Lit. "I will not *add* speaking" (προσθήσω λαλῆσαι) corresponding to the following "God shall *add* …" (προσθήσει ὁ θεός). The word-play is built of two elements: a calque of the biblical Heb **יסף** sq. inf.: **אוסיף לדבר** "I will continue speaking"(cf., e.g., 2 Sam 7:20 and *passim*) and perhaps (with a slight emendation) an elliptic oath formula … **כה יוסיף**, known also to LXX (τάδε προσθείη), lit. "thus shall God add [to my punishment]"; cf., e.g., 1 Sam 14:44; Ruth 1:17. Hebrew: **אם אוסיף לדבר כה יוסיף ה'**.

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[3] See *LSJ* 750/1, s.v. B.4.

[4] See *LSJ*, 750/2, s.v. B.IV.2.

[5] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 5.

COMMENTARY

In the prologue to the vision, similarly to other apocalypses attributed to Baruch, the destruction of the First Temple serves as a way of referring to the issues connected to the destruction of the Second Temple.[6] The fact that the prologue reflects the author's concern for the fate of Jerusalem – a motif highly atypical for Christian literature – may count in favor of a Jewish provenance of the book.[7] Jean-Claude Picard and Daniel Harlow treat in detail the coherence of the prologue and the subsequent revelation, which – according to Harlow's view – provide "an indirect, yet sustained and coherent response to the problem of Jerusalem's fate."[8] We will address possible connections between the sections of the book, each separately, in the comments below. A corroboration and interesting parallel to the connection between the lament on the destruction of Jerusalem and images central for our apocalypse (vine tree, the sun, the moon, rain and dew) is found in the fragment of Baruch's lamentation in *2 Baruch*:[9]

2 Bar. 10:10–12[10]	*3 Baruch*
And you, O *vine*, why further do you give your wine, for an offering will not again be made from there in Zion, nor will first-fruits again be offered.	4:8/6–17
And you, O heavens, withhold your *dew*, and do not open the treasuries of *rain*.	10:9
And you, O *sun* withhold the light of your rays.	6–8
And you, O *moon*, extinguish the multitude of your light. For why should light rise again where the light of Zion is darkened.	9

The combination and even the order of the images are strikingly similar, while the thesis in the two works is opposite: according to *2 Baruch* all these are no more relevant after the destruction of Jerusalem, whereas *3 Baruch* adduces them in response and consolation to the tragedy. If a direct polemic is implied, this conceptual parallelism may count in favor of the posteriority of *3 Baruch* to *2 Baruch*.

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[6] Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 87.

[7] See the detailed analysis of Harlow (*Baruch*, 90–96).

[8] Harlow, *Baruch*, 109. See Picard "Observationes," 92–98; idem, "Autre mystères," 23–35; Harlow, *Baruch*, 29–31; 109–163. Cf. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 302–303; Collins, "Genre Apocalypse," 538–540.

[9] Cf. a similar list of natural phenomena in *4 Ezra* 7:38–42 in the eschatological context (cited in comm. to 1:7).

[10] All italics in quotes hereafter are mine.

1:1S. *Captured Jerusalem and enriched Babylon.* The same opposition (absent in G), mentioning the prosperity of Babylon appears also in *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*:

> Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against you, Babylon, "If you had prospered, and Zion had dwelt in her glory, yet the grief to us had been great that you should be equal to Zion. But now, lo! The grief is infinite, and the lamentation measureless. For lo! You are prospered, and Zion desolate." (*2 Bar.* 11:1–2)

> "I was troubled as I lay on my bed, and my thoughts welled up in my heart, because I saw the desolation of Zion and the wealth of those who lived in Babylon." (*4 Ezra* 3:1–2)

1:2S. *In what way was Nebuchadnezzar the king righteous?* Cf. "Are the deeds of those who inhabit Babylon any better? Is that why she has gained dominion over Zion?" (*4 Ezra* 3:28; cf. 5:28–30). The moral qualities of the destroyers of Jerusalem are discussed also in Isa 10:5–8; Jer 25:8–14; 50:17–18; 33–34.[11]

1:2. *Why have you set on fire your vineyard, and laid it waste / Why did you not spare your city Jerusalem, where is your glorious vineyard.* Compare references to the desolation in *2 Bar.* 3:5; 5:1; *4 Ezra* 3:27–36; 5:28–30 and questions on its reason (*2 Bar.* 3:5; *4 Bar.* 4:7; *4 Ezra* 5:28).

"Vineyard" is a common biblical epithet for Jerusalem and Israel. For Jerusalem see Isa 27:2; Ezek 15:3–6; for Israel – Isa 5:1–7; Jer 2:21; Ezek 17:6–10; 19:10–24; Hos 10:1; Ps 80:8–16.[12] The reason as explained by *4 Ezra* 5:23–27 is that each is chosen among its kind:

> O sovereign Lord, from every forest of the earth and from all its trees you have chosen one vine [Lat *vinea*, also "vineyard"], … and from all the cities that have been built you have consecrated Zion for yourself, … and from all the multitude of peoples you have got for yourself one people.

Ezek 15:3–6 also uses the metaphor in the context of the Destruction:

> What is the vine tree more than any tree, or than a branch which is among the trees of the forest? … As the vine tree among the trees of the forest, which I have given to the fire for fuel, so will I give the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

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[11] Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 75.

[12] Harlow, *Baruch*, 88, n. 36. Note also the parable of the vineyard in Matt 21:33–46, Mark 12:1–12; Luke 20:9–19; cf. *Sifre Deut.* 312; *Tanh. B.* Qedoshim 6; *Exod. Rab.* 30.17.

Isa 5:7 was introduced to the same context by the Rabbis:

> If a man has a vineyard, and robbers will come and cut it, who should be consoled, the vineyard or the vineyard's owner? You are my vineyard, "a vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel" [Isa 5:7], and Nebuchadnezzar came and destroyed it and exiled you and burned my house (*Pesiq. R.* 29.12).

In the context of the destruction of Jerusalem Jeremiah consoles Baruch for the fact that he did not receive the prophetic spirit: "Baruch, there is no need of a fence, when there is no vineyard; of what use is the shepherd, if there is no flock" (*Mek.* Bo [Intr.]); cf. *Midr. Zut.* Cant 8.9; *Midr. Zut.* Lam 1.17.

Although a negative, or at least ambiguous, account of the vine (planted by Satanael, a tree of deception cursed by God) plays a central role in *3 Baruch* (see ch. 4), Israel is called "vineyard" in a positive context here ("your [God's] vineyard" of G; "glorious vineyard" of S). Although "vineyard" might serve also as a parable of Israel's degeneracy, like in the "song" on the vineyard which does not thrive despite the care bestowed upon it (Isa 5; the same chapter contains condemnations of wine abuse in 5:11 and 22), it is nevertheless difficult to accept Picard's creative hypothesis on isomorphic connections between the two images, argued in anthropologic and psychoanalytic terms.[13] Rather, they may indicate a compilative nature of *3 Baruch* or, more probably, the inconsistent use of very common and polysemantic imagery.

1:2G. *Where is their God?* This is a citation of Pss 79:10; 115:2; Joel 2:17; Mic 7:10, absent in S. The heavenly tour following the prologue might be an attempt to receive an answer to this question. The probable answer may be that although God is unseen (since Baruch, in contrast to other visionaries, does not see him), he manifests himself in his wonderous creations.[14]

1:3. *Beloved man.* See Notes ad loc.

1:3S. *Be silent.* CS **оумлъчи.** G has in its place more neutral σύνες "understand." Cf. 1:7G: "I will not continue speaking." The Slavonic word as well as its biblical Hebrew and Greek equivalents דמם and σιγᾶν may mean both "be silent" and "be still." The call to silence may be interpreted in different ways:

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[13] Picard. "Observations," 96–98. See argumentation of Harlow, *Baruch*, 29–31; 128–130.

[14] Thus Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 151–152; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 302.

1. It may be an order to stop mourning. At the end of the vision Baruch has to ask for a special permission in order to weep for the sinners: "Order me, Lord, to weep on their behalf" (16:9S; probably not original). The identical God's order "be silent" appears also in *T. Job* 33:1–2 (7:34–35) and means there "stop lamenting":

> And when Eliphaz had for a long time *cried and lamented*, while all the others joined him, so that the commotion was very great, I said to them, "*Be silent* and I will show you my throne, and the glory of its splendor."

In *Vita* 41:1–42 the angel Michael orders Seth, whose request cannot be satisfied, in a very similar formula: "Seth, *O man of God*, do not weep" (cf. "Be silent, *O his beloved man*" of *3 Baruch*).

The rejection of mourning can have different motives:

1.1. It may imply consolation, as in the following order to Jeremiah:

> "Restrain your voice from weeping and your eyes from tears, for there is a reward for your work," says the Lord, "They shall come back from the land of the enemy, there is hope for your future, says the Lord, your children shall come back to their own country" (Jer 31:16–17).

See *T. Job* 33:1–2 referred to above and also "Be not weary, for when the day of trouble and heaviness comes, others will weep and be sorrowful, but you will be merry and have abundance" (*4 Ezra* 2:27). The call to be silent and the motif of silence are found frequently with the promise of the rebuilding of the Temple. The exact wording may be found in the following verses:

> And the Lord shall inherit Judah his portion in the Holy Land, and shall choose Jerusalem again. *Be silent* [Heb חס, Gk εὐλαβείσθω; also in the verses below], O all flesh, before the Lord, for he is raised up out of his holy habitation. (Zech 2:16–17)
>
> But the Lord is in his holy Temple: *be silent* before him all the earth. (Hab 2:20)
>
> *Be silent* at the presence of the Lord God: for the day of the Lord is at hand. (Zeph 1:7).[15]

In *3 Baruch*, which contains no promises of the restoration, only the subsequent vision may serve as a consolation. Comparison with an analogous situation in Christian tradition may be productive. Similar to *3 Baruch* the mourning over Jesus (the "temple of whose body" was destroyed; John 2:21) is interrupted by a revelation in John 20:11–17. In another

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[15] Torresan, "Silence."

Christian text referring to the same event the rationale to stop the mourning is stated explicitly: "as they mourned and wept, the Lord showed himself unto them and said to them, 'For whom do you weep? Weep no more, I am he whom you seek'" (Ethiopic *Ep. Apostles* 10), i.e., there is no real reason for a lament. The same logic may be in effect in *3 Baruch*: the mourning over the earthly Temple is interrupted by the vision of the heavenly Temple.

Moreover, there may be an additional link between the rejection of mourning and the scenes of the celestial liturgy. The Oil Reward as the climax of the vision (ch. 15) may be regarded as a demonstrative breaking of the mourning rites,[16] which according to Jewish customs included abstinence from anointing (2 Sam 14:2; *b. Moed. Q.* 21a).

1.2. An order to cease weeping may also imply a call to stop provoking God by complaining about God's decision to destroy Jerusalem, as in the next command below: "I became silent. And the angel told me: 'Cease to provoke God'" (1:6G). R. Akiba was committed to rejoice despite the destruction of Jerusalem and objected to the sages' urging him: "while our holy city lies in ruins, weep, do not laugh" (*Sifre Deut* 43). Cf. the Rabbinic principle: "a man must bless [God] for bad things as he blesses for good ones" (*m. Ber.* 9.5).[17] Ben Sira, although prescribing public mourning ("avoid not those who weep, but mourn with those who mourn" (Sir 7:34), calls for moderation in grief: "it will not help him [the deceased], but will harm you" (38:21; 17–23; cf. *Ps.-Phoc.* 97; *Syr. Men.* 458–467). Negative statements about sadness and excessive mourning are found in Rabbinic writings: God's presence (Shekhina) does not descend into an atmosphere of sadness (*b. Shab.* 30b); there can be no sorrow in the presence of God (*b. Hag.* 5b); a man should not pray in a sorrowful mood (*b. Ber.* 31a). Cf. a Rabbinic interpretation of Jer 22:10:

> "Weep not for the dead and do not bemoan him." "Weep not" – that is, not more than sufficient; and "do not bemoan him" – that is, not more than prescribed … the Holy One, blessed be He, says: "Be not more merciful than I am." (*b. Moed* Q. 27b)

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[16] For oil closely associated with joy see Ps 45:8; Prov 27:9. The same with wine, moderate use of which is not opposed in ch. 4, while it does fall out of use in certain circles mourning the Temple after its destruction (*t. Sot.* 15.11).

[17] The saying is immediately followed by the prescription "not to act thoughtlessly against the eastern gate which is against the Holy of Holies," which is exactly the location of Baruch's lament (see comm. to T:2 above).

2. The silence may also, on the contrary, be part of a mourning setting (as, e.g., in Job 2:13). In *Jeremiah* and *Lamentation* it is connected to the mourning over the Temple:

> Assemble yourselves, and let us enter into the defended cities, and let us be *silent* there: for the Lord our God hath put us to *silence*, and given us water of gall to drink, because we have sinned against the Lord (Jer 8:14)
>
> The elders of the daughter of Zion sit on the ground in *silence* (Lam 2:10)
>
> Let him sit alone in *silence* when he has laid it on him; let him put his mouth in the dust, there may yet be hope (Lam 3:28–29)

In some of the fragments above, silence may indicate restraint from prayer or from mentioning God's name (as in Amos 6:10; 8:3) or from prophecy (as in Ezek 3:26: "I will make your tongue stick to the roof of your mouth so that you will *be silent* and unable to rebuke them;" cf. 23:21–22 and 24:25–27).[18] See also Am 5:13. In some traditions, God, Metatron, and angels themselves weep and bewail the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer 13:17; *y. Ber.* 59a; *Pesiq. R.* 29.12; *Lam. Rab.* Intr. 24; etc.).

3. A call for silence might have some kind of cultic or ritual background (as it has probably in Zech 2:17 and Hab 2:20 above; cf. also Ps 62:1; *Ep. Arist.* 92 and 95; Rev 8:1; *T. Adam* 1.12; *m. Tamid* 5.1–6). Mary Dean-Otting supposes that it might be a reflection of Hellenistic mysterial practices, where silence is a part of the ritual setting;[19] see comm. to "mysteries" in 1:6. In the *Mithras Liturgy* 2.21–22 the initiate cries: "Silence, silence, silence, the sign of the living, incorruptible God."[20] On the role of silence in initiations into the mysteries, see Plutarch, *De garrul.* 505–6; Hippolytus *Ref.* 5.8.39. Cf. *Exod. Rab.* 29 (end):

> When God revealed the Torah, no sparrow chirped, no bird flew, no ox lowed; the heavenly Ofanim moved not; the Seraphim did not chant the Sanctification; men spoke not; the sea roared not; no creature uttered a sound; and the world was silent.

Silence is also a symptom of trance during a revelation:

> he [Isaiah] became silent, and he did not see the men who stood before him, though his eyes were open. Moreover his lips were silent, and the mind of his body was taken up from him, but his breath was in him (*Asc. Isa.* 6:10–12)

Silence is an important part of the prayer experience for both Greeks (Homer, *Iliad* 9.171; Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 295–97; Thucydides 6.32.1)[21]

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[18] Cf. Wilson, "Interpretation."

[19] Mylonas, *Eleusis*, 233; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 108–109.

[20] Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, 6.2.21–22.

[21] Mensching, *Schweigen,* 13–21.

and Jews (cf. 1 Sam 1:13 and the variety of terminology for "keeping silent" in the Pss 32:3; 37:7; 38:3, 13–14; 39:2; 65:2; etc.).[22] For a similar tradition, see also the Georgian *Book of Adam* 6:1–2:

> While you pray, let no sound come from your mouth, for we are not worthy to open our mouths, for our lips are impure because we transgressed the commandments, concerning the food of Paradise which God had forbidden us. Rather, *be silent*, only do penitence in the water for thirty-four days with all your heart and I will do the same in the Jordan river, until God hearkens and gives us food.

In *3 Baruch* this may be connected to the concept of angelic mediation, central for this book. First, the angel might order Baruch to stop direct communication with God. From this point on, through the whole book, Baruch speaks only to *angelus interpres*. Second, his silence may be a necessary condition to enable an angelic prayer offering in the climax of the vision (chs. 12–14), since angels cannot serve while the people of Israel communicate with God: "The voice of Jacob [here 'people of Israel'], this is the voice that silences both celestial and terrestial beings" (*Gen. Rab.* 65.21; cf. angelic silence connected to the prayer activity of humans in Rev 8:1; *T. Adam* 1:12 [esp. Syriac]; *b. Hag* 12b).[23]

Gnostic writings are preoccupied with "silence" in various meanings. Besides the ideas of the deity as the "Silent One" and the Dyad of the Ineffable (ἄῤῥητον) and the Silence (Σιγήν; see Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1; cf. *CH* 1.30; 31; 10.5; cf. comm. to "ineffable" in T:1), the pious must be silent in various senses:

> He is perfect, the invisible God to whom one speaks in silence … What is the way to sing a hymn through it [silence]? … I am silent, my father. I want to sing a hymn to you while I am silent. … For it is right before God that we keep silent about what is hidden. Return to [praising], my son, and sing while you are silent. Ask what you want in silence … It is advantageous from now on, that we keep silent in a reverent posture. Do not speak about the vision from now on (*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*; *Marsanes*; *Gospel of the Egyptians*; *passim*).[24]

Here, as in regard to the silent prayer, keeping silence on the things revealed is also mentioned.

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[22] Cf. Gillmayr-Bucher, "Schweigen"; Spieckermann, "Schweigen"; Horst, "Silent."

[23] Cf. *Hekh. Rabbati* (ms Oxford 1531; #173). Cf. Bauckham, *Climax*, 70–83.

[24] Cf. Ignatius of Antioch: "It is better for a man to be silent and be [a Christian], than to talk and not to be one." "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." "He who possesses the word of Jesus, is truly able to hear even his very silence, that he may be perfect, and may both act as he speaks, and be recognized by his silence" (*Eph.* 15). See Chadwick, "Silence." For different meanings of silence, see also Knohl, *Sanctuary.*

4. Also in *3 Baruch* the command to be silent might have been understood as an order not to reveal the vision to others or at least not to divulge "mysteries" to "uninitiated" (see comm. to "mysteries" below). Apocalyptic mysteries are supposed to be kept (*1 En.* 9:6; 10:6; 16:3–4; 65:6; 69:15; *Apoc. Abr.* 14:4; *T. Jud* 16:4; *T. Job* 8:19; 2 Cor 12:4) or to be shared only with chosen (*1 En.* 65:11; *4 Ezra* 8:62; 12:36–38); cf. *Od. Sol.* 8:10; *Gen. Rab.* 50.9; 68.12; 78.2; etc.) or shared only *partim* (*4 Ezra* 14:26; 14:44–46). Similar statements were made by Philo:

> Thus too, being admitted into the inmost mysteries, she [i.e., the soul] will learn not to blab or babble them thoughtlessly, but to store them up and guard them in secrecy and silence. For it is written "make buried cakes" [Gen 18:6], because the sacred story that unveils to us the truth of the Uncreated and His potencies must be buried, since the knowledge of divine rites is a trust which not every comer can guard aright (*Sacr.* 15.60)

> These thoughts, ye initiated, whose ears are purified, receive into your souls as holy mysteries indeed and babble not of them to any of the profane. Rather as stewards guard the treasure in your own keeping, not where gold and silver, substances corruptible, are stored, but where lies that most beautiful of all possessions, the knowledge of the Cause and of virtue … (*Cher.* 14.48)[25]

The further advantages of silence are discussed by Philo several times, e.g., in *Somn.* 40 and *Mut.* 42. The Rabbis also limit the audience for some kinds of sacral knowledge:

> One must not discuss the Work of Creation before two students, not the Work of Chariot before one student, unless [the student] be wise and able to speculate by himself. He who speaks of the things which are before, behind, above, and below, it were better he had never been born. (*m. Hag.* 2.1)

> Just as a treasure is not revealed to every one, so also you are not allowed to discourse on the profundities of the Law except in the presence of worthy persons. (*y. Abod. Zar.* 2.8.41d)

The claim for secrecy is rare but found also in Hekhalot literature, as in *Hekh. Zutarti*, based upon Prov 25:2: "'It is the Glory of God to keep a word secret,' – so that you will not be turned out of this world." In the Gospel of Luke, Zechariah is also ordered to be silent by the angel Gabriel, although here as a punishment, a deprivation of an ability to share his revelation: "Be silent and unable to speak until the day when these things take place, because you did not believe my words, which will be fulfilled in their

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[25] Here and below the quotes from Philo are based on Colson and Whitaker's translation (Loeb edition), often revised and emended.

proper time" (Lk 1:20). Silence as a sign of penance was ordered to Eve by her husband in *Vita* 6:1.[26]

However, the interpretation above would contradict 2:4 and 17:1S (if the latter verse is original), where Baruch *is* supposed to share his knowledge with "sons of men" without any limitation mentioned.

5. A very simple meaning of a call for attention is also possible, as in "be silent and listen" of Deut 27:9 or "teach me, and I will be silent;" "be silent before me so that I may speak;" "be silent, and let me speak;" "be silent, and I will teach you wisdom" of, respectfully, Job 6:24; 13:13; 33:31; and 33:33 (all of root חרש). Cf. *Poimandres*:

> Thereon [I said]: "O Shepherd, ..., for now I am filled with great desire and long to hear; do not run off." The Shepherd said: "Keep silence, for I have not yet unrolled for you the first discourse." "Lo! I am still," I said. (*CH* 1.16)

A general encomium on silence may be found in Prov 17:28; Sir 20:5; *Monostichs of Menander* 597; see also *Syr. Men.* 311–313: "There exists nothing better than silence. Being silent is at all times a virtue."[27]

1:3G. *Salvation of Jerusalem* (σωτηρίας Ἰερουσαλήμ). The hope for restoration might be meant. The motif of earthly or heavenly restoration of Jerusalem is widely known in both Jewish and early Christian sources. However, a call "not to care so much for the salvation of Jerusalem" and Baruch's promise "not to continue speaking" (1:7) on the matter appear only in G and may be one of the later Christian interpolations typical for the Greek version. At the same time, the position may be explained also in a purely Jewish context. "Not to care so much" means either that (1) the Temple is no longer important, or (2) its destruction has some positive aspects as well, or (3) its restoration is granted.

(1) The significance of the destruction of the earthly Temple is relativized as long as the heavenly Temple continues to function (as will be shown in the subsequent vision).[28] This idea is very clearly formulated in *T. Job*

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[26] Although there may be a special reason for this: "Let not a word go forth from your mouth since we are unworthy to ask of the Lord, since our lips are unclean from the illicit and forbidden Tree."

[27] More on silence in the ancient world see Mensching, *Schweigen*; Picard, *Silence*; Casel, *Silentio*; Mortley, "Silence."

[28] Collins (*Apocalyptic*, 198–201) and Nickelsburg (*Jewish*, 299–303) agree with this interpretation.

36:3 (8:9): "My heart is not fixed on earthly things, since the earth and all that inhabit it are unstable. But my heart holds fast to heaven, because there is no upset in heaven." In the post-destruction world, prayers take the place of sacrifices and go directly to the celestial spiritualized Temple (see *3 Bar.* 11 and comm. there).

(2) The destruction of the Temple is evidence of the smooth functioning of the reward mechanism as described in chs. 12–16. This is the understanding of S: "It came to Jerusalem to accept this." Other positive aspects of the fall of the Temple may be found in dialectic conceptions of some Rabbinic sources, e.g., the destruction of "stone and wood" saved Israel from annihilation by God's wrath; see *b. Kid.* 31b; *Midr. Pss.* 79.360; 92.408 ("songs and music at the erection of the Temple, songs and music in the destruction of the Temple"); *Lam. Rab.* 4.148; the Messiah is born on the day of the destruction (e.g., *y. Ber.* 2.5a; *Lam. Rab.* 1.89–90).

(3) Restoration is promised in numerous sources. See, e.g., the dialogue of Michael and Sammael (both appear as opposing forces also in *3 Baruch*), where Michael says: "Rejoice not against me, my enemy. When I fall, I shall rise … Even if I sit in darkness owing to the destruction of the First and Second Temples, the Lord will be my light on the Day of the Messiah"[29] (*Deut. Rab.* 11.9); cf. *Petirat Moshe* 125; *2 Petirat Moshe* 379.

1:6. *Mysteries* / *great* [or "many"] *mysteries* (μυστήρια / **тайны мъногы**). The concept, central for *3 Baruch*, appears also in 1:4S ("all the mysteries of God;" "all [the things] of God" in G); 1:8G ("mysteries of God;" the verse is absent in S); 2:6 ("greater mysteries" in G); 5:3S ("mysteries greater than theses;" but "works greater than these" in G); 17:1S ("all the mysteries"); cf. also θαυμαστά "wonders" of 10:5G and ἄρρητα "ineffable things" of T:1G.

The collocation "mysteries of God" (as in 1:4S and 1:8G) appears in Wis 2:22 referring to retribution (see below). The same combination (Heb **רזי אל**) is found in Qumran texts with different meanings; see the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3.23) and the *War Scroll* (1QM 3.9 and 16.16; cf. 14.14). Some manuscripts of *2 Enoch* have a title "Book of the Mysteries of God, a revelation to Enoch." In a similar apocalyptic context it is found also in Greek *Apoc. Ezra* 1:5: "And I saw the mysteries

[29] Cf. "the Day of Judgment" in 1:7 below.

of God and His angels;" cf. "Lord, give the glory, in order that I may see your mysteries" (1:2).[30] For Rabbinic מסטורין של הקב"ה, see below.

The combination "great [or "many"] mysteries" (as in S here or similar to 2:6G) is known from *4 Ezra* in a very similar context: "the Most High has revealed many mysteries to you. For he has seen your righteous conduct, that you have sorrowed continually for your people, and mourned greatly over Zion" (10:38–39). "Many mysteries" (Lat *mysteria multa*) may in fact go back to "great mysteries" (Lat *multus* may render Heb רב with both meanings); see also *Apoc. Mos.* 34:1, where Eve, witnessing an angelic liturgy, sees "two great and fearful mysteries [μεγάλα καὶ φοβερὰ μυστήρια] before the presence of God".

Philo uses both combinations: as θεοῦ μυστήρια: "for not to all must leave be given to contemplate the mysteries of God, but only to those who are able to hide and guard them" (*Leg. All.* 2.15.57; cf. 3.1.3); "Moses, the keeper and guardian of the mysteries of the Existing One, will be one called above" (*Plant.* 6.26), so also τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια "great mysteries" distinguished of τὰ μίκρα μυστήρια "minor mysteries" (*Leg. All.* 3.33.100; *Cher.* 44.49; *Sacr.* 16.62; cf. comm. below). The terms might be borrowed from the language of the mystery cults[31] (cf. on "initiation" to mysteries in *Sacr.* 15.60; *Cher.* 14.48 in comm. to "be silent" in 1:3). Whereas minor mysteries present the indirect knowledge of God which may be achieved by practicing virtue/Law and learning of God's creation and actions, Philo's "great mysteries," the direct knowledge of God, may be obtained only through revelation.[32]

The term "mysteries" may refer either to the entire vision or to its parts.[33] It is difficult to specify a content of the Greek term μυστήρια as it is used in *3 Baruch*. It depends on the setting in which it is found. Biblical μυστήρια (Aram רזין or רזיא) refers to the future events hidden in a dream (Dan 2:8–29); cf. also נסתרות (Deut 29:28). In the *Wisdom of Solomon* it means the mechanism of retribution: "As for the mysteries of God, they [godless] knew them not, neither did they hope for a recompense of holiness nor discern the innocent souls' reward" (22:2). However, Wisdom also is "privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God" (Wis 8:4). "Mysteries are revealed unto the meek" according to Sir 3:18–20. The word is frequent in

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[30] Cf. the titles of *3 Baruch* and the *Apocalypse of Ezra*, which are also very similar (see comm. to T:1).

[31] See Sandmel, *Philo*, 143–145; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 103.

[32] Wolfson, *Philo*, 1.47–48. For an alternative interpretation see comm. to 6:3.

[33] See the survey of the term applied to *3 Baruch* in Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 102–109. Cf. the general treatment of the term in Bockmuehl, *Revelation*.

1 Enoch: it refers to the celestial secrets to be kept in the *Book of Watchers* (*1 En.* 9:6; 10:6; 16:3; cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 14; etc.); in the *Similitudes* it defines wonders of the created world to be revealed to the righteous and among them the secrets of natural phenomena:

> And there my eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and the dew, and there I saw from where they proceed in that place and from where they saturate the dusty earth. (*1 En.* 41:3–4)

See also *1 En.* 41:1; 49:2; 51:3; 52:2 and 5; 59:1–3; 63:3; 65:6, 11; 69:15. In the *Similitudes* Michael (appearing in *3 Bar.* 11 too) is the one who introduces the mysteries (69:15; 71:3–4), including "the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries." The term may also refer to post-mortem existence (*1 En.* 103:2; cf. comm. to *3 Bar* 15). The term also occurs in *4 Ezra* 10:38; 12:36, 38; 14:26; title of *2 Enoch*; *Apoc. Abr.* 14:4. In Qumran texts the term relates either to (a) a hidden future,[34] or to (b) natural phenomena (especially in *Hodayot*; "luminaries for their mysteries" in 1QH^a 9.11), or to (c) "hidden knowledge, that leads to ethical behavior" (1QS 9.18–19; 11.3–6).[35] Philo uses the word with different meanings which are sometimes very similar to those of the Qumran sources (*Leg. All.* 3.21.71; 23.100) and sometimes borrowing from the language of the mystery religions (see above). The Rabbis use the semitized form of this Greek term – מסטרין, appearing also in a combination מסטורין של הקב"ה (*Gen. Rab.* 50.9; 68.12) identical to θεοῦ μυστήρια of Philo and *3 Bar.* 1:4S and 1:8G.[36] "God reveals them only to righteous" (*Tan.* Vayira 5). See the homophonic Heb מסתרים, מסתרין designating secret places of heaven in *b. Hag.* 5b; *Lam. Rab.*, intr. 24. The angel Metatron (revealing heavenly secrets to visionaries) is called מסטורין, מסטירין in *Gen. Rab.* 5.2. "Mysteries of creation" are known to the Hekhalot literature (*Hekh. Rabbati* 6.170–171). *Hekh. Zut.* in its opening lines speaks about the revelation of "secrets of the world and the mysteries of wisdom." Note also "mysteries of wisdom" opposed to "mysteries of the world" revealed to a visionary in *3 En.* 11:1–2.

Of all the above the most appropriate for the content of our revelation are either the mechanism of retribution (taking the climactic part of the vision and probably being its main concern) as in Wis 22:2, or the angelic

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[34] Vogt, "Mysteria," 248; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 104.

[35] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 104–105; cf. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 519–21.

[36] See Liebermann, *Hellenism*, 119–120; Bregman, "Mishna."

liturgy (enabling this mechanism in *3 Baruch*) as in *Apoc. Mos.* 34:1, or natural phenomena as luminaries in *1 En.* 69–71; 1QH^{a} 9.11 and meteorological phenomena of *1 En.* 41:3–4.

On the problem of distinction vs. synonymy between "mysteries" and "Glory of God" in *3 Baruch* see comm. to 4:2S. See also comm. to "great and wonderful things" in 4:1.

And I will show you other mysteries, greater than these / and I will tell you great mysteries which no man had seen. "Greater mysteries" are mentioned also in 2:6G and 5:3S, where they are totally appropriate to the context, "great mysteries" – in 1:6S. Compare with *Apoc. Abr.* 9:6: "mysterious *and* great things," and see comm. to "mysteries" above. The promise contrasts the warning given to Baruch not to seek "great things" in Jer 45:5. According to James, since Baruch has yet seen nothing, the mentioning of "greater" mysteries may be either a result of a lacuna or an assimilation of 2:6G.[37] It is more probable, however, that it is a technical term like "Greater Mysteries" of Hellenistic cults as opposed to "Lesser" ones. Another possible explanation may be that a "minor" mystery is the theological problem of the fall of Jerusalem, raised in the question of 1:2,[38] as opposed to "greater mysteries" of the whole creation shown to Baruch in the subsequent vision.

1:6–7S. *You will neither add or omit [anything] … I will neither subtract nor add a word* (**ни приложиши ни оуложиши … не трѣбоуіѫ не приложѫ словесе единого**).The motif and expression, well attested in early Jewish literature (e.g., Deut 4:2; 12:32; Eccl 3:14; *1 En.* 104:11; *Ep. Arist.* 311; Rev 22:18) and known in the same wording also in other Slavonic documents,[39] is absent in G. As Gaylord notes, CS **приложити** 'add' may mean also 'change.'[40] Thus, an alternative interpretation would be: "I will neither subtract nor *change* a word. If I do omit, the Lord shall *change* my judgment on the Day of Judgment." Harlow notices an irony here: the composition containing these words has obviously reworked versions. He tries to settle the contradiction: "May 1:7b reflect the attitude of a copyist on justifying the addition of material? The words 'If I do omit …' suggest that

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[37] James, "Baruch," lvi.

[38] It is among central problems for *4 Ezra*; *2 Baruch*; *4 Baruch*, *Apoc. Abr.*; see Harlow, *Baruch*, 91, n. 43.

[39] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 7.

[40] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 7.

omission is the more grievous wrong."[41] In fact, it might be an elliptic construction typical for the Bible: "If I do omit ["or add" – referring to 1:6], the Lord shall add …" The same inconsistency characterizes Josephus in the same words promising to retell the biblical narrative "neither adding nor omitting anything" (οὐδὲν προσθεὶς οὐδ' αὖ παραλιπών), and constantly violating the promise (*Ant*. 1.17).[42]

1:7. *Day of Judgment*. Contra James, the expression cannot testify for Christian provenance.[43] The wording (Gk ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως going back to Heb יום הדין or Aram יומא דדינא) known in LXX (e.g., Isa 34:8; Prov 6:34 [Heb יום נקם]; Esth 10:3) is common also for the early post-biblical literature,[44] including NT[45] and Rabbinic texts.[46] Normally, the day of a heavenly judgment of different kinds is meant (although sometimes, as in *b. Sanh*. 8a, it is just a regular "court-day"). The question is whether the universal eschatological finale or an individual one is implied. In light of the vision below – neglecting eschatology but referring to a personal afterlife – the latter might seem more probable.[47] In this case, *3 Baruch* would belong to the group of early Jewish texts which presuppose that the afterlife reward is not postponed until the last judgment but is given already at death.[48] A court of heavenly judgment is known already in Dan 7:9, 10, 22, while individual judgment procedure is found associated with a specific day not earlier than in *m. Rosh HaSh*. 1.2 ("On the New Year Day all men pass before him [the Lord] like young lambs"). The ceremony witnessed by Baruch in chs. 12–16, probably bearing certain features of the Day of Atonement service, may belong to this kind of judgment session put in a liturgic setting (see comm. to ch. 14).

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41 Harlow, *Baruch*, 40, n. 24.

42 See Inowlocki, "Neither Adding."

43 See James, "Baruch," lvi. Thus Toy, Ginzberg, "Baruch," 551.

44 Tob (Sin.) 1:18; *Pss. Sol.* 15:12; Jdt 16:17; *1 En.* 10:12 (cf. Greek *En.* 10:6; 22:13; 93:4; 97:5); *2 En.* (A) 39:2; *2 Bar.* 59:8; *4 Ezra* 7:38, 102, 104, 113; 12:34; *T. Levi* (α) 3:3; *Apoc. Ezra* 2:26–32; *Apoc. Mos.* 12:1,

45 Matt 10:15, 22, 24, 36; 2Pet 2:9; 3:7; 1 John 4:17.

46 *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 3:15; *y. Ber.* 61a.8.6; *y. Hag.* 8b.2.1; *y. Erub.* 30b.5.1; *b. Sotah* 3b; *b. Taan.* 8b; *Tan.* Vayira 3; Pequde 3; *Exod. Rab.* 23.6; etc.

47 The only another reference to the eschaton may be the "end" τέλος of 13:2G (cf. note ibid.).

48 On such documents see Bauckham, "Hell," especially p. 357; cf. idem, *Fate*. This kind of annual or lifetime verdict may be meant in ch. 15 (see comm. ibid. and in chs. 4, 10, and 14).

At the same time, the Divine judgment at the end of time[49] is more widely attested in early Jewish sources as well as in Rabbinic literature. The expression "Day of Judgment" appears frequently in the literature of the Second Temple period and almost exclusively in a universal eschatological sense.[50] An instructive parallel occurs in *4 Ezra*: it is the eschatological Day of Judgment, when all physical phenomena (almost all observed by Baruch in his vision) become irrelevant, while God's Glory (which Baruch does not see) is shown:

> The Day of Judgment will be thus: it has no sun or moon or stars, or cloud or thunder or lightning or wind or water or air, or darkness or evening or morning, or warm season [*aestas*] or spring or summer [*aestus*] or heat or winter or frost or cold or hail or rain or dew, or noon or night or dawn or shining or brightness or light, but only the splendor of the Glory of the Most High, by which all shall see what has been determined [for them]. (*4 Ezra* 7:38–42)

1:8G. *Angel of hosts* [or "of powers"] (ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων). The expression appears again in 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S (in Slavonic – in sing. **аньгелъ силъы** or even corrupted **сильнъыи** "powerful angel"). This angelic class is well attested; cf., e.g., LXX Josh 5:14 (reproducing Heb **צבא**); Greek *1 En.* 20:1; 61:10; *T. Abr.* (A) 9:3; 14:12 (Michael as "a commander-in-chief of hosts"); 2 Thess 1:7; cf. "hosts/powers" in Col 1:16; Eph 1:21; Rom 8: 38; 1 Pet 3:22. The same angel is called "archangel" in 10:1G. See another (lesser?) rank of "angels over the principalities" (Gk ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν) as attendants of humanity in 12:3G. Hughes cites Philo's reference to the "six highest Powers" known as angels (*Conf.* 34). Of them two of the highest – "Divine Logos" and "Creative Power" – may correspond respectively to Michael (identified by Philo with Logos in *Her.* 42) and angels of hosts.[51] For more on angelic classes, see comm. to 4:7S and introductory comm. to ch. 11.

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[49] Which is referred in MT as "that day" (Isa 17:7; 30:23; 38:5; Hos 2:18; Mic 2:4; 5:10; Zech 9:16; 14: 4, 6, 9), "those days" (Joel 3:1), "that time" (Jer 30:25; Zeph 3:19, 20), "the day" (Ezek 7:10; cf. Rom 13:12; Heb 10:25; 1 Thess 5:4), known also as "the Day of the Lord" (e.g., Joel 3:4 (2:31); Mal 4:23; and *passim*; cf. 1 Cor 5:5; 1 Thess 5:2 and *passim*).

[50] E.g., *1 En.* 91:15; 94:9; 98:10; 104:5; *2 Bar.* 24; *T. Abr.* (A) 10ff; *4 Ezra* 6ff; *Sifre* Deut. 307; *b. Sanh.* 91b; *b. Kid.* 40b; *Pesiq. R.* 20; *Tan. B.* 1.21; *Midr. Tannaim* 187.

[51] Hughes, "Baruch," 534.

C. Vision

I. Builders or *Abode of Demons*

Builders: First Account (2:1–3)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taken me he brought me where heaven was set,	1 And the angel of host took me and carried me where the firmament of heaven was.
and where there was a river which no one can cross, nor any alien spirit of all those that God created.	
2 And having taken me he brought me to the first heaven, and showed me a very large door.	2 And there was the first heaven and in that heaven he showed me very large doors.
And he told me, "Let us enter through it."	And the angel told me, "Let us enter through these doors,"
And we entered	And we entered
as if [borne] on wings,	
a distance of about a 30 days' journey.	about a 30 days' journey.
	He showed me means of safety.
3 And he showed me within heaven a plain.	3 And I saw a plain,
And there were men living thereon,	where men were living
with the faces of cattle,	whose faces were those of cattle,
and the horns of deer,	with the horns of deer,
and the feet of goats,	the feet of goats,
and the loins of sheep.	and the loins of sheep.

COMMENTARY

The revelation begins with the experience and visionary topography well attested in other apocalyptic works: the protagonist is brought by his guiding angel to the "river" (Oceanus surrounding earth), which prevents access to the place "where heaven was set" (a horizon, where heaven and earth meet). From there they fly into a gate of heaven (which may be one of the gates that facilitate the motion of the sun in 6:13, and thus be situated on the level of horizon) and after a long journey (which is conditioned by the extraordinary thickness of the firmament, of which we learn in 2:5) arrive at a celestial plain behind it. From this point, "Baruch's" overall experience in the lower heaven finds no precedents. The first thing he finds in heaven are composite zoomorphic beings inhabiting the celestial plain. The identification of these creatures as given in 2:7 below (the builders of the Tower of Babel) does not seem to be comprehensive. It is discussed in detail in introductory comm. to ch. 3.

2:1G. *And having taken me he brought me* (καὶ λαβών με ἤγαγέν με). This formula is used regularly for transitions from heaven to heaven (2:2; 3:1; 6:1; 8:1) and for the return to earth (17:2). The formula is attested also in *2 Enoch* (21:5); *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*; Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* (19:20–23); *Sefer Eliyahu*.[1] It must be of biblical origin; cf. Ezek 8:3; 11:1, 24, which has the same formula although in parataxis (**ותבא** ... **ותשא** and **נשאתני ותביאני**) and is used in a similar context: Ezekiel is taken by a spirit (or a wind; Heb **רוח**) to celestial gates; see the comment immediately below.

2:1. *Where heaven was set / where the firmament of heaven was*. On the "foundations of heaven" see 2 Sam 22:8 (Heb **מוסדות השמים**); Job 26:11 (Heb **עמודי שמים**). The furthest ends of the earth touch the hemispheric heaven (Deut 4:32; cf. Deut 30:4; Is 13:5; Jer 49:36; Ps 19:7; Neh 1:9; cf. CAD I.240 and E.79). Enoch saw "the ends of earth whereon heaven rests, and the portals of the heaven open" (*1 En.* 31:1–2; cf. *1 En.* 17–18; etc.; *Apoc. Paul* 21; 31; and *passim*). According to Rabbinic views, heaven and earth "kiss each other" at the horizon, and between the water above and that below there are but two or three fingerbreadths (*t. Hag.* 2.5; *Gen. Rab.* 2.4). Rava bar Hana was also shown where heaven and earth meet, and there also was, although not a door, a heavenly window

[1] Bauckham, "Hell," 363.

(*b. B. Bat.* 74a). Similar to *3 Baruch* the foundations of heaven are set on the Ocean River in *Pirqe R. El.* 3.6 (see comm. below):

> Hooks of heaven are linked to the waters of the Ocean [אוקינוס], since the waters of the Ocean are between the ends of heaven and the ends of earth. And the ends of heaven are spread above the water of the Ocean, as it is written, "He sets the rafters of his lofts in the waters" [Ps 104:3]. From inside heaven is like a basket [קופתא] and it goes up like a tent …"

2:1S. *Firmament of heaven* (оутвръжденіе небеси). The same root as in **твердь, твердьство/твердьствие** of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (10:8; 19:6; 19:4,7), although there the highest heavens are meant. Here it must designate a construction supporting the lowest heaven (like in *1 En.* 18:3, 5, 8, 13; 33:1), rendering Gk στερέωμα, στήριγμα (Heb רקיע). The combination as a whole is an exact equivalent of Gk τὸ στερέωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ / Heb **רקיע השמים** of Gen 1:20, which is "separating water from water" (Gen 1:6). Here it probably separates the Ocean River from the heavenly waters above (on celestial waters see 4:6; 10:2).

2:1G. *A river which no one can cross* (ποταμὸς ὃν οὐδεὶς δύναται περᾶσαι αὐτόν). It must be "the river Ocean" preceding the celestial gates also in *T. Abr.* (B) 8:3. The most similar descriptions are found in the *Apocalypse of Paul*:

> And he [angel] brought me down from the third heaven, and led me into the second heaven, and again he led me to the firmament, and from the firmament he led me to the gates of heaven. And the beginning of its foundation was upon the river that washes all the earth. And I asked the angel and said, "Lord, what is this river of water?" And he told me, "This is the Ocean." And suddenly I came out of heaven. (*Apoc. Paul* 21)

> He led me to the Ocean that bears the foundations of heaven … And I went with the angel and he took me by the way of the sun setting,[2] and I saw the beginning of heaven founded upon a great river of water, and I asked, "What is this river of water?" And he told me, "This is the Ocean which compasses the whole earth about." (*Apoc. Paul* 31)

In a damaged fragment of *Apoc. Zeph.* 8 the seer, most probably, has to cross a water reservoir in order to enter the abode of the just. A "kind of a river" (ποταμώδης) separates the worlds in *Hist. Rech.* 2:6. See also "the river of fire" and "the great sea" of *1 En.* 17:6. In the first heaven there

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[2] Baruch most probably also begins his journey from the west; see comm. to 6:1 below.

is "a vast ocean, much bigger than the earthly ocean" (*2 En.* (J) 3:3).[3] In most cases these water reservoirs lie on the way from earth to heaven. In different traditions they divide earth and the dwelling place of the dead. In *Sib. Or.* 1:301 the souls of the dead cross Acheron in order to enter the realms of bliss. Ancient Babylonians believed that the dead crossed the river Hubur when entering "the great below."[4] Similarly, Josephus writes about the Essenes:

> Sharing the belief of the sons of Greece, they believe that for the virtuous souls there is reserved an abode beyond the Ocean, in a region that is neither oppressed with storms of rain or snow, or with intense heat, but that this place is such as is refreshed by the gentle breathing of a western wind, that is perpetually blowing from the Ocean. (*Bell.* 2.155)

These writings must reflect a very ancient motif already known to the *Gilgamesh Epic* (10–11), Babylonian *Mappa Mundi* (BM, No 92687), Homer (shlield of Achilles as described in *Iliad*; cf. also *Od.* 10.513; 11.155; 24.11), and Herodotus (*Hist.* 4.36).[5]

The identification of the river of *3 Baruch* with the "upper water" (Heb **מים עליונים**) of Rabbinic tradition (*Gen. Rab.* 4.3; *b. Hag.* 15a), suggested by Ginzberg,[6] is less probable, since Baruch has not reached heaven yet. On celestial waters see comm. to 4:6 and 10:2, where this identification is more appropriate.

Alien spirit (ξένη πνοή. Lit. "alien breath." Different interpretations are possible. The understanding of this unique term may be illuminated by *1 En.* 17–19; *Hist. Rech.* (*Apoc. Zos.*) 2:9; and *Apoc. Abr.* 19–21.

Profane. Gk πνοή means 'living being'; below: οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα πνοή "no living being would be preserved" (8:6). Also here it may be a common Semitized use of the Greek word, according to a metonymic use of Syr *npš*, Heb **נפש**, **נשמה** (cf., e.g., MT and LXX in Ps 150:6). In this case the verse reads: "no one can cross, nor anyone alien." *1 Enoch* has a similar description but applied to "flesh:" "I saw the great rivers and came to the great river and to the great darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks" (*1 En.* 17:6). In the Bible the word "alien" (Heb **זר**) regularly refers either to

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[3] Cf. the "water test" before the sixth gate in Hekhalot ascents (Hekh. Zutarti ## 345; 410).

[4] Heidel, *Gilgamesh*, 172.

[5] Cf. Bietenhard, *Himmlische*, 34.

[6] Toy, Ginzberg, "Baruch."

profane Israelites (not belonging to Levites or priests; e.g., Exod 29:33; 30:33; Lev 22:10, 12, 13; Num 1:51; 17:5; 18:4) or to gentiles (e.g., Is 1:7; 25:2, 5; Jer 2:25; Ezek 11:9; Hos 7:9). Thus also here by the "alien soul/living being" a person not initiated or not worthy for revelatory experience may be meant. This could indicate a perception of the firmaments as hierarchic realms of the heavenly Temple, similar to the terrestrial Temple in that different groups were differently limited in their access to the inner spaces (see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

Wind. Another possible translation is "alien wind." This meaning is found in a very close parallel from the *History of Rechabites*, where πνοὴ ἀνέμου "blowing of wind" also cannot cross the cloud over the river locking an entrance to another world:[7] "Through me cannot pass nor a bird of this world,[8] nor a blowing of wind, not the sun itself; nor the Tempter in this world cannot pass through me" (2:9). "The four winds … that stand between heaven and earth" appear in *1 En.* 18:2–3.[9]

Spirit. The meaning of the odd combination "*alien* wind" is illuminated by the following. Although the "four winds" of *1 Enoch* 18:2–3 are defined as "pillars of heaven" (18:2), "bearing earth and the firmaments of heaven," they must be more than that:

(1) The meanings "wind" and "spirit" can be expressed by the same word in Semitic languages and in Greek (Heb רוח; Gk πνεῦμα). Gk πνεύματα lit. "spirits" could designate even specifically "angels" or "demons."[10] Note also "the east wind which rages through the world like a demon [שעיר]" in *b. B. Bat.* 25a. Although in *3 Baruch* we have πνοή instead of πνεῦμα, its use in the Semitized Greek of Jews and early Christians could be influenced by the wider semantic field of Heb רוח.[11]
(2) The pillars of wind may be angelic creatures, exactly like the "pillars of fire" explicitly identified as fallen angels in 19:10–19–1 below. Spiritual and fiery angels form a regular pair in apocalyptic descriptions (e.g., *Apoc. Abr.* 19).

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[7] James, "Baruch," lvii.

[8] Or less probably "a bird [cannot pass] out of this world" (πετεινὸν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου), cf. "the Tempter in this world" below.

[9] Cf. also a "western wind" In the abode of the virtuous souls beyond the Ocean in *Bell.* 2.155 cited below.

[10] *LPG*, 1104.

[11] See, e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.*, 1.6.1 and *PLG* 1106.

(3) Both winds-spirits and pillars seem to have a special role in transportation between earth and heaven. Ezekiel's transfer to celestial gates by a wind or a spirit (Heb רוח – Gk πνεῦμα; Ezek 8:3; 11:1, 24; etc.) is described with an almost identical expression: "the wind/spirit took me and brought me" (see comm. to "and having taken me" in 2:1G). Abraham and his guide-angel "ascended like great winds to the heaven" (*Apoc. Abr.* 15:4).[12] The winds-spirits-pillars of *1 Enoch* are mentioned as being adjacent to "the paths of the angels" (18:5) and so probably also between earth and heaven,[13] while the angelic pillars of fire are seen "descending" (18:11). Pillars as vehicles between heaven and earth are known to later Jewish mysticism: in the Zohar a similar image of a descending fiery pillar brings the Messiah from heaven and then takes him back (*Zohar* 2.7b); souls of the deceased ascend to the heavenly gate on a pillar (*Midr. haNeʿelam* apud *Zohar Hadash* 21a); see also the term "median pillar" (**העמוד העמצאי**; *Zohar Hadash* 68c; et al.).[14]

Evil spirit. If wind-spirit may mean an angelic force, especially one moving between heaven and earth, what does this indicate about the nature of our "*alien* wind-spirit" which does not have access to heaven (or less probably from heaven to earth)? Heb זר may refer to demons, as in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, to distinguish between the "Aliens" and the "Watchers" and the "Sons of Heaven." Here Bitenosh tells her husband Lamech:

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[12] **вздохомъ іако мъноги ветрьı на небо**. Previous translators understood it as "as if [carried] by many winds", despite the fact that CS **мъноги** cannot be instr. pl. Hence, CS **ветрьı** is also an East Slavic nom. pl. (derived from acc.) rather than instr. The interpretation of previous translators, which contradicts the linguistic data, was obviously provoked by contextual considerations: the comparison of *two* persons, Abraham and Yahoel, or *two* birds carrying them, to "*many* winds" is absurd. It was, however, not taken into account that CS **мъноги** as well as Gk πολύς was widely used in the meaning 'great, strong', frequently rendering Heb רב or גדול (*HR*, 1181–1185). See רוח גדולה "great wind" in Jon 1:4; Job 1:19; 1 Kgs 19:1. Cf. also similar usage of the same word in *Apoc. Abr.* 16:3: **въ мнозѣи глас** "in a great sound" (Heb בקול גדול) and 17:1: "like a voice of many/great waters" (Heb כקול מים רבים).

[13] Thus Dillmann, *Henoch*, 117; see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 285.

[14] Cf. Idel, *Ascensions*, 110–112. These pillars must be equivalents of cosmic ladders with the same function (Gen 28:12; *Ladder of Jacob*; Quran 6.35; etc.; see Altmann, "Ladder;" Idel, *Kabbalah*, 88–96). Both concepts are probably not coincidentally linked, when Jacob has set a "pillar" (מצבה) on the place where he saw the "ladder" (Gen 28:22).

> … this seed comes from you, this conception was by you, the planting of [this] fruit is yours. [It was] not by any Alien, neither by any of the Watchers, nor yet by any of the Sons of Heav[en] [ולא מן כול זר ולא מן כול עירין ולא מן כול בני שמ[ין]]. (1QapGen^{ar} 2.1)

The collocation "alien spirit" as ἀλλότριος πνεῦμα occurs in Iamblichus' *Egyptian Mysteries*, speaking about "souls infected with extraordinary defilements and alien spirits" (ψυχαὶ δὲ περισσῶν μολυσμῶν καὶ ἀλλοτρίων πνευμάτων ἀναπίμπλαται). Alternatively, in the plural form the combination "alien spirits" or "spirits of aliens" might have gone back to Heb רוחות ממזרים "spirits of bastards," which designates the demonic offspring of the fallen angels in *Shirot* (4Q510 1.5 and 4Q511 35.7; cf. *1 En.* 10:9 Cod. Pan.). The very term ממזר 'bastard' in Zech 9:6 is rendered as "alien" in ancient translations (ἀλλογενεῖς in LXX and נכראין in *Tg.*).[15] רוחות (ה)זרים

Not only the name, but also the role of the "alien spirit" in *3 Baruch* – the fact that it cannot ascend to heaven is appropriate for terrestial demonic forces. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* "the earth … and its spiritual ones" (CS **дш҃ьнаıа** probably rendering Gk πνεύματα; 21:3) are opposed to celestial "spiritual angels" (**дχ̑внъıе анг҃ли**; 19:6–7). This confirms the fundamental statement repeated twice in *1 Enoch*: "The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling; but the spirits begotten on earth, on earth is their dwelling" (15:10; cf. 15:7–8).

Thus, the common ground of all these sources is the following conception of the ancient Jewish lore: while some winds-spirits do ascend to heaven or even serve as a means of transportation there, "alien" ones cannot do this. The border realm between earth and heaven is uncrossable for "alien" (demonic) spirits in contrast to angelic spirits.[16]

For other demonological motifs probably implied in *3 Bar.* 3–4 see comm. to 3:5 and 16:3).

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[15] I thank Michael Schneider for the parallels from Iamblichus and translations of Zechariah.

[16] A parallel in the *History of the Rechabites* above preserves rudiments of the conceptions which might lay behind *3 Baruch* as well: (1) "the Tempter" (ὁ πειράζων) is distinguished from the "wind," while in *3 Baruch*, the wind-spirit defined as "alien" is also a demonic power. (2) "The birds of this world" also cannot cross, although nothing is said there about the birds of another world. In *3 Bar.* 10, the latter successfully reach heaven.

2:2. *He brought me to the first heaven, and showed me a very large door / and there was the first heaven and in that heaven he showed me very large doors*. For a similar description, see 3:1–2. For the arrangement of heavens see introductory comm. to ch. 11 (*Ouranology*). "Being brought" to heaven at this stage of the ascent means apparently only the opportunity to see it from beneath, from the place "where heaven was set" (2:1G), after a "30 day's journey" (see comm. below).

Very large door. Heavenly doors (Gk θύρα, CS **двьри**) are mentioned also in 3:1 (second heaven), 4:2S (third heaven). The entrance to the fifth heaven, inaccessible for Baruch, is named differently from the previous openings through which he passed. It is called "gate" (Gk πύλη, CS **врата**) in 11:5 (in pl.) and 15:1. In 14:1 and 17:1 probably the same entrance is called "door" (see comm. ibid). In 11:2 the fifth gate is designated as "gate-tower" (Gk πυλών). In 6:13 we have "365 gates of heaven" (τὰς τριακοσίας ἑξήκοντα πέντε πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). Note also the "Beautiful" Temple gates (τὰς ὡραίας πύλας) mentioned in T2.

The terms "gates" and "doors" for heavenly openings are also interchangeable in the Bible.[17] Doors of heaven are attested first in Gen 28:17 (שער השמים); Ps 78:23 (דלתי שמים) and possibly in Gen 7:11, 8:2 as ארובות השמים;[18] Cf., e.g., also 3 Macc 6:18; *1 En.* 9:2, 10; 34–36; 72–82; *2 En.* 13–16; *4 Ezra* 3:19; *T. Levi* 5:1; *T. Abr.* (A) 11–12; *Apoc. Zeph.* 3:5–9; *Asc. Isa.* 6:6–9; Rev 3:8; 4:1; 4Q213[a] fr. 1 2.18. The explicit etymology of Babel is "the gate of god" (especially appropriate for the story of Gen 11:1–9; see on the Tower of Babel in *3 Bar.* 3:5 below). Among the main function of the celestial gates[19] must be enabling the travel of luminaries under the firmament (on this see comm. to "365 gates of heaven" in 6:13). The route of the spirits to the netherworld as described by Homer, also includes both Oceanus, and the gates of the sun:

> Hermes, the Helper, led them down the dank ways. Past the streams of *Oceanus* they went, past the rock Leucas, past *the gates of the sun* and the land of dreams, and quickly came to the mead of asphodel, where the spirits dwell. (*Od.* 24.10–14)

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[17] Although the phrase "doors of the gates" in Judg 16:3; 1 Sam 21:14, etc. indicates that the two words might diverge in their meanings.

[18] Oblath identifies also סולם of Gen 28, rationally translated as 'ladder,' with a celestial "vertical" gate ("To sleep").

[19] Although in *3 Baruc*h probably not of the gates of the lower heavens, since the sun passes here above the lower firmament (see comm. to 7:1).

Although single and multiple gates are mentioned in the sources above, *3 Baruch* belongs to a very narrow group of documents that explicitly mention gates between heavens. Seven gates on the way from heaven to the netherworld appear in the Sumerian account on the descent of the goddess Inanna (*ANET* 56.218–72), and a gate of the high heaven is known to *Adapa, Nergal and Ereshkigal*, and *Etana*. The gate of the third heaven is mentioned in *Apoc. Paul* 19 (probably based on *3 Baruch* or on common sources) and *Asc. Isa.* 10:24. Gates between heavens are found also in Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul*. Less clear is *4 Ezra* 3:19, where God's Glory enters through four probably subsequent gates (see introductory comm. to ch. 11), and the *Testament of Levi*, where a gate of some heaven is mentioned only once (most probably of the third; 5:1), while for the first heaven it is said that it "was opened" (2:5). Gates regularly divide between Palaces in Hekhalot literature.

2:2G. *As if [borne] on wings*. Baruch's flight is mentioned again only in the journey to the second heaven (3:2 in G and S). There the part. ἀναπτερωμένοι is used, "raised" (lit. "raised on wings"). In contrast to other heavenly journeys no explicit means of transportation is mentioned. Here "wings" is used metaphorically in distinction to, e.g., *Apoc. Abr.* 12:10, where a seer is brought to heaven on the wings of a dove. Cf. a metaphorical use in Philo in a very similar context:

> For the soul of the lover of God does in truth leap from earth to heaven and wing its way on high, eager to take its place in the ranks and share the ordered march of sun and moon and the all-holy, all-harmonious host of the other stars, marshalled and led by God … (*Spec. Leg.* 1.38.207)
>
> When on soaring wing it [i.e., the human mind] has contemplated the atmosphere and all its phases, it is borne yet higher to the ether and the circuit of heaven. (*Opif.* 23.70)

See also *Praem.* 11 and 14; *Plant.* 37. Holland sees in this mention of wings in *3 Baruch* (and in 7:5, where Baruch hides under the wings of the angel) a reference to the heavenly journey of the soul.[20] The "flight of the soul" to heaven was a *topos* of the Hellenistic thought; see Plato, who stated that "the natural function of the wing is to soar upwards and carry that which is heavy up to the place where dwells the race of the gods" (*Phaedr.* 246d), and Cicero, who called heaven "its [soul's] proper home and permanent abode" ("Scipio's Dream" in *Resp.* 6.29; cf. his *Tusc.* 1.24; cf. also Plutarch,

[20] Holland, "Himmelfahrt," 217.

Rom. 28.6–7; etc.). For the flight of the souls of the deceased, see comm. to "birds" in 10:4 below.

Does the flight imply upward motion between heavens? There is no other designation of an upward travel of Baruch. Picard has suggested that Baruch's movement might have been horizontal.[21] In the two cases where vertical movements of angels are mentioned the terminology is equivocal. Michael supposedly comes up and down between the gate of the last mentioned heaven and some unmentioned destination behind it in order to bring angelic offerings there (κατέρχεται in 11:4; ἀπῆλθεν in 14:1; κατῆλθεν in 15:1), and angels carry the sun's crown up to heaven (ἀναφέρουσιν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν in 8:4). The verbs κατέρχομαι, ἀπέρχομαι, and ἀναφέρω are the only indications of vertical movement between the heavens (and they are applied not to Baruch, but to angels). In fact, ἀπέρχομαι more frequently means "leave, depart," κατέρχομαι may mean either "come" or "return,"[22] and ἀναφέρω may mean "carry," not necessarily with a connotation of a vertical motion. See also the biblical usage of Heb עלה "go up," when the destination is a place of offering. Thus, the horizontal motion between the "walls" of hemispherical firmaments might be implied (on the form of the firmaments cf. comm. 2:2G). Baruch must have used one of the 365 gates on the horizon through which the sun proceeds in its rising and setting (see previous comm. and comm. to 6:13). This means that he entered heaven in the lowest point of the celestial vault over the horizon, and there was no need for a vertical flight. Probably the same is true for some other early apocalypses, e.g., the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. Horizontal motion is characteristic for Hekhalot texts, which might be also a rudiment of a single heaven conception known from *1 Enoch*, etc.[23]

2:2. *30 days' journey.* Long journeys of 30 (2:2–3), 60 (3:1–3) and 185/187 (4:2) days are mentioned only for the first three heavens. *b. Hag.* 13a speaks of journeys of 500 years between earth and heaven, as well as between heavens: "From earth to the firmament there is a journey of five hundred years, and the *thickness* of the firmament is a journey of five hundred years, and so too between all firmaments"; see also *b. Pes.* 94a; *y. Ber.* 9.12.13a (cf. further comm. to 2:4; 10:1).

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[21] Picard, "Observations," 79.

[22] *LSJ*, 925, s.v., I.4 and II.

[23] It is known also to *Pesiq. Rabbati* describing Moses' tour in heaven: "Moses was walking in heaven like a person going on earth" (Halperin, *Faces*, 292).

The text does not clarify whether (1) the journey is after entering the door or (2) it is, similarly to the long journey of *b. Hag.* 13a cited above, the way to the heavenly door, which (being "very large") is seen from beneath (see comm. above) or (3) most probably, it may be a journey inside the gate through the thickness of heaven estimated in *3 Baruch* "as great as the distance from earth to heaven" (2:5G) or "as [the distance from east to west" (2:5S). In light of these descriptions the door must be in fact a long tunnel resembling, on the one hand, straight tunnel-like gates in broad walls widely found in the land of Israel in different periods,[24] and, on the other hand, well documented mystical and clinical experiences of travel to the other world through a tunnel.[25]

2:2S. *He showed me means of safety* (**показа ми съпасение**). Lit. "he showed me salvation." Cf. "salvation of Jerusalem" (σωτηρίας Ἰερουσαλήμ) in 1:3G. However, the phrase is not set in the context. Eschatological salvation (not treated in *3 Baruch* at all) is implausible here. Gaylord assumes a corruption, although the verse is well represented in manuscripts.[26] It may be rather a misinterpretation of Gk σωτήρια, which here should mean "means of safety" or "safe way." The Slavic translator has chosen the meaning of the word widely known from LXX and NT. Cf. a guiding angel instructing Abraham on the means of safety against Azazel during the revelation (14:12–13). These means may be especially relevant, if the inhabitants of the lower heaven are to be identified as demonic creatures (see comm. to ch. 3).

2:3. *Plain* (πεδίον / **поле**). Harlow believes that "the conception of the lower heavens as a plain, which is unique to *3 Baruch* among the ancient apocalypses, apparently derives from a detail of the biblical account of the Tower of Babel in Gen 11, where the builders of the Tower, dwelling in *3 Baruch* on the first and second heavens (see 2:7; 3:5), "found a plain" (also πεδίον in LXX): "Here in *3 Baruch* the earthly plain of the biblical story is projected into the heavenly realm and determines the basic geography of the four lower heavens."[27] Actually, plain appears without allusion to Gen 11 in a similar vision of *Hist. Rech.* 3:6: "it [the land beyond the cosmic river] was like a large and vast island, without a mountain or height." Further-

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[24] See Herzog, *Stadttor,* 89–156.

[25] See, e.g., Zaleski, *Otherworld*, 36, 106, 121–22, 168; Blackmore, Troscianko, "Physiology."

[26] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, ad loc.

[27] Harlow, *Baruch*, 110.

more, plains appear in *all* heavens visited by Baruch in the Greek version and on two heavens in the Slavonic version: first (2:3,4,5), second 3:3G (S here has "chamber"), third (4:3) and fourth (10:2, 4, and 5G; 'mountain' in S). These heavens are defined by Harlow as "lower," since he assumes that Baruch entered also the fifth heaven (cf. comm. to ch. 11).

Celestial plains are widely presented in Egyptian sources, in both iconography and texts; cf., e.g., "the great celestial plain on which the gods rest" (Coffin Text 474).[28] *3 Baruch* thus might conflate an archaic image of the flat sky with a relatively novel idea of (hemi)spherical heavens. See also post-mortem valleys of Jewish tradition and Elysian Fields of Greek mythology (see comm. to 10:2).

Men … with the faces of cattle, and the horns of deer, and the feet of goats, and the loins of sheep. "These are those who built the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them" as we learn from 2:7. According to the extant redaction of *3 Baruch*, another group of the Tower builders resides in the second heaven (3:5). See comm. to ch. 3.

In contrast to the list of zoomorphic features of the second group of Builders including "appearance like that of dogs / faces of dogs" (3:5), the description here corresponds to the beginning of the list of clean animals of Deut 14:4–5: "These are the animals which you shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the goat, the deer …" The issue of purity appears in 4:3 (impurity of Hades), 8:4 (purification of the sun), 10:5S ("pure birds"), and probably is implied in T:2 (river as a place for revelation); see comm. ibid.

Excursus: Dimensions of Heaven (2:4–7)

Greek	Slavonic
4 And I Baruch asked the angel, "Tell me, I pray you, what is the thickness of heaven in which we journeyed,	4 And I Baruch asked the angel, "Tell me what is the thickness of heaven which we have crossed,
and what is its extent,	
and what is the plain, so that I can also tell the sons of men?"	and what is the plain, so that I can tell the sons of men?"
5 And the angel whose name is Phamael told me: "This door which you see	5 Phanuel told me, "The doors which you saw,
is [the door] of heaven,	

[28] Wright, *Heaven*, 10–16.

and as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness,	as [the distance] from east to west, so great is the thickness of heaven,
and the same is the width of the plain which you saw."	as the distance from earth to heaven, so great is its width – the plain where we are standing."
6 And again the angel of hosts told me, "Come, and I will show you greater mysteries."	6 He told me, "Go and I will show you the mysteries."
7 But I said, "I pray you, show me what are these men." And he told me, "These are those who built the Tower of War against God, and the Lord banished them."	7 I said to the angel, "Lord, who are these strangely shaped creatures?" And the angel told me, "These are those who built the Tower of War against God [and] the Lord banished them."

NOTES

2:4G. *I pray you* (δέομαί σου). Occurs often in G (2:7; 3:4; 4:8,14), consistently lacking in S.

2:4S. *Thickness* (ⲧⲗⲁⲓⲧⲟⲧⲁ). It might have rendered also Gk πλάτος "plain."[29] However, another word for "plain" appears in the same verse (ⲡⲟⲗⲉ), and in G "thickness" (πάχος) and "extent" (διάστημα) are clearly differentiated.

2:5S. *The doors which you saw.* The clause in S looks abbreviated. G finishes: "is [the door] of heaven." Alternatively, *lectio difficilior* in S may mean, that the length of the gate's tunnel through the firmament defines "the thickness of heaven."

2:5G. *And the same is the width of the plain* (καὶ ὅσον πάλιν ἐστὶ καὶ το τοῦ πεδίου μῆκος). Most previous translations emended the verse, inserting ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως νότου τοσοῦτον "from north to south, so great" after ἐστί. According to this emendation the verse must be: "and again as is [the distance] from north to south, so great is the width of the plain."[30] Hartom prefers to read "from east to west" in place of "from north to south," in accordance with the Hebrew idiom כרחק מזרח ממערב (as in Ps 103:12).[31] This comparison is used also in the same verse of S: "as [the distance] from east to west, so great is the thickness of heaven." However, "from north to south" is also well attested (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 8.1; 24.2). Moreover, any emendation seems unnecessary; see comm. to 2:4.

2:5. *Phamael/Phanuel*. The original form is either Panuel or Remiel; see comm. to T:1.

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[29] Srezn, 3.1047.
[30] Cf. Hughes, "Baruch," 534.
[31] Hartom, "Baruch," 412.

2:7S. *Strangely shaped* (**иноѡбразьнии**). Lacking in G. It must reproduce Gk ἀλλόκοτος.[32]

2:7. *Tower of War against God*. S has **стлъпъ бѣотворьнъı** "God-made tower," which is a corruption of **стлъпъ бѣоборьнъı** rendering Gk τὸν πύργον τῆς θεομαχίας (as in G).

COMMENTARY

Baruch's first question in heaven is about its dimensions. Such curiosity for celestial dimensions is well attested, although certain circles denied the very possibility of evaluating them: "The height of heaven, the breadth of the earth, the abyss, and wisdom – who can search them out?" (Sir 1:3). This should be regarded in the context of general "pious agnosticism" typical of Wisdom literature (cf., e.g., Job 11 and *passim*; Sir 9:13–18) and found also in early apocalyptic texts: "Is there anyone who can discern the length of heaven, and how great its height?" (*1 En.* 93:14; cf. *4 Ezra* 4:5–6).[33] However, in a later book ascribed to the same visionary, he already "carefully measured the size of heavenly gates" (*2 En.* 13:2), "measured and described the stars" (*2 En.* 40:3) and "the sun's circle and its rays" (*2 En.* 40:5) and also adjusted the measurements of earth and the distance from earth to heavens: "measured out the whole earth" and "wrote down the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and downwards to the very lowest hell" (*2 En.* 40:9). Similarly, another "Baruch" was shown "the height of the air" (*2 Bar.* 59:8). Cf. also the distances between different heavens and between heaven and earth in *Asc. Isa.* 7:18 and 28; *b. Hag.* 12b–13a; *Masekhet Hekh.* 2 and 4 (*Bet HaMidr.* 2. 41, 43); *Reuyot Yehezkel* (*Bate Midr.* 2.131); for more celestial measurements see *3 En.* 22C:1–3.[34] Below Baruch expresses interest also in other measurements: of Hades (5:3), of the Tower of Babel (3:6), and of Michael's liturgical bowl (11:8).[35]

2:4. *The thickness of heaven.* According to G, the "thickness of heaven" = the height of the sky ("distance from earth to heaven") = the width of heaven ("width of the plain"). S gives two independent equalities: "thickness of heaven" = the width of earth ("[the distance] from east to west"),

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[32] Srezn, 1.1104.

[33] On this issue see Stone, "Revealed Things," 421ff. See also Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch*, 241–42.

[34] Cf. also Mesopotamian precedents of heaven measured in *Etana* and AO 6478.

[35] Cf. Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 153–155; Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology*, 90ff.; Stone, "Lists."

while the width of heaven = the height of the sky (S may imply that all four are equal).

By "thickness" (Gk τὸ πάχος, CS **ѳлъстота**) either the *interspace* between the firmaments is meant, or, more probably, the literal *thickness* of the solid firmament separating these spaces (as Heb **עובי הרקיע** of *Gen. Rab.* 6.6. and *b. Hag.* 13a or Aram **סומכא דרקיעא** of *b. Pes.* 94a).[36] In many sources the heavens and the firmaments separating them are different phenomena and even created on different days (*Gen. Rab.* 4.2–7; cf. *Mek. R. Shim.* 100; Jerome, *Quaest.* Isa 64:1). In *Asc. Isa.* 7:18; 28 it is the lower interspace which is equal to the height of the sky: "the height of that [second] heaven is like that from heaven to earth" (*Asc. Isa.* 7:18), while "the height from the third to the fourth heaven was greater than from earth to the firmament" (*Asc. Isa.* 7:28).[37] In any case, one of the two dimensions – interspace or thickness – is lacking in both *3 Baruch* and the *Ascension of Isaiah*. What we can learn about the missing parameter in *3 Baruch* is that it must differ for different heavens: the fact is implied by the varying length of journeys to and between heavens (30, 60, [90?] and 185 days; see comm. to 10:1G) and probably by the dimensions of Michael's bowl seen in a higher heaven, which is comparable in its size to the whole first heaven (11:8; see then end of this comm.). This progressive growth corroborates with *Asc. Isa.* 7:28 (cited above) and contrasts with the consistency of the dimensions in *b. Hag.* 13a (also measured by the journey length): "From earth to the firmament there is a journey of five hundred years, and the thickness (**עבי**) of the firmament is a journey of five hundred years, and from the first firmament to the next there is a journey of five hundred years" (*Gen. Rab.* 6.6; *b. Hag.* 13a adds: "so too between all firmaments; cf. *y. Ber.* 9.12.13a; *b. Pes.* 94a).[38] In all these sources the thickness of firmaments and the interspace between them are clearly discerned, and for the former the Heb

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[36] In the latter case, our author must have held to the physical nature of heaven, in contrast with the view declared by Philo (*Somn.* 1.4 [21–24]; see comm. to 3:7). Philo would disagree with *3 Baruch* also regarding the question of relative dimensions of the width of earth and its distance from heaven: "For these the lawgiver substitutes a tower which he represents as being built by the men of that day who wished in their folly and insolent pride to touch the heaven. Folly indeed; surely dreadful madness! For if one should lay a small foundation and build up upon it the different parts of the whole earth, rising in the form of a single pillar, it would still be divided by vast distances from the sphere of ether …" (*Conf.* 2.5).

[37] Heaven exceeds the earth also according to *Midr. Konen* 25–26.

[38] One more parameter, the distance from the sky to the Upper Waters, equated to the height of the sky, is found in *Gen. Rab.* 4.3.

עבי or Aram סומכא are used, which are appropriate equivalents for the Gk πάχος of *3 Baruch*.

These dimensions are relevant also for the subsequent Tower of Babel story (2:7ff; these two issues were connected also by Philo in *Conf.* 2 cited in the note above). Firstly, if in *3 Baruch* the literal thickness of the firmaments is meant, the account of the attempt of the Builders to transfix it with a bore (in 3:7 below) looks especially ironic.[39] Secondly, the "distance from the earth to heaven" is nothing else but the destined height of the Tower, which was built to the height of only 463 cubits (3:6). The magnitude of creation again contrasts with humble efforts of humans.

As noted, the dimensions of the bowl (Gk φιάλη / CS **хранильница**) of virtues held by Michael in 11:8 are comparable to the dimensions of the first heaven: "its depth was like [the distance] from heaven to earth, and its width like [the distance] from north to south ["from east to west" in S]." This means either that higher heavens are more spacious (cf. above), or that these dimensions are not precise measurements, but merely epithets of exaggeration.[40]

2:5S. *[The distance] from east to west*. This reading of S (absent in G), comparing "[the distance] from east to west" to the "distance from the earth to heaven," finds a strikingly close parallel in the Rabbinic exegesis of Ps 103, in which the both dimensions are mentioned:

> What distance is longer, from heaven to earth or from east to west? Some said, "From east to west, because when the sun is at east or west, everyone can look at it, while when it is in the middle of the firmament, one cannot." But the Sages said, "Both dimensions are equal, because it is said, 'As heavens are high above earth,' etc. 'As east is far from west'" [כרחק מזרח ממערב; Pss 103:11 and 12]." (*b. Tamid* 32a)

This debate witnesses that the question was of scientific interest not only for our visionary. The rabbinic text argues for the primacy of textual authority over empirical observations in addressing the matter. *3 Baruch* represents an additional methodology – revelatory experience.

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[39] Alternatively it may debate with the views that the lower firmament is only "three fingers thick" (*t. Hag.* 2.6; *Gen. Rab.* 2.4; 4.3–5; *y. Hag.* 2.77a; *b. Hag.* 15a).

[40] Picard supposed that the inversion of the definition "from earth to heaven" here to "from heaven to earth" with the bowl (11:8) must indicate that Baruch's journey has reached its limit and made a full circle in ch. 11 (Picard, "Obseravationes," 93; "Autres mystères," 28–29).

Builders: Second Account (3:1–5a)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taken me the angel of the Lord brought me to the second heaven, and showed me there also a door like the previous and said, "Let us enter through it."	1 And the angel took me and brought me to the second heaven and showed me large open doors, and the angel told me, "Let us enter through them."
2 And we entered, being borne on wings, a distance of about a 60 days' journey.	2 And we entered flying about a 7 days' journey.
3 And he showed me there a plain,	3 And he showed me a great chamber,
and it was full of men,	and there were strangely shaped creatures living in it,
whose appearance was like that of dogs,	with the faces of dogs,
and whose feet were like those of deer.	the feet of deer,
	and the horns of goats.
4 And I asked the angel, "I pray you, Lord, say to me who are these?" 5a And he said, "These are those who conspired to make the Tower.	4 And I asked the angel of the Lord, "Who are these?" 5a And he told me, "These are those who planned to build the Tower.

NOTES

3:1G. *And he showed me there also a door* (καὶ ὑπέδειξέν μοι ἐν κἀκεῖ θύραν). Gk ὑποδεικνύω/νυμι must govern a direct object in acc., without prepositions. For this reason Picard inserted ἐν in brackets.[41] In fact, Gk ὑπέδειξεν + ἐν probably goes back to a calque of Heb -הראה ב; cf. MT and LXX in Ps 59(58):11(10).[42]

3:5. *Who conspired / who planned* (τὴν συμβούλην δόντες / **помъсливши**). In G lit. "giving counsel." Cf. συμβούλιον ἔλαβον (Matt 12:13); συμβούλιον εποπίουν (Mark 3:6) and cf. δότε … βουλήν (LXX Judg 20:7); φέρετε … βουλήν (LXX 2Sam 16:20). It may be a biblicism going back to Heb **הביא עצה / שת / עשה / הב**, lit. "give/make/put/bring counsel" meaning "plan, plot, conspire" or "decide" (Judg 20:7; 2Sam 16:20; Isa 30:1; Ps 13:3; probably Isa 16:3; a similar calque is found also in *Apoc. Abr.* 5:8). It might mean also "advised." "Counsel" in the same context appears in *Midrash Psalms* commenting on the passage "who did not walk in the counsel of the wicked of Ps 1:1: "[This means –] who did not follow the advice of the generation of the Separation [**שלא הלך בעצת דור הפלגה**], who said 'Let us build a town.' [Gen 11:4] 'Let us' [**הבה**]

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41 Picard, "Observationes," 83.

42 Cf. similar calques in *Apoc. Abr.* 12:10; 31:4; see Kulik, *Retroverting*, 70.

supposes 'counsel' [עצה] as said, 'Discuss and make counsel here [הבו לכם דבר ועצה הלום]'" (*Midr. Pss.* 1.13). The text continues with the story about the differentiated punishment for three groups of builders, known from *b. Sanh.* 109a; *Tan.* Noah 28; *Sefer HaYashar* 9.26 (see comm. to 3:5 below). The latter interpretation would contradict the following narrative, where this group is described as directly managing the construction.

CS **помъıслити** has a very wide semantic field including "think (over)," "imagine," "decide," "desire," "plan" and rendering *inter alia* Gk λογίζεσται, ἐπιθυμεῖν, βούλεσθαι. Thus, its *Vorlage* might well be identical to G.

COMMENTARY

Duplication Theory

In the next heaven Baruch finds similar hybrid creatures again. The division of Tower builders into groups is attested in Rabbinic tradition as well. Usually there are not two but three groups:

> They split into three groups. One said, "Let us ascend and live there," and the second said, "Let us ascend and worship idols," and the third said, "Let us ascend and fight." Those who said "Let us ascend and live there," the Lord scattered them; and those who said "Let us ascend and fight," turned to apes, spirits, demons, and night-demons; and those who said "Let us ascend and worship idols," – for there the Lord confused the language of all the earth. (*b. Sanh.* 109a)

See also *Tan.* Noah 28; *Midr. Pss.* 1.13; *Midr. Agg.* Gen 11:8; *Sefer HaYashar* 9.26. On the basis of this text, rich with many close parallels to *3 Baruch*, James and Ühlinger suggested that *3 Baruch* contains traces of the original division into three classes too.[43] The two groups of Builders in *3 Baruch* may also resemble two groups of Watchers in the second and fifth heavens of *2 Enoch* (7 and 18). The first group is "imprisoned" and "tormented", while the second is only banished from the heavenly liturgy.[44]

However, in *3 Baruch* the appearances of the two groups are almost identical, and their identifications differ only in the delicate distinction between "those who built the Tower" versus "those who conspired" to build

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[43] James, "Baruch," lix. They may be classified either according to the type of their punishment (banishing of 2:7; confusion of languages of 3:6 and 3:8G; and blindness of 3:8G; thus Uelinger, *Weltreich*, 150), or of their function in the building process (builders of 2:7; "planners" of 3:5a; and forced builders of 3:5b; thus Harlow, *Baruch*, 112–113).

[44] On the connections between Builders and Watchers see in this comm. below (*Builders and Giants*).

it. There are good grounds to believe that this is not an apocalyptic *déjà vue*, but rather the result of an editorial elaboration. Cf. both subsequent accounts:

2:2–3, 7a	3:1–5a
Greek	
2 And having taken me he brought me to the first heaven, and showed me a very large door. And he told me, "Let us enter through it." And we entered as if [borne] on wings, a distance of about a 30 days' journey. 3 And he showed me within heaven a plain. And there were men living thereon, with the faces of cattle, and the horns of deer, and the feet of goats, and the loins of sheep. < …> 7 But, I said, "I pray you, show me what are these men." And he told me, "These are those who built the Tower of War against God …"	1 And having taken me the angel of the Lord brought me to the second heaven, and showed me there also a door like the previous and he said, "Let us enter through it." 2 And we entered, being borne on wings, a distance of about a 60 days' journey. 3 And he showed me there a plain, and it was full of men, whose appearance was like that of dogs, and whose feet were like those of deer. 4 And I asked the angel, "I pray you, Lord, say to me who are these?" 5 And he said, "These are those who conspired to make the Tower."
Slavonic	
2 And there was the first heaven and in that heaven he showed me very large doors. And the angel told me, "Let us enter through these doors," And we entered about a 30 days' journey. He showed me salvation. 3 And I saw a plain, where men were living whose faces were those of cattle, with the horns of deer, the feet of goats, and the loins of sheep. < …> 7 I said to the angel, "Lord, who are these strangely shaped creatures?" And the angel told me, "These are those who built the Tower of the War against God …"	1 And the angel took me and brought me to the second heaven and showed me large open doors, and the angel told me, "Let us enter through them." 2 And we entered flying about a 7 days' journey. 3 And he showed me a great chamber, and there were strangely shaped creatures living in it, with the faces of dogs, the feet of deer, and the horns of goats. 4 And I asked the angel of the Lord, "Who are these?" 5 And he told me, "These are those who planned to build the Tower."

These texts look like two slightly edited variants of the same account, in the first case interpolated by the treatment of celestial measures (2:4–6; it is rather an interpolation than an excursus, since it clumsily cuts the verse 2:7 from the first account). The duplication of the vision of the Builders must be the result of compilation. Two versions of the same description could have been placed successively, according to the model well known in biblical criticism and attested in other pseudepigrapha. See also two similar Phoenix descriptions, where 7:3–5 is an abridged version that duplicates 6:1–5 (see comm. ibid.). The same most probably happened also with two different

versions of Enoch's tour in the *Book of Watchers* (chs. 17–19 and chs. 21–36, also separated only by an excursus – the list of the archangels in ch. 20).[45] The duplication theory, which posits a reduction of one heaven from the total calculation, concords with the numbering of heavens in 7:2S and 10:1G and solves numerous problems of inconsistency in the ouranological picture of *3 Baruch* (see comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

Whether *3 Baruch* presupposes two groups of the Builders or one, the cosmology of the book appears unbalanced and unprecedented in reserving one, or even two, of the total of five[46] heavens exclusively for the Builders. This can hardly be justified by the role of the Tower account in early Jewish or Christian theology or sacral history.[47] Possible solutions for this problem are proposed below.

Identifying the Builders

The identification of the two groups of chimeric creatures that exclusively occupy the lower heavens as the builders of the Tower satisfies "Baruch" and thus probably the originally intended audience of the work. However, for a reader from another epoch it is difficult to see the connection between such remote images. This implies that an authentic audience might have known something else – some self-evident connotations of both images that helped to reconcile the seemingly disconnected features of the "chimeric Builders in heaven" and integrate this unique invention into an allegedly logical and coherent context of the common knowledge of that time and milieu.

1. *Physical transformation of the wicked.* The Builders of *3 Baruch* were either struck by lycanthropy or changed into demonic beings. Both kinds of transformation of the wicked are known to early Jewish literature. According to *2 Baruch* in the last judgment "the shape of those who now act wickedly will be made more evil than it is now" (*2 Bar.* 51:2) and "those

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[45] See Black, *Enoch*, 15–16.

[46] Or whatever their number, from three to seven, would be (see introductory comm to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

[47] The only other vision, where the building of a tower is a central image, is *Herm. Sim.* 9, where the tower symbolizes the Church. The tower of Hermas is built by angels, while in *3 Baruch*, according to the interpretation below, it is erected by the fallen angels progeny. The understanding of Pentecost as the reversal of the tower of Babel is explicit in Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* 41.15–16 and must be implied in the miracle of tongues on the day of Pentecost in Acts 2:1–11. Cf. also קריה מתבניה "a city to be built" in the vision of Michael (4Q529 1.9).

will be changed … into startling visions and horrible shapes" (*2 Bar.* 51:5), and "they will depart to be tormented" (*2 Bar.* 51:5; cf. *3 Bar.* 2:7: "the Lord banished them"). Sinful generations since Enosh in general have lost the Divine likeness and resembled centaurs and apes (*Gen. Rab.* 23.6–7). Specifically the Tower builders turned to "apes, spirits, demons, and night-demons" in *b. Sanh.* 109a and parallels (see above). The builders will live in cliffs "like beasts of the field" (*Bib. Ant.* 7:3), "God divided their speech, and changed their likeness" (*Bib. Ant.* 7:5).[48] Similar ideas were developed by Plato, assuming reincarnation of men to beasts: "if he does not still refrain from wickedness he will be changed every time, according to the nature of his wickedness, into some bestial form after the similitude of his own nature" (*Tim.* 42b-c; cf. 91e); "a human soul may pass into the life of a beast, and a soul which was once human, may pass again from a beast into a man" (*Phaedr.* 249b); cf. *Phaed.* 81e–82a.[49] Origen taught that "one who is now a man may in another world become a demon" (so Jerome, *Ep. Avitum* 3).

2. *Identification of the Builders.* Several creative suggestions were proposed in order to find implications to later realities in the image of the Builders. Thus, Picard recognizes them as an allegory of the Hellenistic sophists concerned with the physical nature of heaven (see 3:7 and comm. ibid.).[50] George Nickelsburg identified the Builders as Babylonian or Roman destroyers of the Temple.[51] However, all these suggestion do not help to explain their appearance and their (exclusive) occupation of the lower heaven.

2.1. *Builders and demons.* Demons appear explicitly in *3 Baruch* only in 16:3 (where the children of the wicked are hurt by demons). However, we may posit the presence of a developed implied demonology behind

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[48] Nebuchadnezzar was also punished by a transformation to an animal (Dan 4:33). "The spine of a man after seven years turns into a snake, should he not bow while reciting the benediction 'We give thanks unto Thee'" (*b. B. Qam.* 16a). On zoomorphic creatures in Jewish and Christian iconography see Ameisenowa, "Animal-Headed." Men with animal heads are well known in medieval Jewish and Christian iconography; see Ameisenowa, "Gastmahl."

[49] Here and in most cases below the translations are based on Shorley et al., *Plato*, often revised.

[50] Picard, "Autres Mystères," 14, 33–39; idem, "Observationes," 79.

[51] See Nickelsburg (*Jewish Literature*, 302–303) basing on the contamination of Gen 11 and Dan 3 in *Bib. Ant.* 6. Cf. also Nebuchadnezzar who was punished with lycanthropy too (Dan 4:33).

the narrative on the basis of the references to "alien spirit" (1:1), demolished giants (4:10), and probably demonic locusts (16:3), as well as multiple features ascribed to Builders and their direct identification with demons in some parallels (*Paraph. Shem* 24–25; *b. Sanh.* 109a).[52]

2.1.1. *Demonic zoomorphism and satyrs.* Zoomorphism and especially chimeric appearance are widely known as demonic features. Evil spirits look like frogs (Rev 16:13) or like locusts with human faces (Rev 9:7). Zoomorphic feet betray demonic impostors (*b. Ber.* 6a; *b. Git.* 68b). Cf. also the list of three features in which demons are likened to animals: "they eat and drink like animals, multiply like animals, and excrete like animals" (*b. Hag.* 16a). The archons of the Ophite Gnostics, "seven ruling demons" described by Celsus, are also zoomorphic: lion-like Michael, bull-like Suriel, serpent-like Raphael, eagle-like Gabriel, bear-like Thauthabaoth, dog-like Erathoel, ass-like Onoel (Origen, *Cels.* 6.30). Celsus adds that "certain persons return to the shapes of the archons, so that some are called lions, others bulls, others dragons, or eagles, or bears, or dogs" (*Cels.* 6.33). Cynocephali, dog-faced creatures (as in the description of the second group in 3:3), were met in heaven also by Isaac (*T. Isaac* 5:8; see below). Dog-headed demons appear in Egyptian iconography.[53]

While Rabbinic demons usually have rooster feet (e.g., *b. Ber.* 6a), the Builders have feet of goats (2:3) or deer (3:3). This gives the creatures of the first heaven (at least the first group) the appearance of silenes or satyrs. Satyr-like demons (with asses' legs) appear also in *Test. Sol.* 4; cf. 18:1–2. Cf. especially Roman satyrs (fauns) described as goat-like from the haunches to the hooves, and often with horns. These images, universally known in the Hellenistic world, might have their counterparts in Jewish and other Near Eastern legacy as well. The Biblical *seirim*, "hairy beings" or "goats" worshipped by the Israelites (Lev 17:7; 2 Chr 11:15), and described as dancing in the place of the destroyed Babylon (Isa 13:21 and 34:14; rendered as ὀνοκένταυροι in LXX), were interpreted as such

[52] Demonic creatures are part of a very similar mourning setting in *2 Baruch*, which also takes place in the Temple gate: "But as for us who live, woe unto us, because we see the afflictions of Zion, and what has befallen Jerusalem. I will call the Sirens from the sea, and you Lilin, come you from the desert, and you Shedim and Dragons from the forests: awake and gird up your loins unto mourning, and take up with me the dirges, and make lamentation with me" (*2 Bar.* 10:7–8).

[53] Keel, *Symbolism*, 80–81.

satyr-like demons.[54] They were consistently rendered as demons in *Tgs*. Lev 17:7; Isa 13:21; 34:14; 2 Chr 11:15; *Sifra* Lev 17:7; cf. *Gen. Rab*. 65.15; *Lev. Rab*. 22.5; *b. Ber.* 62a-b; *b. B. Bat.* 25a). The same in Vulgata for Lev 17:7 and 2 Chr 11:15 (*daemones*). In his commentary on *seirim* of Isa 13:21 (translated there as *pilosi* 'hairy'), Jerome adds that they are "either incubi or satyrs or a certain kind of wild men" and "belong to the race of demons" (*Comm. in Isa*. 5). See also probably demonic satyrs described in his *Vita Pauli* 6:

> a dwarf [*homunculus*], whose nostrils were joined together, with horns growing out of his forehead, and with the legs and feet of a goat … a mortal being, one of the inhabitants of the desert, whom the pagan race, confused by various errors, worship and call fauns, satyrs, and incubi …

A desert demon Azazel also had certain goat connections (Lev 16:10). *Seirim* have no iconographic representation and their appearance was never described (except probably by Jerome).[55] Thus, if the proposed identifications are accepted, *3 Baruch* may present the only physical depiction and detailed treatment of *seirim*-satyrs in ancient Jewish literature.[56]

2.1.2. *Builders and demons identified*. Whereas according to a developed Rabbinic tradition the builders or the whole "generation of the Separation" were transformed into demons (*b. Sanh*. 109a and parallels cited above),[57] a Gnostic tradition considers the Tower building as a demonic plot, i.e., states that the builders were demons in the first place (italics are mine):

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[54] Cf. Janowski, Neumann-Gorsolke, "Tier."

[55] Another exception may be the parody testimony of the new moon in the Tosefta: the frightening chimerical creature was reported to be seen in the Judean desert not far from Jerusalem (and thus possibly connected to Azazel): "When I was going up to Ma'ale Adumim, I saw *him* laying between two rocks, and his head was like of cattle, his ears were like of goat, his horns were like of deer, and his tail was between his legs. When I saw him, I was frightened and fell backwards" (עולה הייתי במעלה אדומים וראיתיו רבוץ בין שני סלעים ראשו דומה לעגל אזניו דומות לגדי קרניו דומות לצבי וזנבו מונחת לו בין יריכותיו ראיתיו נבעתתי ונפלתי לאחורי; *t. Rosh HaSh* 1.15).

[56] In Jewish iconography, some recognize a figure of a satyr holding a lyre in a graffito in a burial cave at Bet Lei probably dated to the Persian period (see Smith, *Studies*, 1.232, n. 21).

[57] This motif reappears in medieval midrash identifying werewolves and woodmen of German folklore as descendents of the Tower builders (*Sefer Ziyyoni*, end of Noah; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.204).

> And in order that the sin of Nature might be filled, I made the womb, which was disturbed, pleasant – blind wisdom – that I might be able to bring (it) to naught. And at my wish, he plotted with the water of Darkness and also the Darkness, that they might wound every form of your (pl.) heart. For by the will of the light of the Spirit they surrounded you; they bound you in Faith. And in order that his plan might become idle, he sent a demon that the plan of her wickedness might be proclaimed. And he caused the Flood, and he destroyed your (pl.) race, in order to take the light and to take from Faith. But I proclaimed quickly by the mouth of the demon that a Tower come to be up to the particle of the light, which was left in the demons and their race – which was water – that the demon might be protected from the turbulent chaos. And *the womb planned these things according to my will in order that she might pour forth completely. A Tower came to be through the demons*. The Darkness was disturbed by his loss. He loosened the muscles of the womb. And the demon who was going to enter the tower was protected in order that the races might continue and might acquire coherence through him. For he possesses power from every form. (*Paraph. Shem* 24–25; italics are mine)[58]

This tradition not only states that the Tower "came to be through the demons," but further states that demonic powers "plotted" and "planned" the events, similar to the second account of the Builders in *3 Baruch* (3:5). Note also "blind wisdom" and the blindness of the Builders in *3 Baruch* (3:8G).

2.1.3. *Heaven as an abode of demons*. Heaven is not the most common abode for demons. However, this notion is not unique to *3 Baruch*. Pythagoras believed that "the whole air is full of souls which are called demons or heroes" (Diogenes Laertius 8.32; cf. Plato, *Epin.* 984d–985b; Philo, *Gig.* 2–4[6–18]). According to Plutarch "in the intermediate regions between gods and men there exist certain natures susceptible to human emotions and involuntary changes, whom it is right that we, like our fathers before us, should regard as demons" (*Def. Or.* 10–15 [415a–418a]). In the *Testament of Solomon* demons reside in heaven, and particularly in "stars," constellations, and the moon (2:2; 4:6, 9) or even identified with heavenly bodies. In 8:2 they are seven (in 18:2 – thirty six) as seven bound stars of *1 En.* 21:3, seven archons of Gnostics (Origen, *Cels.* 6.30), and seven planets as malevolent demonic powers in Mandean mythology.[59] Some of them are zoomorphic at the same time (18:1–2). "Sammael and his hosts," i.e., "angels of Satan," dwell below the first heaven (in the "firmament") according to *Asc. Isa.* 7:9. "The

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[58] The translations of Hag Hammadi texts here and below are based on Robinson, *Nag Hammadi.*

[59] Cf. Toepel, "Planetary."

spirits of the retributions for vengeance on men" are found in the lower heaven in *T. Levi* 3:2. They are probably identical to "the spirits of deceit and of Beliar" of the next verse (*T. Levi* 3:3). Eph 6:12 speaks of the "spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms" (πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις), and some Church Fathers explain this as a reference to demons dwelling in heaven.[60] Some demonic creatures reside in heaven in *T. Isaac* 5 (see below). Cf. also David Halperin's attempt to reconstruct a lost Jewish tradition of the identification of the celestial Living Creatures/Beasts (חיות) with demons.[61]

Demons can also occupy the lower heaven, being perceived as pagan gods (cf. Deut 32:8; Sir 17:17; *Test. Sol.* 5:5; 1 Cor 10:20; *Acts John* 41; 43; Justin, *1 Apol.* 5; 41; *Dial.* 58; 73; Tatian, *Ad Gr.* 8; 29; Origen, *Cels.* 7.69; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* 1.10; Tertullian, *Ad Scap.* 2; *Idol.* 1; 15; etc.).[62]

The idea that "on earth is [or "shall be"] their dwelling" is repeated thrice in three successive verses in the account of the evil spirits begotten from the dead giants (*1 En.* 15:8–10; see below). The same impenetrability of the border between the two realms must be meant in *3 Bar.* 2:1, which states that the River Ocean separating the celestial realm cannot be crossed by "any alien spirit of all those that God created" (see comm. ibid.). Thus, the trespassing of this border could have been a motive for the building of the Tower (on demons causing the building of the Tower see *Paraph. Shem* 24–25 cited above). By introducing demons into the Tower story, *3 Baruch* uniquely proposes a harmonization between two traditions: demons limited to terrestial realm, on the one hand, and demons as celestial inhabitants, on the other.

The punishment for this attempt comes as ironic fulfillment of their wish. The Builders here "wanted to get to the firmament" (thus in *Tan. B.* Noah 22), and that is what they got. The heaven may not only be an abode of demons, but also a place of punishment both for the Watchers (their fathers according to *1 En.* 18–19; *2 En.* 7 and 18) and for other wicked souls (see *3 Bar.* 4:3, 6; 5:3; Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 20–22, where souls are tortured in the fourth and fifth heavens; *b. Tamid* 32b locating Gehenna in heaven; cf. comm. to ch. 4: *Celestial Bestiary: Hell in heaven*).

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[60] See Lash, "Where."

[61] Halperin, *Faces*, 151–154.

[62] Cf. the gods ascending to heaven in order to escape the Flood in *Gilgamesh* 11.11–14.

2.1.4. *Zoomorphism and celestial demonic functions*. Why would zoomorphic creatures, probably demons, be situated in heaven? Their zoomorphic appearance may be connected to the function of the celestial afterworld doorkeepers and probably "angels of punishment" (*1 En.* 53:3; cf. "spirits of retribution" of *T. Levi* 3:2, etc.). This understanding would better correspond to the second account of the Builders, where they have the "appearance of dogs" (3:3). The guarding of the Gates of the afterworld by beasts is a universal motif cf., e.g., in Greek and Roman traditions: Cerberus, Eurynomos of Pausanias (10.28.7), beasts and snakes (Aristophanes, *Ran.* 143; 278), Hydra (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.560; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.451–52 and *passim*). See also the serpent-like gate keepers of Hades in *2 En.* 42:1; etc. Although normally the netherworld is meant, in *3 Baruch* Hades is located in heaven (for other traditions locating Hades in heaven, see comm. to ch. 4). According to *T. Isaac* 5:8 in the beginning of his heavenly tour the patriarch sees creatures whose "faces were like faces of camels and some were like the faces of dogs; others were like the faces of lions and hyenas and tigers." Their function is to torment the sinners who pass there (to higher heavens?): "They tore him apart, dismembered, and chewed, and swallowed him. After that they ejected him from their mouths and he returned to his original state" (5:12–16). Very similar appearance and function are attributed to the angels of *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*: near the gate of heaven (3:9) Zephaniah finds a "myriad of myriads of angels" with "faces like a leopard, their tusks being outside their mouth like the wild boars" (4:3). They are defined as "the servants of all creation who come to ungodly men and bring them and leave them in this place," where they wait three days before being cast into their eternal punishment (4:6).[63] Note also that Baruch proceeds to heaven accompanied (and defended?) by the "angel of powers/hosts" (cf. *3 Bar.* 1:8G; 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S), whose angelic order according to *T. Adam* 4:5 is supposed "to keep demons from destroying the creation of God."

2.1.5. *Blindness as demonic feature*. The Builders were "smitten with blindness" (3:8G). "Blind" is a common characteristic of archons and evil powers in Gnostic literature (*Hyp. Arch.* 86.27; 87.3–4; 89.25; and

[63] Cf. the Ozhayah Fragment from Geniza comparing heavenly dangers with the attack of wild animals (Schäfer, *Geniza*, 2a:27–32). "Angels of destruction" guarding celesltial gateways is a common place of the Hekhalot literature; see, e.g., *Hekh. Rabbati* 15.8–16.2 (## 213–15).

passim; *Gos. Phil.* 38). The name of the chief demon Sammael (appearing in 4:8G below) is derived from Aram סומא "blind" in *Acts Andr. Matt.* 24 and *Hyp. Arch* ("Sammael which is, 'god of the blind'").[64]

2.2. *Builders and giants.* According to Richard Bauckham, the Builders of *3 Baruch* "perhaps substituted for the two groups of angelic Watchers which Enoch saw in the second and fifth heavens" (2 *En.* 7; 18). It is remarkable that *3 Baruch*, which throughout chapters 2–5 is preoccupied with the stories of Gen. 2–11, makes no reference to the Watchers. The author is perhaps engaged in a polemical rejection of the Enoch tradition so that in addition to substituting Baruch for Enoch he also substitutes the human Builders for the angelic Watchers."[65] Harlow develops this idea, stating that we deal here with "human invasion of the divine realm as a paradigmatic sin of humanity. The message that emerges is quite the obverse of that conveyed by the myth of the Watchers (of which only 4:10 retains a vestige). This myth depicts the origin of evil in the world as an *invasion of earthly realm by divine beings*. The archetypal sin according to *3 Baruch* is the *invasion of the divine realm by human beings*."[66]

In fact, the demonic creatures of the lower heaven, introduced as the Tower builders, are not a substitution of the Watchers or their opposite. On the contrary, our text most probably implicitly identifies them with the Watchers' offspring, the giants (4:10).[67] The Builders are identified with the surviving giants according to a tradition known to Pseudo-Eupolemus cited by Alexander Polyhistor:

> Babylon was first founded by those who escaped the Flood. They were giants, and they built the Tower well known in history [εἶναι δὲ αὐτοὺς γίγαντας οἰκοδομεῖν δὲ τὸν ἱστορούμενον πύργον]. When it was destroyed by God's power, these giants were scattered over the whole earth. (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 9.17.2–3)

Another fragment of the same origin speaks about Belos, a survivor of the destroyed giants, who built for himself a tower in Babel (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 9.18.2). The brief evidence of these two fragments brings to-

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64 For the analysis of this name see Bullard, *Hypostasis*, 51–54.

65 Bauckham, "Hell," 372. For more on "Enochic materials" in *3 Baruch* see also comm. to ch. 4; Himmmelfarb, *Ascent*, 93; Orlov, "Flooded Arboretums."

66 Harlow, *Baruch*, 59.

67 For a detailed analysis of the identification of the builders of the Tower of Babel and the giants see Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'Giants';" see also Reeves, "Utnapishtim;" Huggins, "Noah;" Wright, *Origin*.

gether and identifies both enigmatic images of *3 Baruch*, the Builders and the Giants, of which, as we learn below, 409,000 were destroyed by the Flood (4:10). Nimrod, who was known as an instigator of the building of the Tower (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.4.2–3; *Gen. Rab.* 23.7; 26.4; 42.4; *b. Hul.* 89a; *Abod. Zar.* 53b; *Pesah.* 94b; *Erub.* 53a; *Pirqe R. El.* 24), is called "giant" (γίγας) in LXX Gen 10:8 and 9.[68] Giants Otus and Ephialtes of *Odyssey* 11.305–20 were involved in a similar attempt to build a mountain in order to ascend heaven. Philo refers to this story and compares it to the biblical account (*Conf.* 2). The motif of the identification of the Tower builders with Nephilim has survived till the ninth century in the work of Hiwi al-Balkhi (Saadia, *Polemic Against Hiwi al-Balkhi* 31–34).

See also the mention of the giants in the context of an assertion about the inaccessibility of celestial Wisdom:

> In it [God's house] were born the giants, renowned at the first, stalwarts, skilled in war. Not these did God choose, nor did he give them the way of understanding. They perished for lack of prudence, perished through their folly. Who has gone up to the heavens and taken her [Wisdom], or brought her down from the clouds? Who has crossed the sea and found her … (*1 Bar.* 3:26–30)

2.3. *Demons and giants.* The two identifications of the Builders proposed above – with demons and with giants – do not necessarily contradict each other. As noticed by Loren Stuckenbruck, "the implications of the giants traditions for concepts of demonology at the turn of the Common Era have until now been insufficiently recognized."[69] In fact, according to Enochic etiology of demons they may be the dead giants, i.e., the demonic spirits released from the bodies of the giants:

> You [Watchers] have defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives and acted like the sons of earth, and begotten giants … But now the giants, who were begotten of spirit and of flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon earth, and on earth shall be their dwelling. The spirits that have gone forth from the body of their flesh are evil spirits, because they came into being from men, and from the holy Watchers is the origin of their creation. They shall be evil spirits on earth, and evil spirits shall they be called. As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth begotten upon earth, on earth shall be their dwelling. (*1 En.* 15:3–10)

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[68] Cf. Stuckenbruck, "'Angels' and 'Giants'," 356.
[69] Ibid., 365.

The identification of demons and giants must have been widely known. Very similar conceptions appear in *Jubilees* (chs. 5 and 10); the *Testament of Solomon* (5:3; 17:1); *Shirot* (4Q510 1.5 and 4Q511 35.7).[70] Many early Christian writers also identified the antedeluvian giants as demons (Justin Martyr, *2Apol.* 2–6; Athenagoras, *Leg.* 24–25; Tertullian, *Apol.* 22.3–4; Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 2.14; Ps.-Clementine *Hom.* 7.18–20).

Both of these conceptions of the origin of demons combined in Jewish lore – as inter-worldy bastards, and as spirits of the deceased ancient and mighty men – were known to Greeks, although separately and without negative connotations: Greek daemons are either the bastards of gods and nymphs (Plato, *Apol.* 15 [27b–e] or they are the spirits of the deceased heroes and the first generations of men (Hesiod, *Op.* 110–139; Plutarch, *Def. Or.* 38 [341b] and *Gen. Socr.* 24 [593d]).

3. *Harmonizing traditions*. Summarizing the data discussed above, we can state that *3 Baruch* tries to combine two contradicting traditions: (1) on the giants that perished in the Flood (as in 4:10; this tradition explains why these legendary creatures no longer exist; see below comm. to "giants" in 4:10), and (2) on the giants that survived the Flood (see above and *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Deut 3:11; *b. Nid.* 61a; *b. Zeb.* 113a-b; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; etc.). The latter tradition explains why some giants still coexisted with Noah's posterity (Num 13:33; Deut 3:11; LXX Gen 10:8, 9) as well as the legends about their involvement in the Tower building (Pseudo-Eupolemus and par.; see above). The harmonizing narrative of *3 Baruch* reconciles the two myths assuming that *although the giants perished, they have survived but in a different quality and location* – not in flesh, but as spiritualized beings inhabiting the lower heaven.

Thus *3 Baruch* also conflates the two motifs of the imprisonment of the fallen Watchers *in heaven* (*1 En.* 18–19; 2 *En.* 7; 18) and of their *demonic offspring* in the underworld (*Jub.* 10:7–11), postulating the imprisonment of the *demonic offspring in heaven*.

3:1. *To the second heaven*. I.e., to the entrance to the second heaven; see comm. to 2:2.

3:1S. *Open doors*. This is the only direct mentioning of *open* doors in the whole text. Gaylord supposes the word "open" to be "an addition under

[70] Ibid., 371–74.

the influence of 11:1[2]."[71] Verse 11:2 of both versions mentions closed gates of the fifth heaven in distinction to the presumably open doors of other heavens.

3:2. *Being borne on wings / flying*. On the flight of the visionary see 2:2G and comm. ibid.

3:2. *60 / 7*. The letters for 60 (CS ѯ < Gk ξ) and 7 (CS ѕ < Gk ζ) are similar. The reading of G seems to be more authentic. The journey to the first heaven takes 30 days, to the third – 185/187 days. Thus, the way to the second heaven is twice as long as to the first, and the journey to the third is approximately three times as long as to the second (progression with a growing coefficient). The duration of the journey to the fourth heaven is not mentioned. For an alternative interpretation see comm. to 10:1G.

3:3S. *Chamber* (**клѣть, полатоу** TB). The most common meaning of the CS word is "cell," "chamber," "house" (never "prison" as in Gaylord's translation).[72] G instead has πεδίον "plain" as in all heavens according to G: first (2:3,4,5), second (G 3:3), third (4:3) and fourth (10:2, 4, 5). That is why, apparently, Gaylord supposes a corruption of the Greek uncial ΠΕΔΙΟΝ to ΚΕΛΛΙΟΝ "cell," "prison."[73] However, S has "plain" (CS **полє**) only twice: in the first (2:3, 4, 5) and the third (4:3) heavens. In the fourth heaven, it is "a mountain" which corresponds to "plain" in G (10:1, 2, 4), and here, in the second heaven, to an enigmatic "great chamber." Thus, G may be suspected as having arisen as a result of harmonization. Moreover, CS **клѣть** might render not only Gk κελλίον and κέλλα but also οἰκία (like in *TS 14th cent.* Gen 24:31, going back to Heb בית), οἶκος (*Upyr* Dan 5:5, Aram היכלא), ταμιεῖον (*TS 14th cent.* Gen. 8:3 (7:28) and Exod 43:30, Heb חדר; cf. *Ostr* Matt 6:6). The form οἰκία (as pl. of τὸ οἰκίον) is attested in early Greek sources as an "abode of a deity" (Homer, *Od.* 12.4; Hesiod, *Theog.* 744) or even "abode of the dead," "netherworld" (Homer, *Il.* 20.64). The term might resemble celestial buildings of the apocalyptic literature (cf., e.g., Ezek 40–48; *1 En.* 14; *2 Bar.* 59:4; *Pr. Azar.* 31–34; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.66ff; 4QShirShabb; Rev 21:9–27; etc.) and later Hekhalot imagery; cf. especially Dan 5:5 where CS **клѣть** renders Gk οἶκος reproducing Aram היכלא (*Upyr* Dan 5:5). Cf. also "The Holy One

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[71] Gaylord, *Baruch*, 665.
[72] Ibid., 664.
[73] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 19.

has shown himself above the angels and opened the firmament, and Isaac has raised his eyes and saw the chambers of the Chariot [חדרי המרכבה]" (*Tan. B.* Toledot 22).

Builders Continued (3:5b–8)

Greek	Slavonic
5b For they whom you see drove forth multitudes of both men and women to make bricks. Among them, one woman, who was making bricks at the time of her delivery, was not allowed to be released, but, making bricks, she gave birth and carried her child in a cloth, and made bricks [again].	5b For at that time they drove forth a multitude of men and women to make bricks. Among them was one woman who was near to give birth, and they did not release her, but stirring [the clay for breaks] she gave birth, and having taken her cloak she wrapped her child, and left her child, and made bricks again.
6 And the Lord appeared to them and confused their languages, when they had built the Tower [to the height of] 463 cubits. 7 And having taken a bore, they were eager to bore heaven, saying, "Let us see whether heaven is [made] of clay, or of copper, or of iron."	6 And the Lord God appeared to them and confused their languages. And they built the Tower [to the height of] 463 cubits. 7 And having taken a bore they came to pierce heaven in order to see what is in heaven, whether heaven is [made] of glass or of copper.
8 When God saw this he did not allow them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of languages, and rendered them as you see."	8 And God saw them and did not hearken to them, but smote them invisibly."

NOTES

3:5G. Drove forth a multitude of men and women (ἐξέβαλλον πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν / **изгнаша мужа и женъ мъножьство**). Despite Gaylord[74] in ms L "multitude" governs both "men" and "women," and **мужа** is a standard acc. pl. Thus, G and S fully correspond. Family β adds here a long interpolation describing labor division. 3:5S. *Who was near* (**приближи са ѥи**). Gaylord reconstructs here Gk πληροῦσα τὴν ὥραν instead of πλινθεύσα ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ in G.[75]

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[74] Ibid., 21; Gaylord, *Baruch*, 664.
[75] Ibid.

Stirring [the clay for breaks] (**мѣтѧщи**). Or "travailing." Cf. **метѧщи варъ** "stirring pitch" in the interpolation in the family β. CS **мѣсти** might reproduce Gk ταράσσω, which here may mean "stir" or alternatively περιεργάζομαι "take more pain than enough," ἀσχαλάω "be distressed."[76] "Stirring" corresponds to the parallel in *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Exod 24:10 (see in comm. ad loc.).

3:5. *Cloth / cloak* (λέντιον /**окрилъ**). Ms T has **леонтии** (corrupted CS **лентии** corresponding to Gk λέντιον). CS **окрилъ** of other mss must render rather Gk χλαμύς or χιτών than λέντιον.[77]

3:6S. *Confused their languages*. Ms L adds: "and made 72 languages." Family β lacks the whole verse here and expands its content in 1:8.

463 Cubits. This reading, identical to G, occurs only in ms T. Most mss of both families have: "80,000 cubits in height, and in width 520."

3:7S. *What is in heaven*. Lacks in family β.*Of glass or of copper.* Family β: "of stone, or of glass, or of copper."

3:8. *When God saw this he did not allow them / And God saw them and did not hearken to them*. The same verb (Gk συγχωρέω) is used as in 3:5 (where a woman "was not allowed to be released"). S has CS **послоушати** "listen, hearken, obey" (like Gk ἀκούω or Heb **שמע**) instead.

With blindness / invisibly (ἐν ἀορασίᾳ / **невидимо**). S misinterpreted Gk ἐν ἀορασίᾳ in adverbial meaning (like ἀοράτως or ἀορασίτως "invisibly"). Family β has in place of this the following verse: "And having seen their folly, he smote them with an invisible staff and divided their languages into 72 languages. And they went each with his language. For previously they spoke one language – Syriac – from Adam and until the building of the Tower."[78]

COMMENTARY

Here we learn an *exemplum* of the Builders' cruelty, the goals of their project, and their punishment. This passage could have been a conclusion of the second version of the Builders Account. In this case, it is an expanded variant of the words "and the Lord banished them" at the end of the first version (2:7b). However, more probably the passage is a continuation of the narrative common to both versions.

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[76] See Mikl, 393–394.

[77] Mikl, 335, 499; Srezn, 2.648.

[78] The notion of Syriac as the primeval language appears in Slavic cultural milieu as early as the 9th–10th century – in *On the Letters* of Chrabr the Monk.

3:5. *Among them, one woman, who was making bricks at the time of her delivery*, etc. A very similar story, pertaining to brick-making (although during the Egyptian enslavement based on Exod 1:14), is found in *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Exod 24:10: "there were women treading clay with their husbands; a delicate young pregnant woman was also there, and made abortive and the embryo was beaten down with the clay;" cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 24; 48; *Sefer HaYashar*, Noah.[79] The only example of the Builders' cruelty in *3 Baruch* is against a woman in travail. This may count in favor of the identification of the Builders with demons, who are known as especially harmful for children (particularly newborns) and pregnant women (*1 En.* 15:12; *Test. Sol.* 2; 13; *Apoc. Dan.* 12:1–2; *Acts Thom.* 12; Justin Martyr, *1 Apology* 5.2; etc.). Demons also hurt the children of the wicked in *3 Bar.* 16:3 below. The motif of the demonic attack against women in childbirth and newborn children was allegorically developed in Rev 12:1–6.

3:6. *They had built the Tower [to the height of] 463 cubits.* On diverse extraordinary dimensions of the Tower, see *Jub.* 10:21; *Gen. Rab.* 38.8; *Tan. B.* 1.54; *Tan.* Noah 1; *Pirqe R. El.* 24; *Seder Eliyahu Rab.* 21, 118; and *Aseret Dibrot* 46.

3:7. *And having taken a bore, they were eager to bore heaven, saying, "Let us see whether heaven is [made] of clay, or of copper, or of iron / they came to pierce heaven in order to see what is in heaven, whether heaven is [made] of glass or of copper.*" They ignorantly planned to transfix heaven, the thickness of which is "as great as is the distance from earth to heaven" (see 2:5 above, and comm. ibid.)

Other accounts also associate the building of the Tower with sharp tools: an idol on the top of the Tower held a sword (*Gen. Rab.* 38.7; *Tan. B.* Noah 27); they cast arrows towards heavens (*Sefer HaYashar* 9.29; cf. *b. Git.* 56a). This motif might originate from the exegesis of the Heb דברים אחדים "one speech" (Gen 11:1) as דברים חדים "sharp things." This direction is traced through *Gen. Rab.* 38.7, where דברים חדים is interpreted as "sharp words."

Picard maintains that the account of the Builders in *3 Baruch* is an allegorical representation of Hellenistic sophists, concerned with the physical nature of heaven, and opposed to Philo's position of the incomprehensibility of heaven (*Somn.* 1.4 [21–24]).[80] As noted by Harlow, this is hardly con-

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[79] Cf. Picard, "Autres," 30–35.

[80] Picard, "Autres," 14, 33–39; idem, "Observationes," 79.

vincing in light of Baruch's own consistent interest in physical dimensions and mechanisms of heaven throughout the book.[81] We deal here not with the problem of forbidden knowledge, but rather with the esoteric limitation of access to this knowledge: celestial mysteries are forbidden for the wicked but revealed to chosen pious. This position is well articulated in *1 En.* 65:11; *4 Ezra* 12:36–38; 14:26; Philo, *Sacr.* 15.60; *Cher.* 14.48; *m. Hag.* 2.1 (cf. comm. to "be silent" in 1:3S).

As for the material of which the heaven is made, this was a natural object of human curiosity from very ancient times. According to the Akkadian *KAR* 307, the floors of all three firmaments are of different kinds of stone (the lowest is green, followed by blue and red).[82] Paved floors of heaven (usually of sapphire) or of the heavenly Temple might be meant in Exod 24:9–10; Ezek 40–42; *1 En.* 14:10; *3 En.* 24:10. In *3 Baruch* stone appears as a possible material only in S, in the mss of the family β (see Notes). The upper firmament of crystal appears in Ezek 1:22 and *b. Hag.* 12 (cf. *3 Bar.* S). Mountains of different materials – iron, copper, silver, gold, soft metal, and lead – are found in heaven by Enoch (*1 En.* 52:2).

B. Sanh. 109a ascribes to the Builders another motif: they were interested to get to the celestial water supply. It also is one of the main elements of our revelation and treated in ch. 10 below (see comm. ibid.).

3:8G. *Smote them with blindness*. S has a corrupted reading: "smote them invisibly" (see Notes). The wicked did not get to celestial secrets and "their own wickedness has blinded them. As for the mysteries of God, they knew them not" (Wis 2:22), whereas to Baruch were revealed "the mysteries of God" (*3 Bar.* 1:4S; 1:8G). Blindness may also be caused by looking at the exalted things: either at the Divine Presence, as with Isaac: "he had seen the Throne of Glory, and from that time his eyes had begun to darken" (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 27:1; cf. *Deut. Rab.* 11.3; *Pirqe R. El.* 32), or at the fiery chariot in which the pious ascend to heaven (*b. B. Mes.* 85b). Notice that God "appeared" to Builders in 3:6.

In the afterlife sinners are punished by blindness in *Apoc. Zeph.* 15–16; *Apoc. Paul* 40; Ethiopic *Apoc. Pet.* 12. This kind of punishment may corroborate the demonic identification of the Builders: demons may be blind (evil powers are "blinded by the Holy Spirit" in *Gos. Phil.* 38; for "blind" archons and Sammael as "god of the blind" see introductory comm. above)

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[81] Cf. also Harlow's criticism of Picard based on rather mystic-realistic than allegorical and emblematic understanding of *3 Baruch* (Harlow, *Baruch*, 115).

[82] Ebelung, *Keilschrifttexte*; Wright, *Heaven*, 35.

and can cause blindness: "The god of this age has blinded the minds of unbelievers" (2 Cor 4:4). See further "the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind" (*T. Sim.* 2:7); "the prince of deceit blinded me" (*T. Jud.* 19:4); "spirit of anger encompasses him with the nets of deceit, and blinds his natural eyes, and through lying darkens his mind, and gives him a sight of his own making" (*T. Dan* 2:4).

The Sodomites were also punished with blindness (Gen 19:11; Wis 19:17). This is one of the punishments of Israel, if the nation will not hearken unto the voice of the Lord (Deut 28:28). Pharaoh's troops were stricken with blindness (*Cant. Rab.* 1.31 and *passim*). Amorites were stricken with blindness, when they were fighting Kenaz (*Bib. Ant.* 27:10) as well as Canaanites fighting Israel (*b. Sot.* 36a). Balaam was blinded for his impure thoughts or intentions (*b. Nid.* 31a; *Num. Rab.* 20.6–12). The Angel Nathaniel did the same to the servants of Jair, in order to save the seven righteous (*Bib. Ant.* 38:3). Samson was blinded by Philistines but as a punishment by God's judgment (*Bib. Ant.* 43:5; *m. Sot.* 1.8). Darius was blinded for keeping Daniel imprisoned (*Maase Daniel* 121–122). "They that accused him [Jesus] were smitten with blindness" (*Infancy Gos. Thom.* (Gk A) 5:1).

II. Beasts or *Abode of Demons*

Beasts: Serpent and Hades (4:1–5G; 4:1–3aS)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And I Baruch said, "Behold, Lord, you have shown me great and wonderful things;	1 And I Baruch said, "The Lord has shown me great things."
and now show me all things for the Lord's sake."	
2 And the angel told me, "Come, let us go through."	2 And the angel said, "Come and let us go through these doors;
	you will see the Glory of God."
[And we entered] with the angel from that place about a 185 days' journey.	And we entered with the angel about a 187 days' journey.
3 And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which looked like a rock.	3a And he showed me a plain, and there was a serpent on a mountain of rock.
And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and impure. 4 And I said, "Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him?"	

and can cause blindness: "The god of this age has blinded the minds of unbelievers" (2 Cor 4:4). See further "the prince of deceit sent forth the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind" (*T. Sim.* 2:7); "the prince of deceit blinded me" (*T. Jud.* 19:4); "spirit of anger encompasses him with the nets of deceit, and blinds his natural eyes, and through lying darkens his mind, and gives him a sight of his own making" (*T. Dan* 2:4).

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And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and impure. 4 And I said, "Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him?"	

5 And the angel said, "The dragon is he
who eats the bodies of those who pass
through life wickedly, and he is nourished
by them.

NOTES

4:1G. *Great and wonderful things / great things* (μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά / **велика**). Gaylord supposes that G "may be a Christian addition reflecting Rev 15:1, 3."[83] Actually, the same word-combination occurs in LXX Job 42:3, while MT there has only נפלאות. The exact equivalent of the combination – Heb גדולות ונפלאות – MT has in Ps 130:1; cf. also Gk θαυμασία μεγάλα for Heb נפלאות גדולות in Ps 136:4. The same expression appears also in the short rescension of Tob 12:22; and similar "mysterious and great things" in *Apoc. Abr.* 9:6. "Great (things)" of S, found elsewhere, has a close parallel in the similar context in *T. Job* 8:19 also with respect to natural phenomena. Cf. comm. to "mysteries" in 1:6 above.

And now show me all things for the Lord's sake. Lacking in S most probably as a result of homoeoteleuton (in distinction to G, the verse of S ends with the word "Lord").

Harlow supposes that this verse originally concluded with the regular formula for previous transitions to the next heaven, which has been omitted as a result of a parablepsis: "And having taken me the angel brought me to the third heaven. And he showed me there also a door like the previous ones."[84]

4:2. *Go through*. CS **проидемъ/проидевѣ** of mss TB corresponds to Gk διέλθωμεν of the extant Greek mss, while ms L has **вънидѣвѣ** "we (dual.) will enter;" cf. 3:1–2, where CS **вънидѣвѣ** corresponds to Gk εἰσήλθομεν.

4:2G. *[And we entered]*. G has lit.: "Come, let us go through with the angel …" Since the angel is the one who is speaking, and since S here, as well as a similar description in 3:1–2, offers a better reading, we can suppose that G might omit these words as a result of homoeoteleuton (εἰσέλθωμεν … εἰσῆλθον). The restored words comprise the minimal emendation; it is possible that G contained the whole text preserved in S from "these doors" to "we entered."

4:2S. *187 days' journey.* "187" is the reading of ms L; mss TB have "40"; ms K – "85"; mss SZ – "32"; mss PVID – "70". Gaylord refers to M. Veder suggesting that "187" emerged as a misreading of original "185" (identical to G) in the hypothetical Glagolitic fore-text;[85] cf. a similar assumption of the misreading of "6" as "8" in a Cyrillic transliteration of possibly originally Glagolitic text in *Apoc. Abr.* 19:6.[86]

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83 Gaylord, *Baruch*, 666.
84 Harlow, *Baruch*, 118–119.
85 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 31.
86 Rubinkiewicz, Lunt "Apocalypse," 698, n. 19f.

4:3G. *A serpent, which looked like a rock* (ὄφιν ὡς ὁράσεως πέτρας). Or "appeared to be a rock." Mss AB both have a form πέθρας. That might be the reason why James (referring to J. A. Robinson) emends the phrase to ὡς ὁράσεως πλέθρα "200 plethra [in length]."[87]

4:3S. *A serpent on a mountain of rock* (**змиа на горѣ каменѣ**). Gaylord suggests that the *Vorlage* of S had ἐπὶ ὄρους πέτρας similarly to G (see previous note and comm. ad loc.).[88]

4:3–5G. All the description of Hades is lacking S. See comm.

4:3G. *Appearance*. Gk ἡ εἰδέα is supposed on basis of η ειδια A and οι ηδια B.

4:5G. *Those who pass through life wickedly* [κακῶς]. Cf. "those who pass through life *rightly* [καλῶς]" in 11:7G.

COMMENTARY

*Celestial Bestiary**

As is typical of many apocalypses, *3 Baruch* is rich with animalistic and botanic imagery: chimeric creatures of the lower heavens, gigantic celestial beasts, angelic horses, oxen, and lambs, celestial birds, trees and flowers.[89] The author of *3 Baruch* was apparently "like the many, who impiously suppose that the celestial and divine intelligences are many-footed or many-faced beings, or formed with the brutishness of oxen, or the savageness of lions, or the curved beaks of eagles, or the feathers of birds …" (Ps.-Dionysius Areopagite, *Cael. Hier.* 2). After meeting zoomorphic creatures in the lower heaven(s), the protagonist proceeds to three Great Beasts of the next firmament:

(1) Serpent (4:3), called also "Dragon" (4:4; 5:2), drinking from the sea and feeding upon the bodies of the wicked (according to G). It is unclear whether this is identical to the Serpent that seduced the first humans (4:8S and 9:7).
(2) Hades or Monster (ἀπηνής), which "also drinks from the sea" (only in G), surrounds or interlaces with Serpent in 4:4G, but is identified with the Serpent's belly in 5:3.

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87 James, "Baruch," lix.
88 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 33.
89 Cf., e.g., Dan 7–8; *1 En.* 85–90; *2 En.* 12; 15:1; 19:6; 42:1; *4 Ezra* 11:1–12:2, 11–32; Rev 4:6ff; 9:7–10, 17–19; 13:1–18; 17:3, 12; *Herm. Vis.* 4.1; etc.
* The commentary is based on my article Kulik, "Mysteries."

(3) Sun Bird (Phoenix), "a bird large as nine mountains," accompanying the sun's chariot and "guarding the world" from its rays (6:2–12; 6:14S; 7:3G; 8:1–2, 6).

As in the case of the Builders in the previous chapters, the placement of these images in the ancient lore must be examined in conjunction with the textual history of the book. The descriptions of the three beasts are separated only by the excursus on the vine in 4:8–17G; 4:6–17S (possibly interpolated; see comm. ibid.). If this passage is omitted, we have a coherent account of three creatures. Genesis (1:20–25; cf. Ps 8:7–8), as well as Plato (*Tim.* 39e–40a; 92c–d), Ovid (*Met.* 1.72–75) and Philo (*Opif.* 20.62–21.64), divided living beings into three classes: water-creatures, birds, and land-animals. Gigantic beasts representing each of the environments or ruling them are well attested almost universally (e.g., *Bundahishn* 18–19), but especially close are the motifs connected to the triad of Leviathan, Behemoth, and Ziz, all mentioned together in the Rabbinic interpretation of Ps 50:10–11 (and adjacent to the discussion of the Behemoth's drinking habits):

> As a recompense for what I have forbidden you [says God], I have allowed something for you. As a recompense for the prohibition of fish – Leviathan, a clean fish; as a recompense for the prohibition of birds – Ziz, which is a clean bird … As a recompense for animals [Heb בהמות] – "Behemoth [Heb בהמות] on thousand mountains." [Job 50:10] (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10; cf. *Pesiq. R.* 16.4; 48.3; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.1 and 3; *Tan.* Pinehas 12; Beshalah 24; *Num. Rab.* 21.18)

The supposedly unsystematic description of these creatures in *3 Baruch* is among the main factors which led scholars to speak of the "naïve childishness" of this work.[90] Mary Dean-Otting called these descriptions "trivial invention" and a "somewhat confused picture."[91] Both the message, and even the place of these figures in different traditions, remain unclear. The images of the Serpent and Hades are especially enigmatic (the bird will be treated separately in ch. 6). The set of features ascribed to the Serpent and Hades or an integrated Serpent-Hades in *3 Baruch* is unique, but every separate characteristic (or sometimes several characteristics combined) may be traced in diverse traditions. In order to understand the images in the context of ancient lore, we will examine classified elements of the beasts descriptions against main relevant parallels. The table is followed by the commentary.

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[90] Ferrar, "Baruch," 93.

[91] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 120.

	G	S	Main Parallels
1			*Identity*
1.1	Celestial or Cosmic Serpent		*CTA* 23.61–62 (Mot); Plato, *Tim.* 33 (living being); Rev 12 (great dragon); *Pistis Sophia* 3.126 (great dragon); Origen, *Cels.* 6.25 (Leviathan and Behemoth); Philo of Byblos, *On Snakes* (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 1.10.45–53; hawk-shaped serpent); *Acts Thom.* 32 (reptile); Jerome, Isa 27:1 (Leviathan)
1.2	Sea Dragon		Isa 27:1; Ps 104:26; Job 41 (Leviathan); Ezek 29:3 (great *tanin*); *1 En.* 60:7; *2 Bar.* 29:4; *4 Ezra* 6:52 (Leviathan and Behemoth)
1.3	Personified Hades		Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Hos 13:14 (= 1 Cor 15:55); Ps 141:7; Prov 1:12; Rev 6:8; 20:13–14
1.4	Celestial Hades		Plato, *Phaedr.* 246d; 247c; Plutarch, *Fac.* 27–29; *Sera* 563d; *Gen. Socr.* 590b; *1 En.* 18–19; *2 En.* 10; Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 20–22; *b. Tamid* 32b
1.5	Serpent and Hades as a pair (4:3–4)		Job 41:8–9; *1 En.* 60:7; *2 Bar.* 29:4; *4 Ezra* 49–52; *b. B. Bat.* 74b (Leviathan and Behemoth); *Apoc. Abr.* 10:10 (Leviathans); 21:4 (Leviathan and his spouse); *Lad. Jac.* 6:13 (Leviathan and *Falkon*); Rev 6:8; 20:13–14 (Hades and Death)
1.6	Serpent and Hades as a bipartite being (4:3–4)		Job 41:8–9; *1 En.* 60:7; cf. *caduceus*
1.7	Hades as Serpent's belly (5:3)		*Apoc. Abr.* 31 (Hades as a belly of Azazel); *Pistis Sophia* 3.126; cf. 3.2
1.8		Serpent as Hades (5:1–3)	
2			*Names*
2.1	Serpent (Gk ὄφις; 4:3) and Dragon (Gk δράκων; elsewhere)	Serpent (CS **змиа/змии**)	*Passim*

	G	S	Main Parallels
2.2	Hades (Gk Ἅδης) and Monster (Gk ἀπηνής; 4:4)	Hades (CS ѧдъ)	*Passim*
3		*Functions*	
3.1	Hades *also* drinks from the sea (4:6), and rivers fill the sea again (4:7)	Serpent drinks from the sea (5:3), and rivers fill the sea again (4:5)	*b. B. Bat.* 74b (Prince of the Sea); 72b; 75a (Leviathan); *Lev. Rab.* 22.9–10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.58a; 48.3; *Tan.* Pinehas 12; *Num. Rab.* 21.18 (Behemoth)
		"if the Serpent did not drink one cubit from the sea, there was no dry land on earth" (β 4:5)	*b. B. Bat.* 74b (Prince of the Sea/Rehab); *Pesiq. R.* 48.3 (Leviathan)
3.2	Serpent eats the bodies of the wicked (4:5)		*Devouring serpent: Enuma Elish* 4.97 (Tiamat); *CTA* 4.7.47–52; 5.2.2–4; 23.61–62 (Mot); Jer 51:34 (*tannin*/dragon); *T. Jud* 21:7; *Jos. Asen.* 12:11 (sea monsters) *Great eaters: CTA* 4.7.47–52 (Mot); *Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6; *Pesiq. R.* 16.4 and 48.4; *Num. Rab.* 21.18 (Behemoth) *Devouring Satan: Apoc. Abr.* 30 (Hades as a belly of Azazel) *Devouring Hades:* see Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Ps 141:7; Prov 1:12 *Belly of Hades*: Sir 51:5; *1 En.* 63:14; *4 Ezra* 4:42 Cf. 1.7; 4.3
3.3		Serpent "eats earth like grass" (4:3)	Gen 3:14 (serpent) *CTA* 4:7:47–52 (Mot)
3.4		"Hades is insatiable" (5:3)	Prov 30:20; Hab 2:5

	G	S	Main Parallels
4		*Descriptions*	
4.1	Serpent looks like a rock (4:3)	Serpent is on a mountain of a rock (4:3S)	*PRU* 2.3.8–10; Ps 50:10 (acc. to *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6, etc.; Behemoth); *1 En.* 60:8 (Behemoth); *2 Alphabet of Ben Sira* 27–28 (Leviathan)
4.2	Hades is dark and impure (4:3)		*ANET* 107; *Descent of Ishtar* 1; *Epic of Gilgamesh* 7.4.33; Hesiod, *Theog.* 729; Job 10:21–22; *1 En.* 10:4; 82:2; 103:8; *2 En.* 7:1–2; Matt 8:12; 22:3; 25:30; *Exod. Rab.* 14; *b. Yeb.* 109b et pass.
4.3		God kindled Serpent's heart (or belly β) (4:7)	Job 41:13, 23 (Leviathan); *Apoc. Abr.* 31 (Azazel); *b. B. Bat.* 75a (Leviathan)
4.4	Hades'/Serpent's belly dimensions (5:3)		*Apoc. Paul* 32; *b. Pesah.* 94a; *b. Taan.* 10a; *Cant. Rab.* 6.9; *Pesiq. R.* 41; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 71

1. *Identity*

1.1. *Celestial or cosmic serpent.* Among archaic monsters of the ancient Near East, Ugaritic Mot and Egyptian Apep (Apopis, Apophis) share several features of the Serpent of *3 Baruch*, with regard both to location and to the close association with the personified devouring Hades. Ugaritic Mot had "[one lip to ea]rth, one lip to heaven. [… t]ongue to the stars. Baal entered his mouth, descended to his belly" (*CTA* 23.61–62).[92] Plato has described the primeval self-sufficient living being encircling the universe and "created without legs and without feet" (*Tim.* 33), based most probably on the well known Ouroboros imagery.[93]

According to Rev 12, the celestial "Great Dragon," "ancient Serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan," has been cast down during the angelic rebellion and "their place was not found any longer in heaven" (Rev 12:8–9). If *3 Baruch* also identifies the Serpent with Satan(iel), it must represent an alternative tradition (see below). Certain similarity was found also between the Serpent of *3 Baruch* and celestial and cosmic serpents of some marginal

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[92] Cf. "his [dragon's] tail has swept a third of the stars out of the sky" (Rev 12:4).

[93] Our text does not enable to designate whether we deal here with a serpent as *axis mundi*, a foundation of the earth, or *circuitus mundi,* Ouroboros (cf. Whitney, *Beasts*, 114).

groups either sharing the legacy of early Judaism, or of common Mediterranean lore, e.g., the Gnostic cosmic serpent of *Pistis Sophia*, who is a place of the afterlife torment:

> The outer darkness is a Great Dragon, whose tail is in his mouth, outside the whole world and surrounding the whole world. And there are many regions of chastisement within it. (*Pistis Sophia* 3.126)[94]

See the description of Leviathan from the Ophitic cosmological schema used by Celsus:

> There was a diagram of ten circles, each separated from the other, yet joined together by one circle which is said to be the soul of the universe and which is named Leviathan … Instead of the word "dragon," the term "Leviathan" is in the Hebrew … We also find a being named Behemoth in it, as if he were something placed below the lowest circle. The one who invented this horrid diagram inscribed Leviathan on its circumference and at its center, setting the name twice. Moreover, Celsus says that the diagram was "divided by a thick black line," and this line he asserted was called Gehenna, which is Tartar. (Origen, *Cels.* 6.25)[95]

See also Philo of Byblos, *On Snakes*:

> The Egyptians still describe the world according to the same idea. They draw an encompassing sphere, of the color of the sky and of fire, and a hawk-shaped serpent stretched across the middle of it, the whole shape is like our letter *theta*. They indicate that the circle is the world, and they signify that the snake in the middle holding it together is Good Daemon. (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 1.10.45–53)

Mandaean Ur also separates heaven from the netherworld and holds impure souls in his belly.[96] The *Acts of Thomas* distributes these functions between two serpents, father and son:

> I am a reptile of the reptile nature and noxious son of the noxious father, of him that hurt and smote the four brethren which stood upright. I am son to him that sits on a throne over all the earth that receives back his own from them that borrow. I am son to him that girds about the sphere, and I am kin to him that is outside the Ocean, whose tail is set in his own mouth. I am he that entered through the fence into Paradise and spoke with Eve the things which my father bade me speak with her … I am one that inhabits and holds the Abyss of Hades. (*Acts Thom.* 32)

These Gnostic and Mandaean witnesses may be especially relevant for *3 Baruch*. If we accept that Baruch travels horizontally through the sun gates located on the horizon just above the surface (constituting "plains" between

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[94] Translations from Mead, *Pistis Sophia*.
[95] Cf. Welburn, "Ophite Diagram."
[96] Drower, *Mandaeans*, 253; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 124–127.

the gates?) that divides higher and lower realms (see comm. to "as if [borne] on wings" in 2:2G), then the Serpent with Hades may not so much be celestial beings as they are geographical dividers separating heaven from the netherworld (or at least located on the separation point between them), like the cosmic serpents of Celsus and Philo of Byblos in the sources above.[97]

Among later sources, celestial Leviathan is known to Jerome (on Isa 27:1), who, referring to *judaica fabula*, mentions that Leviathan lives not only under the ground, but also in the air. In late midrash Leviathan is identified with the vault of heaven to which the signs of Zodiac are affixed; see Kimhi on Isa 27:1 (referring to *Pirqe R. El.*): "And this is also in *Pirqe de R. Eliezer* Teli [Zodiac of Draco] moves the luminaries, and it is stretched from one end to another as a Pole of the Crooked Serpent" (cf. Kalir on Isa 27:1; *Kaneh* 30c and 32c–32d; *Rokeah* to Yetsirah 14c; *Zohar* 2.34b).[98]

1.2. *Sea dragon.* Our Serpent is also a sea dragon, an almost universal image found *mutatis mutandis* in diverse *Drachentraditionen*, including Near Eastern, Hellenistic, and particularly Jewish. Biblical תנין (Gk δράκων of LXX) is known as a "dragon that is in the sea" (Isa 27:1), "the great dragon that lays in the midst of his rivers" (Ezek 29:3; cf. rivers in the Serpent's description in *3 Bar.* 4:7/5 and in Leviathan accounts in *b. B. Bat.* 74b; see below); cf. "who [God] smashed the heads of the dragons on the waters" (Ps 74:13). See also sea, abysses, and "dragons" (Heb תנינים, Gk δράκοντες) mentioned together in Ps 148:7; Job 7:12 (and Gen 1:21, where the same Hebrew word is rendered in LXX as "the great fish [pl.]"); Rahab of Isa 51:9–10. The "Crooked/Pole Serpent" Leviathan is located in the sea, sometimes even rules it or controls the sources of water (Isa 27:1; Ps 104:26; Job 41; *1 En.* 60:7; *2 Bar.* 29:4; *4 Ezra* 6:52). For Leviathan and Behemoth drinking from the sea, see 3.1 below.

1.3. *Personified Hades.* For Sheol/Hades as a personified figure see Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Ps 141:7; Prov 1:12; Rev 6:8; 20:13–14; cf. Hos 13:14 cited in 1 Cor 15:55 (אהי קטבך שאול / ποῦ τὸ κέντρου σου Ἅδη, "Where,

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[97] Cf. also Paradise "between corruptibility and incorruptibility" in *2 En.* 8:5.

[98] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.45. Cf. also Dragon, the sun and the moon united in the Rabbinic prohibitions referring to pagan practices in Palestine: "If one finds utensils upon which is the figure of the sun or moon or a dragon, he shall cast them into the Dead Sea (*m. Abod. Zar.* 3.3; cf. *t. Abod. Zar* 6); cf. "[Images of] all the planets are permissible except that of the sun and moon; of all faces are permissible except that of a human face; and of all figures are permissible except that of the dragon" (*b. Abod. Zar.* 42b).

O Hades, is your sting?"). In some of these sources it is paired with Death. For the development of the personification of both these images, see the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

1.4. *Hell in Heaven.* An abode of souls, whether Greek Hades or Jewish Sheol, is normally located "below." Greek views which may stand behind the placement of Hades in heaven were analyzed by Dean-Otting and Harlow.[99] Plato considered heaven to be a post-mortem abode of all kinds of souls (*Phaedr.* 246d; 247c). Stoics believed that souls go eventually to the sun and stay for an interim period of purification close to the sun and the moon. This cosmology, "new" for the Hellenistic world, is probably of Oriental origin, having coexisted with the traditional conception of the afterdeath realm in the underworld. It is attested in Plutarch (*Fac.* 27–29; *Sera* 563d; *Gen. Socr.* 590b).[100] In the former dialogue souls are punished or purified in the sphere of the moon exactly as in *3 Baruch*, where Hades is located in the same heaven with the sun and the moon.[101] See a description of Egyptian astrologist Teukros (1st cent. CE), where the heavenly serpent is standing over Zodiac scorpion, in whose claws Hades lies.[102]

In Jewish tradition only the righteous normally deserve to be placed in heaven (Philo, *Sacr.* 2.5; *b. Ket.* 104a; *b. Hag.* 12b; *Midr. HaG.* Gen 50:26; and *passim*). However, in some Jewish sources the place of "eternal recompense" for the wicked is located in heaven. This is most probably the case of the "prison house" for heavenly powers in *1 En.* 18–19. In *2 En.* 10 it is even the same third heaven as in the extant redaction of *3 Baruch*. Two lowest heavens of a total of three, or seven in different versions of the *Testament of Levi*, are also connected with punishment: "In it [the lowest heaven] are all the spirits of those dispatched to achieve the punishment of mankind" (*T. Levi* 3:3). Souls are tortured in the fourth and fifth heavens in Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 20–22 or inside the Great Dragon surrounding the world (*Pistis Sophia* 3.126). According to one of the opinions presented in *b. Tamid* 32b, Hell may be found above the firmament (גיהנם למעלה מן הרקיע).

In *3 Baruch* both Hell and Paradise are probably in the same heaven, since the story of the Tree of Knowledge is adjacent (even intervenes) to the Hades account. Hell and Paradise are situated side by side in *2 En.* 8–10;

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[99] See Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 122–24; Harlow, *Baruch*, 1996, 125, n. 50.

[100] Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology*, 45.

[101] Rabbis also connected Hell and the sun: the sun on its setting passes through Hell in order to receive there its fire (*b. B. Bat.* 84a; cf. "fire of the west" in *1 En.* 17:4–6).

[102] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 124.

Pesiq. Rab Kah. 30.191b; *Eccl. Rab.* 7.14; *Midr. Tannaim* 224. Paradise of the third heaven in *2 En.* 8:5 divides between "corruptible" and "incorruptible." In *T. Levi* 3 heavens are probably divided to two realms: two lower and the higher heaven of "holy ones" (see below in the comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*). This recalls ancient cosmologies which distinguish between irregular *ouranos* and higher *kosmos*.[103] Likewise, also in *3 Baruch* the lower heavens serve as an abode of the demonic Builders and even of "impure" Hades. On demons in heaven, see comm. to ch. 3 (*Implied Demonology* 2.1.3).

1.5. *Two together.* The main obscurity in the description of the Beasts in G is whether (1) there are two beasts, Serpent and Hades, or (2) these are two names of the same creature, or (3) the latter is the belly of the former. The problem was regarded as resulting from textual corruption, and most commentators supposed that S reflected the more coherent version.[104] Gaylord considers the whole description of Hades to be an intrusion, since it conflicts with 5:3G, where Hades is identified with the Serpent's belly, and since "the Slavic here in vv. 3–5 represents a tightly knit, consistent sequence of questions and answers." He believes that "the Greek version has resulted from a reworking of basically cosmological and ouranological work by inserting theological material," as in G 4:3, 4–5, 15; 10:5; and 11:7 (see comm. ibid.).[105] Dean-Otting assumes an intentional puzzle and speaks of Beasts as "separate entities but intertwined to the extent that Hades is the belly of the dragon."[106]

However, the "duality" of the celestial beast, or its bipartite nature, or simply the existence of a couple of such monsters can be supported by the parallels below. A similar problem characterizes Leviathan and his rival or spouse (Tanin, Behemoth, or female Leviathan) in some sources. The tradition may be connected or at least likened to other serpentine pairs: Egyptian chaotic adversary of the sun Apopis and the world-encircling Ouroboros, bounding between the ordered cosmos and chaos around it; Babylonian Tiamat ("Abyss") and Kingu ("Serpent") of *Enuma Elish* 1; Greek pair of Ophion and Eurynome initially ruling the sky and then thrown into Oceanus or Tartarus (Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 1.498ff; Nonnus of Panopolis, *Dionys.* 8.110ff). Behemoth, identified in early sources with

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103 Andersen, "2 Enoch," 116, n. 81.
104 Cf., e.g., Fischer, *Eschatologie*, 79ff; Harlow, *Baruch*, 1996, 121.
105 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 33; Gaylord, *Baruch*, 666.
106 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 120–121.

Wild Ox (Heb שור הבר/תור בר; cf. *Tg Ps* 50:10), often appears together with Leviathan, as a *pair* or even an *indivisible unity*. Compare "this dragon and this monster around him" (ὁ δράκων οὗτος καὶ τίς ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής) of *3 Bar.* 4:4 with Leviathan and Behemoth in the battle: "One is so close to the other [אֶחָד בְּאֶחָד יִגַּשׁוּ] that even air cannot enter between them. One joins the other [אִישׁ בְּאָחִיהוּ יִדְבָּקוּ], they cling together and cannot be parted [יִתְלַכְּדוּ וְלֹא יִתְפָּרְדוּ]" (Job 41:8–9); cf. *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* Suppl. 2.4 where this image is developed. Leviathan and Behemoth are undivided until the Judgment Day:

> On that day two monsters will be separated, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the abysses of the sea over the sources of the waters; and the male is named Behemoth, who occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named Debdayn, on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell. (*1 En.* 60:7–8)

Or, on the contrary, the pair was initially separate:

> Then you preserved two living creatures which you created; the name of one you called Behemoth and the name of the other Leviathan. And you separated one from the other, for the seventh part where the water had been gathered together could not hold them both. And you gave Behemoth one of the parts which had been dried up on the third day, to live in it, where there are a thousand mountains, but to Leviathan you gave the seventh part, the watery part [thus in Latin; "of the watery part" in other versions]. (*4 Ezra* 6:49–52)

See further: "Leviathan the slant serpent and Leviathan the tortuous serpent he created male and female; and had they mated with one another they would have destroyed the whole world" (*b. B. Bat.* 74b).

The pair is a regular element of *all* major Jewish apocalyptic works, except *2 Enoch*. In addition to *1 Enoch* and *4 Ezra* it is found also in *2 Baruch*:

> And Behemoth shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have preserved until that time; and then they shall be for food for all that are left. (*2 Bar.* 29:4)

Similarly, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* a unique plural "Leviathans" (10:10) and especially a reconstructed reading of 21:4[107] may refer to Leviathan and his spouse. Moreover, Leviathans and Hades appear in sequence in 10:10–11: "I [Yahoel] am made in order to rule over the Leviathans, since the attack and the threat of every reptile are subjugated to me. I am ordered to unlock Hades and to destroy those who worship the dead." Le-

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[107] "Leviathan and his spouse (קניעתו)" instead of "and his possession [קנינו]." A conjecture proposed by Ginsberg (*Legends*, 5.45, n. 127).

viathan is mentioned in a pair with an enigmatic "lawless Falcon" in *Lad. Jac.* 6:13:

> And the Lord will pour out his wrath against Leviathan the sea-serpent (and) will kill the lawless Falcon [cf. *kfalkona gargailyuy{a}* in 5:15] with the sword, because he will raise by his pride the wrath against the God of gods.

The CS **фалконъ** "falcon" (?) – was interpreted by Horace Lunt as going back to Gk *θαλκον, an anagram of *ακλαθον, a transliteration of Heb עקלתון "crooked," a common epithet for Leviathan (Isa 27:1; *passim*).[108]

Cf. also pairs of Sheol/Hades and Abbadon (Prov 27:20); Hades and Death (Rev 6:8; 20:13–14); Hades and Beliar (*Gos. Bart.* 1); a pair of serpents in *Acts Thom.* 32.

1.6. *Two in One.* The pair may be a bipartite description of one *Chaos-monster.*[109] The accounts of two interlaced monsters in Job 41:8–9 or inseparable until "that day" in *1 En.* 60:7–9 (see above) may refer not to a pair, but to a bipartite monster. The obscure account of *3 Baruch* may derive from this archaic motif.

The description of *3 Bar.* 4:4 which mentions "this dragon and this monster *around him*" (ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής) may refer to intertwined creatures, Serpent and Hades (also serpentine – "which also is similar to him [Serpent]," ὅστις καὶ αὐτὸς παρόμοιός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ as *3 Bar.* 4:6). This image, *caduceus*, a figure of *two* (sometimes one) *serpents intertwined around one another* (or around a pole), is almost universally attested from Sumer to Rome.[110]

1.7. *Hades as Serpent's belly.* "His belly is Hades" (5:3). Hades is a belly of a Serpent Azazel in *Apoc. Abr.* 31:5 (cf. below): "And those who followed after the idols and after their murders will rot in the womb of the Evil One – the belly of Azazel, and they will be burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue." Gnostic celestial dragon also is a place of afterlife torment (*Pistis Sophia* 3.126; see citation in 1.1 above).

1.8. *Serpent as Hades.* In 5:3S, the only instance where Hades is mentioned in S, it is either (1) identified with Serpent's belly (as in G) or (2) only com-

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108 Lunt, "Ladder," 404.

109 Cf. Fuchs, *Mythos*, 225–264.

110 See below for the connection of the image to the Celestial Tree (comm. to 4:8–17). It may also resemble a serpent coiling about Mithraic Aion-Kronos (James, "Baruch," lxi) and Ouroboros encircling the world.

pared to Serpent's belly (as in the reading of ms L; see Notes ibid.),[111] or (3) identified with entire Serpent.[112] In the second case, the whole motif of Hades would be absent in the redaction reflected by S, though probably implied in it, and later clarified on the basis of the additions found in G.

2.1. *The names "Serpent" and "Dragon."* The beast is called "serpent" – Gk ὄφις, CS fem. **змиꙗ** in 4:3 and masc. **змии** in 5:1), and also "dragon" – δράκων; only in G). The latter name in Hebrew (דרקון) in its numerical value accords with the number of 360 rivers in 4:7G (see comm. to "rivers" in 4:7G-5S).[113] The same word is used by LXX for Heb תנין for a "great dragon [ὁ δρακων ὁ μέγας] that lies in the midst of his rivers" (Ezek 29:3).

2.2. *The names "Hades" and "Monster."* The Greek term Ἅδης was widely used in Hellenistic Jewish sources, conflating the features of the Hebrew Sheol, Gehenna, Tofet with Greek concepts of the afterlife abode.[114] Greek Tartarus was similarly adopted (LXX Job 40:15; 41:23; 2 Pet 2:4).

Hades is called "monster," Gk ἀπηνής (4:4). As a noun it is almost unique. As an adjective it appears in Wis 17:19: ἀπηνηστάτων θηρίων φωνή "a voice of monstrous beasts." Gk θηρίον in LXX is a constant equivalent for the Heb בהמות "Behemoth" and it is also "the Beast" of Rev 13:18.

3.1. *Sea Drinking*

Ultimate basin. On Sea Serpents see 1.2 above. Serpent and Hades of *3 Baruch* share their main function with Rabbinic Leviathan and Behemoth, who are both known to drink from the world hydrosystem (or sometimes only of Mediterranean or of Palestine) and thus serve as an ultimate basin for it:

> Where does Behemoth drink from? R. Yohanan and R. Shimon b. Lakish give different answers. R. Yohanan says, "He makes a single draught of what the Jordan pours down in six months. What is his reason? Because it says, 'Behold if a river overflow, he does not tremble' [Job 40:23]." R. Shimon b. Lakish says, "He makes a single draught of what the Jordan pours down in twelve months. What is his reason? 'He is confident, for the Jordan rushes forth to his mouth' [ibid.]. And they contain but sufficient to moisten the beast's mouth." R. Huna in the name of R. Yose said, "They do

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111 In both cases **его** "its" of **чрева его** "its belly" in 5:3 would refer to the Serpent.

112 In this case "its" refers to Hades.

113 Observation of Bohak ("Gematrias").

114 Cf. van der Horst, "Tomb Inscriptions"; Mazzinghi, "Non c'è regno."

> not [even] contain sufficient to moisten its mouth." Then where does it drink from? R. Shimon b. Yohai learned, "A river goes forth from Eden whose name is Yubal[115] and from there it drinks. What is his reason? Because it says, 'That spreads out its roots by Yubal' [Jer 17: 8]." (*Lev. Rab.* 2.10)

See also *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.1; *Pesiq. R.* 16.4; 48.3; *Tan.* Pinehas 12; *Num. Rab.* 21.18.[116] Similarly to our Hades, Greek Tartarus is also a part of the cosmic hydrosystem: rivers originate there and return to it (Plato, *Phaed.* 111c–112e).

Some texts view this function as having an ecological purpose – it aims to prevent a new Flood.[117] Thus, in some Slavonic mss: "if the Serpent did not drink one cubit from the sea, there would be no dry land on earth" (4:5S, family β; see Notes). This conception contradicts a theory of a cyclical hydrosystem represented in Eccl 1:7: "All the rivers run into the sea, but the sea never overflows. To the sources from which the rivers come, there they flow to run again."[118] The non-cyclical nature of the water system in *3 Baruch* is clarified in ch. 10: the clouds (apud S – all of them; apud G – only those with "fruitful" waters) originate not from the sea, but from a supernatural celestial source (10:8–9S); thus there is no alternative way to balance a system, but by the canalization of the superfluous water into another supernatural destination.

Regulating the world water system by swallowing superfluous waters is known also as a function of primeval sea monsters. During the creation God ordered "the Prince of the Sea" (identified with Rehab of Job 26:12): "Open your mouth and swallow all the waters which are in the world!" Having refused, he has been slain by God (*b. B. Bat.* 74b). Cf. "When God created the Sea, it was expanding and expanding, until God has rebuked it and dried it" (*b. Hag.* 12a). However, the contemporary water monsters of *3 Baruch* are more obedient than their primordial counterparts; they readily drink from the sea and do so with regular amounts (see below). Exactly the same function is ascribed to Leviathan who dwells "in the abysses of the Ocean over the fountains of the waters" (*1 En.* 60:7), although here Leviathan does not so much drink as he plugs the water source:

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[115] On Yuval as possibly a primary source of all waters on earth, see Whitney, *Beasts*, 104–108.

[116] Cf. Whitney, *Beasts*, 112–113.

[117] This makes an additional connection with the "vine excursus," also dealing with the Flood in 4:6/8–17 below.

[118] For this conception in Ecclesiastes, see Young-Ji Min, "Rivers."

> Were it not that he [Leviathan] lies over the abyss [תהום] and presses down upon it, it would come up and destroy the world and flood it. But when he wishes to drink, he is not able to drink from the waters of the Ocean, since they are salty. What does he do? He raises one of his fins and the abyss comes up, and he drinks, and after he drinks, he returns his fin to its place, and it stops up the abyss. (*Pesiq. R.* 48.3)[119]

Concern for the lack of water. An opposite concern appears in *3 Bar.* 4:4S (cf. 4:6G): "he [Serpent] drinks one cubit from the sea. How is it that the sea does not sink?" The same with Leviathan: "when he is thirsty, he makes many furrows in the sea" (*b. B. Bat.* 75a), as a result, "the deep does not recover [חוזר לאיתנו] for seventy years" (*b. B. Bat.* 75a).[120]

One or two drinking beasts? Similar accounts referring to Leviathan and Behemoth have led to a discussion about which of the two actually drank from the Jordan. Cf. a statement of *3 Baruch* that Hades is similar to the Serpent "in that he *also* drinks …" (4:6):

> R. Yehudah said, "The Jordan comes from the cave of Pamias [Paneas]." It is also taught thus, "The Jordan comes from the cave of Pamias and it flows into the Sea of Sibkhai [Samachonitis] and into the Sea of Tiberias, and it rolls on and descends into the Great Sea and rolls on and descends into the mouth of Leviathan, for it is said, 'He is confident that the Jordan will burst into his mouth' [Job 40:23]." Rabba b. Ulla objected, "Behold, this is written about Behemoth on a thousand hills." However, Rabba b. Ulla said [in order to harmonize both views], "When cattle [בהמות, but with an adj. in pl.] on a thousand hills are confident? At the time when the Jordan bursts forth into the mouth of Leviathan." (*b. B. Bat.* 74b)

List of rivers. As in *3 Bar.* 4:7, giving a list of rivers, the Rabbinic discussion above is immediately followed by the list of Palestinian "seven seas and four rivers:"

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[119] In Slavic folklore (which is known to be in mutual influence with the literary pseudepigraphic tradition), serpents are often connected to celestial and terrestial waters. The rainbow is considered a serpent drinking water from the sea or rivers in order to transform it to the rain (thus enabling a cyclic system); see Belova, *Slavjanskij*, 285; cf. Gura, *Simvolika*, 289–93. Cf. also another model for the monster regulating the cosmic hydrology: "Rabah bar Bar Hanah said, 'I saw that Ridya;' he resembles a heifer of three years old, his lip is split and he is stationed between the upper and the lower deep, to the upper deep he says, 'Pour down your water,' and to the lower deep: 'Let your water spring up'" (*b. Taan.* 25b)." On this creature see Kiperwasser, Shapira, "Irano-Talmudica."

[120] Heb חוזר לאיתנו, lit. "returns to its strength," here is sometimes interpreted as "recovers its calm." However, in the light of parallels the capacity of water is rather meant.

> When R. Dimi came he stated in the name of R. Yohanan, "The verse 'for he has founded it upon the seas and established it upon the floods' [Ps 24:2] speaks of the seven seas and four rivers which surround the land of Israel. And these are the seven seas: the Sea of Tiberias, the Sea of Sodom, the Sea of Helath [Elat?], the Sea of Hiltha [Ulatha], the Sea of Sibkay, the Sea of Aspamia and the Great Sea. The following are the four rivers: the Jordan, the Jarmuk, the Keramyon and Pigah. (*b. B. Bat.* 74b)

Water abyss and Hades. The bipartite Serpent-Hades as a living being eats and drinks (4:5–6; like Phoenix eats and drinks in 6:11). By the former activity it helps to get rid of sinners,[121] and by the latter it disposes of superfluous water. It is one of several examples of the consistent integration of moral and cosmological issues elegantly united by mythopoeic images.

This most probably was not the innovation of *3 Baruch*. There are some traces of ancient connections between the "water abyss" and Hell. These topics are united in Job 38:16–17: "Have you entered into the springs of the sea? Or have you walked in the recesses of the depth? Have the gates of death been opened to you? Or have you seen the doors of deepest darkness?"[122] The same term – Heb תהום / ἄβυσσος – may designate either a "water abyss," or "Hell." See the "mouths of the abyss" in the water system of *1 En.* 17:8 and "abyss" as Hell there (*1 En.* 54:5; 90:26). For Gk ἄβυσσος as Hell, see Rev 9:1; *Acts Phil.* 3; 24; *Acts Thom.* 32; *Acts Andr. Matt.* 12; 24; and *passim*. "Lower waters" are located "opposite the gates of the Death Shadow [Heb צלמות] and the gates of Gehenna" (*Seder Rab. deBereshit* 17 in *Bate Midr.* 27–28). In accordance with this may be an idea that the "Prince of the Sea" (cf. *b. B. Bat.* 74b) is in charge of Gehenna:

> The [Prince of] Gehenna said to the Holy One, "Sovereign of the Universe! To the sea let all be consigned … the Gehenna cried out before him, "Sovereign of the Universe! My Lord! Satiate me with the seed of Seth … I am faint [with hunger]." (*b. Shab.* 104a)

The insatiability of the sea and of Hades are connected (or at least comparable): "'All the rivers run into the sea, [but the sea never overflows'; Eccl 1:7]. All the dead go only to Sheol, but Sheol is never full, as it is said, 'Sheol and Abbadon are insatiable' [Prov 27:20]" (*Eccl. Rab.* 1.7).

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121 Only in G. In S, the Serpent eats earth instead (4:3 S); see 3.3 below.4. Thus in S, its extra-ecological functions are only hinted in 5:2, where it or its belly is identified as Hades.

122 Cf. *4 Ezra* 4:7: "How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea, or how many springs ["streams," *venae* in Latin] are at the source of the deep [*principio abyssi*], or how many ways ["streams" in Latin] are above the firmament, or which are the exits of Hell, or which are the entrances of Paradise?"

3.2. *Eating the Wicked*

"The dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly, and he is nourished by them" (4:5G). Thus, the Serpent either serves as an abode (purgatory or eternal) for the souls of sinners or it destroys them, depriving them of eternal life. The notion of the "bodies" (τὰ σώματα) eaten by the Serpent is similar to the bodily post-mortem punishment in *t. Sanh*. 13.4 and par., where the sinners "descend to Gehenna in their bodies," and "their body is consumed" (cf. *b. Ber.* 18b–19b; *b. Shab*. 33b; *b. Rosh HaSh*. 16b–17a; *b. Sanh*. 64b). The conception of bodily descent to Hell is known to Matt 5:29–30; 18:8 and Mark 9:43–48, and even the destruction "of both soul and body in Hell" is mentioned (Matt 10:28). This must imply that not an immediate but a post-resurrection judgment is meant,[123] unless we deal with a mythopoeic paradox of a spiritual body (cf. an early Christian conception developed on the basis of 1 Cor 15:42).

On the afterlife and eschatological conceptions only vaguely implied in *3 Baruch*, see comm. to ch. 15.

Devouring serpent. Cosmic serpents swallow their rivals in *Enuma Elish* 4.97 (Tiamat and Marduk), *CTA* 5.2.2–4; 23.61–62 (Mot and Baal). Mot ("Death") feeds on humans (*CTA* 4.7.47–52; see below).[124] Sea-monsters "swallow men like fishes" (*T. Jud* 21:7). Aseneth prays that a sea-monster would not swallow her (*Jos. Asen.* 12:11).

Jeremiah compares Nebuchadnezzar with some devouring and rinsing dragon probably known to his audience: "He swallowed us like a dragon [Heb תנין, Gk δράκων], he filled his belly with our dainties, then he rinsed us out" (Jer 51:34). See the purgatory torments in the *Testament of Isaac*: "They [zoomorphic celestial creatures] tore him apart, dismember, and chewed, and swallowed him. After that they ejected him from their mouths and he returned to his original state" (5:16). A serpent-like angel wished to swallow the seer near Hades in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* (6:1–8). This role may be connected also to a function of a celestial or infernal gate keeper (see comm. to ch. "Tree of Knowledge" [4:8–17G; 4:6–17S]).

Great eaters. Both Mot ("Death", the Ugaritic ruler of the netherworld depicted sometimes in a serpentine form) and Behemoth are known as great eaters. Mot's diet also includes humans: he "becomes fat [feasting] on gods

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123 Cf. Milikowsky, "Gehenom," 317–318.
124 Wright, *Heaven*, 49.

and humans" and "becomes sated on the masses of earth" (*CTA* 4.7.47–52). For Behemoth: "a thousand mountains yield cattle for it and it eats" (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6); "thousand mountains yield for him all kinds of food for the meal of righteous in the world to come" (*Pesiq. R.* 16.4 and 48.4; *Num. Rab.* 21.18).

Devouring Satan. In *Apoc. Abr.* 23:7–11 Azazel (Satan) and the Serpent are identified (Azazel is described as a serpent with hands, feet, and twelve wings). His fiery belly serves as Hades too. Here a number of critical details conform to *3 Baruch* (italics are mine):

> And I shall burn with fire those who mocked them ruling over them in this age and I will commit those who have covered me with mockery to the reproach of the coming age. Since I have destined them to *be food for the fire of Hades*, and ceaseless soaring in the air of the underground depths, *the contents of a worm's belly.* For those who do justice, who have chosen my will and clearly kept my commandments, will see them. And they will rejoice with joy at the destruction of the abandoned. And those who followed after the idols and after their murders will rot in the *womb of the Evil One – the belly of Azazel*,[125] and they will be burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue. (*Apoc. Abr.* 31:2–5)

See also "your adversary, the Devil", who "as a roaring lion, walks about seeking someone to devour" (1 Pet 5:8); he is identified with "great Dragon" and "ancient Serpent" in Rev 12:9. One of the names applied to Satan, Belial/Beliar (from Heb בליעל), might have been connected to its swallowing function: "swallower" derived from the root בלע followed by affromative *lamed*.[126] Bartholomew fears that Beliar will swallow him in *Gos. Bart.* 1:20.

Devouring Hades. In the Bible, personified Sheol/Hades is hungry for humans. It has a mouth, which "swallows them alive"; see Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Ps 141:7; and Prov 1:12. The earth can also "open its mouth" and swallow people (Exod 15:12; Num 16:30–32; 26:10; Deut 11:5; Ps 106:17); cf. also the "mouths of the abyss" in *1 En.* 17:8. This swallowing ability of the "gates of Hades" must be meant in Matt 16:18, when Jesus says that it will not prevail over his assembly.

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[125] The extant text has **въ оутробѣ лоукавого черви азазила**. The South Slavic proto-text apparently had **чрєви/чрѣви** "belly" in place of **черви/чрьви** "worm" (the form may be interpreted both as gen. and loc.) and contained possibly a gloss doublet: "in the womb of the Evil One – the belly of Azazel." In this case, in 31:3 above a usual grave worm is most probably meant.

[126] Mandelkern, *Hekhal*, 202; Thomas, "*Beliyya'al*," 18.

Belly of Hades. See "the depths of the belly of Hades" (Sir 51:5); "flaming womb of Hell" (*1 En.* 63:14); and "Hell [*infernum*] and the storerooms of souls [*promtuaria animarum*] are like the womb" (*4 Ezra* 4:42). Jonah calls "the belly of the fish" (Heb מעי הדגה; 2:2) "belly of Sheol/Hades" (Heb בטן שאול, Gk κοιλία ᾅδου; 2:3). Cf. 1.7 and 4.3.

3.3. *Eating earth*. "It eats earth like grass" (4:3S) according to the punishment of the serpent in Gen 3:14. Cf. also "the serpent's food is earth" (Isa 65:25; the same in Mic 7:17 and Philo, *Opif.* 56.157). In both Genesis and Isaiah the Greek text of LXX contains a word γῆς "earth" (CS ѕємлѧ) in place of Heb עפר "dust."

This characteristic may link our cosmic Serpent to the "serpent that deceived Adam and Eve" (4:8S; cf. 9:7), also appearing only in S. This feature contrasts with Phoenix that feeds on "the manna of heaven" (6:11). Similarly, Philo likens "the lover of pleasure" who "feeds not on heavenly nourishment" to the serpent that "takes clods of earth as food" (*Opif.* 56.157–158).

In S, the Serpent eats earth instead of sinners. Thus in S, its extra-ecological functions are only hinted at in 5:2, where the Serpent or its belly is called "Hades." Ugaritic Mot eats both, humans as well as earth (CTA 4.7.47–52; see 3.2 above), thus combining characteristics of the Serpent in G and S.

"Grass" here may also mean "stubble" (CS сѣно has the both meanings). The discrepancy between G and S might go back to a simile of eating sinners *like* stubble, alluding to Exod 15:7: "your Fury will eat them like stubble."

3.4. *Insatiability*

"Hades is insatiable" (**адъ єсть нєсъıтъıи**; 5:3S). Only in S. This is a biblical citation: "Sheol ["Hades" in LXX] and Abbadon are insatiable" (Prov 27:20). See Habakkuk's parable of the "arrogant man, who made wide his soul as Sheol [Hades], and who is insatiable as Death" (Hab 2:5).

4. *Descriptions*

4.1. *Rock*. G reads: "a serpent, which looked like a rock" or "appeared to be a rock" (see Notes). "The rock becomes a dragon," when the Antichrist fails to transfer "the flinty rock" to bread (*Apoc. Dan.* 13:8).[127]

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[127] Cf. "living stones" in *Jos. Asen.* 12:2.

S has "a serpent on a mountain of rock" (4:3). Diverse sources probably preserve remnants of a tradition connecting a serpent or other gigantic beast to a rock/mountain. In Rabbinic writings the development of this tradition relies on the well attested midrashic exegesis of Ps 50:10: "*Behemoth* on a thousand mountains" is interpreted as "a single beast lying upon a thousand mountains" (*Lev. Rab*. 22.10 and par.; cf. *b. B. Bat.* 74b). It might also be based on an exegesis of the "serpent on the rock" (Heb נחש עלי צור) of Prov 30:19, where the unrecognizable "way of a serpent [unseen] on a rock" (דרך נחש עלי צור) might have been interpreted as "the ways of the Serpent [sitting] on a rock." The Dragon is "bound to the heights of Lebanon" by Anat (*PRU* 2.3.8–10; = *UT* 1003.3–10). According to the reconstruction of Cross and Whitney, Behemoth "is held on a mountain [instead of "occupies with his breast"] in an immerse desert, named Dendayn" (*1 En.* 60:8).[128] Leviathan has a throne standing upon a huge rock according to a late midrash (*2 Alphabet of Ben Sira* 27–28); cf. "the mount of the she-dragon, the mother of snakes" (*Acts Phil.* 8 [97]). See also a toponym "Serpent Stone" (Heb אבן הזוחלת) at En-Rogel (1 Kgs 1:9).[129]

4.2. *Dark and impure.* In 4:3G Hades is described as "dark and impure," while the Serpent is not defined thus. Similarly, in tannaitic tradition: of the two beasts, only Leviathan is declared pure (*Sifra* 11.10; or Leviathan and Ziz as in *Lev. Rab*. 13.3). In later midrash Behemoth is also sometimes regarded as a clean animal (this is the fact that enables it to be eaten at the Messianic banquet) or, alternatively, both Leviathan and Behemoth are unclean (*Lev. Rab*. 13.3; *Midr. Ps* 146; 537).

The "great dragon" of the *Pistis Sophia* is identified with "the outer darkness" (3.126; see above). Personified Darkens has the likeness of a bull in *Pesiq. R.* 20 and is connected to Hades in *Paraph. Shem passim*. Most commonly it is a characteristic of the abode of the dead. The Mesopotamian abode of the dead is "the dark house," where the dead "see no light,

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128 Cross, *Canaanite*, 54; Whitney, *Beasts*, 53.

129 "Rock" may be also connected to Hades. The two are given in opposition in Matt 16:18: "You are a Rock [Gk πέτρος going back to Aram כיפא], and upon this rock [Gk πέτρα] I will build my community; and the gates of Hades will not prevail against it." This conversation takes place in Caesarea Philippi (Paneas), where the sourses of lower waters were believed to be located (on the association of the "water abyss" with Hades see comm. to 4:1–5: *Water abyss and Hades*). The location of the "foundation stone" is linked to the location of the sources of the deep in *b. Yoma* 77b–78a; *Midr. Jonah* (*Bet HaMidr.* 1.98).

residing in darkness" (*ANET* 107). The realm of the dead is described as "house of darkness" in the *Descent of Ishtar* 1 and *Gilgamesh Epic* 7.4.33. Greek Tartarus is also dark (Hesiod, *Theog.* 729). The same holds for the netherworld in Job 10:21–22 ("land of darkness and deadly shadow," etc.). See, similarly, *1 En.* 10:4; 82:2; 103:8; Matt 8:12; 22:3; 25:30; *Exod. Rab.* 14; and *passim*. The abode of the sinners in the third heaven of *2 Enoch* is also dark: "And those men took me and led me up on to the second heaven, and showed me darkness, greater than earthly darkness, and there I saw prisoners …" (*2 En.* 7:1–2).

Darkness is mentioned two more times below (6:13; 13:1). On the separation of the light from the darkness mentioned in 13:1 and the possible opposition of "dark and impure" inhabitants of lower heavens to light and pure forces of higher ones, see comm. to 6:13.

Darkness and fire are combined in Sheol (*1 En.* 103:8); Gehenna is dark despite of the immense masses of fire (*b. Yeb.* 109b).

4.3. *Fire.* "He ["God" in mss BT] kindled his heart" (**ражегъ срьдьце его**; 4:5S). Family β has "God has kindled the belly [instead of "heart"] of the serpent." The motif appears only in S. Eating and fire are connected (cf. "eating fire" of Deut 4:14). The images of fiery serpents as well as the fire of the netherworld are both well known and sometimes combined. The huge serpent Khet, named by Horus "Great fire," breathes fire in the faces of human souls tormented in a fiery lake (Egyptian *Book of the Gates*). See also the Leviathan of Job 41:13, 23 and *b. B. Bat.* 75a. Sinners will be "burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue" (*Apoc. Abr.* 31:5), while Azazel appears as a serpent in *Apoc. Abr.* 23. Impure and unbelievers are drawn to the belly of Ur, the Mandaean fiery serpent of the underworld.[130] Fiery Hell is very well attested in Jewish sources.[131]

However, nothing is said here about burning the sinners. The text explicitly states that the Serpent's heart/belly is inflamed only in order to make him drink. "Eternal fire" for the sinners is mentioned in 4:16G below, but this verse is most probably interpolated.

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[130] Drower, *Mandaeans*, 253; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 124–127.

[131] See Isa 66:24; Ezek 38:22; Mal 4:1; 4 Macc 9:9; 12:12; *1 En.* 10:6; 18:11–16, 19; 21:1–6; 54:1–2, 6; 63:14; 90:21–25; 90:26–27; 91:9; 98:3; 100:9; 102:1; 103:8; *Jub.* 9:15; *Pss. Sol.* 15:4–5; *2 Bar.* 44:15; 48:39; 59:2; *4 Ezra* 7:36; 13:10–11; *Apoc. Abr.* 31:5; *Sib. Or.* 2:303–305; 3:53–54, 672–74; 4:159–61; *T. Zeb.* 10:3; *T. Jud.* 25:3; *Jos. Asen.* 12:11; 1QS 2.8, 15; 1QpHab 10.5, 13; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.20; Matt 3:10, 12; 13:42, 50; 18:8; 25:41; Mark 9:43; Luke 1:7; 3:9, 17; 2 Pet 3:10; Rev 19:20; 20:10; *Gen. Rab.* 4; *b. Er.* 19a; *b. Pes.* 54a.; *b. Hag.* 15b; etc.

4.4. *Hades' (= Serpent's belly) dimensions* (5:3). Hades is measured in *Apoc. Paul* 32 and *b. Pesah.* 94a; cf. *b. Taan.* 10a; *Cant. Rab.* 6.9; *Pesiq. R.* 41.173b; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 71. See comm. to 5:3 below.

Conclusions. As we can see from the above, the "triadic" appearance of the Beasts is not the only motif that links them to the bestial trio of early Jewish tradition and its counterparts in the Near Eastern lore. The Serpent and Hades share with Leviathan and Behemoth their serpentine form, ambivalent celestial and aquatic assignments, emphasized pairness or even bipartite nature, rabelaisian appetite, and especially the important function of balancing the cosmic water system. Another important feature, devouring men or even serving the abode of the wicked, is shared with archaic serpentine monsters, like Mesopotamian Tiamat, Ugaritic Mot, biblical *tannin*, who in turn have much in common with Leviathan, on the one hand, and with Sheol-Hades and dragon-like Satan, on the other. The parallels are even more clear for the third member of the triad, the Sun Bird (Ziz, Field Rooster, Ben Nez, and Bar Yokni of Rabbinic aggada; see comm. to ch. 6).

However, two basic features of Leviathan-Behemoth traditions – Eschatological or Primordial Combat (*Chaoskampf*) and Messianic Banquet – present in all other pseudepigrapha where these two creatures are mentioned together (*1 Enoch*, *2 Baruch*, *4 Ezra* and later Rabbinic sources; see above) are absent in *3 Baruch*. Here the Beasts are neither fighters, nor food.[132] Their main function here is just the opposite: they are rather eaters and drinkers than food. They eat sinners and earth, and drink sea waters. If our document preserves an old tradition, it may shed light on the origin of the Banquet idea: cosmic eaters will be eaten by men, their potential food, i.e., the Death mechanism will be destroyed by men released from it (the model reinvented by Shakespeare in *Sonnet* CXLVI: "So shall thou feed on Death, that feeds on men, and Death once dead, there's no more dying then"). In this case, the later Jewish tradition would have proposed an ironic and optimistic reversal of an archaic myth.[133]

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[132] Cf. Whitney, *Beasts*, 59–83, 114–155.

[133] This reversal is well set with the very ambiguous role that serpents and serpentine creatures play in ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures (more than in the Hebrew Bible, where negative accounts still prevail; cf. the seducing serpent of Gen 3; helpful magic serpents of Exod 4 and 7; healing bronze serpent of Num 21 and 2 Kgs 18:4; a crooked serpent Leviathan of Isa 14:29 and Job 41; Dan's symbol in Gen 49:17; etc.).

An additional question is whether the Beasts of *3 Baruch* rule celestial spheres or corresponding environments as their angelic patrons. This is very probable at least for the Sun Bird. According to the principle of the progressive order of creation, animals created on the fifth day rule celestial spheres created on the fourth, and specifically the superiority of Ziz to the sun is mentioned:

> Whatever was created after another governs it … The luminaries were created on the fourth day, while the birds in the fifth. R. Yehudah b. Shimon said, "Ziz is a clean bird, when it flies, it covers the orb of the sun." And man created after all in order to rule all. (*Gen. Rab*. 19.4)

This interpretation may be corroborated by the fact that the sun needs a command or the permission of the Sun Bird in order to rise (*3 Bar.* 6:14, especially S; on angelic features of Ziz see comm. to ch. 6). The Serpent (Leviathan, Rehab, Rabbinic "Prince of the Sea"), and Hades (Behemoth), depicted in *3 Baruch* as regulating the sea level and eating earth correspondently, might have dominated these spheres. This may explain why according to some witnesses, knowledge about the Beasts was an integral part of mystic teaching. "The mysteries of Behemoth and Leviathan" are mentioned in a line with "the mysteries of the Chariot" in *Cant. Rab*. 1.28. Some of the traditions on Behemoth (similar to those of *3 Baruch*) are transmitted in the name of R. Shimon bar Yohai (*Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 6; *Bet HaMidr.* 3.76).

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4:2. G here says nothing about the transition to the next heaven (S ceases to mention any heaven after the second). The following arguments stand in favor of the suggestion that the transition did take place: (1) In *3 Baruch*, doors, a long journey and a plain designate an entry to the next heaven (doors/gates for first, second, and fifth heavens; journey for first and second; plain – first, second and fourth). (2) In 7:2G (though not in S) it is stated clearly that it is already the third heaven, although a transitional moment is not mentioned. (3) In *2 Enoch* Hades (as well as Paradise in 8:1) is located in the third heaven (ch. 10). James assumed that the lack of a clear designation of the entry to the third heaven (a result of corruption?) brought the scribe in 10:1G to change the number of the next heaven from fourth to third, "it is confirmed by the fact that in 11:1 we hear of the fifth heaven, although the fourth being nowhere mentioned."[134] For an alternative view see introductory comm. ch. 11: *Ouranology.*

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[134] James, "Baruch," lix.

4:2S. *You will see the Glory of God*. G omits due to parablepsis (see Notes). The same promise occurs in both versions below, see 6:12; 7:2; 11:2 and in 16:6S. From G (possibly late fragment) we learn also that Adam was "divested of the Glory of God, so also the men who now drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, make a transgression worse than Adam, and become far from the Glory of God, and offer themselves to the eternal fire" (4:16G). CS **слава божиꙗ** / Gk δόξα θεοῦ / Heb כבוד ה' normally designates the vision of the Glory of God, often enthroned (Exod 24:16–17; 33:18; Isa 6:1–3; Ezek 1:28; 43:1–4; *1 En*. 14:20; 102:3; 104:1; *T. Levi* 3:4; etc.), or even God himself (4Q405 22.7; *Apoc. Abr.* 19:4; *4 Ezra* 3:19; *Asc. Isa*. 9:37; *1 Clem*. 9:2).[135] If this is the meaning here, the promise is not fulfilled, and the fact counts in favor of the hypothesis that the extant text of *3 Baruch* is not complete (see comm. to chs. 11 and 16).

However, the biblical "glory of God" may have another meaning: it could be something produced by God that is distinct from him. Thus, an alternative interpretation is that here the "glory of God" refers not to a revelation of God himself but rather to a disclosure of his works,[136] namely, Serpent, Hades, Phoenix, luminaries, celestial waters, birds, Michael, and probably subsequent visions; according to S also the afterlife reward (16:4). This view may be supported by Baruch's words after seeing the sun chariot and Phoenix: "Seeing such great glory, I became overwhelmed with a great fear" (7:5G). In this case it would be difficult to distinct between "glory" and "mysteries" (1:6; 1:8G; 2:6; 5:3S; 17:1S; see comm. to 1:6). Less probable would be that only Michael is the referent of the "glory of God," although he is called "the Glorious One" in 12:4S; *Exod. Rab*. 2.5 says that "every place where Michael appears is the Glory of the Presence" (כל מקום שמיכאל נראה שם הוא כבוד השכינה; cf. *Exod. Rab*. 32.9);[137] cf. Metatron called "Great Glory" in *3 En*. 48D:1.

A similar problem of interpretation occurs in Exod 33:18, where Moses asks God: "Show me your Glory." In different versions of LXX this is translated either literally or as "Reveal yourself to me" (so also Philo, *Spec. Leg*. 1.8.41ff).

Bauckham and Harlow suppose that this is not a promise at all, but rather a warning not to confuse "the glories of the lowest heavens with the Glory of God in the highest heavens." Similar preparatory notes may be recognized in *Asc. Isa*. 7:7–8; 17, 21–22; 8:7–9 and *T. Levi* 2:9–10

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135 See also Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 72; Harlow, *Baruch*, 50–51. n. 66.

136 So Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 51; 109–110; GC:1.678.

137 Harlow, *Baruch*, 52, n. 69.

("Do not be amazed about this, for you will see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable"). Thus, the location of the text and the wording of the promises of "Glory," on the one hand, and of "mysteries," on the other, underline the difference between them: "glory," mentioned closer to the end and often with the word "wait" (6:12; 7:2; 11:2), refers to the promised climax of the tour, while "mysteries," used mostly in the beginning and combining with the word "come," refers to "usual" cosmic sights.[138] Similar opposition of lower glories (luminaries) and highest Glory (Shekhinah) is attested also in Rabbinic sources:

> As the sun, which is but one of the countless servants of God, gives light to the whole world, so in a much greater degree does the Shekhinah. (*b. Sanh.* 39a)
>
> The emperor [Hadrian] said to R. Yehoshua b. Hananiah, "I desire greatly to see your God." Yehoshua requested him to stand facing the brilliant summer sun, and said, "Gaze upon it." The emperor said, "I cannot." "Then," said Yehoshua, "if you are not able to look upon a servant of God, how much less may you gaze upon the Shekhinah." (*b. Hul.* 60a)

Excursus: Cosmic Hydrology (4:6–7G; 4:3b–5S)

Greek	Slavonic
6 And this is Hades, which also is similar to him,	
in that also he drinks about a cubit from the sea,	3b And it drinks one cubit of water from the sea
	every day, and it eats earth like grass.
and nothing lacks from it [the sea]."	
7 Baruch said, "And how [is that]?"	4 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, he drinks one cubit from the sea.
	How is it that this sea does not sink?"
And the angel said, "Listen, the Lord God made 360 rivers, of which the primary of all are Alphias, and Abyros, and Gērikos;	5 The angel told me, "Listen, Baruch, the Lord made 373 rivers, and the first river is Alpheia[s], the second Abyr[os], the third Agērenik[os],[139]

[138] Bauckham, "Hell," 373–74; Harlow, *Baruch*, 52.

[139] *ē* is used here to designate Gk η and CS **и**, in the Middle Ages pronounced as [i].

	the fourth Dounab, the fifth Ephrat, the sixth Zēphon, the seventh Ēzētius, the eighth Indus, the ninth Thourēselos. And there are 364 others.
and because of these the sea does not sink."	They fall into the sea, and thus it is washed, and this way it does not sink. That is why he kindled his heart."

NOTES

4:6G. *Hades*. In S "Hades" is mentioned only in family β 4:5; see comm. ibid.

4:6G. *Similar.* Gk παρόμοιος, also "comparable in size."

4:6G. *In that*. ἐν ᾧ. Or "in which." In this case it may be an interpolated allusion to 5:3, where Hades is a part of the dragon.

4:4S. *Lord, he …* Ms T has: "Lord, if he …"

How is it that this sea does not sink from the drinking of this serpent? According to mss TSN and, with a light variation, to family β. These words lack in ms L. Ms B adds: "from the drinking of this serpent"

Sink. Or "be finished." CS **оскѫдѣѣтъ** must render Gk ἐκλείπω (cf. 4:6 and 7G). In Slavonic Bible versions and in LXX these equivalents correspond to Heb חם.[140]

4:7G. *360 rivers*. G seems to have a primary reading here, since 360 is a gematria for Heb דרקון (from Gk δράκων);[141] see comm. ad loc.

4:5S. *373 rivers*. There are discrepancies between the mss and between the two parts of the verse: In 4:5a there are [?]6 rivers and 353 L 373 rivers BT β^2 343 rivers S 364 Z 333 rivers N. Cf. at the end of the verse (4:5b): 354 L 353 BT 53 β^2 343 S 363 Z many great rivers N. The discrepancies of 4/3, 60/40 and 70/50 must be due to the differences in numeration between Glagolitic and Cyrillic, while designations for 300 remain identical in both alphabets. Thus, all variants with 3, 40 and 50 may be secondary. Therefore, in 4:5a Glagolitic fore-texts of ms L might have 374 or 373 like BT and DIPV of family β; of ms S – 363 or 364 (as well as the only extant Glagolitic ms Z). At the same time in 4:5b: 353 of mss BT (and 53 of family β^2) will go back also to 374/373 (as in BT β^2 at 4:5a and the Glagolitic fore-text of L at 4:5a); and 343 of S – to 364 (as in Z at 4:5a and the fore-text of S at 4:5a). Since in 4:5b "other rivers" have to be nine (or according to mss TB – ten) less than in 4:5a, the most probable original numbers are 373 or 374 for the beginning and 364 for the end of the verse.

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140 Srezn, 2.722.

141 Bohak, "Gematrias."

4:7G/5S. *Alphias/Alpheia* …, etc. There are three rivers in G and nine or ten (mss BT) in S. Whereas G has only one variant (Ἀλφίας καὶ Ἄβυρος καὶ ὁ Γηρικός), discrepancies abound in the Slavonic versions, mostly obvious corruptions (see comm.).

4:5S. *And it [the sea] does not sink. That is why he kindled his heart* (**занеже ражегъ срьдьце его**). "God kindled his heart [belly β]" according to BTβ. CS **занеже** here has to be translated not as "because," but according to its rare meaning "that is why" (Gk ἐφ' οἷς; cf. *Supr* 480.4). S especially emphasizes the Serpent's dependence on God, the motif missing in G. Family β also contains an expansion, explaining that "if the serpent did not drink one cubit from the sea, there was no dry land on earth". It also says that "as deep as the depth of Hades is the depth of the belly of that serpent." Hades is not mentioned in S above, thus this latter addition must be a rewriting of 5:2–3S.

COMMENTARY

The ecological function of Serpent-Hades is the only expanded element of its description. The issue is examined in detail in the commentary to the previous chapter.

4:6–7G; 4:4–5S. *Sea*. Several bodies of water are mentioned in *3 Baruch*: river (2:1G), sea (4:3S/4:6G), lake (10:2, 6–9). See "the vast Ocean, much bigger than the earthly Ocean" in the first heaven of *2 En.* (J) 3:1–2; "much water suspended" in the first heaven of *T. Levi* 2:7; and the "upper waters" (Heb **מים עליונים**) of Rabbinic tradition (*Gen. Rab.* 4.3; *b. Hag.* 15a; *b. Taan.* 10a) which derive from the biblical "waters above the firmament" (Gen 1:7; Ps 148:4; cf. *Jub.* 2:4; *1 En.* 54:8; *T. Levi* 2:7; Rev 4:6; 15:2; *2 En.* 3:3 (J), 4:2).[142] Cf. *b. Hag.* 12b: "What is meant by 'heavens' [Heb **שמים**]? R. Yose bar Hanina said, 'It means, the place where *there is water* [Heb **ששם מים**].'" The motif of celestial water was also central for Gnostic, Hekhalot, and Mandaean visionary practices.[143]

However, all these must probably be relevant for the celestial "lake" of 10:2 and 6–9, while here a terrestrial or cosmic sea must be meant, since it is filled by terrestrial rivers. The supposed contradiction in the image of the celestial Serpent-Hades drinking from the earthly sea can be resolved, if the unified cosmic water system is meant (see Introduction: *Cosmology*). See the following:

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[142] Cf. *Enuma Elish* 4.139–140. Heavenly ocean may be meant also by **מבול** in Ps 29:10; cf. 104:13; 148:4, the idea paralleled in Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources (Keel, *Symbolism*, 36).

[143] See Morray-Jones (*Transparent*, esp. 34–53), referring also to Stroumsa "Aher," 2.817; Deutsch, "Dangerous" and idem, *Guardians*, 111–123.

> The waters of the Jordan are to give him [Behemoth] drink, since the waters of the Jordan surround the whole earth [some mss have a secondary reading: "land of Israel"], the half above the earth and the half below. (*Pirqe R. El.* 11.5)

This sea may also be identical to the uncrossable River-Ocean of 2:1G, which is located between celestial and terrestial realms. Rivers flow to it from earth, while the celestial Serpent drinks from the other coast. Other models are also plausible; cf. earthly Paradise connected directly to the third heaven (*2 En.* 8:4 and 42:3) or a visionary observing terrestial realia from the seventh heaven (as in *Apoc. Abr.* 19ff; *Apoc. Paul* 13; 15; 21; Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 19–20; cf. Cicero, *Resp.* 6.19).

Cubit. Gk πῆχυς / CS **лакъть** is normally a measure of length and not of volume (cf. 3:6). Thus, here it may mean not any specific measure but just "a small amount" as is the case in Matt 6:27. Anyway, this reading is also problematic, since the question of the next verse supposes an amount large enough to "finish the sea." The only reasonable interpretation would be that the sea diminishes in one cubit along the whole length of the coastline (in this case, it is a length measure). In 6:7 *modius*, a length measure, is also used as a surface measure (see comm. ibid.).

4:7G-5S. *Rivers*. G has "360 rivers." 360 is a gematria for Heb דרקון (from Gk δράκων).[144] There is no need to assume "numerical value of Greek words transliterated into the Hebrew alphabet,"[145] since this Greek loan-word is well attested already in tannaitic Hebrew (*m. Abod. Zar.* 3.3; *t. Abod. Zar.* 5.6).[146] For other gematrias in *3 Baruch*, see comm. to 4:10 and 5:3. Evidence for the use of Hebrew letters may be found also in the list of rivers in 4:7G/4:5S (see below). See the Hebrew-Greek notariqon/gematria techniques in Rev 13:18 and possibly 21:17; *Sib. Or.* 1:326–330; 5:12–51; *Asc. Mos.* 9:1. This method was popular also in general Hellenistic culture (for a parody on isopsephy-gematria see Lucian, *Alex.* 11).[147]

The reconstructed reading of S most probably has a total number of 373 or 374 rivers (with many discrepancies; see Notes) consisting of 9 or 10 (mss TB) named and 364 "others." The numbers in both G and S are close to the number of celestial gates (365) in 6:13G. All must be connected to the number of days in a solar year, which might differ in different systems. The

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144 Bohak, "Gematrias," 119.
145 Ibid.
146 Cf. Schlüter, *Deraqon*.
147 Cf. Collins, "Numerical," 116.

ancient Near Eastern solar year of 360 days (consisting of twelve months of thirty days each) conforms to G. The year of *1 Enoch, Jubilees*, and Qumran has 364 days as a number of "other" rivers in S (*1 En.* 72–75; 82:11; *Jub.* 6:32; cf. the *Psalms Scroll* from Cave 11 [11Q5] 27.6–7 and *Levi Apocryphon* [4Q540] 1.2). The number 354 of ms L corresponds to the number of days of a lunar year.

Some rivers that are "primary of all" (Gk οἱ πρῶτοι πάντων)[148] are named. There are three such rivers in G and nine in S. See also the "seven rivers on the earth larger than all the rivers," which pour their waters to the Great and Erythrean Seas (*1 En.* 77:5–7).[149] There are characteristics that may have connected the "primary" rivers to the rivers of Paradise of Gen 2:10–14 (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.13; Philo, *Quaest. Gen* 1.12–13; Jerome to Gen 2:12; *Gen. Rab.* 16.1–4), since (1) they are followed by the description of the Tree of Paradise (see introductory comm. to "Tree of Knowledge" [4:8Gff; 4:6Sff]), and (2) the whole account of extant *3 Baruch* here refers to the third heaven, where Paradise is located according to *2 En.* 8:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 37:5; and 2 Cor 12:2, 4. However, they are hardly identical to the rivers of Paradise which are four and have other names.

Below I adduce extant names from the Greek version (G), significant variants of Slavonic (S)[150] and, when possible, a reconstruction of their Greek *Vorlage*, designating the manuscripts upon which they are based (*G). If we ignore the initial *alpha* in some Slavonic names, which is absent in their G counterparts, we can presume that the list may go back to a Greek acrostic.[151] However, it is difficult to find a Greek alphabetic order for the last two names, unless they were interchanged. Howard Jacobson assumed that in the Hebrew alphabetical order, *alpha* could be added to Greek transliterations of original Hebrew forms (cf. MT and LXX in Josh 20:28; 1 Kgs 11:8; Ezek 20:29), while initial *waw* and *het* expected in the sixth and eighth names could be omitted according a well attested pattern of transliteration (Esth 1:9 and *passim*).[152] In this case, the original acrostic must have been emended: a Hebrew equivalent to the fifth name (Ephrat) is not found, while it perfectly corresponds to the Greek order.

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148 Either in time of creation or in importance (Gaylord, *Baruch*, 666).

149 Cf. a medieval source on the "great dragon" lying between nine rivers (התנים הגדול חשע יאורין אינון דאיהו רבין ביניהו; *Zohar* 2.34b).

150 Based on the table prepared by Gaylord (*Slavonic*, 37).

151 So Turdeanu, "Baruch." The conclusion is not due only to multiple discrepancies which enable to choose a name with an appropriate initial letter in every case.

152 Jacobson, "Note," 201–2.

G	S	*G	
Ἀλφίας	альфеıа LS алфоувара T та ѱа B афиıа N алпиѣ Z елфа PVID	*Αλφειας LT	A א
Ἄβυρος	ависъ L авоуръ T авириıа S авариıа N авиръ Z авири PVID	*(A)βυρος T	B ב
Γηρικός	агирѣникъ L тигръ TB горника S агорениkь N горникъ Z сиринакъ PVID	*(A)γηρενικος LSNZ	Γ ג
	доунавь LTNPID доуна B доунаи SZ	Δανούβιος al.	Δ ד
	ıефратъ/ефратъ al. жрантъ B епратъ Z	Ἐυφράτης al.	E ה
	аризъ L зифонъ T жихонъ B азафа S азаватъ N заѭъ/затъ PVID	*Ζηφον T or *Αζαφα S / Αζαβατ B	Z ו
	матипоусъ L зифис T зови B зетеоусъ S зетиоусъ N изитюсь P изитиоусъ VD изитноусъ I	*Ηεζητιους PVID or *Ζητιους SN	H ן
	аринеоусъ L аринесе T ариса[н] B неоусь SN индоус Z ниριıесь P нориюсь V носириюсь Z норию I	Ινδός or *Αρινεους LT	Θ ח
	пелкоури L фоуреселъ T ѭоурисел B перикоула S тигръ N проколъ Z ференоть PD ференоτъ V фереѡ[п] I	*Θουρισελος TB or Τιγρις N	I ט
	перегоулъ T пероучи[^] B		

The numerous discrepancies indicate that we have a corrupted text; this, in turn, makes it difficult to identify the rivers. Among known rivers there are Euphrates and Danube (it is not called Istros here); some versions (probably secondary) have Indus and Tigris.

The first river Alphias/Alpheia[s] corresponds to Alpheios of Peloponnesus which appears in similar Greek and Roman lists. Gēricos/Agērenik[os] may refer to Anatolian Grēnikos of the same lists. Hesiod mentions both Alpheios and Grenikos, as shown below. The former also appears at the beginning of the list, immediately after the Nile. Structurally the lists are similar too (italics are mine):

3 Bar. 4:5S	Hesiod, *Theogony* 334–70
the Lord made 373 rivers:	Tethys bare to Ocean swirling Rivers:[153]
and the first river is *Alpheia*[s] [*Alphias* G], the second Abyr[os] [Byros G], the third *Agɛrenik*[os] [*Gɛrikos* G],[154] the fourth Dounab, the fifth Ephrat, the sixth Zēphon, the seventh Ēzētius, the eighth Indus, the ninth Thourēselos.	Nile, and Alpheios, and deep-swirling Eridanus, Strymon, and Meander, and the fair stream of Ister, and Phasis, and Rhesus, and the silver eddies of Achelous, Nessus, and Rhodius, Haliacmon, and Heptaporus, *Grenikos*, and Aesepus, and holy Simois, and Peneus, and Hermus, and Caicus fair stream, and great Sangarius, Ladon, Parthenius, Euenus, Ardescus, and divine Scamander < …> [the list contains totally 75 rivers]
And there are 364 others.	These are the eldest daughters that sprang from Ocean and Tethys; but there are many besides. For there are 3,000 neat-ankled daughters of Ocean …

See also Hyginus:

> From Oceanus and Tethys [were born] the Oceanides … Of the same descent are Rivers: Strymon, Nile, Euphrates, Tanais, Indus, Cephisus, Ismenus, Axenus, Achelous, Simoeis, Inachus, Alpheus, Thermodon, Scamandrus, Tigris, Maeandrus, Orontes. (*Fabulae*, Intr.)

Both Alpheios and Grenikos would only have been considered "primary" in the Greek world. The Nile and Jordan and other major rivers known also to Greeks do not appear in the list at all. It is possible that these facts attest to the location of at least one of the editorial stages of the book. Alternatively, our author or an editor may refer to what he considers mythological rivers in the outmost parts of earth, like Plato's four main rivers, Ocean, Acheron, Pyriphlegethon, and Stygian (*Phaed.* 111c–113c). Note James' idea that the third river is "γυρικός, which might mean the Ocean surrounding the earth."[155] It is a form unattested elsewhere, probably derived by James from Gk γυρόω. Following this model, ms L's reading for the second river Abyros – **ависъ** "Abysos" may reflect the original Gk Ἄβυσσος "abyss."[156]

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153 Potamoi, river-gods.

154 *ē* is used here to transliterate Gk η and CS **и**, in the Middle Greek pronounced as [i].

155 "Baruch," lx.

156 So Turdeanu, "Baruch," 28.

Excursus: Tree of Knowledge (4:8–17G; 4:6–17S)

Greek	Slavonic
	6 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Show me the tree which deceived Adam."
	7 And the angel told me, "When God made the Garden and commanded Michael to gather 200,003 angels to plant the Garden, Michael planted the olive and Gabriel, the apple; Uriel, the nut; Raphael, the quince; and Satanael, the vine. And similarly all the angels planted the Garden in order."
8 And I said,	8 And I Baruch said to the angel,
"I pray you, show me which is the tree that led Adam astray."	"Show me the tree through which the serpent led Eve and Adam astray."
And the angel said, "It is the vine, which the angel Sammael planted, for which the Lord God became angry and cursed him and his plant.	And the angel told me, "[It is] the vine, which Satanael planted. Because of this God cursed him and his fruit."
That is why he did not permit Adam to touch it, and that is why the devil being envious deceived him through his vine."	
9 And I Baruch said, "Since also the vine has been the cause of such great evil, and is under the judgment of the curse of God, and [was] the destruction of the first created, how is it so in use now?"	9 And I Baruch said to the angel, "If God cursed the vine, then how can it be in use now?"
10 And the angel said, "Rightly you ask. When God caused the Flood on earth, and destroyed all flesh and 409,000 giants, and the water rose 15 cubits above the heights, the water entered Paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed the shoot of the vine completely and brought it outside.	10 And the angel told me, "Rightly you ask me. When God made the Flood on earth, and he destroyed 409,000 giants, and the water rose above the high mountains, 15 cubits above the mountains, and the water entered Paradise and took all flowers, and brought out one shoot from the vine.
11 And when earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out of the ark,	11 And when the water of the Flood withdrew, and the dry land appeared, and Noah went out from the ark
he began to plant [some] of the found plants.	
12 And he found also the shoot [of the vine]; and having taken it, he considered in his mind, 'What is it?'	12 and found the vine lying on the ground,

And I came and spoke to him about it.

13 And he said, "Shall I plant it, or what [shall I do]? Since Adam was destroyed because of it, let me not also encounter God's anger because of it." And saying these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do about it.

13 he thought to himself, saying, "Shall I plant it in the ground? I know that Adam ate from this and was exiled from the Garden. If I plant it, what if God will become angry with me?"

14 And when he had completed the prayer of 40 days, and having begged much and wept, he said,

14 And he knelt down and fasted 40 days praying, and he wept and said,

'Lord, I entreat you to reveal to me what I should do about this plant.'

'Lord, if I plant from this, what will happen?'

15 And God sent his angel Sarasael, and told him, "Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot [of the vine],

15 And God sent his angel Sarasael, and he told him, "Arise, Noah, and plant the vine,

for thus the Lord says, 'Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness,

and alter its name, bitterness to sweetness;

and its curse shall become a blessing,

and for that one it was for death, but for you it will be for life.'

{and that which is begotten from it shall become the blood of God; and as the human race obtained condemnation through it, so again through Jesus Christ the Emmanuel [and] in him is the receipt of the future invocation, and the entry into Paradise.}

16 Know therefore, Baruch, that as Adam through this tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the Glory of God, so also now the men drinking insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, make a transgression worse than Adam, and become far from the Glory of God, and commit themselves to the eternal fire. For [no] good comes through it.

16 "But beware, Baruch: The tree still possesses its evil.

17 For those who drink it in excess do these things: brother does not have mercy on his brother, nor father on his son, nor children on their parents, but through the calamity of wine come into being all [these]: murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like. And nothing good is established through it."

17 If they drink wine in excess, they do all evil: brother does not have mercy on his brother, nor father on his son, nor son on his father. And from the evil of wine come into being murder and adultery, fornication and [false] oaths, and theft. And how much evil comes into being because of wine!"

NOTES

4:6–7S. This important episode must have been omitted in G due to homoeoarchon.

Mss LT most probably begin with an interpolation derived primarily from Gen 2:7; 21–22:[157] "And having come down, the Lord stood in the midst of Paradise, where he ordered four angels to bring dust of earth. And when they brought [it] to him, he received the dust and created a man from ground. And God said, "What does the creation of my hands lack?" And he breathed in him the breath of life, and he became alive. And having caused him to sleep again, he took out of him one rib and made Eva to be for him for help." East Slavic mss TB add the story of Sataniel's refusal to venerate Adam at the end of 4:7: "And he said to Michael, "Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of my hands which I made." And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Sataniel did not bow down and said, "To mud and dirt I will never bow down." And he said, "I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest." Because of that, God cast him and his angels from his face just as the prophet said, "These withdrew from his face, all who hate God and the glory of God." And God commanded an angel to guard Paradise. And they ascended in order to bow down to God. Then having gone, Sataniel found the serpent and he made himself into a worm.[158] And he said to the serpent, "Open (your mouth), consume me into your belly." And he went through the fence into Paradise, wanting to deceive Eve.[159] But because of that one I was cast out from the glory of God. And the serpent ate him and went into Paradise and found Eve and said, "What did God command you to eat from the food of Paradise?" And Eve said, "From every tree of Paradise we eat; from this tree God commanded us not to eat." And having heard Sataniel told her, "God begrudged the way you live lest you be immortal; take and eat and you will see and give it to Adam." And both ate and the eyes of both were opened and they saw that they were naked."[160] Similar accounts appear in the Armenian and Georgian *Life of Adam and Eve*; *Vita* 13–15; *Gos. Bart.* 4; Coptic *Enthronement of Michael*; *Cave of Treasures* 2.10–24; *Quran* 2:31–39; 7:11–18; 15:31–48; 17:61–65; 18:50; 20:116–123; 38:71–85.[161]

4:7–14S. The text of ms L cuts off in the middle of the word "Michael" (changing the sense from "ordered Michael" to "ordered me" – повелѣ ми) and reflects these verses only fragmentarily.

4:7S. *200,003 angels*. Reading of the family β (SNZ); 200,000 PVI; 10,000 D. om. L; 353 B; 350 T.

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157 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 45.

158 Cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 31:5 where Azazel (Satan) is called "warm."

159 Cf. the serpent entering through the "fence of paradise" with the same purpose in *Acts Thom.* 32.

160 Translation by Gaylord ("How Satanael," 305).

161 See Gaylord, "Satanael;" Stone, "Fall of Satan;" Anderson, "Exaltation of Adam;" Orlov "Flooded," 194.

4:7S. *Michael planted the olive.* Ms T: "Michael brought the olive and planted it. That is why Michael was called merciful" (word-play of ἔλαιον and ἔλεος; cf. 15:1S and comm. ibid.).[162] Michael is called "merciful and long suffering" in *1 En.* 40:9.

4:7S. *Raphael, the quince.* CS **кидоние** – Gk κυδωνιον μῆλον or κυδωνεα "quince tree." The Greek word is attested to be rendered also by CS **гдоуніа**, used also for "fig" (see next note).[163]

4:7S. Mss of the family β have Raphael and Phanuel as the last two angels. Mss S and Z insert one more angel before Satanael. S has: "Sarazael, pomegranate [CS **калина**]" (on Z see below). CS **калина** here must not be identical to its modern Russian meaning ("guelder rose," "snowball bush"). All trees mentioned are Mediterranean fruit-trees. CS **калина** is attested at least once as the equivalent of pomegranate in the list of three fruits brought by the spies in Num 13:24: **плодъ древнъіи калинъı гдоуніа и гроздиа** "tree fruits of pomegranate, fig and grape."[164] The species were probably identified because both trees are characterized by red flowers and fruits. Ms Z adduces "Rasael, **наранча**." The fruit name here is a hapax. Other *hapax legomena* probably of the same root are attested: (1) **наранджа** "orange,"[165] and (2) **наранъı**, rendering Gk κόλλα "glue."[166]

Vine. Family β adds: "For at first his name in former times was Satanael."

Planted Paradise in order. Family β has instead: "planted Paradise and various trees."

4:8. *The tree that led Adam astray / the tree through which the serpent deceived Eve and Adam* (τὸ ξύλον τὸ πλανῆσαν τὸν Ἀδάμ / **дрѣво иже прѣльсти змиа евгоу и адама**). Gk πλενάω is translated by its constant equivalent CS **прѣлищати**. Cf. "The great Dragon, the old Serpent, he that is called Devil and Satan, who leads the whole world astray [ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην]" (Rev 12:9).

4:8G. *That is why … and that is why …* (ἐν ᾧ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο … καὶ διὰ τοῦτο …). Both Gk ἐν ᾧ and διὰ τοῦτο are translated here in causal and not temporal meaning, which is also plausible: "when … when …" In the former case, the devil and plant were cursed initially, and that was the reason of the prohibition. In the latter, they were cursed as a result of Adam's transgression. Gk ἐν ᾧ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο may also mean "because of this [devil] and because of that [his plant]." With a different sentence division the phrase ἐκατηράσατο αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν φυτείαν αὐτοῦ εἐν ᾧ may be read also as "cursed him and his plant *with him*."

4:8G. *Sammael.* Emended from Σαμουηλ "Samuel" (in both mss) according to 9:7. These two forms interchange also in *Acts Andr. Matt.* 24 (see comm. ad loc.).

4:8S.*Tthe vine, which Satanael planted.* Family β has instead: "Listen, Baruch. Firstly, the tree is the vine, secondly, the tree is sinful desire which Satanael spread over Eve and

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162 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 47.
163 Mikl, 286.
164 Srezn, 1.1182.
165 Vasmer, *Etimologicheskij*, 3.43.
166 Srezn, 2. 317.

Adam, and because of this God has cursed the vine because Satanael had planted it, and by that he deceived the first created Adam and Eve."

4:8. *Cursed him and his plant / cursed him and his fruit*. In contrast to English both Greek and Slavonic do not distinguish between animate and inanimate pronouns. Thus, S may have: "it [vine] and its fruit."

4:10S. *Earth*. T adds: "he drowned every firstling."

All flowers. **вьсь цвѣтъ**. Or "all blooming."

4:13S. *Shall … garden*. Family β has instead: "This is truly the vine which Satanael planted in the middle of the garden, by which he deceived Eve and Adam; because of this God cursed it and its seed."

4:13–14S. *If … knelt down*. Om. L.

4:15S. Alter its name, bitterness to sweetness; and for that one it was for death, but for you it will be for life. So according to ms T (and ms B with slight variations). Ms L and the best readings of family β have "and [I will – β] alter its name, and change it for the good one." The former variant is the most similar to G. Since, in distinction to G, the verse in S has no Christian elements, it, very probably, reflects a better Greek version. Gaylord proposes a reconstruction of the first clause based on both main variants: "its bitterness is changed to sweetness" (if CS **прѣмѣни имѧ** "change name" was a corruption of a CS participle **прѣмѣнимѧ** "be changed" rendering Gk μεταβληθήσεται of G), thus, even more close to G.[167]

4:16G. *So also now the men drinking insatiably the wine which is begotten of it* (καὶ οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννώμενον οἶνον ἀπλήστως δρῶντες). Ryssel emends Gk δρῶντες to πίνοντες "drinking."[168] Gk δράω may mean "do" substituting a previous verb in order to avoid a repetition. In this case, it may attest to a lacuna in the verse. The verb may also mean "sacrifice," and thus the idolatrous wine would be meant (cf. *b. Abod. Zar.* 30b and *passim*).

4:17G. *Through the calamity of wine* (διὰ τῆς πτώσεως τοῦ οἴνου). Ryssel suggests "drinking of wine:" Gk πτώσεως instead of πόσεως.[169] However, there is no need for an emendation: the mirror combination "wine of calamity" is known from LXX Ps 60(59):5(3); cf. "cup of calamity" (Isa 51:17, 22). An intentional word-play on the meanings of πτώσεως and πόσεως is also possible.

4:17G. *For [no] good comes through it*. Gk πᾶν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δι' αὐτοῦ [οὐ] γίνεται. The conjecture was suggested by James.[170] Gk οὐ has probably dropped out. Otherwise the verse reads: "For *all* good comes through it." In fact, both readings raise contradictions with the context: the former with 4:9, and the latter – with its immediate continuation.

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167 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 63.
168 Ryssel, "Baruch," 451.
169 Ryssel, "Baruch," 452.
170 James, "Baruch," lxii.

4:17. *Brother does not have mercy on his brother.* Cf. Mark 13:12. The phrase may go back to the biblical use of "brother" as "another" in combinations like Heb איש את אל ב- אחיו / Gk ἄνθρωπος … τὸν ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ (cf., e.g., MT and LXX in Exod 32:27; Lev 25:5; and *passim*): "One man does not have mercy on another." See further *1 En.* 100:1–2; Hesiod, *Op.*, 181–189.

COMMENTARY

Interpolation Theory

The story of the Tree of Knowledge as the Vine is an intrusion in the description of the Beasts. This may indicate that it was interpolated (although at some early stage, since both G and S have it).[171] However, whether the decision to insert this account here has been made by the author or a later editor, there are some justifications for uniting the images of the Beasts with the Tree of Knowledge and the subsequent narrative including the deceiving serpent, wine, etc.[172] In addition to considerations of the narrative structure (1–2), the Cosmic Serpent and the deceiving serpent of Eden, both closely associated with Satan, may be identified (3); Beasts are known to be connected to Eden where the Tree is located (4), probably even as its guards (5); there are special connections between serpents and vine (6); both Beasts and wine are elements in depictions of the eschatological banquet (7).

1. *Rivers and Tree*. Harlow suggests that rivers (if these are recognized as rivers of Paradise; see comm. to "rivers" in 4:7G-5S above) may serve as a connection, following the narrative order of Gen 2, where the account of the Tree is adjacent to the description of the four rivers.

2. *The Serpent and the Flood*. There is a connection between the Flood mentioned below and the Serpent with its role in the cosmic hydrosystem. The celestial Serpent prevents a new flood from happening in 4:5Sβ above

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171 For interpolation theories for separate fragments of the account – 4:10–15; 4:15 or 4:15b – see comm. ibid.

172 Cf. Himmelfarb's proposal to connect the Adamic account to the prologue: "the destruction of the temple is intimately connected to larger questions of God's expectations of humanity and human failure from the beginning of history"; in both *Apoc. Abr.* and *3 Bar.* "the sin of Adam figures … another response to the destruction of the temple" (Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 66).

(as Leviathan does in *Pesiq. R.* 48.3; see introductory comm. to the previous chapter, 3.1).[173]

3. *Cosmic Serpent and Deceiving Serpent.* Probably the image of the serpent, either the Cosmic Serpent-Hades of 4:3–6; 5:1–2, or the "serpent that deceived Adam and Eve" (4:8S; cf. 9:7) is the unifying factor in two narratives. Both may be identified with Sammael/Satanael. On the one hand, Serpent-Hades shares many features with "devouring Satan" (cf. Azazel of *Apoc. Abr.* 31:2–5) and on the other, it "eats earth like grass" (4:3S) according to the punishment of the deceiving serpent in Gen 3:14. The serpent of Paradise was identified with Satan in Wis 2:24; *2 En.* 31; *Apoc. Abr.* 23; *Apoc. Sedr.* 4; *Vita* 12; Rev 12:9; 20:2; etc. When not identified completely, they are usually very closely associated (as in *3 Bar.* 9:7; see comm. to 4:8). The identity of all three figures appearing in *3 Baruch* – Cosmic Serpent, serpent of Paradise, and Satan – is made explicit in Revelation: "The great dragon, the old serpent, he that is called Devil and Satan, who leads the whole world astray" (Rev 12:9; cf. the same wording in *3 Bar.* 4:8G). The same with the Crooked Serpent Leviathan. "O Belial, dragon, apostate, Crooked Serpent, rebel against God" (Ignatius, *Phil.* 11). Leviathan is an evil angel in medieval Jewish tradition (*Eliyahu Rab.* 2.61–62; *Moreh Neb.* 3.23; Kimhi to Isa 27:1). It is identified with "Evil"/Satan in mystical works (*Maarekhet* 8.102–103b; *Nefesh Ha-Hayyim* 1.17; *Zohar passim*). Satan was identified with the Serpent even through etymological speculations: Gk σατανάς from Heb סטה (*sata*) and נחש (*naas*), "deviative serpent" (Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 103; cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 21.2).

4. *Beasts and Paradise.* Moreover, Leviathan and Behemoth are also connected to Paradise in various other sources: "Behemoth, who is held on a mountain a waste wilderness named Duidain, on the east of the Garden where the elect and righteous dwell" (*1 En.* 60:8). Leviathan inserts his head to Paradise: "If he did not put his head in to the garden of Eden, not a single creature could stand his smell" (*b. B. Bat.* 75a). Behemoth drinks from the river of Eden (*Lev. Rab.* 22.9–10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.1; *Pesiq. R.* 16.4; 48.3; *Tan.* Pinehas 12; *Num. Rab.* 21.18; cf. above). God sports every

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[173] The next image introduced in the vision, the sun screened by the Sun Bird, may also be connected to the Tree. Cf. so called Late Assyrian Tree iconography with its constant core element: the Tree and a winged sun disk above it; see Lambert, "Trees," 438f; Parpola, "Assyrian," 164f. All three elements are united in the "tree-eagle-serpent theme" of the Mesopotamian Etana myth (esp. Tablet II); see ibid., 197.

day with Leviathan (*b. Abod. Zar.* 3b) or with Behemoth and Wild Ox in Eden (*Midr. Konen* 26).

Notice also that Hell and Paradise are situated side by side in *2 En.* 8–10; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 30; *Eccl. Rab.* 7.14; *Midr. Tannaim* 224.

5. Guardians of the Tree. The connection of the World Tree with serpents is a universal motif. Serpents guard trees in numerous mythological accounts. In a Sumerian myth Gilgamesh has to kill "the snake that knows no charm" in order to gain access to the Hullupu-Tree of the goddess Inana. A great serpent guards the tree of the golden apples of the Hesperides (Hesiod, *Theog.* 333ff; Euripidus, *Herc. Fur.* 394ff; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.* 4.1396ff; Ovid, *Met.* 4.631–48; and *passim*). Another serpent-guarded tree appears in the accounts of the Argonauts (Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argon.*, 4.121–66; Ovid, *Met.* 7.149–56). Herodotus mentions winged serpents as divinely appointed guardians of the spice-bearing trees of Arabia (*Hist.* 3.110). Dragon guards the Peridexion tree in the Greek *Physiologus*. The motif of snake-encircled trees is well attested in Hellenistic iconography.[174]

The Beasts of *3 Baruch* may be located near Paradise in order to prevent access to the Tree of Eden and higher abodes (as Cherubs "guard the way to the Tree of Life" in Gen 3:2). Similarly a beast ("serpent" in *Vita*) threatens Seth and Eve on their way to the Tree of Life in Paradise (*Vita* 37–39; *Apoc. Mos.* 10–12). The Serpent of Eden is in fact its guard in *Gos. Barn.* 40.

Some lost exegetical motifs based on Gen 49:17 and Eccl 10:8 might have been conflated with the mythological images of guarding serpents: "who breaches a fence, will be bitten by a serpent" (Eccl 10:8; for the "fence of Paradise," cf. Sataniel's account in *3 Bar.* 4:7S (Notes) and *Acts Thom.* 32; for another hypothetical prooftext from Eccl 10 see comm. to 6:16G). "A serpent by the way, a viper by the path," to whom Dan had been compared (Gen 49:17), was interpreted in medieval mystical tradition as an ambivalent figure of a guard and a source of demonic forces, somehow connected to the wine as well:

> … a minor serpent above, a rear-guard of all camps [מאסף לכל המחנות], which lurks in the ways and the paths. And from it issue armies and hosts which lurk for the sons of men on account of the sins which they ignore [דראמין להו לאחורא בתר כתפייהו]. R. Hiya said, "The primeval serpent above [נחש הקדמוני לעילא], before it was tempered with gladdening wine is a 'serpent by the way' [Gen 49:17]." (*Zohar*, Vayehi 704).

On infernal serpent-like gate keepers see in comm. to 3:5: 3.1.4 above.

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174 See, e.g., Armstrong, *Paradise*, 26–27, pls. 4a-d.

6. *Serpent and Vine.* "Wine … bites like a snake" (Prov 23:32). Angel Naas (from Heb נחש "serpent"), that seduced Eve and Adam, was identified with the Tree of Knowledge by Justin the Gnostic in his *Book of Baruch* (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.21; cf. below). Serpent and vine/wine are also linked together in some mythical discourses and cult practices. In the *caduceus* figures sometimes one or two serpents entwine around the tree.[175] The Sumerian libation vase of Gudea (circa 2025 BCE) has such an image as well as an inscription to the (probably chthonic) deity Ningizzida, entitled "Lord of the True Tree [or Tree of Life]" and known also as a master of the watery abyss, whose guardians were the serpent and the serpent dragon and whose consort was Geshtinanna, the "Celestial Vine."[176] Dionysus, the god of wine and the vine had chthonic origins having been born to Persephone in the form of a serpent. Both snakes and vine are among his main attributes (cf. also satyr-like creatures in *3 Bar* 2–3 above). As the Serpent above, he is known as a "man-destroyer" (ἀνθρωπορραίστης) or "raw meat eater" (ὠμηστής; raw flesh of victims was supposedly eaten duiring the Bacchic orgies). The Greek serpent-god known as Good Daemon (ἀγαθὸς δαίμων) was closely associated with a wine drinking ritual (see Theophrastus, *On Drunkennes* [*Peri Methēs*] and Philonides, *De Unguentis et Coronis* apud Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 15.48). The snakes' addiction to the undiluted wine is discussed in *b. Abod. Zar.* 30a. Both motifs, the snake-encircled tree and the drinking snake, are united in the a Samos relief where "the feasting hero holds up a drinking horn to a snake, as it stretches down from the tree."[177]

7. *Menu of Eschatological Banquet.* Although *3 Baruch* lacks the explicit motif of the eschatological banquet, it does feature common elements of this banquet – a pair of Beasts (if identified with Leviathan and Behemoth) and the "fruit of vine". The two are united explicitly in *2 Baruch*:

> And Behemoth shall be revealed from his place and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time; and then they shall be for food for all that are left. The earth also will yield its fruit ten-thousandfold and on each vine there will be a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster produce a thousand grapes, and each grape produce a cor of wine. (*2 Bar.* 29:4–5)

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175 Similar image is widely known as snake-staffs of Hermes and Asclepius.

176 Amiet, *Art*, 141; Parot, *Sumer*, 236.

177 Armstrong, *Paradise*, 29 and pt. 4d.

"Fruit of vine" is destined for the eschatological feast promised by Jesus:

> I tell you I will not drink again of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom. (Matt. 26:29; cf. Mark 14:25; Luke 22:18)
>
> He [Jesus] promised to drink of the fruit of the vine with his disciples, thus indicating both these points: the inheritance of the earth in which the new fruit of the vine is drunk, and the resurrection of his disciples in the flesh. For the new flesh which rises again is the same which also received the new cup. And he cannot by any means be understood as drinking of the fruit of the vine when settled down with his [disciples] above in a super-celestial place; nor, again, are they who drink it devoid of flesh, for to drink of that which flows from the vine pertains to flesh, and not spirit. (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.33.3)

Rabbinic texts feature wine "preserved in its grapes from the six days of Creation" (*b. Ber.* 34b; cf. *Lev. Rab.* 12, end), most probably in order to feed the righteous in the future world.

Vine Revealed

1. *Vision or Conversation*? The conversation takes place – at least according to the final redaction of the book – in the third heaven, where Paradise is located according to *2 En.* 8:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 37:5; 2 Cor 12:2, 4;[178] and also the Syriac version and one Armenian ms (332 = Martenadaran 1500) of *Jos. Asen.* 22:13. Baruch is known to be "preserved until the consummation of time" (*2 Bar.* 76:2), and thus probably entered Paradise alive. See the same on Abimelech (*Derekh Erets Zut.* 1 (end); *Gen. Rabbati*, Haye Sarah [24.34]; cf. *2 Alphabet of Ben Sira* 28b; *Yalk.* 2.367), who is identified with Baruch (*Sifre Zut.* 12; *b. Moed Q.* 16b; *Pesiq. R.* 26; *Pirqe R. El.* 53; *Abot R. Nat.* B 43.122).

However, nothing is said here about Baruch entering or even watching Paradise or the Tree in it. Probably, as he was denied an access to the "highest heaven" (11:3) and did not behold the Throne of Glory (see comm. to "Baruch" in T:1 and to ch. 11), so also he only heard about the Tree. His journey to the east (where Paradise should be located according to Gen 2:8; *1 En.* 32:1–3; *2 En.* (J) 42:3; *T. Job* 40:3; 52:10; *b. B. Bat.* 84a) also takes place only later, in 6:1 below. The oil, which could very probably be a product of another Tree of Eden, is brought by Michael from the inaccessible higher heaven (see comm. to ch. 15). Moreover, according to 4:10G (but

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[178] Although there are alternative interpretations, like that Paradise was only seen from the third heaven in *2 Enoch*, or that in 2 Corinthians the unmentioned seventh heaven is meant; etc.

not S), the Tree probably does not exist any more having been "removed completely" by the Flood (see comm. ibid.).

The verb Baruch uses in his request concerning the Tree – Gk δείκνυμι / CS **показати** "show" – may mean also "teach, explain," as in both versions of 6:4, where the same verbs are used for the request followed by a verbal explanation (on the functions of Phoenix). At the same time, in 9:2, where the request about the functions of the moon is followed by a visual experience in G, Gk imperative δεῖξόν corresponds to CS **съкажи** "tell" (family β; probably corrupted **покажи** "show") and **наоучи** "teach" (family α), and the subsequent revelation in S is verbal and not visual. In the Prologue Gk ὑποδείκνυμι correspond to CS **съказати** "tell" in 1:4 and 6, but to **показати** "show" in 1:7. This word usage of S is in accordance with the general tendency of S, which sometimes has verbal descriptions instead of visions in G: the main function of Phoenix – the view of stretching the wings before the sun – is only described in 6:4 (both G and S) and actually observed only in 7:3–5G (probably interpolated; see comm. to 7:1); moon seen in 9:1–3G is only described in 9:3S.

2. *Why the Tree?* In any case, the *first* specific thing Baruch asks to see or to hear about is the Tree (previously he asks to be shown "all things" in 4:1G). It is also the *only* topic proposed by Baruch himself (and not as a request for explanations to the things shown to him). This resembles Enoch's curiosity: "I wish to know about everything, but especially about this tree" (*1 En.* 25:2; although there the Tree of Life is meant; cf. 25:4–6).

The knowledge of a specific plant/tree ascribed to a deity was among primary signs for a proper communication with that deity. A prayer to Hermes says: "I know your name shining in heaven, and I know all your images. I know your plant, and I know your tree …" (*Pap. London* 122.1–2).[179] The Demeterian mystae were shown a wheat-ear: "the Athenians, when they initiate in the Eleusinia exhibit in silence to the epoptai the mighty and marvelous and most complete epoptic mystery, an ear of a cut-wheat" (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.38–41). Similarly, the vine miraculously growing in a few hours was a part of the revels of Dionysus (cf. below).[180]

Another reason may be Baruch's curiosity with regard to the origin of evil. The Tree account is put in the section devoted to the description of

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[179] Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, 1.116. Cf. also the Akkadian *Erra Epic*: "Where is the *mēsu*-tree, the flesh of the gods, the emblem of the King of the Univ[erse], the pure tree … whose crown in heaven leans on the heaven of [Anu]" (Cagni 74.10–52).

[180] Otto, "Meaning," 25.

heaven inhabited by Hades, an abode of the wicked. The matter of the origins and nature of evil is of primary interest in apocalyptic experiences. As the Tree is the only image requested by Baruch, the reasons for evil is the only topic introduced by Abraham (*Apoc. Abr.* 20:6–7; 23:14; on the origin of evil inclination see *4 Ezra* 3:21; 4:30; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 2:7; *b. Ber.* 61a; *b. Kidd.* 30b). Whereas in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* an allegorical explanation is given in a theological framework of the concept of the free will (26:1–7), *3 Baruch* remains on mythological ground.[181]

3. *Why the Vine?* The identification of the Tree of Knowledge with the vine is not unique for *3 Baruch*. However, it is the only composition that connects it with the abuse of wine and speaks about its diabolic origin.

3.1. *Tree of Knowledge as Vine*. In *1 Enoch* the fruit of the "Tree of Wisdom" is only "like clusters of vine," and the Tree itself is high "like the fir, and its leaves are like the carob" (32:4 Gr). The Tree of Knowledge is the vine in *Apoc. Abr.* 23:5. The setting there also includes a dragon (the serpent of Gen 2 identified with Azazel, whose belly serves as Hades in 31:5). The Tree was defined as the vine by R. Meir (*b. Sanh.* 70a) and R. Yehudah b. Ilai (*Gen. Rab.* 15.7; 19.8; *Esth. Rab.* 5); see also Epiphanius, *Haer.* 3.45.1.2; *Palaea Historica*.[182] In other sources the forbidden fruit is identified with fig, apple, citron (ethrog), wheat, nut, and palm (*Apoc. Mos.* 20:5; *b. Ber.* 40a; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 20; *Pesiq. R.* 43; *Lev. Rab.* 12.1; *Num. Rab.* 10.2 and 8; *Tg.* Cant. 7:9; Tertullian, *Marc.* 2.2; Methodius, S*ymp.* 2; Origen, Gen 9:20; Ps.-Tertullian, Gen. 86; Commodianus, *Instruct.* 3). Ginzberg suggested that the vine identification belongs to the oldest view, as the most widely spread and going back to a mythological idea that wine is the beverage of the gods.[183]

There is also a connection between wine and knowledge or wisdom; the divine drink can even be a tool to intensify cognition processes:

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[181] A special interest in the Tree might have belonged to a Christian editor acquainted with a legend that the the tree of the cross originated from the Tree of Knowledge (cf. *Gos. Nicod* 23 [= *Descent* 7]). However, for obvious reasons, the tree of the cross is never the vine, and the Tree of Life is more commonly found in this role (*Cave of Treasures* 4.2–3 et al.). Thus, our story would rather contradict this tradition.

[182] Vasiliev, *Anecdota*, 190; see Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.190–91. Cf. also Michael bringing "wine from the Garden of Eden" to Jacob in *Tan.* Toledot 16.

[183] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.97.

> R. Hanina said, "He who allows himself wine possesses some of the characteristics of his Creator, for it is written 'And the Lord smelled the sweet savour; and … said … 'I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake'" [Gen 8:21]. R. Hiya said, "He who retains a clear mind under the influence of wine possesses the characteristics of the seventy elders; for the numerical value of יין is seventy and so is also the numerical value of סוד so that when wine goes in the secret comes out." (*b. Erub.* 65a; cf. *b. Sanh.* 38a; etc.)[184]

"Raba said, 'Wine and spices have made me wise'" (*b. Hor.* 13a-b). See also the practices of Greek philosophic symposia (ridiculed in Aristophanes' *Eq.* 85–99 "bring me a jug of wine, so that I can say something smart") and the connection, also sometimes ironic, between wine and revealing the truth in Greek and Roman sources from Alcaeus (*Fr.* 366) to the proverbial *in vino veritas* (cf. *vulgoque veritas jam attributa vino est* in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 14.28[22] and *passim*).

3.2. *Significance of Vine.* Vine is the "chosen tree," as Israel is the chosen people: "from every forest of the earth and from all its trees you have chosen one vine" (*4 Ezra* 5:23). The Messiah is allegorized as the Vine in another vision of Baruch (*2 Bar.* 36–40); cf. Jesus as "the true vine" (John 15:1) and numerous vineyard and wine parables in the Gospels. The vine, as a symbol for Israel and Jerusalem (see comm. to 1:2) and Messiah, was a central motif for early Jewish and Christian iconography.[185] The golden vine, "the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators," was among the most notable adornments of the Temple (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.11.3; cf. *Bel.* 5.5.4; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5; *Ep. Arist.* 70; *m. Mid.* 3.8). According to Josephus, Strabo describes "a golden vine of the value of five hundred talents" presented by Aristobulus to Pompey, as a specifically Jewish artifact called: "vine or garden; they call this work of art 'Delight'" (εἴτε ἄμπελος εἴτε κῆπος τερπωλὴν ὠνόμαζον τὸ δημιούργημα; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.3.1[35]; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 37.14). Vine leafs and grape clusters (as well as chalices and amphorae) appear on some Jewish coins from the period[186] as well as in the decoration of synagogues.[187] A vine tree is depicted on the central panel (*reredos*) in the synagogue of Dura-Europos. See also "a synagogue of the vine" כנישתא דגופנא in Sepphoris (*y. Naz.* 56a; or probably "a synagogue of Gophnites").

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184 I thank Shani Tzoref for this parallel.

185 Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 5.102–103, n. 5; Patrich, "Golden."

186 Romanoff, "Jewish"; Goodenough, *Jewish*, 3.no 677–99.

187 Goodenough, *Jewish*, 3. no. 24, 232, 477, 487–89, 516, 537, 550, 564, 619, 620. 622, etc.

3.3. *Mysterial Vine*. The attention paid by *3 Baruch* to the vine and its fruit may be related to some Dionysian or, alternatively, anti-Dionysian context. The images of the vine (4:7–17), satyrs (2:3–3:8), serpents (4–5), and bowl (11:8–9), central for *3 Baruch*, are fundamental also in Dionysian iconography.[188] Sataniel and Noah are Jewish counterparts of other first vine planters and inventors of wine, like Egyptian Osiris, Greek Dionysus, Roman Bacchus and Liber, and Phrygian Sabazius. Noah is also known as a recipient of mystic traditions, sometimes even as the first one (*Jub*. 10:10–14; *Sefer HaRazim*, Intr.). The similarities in cultic imagery and some practices between Jewish rituals and the cults of Dionysus and Sabazius were so noticeable that ancient authors frequently identified the two (Tacitus, *Hist*. 5.5; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 4.6.1–2; Valerius Maximus 1.3.2; Claudius Iolaus, *FGH* 788 F 4; Cornelius Labeo apud Macrobius, *Saturanlia* 1.1.8.19ff; John Lydus, *De mensibus* 4.53). These identifications are best understood within the framework of the known tendency of *interpretatio graeca* of foreign cults, but they may also attest to actual syncretistic practices of Hellenized Jews, especially before the Maccabean revolt. Several Palestinian coins from the fifth-fourth century BCE combine Dionysiac attributes with overtly Jewish imagery or inscriptions.[189] It is known that Dionysian *mysteria*, in which the vine was a primary symbol, were forced upon Jews by Hellenistic rulers: "When the feast of Dionysus came, they [the Jews of Jerusalem] were compelled to march in the procession in honor of Dionysus, wearing wreaths of ivy" (2 Macc 6:7); "Any of them [the Alexandrian Jews] who prefer to join those who have been initiated into the mysteries [of Dionysus], they will have the same civic rights as the Alexandrians" (3 Macc 2:29–30).[190] Some find Dionysiac influence or anti-Dionysiac polemics in the Cana story of John 2:1–11 (closely paralleled by Achilles Tatius' account of the Dyonisiac traditions of Tyre in *Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* 2.2.1–3.3).[191] Note also the overtly

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188 Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 6.126–127.

189 Cook, *Religion*, pl. 32, pp. 147ff; cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 1.270f and 3. no. 670.

190 Cf. Picard's ideas on the mysterial initiation as a setting of *3 Baruch*, basing on the imagery of cinnamon ("Observations," 90–91, 96; "Jet te," 39; "Trajets," 46). The features like crossing the river, passing the gates, groups of satyrs and choirs of birds, darkness (of Hades), frightening (of the Sun Bird), purificative ablution (of soul-birds), processions, terminology of "greater mysteries" could have also indicated some relations to Hellenistic mysterial rites.

191 Smith, *Studies*, 1.227–37.

Dionysiac iconography in the possibly Jewish "House of Dionysos" of the 3rd century CE in Sepphoris.[192]

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4:7S. *And the angel told me, "When God made the Garden and commanded Michael to gather 200,003 angels to plant the Garden, Michael planted the olive and Gabriel, the apple; Uriel, the nut; Raphael, the quince; and Satanael, the vine. For at first his name in former times was Satanael. And similarly all the angels planted the Garden in order.* The account of the angelic planting of Eden in S, although absent from G, shows evident connections to the rest of the narrative and is deeply rooted in Jewish lore as witnessed by other texts from the period.

1. *Angels*

1.1. *Number.* Mss of the family β have either 200,003 or of 200,000 angels; the numbers of family α seem to be have been corrupted (see Notes). Angelic hosts are innumerable: "thousands of thousands," "myriads of myriads" (Dan 7:10); "can his troops be numbered?" (Job 25:3); "more than twelve legions of angels"(Matt 26:53); "myriads of his holy ones" (Jude 14); "there are twelve Zodiacs, each of thirty armies; each army, of thirty camps; each camp, of thirty legions; each legion, of thirty cohorts; each cohort, of thirty corps; and each corps of 365,000 myriads of stars entrusted to it" (*b. Ber.* 32b). The number of angelic hosts even "an arithmetician [Aram סופיסטא; Gk σοφιστής] cannot calculate" (*Pesiq. R.* 12).

The number here is unprecedented. A similar figure, but one order of magnitude below, is 22,000. This number of ministering angels, angelic hosts, and heavenly chariots is known from, e.g., *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 12; *Pesiq. R.* 12; 21; *Tan. B.* 76; *Mek.* Bahodesh 3.[193] Orlov notes that "three" in the number 200,003 must refer to the three primary angels gathered by Michael and mentioned by name below, while a round number 200,000 resembles the number of the fallen Watchers in some Enochic accounts: 200 of *1 En.* 6:6; 200 myriads in *2 En.* 18:3 (here also Satanael is mentioned as their leader).[194] Orlov's hypothesis is corroborated by the reading of ms

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192 Netzer, Weiss, "New Evidence" and "Architectural Development." The issue of Jewish Dionisism was recently treated by Noah Hacham ("3 Maccabees").

193 The Shekhinah does not rest on less than 22,000 Israelites (*b. Yeb.* 64a); cf. Solomon offering 22,000 cattle in 1 Kgs 8:63.

194 Orlov, "Flooded," 191–92.

B (GIM Barsov) of *2 En.* 18:3, which gives a clue, containing a similarly compound number – 202 – but explaining its rationale: "Two princes [of fallen angels] and 200 following them."[195]

1.2. *Angelic Staff*. Four angels of presence appear in *1 En.* 9:1 (Michael, Gabriel, Suriel, and Uriel; while the corresponding Aramaic text of 4QEn[a] 1.4.6 has Michael, [Sariel/Uriel?], Raphael, and Gabriel); 40:8–9; 54:6 (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel); 71:8, 9 and 12 (Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel); 1QM 9.12–16 (Michael, [Gabriel], Sariel, and Raphael); 1QNoah 2.4 ([Michael, Uriel/Sariel?, Ra]phael, and Gabriel); cf. *Life of Adam and Eve* (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel in *Vita* 56:1; Michael, Gabriel and Uriel in *Apoc. Mos.* 40:2).

Mss of the family β have Raphael and Phanuel (appears also in T:1) as the last two angels. Thus, this list conforms to *1 En.* 40:8; 54:6. The list of the family α is typical for the Rabbinic tradition: the totally identical list appears in *Pesiq. R.* 44 and 46; *Pirqe R. El.* 4; *Num. Rab.* 2.10; *Midr. Pss* 17; 68. In *Abot R. Nat.* A 12 the first two names are interchanged.

Some mss have five angels instead of four (in addition to Satanael): mss S and Z insert one more angel before Satanael: Sarasael (ms S; Rasael in ms Z); he appears again in 4:15.[196] Five angels appeared to Hagar (*Gen. Rab.* 45.7; 75.4; *Exod. Rab.* 3.16; *Tan. B.* 2.10); five "ministering angels" helped R. Hanina (*Cant. Rab.* 1.4); five angels of destruction are mentioned (*Deut. Rab.* 3.11; *Eccl. Rab.* 4.3; *Exod. Rab.* 41.7; 44.8; *Pirqe R. El.* 45); and five angelic orders are known to *Derekh Erets* 2 and *Midr. Konen* 25 (cf. "Five Helpers" and "Five Archons" of *Pistis Sophia* 1.1; 5.136 et pass, possibly connected to the universally known five planets scheme[197] and possibly referring to the prooftext "five men of them that saw the king's face [מראי פני המלך] of 2 Kgs 25:19). See "seven men of them that saw the

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[195] Similarly a rationale was found in the number 318 of Gen 14:14. Abraham's army of 318 is interpreted as three "hundreds" plus one "commander of hundred" and five "commanders of twenties" within each division of a hundred (see comm. to 5:3 below).

[196] On possible Uriel/Sariel/Phanuel connection, see Orlov, "Face."

[197] The astronomical connection is supported by the fact that these five archons rule over 365 subordinate rulers: "He bound eighteen-hundred rulers in every aeon, and set three hundred and sixty over them, and he set five other great rulers as lords over the three hundred and sixty and over all the bound rulers, who in the whole world of mankind are called with these names: the first is called Kronos, the second Ares, the third Hermes, the fourth Aphrodite, the fifth Zeus" (*Pistis Sophia* 5.136). Cf. 365 gates of heaven in 6:14 below.

king's face" (Jer 52:25) and the more widespread motif of a team of seven angels.

The total number of named angels appearing in the main version of S throughout the whole book is seven: five planting angels (four angels and Satanael; 4:7S), Panuel (T:1S), and Sarasael (4:15S). The tradition of seven angels is attested in Ezekiel (9:2; cf. also seven eyes in Zech 3:9; 4:10); *1 En.* 20; 81:5; 90:21–22; *T. Levi* 8; *Apoc. Mos.* 40:7; Rev 5:6; *Herm. Vis.* 3; *Sim.* 9; Origen, *Cels.* 6.30; *Pirqe R. El.* 4. Seven angelic orders are known to *1 En.* 61:10; *T. Levi* 3.

Thus, *3 Baruch* – like *1 Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Moses*, and *Revelation* – may reconcile two traditions: of four (or five) angels of Presence and seven angels as heads of angelic orders. The latter number in the majority of mss includes Satanael; mss SZ add one more angel probably in order to exclude Satanael from the seven. Similar combination of the two numbers is known from other sources: a four plus three angelic team in *1 En.* 87:2; four Living Creatures of Rev 4:6–8 and seven spirits in 1:4; 4:5; primary four of seven archons in Origen, *Cels.* 6.30 (Michael, Suriel, Raphael, Gabriel).

For three or two groups of angels conveying men's prayers and virtues to Michael and their possible connections to the angels here, see introductory comm. to ch. 12.

1.3. *Angels and Trees.* The story of angels planting Paradise is unique. It may have an implied biblical prooftext in Isa 51:16: "I sheltered you with the shadow of my hand, *planting the skies* [Heb לנטע שמים]." The verse also contains the idea of a protective shadowing, which is central in the account of the Sun Bird (*3 Bar.* 6–8). A remote echo of traditions standing behind *3 Baruch* may possibly be traced in Justin the Gnostic's *Book of Baruch*, where angels are identified with the trees of Paradise, with angel Baruch being the Tree of Life, and Naas (from Hebrew "serpent"), the Tree of Knowledge:

> And the multitude of all these angels together is Paradise, he says, concerning which Moses says, "God planted a garden in Eden towards the east" [Gen 2:8], that is, towards the face of Eden, that Eden might behold the garden – that is, the angels – continually. Allegorically the angels are styled trees of this garden, and the Tree of Life is the third of the paternal angels – Baruch. And the Tree of the Knowledge of good and evil is the third of the maternal angels – Naas. (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.21)

Another interesting parallel is adduced by Orlov, who compares the account of *3 Baruch* to the description found in the *Book of Giants* from Qumran:

> … Then two of them dreamed dreams, and the sleep of their eyes fled from them and they ar[ose …] from them and they arose […] their eyes and come to […] their dreams. And he said in the assembly of [his frien]ds, the Nephilin, [… in] my dream; I have seen in this night […] gardeners and they were watering […] numerous roo[ts] issued from their trunk […] I watched until tongues of fire from […] all the water and the fire burned in all […] Here is the end of the dream. (4Q530 II 3–12)[198]

and to its possible parallels, the late *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*[199] and the Manichean *Book of Giants*.[200] Orlov convincingly notices that "both accounts seem to have three similar events that follow one another in the same sequence: the planting of the garden, the destruction of the garden, and the escape of one tree from the destruction."[201] The "Gardeners" of these sources might have been recognized as angelic (or fallen angelic) beings too.[202]

2. *Trees*

The account of the Five Trees may be connected to two other topics, central for the book: (1) the cosmology of five heavens (especially in light of Gnostic and Manichean elaborations of the image; see comm. to ch. 11); (2) "virtues" brought by angels to Michael (11:9G and 12:5G):

2.1. *Five Trees of Eden and "Incurable Folly."* There are five trees planted in the garden of Eden. According to Rabbinic law, five fruit trees ("and even of five different species" ואפילו מחמשת מינין) are minimal for a legal defini-

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198 Transaltion from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea*, 2.1063.

199 " … One night the sons of Shemhazai, Hiwwa and Hiyya, saw (visions) in dream, and both of them saw dreams. One saw the great stone spread over the earth … The other (son) saw a garden, planted whole with (many) kinds of trees and (many) kinds of precious stones. And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with an axe in his hand, and he was cutting down all the trees, so that there remained only one tree containing three branches. When they awoke from their sleep they arose in confusion, and, going to their father, they related to him the dreams. He said to them: "The Holy One is about to bring a flood upon the world, and to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons" (Milik, *Enoch*, 325).

200 "Nariman saw a gar[den full of] trees in rows. Two hundred … came out, the trees …" (Henning, "Book," 52–74).

201 Orlov, "Flooded,"191.

202 Stuckenbruck, *Book*, 114; and Orlov, "Flooded," 190. For further similarities see comm. to 4:7.

tion of "garden" (*m. Sot.* 8.2; cf. *b. Sot.* 43b).[203] There are significant parallels to the motif of the Five Trees ignored in previous research. Our unique account may disclose a lost "mythological" background of the theological conceptions developed by Philo, Gnostics, and Manicheans. The same number of the Trees of Eden is known to Philo:

> For we read, "God planted a garden in Eden facing the sun-rising, and placed there the man whom he had moulded" (Gen 2:8). To imagine that he planted vines and olive and apple and pomegranate trees or the like, would be serious folly, difficult to eradicate. … For they [i.e., sacred oracles] say that in the garden there are trees in no way resembling those with which we are familiar, but trees of Life, of Immortality, of Knowledge, of Apprehension, of Concept of Understanding of good and evil [ζωῆς, ἀθανασίας, εἰδήσεως, καταλήψεως, συνέσεως καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ φαντασίας]. (Philo, *Plant.* 8.32–9.36; cf. *Quaest. Gen.*1.6)[204]

Gk συνέσεως φαντασία means rather "the concept of understanding" (or vice versa), than two different "plants" (as it is usually translated). In the latter case, there would be six plants. Whatever the number, the passage appears to be a polemic to the tradition behind *3 Baruch*, which is defined as "incurable folly" (δυσθεράπευτος εὐήθεια). Even the list of species is similar: "vines, or olive trees, or apple trees, or pomegranates" ("pomegranate" appears in ms S; see Notes).

The motif occurs most explicitly again in a Gnostic fragment from Deir al-Bala'izah[205] and in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*: "For there are five trees in Paradise for you. They do not change in summer or winter, and their leaves do not fall. Whoever knows them will not taste death" (19:3–4).[206] A hierarchy of aeons is called "Five Trees" in *Pistis Sophia* 1.1 and 10; 2.86; 3.95; and *passim*, cf. also the *Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* 4. Series of five, pentads, were especially popular among Manicheans.[207] Orlov finds a parallel to "Five Trees" in the fragments of the Manichean *Book of Giants*:

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[203] Cf. also "five trees" on which Amorite kings were hanged (Josh 10:26). For alternative numbers, cf., e.g., twelve trees of Paradise in *4 Ezra* 2:18; thirty kinds of trees, which Adam took with himself leaving Paradise (*Midr. Pss.* 104, 445).

[204] Cf. the righteous compared to trees: "they [mourners of Zion] might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord" (Isa 61:3) and "those that be planted in the house of the Lord will flourish in the courts of our God" (Ps 92:13).

[205] See Kahle, *Bala'izah,* 1.437–477; Crum, "Coptic."

[206] "Five members: mind, thought, reflection, consideration, reason of the mind," reminding the Philo's list, appear in another text ascribed to Thomas (*Acts Thom.* 27). On the "five trees" in the *Gospel of Thomas* and the pentads of Gnostics, see, e.g., Puech, "Doctrines."

[207] Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic*, 339–340.

"… evil-intentioned … from where … he came. The Misguided fail to recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals" (frg. h).[208] The Manichaean *Psalm Book* 161.17–29, introducing various pentads, opens with the statement: "For [five] are the trees that are in Paradise […] in summer and winter" (cf. the wording of the *Gospel of Thomas* above). "Five Trees" along with "Five Glories from the Five Worlds" appear also in Theodore Bar Konai's *Book of Scholia*.

2.2. *Paradise of Virtues*. The Trees of Paradise were identified as virtues in the continuation of the same fragment of Philo, the motif well developed in his works:

> We must conceive therefore that the bountiful God plants in the soul as it were a *garden of virtues* [παράδεισον ἀρετῶν] and of the modes of conduct corresponding to each of them, a garden that brings the soul to perfect happiness. (*Plant.* 9.37)
>
> Moses now indicates what trees of virtue God plats in the soul. These are the several particular virtues, and the corresponding activities, and the complete moral victories, and what philosophers call καθήκοντα or common duties. These are the plants of the garden. (*Leg. All.* 1.17.56–57)
>
> But in the divine park of pleasaunce all plants are endowed with soul or reason, bearing the virtues for fruit … and by the tree of life he [Moses] signifies reverence toward God, the greatest of the virtues, by means of which the soul attains to immortality; while by the tree that is cognisant of good an evil things he signifies moral prudence, the virtue that occupies the middle position, and enables us to distinguish things by nature contrary the one to the other. (*Opif.* 54.153–154)
>
> "From every tree that is in the garden you may freely eat" [Gen 2:16]. He moves the soul of the man to get benefit, not from a single tree or from a single virtue but from all the virtues: for eating is a figure of soul-nourishment: and the soul is nourished by the acquisition of things noble, and the practice of things rightful. (*Leg. All.* 1.31.97)

See also *Leg. All.* 1.31.97; *Gig.* 1.3; *Agr.* 4.17.

Another case of botanic imagery that is unique in *3 Baruch* is the "virtues" of 12:5G. Whereas Philo allegorizes virtues as "trees," in *3 Baruch* they are presented as "flowers." As the trees were planted by four/five chief angels, so also the flowers (probably of these trees "bearing their fruit in the form of the virtues", as in *Opif.* 56.153) are brought by "angels over the principalities" (12:3), whose names and number are not designated. For the sets of four virtues and further details, see comm. to 11:9G.

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[208] Henning, "Book," 63; Orlov, "Flooded,"194.

2.3. *Species of Trees*. As known from *2 En.* 8:7, in Paradise "there is no tree without fruit." Creation of earthly trees is mentioned separately and in connection with Eden in the Genesis accounts of *Jub.* 2:7; cf. *1 En.* 30–32. Lists of tree species similar to *3 Baruch* occur in different encounters. The olive-tree, the fig-tree, and the vine refuse to be king over the trees (Judg 9: 8–16). The Torah is likened to the fig, the vine, flax, and wheat, while Israel is compared to all the nobler trees: the vine, fig, walnut, myrtle, olive, apple, palm, willow, and cedar (*Exod. Rab.* 36.1). Vine, apple, and nut nominate themselves to serve as a cross for Haman, contending that they are symbolic for Israel (*Esth. Rab.* 5.11; *Abba Gorion* 41–41; *Panim Aherim* 47–48; *Yal.* 2.1054; *Aggadat Esther* 60–61). The opposition of the vine to other, more "useful," trees is found also in *Gen. Rab.* 36.3: "Should he [Noah] have not planted something of use [דבר אחר של תקנה], such as a young fig-shoot [יחור] or a young [olive-]shoot [גרופית]?"

Olive. CS маслина (Gk ἐλαία, Heb זית). The olive of Paradise is known to *2 En.* (A) 8:5; *Apoc. Mos.* 9–12; *Vita* 36–39. It is identified with the Tree of Life in *Apoc. Mos.* 28:4; *Gos. Nicod.* 19 (= *Descent of Christ* 3); Ps.-Clementine *Rec.* 1.45; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.2; Origen, *Cels.* 6.27). Israel is compared to the olive (Jer 11:16; *b. Menah.* 53b). On the product of this celestial olive see comm. to ch. 15.

Apple. CS яблань. It is not clear what fruit the so called "apple" – Heb תפוח, Gk μῆλον, Latin *malum* – designates in early sources. The terms may refer to any of a variety of species such as the quince, plum, peach, apricot, pomegranate, and citrus (*medica malus*).[209] In *3 Baruch* it is at least differentiated from quince. Most symbolic interpretations of "apple" are based on Cant 2:3 and 5; 8:5 (*Cant. Rab.* ad loc.; *Yal.* Cant. 986; *Exod. Rab.* 17; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 12). In distinction to *3 Baruch* it was widely identified with the Tree of Knowledge (*Tg.* Cant. 2:5 and 7:9; Cant. 8:5).[210] Cf. Vulgate Cant 8:5 (Lat *malum* means both "evil" and "tree fruit," "apple").

Nut. CS орѣхъ (Gk κάρυον, Heb אגוז or בוטן). It also has a wide symbolic spectrum; see, e.g., *Pesiq. R.* 11; *b. Hag.* 15b; *Cant. Rab.* 6.11.

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209 Hünemörder, "Apfel."

210 Although in *Gen. Rab.* 15 an ethrog is also called "paradise-apple."

Quince. CS кидоніе (Gk κυδωνέα). Houghton argued that Biblical Heb תפוח refers to "quince."[211] However, *3 Baruch* and the Mishna, already distinguish "apple" (תפוח) from "quince" (which is called in the Mishna פרישׁ; see *m. Maas.* 1.3; *t. Suk.* 2.9).

Vine. See comm. above.

4:8. *Serpent*. Only in S. It appears again in both versions in 9:7. There he does not deceive Adam by himself, but Sammael "took the serpent as a garment" (G) or "disguised himself in the serpent" (S). The same allegorical interpretation of the biblical serpent appears in Philo: "the Devil proceeds with great art, speaking by the mouth of the serpent" (*Quaest. Gen.* 1.36) and in *Apoc. Mos.* 16:1–7, where the devil says to the serpent: "Become my vessel and I will speak through your mouth a word to deceive him [or "them"]" (16:4). Sammael is a "Serpent – rider" that makes Eve pregnant in *Pirqe R. El.*: "As for the serpent, every act that he performed and every word that he spoke, he spoke and did only at the will of Sammael" (13; cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 21). Serpent is used for transportation of Satan inside the garden:

> And when Satan saw that Adam and Eve were happy and joyful in Paradise, that Rebel was smitten sorely with jealousy, and he became filled with wrath. And he went and took up his abode in the serpent, and he raised him up, and made him to fly through the air to the skirts of Mount [Eden] whereon was Paradise. Now, why did Satan enter the body of the serpent and hide himself therein? Because he knew that his appearance was foul, and that if Eve saw his form, she would betake herself to flight straightway before him. (*Cave of Treasures* 4.4–7)[212]

> Satan said [to the serpent]: "You are great: therefore open your mouth, and I will enter into your belly, and so you entering into paradise will place me near those two lumps of clay that are newly walking upon the earth." Then the serpent did so, and placed Satan near to Eve. (*Gos. Barn.* 40)

At the same time, Satan and the serpent are often identified: the fallen angel Gaderel seduces Eve in *1 En.* 69:6; Satanael causes the fall in *2 En.* 21:4; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 3:15 identifies the punishment of the serpent and of Satan; in a late midrash Satan appears to Moses in the guise of a serpent (*Midr. Vayosha* 43–44 in *Bet HaMidr.* 1.35–57; cf. Origen, *Princ.* 3.2.1). On the possible identity of the seducting serpent of Eden to the Cosmic Serpent, on the one hand, and to Satan, on the other, see comm. above.

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[211] See the reference to Houghton in Jastrow, Kohler, Knowlton. "Apple," 24.

[212] Translation by Budge (*Book*, 63). I am grateful to Sergey Minov for noticing this parallel.

The vine, which the angel Sammael [*Satanael* S] *planted*. Noah plants the first vine in partnership with Satan or a demon (*Gen. Rab.* 36.3–4; *Midr. Agg.* on Gen 9:21; and par.). A similar belief about the vine was known to Gnostics. Thus, one finds the following description of the origins of vine in the mythological system of Severian Encratites, as it was described by Epiphanius: "After descending in the form of a serpent he [the devil] went wild and lay with the earth as with a woman, and as he ejaculated the seed of its generation, the vine was begotten of him" (*Haer.* 3.45.1.2).[213] See also "a grapevine has been planted apart from the Father" (*Gos. Thom.* 40). These vines, however, have nothing to do with the Tree of Knowledge. The idea that the Tree of Knowledge was planted by Sammael/Satanael is unique.[214] Moreover, it contradicts the most common understanding of Gen 2:8–9, that both Trees were planted by God, and other famous sayings: "vine [= Israel], the stock planted by your [God's] right hand (Ps 80 (81):15–16) and "I [= Jesus] am the true vine, and my father is a planter" (John 15:1); see also the texts cited from Philo above.

Sammael. Only in G; S has *Satanael* instead (see comm. below). This is one of the names for the leader of evil forces. Diverse etymologies have been proposed: "The one who made himself a god" (שם + אל), "poison of God" (סם/סמא + אל; based on *b. Abod. Zar.* 20b), or a form connected to the root סומא "blind" (*Acts Andr. Matt.* 24; *Hyp. of Arch.* 135 and *passim*; cf. comm. to "blindness" in 3:8G above). Sammael appears in *2 Enoch*; *Ascension of Isaiah*; *Testament of Solomon*; *3 Enoch*; *Apocryphon of John*; *Tg. Ps.-Jon* Gen 3:6; 4:1; Job 28:7; *Gen. Rab.* 56.4; 77; *b. Abod. Zar.* 28b; *b. Sanh.* 89a; *b. Sot.* 10b; *Lev. Rab.* 21.4; *Deut. Rab.* 11.9; *Abot R. Nat.*; *Pirqe R. El.* 12–13; 26; 32; *Bet HaMidr.* 1.12, 125; 2.66; 3.87; 6.31, 129.[215]

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213 Williams, *Panarion,* 346.

214 It can shed light on a possible aggadic background of the parable in Matt 13:24–30. There tares, "false wheat" (Gk ζιζάνια – *lolium temulentum*), are planted by "the Adversary" (ὁ ἐχθρός; a common title for Satan, interpreted thus also in 13:39 below) of a man during the man's sleep (cf. Adam's sleep in Gen 2:21). The forbidden fruit is wheat in some Rabbinic traditions as well (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 15.7; *b. Ber.* 40a; *b. Sanh.* 70a). Its very name, Heb חטה, is almost homographic to חטא "sin" (*b. Ber.* 61a; on later exegesis cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.97). As in *3 Baruch* also there "the harvesters are angels" (Matt 13:39).

215 Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.121; Urbach, *Sages*, 2.761; Scholem, "Samael," 14.719.22; Forsyth, *Old*, 209, 223–224, 323–324; Bullard, *Hypostasis*, 51–54; Harlow, *Baruch*, 125, n. 51.

Here he is placed in opposition to the four angels headed by Michael, who appears again in ch. 11 as a heavenly commander-in-chief, key holder, and probably as a heavenly high priest. The opposition of the two figures is a well developed motif in Rabbinic literature. "R. Yose said: 'To what can Michael and Sammael be compared? To a defending counsel and prosecutor standing in court" (*Exod. Rab.* 18.5; cf. *Pesiq. R.* 44). Michael and Sammael struggle over the body of Moses according to *Deut. Rab.* 11.10 (cf. the same with Satan in Jude 9; *Asc. Mos.* 10; *2 Petirat Moshe* 381f). During his fall, Sammael tried to bring down Michael with him (*Pirqe R. El.* 26). Michael saved Jacob from being killed by Sammael (*Midr. Abkir* in *Yalk.* Gen. 110).

Satanael. Only in S. Cf. 4:7S and 9:7S (also instead Sammael). According to *2 Enoch*, Satanael (CS *Satanail*, **сатанаилъ**) was the seducer and the paramour of Eve; he is, as such, the chief of the angelic rebellion, and upon fleeing from heaven he has lost the theophoric suffix and "became Satan" (*2 En.* 18:3; 29:4–5; 31:4). The name is used also in other *Palaea* accounts of the angelic revolt; see Notes for one of such stories interpolated in *3 Baruch*.[216] In non-Slavic sourses the name Satanael appears in Greek *Gos. Bart.* 4:25, and in Coptic *Encomium on the Archangel Michael* attributed to Theodosius of Alexandria and *Encomium on the Archangel Raphael* attributed to John Chrysostom. The Christian Arabic translator of the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* (3.6) modified the regular Syr "Satan" (ܣܛܢ) into "Sātānāīīl" (ساطانابيل) in order to transpose the etymological word-play present in Syriac text into Arabic.[217]

4:8G. *He did not permit Adam to touch it*. So only according to Eve's testimony (Gen 3:3), while the wording of God's order did not prohibit *touching* the tree, only eating from it (Gen 2:17). In the interpretation of Gen 3:3, *3 Baruch* parallels Josephus: "God foretold to them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction" (*Ant.* 1.1.4; cf. Philo, *Quaest. Gen* 1.35 [to Gen 3:1]). However, others have understood the discrepancy between Gen 2:17 and 3:3 as a deliberate expansion of the divine prohibition either by archons or by Eve, which actually helped to deceive the first humans. The motif was developed by Gnostics (*Hyp. Arch.* 88–90) and in Rabbinic tradition (*Gen. Rab.* 19.3–4; *b. Sanh.* 29a; *Pirqe R. El.* 13; *Abot R. Nat.* 1.4–5 and 151).

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[216] See Gaylord, "Satanael," 308. On Satanael, in addition to the work of Gaylord, see Turdeanu, *Apocryphe*, 17–31; Stichel, R. "Verführung;" Stone, *History*, 116.

[217] See Bezold, *Schatzhöhle*, v. 2, 16*-17*. I thank Sergey Minov for these parallels.

Baruch says above: "I will neither subtract nor add a word" (1:7S). The two topics are united in *b. Sanh*. 29a: "Hezekiah said: Whence do we know that he who adds [to the word of God] subtracts [from it]? – From the verse, "God has said, you shall not eat of it neither shall you touch it [Gen 3:3]."

The devil being envious. Only in G. For jealousy as a cause of the serpent's deed see Wis 2:24: "God created man for immortality, but through the envy of devil death entered the world"; see also Josephus, *Ant.* 1.1.4; *Vita* 12:1; *t. Sot.* 4.17; *Gen. Rab*. 18 and 19; *b. Sanh*. 59b; *b. Sotah* 9b; *Abot R. Nat.* 1.

4:9–15. James considers this whole passage on Noah the Vine Planter, containing the second question of Baruch with a reply to it, to be another later insertion into a major insertion (4:8–17), because (1) the passage glorifies wine in contrast to 4:8 and 4:16–17, which both condemn it; (2) it has Christian elements (4:15b); (3) it differs in wording: Gk κλῆμα (4:10, 15) comes here in place of Gk ἄμπελος (4:8).[218] This argument may be weakened by the following observations: (1) as far as the first argument is concerned, (a) the condemnation applies only to "the men who drink insatiably" (4:16), to "those who drink it in excess" (4:17); (b) if the original text is supposed only to condemn vine products, how then Israel can be called in both versions "your [+ glorious S] vineyard" (1:2), unless this too is a later addition? (2) S does not have the obviously Christian passage in 4:15b, while still containing the most of the fragment. (3) A combination κλῆμα τῆς ἀμπέλου, uniting both terms, occurs in 4:10G.

A story about Noah planting the vine – developing Gen 9:20 – appears in *Jub*. 7:1; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 9:20; *Gen. Rab.* 36.3–4; cf. *Tan. B*. 1.46; *Tan.* Noah 13; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; etc.[219] Noah's vine is an offshoot of the Tree of Knowledge and comes from Paradise according to *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 9:20:

> he found a vine which the river had brought away from the garden of Eden, and he planted it in a vineyard, and it flourished in a day, and its grapes became ripe, and he pressed them out, and he drank of the wine and was drunken.

See further *Pirqe R. El.* 23; Origen, Gen 9:20. Noah has found the vine that Adam took with him from Paradise (*Tan. B*. 1.46). Other alternative views are found in *Tan. B*. 1.46–48 and *Tan.* Noah 13–15. A similar story was ascribed to the olive: whereas in *3 Baruch* a shoot of the vine planted by

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[218] James, "Baruch," lxii.

[219] Noah himself is compared to "a plant," that "shall be planted and established for all generations for ever" (*1 En.* 10:3 apud Syncellus; Orlov, "Flooded," 198).

Sammael has been washed out by the Flood from Paradise and planted by Noah, a branch of the olive tree (planted according to the same story by Michael; see *3 Bar.* 4:7S) was brought to Noah by a dove from Paradise, who has preferred "the bitter from there to the sweet from your [Noah's] hand" (מוטב מר מזה ממתוק מתחת ידך; *Gen. Rab.* 33.6; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; cf. 4:15 below: "its bitterness will be changed into sweetness").

Orlov notices, that the structure, as well as the content, of the story of Noah and the vine may connect it to the Enochic tradition:

> the events taking place in heaven and on earth are depicted as if they were to mirror each other: the destruction of "all flesh," including the giants on earth, "mirrors" the destruction of "all flower" in the heavenly garden. Both accounts also mention survivors, the patriarch Noah from the flooded earth and one plant from the flooded heavenly garden. This parallelism resembles the one in the Book of Giants, where the dream(s) about the destroyed "vegetation" of the garden and the single preserved shoot symbolized the drowned giants and Noah's miraculous escape.[220]

4:10. *When God caused the Flood on earth, and destroyed all flesh and 409,000 giants.* As noticed by Bohak, this unprecedented number must be a gematria of Gk κατακλυσμός (used as in *3 Baruch*, so also as a constant equivalent for the Heb מבול 'Flood' in LXX) written in Hebrew letters – קטקליסמס* (unattested elsewhere; for the transliteration of the Greek ending – ος with Heb – ס without *waw* as *mater lectiones*, cf., e.g., Heb פנס for Gk φανός, etc.).[221]

See the number of angels above: 200,003 implying three leading angels not included in the round number (4:7S). The number here might have been a corruption of 400,009, also including nine leaders. Nine leaders of the fallen angels are listed in *1 En.* 8,[222] while the giants are their progeny. Cf. also nine archons of Athens.

Giants. Giants (Nephilim, Refaim, Anakim) were born as a result of the intercourse of the "sons of God" (Watchers, the fallen angels of pseudepigraphic and Rabbinic traditions) with the daughters of men (Gen 6:4; developed in *1 En.* 15; *Jub.* 5:1–2; Philo, *Gig.*; *Gen. Rab.* 26.7; *Deut. Rab.* 1.24; *Tan. B.* 5.6; *Pirqe R. El.* 22; and *passim*). They were compared to the Greek "giants" by Josephus (*Ant.* 1.3.1–2).

Giants ("bulls and elephants and camels and asses") perished in the Flood according to the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En.* 89:6); the Qumranic

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220 Orlov, "Flooded," 196.

221 Bohak, "Gematrias," 120.

222 Although *1 En.* 6:7 has more.

Book of Giants;[223] 4QExhortation (4Q370 1.6), *Sib. Or.* 2:283; 3 Macc 2:4; Wis 14:6; CD 2.19–20.[224] Many other sources refer to the mass destruction of Giants, without referring to the Flood explicitly (e.g., *Jub.* 20:5; *1 Bar.* 3:26–28; *Sib. Or.* 1:145). Cf. also *T. Reub* 5:6; *Apoc. Pet.* 230; *Acts Andr. Matt.* 18; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Deut 3:11; *b. Nid.* 61a; *Tan. B.* 4.130; *Tan.* Hukkat 25; *Num. Rab.* 19.32.

According to some Rabbinic traditions, the whole antediluvian generation was gigantic, so that they had no fear of the Flood (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 7:10; *y. Sanh.* 10.29b; *b. Sanh* 108b; *b. Rosh HaSh.* 12a; *b. Zeb.* 113b; *Lev. Rab.* 7.6; *Eccl. Rab.* 9.4; *Tan. B.* 3.13; *Tan.* Zav 2; *Pirqe R. El.* 22; *Midr. Pss.* 11.100; *Aggadat Bereshit* 4.10). Antedeluvian giants who "did not want to glorify God" and laughed at Noah are mentioned in the fragment *On Enoch Tablets* of *Palaea Historica*.[225]

The Giants can be connected with the Builders of chs. 2–3 above. On the souls of the Giants (or surviving Giants) having transformed to demons and initiating the building of the Tower of Babel, see comm. to ch. 3.

The water rose 15 cubits above the heights. Thus in Gen 7:20. Rabbinic aggadah connects the number with giants account. The rationale of this height is explained by the fact that fifteen cubits high or less were the giants of the Flood generation; this way they could not save themselves even on the mountains (*Midr. HaG. to Genesis* 1.159). Cf. *Jub.* 29:9: "the Rephaim were born, giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to seven cubits."

The water entered Paradise and destroyed every flower. This tradition is unique to *3 Baruch* and the Slavonic *Word on the Cross Tree*.[226] Does it mean that Paradise is terrestrial? According to *3 En.* 5:5–6 there were two of them (celestial and terrestrial).[227] Does it mean that Paradise was destroyed by the Flood?[228] The Flood enters Hell,[229] but not Paradise. Rabbis

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[223] So Stuckenbruck: "the Book of Giants retains the dual motif of internecine fighting (1Q23 9+14+15?; 4Q531 4) with their destruction through the flood (2Q26; 4Q530 2:4–7; 6Q8 frag. 2)" ("Angels," 367); "If 2Q26, 6Q8 frag. 2 and 4Q530 2:4–7 represent dreams of the giants about their punishment, the allusions to the flood of these texts may imply that their destruction would occur during the deluge" (ibid., 369).

[224] Stuckenbruck, "Angels," 369–376; cf. idem, "Giant."

[225] Vasiliev, *Anecdota*, 196–98.

[226] Kagan-Tarkovskaja, "Slovo."

[227] The notion of terrestial Paradise located on a high mountain was popular in Syraic Christian tradition; see Anderson, "Cosmic."

[228] This was Luther's idea (*Genesisvorlesung*).

[229] See Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.178.

insisted that the Flood did not reach Eden (*Gen. Rab.* 33.6; *Lev. Rab.* 31.10; *Cant. Rab.* 1.15.4; 4.1.2).[230]

It removed the shoot of the vine completely and brought it outside / brought out one shoot from the vine. According to G the Tree was "removed completely" (ἐξώρισεν εἰς τὸ παντελές), while in S only one shoot of it was taken. Branches of the trees planted by Satanael were brought out from Paradise, one by the Flood and another by the Tigris, and eventually became trees of the cross in the Slavonic *Word on the Tree of Cross*.

The uprooting of the vine may be connected to the fact that it was planted not by God, but by Sammael: "Every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted will be rooted out" (Matt 15:13); a vine that "has been planted apart from the Father," according to *Gos. Thom.* 40, "is not strong, it will be pulled up by its root and will perish" (cf. Ignatius, *Trall.* 11.1; *Phld.* 3.1; *Gos. Philip* 133:29–231; *Gos. Truth* 36:35–37).[231] In these Christian texts the use of this motif is most probably confined to the reference to antogonistic religious groups, but this metaphoric usage might well reflect the motif of the Jewish lore witnessed by *3 Baruch*.

Flowers. The Flood started "on the seventeenth day of the second month [Ziv/Iyyar]" (Gen 7:11), i.e., in the spring time of blooming. Flowers of Paradise are known also from the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*Apoc. Mos.* 22:3; Georgian *Book of Adam* 38:4).

The text refers to "flowers" again in 12:1G ("angels came carrying baskets full of flowers"). There flowers are among the central images of *3 Baruch* signifying "virtues" (12:4G; or "prayers" in secondary 14:2S and *passim*). This recurrence may not be coincidental. On the angels planting trees, on the one hand, and offering (their?) flowers, on the other, see comm. to 4:7S and 12:4G.

4:11G. *Noah came out of the ark, he began to plant [some] of the found plants.*

Only in G. In a Rabbinic parallel, Noah plants different species of trees that he kept with him in the ark (*Gen. Rab.* 36.3). There was even a tradition that some of the trees he planted were preserved in Palestine to the days of the Exodus (*Midr. Eccl.* 3.11).

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230 Cf. Lewis, *Study*, 23.

231 Cf. Bauckham, "Parable," 91.

4:13. *Since Adam was destroyed because of it, let me not also encounter God's anger because of it.* The idea that Noah was warned by Adam's failure with the vine is known to the Talmud: "The Holy One told Noah, 'Noah, why did you not learn from the first Adam that all the troubles he had were caused by wine?'" (*b. Sanh.* 70a).

Scholars have tried to find implied connections between the figures of Adam and Noah, on one the hand, and Noah and Baruch, on the other. All three endure a catastrophe (Fall, Flood, Destruction). Vine/vineyard (in Greek the words are very similar: ἡ ἄμπελος and ὁ ἀνπελών) imagery links the Temple and the condemned (or at least ambiguous) vine (1:2; 4:8, 9): while the "vineyard" is burnt (1:2), the "vine" brings its abusers to eternal fire (4:16).[232] If this parallelism is authentic, it would be, as Collins noticed, "a definitive rejection of Jerusalem, unparalleled in Jewish literature."[233] However, even if the images are connected, we have more to do with an opposition than with a likening of Jerusalem to "God's vineyard" and the vine planted by Sammael.

Orlov finds similarities between the Noachic account of *3 Baruch* and a parallel to the story of the planting of Paradise in 4:7S (4Q530 3–12, etc.; see comm. to 4:7S above), comparing them also to 6Q8 line 2.[234] Orlov states:

> The Noachic tradition found in *3 Baruch* 4 is closely connected with the fragments of the *Book of Noah* found in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the Dead Sea Scroll fragments, and Syncellus [see comm. to 4:15 below]. It appears, however, that the Noachic materials found in *3 Baruch* 4 have also undergone the "Adamic" revisions. H. E. Gaylord observes that "a strong typological relation is set up between Adam and Noah, who discovers a piece of the vine through which Adam and Eve sinned washed out of the garden by the receding flood waters."[235]

4:14. *He had completed the prayer of 40 days / And he knelt down and fasted 40 days praying.* Forty days is a standard period for both prayer and fast. Cf. fast and prayer of Moses in Exod 34:28; Deut 9:9 and 25ff (here also a prayer is mentioned), Elijah (1 Kgs 19:8), Jesus (Matt 4:2;

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232 See Picard, "Obseravtiones," 96–100; idem, "Je te montrai," 23–24; Collins, *Apocalyptic*, 200; Harlow, *Baruch*, 128–30. Picard also suggests that the typology between the Flood and Destruction may be based on Jer 45:5b alluding to Gen 6:7. Harlow adds that both Baruch and Noah are described as contemplating (1:1; 4:12), weeping (1:1, 3; 4:14), and eventually met with an angelic response (1:4; 4:15); see Harlow, *Baruch*, 128.

233 Collins, *Apocalyptic*, 200 (250 in the second edition).

234 "Its three roots [… and] while I was [watching] came […] all this orchard, and […]."

235 Orlov, "Flooded," 200–201; Gaylord, "Baruch," 659.

cf. Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2); see also Jonah 3:4. In post-biblical documents, Adam (*Vita* 6:1) and Abraham fasted for forty days (*Apoc. Abr.* 9:7; 12:1). For other periods of forty days, cf. Num 14:33; *4 Ezra* 14:23; *2 Bar.* 76; Acts 1:3 (in some of these sources the fasting may be implied); cf. Origen, *Hom. Num.* 8.1.5.

4:15. *Sarasael* (Σαρασαήλ / Сарасаила [acc.]). The Slavonic ms Z has "Rasael" (расаела in acc.) instead.[236] Mss S and Z have subsequently "Sarazael" and "Razael" as an additional planting angel in 4:7S (see note ibid.). This unique name, appearing in both versions, may be either a corruption of Sariel or Razael, or a contamination of the both, or rather the *scripto continua* of * σαρρασαήλ – *שר רזאל "Prince [a common Hebrew substitute to "angel"] Razael/Raziel." Angelic revelation to Noah is known to *Jub.* 10:11–14, and in later Jewish traditions Noah learns from the angle Raziel or from the book given by Raziel to Adam.[237]

Less probably, the name Sarasael, if derived from the Hebrew root סרס, might have to do with the well developed tradition of the castration of Noah (*Gen. Rab.* 36.7; *Tan. B.* 1.49; *Tan.* Noah 15; *Pirqe R. El.* 23). Cf. also a similar Saraqael (Sariel in Greek) in *1 En.* 20:6.

4:15. *Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing / and alter its name, bitterness to sweetness and for that one it was for death, but for you it will be for life.* The bitterness of the grapes of the Vine Tree of Knowledge are mentioned in *Esth. Rab.* 5 referring to Deut 32:32: "their grapes are filled with poison, and their clusters with bitterness." See the similar wording: "Woe to those who … put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter" (Isa 5:20) in the context including condemnation of wine abuse (5:11 and 22). In the context of parousia "the sweet water will become salty, and the salty sweet in the great light of the joy of God" (*4 Bar.* 9:18). See also comparable wording and even imagery although in different context (italics are mine):

> But there are some men of diligence and effort, who at first think the way leading to virtue rough and steep and difficult, but for whom later on the all-bountiful God renders it a highway, *transforming the bitterness of their toil into sweetness*. … the Saviour, anticipating us, taken pity on us and cast into our soul a *sweetening tree* like a medicine, producing love of labour instead of hatred of labour. (Philo, *Post.* 45.153–56)

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[236] Sic! – расаела and not расаила.

[237] *Sefer Raziel* 2a; 34a; *Sefer HaRazim*, Intr.; Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.154; 5.177.

A very similar idea appears in Talmud. Here fermentation must be meant. But probably, in the light of *3 Baruch*, a more profound "change" may also be implied:

> Why is a difference made for wine [it has a special benediction, different from other fruit]? Shall I say that because *it has been changed for the better* [אשתני לעלויא], therefore the blessing is different? (*b. Ber.* 35b)

According to many commentators the whole fragment 4:9–15 has to be Christian, due to the obviously Christian 4:15b, and, more generally, since its redactor "felt it necessary to modify the condemnation of wine, on account of its use in the Eucharist."[238] However, wine also has sacral use in Jewish tradition, including sacrificial practices (see, e.g., on libation in Num 28:14; cf. *b. Ber.* 35a above). Jewish literature is abundant with positive references to wine. "Wine which cheers God and man" (Judg 9:13; cf. Ps. 104:15; Eccl 10:19). The vine tree is the chosen one (Ezek 15:2). The fig-tree is next in rank to the vine (Deut 8:8; cf. 4:7S above). On Israel and Jerusalem likened to the vine see comm. to 1:2 above. Cf. also Gen 49:11; 1 Kgs 5:4 [4:25]; Ps 128:3. Vine is among "desirable trees" in *1 En.* 10:19. It is kept for the eschatological feast (*Lev. Rab.* 12; *b. Ber.* 34b). Wine has healing powers (Philo, *Aet.* 12.63). "Foremost among all life[-giving things] am I, Wine" (*b. B. Bat.* 58b). "Wine is the greatest of medicines. Where wine is lacking, drugs are necessary" (*b. Ber.* 35b and 58b). "Old wine is good for the whole body" (*b. Pes.* 42b; cf. *b. Ab. Zar.* 40b). It also can assist in making someone wise (*b. Hor.* 13a-b; *Erub.* 65a). "?A person in whose house wine is not poured like water has not attained the state of blessedness" (*b. Erub.* 65a). Wine was declared as "the mightiest thing there is" by one of Darius' guards (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.3.3; cf. *1 Ezra* 3:17b–24) or as one of ten "mighty things existing in the world" (*b. B. Bat.* 10a).

Although these verses 4:16–17 contain one of the most severe condemnations of excessive drinking that we find in early Jewish literature, *3 Baruch* is not unique in this concern. Isaiah condemns excessive drinking (5:11, 22) and is worried about the drinking habits of priest and prophets (Isa 28:7); wine "bites like a snake" (Prov 23:32); "nor for kings to drink wine, nor any strong drink for princes" (Prov 31:4); etc. Among post-biblical texts preoccupied with wine abuse is the *Testament of Judah*. It allots three chapters to the problem and ties it closely to the sin of fornication (14–16). According to Judah, wine obtains "four evil spirits: lust, hot desire, profligacy, filthy lucre" (16:1; cf. list of vices below). Wine "turns

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238 Hughes, "Baruch," 536.

the mind away from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leads the eyes into error, for the spirit of fornication has wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind" (14:1). The one who drinks "serves the sin, and is not ashamed" and "reverences no man" (14:3). "Wine causes the mysteries of God and men to be revealed [to strangers]" (16:4).[239] "Wine is a cause both of war and confusion" (16:5). However, "a man may drink so long as he preserves modesty" (14:7) and observes "the right limit in wine" (16:1), "but if you would live soberly do not touch wine at all" (16:3). *Tob* 4:17 and *Ahiqar* 2 also warn against drinking with evil men. Drunkenness is included in the list of the vices in *Sib. Or.* 1:154. Rabbinic writings contain multiple positive references to wine (see above), but also feature occasional statements describing excessive drinking as a cause of many sins (see below). A Pauline author urges not to drink wine, because it "leads to debauchery" (Eph 5:18). In *Poimandres* drunkenness functions as a metaphor for the "ignorance of God" (1.27). The Therapeutae abstained from wine (Philo, *Contempl.* 73–74). Later, and on other gounds, complete abstention from wine was adopted by some groups as an extreme expression of mourning for the destruction of the Temple (a custom opposed by R. Yehoshua; *t. Sot.* 15.11–12). Among the most extreme opponents to wine were different kinds of Encratites (Abstainers). These included Manichaeans and some ascetic groups of Gnostics, as well as the sects of Hydroparastatae or Aquarians, who even used water instead of wine for the Eucharist (so Theodoret, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, and John Chrysostom; see Philastrius, *Haer.* 77; Augustine, *Haer.* 64; *Praedest.* 64; the practice was forbidden by Theodosius's edict of 382). Some rejected wine, because it was born of the dragon-like Satan and earth, who had had relations (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 3.45.1.2; cf. the vine planted by Satanael in 4:8S).

Our text, in providing a balanced treatment of the issue, might have served in polemics against such views. In the Slavonic *On the Flood* Noah similarly defines the contradicting features of his product: "For a clever man it is for joy, wedding, gossipship [кꙋмовьство], and brotherhood, and all good deeds, but for a fool – for fighting, rivalry, and all evil deed."[240] Ambivalent evaluation of wine appears in Sir 31:27–30:

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[239] Cf. *b. Erub.* 65a cited above referring to the revealing of mysteries by means of wine but in positive sense.

[240] Kagan-Tarkovskaja, "O potope," 111.

> Wine is like life to men, if you drink it in moderation. What is life to a man who is without wine? It has been created to make men glad. Wine drunk in season and temperately is rejoicing of heart and gladness of soul. Wine drunk to excess is bitterness of soul, with provocation and stumbling. Drunkenness increases the anger of a fool to his injury, reducing his strength and adding wounds.

See *Gen. Rab.* 36.3–4; *b. Ber.* 51a; *b. Yoma* 76b; *Tan.* Noah 18; *Tan. B.* 1.48; *Pirqe R. El.* 23. Wine is not only permitted but even recommended in moderate use (*Gen. Rab.* 36.4; *b. Erub.* 65a; *b. Ket.* 65a; *b. Sanh.* 70a; *Tan. B.* 1.58, 50–51 and 3.24–26; *Lev. Rab.* 12.1; *Tan.* Shemini 11; *Midr. Prov.* 23.95–96).[241] On two kinds of vines, good of Ps 104:15 and evil of Deut 32:33, see Methodius, *Discourse* 10.4.

4:15G. *And that which is begotten from it shall become the blood of God; and as the human race obtained condemnation through it, so again through Jesus Christ the Emmanuel [and] in him is the receipt of the future invocation, and the entry into Paradise.* Only this fragment of the chapter may be considered as an obviously Christian interpolation (see introductory comm. above), due to the unequivocally Christian terminology: "blood of God" (cf. Acts 20:28) and "Jesus Christ the Emmanuel."[242] It is not clear whether we ought to consider the line "and its curse shall become a blessing" (καὶ ἡ κατάρα αὐτοῦ γενήσεται εἰς εὐλογίαν) above as a part of the Christian interpolation: the line does not occur in S, but there is nothing specifically Christian about it. It may be an allusion to Isa 65:8, where blessed wine is compared to the righteous sons of Israel: "Thus the Lord says, 'As when fresh wine is found in a grape, and men say, 'Do not destroy it, since a blessing is in it.'"[243] See also, "As you were a curse among the heathen, O house of Judah, and house of Israel, so will I save you and you will be a blessing" (Zech 8:13) and "Let the plant of righteousness and truth appear, and its produce become a blessing" (*1 En.* 10:16[21]).

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241 Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.190.

242 Cf. also the phrase "invocation of God in Christ Jesus" (Phil 3:14).

243 Harlow, *Baruch*, 123, n. 38.

4:16G. *Adam … was divested of the Glory of God*. Eve also said that she "was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed" and "deprived of the glory with which I was clothed" (*Apoc. Mos.* 20:2) and caused Adam to see his nakedness and his being "deprived of the glory of God" (*Apoc. Mos.* 21:5–6; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 19.6; *Pirqe R. El.* 14). Enoch on the contrary was clothed "with the raiment of my [God's] Glory" (*2 En.* 22:8). The first couple's "garments of honor" (Aram לבושין דיקר) are mentioned also in *Tgs.* Gen 3:21; cf. *Pesiq. R.* 37.2; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6.5. References to the glory of Adam are found in both versions of *Testament of Abraham*; *2 En.* (J) 30:11–12, and are especially abundant in Qumran (Heb כבוד אדם; CD 3.20; 1QS 4.23; 1QH 17.5; cf. 1QS 4.16, 24; 4Q171 3.1–2). For the "garment of glory" in general see *1 En.* 62:15; 108:12; *4 Ezra* 2:39, 45; *Asc. Isa.* 9:9; 2 Cor 5:3–4; Rev 3:4, 5, 18; 4:4; 6:2; 7:9, 13, 14; *Herm. Sim.* 8.2.[244]

This means that the first humans were not naked before the transgression, in contradiction to the plain meaning of Gen 2:25 ("the man and his wife were both naked") and probably as a response to Gen 3:21, mentioning "garments of skin" of the pre-Fall period. The latter verse was interpreted similarly, as referring to supernatural glorious or garments of light, as in Ezek 28:13, so also by Rabbis (*Gen. Rab.* 20.12; *Pirqe R. El.* 14.20; *Abot R. Nat.* B). Exegesis of *Gen. Rab.* 20.12 applies to the textual version featuring "garments of light" (Heb כתנות אור) in place of MT "garments of skin" (Heb כתנות עור). The former are considered priestly in *Tan.* Gen 3:21; *Num. Rab.* 4.8.

4:17G. *Brother does not have mercy on his brother, nor a father on his son, nor children on their parents*. The verse is considered to be Christian due to the textual similarity with NT: "Brother will betray brother to death, and a father his child, children will rebel against their parents" (Mark 13:12). A similar formula is found in Greek *Apoc. Ezra* 11: "neither brother has mercy towards his brother, nor man to wife, nor children to parents, nor friends, nor a slave to his master." See Notes ad loc.

4:17. *Murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like / murder* [or "robbery"] *and adultery, fornication and [false] oaths, and theft*. This is the first of three lists of vices: 4:17; 8:5; and 13:4.

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[244] More on this exegetical motif, see Lambden, "From Fig Leaves"; Anderson, "Garments"; Golitzin, "Recovering."

Five vices of wine (4:17)		Thirteen/five vices of mankind (8:5)		Thirteen/three vices of mankind (13:4)	
G	S	G	S	G	S
murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts,	murder and adultery, fornication, and [false] oaths, and theft	fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkennesses, murders, strifes, jealousy, slanders, murmurings, whisperings, divinations,	fornication, adultery, jealousy, rivalry, theft, murder,	fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, malices, drunkennesses, strifes, jealousy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination,	jealousy and fornication and to envy,[245]
and such like		and such like, which are not pleasing to God	all which does not pleasing to God.	and such like	and they strive to many other things

The most similar list occurs in Matt 15:19: "evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false testimonies, blasphemies." However, three of the seven vices in this list do not appear in *3 Baruch* – evil thoughts, false testimonies (*3 Baruch* has ἐπιορκεῖαι, as compared to NT – ψευδομαρτυρίαι), and blasphemies. *Apoc. Paul* 6 has seven vices: "fornications, adulteries, murders, thefts, perjuries, divinations, and witchcrafts of men, and all the evils that they do." Col 3:2–8 has two lists of five (like *3 Bar.* 4:15) but different vices: "anger, wrath, malice, slander, abusive speech" and "immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and greed, which amounts to idolatry" (these lists adduce rather inclinations than deeds). Gal 5:21 concludes a list of seventeen vices with "and such like." Mark 7:21–22 and 1 Tim 1:9–10 have thirteen vices (like *3 Bar.* 8:5G and 13:4G, although the lists are different).[246] Twelve vices appear in *CH* 13.7. *Ep. Barn.* 20:2–8 contains fourteen vices, while *Didache* (5) and *Apostolic Constitution*s

[245] CS **на ревности** [like ζῆλος] **и на блжды и на зависти** [like φθόνος].

[246] In Mark these are "defiling" sins. The conception shared most probably also by other Jewish circles; cf. Klawans, *Purity*, 148 ff.

(7.18 and *passim*) have much longer lists (cf. the long lists of Rom 1:29–31 and 1QS 4.9–11 quoted below). The three last sources must have had a common tradition.

The popularity of such lists in Christian literature does not necessarily indicate a Christian origin of the list in *3 Baruch*. Hos 4:2 has also five and almost identical vices although in another order: "[False] oath [Heb אלה], and lying [or "perjury," Heb כחש], and murder, theft and adultery." Almost the same list has Jer 7:9 in addition to idolatry. See the list of Wis 14:25–26:

> confusion-blood and murder, theft and guile, corruption, faithlessness, turmoil, perjury, disturbance of good men, neglect of gratitude, besmirching of souls, unnatural lust, disorder in marriage, adultery and shamelessness

"Fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity" appear in *Jub.* 7:20 (cf. 20:3, 6). In *Apoc. Abr.* 24–25 there is a vision of murder, fornication, theft, and jealousy. Seven demonic heavenly bodies personify vices in *Test. Sol.* 8:2–4 (Deception, Strife, Fate, Distress, Error, Power, the Worst). See also the seven bound stars of *1 En.* 21:3, the seven archons of Gnostics (Origen, *Cels.* 6.30), and the seven planets as malevolent demonic powers in Mandean mythology (cf. introductory comm. to 3:1–5a: 2.1.3).[247] *T. Reub.* 2–3 also speaks of "seven spirits of deceit" (of a total of ten, including derivative spirits): fornication, greed, strife, obsequiousness (and chicanery), pride, lying, injustice ("with which are thefts and acts of rapacity"); see *T. Dan* 1:6; 2:4; *T. Sim.* 3:1. *T. Iss.* 7:2–4 speaks consequently of fornication, wine, coveting of a neighbor's belongings, guile, lying. *T. Benj.* 7:2 enumerates seven evils: bloodshed, ruin, tribulation, exile, dearth, panic, destruction. *Sib. Or.* 1:150–70; 174–98 speaks of faithlessness (150, 177), drunkenness (154), violence (154–57, 176), deceit (177), adultery and slander (178), lack of reverence for God (179); cf. *Sib. Or.* 2:67–77, 255–281; 4:27–39. One of the lists there is also associated with Noah (1:173–180). Philo gives ten kinds of transgressions (*Conf.* 12.46). Lists of vices are attested also in Qumran literature:

> greed, neglect of righteous deeds, wickedness, lying, pride and haughtiness, cruel deceit and fraud, much hypocrisy, impatience and much folly, black envy, vile deeds of debouched desire, defiled ways in impure service, abusing speech, blindness of eyes, deafness of ears, stiffness of neck, and hardness of heart (1QS 4.9–11)

Similar lists are found in Plato's works: "gluttony and violence and drunkenness" (*Phaed.* 81e), "injustice and tyranny and robbery" (ibid. 82a), "greatness of their wrongdoings, because they have committed many

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247 Toepel, "Planetary."

great deeds of sacrilege, or wicked and abominable murders, or any other such crimes" (ibid. 113e); cf. *Gorg.* 525a-c; *Rep.* 10.443a, 560e. "Three nets of Belial" of CD 4.15–19 include fornication, wealth and defilement of the Temple (cf. three sins of 13:4S adjacent to the enigmatic reference to the wives brought out of the Temple).

Names of vices and virtues were inscribed on the counters of a popular ancient "checkers" game.[248] Reitzenstein shows that the systematizing of the numbers of vices and virtues was accomplished under the influence of cosmology: for example, expanded list of five elements; seven planets, twelve signs of the zodiac.[249]

Similar to *3 Bar.* 4:17, the *Testament of Judah* connects wine with the list of vices: "Observe, therefore, my children, the right limit in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits: of lust, of hot desire, of profligacy, of filthy lucre" (16:1). R. Yohanan connects a long list of vices associated with wine to a biblical passage through a word-play: "Beware of a passion for wine, because in this passage on wine [Gen 9:20–25] *way-* [a beginning of *waw*-consecutive verbal forms presented here as "woe"] is written fourteen times" (*Gen. Rab.* 36.4).

Beasts Continued: Dimensions of Hades (5)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And I Baruch told the angel, "Let me ask you one thing, Lord. 2 Since you told me that the dragon drinks one cubit from the sea, tell me also, how great is his belly?"	1 And I Baruch told the angel, "Let me ask you, Lord, one more thing. 2 Since you told me, that the serpent drinks one cubit of water from the sea a day, how great then is its belly that it drinks so much?"
3 And the angel said, "His belly is Hades; and as far as lead is hurled by 300 men, so great is his belly.	3 And the angel told me, "Hades is insatiable. As far as 255 [?] of lead come, so great is its belly."
Come, then, so that I may show you also works greater than these."	And he told me, "If you wish, come and I will show you mysteries greater than these."

248 See Deissmann, *Light*, 320ff.; Hughes, "Baruch," 529.

249 *Hellenistic*, 338–351. On the lists of vices in Hellenistic Jewish writings, see also Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, 100.

NOTES

Family β of S places this chapter in 4:4, before the "vine excursus." Since the text there is obviously revised, its transmission must be an editorial contribution to the coherency of the story.

5:1S. *Thing*. Lit. "word," CS **слово** (Gk λόγος).

5:3G. *As a lead is hurled [by] 300 men* (ὅσον ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων μόλιβδος ἀκοντίζεται). Lit. "as a hurled lead of 300 men." Preposition ὑπό might have been dropped.[250]

5:3S. *As far as 255 [?] of lead come, so great is its belly.* Reading of ms T conforming G. Ms L has instead an explanatory reading: "As great is its belly, so great is Hades." Ms T has probably a hapax **несъковии** (**олова**) "[?] of lead" (or "of tin"). It seems to be a verbal noun with a negative prefix **не-** from the verb **съковати** "forge."

COMMENTARY

The narrative returns from the excursus on the Vine back to the heavenly Beasts. Whereas some commentators assumed the previous digression to be interpolated,[251] others suggested that ch. 5 is a later addition. Turdeanu argues this on the basis of the parallels in the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Apocalypse of John*, both giving the measurements of the subterranean abyss.[252] However, in *3 Baruch* there are many other parallels with these works, and the question of mutual dependence remains open.[253] On the Beasts see introductory comm. to ch. 4.

5:3. *And as far as lead is hurled by 300 men, so great is his belly / As far as 255 [?] of lead come, so great is its belly.* Since days of yore it is known that "A Tophet is prepared of old … his firepit was made deep and wide" (Isa 30:33). A similar description is found in Hesiod:

> a brazen anvil falling from earth nine nights and days would reach Tartarus upon the tenth … It is a great gulf, and if once a man were within the gates, he would not reach the floor until a whole year had reached its end. (*Theog*. 713–48)

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250 Ryssel, "Baruch," 452.
251 Like Wright, *Heaven*, 331.
252 Turdeanu, "Baruch," 24–26.
253 See Harlow, *Baruch*, 123; esp. on relative dating of these works in n. 43.

Hell is measured by throwing a stone:

> And I inquired and said, "Lord, if these souls continue thus, thirty or forty generations being cast one upon another, if they be cast down yet deeper, I believe the pits would not contain them." And he said to me, "The abyss has no measure: for beneath it there follows also that which is beneath. And so it is that if a strong man took a stone and cast it into an exceeding deep well and after many hours it reaches the earth, so also is the abyss. For when the souls are cast therein, hardly after five hundred years do they come to the bottom." (*Apoc. Paul* 32)

> As big a stone as a man of thirty years old can roll, and let go down into the depth, even falling down for twenty years it will not arrive at the bottom of Hades. (*Apoc. John*)

It has enormous dimensions or even cannot be measured:

> The earth is one-sixtieth of the garden, the garden one-sixtieth of Eden, Eden is one-sixtieth of Gehenna. Hence the whole world is like a lid for Gehenna. Some say that Gehenna can not be measured. (*b. Pesah.* 94a; cf. *b. Taan.* 10a; *Cant. Rab.* 6.9; *Pesiq. R.* 41; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 71)

It is also a "womb:"

> O womb [Hades] larger than a city! O womb wider than heavens! O womb that held the one whom seven heavens could never contain! Painlessly you held within your bosom him who was able to change into the smallest of things! O womb that hid the Messiah who became visible to many! O womb that became greater than the space of the entire creation! (*Gos. Bart.* 1:17)

Our text might be corrupt: the weight of the plummet is missing. It is possible that ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων μόλιβδος "lead of 300 men" (see Notes) somehow goes back to its weight designation.

"Lead" of *3 Baruch* corresponds to "stone" of the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the apocryphal *Apocalypse of John*. Heb אנך of Am 7:7–9 may refer to the lead plummet of the plumb line with which God tests his people. In LXX it was translated as Gk ἀδάμας "adamant," which may refer as to "steel" so also to "diamond." In Rabbinic Hebrew it means "plummet" (*Lev. Rab.* 33) as well as a kind of stone, "onyx." A combination of both, "stone of lead" (Heb אבן העפרת; Gk λίθος τοὺ μολίβδου), is also attested. In Zech 5:8, the angel throws it into the mouth of Iniquity (Heb הרשעה). "Lead" and Gehenna are explicitly connected by Origen in his comment to this verse:

> It is in the precincts of Jerusalem [where Gehenna is located], then, that punishments will be inflicted upon those who undergo the process of purification, who have received into the substance of their soul the elements of wickedness, which in a certain place is figuratively termed "lead," and on that account Iniquity is represented in Zechariah as sitting upon a "talent of lead." (Origen, *Cels.* 6.26)

The imagery of Flood, trees of Eden, abyss, the sun, and lead are united in a poetic fragment from *Hodayot*:

> … they will become a f[lood for any …] [למי מ …] green and dry [tree]; an abyss for every wild animal and bi[rd … as] lead in mighty water[s] [עפרת במים אדיר …] fire and they dry up. But the planting of fruit […] eternally, to a glorious Eden and frui[t] … And by my hand you have opened their spring with streams […] turning in accordance with the proper line, and the planting of their trees according to the plumb line of the sun … (1QH^{a} 16[8].18–22)

Three hundred men. This might be the size of a regular military detachment, as in Judg 7:6ff. See the three hundred men killed by Abishai (2 Sam 23:18; 1 Chr 11:11) and by Jews in Susa (Esth 9:15); three hundred shields made for Solomon (1 Kgs 10:17); three hundred angels who "keep the Garden" in *2 En.* (J) 8:8. The three hundred and eighteen warriors of Abraham in Gen 14:14 were interpreted as a regiment consisting of three "hundreds" with a commander and five "commanders of twenties" in each. Three hundred is a typological "exaggeration number" in Rabbinic literature. It is also a numerical value of Heb מעמקים "depths;" cf. "out of the depth of the belly of Hades" (Sir 51:5).

On obvious gematrias in *3 Baruch*, cf. comm. to 4:7G; 4:10.

Come, then, so that I may show you also works greater than these / If you wish, come and I will show you mysteries greater than these (ἐλθὲ οὖν ὅπως δείξω σοι καὶ μείζονα τούτων ἔργα / **хощеши ли приди и покажѫ ти таинꙑ болшѧ сихъ**). The wording is almost identical to John: "For the father loves the son, and shows him all things that he does, and *will show him works greater than these* [καὶ μείζονα τούτων δείξω αὐτῷ ἔργα], so that you will marvel" (John 5:20).[254] Both texts may allude to a pre-Christian source, like the verse of Ben Sira: "many *things greater than these* [μείζονα τούτων] lie hidden, for we have seen but few of his [God's] *works* [ἔργων]" (Sir 43:32). On "greater mysteries" vs. "lesser" ones in Hellenistic mysterial terminology used also by Philo, see comm. to 1:6. However, "great, large" is a basic attribute of super-sized descriptions throughout Baruch's journey: "door of great size" (2:2; cf. "large doors" in 3:1S; "large gates" on 11:2S); the thickness of heaven is "as great as is the distance from earth to heaven" (2:5); Builders dwell in a "great cell" (3:3S); Baruch is shown "great (and wonderful) things" (4:1); vine is a cause of "great evil" (4:9G); dragon's

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[254] Cf. also "But unto the virgins, and unto them that hunger and thirst after righteousness and afflict themselves for the name of the Lord, God will give things seven-fold greater than these, which now I will show thee" (*Apoc. Paul* 22).

belly is "great" (5:1–3); letters on Phoenix's wing are "very large," "like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia" (6:7); even the noise of celestial gates is "great as that of thirty cows" (6:13S; cf. Michael descending in "great sound" in 11:3); lightening sun is called "great glory," which causes "great fear" (7:3G); there is a celestial "large lake of water" (10:2S) and a crane there is as big "as great oxen, and all the birds were bigger than those in the world" (10:3). Thus, also here the expression "greater works/mysteries" may simply indicate physically larger phenomena (sun, Phoenix, lake, birds, Michael's bowl, etc.).

III. Lights or *Interim Region*

Sun, Sun Bird and Sun Protection (6:1–12)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taken me he brought me where the sun goes forth. 2 And he showed me a chariot-of-four,	1 And the angel took me and brought me from where the sun goes forth. 2 And he showed me a chariot-of-four,
which was with a fire underneath.	and there were fiery horses, and the horses were winged angels.
And upon the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire. The chariot was drawn by forty angels.	And upon this chariot was sitting a man wearing a fiery crown. And the chariot was drawn by forty angels.
And behold, a bird was circling in front of the sun,	[And] behold, one bird is flying,
about nine [cubits] away.	like one great mountain.
3 And I told the angel, "What is this bird?" And he told me, "This is the guardian of the inhabited world." 4 And I said, "Lord, how is it the guardian of the inhabited world? Show me!" 5 And the angel told me, "This bird goes before the sun, and stretching out its wings receives its fire-shaped rays. 6 For if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature; though, God appointed this bird."	3 I told the angel, "Lord, what is this bird?" And he told me, "This is the guardian of the inhabited world." 4 And I said, "How is it the guardian of the inhabited world? Show me!" 5 And the angel told me, "This bird, which goes before the sun, stretches out its wings and hides the fiery rays of the sun. 6 For if it did not hide the rays of the sun, the race of men and every creature on earth would not survive because of the flames of the sun. But God has commanded this bird to serve the inhabited world.
7 And it stretched out its wings,	7 But look what is written on the right wing." And he commanded the bird to stretch its wings,

belly is "great" (5:1–3); letters on Phoenix's wing are "very large," "like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia" (6:7); even the noise of celestial gates is "great as that of thirty cows" (6:13S; cf. Michael descending in "great sound" in 11:3); lightening sun is called "great glory," which causes "great fear" (7:3G); there is a celestial "large lake of water" (10:2S) and a crane there is as big "as great oxen, and all the birds were bigger than those in the world" (10:3). Thus, also here the expression "greater works/mysteries" may simply indicate physically larger phenomena (sun, Phoenix, lake, birds, Michael's bowl, etc.).

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And upon the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire. The chariot was drawn by forty angels.	And upon this chariot was sitting a man wearing a fiery crown. And the chariot was drawn by forty angels.
And behold, a bird was circling in front of the sun,	[And] behold, one bird is flying,
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7 And it stretched out its wings,	7 But look what is written on the right wing." And he commanded the bird to stretch its wings,

and I saw on its right wing very large letters, like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia. And the letters were of gold.

and I saw letters, like a threshing floor on earth, of 4,000. Those letters were purer than gold.

8 And the angel told me, "Read them." And I read and they said thus: "Neither earth nor heaven give me birth, but wings of fire give me birth."

8 And he told me, "Read them!" And I read them and they said thus: "Neither earth nor heaven give me birth, but wings of fire give me birth.

And the birds seek me."

9 And I said, "Lord, what is this bird, and what is its name?" 10 And the angel told me, "Its name is called Phoenix." 11 [And I said], "And what does it eat?" And he told me, "The manna of heaven and the dew of earth." 12 And I said, "Does the bird excrete?"

9 I Baruch said, "Lord, what is the name of this bird?" 10 And he told me, "Phoenix." 11 I Baruch said, "What does it eat?" And the angel told me, "Heavenly manna." 12 And I said, "Does it produce excrement?"

And he told me, "It excretes a worm, and the excrement of the worm becomes to cinnamon,

He told me, "Yes, it produces. Its excrement becomes the black cumin,

which kings and princes use.

with which kings are anointed.

But wait and you will see the Glory of God."

And again he told me, "Wait, Baruch, and you will see the Glory of God;

see what will happen to this bird outstripping the sun."

NOTES

6:2G. *Chariot-of-four* (τετραέλαστος). *Hapax legomenon*; cf. Heb (ן)טטראמולי from also unattested elsewhere Gk τετράμουλος referring to God's quadriga (*Tan.* Ki Tissa 21; *Exod. Rab.* 3; 42; 43).

6:2G. *Circling before* (περιτρέχον). Or "outstripping." Cf. **прѣтекѫщи** "outstripping" in 6:12S below.

6:2. *About nine [cubits] away / like one great mountain* (ὡς ὄρει ἐννέα / **ꙗко велиꙗ гора иедина**). This probably corrupted and elliptic reading is similar to ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν ἐννέα "about nine cubits" of *Disp. Panagiot* (most probably based on *3 Baruch*). Cf. *2 En.* 12, where the size of phoenixes and chalkydri is "nine hundred measures." James proposes to read in *3 Baruch*: ὡς ὄρη ἐννέα "like nine mountains." In this direction the text was understood also by a Slavic translator: "like one great mountain," which might be either a misreading of Gk ὡς ὄρη [ὄρει] ἐννέα or rendering of original Gk ὡς ὄρος ἓν. Moulton

proposed to reconstruct Gk ὡς ὄρεύων "as a guard," although this use of the word is very rare.[255]

6:5G. *Goes before* (παρατρέχει). Thus it is translated in S: **прѣдъ слъньцемь ходить**. Also possible: "accompanies," "outstrips." Cf. περιτρέχον in 6:2G and **прѣтекѫщи** in 6:12S.

6:7. *Like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia* (ὡς ἅλωνος τόπον ἔχων μέτρον ὡσεὶ μοδίων τετρακισχιλίων). Why to compare letters' size to a threshing-floor? Heb גורן may mean also "plaza" (1 Kgs 22:10; 2 Chr 18:9); cf. *1 En.* 56:6: "And the land of his elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway." In early Greek ἅλωός/ἅλων may mean also "sun disk" or "shield."

6:10. *Phoenix* (Φοῖνιξ / **фоуникьс** LB **финизъ** S **фоунизъ** N **поуниза** Z **финикосъ** PVID).

6:12S. *Its excrement becomes the black cumin … anointed*. This passage occurs only in ms B. CS **коуманъ** "cumin" instead of **кинамонъ** is used, probably as a result of corruption. Ms B continues with probably an interpolation: "There was a king, and he had no cumin in the vessel [or "weapon," CS **съсѫдъ**]. When the king rose to a war, another struck, and there was a great tumult [CS **звѫкъ** "sound," and also "clamor, tumult" like Gk θόρυβος]." Family β has a variation: "This bird produces excrement of quince [**кидони**, in place of **кинамона** "cinnamon"]. Because this bird wakes up the kings, and the king does not reign without cinnamon, but he is anointed with it, when 40 armed guards guard the king near the throne." Both versions look corrupt; however, only they, in distinction to ms L, mention cinnamon (although corrupted) in accordance with G.

COMMENTARY

Solar Motifs

The author of *3 Baruch* assigns to the sun more lines than to any other phenomenon described in the work. Almost a quarter of the whole vision (chapters 6–8) deals with the sun and the Sun Bird which here is named Phoenix. The sun is mentioned in G fifteen times (while in the whole work God is referred to thirty-five times). There are ten question-answer sequences in the section devoted to the sun, more than in any other section. The explanation of such extreme interest may lie in the special role of heliolatry in the surrounding society, its elements in Jewish cult, and possibly implied polemics with it.[256]

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[255] Hughes, "Baruch," 536; Broek, *Myth*, 252

[256] Cf. Harlow, *Baruch*, 131. This is the view of Dean-Otting ("Baruch," 137–48). Himmelfarb, on the contrary, regards *3 Baruch* as providing "a way of integrating reverence of the sun into a monotheistic system" (*Ascent*, 143).

A vision of the sun could be a central point of pagan mysterial revelations as well. Moreover, the proximity of the images of Hades and the sun is not unique to *3 Baruch*. See the description of the Isis mystery in Corinth:

> I approached Death, the gates of Proserpine, and after that, I was ravished throughout all the Elements and returned to my place. In midnight I saw the Sun shining. I saw likewise the gods celestial and gods infernal, before whom I presented myself, and worshiped them. (Apuleius, *Metam.* 11.23)[257]

1. *Sun and cultic practices*. Conceptions of the sun as animated and divine being are widely known, from early Near Eastern and Mediterranean cults to syncretic solar pantheism and philosophical traditions of the late antiquity. In ancient scientific (philosophical) tradition since Plato (e.g., *Tim.* 30b) and Aristotle, heavenly bodies were also considered animated and divine. This idea, unorthodox for later Christianity, was developed by Origen (*Princ.* 1.7; *Cels.* 5.11). In the Hellenistic world there were first of all Stoics who believed in the absolute supremacy of the sun which, in their view, actually ruled the world. Similarly, in *3 Baruch* the sun is crowned (6:2; 7:4; 8:3–4) and compared to "the king" (9:8). Solar cults became popular in late Rome, and their elements were incorporated into the cult of emperors. The sun-like crown became an emperor's attribute from the time of Caligula (as with the Seleucids and Ptolemies).[258] Aurelian founded a temple of *Sol Invictus* (374 CE).[259] The image of Mithras, closely associated with the cult of the sun and light, also included a chariot drawn by four horses. These developments, alien to early Greek and Roman beliefs, possibly took place owing to the influence of the immediate neighbors of the Jews in the East.[260]

As for solar motifs in late Jewish sources, they were not necessarily borrowed from the Hellenistic environment. Early internal roots for Jewish interest in the celestial bodies, and specifically the sun, should not be neglected. Mythological (most probably more than poetic or allegorical) personification of both luminaries is widespread in early Jewish thought.[261]

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[257] Cf. Papyrus Rhind I (after the second half of the 1st cent. BC) which lists the following as objects of veneration: sun, moon, three elements (without earth), and the dead (Reitzenstein, *Hellenistic*, 274).

[258] Philo, *Leg.* 14. See comm. on "crown" in 6:2.

[259] See Halsberghe, *Cult*, 27–54.

[260] See Dean-Otting's excursus on "the role of the sun in antiquity" (Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 137–148).

[261] See *1 En.* 2:1–5; 3; *Pss. Sol.* 18:10–12; Philo, *Plant.* 3.12; *Somn.* 1.4; 2.16; *Opif.* 24.73; *Gig.* 2.8; *Apoc. Paul* 4–6; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 1:16 and Num 28:15; *Gen. Rab.* 6.3; *Mek.*, Bo 1, 3a; *b. Sanh* 42a; *b. Hul* 60b; *b. Sheb* 9a; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5.54a; *Pesiq. R.* 15.78a; *Tan. B.* 2.47; *Pirqe R. El.* 4 and 51.

Solar imagery was integrated in Jewish cult practices long before an encounter of Jews with the Hellenistic civilization and was probably shared with Babylonian and Assyrian cultures. Dangers of the worship of luminaries are known to the biblical texts; see, e.g., Deut 4:19; 17:3 (cf. *Temple Scroll* [11Q19] 55.15–21; 2 Kgs 21:3–5; 23:11; Ezek 8:16 (cf. Jer 2:27); Job 31:26 (esp. LXX); and probably Isa 24:23. Even the specific image of the sun chariot is attested: "He [king Josiah] removed from the entrance to the Temple of the Lord the horses that the kings of Judah had dedicated to the sun […] Josiah then burned the chariots dedicated to the sun" (2 Kgs 23:11). Archeological findings from the period of Israeli monarchy may corroborate this evidence: small figures of horses with a disk between their ears have been interpreted as "sun horses;"[262] note, in addition, sun disks with winged scarabs on the seals from the same period.[263] Later tannaim forbade the use of solar images even for non-cultic purposes; so *m. Abod. Zar.* 3.3 (cf. *t. Abod. Zar.* 6; *b. Abod. Zar.* 42b), which adduces images of the sun and moon together with the image of dragons. See further the sun worship witnessed in *Gen. Rab.* 50.12; *b. Ber.* 7a; *b. Abod. Zar.* 4a–b; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 2.13. At the same time, solar images appear in positive contexts in Isa 60:1–3; Mal 3:20; Ps 19 and pass.; LXX 1 Kgs (3 Kgds) 8:53. Some even believe that the sun was an integral part of early Israelite/Canaanite religion with its rudiments preserved in the Jerusalem Temple cult.[264] See also Qumranic practice of praying towards the sunrise (i.e., turning backs to the Temple located to the west of Qumran; cf. Josephus on the Essenes' reverence of the sun in *Bell.* 2.128, 148).[265] Helios and Jewish divine epithets appear together also in the later magical texts (PGM IV.1484). The eclectic combination of Jewish and heliolatrous elements is also attested in abundance in other Greek magic papyri.[266] The solar cult might be implied as a dominant one in the image of the most superior golden God *Zoukhe* of *Apoc. Abr.* 6:7. The same name (Gk Ζουχε) occurs in a prayer to Helios in magic papyri (PGM IV.1983).[267] A Greek prayer to Helios transliterated with Hebrew letters is found in *Sefer HaRazim* 4.[268] Christian authors described Christ as

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262 See Kenyon. *Digging*,142; idem, "Mystery."

263 Cross, "King."

264 See Taylor, *Yahweh*; Wiggins "Yahweh"; Smith, "Helios"; id. "Case"; Rendsburg, "Egyptian"; Smith, "Near Eastern"; Dever, "Silence"; Keel "Sturmgott"; and Rosen, "Shrine." Cf. also Wright, *Heaven* 235–236, nn. 43–46.

265 See Smith, "Case."

266 See the survey in Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 141–145.

267 See Preisendanz, *Papyri*, 3.222–223; Kulik, *Retroverting*, 89–90.

268 Margalioth, *Sefer*, 71; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 139–40.

"the sun of the world" and opposed the "sun of righteousness/victory" (Heb שמש צדקה; Gk ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης) of Mal 3:20 (4:2) to *sol invictus* of pagans (Leo, *Serm.* 27; *Nativ. Dom.* 7.3; Eusebius of Alexandria, *Or.* 6).[269]

2. *Solar imagery.* Whatever the attitudes to the sun and sun worship in different Jewish milieux, the topic remained ever actual and important. Early Jewish sources contain abundant evidence of solar imagery without explicit cultic references. Solar images, and specifically the sun chariot, are known from *1 En.* 72:4–5; 75:4 (also on the moon – 73:2 and stars – 75:3, 8), where the chariots are driven by the winds (or "spirits," i.e., angels). Many parallels to the sun and moon chariots of *3 Baruch* are found in *2 En*: their chariots are driven and accompanied by angels (*2 En.* 11:3–5; 12 (A):2; 14 (J):3; see the "chariot" in place of "wheels" in some mss of *2 En.* 11:2 and (14:4) and the wheel-derived names of angels Galgaliel and Ofaniel); the sun's crown is taken away and brought back by four (or four hundred in J) angels (*2 En.* 14:2–3). Phoenixes and chalkydri sing: "The light-giver is coming to give radiance to the whole world" (*2 En.* (J) 15:2; as in *3 Baruch* 6:14). Whereas in the extant version of *3 Baruch* the sun and moon are located (together with the Serpent and Hades) in the third heaven,[270] in *2 Enoch* these luminaries are located in the fourth heaven; on the other hand, in *Midr. Pss.* 19.13 and *Pesiq. R.* 19 they are located in the second (see comm. to 6:6 below).[271] Joseph is likened to "the sun coming to us from heaven in his chariot" (*Jos. Asen.* 6:5).

But the closest parallels to the description of *3 Baruch* come from iconography. The crowned sun riding on the chariot-of-four, widely known from Greek tradition, is found on mosaic pavements in at least seven late antique Palestinian synagogues (Hammat Tiberias, Khirbet Susiya, Na'aran, Husifa, Yafia, Beit Alpha and Sepphoris) and also on Jewish amulets. Such pavements are not found in the decoration of churches or in synagogues of the Diaspora and are extremely rare in pagan buildings throughout the world (only three have been found).[272] They contain the elements

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269 See Fideler, *Jesus*.

270 Although it is never stated explicitly, it may be derived from 7:2 and from 4:2 understood as a journey to the third heaven (although the number is not mentioned). Thus the reading of 10:1 speaks on a journey to the fourth heaven; see comments to 4:2, 10:1; and introductory comm. to ch. 11.

271 As probably in an older version of *3 Bar*, see introductory comm. to ch. 11.

272 Roussin, "Sun," 53. Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 2.121ff.; 4.3–62; Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 146–147; Hachlili, *Ancient*, 301–309, pls. 71–78 (cf. eadem, "Zodiac"); Weiss, "Sepphoris."

included also in the description of *3 Baruch*, like a four-horse chariot, a nimbus (crown of *3 Baruch*) above the head of a human figure riding on it, and rays emanating from the figure.[273]

There were different attempts to explain such an introduction of the well known idolatrous images into Jewish cultic context. Some supposed actual worship.[274] However, this theory is based upon evidence that belongs mostly to the First Temple period (see above). The appearance of the same images in the clearly monotheistic contexts of *3 Baruch* and *2 Enoch* show that the pavements have nothing to do with an actual solar cult. Another suggestion ascribes the images to angelic worship (cf. comm. to ch. 12: *Angelic Intercession*). Also for some Greek sources Helios is not a god but a titan (*Anacreontea,* Fr. 46; Ovid, *Her.* 15.135; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 1060ff; etc.) and is only "*like* the deathless gods" (*Homeric Hymn* 31). Luminaries were often equated with angels (e.g., Ps 148:1–4). It was believed that the sun was commanded by God not directly but "by the command of his servants" (ἐν ἐπιταγῇ δούλων αὐτου; *Pss. Sol.* 18:12). The figure of Helios is found on Jewish amulets together with the names of angels.[275] Jewish angelic worship integrating luminaries is witnessed by Clement of Alexandria: "they adore angels and archangels, the months and the moon" (*Strom.* 6.5.41). Astrological beliefs could also have been a factor. Astrological texts are found, for example, in Qumran and Geniza (4Q186; 4Q318; 4Q561; Cambridge Geniza MS T-S H 11.51; T-S K 21.95.L).[276] They are also attested in *Treat. Shem* 2 and 8:12. Abraham taught astrology to Egyptians and Enoch founded this discipline (Artapanus, *En. tois Ioudaikois* in Eusebius' *Pr. Ev.* 9.18; Ps.-Eupolemus in ibid. 9.17.8). R. Hanina recognized planetary influence on Jews (*b. Shab.* 156a–b). Twelve "zodiacs" are mentioned in *2 En.* 21:7; 30:5–6 (cf. twelve "portals" in *1 En.* 72 and 75). On the other hand, astrology is condemned in *1 En.* 8:3; *Jub.* 12:16–18. Abraham was commanded to reject astrology, opposed to prophecy, in *Gen. Rab.* 44:8–12; cf. *b. Shab.* 156a–b.[277] How-

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273 Dean-Otting mentions a winged chariot which appears on a coin from the Persian period with inscription *yhd* (Judea), but there can be no certainty that it is a sun-chariot ("Baruch," 169, n. 91; Momigliano, *Alien*, 80).

274 "Helios on synagogue pavements represents a minor deity to whom some members of the congregation might have addressed prayers – not to the image itself, but to the deity it represents" (Roussen, "Sun"); cf. Smith, "Goodenough's," 61.

275 Goodenough, *Jewish*, 2.258f; 3. 1116–17; Bonner, *Magical*, 148ff., 291, n. 227.

276 See Greenfield, Sokoloff, "Astrological."

277 For ambivalent references to astrology in Rabbinic literature, see Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.235; 5.227; Urbach, *Sages*, 1.277.

ever, modern terminology may be misleading: the interest in celestial bodies and even in their personification does not always reflect a belief in their influence on human destiny on earth; it could be an interest in what we today would call "astronomy," which was not distinguished from "astrology" in the period under discussion.[278] Such an interest, which is far from astrology or religious syncretism, is evident in *1 En.* 72–82; *2 En.* 11–15.

Most probably, we are dealing with universal imagery of late antiquity, an element of a meta-language used even by those who condemned syncretism or monotheistic deviations such as astrology or angel worship. Thus, Philo *(Migr.* 32) and probably Josephus (*Bell.* 5.5.4; 6.5.3) explicitly reject astrology while widely using its imagery (Philo, *Quaest. Gen.* 4.164; *Quaest. Exod.* 2.75–78.109, 112–14; cf. also *Somn.* 1.214; *Her.* 176; *Praem.* 65; Josephus, *Bell.* 5.5.5). As this imagery decorated the language and narrative of Hellenistic authors, so also it decorated their physical environment. *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Lev 26:1 refers to the halachic permissibility of such imagery in mosaic pavements (as opposed to "figured stone") in "places of worship" on the condition that they are not venerated (cf. *m. Abod. Zar.* 4.4 on a "profaned idol" losing its religious significance).[279]

The image of a crowned sun charioteer was adopted also in Rabbinic thought (*Pirqe R. El.* 6; *Num. Rab.* 12; *Baraita deMaase Bereshit* 50), although it is difficult to distinguish between the Greek image of a crowned figure riding the chariot and a Jewish image of a wreathed groom sitting on the throne, since the sun is likened to a groom in Ps 19:6(5) (for the Jewish custom of wreathes for bridegrooms, see *m. Sotah* 9.14).[280] This brings us to a more general problem of discerning between the sun chariot and the throne of Glory.

3. *Sun Chariot vs. Throne of Glory.* Quadriga was an attribute not only of Helios but also of Zeus/Jupiter and other deities. Heavenly chariots (sometimes of fire) – however, not as sun chariots, but as a means of transportation of visionaries and angels to heaven – appear in 2 Kgs 2:11 ("chariots of fire and horses of fire"); *1 En.* 70:2; *T. Abr.* 9; 11; 15; *Apoc. Mos.* 33:2 ("a chariot of light, born by four bright eagles"); and *Jos. Asen.* 17:6 (an angelic fiery chariot-of-four returns into heaven towards the east).

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[278] See Charlesworth, "Jewish"; Stuckrad, "Jewish."

[279] See Charlesworth, "Jewish," 199. Charlesworth also refers to the conception of Urbach's argument for purely a decorative function of such images based on *m. Abod. Zar.* 4.4 and *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* to Lev 26:1. See Urbach, "Rabbinical," 149–65, 229–45.

[280] Cf. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.36.

Chariot (and especially fiery or chariot-of-four), or the fiery Throne, is in fact an important divine attribute. "God of heaven" rides in a chariot (often fiery) in Isa 66:15; Hab 3:8; Ps 68:18(17); etc. Fire burns under the Divine Throne in *1 En.* 14:19 (as in *3 Bar.* 6:2G). The Throne itself is fiery in Dan 7:9 and *Apoc. Abr.* 18:3. The image of God's chariot was adopted by Philo (*Somn.* 1.25; *Her.* 42; 48; *Fug.* 19; *Conf.* 28; *Monarch.* 1.1; cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 2.46). On the four faces of the Living Creatures carrying the Throne-Chariot, see *b. Hag.* 13b. Heb (טטראמולי(ן (from Gk τετράμουλος, unattested elsewhere) designating God's quadriga appears in *Tan.* Ki Tissa 21; *Exod. Rab.* 3; 42; 43. Dean-Otting proposes a connection between God's chariots and those of the sun in *3 Baruch*: "the group of forty angels drawing the chariot is a parallel to the ever-present heavenly host which serves the Deity in the highest heavens. That Baruch has been promised a view of the δόξα θεοῦ and immediately looks upon the sun-chariot instead has elevated the tension of this passage."[281] Thus, according to this interpretation, it is *almost* a Merkavah vision. Gruenwald goes even further, suggesting that "the vision of the sun in the third heaven actually is an allegorical Merkavah vision."[282]

Sun Bird

The image of the Sun Bird in *3 Baruch* presents a unique combination of Jewish and Hellenistic traditions, some of which may have common oriental roots.

1. *Non-Jewish Phoenix*. The phoenix as a resurrecting bird or a sun bird is normally attributed to Egyptian provenance; however, the motif is known from India to Greece. Most Greek sources indeed refer to Egyptian tradition (Hesiod, *Frag.* 204 apud Plutarch, *Def. Or.*;[283] Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.73;[284] Antiphanes, *Frag.* 175 apud Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 14.655b; Pliny,

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281 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 128.

282 Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 69.

283 "The cawing crow lives for nine generations of young [var: "old"] men, but the deer four times longer than the crow; the raven reaches the age of three deer, but the phoenix of nine ravens; we, however, the fair-haired nymphs, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus, reach the age of ten phoenixes."

284 "Another bird also is sacred; it is called the phoenix. I myself have never seen it, but only pictures of it; for the bird comes but seldom into Egypt, once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden but mostly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing

Nat. Hist. 10.4; etc.). Core elements of the image of the phoenix are: it is normally solitary and unique in its kind;[285] eternal life or resurrection (sometimes through burning); its home or origin is in the east (close to the sun's rising) or some other kind of relation to the sun; no or ephemeral nourishment; a bed of spices (on which the phoenix immolates itself); a worm which, rising out of the cinders of the old phoenix, becomes a new one. The phoenix became an emblematic image for some Gnostic groups, and was closely connected to Gnostic baptismal concepts.[286] Very popular in Christian iconography, in patristic tradition, the phoenix signified the resurrection of Jesus (Clement of Rome, *1 Ep. Cor.* 1.25–26; Tertullian, *Res. Carn.* 1.13; Lactantius, *Carmen de ave phoenice* 169–70; etc.).[287]

1.1. *Resurrection*. The motif of resurrection, which seems to be the *raison d'être* of the Hellenistic image, is absent from *3 Baruch*. The rebirth in fire may be only implied in 6:8: "Neither earth nor heaven give me birth, but wings of fire give me birth."[288] The dew on which Phoenix feeds (with manna; see 6:11G; in S – only manna), may also be connected to resurrection motifs (see comm. on "dew of heaven" in 10:9).

Two other motifs common to our Phoenix and the Hellenistic one are the *worm* and *cinnamon* excreted by it (6:12; (in S – only cinnamon).

1.2. *Worm*. The question of Baruch, whether the Bird excretes at all, following the description of its unsubstantial diet of manna and dew, resembles Pliny's notion that "nobody ever saw the phoenix taking any food" (*Nat. Hist.* 10.4) and especially Plutarch's account of a little Persian bird, "with no excrement in its guts, so that it is thought that it lives by air and dew" (*Artax.* 19.3). The phoenix's excretion of worms seems unique for *3 Baruch*. The phenomenon of excrement producing worms is known in Rabbinic

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his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird."

285 Except Antiphanes and *2 Enoch*, where pl. "phoenixes" are mentioned, and Nag Hammadi *On the Origin of the World*, speaking on three phoenixes (161–79).

286 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 130.

287 See Broek, *Myth*, 31–43, 119–132.

288 Angelic rebirth of Enoch also happens through fire (*3 Enoch*).

zoology, where the excrement of young ravens abandoned by their parents is said to produce worms upon which the young feed during the first days of their lives (*Lev. Rab.* 19; *Pirqe R. El.* 21; *Midr. Sam.* 5.57). However, other ways to generate worms are attested for the phoenix: a worm is generated from the dead phoenix as a larva for a new one (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.2);[289] in the Nag Hammadi *On the Origin of the World* the "worm that has been born out of the phoenix is a human being." At the same time, the Rabbinic counterpart to the Phoenix, Ziz, is homonymic to Rabbinic Hebrew "worm, insect" (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Deut 14:19; *Sifra*, Shemini 10.12; *y. Ter.* 8.45b; *b. Hul.* 67b).

1.3. *Cinnamon*. There are many fabulous accounts about the origin of cinnamon in antiquity (Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.110f.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 12.89–94; Arrian, *Anab.* 7.20; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 9.5.1f.). The phoenix is the one who brought cinnamon to men and is consecrated to the sun (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 9.5.6; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 12.89). In many sources it is an element of the phoenix's nest (Ovid, *Met.* 15.385; cf. the same but with "cinnamon birds" in Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.11; Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 9.13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.97) or it is among the funeral bed of spices for the phoenix's self-conflagration.[290]

In Jewish lore cinnamon might have a celestial origin: Enoch finds cinnamon in heaven (*1 En.* 30:3 and 32:1). Adam brings it among other species from Paradise (*Apoc. Mos.* 29:6). Its use was prescribed for making the anointing-oil (Exod 39:23). Whereas some mss of S speak definitely of the use of cinnamon for coronation anointing, in G the purpose for which "kings and princes use" it is not mentioned (besides anointing, it could have been used also for embalming, as it was in ancient Egypt).

The *name*, *birth of fire*, *worm*, and *cinnamon* are details which may be regarded as common to our Sun Bird and Hellenistic phoenix. It is notable, however, that all these are concentrated in a small fragment at the very end of the description of the Bird (6:8–12) and thus might have been added in the process of the Hellenization of the story.

The differences between our Phoenix and the typical Hellenistic descriptions (see 3.1–2 below) prompted scholars to trace its origin to gigantic or

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289 See Broek, 187, 214–216.

290 See Broek, 164–170. Cinnamon was used to aromatize sacrificial fires and smoke (Ovid, *Fast.* 3.731).

sun birds of India[291] or Persia.[292] However, (1) there are no convincing arguments of such direct influence on *3 Baruch*, while (2) almost every motif common to *3 Baruch* and oriental traditions appears also in other Jewish, mainly Rabbinic, texts. Thus, for the period of creation of *3 Baruch* we may consider these non-Hellenistic motifs as Jewish, whatever their oriental sources may ultimately have been.

2. *Early Jewish Phoenix*. So called "phoenixes and chalkydri" (in plural; in fact, according to some mss of *2 Enoch* (ms R = NLB 321) they are just "*like* phoenixes and chalkydri") accompany the sun in *2 Enoch*. After the vision of the sun and its route in the fourth heaven, Enoch is shown "flying spirits:"

> the solar elements, called phoenixes and chalkydri, strange and wonderful, for their form was that of a lion, their tail was that of a [?], and their head that of a crocodile. Their appearance was multi-colored, like a rainbow. Their size was 900 measures. Their wings were those of angels, but they have twelve wings each. They accompany and run with the sun, carrying heat and dew, and whatever is commanded them from God. (*2 En.* (J) 12:1–2)

When the sun rises, they greet it (as in *3 Bar.* 6:14S):

> the elements of the sun, called phoenixes and chalkydri break into song, herefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord. (*2 En.* (J) 15:1)

In *2 En.* (J) 15:2 they also pronounce, "The Light giver is coming to give radiance to the whole world" (as in *3 Bar.* 6:14S).

Among the angels of the sixth heaven there are more phoenixes:

> six phoenixes and six cherubim and six six-winged ones continually with one voice singing one voice, and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice before the Lord at his footstool. (*2 En.* 19:6)[293]

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[291] James, "Baruch," xliii; cf. Toy, Ginzberg: "It is perhaps the one Jewish work which undoubtedly betrays Indian influence. The phoenix, referred to in this Apocalypse as the companion of the sun, and the wonderful description of it, are probably of Indian origin; for Indian mythology relates much that is similar concerning the bird Garuda, the companion of the sun-god Vishnu ("Mahabharata Adi Parva," xvi.-xxxiv)." ("Baruch," 551).

[292] Broek, *Myth*, 267–68; Ginzberg traces Rabbinic cosmic birds to the sacred rooster of Avesta (Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.48).

[293] Cf. also Lactantius, *Carmen de ave phoenice* 33–54, probably in dependence on *2 Enoch*. Similar traditions are preserved in texts posterior to *3 Baruch*, of which at least some may be dependent on it (Laevius, *Pterigion Phoenicis*; Byzantine *Physiologus*; *Disputatio Panagiotae*). In some of these sources magic birds also moderate

Very similar description appears in the Slavonic *About all Creation*:

> There is a Rooster that has a head up to heaven, and the sea is up to its knees.[294] When the sun bathes in the Ocean, then the Ocean surges and waves start to beat the Rooster's feathers. And having felt the waves it says, "Kukoreku," which means, "Light giver, give light to the world." When it sings, then all the roosters sing at the same hour in the whole inhabited world.[295]

Ezekiel the Tragedian in his *Exagoge* (254–69; apud Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 9.29) describes in detail the appearance of a very special bird, which was "full wondrous, such as man has never seen; it was near in scope to twice the size of an eagle"; "its voice pre-eminent of every other winged thing"; and "it seemed to be the king of birds, for all the birds, as one, in fear did haste to follow after him, and he before, like some triumphant bull, went striding forth with rapid step apace."[296] Since the description might be connected to the palms of Elim in Exod 15:27, and LXX there uses a homonym Gk φοῖνιξ for a palm-tree (Heb תמר), it is very probable that the name "Phoenix" is implied. The fragment appears also in Pseudo-Eustatius, *Commentarius in Hexaemeron* (PG 18.729D), where the bird is presented as "Phoenix."[297]

3. *Rabbinic phoenix and sun birds*. Many of the "universal" traditions on the phoenix or the Sun Bird, and associated images were well known to Rabbis. It has been recognized that the mythic birds Ziz, Ben Nets, Field Rooster (תרנגול ברא), Bar Yokni, Hol (of Job 28:18), Urshina, and Malham

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the sun's radiation (see James, "Baruch," lxiv; Ryssel, "Baruch," 452; Broek 261f; 287–297). Griffin of Byzantine *Physiologus* (52) shares also the unique motif of the inscription on the bird's wings (*3 Bar.* 6:7–8). Moreover, these words are almost identical to *3 Bar.* 6:14: "O Light giver, give light to the world!" (Harlow, *Baruch*, 137; cf. also in Slavonic versions of *Physiologus*; Belova, *Bestiarij*, 92; 283). Phoenix was supposed to speak on himself on his wings in the *technopaegnic* poem by Laevius *Pterygion Phoenicis* (apud Charisius, *Ars Grammatica* 4.6; see Broek 268–269). An untitled astrological work also mentions griffin which screens the rays of the sun, defending earth. It loses its feathers from much heat and has to purify itself each day in the Nile. It also carries a rooster, which announces the hours of the day. This work contains also the account of the 365 gates of heaven, mentioned in *3 Baruch* close to Phoenix (6:13), and explaining that the sun enters a different gate each day (the explanation which is lacking in *3 Baruch*). The same work mentions that the sun receives its light from God's throne (Shangin, *Codices*, 107; Broek, *Myth*, 273).

294 Cf. "A bird standing up to its ankles in the water while its head reached the sky" (*b. B. Bat.* 73b).

295 Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki*, 2.349f.

296 Translation by R. G. Robertson, "Ezekiel," 819.

297 Cf. Wacholder, Bowman ("Ezechielus") who argue against this identification.

of Rabbinic aggadah share many features with the Hellenistic phoenix, and with Phoenix of *3 Baruch*.[298] In fact, these images must represent two clearly distinct traditions which seem to fuse only in late sources. These are the traditions of the Resurrecting Bird and of the Gigantic Bird.

3.1. *Bird of Resurrection*. Rabbinic sources clearly distinguish between the two phenomena, consistently using different names for the Gigantic Bird, on the one hand, and, on the other, for the immortal or resurrecting bird known as Hol (*Gen. Rab.* 19.5 referring to Job 29:18; the same must have been a tradition underlying LXX Job 29:19; *Tan.* Intr. 155; *Midr. Sam.* 12.81), Urshina (*b. Sanh.* 108b) or Malham/Maltam (*2 Alphabet Ben Sira* 27a–29b; *Bet HaMidr.* 6.12).

Both Hol and Ziz are treated in adjacent chapters of *Genesis Rabba*, both in connection with the fall of the first humans (including the images of the Tree and the serpent), but not identified with each other. Hol refuses to eat from the Tree of Knowledge (in distinction to other animals) that gave him an eternal life:

> … it lives a thousand years and at the end of thousand years a fire issues from its nest and burns it until as much as an egg is left of it. Then it grows limbs again and lives. (*Gen. Rab.* 19.5; cf. *Tan.* Intr. 155; *Midr. Sam.* 12.81)

In distinction to Phoenix of *3 Baruch* and the Gigantic Bird of Rabbinic tradition, these birds are not gargantuan at all:

> Father [Noah] found Urshina lying in the back of the ark. He asked it, "Do you not want any food?" It replied, "I saw that you were very busy and I did not want to burden you." He [Noah] said, "May it be his will that you may never die, as it is written, "I thought I shall die with my nest and multiply my days as Hol [Heb חול "sand"; Job 29:18]." (*b. Sanh.* 108b)

This accords with the Greek phoenix that is "like an eagle in shape and bigness" (Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.73) and with the phoenix-like bird in Ezekiel the Tragedian that is "twice an eagle's size" (see above).

3.2. *Gigantic Bird*. Rabbinic Gigantic (or Cosmic, Protective, Solar) Birds known as Ziz, Ben Nets, Bar Yokni, Field Rooster, are often listed with other cosmic beasts, just as our Phoenix comes after the heavenly Serpent and Hades, and is located together with them. For a possible connection of "Phoenix" of *3 Baruch* with the trio of cosmic beasts, see introductory comm. to ch. 4 (*Celestial Bestiary*).

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[298] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.28–29; 5.46–48, nn. 129–39; Broek, *Myth*, 264–68.

In distinction to the Greek phoenix, who is normally a small bird (see above), the Bird of *3 Baruch* and Rabbinic birds are enormously large, e.g., "the Field Rooster, whose ankles rest on the ground and whose head reaches the sky" (*Tg* Ps 50:11; identified here with Ziz). See a story by Rabbah b. Bar Hanna:

> Once we traveled on board a ship and we saw a bird standing up to its ankles in the water while its head reached the sky. We thought the water was not deep and wished to go down to cool ourselves, but a *bat kol* called out: "Do not go down here, for a carpenter's axe was dropped seven years ago and it has not yet reached the bottom. And this, not [only] because the water is deep but [also] because it is rapid." R. Ashi said, "That was Ziz of the fields, for it is written, "Ziz of the fields is with me" [i.e., its head is in heaven; Ps 50:11]. (*b. B. Bat.* 73b)

Note the similarity with "a Rooster that has a head up to heaven, and the sea is up to its knees" in the Slavonic *About All Creation* cited above. Another story of the same genre is mentioned by R. Judah: "Once an egg of Bar Yokni fell and drowned sixty towns and broke three hundred cedars" (*b. Bek.* 57b). In one version of *Gen. Rab.* 19.4 (ms London 370) Ziz is called "a huge bird."

As in *3 Baruch* the Bird's main function – like the ozone layer in modern conception – is to protect all the living from solar radiation.[299] Ziz (or Nets) also does it by stretching the wings: "R. Yudan son of R. Shimon says, 'Ziz is a clean bird, and when it spreads its wings, it darkens the orb of the sun'" (*Gen. Rab.* 19.4). The fuller account is found in *Lev. Rab.*:

> As a recompense for the prohibition of [certain] birds [you will eat] Ziz, which is a clean [or "huge" in ms London 370] bird. Hence it is written "I know all the birds of the mountains, and Ziz [Heb זיז, 'moving things'] of the fields is mine" [Ps 50:11]. R. Yudan son of R. Shimeon says, "When it [Ziz] spreads out its wings, it darkens the orb of the sun, as it is said, "does Nez [Heb נץ 'hawk'] soar by your wisdom and stretch his wings toward the south?" [Job 39:26] (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10)[300]

Whereas without the Phoenix's protection "the race of men would not survive" (*3 Bar.* 6:5), the reason for the darkening of the sun by Rabbinic birds is explained in the following:

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[299] For other means of sun protection in ancient Jewish lore, see comm. to 6:6.

[300] In *Genesis Rabba* Ziz is defined as "clean bird" without any contextual justification. The definition must go back to a thus presumably older tradition presented in *Leviticus Rabba*, where Ziz is destined for food of the righteous. This motif is totally lacking in *3 Baruch*. Is our "Phoenix" also pure? Cf. Hades, whose appearance was defined "impure" in 4:3G above.

> South wind is the hardest of all, and were it not that Ben Nez stays it with its wings, it would destroy the world, as it is said, "does the hawk [Heb נֵץ] soar by your wisdom and stretch his wings toward the south?" [Job 39:26] (*b. Git.* 31b; *b. B. Bat.* 25b)

This protective function of Ziz is in accordance with another meaning of the Rabbinic Heb זִיז, "shed" (usually over an entrance or window; *m. Ohol.* 8.2; 14.1, 4; *m. Erub.* 10.4; *B. Bat.* 3.8). The connection between the concepts of "protection" and "shadowing" may also be rooted in the idiomatic use of biblical Hebrew (see comm. to 6:3 below).[301]

Whereas *3 Baruch* states, that "God appointed this bird" / "God has commanded this bird to serve the inhabited world" (6:6), the biblical prooftext of *Lev. Rab.* (as interpreted there) says: "Ziz of the fields is mine" (Ps 50:11; *Lev. Rab.* 22.10), and at the end of the account of three beasts in *Leviticus Rabba* R. Meir stresses: "Who does not know of all these, that the hand of God made this [Job 12:9]?" (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10, end).

In *3 Baruch* Phoenix is nourished by manna and dew (6:11). In most sources that mention the feeding habits of the phoenix, the bird is described as not eating at all, or as feeding upon the vapor of the air and the heat of the sun. Only the Coptic *Sermon on Mary* mentions that it eats "the dew of heaven and the flowers of the trees of Lebanon" (frg. U, p. 42, col. a, II. 31–32).[302] The nourishment of heavenly beings (and Behemoth among them) is discussed in *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6; *Pesiq. R.* 16; 48; *Num. Rab.* 21.16–19. *3 Baruch* also treats the nourishment of the Serpent-Hades (4:5G; 4:3S; 5:3S). Manna eaten by Phoenix is known as "angelic food" (LXX Ps 78(77):25); *b. Yoma* 75b; see comm. to 6:11 below).

Is Phoenix of *3 Baruch* an angelic being? A tradition preserved in late midrash and ascribed to R. Alexander may support the suggestion: "It [the sun's wheel] has eight angels: four in front of it, and four behind it. In front of it – so that it will not burn the world, behind it – so that the it will not cool down" (*Eccl. Zut.* 1; *Yal.* Eccl 967).[303]

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[301] Cf. also Rev 7:15–16, where the pious are protected by the "tent," so that "the sun will not beat upon them." Maksimovich (*Ptitsa*, 322) offered an explanation of a connection between the name and function of the "protecting Phoenix," comparing it to "wide palm [φοῖνιξ] leaves in which shadow the Egyptian oases are protected from the heat." The elaboration of what is probably the same image of the giant bird spreading its wings and shadowing "all the earth," but in a negative sense, is found in *4 Ezra* 11.

[302] On the phoenix diet as "the food of eschaton" see Broek, *Myth*, 345.

[303] Or rather it confuses the two phenomena, the sun bird(s) and the angels serving the sun, which are often four; on this see comm. to 8:4.

As Phoenix "wakes up the roosters on earth" (6:16), so also the birds hear the voice of Ziz in late midrash:

> During the month of Tishre God gives Ziz of the fields strength, and strains oneself, and rises its head, and rises on its feet, and raises its voice, and the birds hear its voice, and its fear falls on a bird of prey and vulture every year. (*Be-Hokhma Yasad Erets* 6 in *Otsar HaMidr.* 5)

The same procedure is described in the Slavonic *About All Creation* (see above) and in *T. Adam* 1:10 (see comm. to 6:16).

Conclusions. The Sun Bird of *3 Baruch* is "Phoenix" only in name. It bears the Greek name, but lacks the main features of the phoenix of Hellenistic and Christian traditions. At the same time, there is a striking similarity between "Phoenix" as described in *3 Baruch* and Rabbinic traditions about Ziz, Ben Nets, Field Rooster, and Bar Yokni (distinct from the traditions of Hol, Urshina, Malham). In its main functions – and, first of all, protecting the earth from the sun's radiation – it is identical to gigantic birds of Jewish lore as preserved by Rabbinic sources. The name "Phoenix" here is misleading and appeared only in order to "translate" the image from one culture to another. This model of *interpretatio graeca* is well attested in the substitution of the names of deities and heroes in Greek and Latin texts depicting barbarian cults (examples are innumerable; cf., e.g., Herodotus, *Hist*. 4.59; Origen, *Cels*. 6.39). According to the same model Sheol is rendered as Hades in *3 Baruch*, as elsewhere in Jewish Hellenistic literature beginning with LXX (along with Tartarus). See also Jewish texts featuring "Titans" for Nephilim and Rephaim (LXX 2Sam 5:18, 22; Jdt 6:16; cf. Josephus, *Ant*. 7.71).

Thus, *3 Baruch* hardly contains a "monotheistic redaction of the phoenix myth," nor does it represent a mediatory stage in "the transformation of the Hellenistic phoenix myths into specifically rabbinic myths."[304] In distinction to Rabbinic stories about Hol, Urshina, and Malham, features common to "Phoenix" of *3 Baruch* and to Rabbinic gigantic birds have nothing to do with the Greek phoenix[305] and must be rooted in other traditions probably older than Hellenistic ones. *3 Baruch*, as well as "phoenixes" of *2 Enoch*, may instead represent the superficial Hellenization (or pure intercultural translation) of an image belonging to the Jewish lore that underlies both apocalyptic and Rabbinic sources.

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[304] As Niehoff, "Phoenix," 262 and 265.

[305] With the exception of probably interpolated fragment of 6:11–12 alluding to secondary and modified motifs of Hellenistic Phoenix.

As far as it is possible to trace the remote origins of these motifs of Jewish lore, it may be not only helpful to compare them with Persian[306] or Indian[307] images, but also – and especially – with local Near Eastern and specifically ancient Palestinian, including Israelite, traditions abundantly reflected in the iconography: the heavenly bird whose giant wings are spread protectively over the earth[308] and the wide spread image of the winged sun.[309] Winged solar disks and winged protective powers are found frequently in combination with solar images also in ancient Israelite and Phoenician iconography of the pre-exilic period.[310] Among other "protective creatures" linked to sun deities, some pre-exilic seals have "a falcon with spread wings on the lower part and a winged solar disk in the upper section."[311] The same image must be meant by "the sun of righteousness," which also has "wings" according to Mal 3:20.[312] This imagery, probably of Egyptian origin or influence, might have inspired the idea of a bird spreading its wings to protect the earth from the sun's rays. Moreover, some students of ancient astronomy attempt to connect the origin of these symbols, especially of the winged sun, with visual experiences of total solar eclipses with their "equatorial streamers of the solar corona stretching out on either side of a 'Black Sun.' The image bears a striking resemblance to the outspread wings of a glorious celestial bird."[313]

Below, the main elements of the description of Phoenix in *3 Baruch* are synoptically aligned with the most relevant parallels discussed both above and in the next chapters below (presented in the order of appearance; the parallels that are most probably dependant on *3 Baruch* are not adduced).

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306 As Broek, *Myth*, 267–68

307 As Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.48.

308 Keel, *Symbolism*, 26–27, pl. 19; Collart, Vicari, S*anctuaire*, pl. XCVII 1; CI 1; CV, 1.

309 Keel, 28; Mayer-Opificius, "Geflügelte," 189–236.

310 Keel, Uehlinger, *Gods*, 248–257. From the period of Hezekiah's reign alone, there are several hundred jars stamped with winged suns; see Keel, *Corpus*; Keel, "Sturmgott," 88; and Wolde, "Words."

311 Keel, Uehlinger, *Gods*, 251; Yadin et al., *Hazor*, pls. 67.13; 162.6; Crowfoot et al., *Objects*, 393 fig. 92.81.

312 Cf. also heaven and the spirit of God in the ornimorphic simile of Ben Zoma: "Between the upper and the nether waters there is but two or three fingerbreadths … for it is not written here, "and the spirit of God" blew, but "hovered" [Gen 1:1] like a bird flying and flapping with its wings, its wings barely touching [the nest over which it hovers] (*Gen. Rab.* 2.4).

313 Bhatnagar, Livingston, *Fundamentals*, 10–11. Cf. Maunder, *Astronomy*, 121–129; Suhr, *Mask*.

Position: "circling in front of the sun" (6:2).	"phoenixes and chalkydri … accompany and run with the sun" (*2 En.* 12:1).
Size: "about nine [cubits] away" *or* "like nine mountains" G / "like one great mountain" S (6:2).	"the Field Rooster, whose ankles rest on the ground and whose head reaches the sky" (*Tg.* Ps 50:11); cf. *b. B. Bat.* 93b.
Function: "the guardian of the inhabited world" (6:3).	–
Method: "goes before the sun, and stretching out its wings receives its fire-shaped rays"(6:5).	"when it spreads its wings, it darkens the orb of the sun'" (*Gen. Rab.* 19.4; cf. *Lev. Rab.* 22.10).
Reason: "if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature" (6:6).	"South wind is the hardest of all, and were it not that Ben Nez stays it with its wings, it would destroy the world" (*b. Git.* 31b; *b. B. Bat.* 25b).
"God appointed this bird" (6:6).	"Ziz of the fields is mine" [Ps 50:11] … "does Nez [= Ziz here] soar by your [God's] wisdom and stretch his wings toward the south?" [Job 39:26] … "Who does not know of all these, that the hand of God made this [ibid. 12:9]" (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10).
Inscription: "and I saw on its right wing very large letters, like the area of a threshing-floor, having the size of about 4,000 modia. And the letters were of gold" (6:7).	–
Origin: "Neither earth nor heaven give me birth, but wings of fire give me birth" (6:8).	Multiple Greek and Roman sources; Rabbinic *Hol* (*Gen. Rab.* 19.5; etc.).
Name: Phoenix (Gk Φοῖνιξ; CS **ѳоуникьсь** LB **ѳинизъ** S **ѳоунизъ** N **поуниза** Z **ѳиникосъ** PVID).	Multiple Greek and Roman sources; possibly implied in Ezekiel the Tragedian's *Exagoge* (254–69).
Diet: "the manna of heaven and the dew of earth" (6:11).	Manna is "angels' food" (LXX Ps 78(77):25); *b. Yoma* 75b; cf. "Nobody ever saw the phoenix taking any food" (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.4).
Excrement: "It excretes a *worm*, and the excrement of the worm becomes to *cinnamon*, which kings and princes use" (6:12).	Worm larva (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.2 and *passim*). Nest of cinnamon (Ovid, *Met.* 15.385 and *passim*).
Greeting the sun: "flapped its wings and there was a sound like thunder, and the bird cried out saying, "O Light giver, give light to the world!" (6:14S; cf. "noise of the bird" in 6:15G).	"The Light giver is coming to give radiance to the whole world" (*2 En.* (J) 15:2); "the sound of the wings of the Seraphim" (*T. Adam* 1:10).

Additional function: "wakes up the roosters on earth" (6:16).	"at the sound of the wings of the Seraphim at that time the roosters crow and praise God" (*T. Adam* 1:10).
"and the birds seek me" (6:8S).	"It seemed to be the king of birds, for all the birds, as one, in fear did haste to follow after him" (Ezekiel the Tragedian, *Exagoge* 254–69).
Result: "because of restraining the rays of the sun, [and] because of the fire and of the whole day's burning it is humbled" (8:6).	–

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6:1. *And having taken me he brought me where the sun goes forth*. That is, Baruch travels to the east, exactly as Enoch also in the middle of his vision: "And those men [angels] carried me away to the east of heaven, and they showed me the solar gates through which the sun goes out" (*2 En.* [J and A] 13:1). Does it mean that Baruch began his tour in the west, similarly to *Apoc. Paul* 31 and in distinction to *T. Abr.* (A) 11:1, where "the first gate of heaven" is located in the east?[314] Hades, which was among Baruch's first visions, was thought to be located in the west (*1 En.* 1:5; 22:1; *Apoc. Paul* 31; *b. B. Bat.* 84a; Hebrew *Sefer Eliyahu*), as well as the Islands of the Blessed.[315] The connection of the abode of the dead with the west appears to have been a common motif in the ancient world.[316]

Baruch is taken back to the west again explicitly in 8:1. See Gilgamesh who also moves "along the route of the sun" towards the place where the sun rises (*Gilgamesh Epic* 9). Gates for luminaries in the eastern and western horizons appear in Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources (see comm. to 2:2 above).

6:2. *A chariot-of-four, which was with a fire underneath* (G) / *A chariot-of-four, and there were fiery horses, and the horses were winged angels* (S). Gk ὃ ἦν ὑπόπυρον is an emendation from ο ην υποπυρος of both mss. Gaylord convincingly suggests the original ἵππων πυρός rendered by CS **кони пламѣни** "fiery horses."[317] Both versions are corroborated by paral-

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[314] In fact the whole description of the *Testament of Abraham* must belong to a very different tradition, more similar to the one of Plato's "Myth of Er" (*Rep.* 10.614).

[315] Josephus, *Bell.* 2.155; cf. Homer, *Od.* 4.561–69; Hesiod, *Op.* 167–73; Pindar, *Ol.* 2.69–71; Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.26; and Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* 2.6–13.

[316] See Wacker, *Weltordnung*.

[317] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 67.

lels. Helios' chariot is drawn by "fire-darting steeds" (Pindar, *Ol.* 7.71) and chariots of fiery horses appear in 2 Kgs 2:11 and Sir 48:9. Fire underneath the Throne is found in *1 En.* 14:19; cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 18:3.

On the tradition of the image see introductory comm. to this chapter. Both versions agree below that "the chariot was drawn by forty angels." In addition to the chariot motifs discussed above, special angels appointed to serve or accompany the sun and other luminaries are known: "The fourth order [of angels], which is principalities. This is its service: the administration of the lights, of the sun and of the moon and of the stars" (*T. Adam* 4:4). Often they are four or four hundred; see comm. to "four angels" in 8:4.

A crown of fire (στέφανον πυρός / **вѣнець огньнъ**). This was a common royal symbol, in the Orient and in Hellenistic kingdoms,[318] as well as in the Roman empire since Caligula, whose crown featured solar symbolism. Philo attests: "He wears a crown adorned with rays, for the craftsman has managed to make a good copy of the rays of the sun" (*Leg.* 14.103).[319] Crowns and wreaths were also common attributes of idols as found in Jewish literature (Ep Jer 9; Acts 14:13; *y. Abod. Zar.* 3.42c, 43d) and were widely attested in non-Jewish sources. The many representations of Helios include a halo with seven rays. Mithras is frequently depicted crowning the Sun.[320] For the crowned sun among other solar imagery in Jewish iconography, see introductory comm. to this chapter. Crowns are also well known as Jewish royal and divine attributes since the Bible.[321] In Rabbinic sources, God's crowns could be made or held by his angels (*b. Hag.* 13b; *b. Ber.* 7a). Angels may also be adorned with crowns, sometimes fiery (*Jos. Asen.* 14:9; *2 En.* (A) 14:2 A; *Apoc. Zeph.* (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.11.17); *3 En.* 12:4; 16:2; 17:8; 18:23, 25; 21:4; *Seder Rabba diBereshit* 28–30 and *3 Hekh.* 161–163). See the twenty-four elders on celestial thrones with "crowns of gold" on their heads (Rev 4:4, 10) and the "crown of light" on the head of *Pistis Sophia* (*Pistis Sophia* 1.59; 2.66).

6:3. *This is the guardian of the inhabited world* (ὁ φύλαξ τῆς οἰκουμένης / **хранитель въселенѣи**). This is a unique attestation of the phoenix. In Egypt the sun god Ra was called "the guardian of the earth" (Egyptian *Book of the*

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318 Although in this meaning Gk διάδημα is more common than στέφανος.

319 Cf. Stephani, "Nimbus."

320 *MMM*, 1.172ff. See Notes to 7:3G.

321 As well as a regular festive attribute (Sir 32:1–2; *Jub.* 14:30; 3 Macc 7:16; Josephus, *Ant.* 19.9.1).

Dead 16; 28 [40; 46]),[322] while here it is on the contrary an epithet of the sun's moderator. The connection between the concepts of "protection" and "shadowing" may be rooted in an idiomatic use of the biblical Hebrew; see, e.g., Isa 18:1; 30:2, 3; 51:16; Ps 36:10; 57:2; and 61:3. "R. Yohanan said: He [God] is also a *protector of the whole world* [Heb מגין על כל העולם כולו], as it is written, 'with the shadow of my hand have I sheltered you' [Isa 51:16]" (*b. Sanh*. 99b).

6:6. *For if it did not receive them, the race of men would not survive, nor any other living creature / For if it did not hide the rays of the sun, the race of men and every creature on earth would not survive because of the flames of the sun*. This is repeated with reference to 6:6 (ὡς προείπομενον) in 8:6–7. The sun is thought to be dangerous (Isa 49:10; Jonah 4:8; Ps. 19:7; 121:6; Sir 43:3, 4). Its heat is regulated by twelve openings on the sun's disk (*2 En.* 75:4). The need to screen it was widely known. In addition to giant birds discussed above, other diverse means were known:

(1) *Cool air*:

> When God extended the sun's rays from heaven to the boundaries of earth, He mitigated and abated with cool air the fierceness of their heat. He tempered them in this way, that the radiance drawn off from the blazing flame, surrendering its power of burning but retaining that of giving light, might meet and hail its friend and kinsman, the light which is stored in the treasury of our eyes. (Philo, *Quod Deus* 17.79)

(2) *Hail* stored in heaven: "Sun faces the top of hail. And were it not for the hail, which extinguishes the fire, the world would have been burned by fire; as it is said: 'Nothing is hidden from its heat' [Ps 19:7]" (*Pirqe R. El.* 6).

(3) *Sheath*[323] and *water*:

> The sun orb has a sheath [נרתיק], as it is said, "He placed in them a tent for the sun" [Ps 19:5] and a lake of water [בריכה של מים] before it. When it goes forth, God weakens its strength in the water, lest it burn the world. But in the future God will take it from its sheath and burn with it all the wicked, as it is said, "The day that is coming will burn them" [Mal 3:19 (4:1)]. (*Gen. Rab*. 6.6; cf. *Pesiq. R*. 29; *Tan. B*. Tetsaveh; *Midr. Pss*. 19.3)

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[322] For another possible parallel with the *Book of the Dead* see comm. to 6:8; cf. also *T. Abr* 12:9.

[323] Special receptacle or cover – Heb נרתיק from Gk νάρτηξ or ναρθηκίον.

(4) *Firmament(s)*: God did not place the sun in the lower firmament, because it had been close to earth, all would have been consumed by its heat (*Pesiq. R.* 29 and *Midr. Pss.* 19.13; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 6.6).

(5) *Angels*: Four angels are before the sun, "so that it will not burn the world" (*Eccl. Zut.* 1; *Yal.* Eccl 967, cited in the introductory comm. above). This may go back to the Ziz/Phoenix motif.

There were also some ethical developments of these ecological motifs. Luminaries testify against humans regarding their sins (*1 En.* 100:10; *Pss. Sol.* 2:13–14 [11–12]; 8:8; cf. Num 25:4; 2 Sam 12:11–12; cf. heaven and earth as the witnesses of the covenant in Deut 4:26; 30:19; 32:1). The very position of the celestial charioteer enables the sun to observe all abundance of the earthly wickedness (as *Helios Panoptes* does; cf., e.g., Homer, *Od.* 8.300ff; 11.102ff; Aeschylus, *Prom.* 88ff; etc.; cf. "Pardon, O Phoebus, if any unlawful sight thine eyes have seen" in Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 592ff) and even to be defiled by it (as in *3 Bar.* 8:4–5). This may tempt the sun to destroy the lower world. The sun's heat is in fact destined to consume the wicked at the end of days, when its light "will become sevenfold" (Isa 30:26); see *Gen. Rab.* 6.6 and par. above. The sun and then other luminaries and waters ask to destroy humankind whose transgressions they have to observe:

> The sun, the great light, often appealed to the Lord, saying, "O Lord God Almighty, I look on the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. Suffer me, and I will do to them according to my power, that they may know that you are God alone." (*Apoc. Paul* 4)

The same urge was expected from another heavenly charioteer:

> A voice came from heaven to the commander-in-chief, saying thus, "O commander-in-chief Michael, command the chariot to stop, and turn Abraham away that he may not see all the inhabited world, for if he behold all that live in wickedness, he will destroy all creation." (*T. Abr.* (A) 10:12–14)[324]

In this case, the sun and Phoenix represent a dialectic balance not only of physical forces but also of heavenly judgment. A similar balance of opposite powers must be meant in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, where Yahoel is responsible for reconciling "the rivalries of the Living Creatures of the Cherubim against one another" (10:9). See Job 25:2 which mentions celestial balance adjacent to the all penetrating light: "He imposes peace in his heights. Can his troops be numbered? On whom does his light not shine?"

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[324] Harlow, *Baruch*, 132.

6:7. *Wings*. Sun could also be thought to have wings: "And the sun of righteousness will rise for you, who fear my name, with healing in its wings" (Mal. 3:20 [4:2]). On the possible connection between winged sun-disks, the image of the Sun Bird and ornithomorphic character of a "winged sun" during the total eclipse, see introductory comm. above.

The letters were of gold / Those letters were purer than gold. Paul finds golden letters on the celestial gate of gold with "two pillars of gold full of golden letters" with names of the righteous (*Apoc. Paul* 19; cf. Ethiopic *5 Baruch*). Three letters of God's name are written on the sun's heart (*Pirqe R. El.* 6; cf. *Baraita Maase Bereshit* 50). "Laws" written in letters of gold are mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* 12.2.11).

4,000 modia (μοδίων τετρακισχιλίων). This is a Roman (Lat *modius*) and late Greek dry measure. It is also a measure of length equal to 200 ὀργυιαί, with ὄργυια a Greek fathom equal to the length of the outstretched arms (appr. six feet or 182 cm). Here it appears to be used as a surface measure. The height of the Tower of Babel (3:6) and the sea drunk by the Serpent (4:6G; 4:3S) are measured in cubits. According to *2 En.* 12:2 the size of "phoenixes and chalkydri" is 900 "measures" (CS ⲙⲏⲣⲁ).

6:8. *Neither earth nor heaven give me birth*. Dean-Otting views this as a riddle-like formula, which may resemble the earlier description of Serpent-Hades.[325] See heaven (i.e., the goddess Nut) that gives birth to the sun (*Book of the Dead* 79).

6:11. *The manna of heaven and the dew of earth / heavenly manna*. This is one of the unambiguously Jewish elements in the description of Phoenix in *3 Baruch*. Manna and dew are adduced together in Exod 16:13–14 and especially in Num 11:9: "When the dew came down on the camp at night, the manna came down with it." According to LXX Ps 78(77):25, manna is "angels' food" (Gk ἄρτον ἀγγέλων; in Hebrew לחם אבירים "bread of the mighty"). R. Akiba also interprets thus in *b. Yoma* 75b (לחם אבירים אכל איש לחם שמלאכי השרת אוכלין אותו); cf. *Tan. B.* 2.67; *Midr. Pss.* 78.345. *Sib. Or.* 7:148–149 says (probably arguing with *1 En.* 10:18–19) that "dewy manna" would be the food of the members of the messianic kingdom: "there will be no vine branches or ear of corn, but all at once will eat the dewy manna with white teeth." The same in *2 Baruch*:

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[325] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 129.

> And those who have hungered shall rejoice: moreover, also, they shall behold marvels every day. For winds shall go forth from before me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health. And it shall come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time. (29:6–8)

According to *b. Hag.* 12b the dew and the manna are stored in adjacent heavens: manna in the third (named *Shehaqim*) and dew in the sixth (*Makhon*). Compare this with the "hidden manna" which is to be given to the penitent in Rev 2:17. The origin of the "dew of heaven" (most probably distinct from the dew of earth) from the celestial lake is explained in 10:9G (see comm. ibid). In *2 En.* 12:2 "phoenixes and chalkydri" bring heat and dew (see introductory comm. above).

6:12. *Wait and you will see the Glory of God.* Compare with 7:2; 11:2; 16:4S. See comm. to 4:2S.

Sunrise and Predawn Call (6:13–16)

Greek	Slavonic
13 And while he was talking,	13 And while we were singing,
there was a thunder like a sound of thunder,	there was a great sound, like [bellowing] of 30 oxen,
and the place where we were standing was shaken.	and the place where we were standing shook.
And I asked the angel, "My Lord, what is this sound?" And the angel told me, "The angels are now opening the 365 gates of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness."	And I Baruch said, "What is this sound, my Lord?" And he told me, "The angels are opening the 65 doors of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness."
	14 And the sun entered [the chariot?],
14 And a voice came saying, "O Light giver, give light to the world!"	and the bird came saying, "O Light giver, the sun, give light to the world,"
	[and] spread its wings and covered the rays of the sun and it flapped its wings and there was a sound like thunder, and the bird cried out saying, "O Light giver, give light to the world!"
15 And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said, "Lord, what is this noise?"	15 When I heard the sound of the bird, I said, "What is that sound?"

16 And he said, "This is what wakes up the roosters on earth.

For as [others do] through the mouth, so also the rooster signifies to those in the world, in its own speech. For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the rooster crows."

16 And he said, "This is to wake up the roosters which are on earth in peace.

When they hear the first sound they say that the sun is rising, and the roosters cry out."

NOTES

6:14. *Voice*. Here and in some other instances in translation both "sound" and "voice" stand for the same Greek and Slavonic words: Gk φωνή and CS **глаєъ** (cf., e.g., 11:3 and 5).

6:14S. Also possible: "and it ["voice" as in or even "sun"] came saying, 'O Light giver, the sun, give light to the world!' The bird spread its wings …" (cf. comm. ad loc.). Verse 6:14b has been omitted by G probably due to homoeoteleuton.

6:16G. *And the rooster crows*. καὶ φωνεῖ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ. Lit. "produces a sound." The verb is used with roosters also in Matt 26:34.

COMMENTARY

The sunrise is the first of the solar functions shown to Baruch. In this context, he learns about the 365 gates of heaven which serve the sun's motions (which must imply a rotating celestial sphere). He also learns about the predawn sounds, which explain the awakening of roosters on earth before the dawn. The unique motif of the daily separation of the light from the darkness must imply the idea of *creatio aeterna*.

6:13S. *While we were singing*. This reading only occurs in ms L. No singing is mentioned before. Gaylord suggests that ms L had a corruption of CS **стоѩща** "standing" to **поѥща** "singing," based upon ms B, containing the former, and family β with a possible conflation: "standing and singing."[326] However, this *lectio difficilior* has intertextual corroboration. Singing, which was part of the Temple service, is a well known element of the celestial service in many apocalyptic descriptions (*1 En.* 40; *2 En.* 7–9; 17; *Apoc. Abr.* 18; *Apoc. Zeph.* 8; *Asc. Isa.* 7–9; *T. Levi* 3; cf. the Qumranic *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Hekhalot literature, *passim*). Celestial choirs are

326 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 81.

mentioned in 10:5 below (for the parallels see ibid.). A song of a visionary taught by an angel could be a central element of a vision (*Apoc. Abr.* 17). It may take place particularly before the sunrise. The angel Yahoel "teaches those who bear him [i.e., Cherubim and Living Creatures] the Song in the middle of man's night, at the *seventh hour*" (*Apoc. Abr.* 10:9), i.e., immediately after midnight. Similarly, the sun "stands *seven great hours* of night, and spends half its course under the earth" and then "comes to the eastern approach at the *eighth hour* of the night, it brings its lights, and the crown of shining, and the sun flames forth more than fire" (*2 En.* (J) 14:3). According to the horarium of *Testament of Adam* the angelic praise takes place even closer to the sunrise, at the *ninth hour* of the night (although the Armenian horarium has also the *seventh hour* instead),[327] and precedes the events described in our chapter:

> And at the ninth hour the angels perform their service of homage to God, and the prayer of the children of men comes into the presence of God the Most High. And at the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and God hears the prayer of the children of the believers, and the petition which they ask from God is granted unto them. And at the sound of the wings of the Seraphim at that time the roosters crow and praise God. And at the eleventh hour there is joy and gladness on all the earth, for the sun enters into the Garden, and its light rises in all the ends of the world, and illumines every created thing. (*T. Adam* 1:9–10)

For angels singing or praising at night see also *b. Hag.* 12b; *Abod. Zar.* 3b; cf. Luke 2:8–14.

6:13G. *A thunder like a sound of thunder / a great sound, like [bellowing] of 30 oxen* (βροντὴ ὡς ἦχος βροντῆς / **глас великъ іако воловъ :λ:**). A combination ἦχος βροντῆς for Heb קול הרעם "sound of thunder" appears in Sim. Ps 77:19(18) (cf. Eusebius on Ps 77:18; while LXX, Aq. and Theod. have φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς; cf. Ps 104:7) and in *T. Abr.* 17:15 (among other terrible things "shown" to Abraham by Death).

Gk ἦχος may mean also "voice" or "echo," while Heb קול rendered by it may mean "sound," and "voice" as well as "thunder." The voice of the Babylonian weather god Adad is described as an "echo from heaven" in Greek sources.[328] See φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ "a voice from heaven" in Matt 3:17; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22; and John 12:28. Rabbinic Heb בת קול "echo," serves also as a term for the divine voice from heaven (e.g., *b. Yoma* 9b and *passim*).

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[327] Stone, *Armenian*, 65.

[328] Noticed by Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 111, who refers to Bezold, Boll, "Reflexe," 20–21.

S has instead "a great sound, like [bellowing] of 30 oxen." See "and there was a thunder, like [bellowing] of 40 oxen" in 13:1S below. Only S measures volume in "oxen." G uses this unit to measure only dimensions: "a crane [as large] as great oxen" (10:3G).

Can the "sound of thunder" here be God's voice (cf. *b. Hul.* 59b telling of its great strength)? Possibly so. However, special celestial noises are mentioned in *3 Baruch* on the following occasions:

1) When angels opened 365 gates of heaven and the light was separated from the darkness: "there was a thunder like a sound of thunder, and the place where we were standing was shaken" (6:13G), "there was a great sound, like [bellowing] of 30 oxen, and the place where we were standing shook" (6:13S).
2) According to S, when the sun entered [the chariot?], Phoenix after a greeting formula "spread its wings and covered the rays of the sun and flapped its wings and there was a sound like thunder" (6:14S). This sound also "wakes up the roosters on earth" (6:16). According to G, this is not a thunder, but "noise of the bird" (κτύπος τοῦ ὀρνέου; 6:15G), and it is not clear whether the Phoenix's voice or anything else is meant.
3) When Michael came down to receive the virtues/prayers of men "there was a great sound like thunder" (11:3G), or "there was a sound from the highest heaven like a threefold thunder" (11:3S). S may render Gk τρισμὸς ὡς βροντῆς "shriek like thunder" as in 11:5G, understood as ὡς τρὶς βροντῆς.[329] Alternatively the *qedusha/trisagion* may be implied (see comm. ibid.).
4) When the gates of the fifth heaven opened, "there was a shriek like thunder" (11:5G), "there was a great sound, greater than the first" (11:5S).
5) When Michael left for a higher heaven and the gates of the fifth heaven closed, "there was a sound like thunder" (14:1G) or "there was a thunder, like [bellowing] of 40 oxen" (14:1S). The angel explains that this sound designates that in this moment "Michael is presenting the virtues ["prayers" S] of men to God" (14:2).

See also in S: "clouds of thunders and hail" (or "a thunder of a cloud") (16:3S); "when a king rises to a war, another strikes, and there is a great sound [or 'tumult']" (6:12S).

In cases 1 and 3 the "voice" follows the thunder (cf. also "voice from heaven" in 17:1S); in case 1 it is also accompanied with shaking of the ground. Dean-Otting notices that these three elements "can be the evidence

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[329] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 121.

of nothing less than revelation of Deity; there are many Biblical parallels for these phenomena found in the context of a theophany;" see, for example, Exod 19:16–19; Isa 29:6; Ps 18:6–16; Ps 29:3–4; Ps 77:18; Job 37:2–5; Rev 16:18; and *Apoc. Abr.* 8:6.[330] However, there is no direct theophany in *3 Baruch*, and the sounds must be caused by secondary celestial factors:

The noise in case 1 must be of solar origin: the sun is known to make an extraordinary noise while grating against its wheel: "You may think that it glides in heaven, but it is not so, being rather like a saw which saws through wood" (*Gen. Rab.* 6.7; cf. *b. Yoma* 20b–21a; *Cant. Rab.* 5.9; *Pirqe R. El.* 34; *Eccl. Zut.* 86; *Midr. Sam.* 9.74; cf. the noise of the Wheels in *3 En.* 19:5–7). See the sound of rotating spheres (Plato, *Rep.* 10.617; Aristotle, *Cael.* 2.290. It is also "so loud that men's ears cannot take it in" (Cicero, *Resp.* 6.18 ["Scipio's Dream"]). Heb בת קול may also sometimes mean a sort of music of spheres (as in *Exod. Rab.* 29.9).

The noise in case 2 is caused by the Bird. S, which attributes the origin of the noise to the clapping of the Bird's wings, must have the authentic version, as is well confirmed by parallels. Angels are known to praise God by clapping their wings, a motif based on Ezek 1:24 (cf. LXX ad loc. translating "their wings were singing" instead of "… straight") and 3:12–13; 24–25 (cf. expansion in *Targums*) and is developed in Hekhalot literature.[331] Roosters crow when Seraphim clap their wings (*T. Adam* 1:10).[332]

The noises 3–5 may be caused by opening and closing celestial gates: the ascent through a heavenly door is also accompanied by thunder in Rev 4:1.

6:13. *Place where we were standing was shaken* (καὶ ἐσαλεύθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἱστάμεθα / **и потрасе са же мѣсто идеже стоаховѣ**). Revelatory experiences are often accompanied by such phenomena: "the place where you are standing is greatly shaken" (*4 Ezra* 6:13); "while he [God] spoke to me, behold, little by little, the place where I was standing began to rock to and fro" (*4 Ezra* 6:29); "the place of elevation on which we both stood sometimes was on high, sometimes rolled down" (*Apoc. Abr.* 17:3). See also Acts 4:31 and Rev 16:18.

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330 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 110–114. See there also on Mesopotamian roots of the connection between the voice of a deity and thunder.

331 Halperin, *Faces*, 52ff.

332 Unbearable noise was caused by the wings of Gabriel, who according to Jerome (on Isa 10:3) referring to Jewish lore is called *Hamon* "noise."

365 gates of heaven / 65 doors of heaven. On celestial and inter-celestial gates in general see comm. to 2:2 above. Their main function must be to enable the travel of luminaries under the firmament.[333] The sun enters through the gate in Ps 19; cf. "outgoings of mourning" in Ps 65:8 (as in *3 Bar.* 6:13). Ancient and common Near Eastern beliefs underlie this conception. Both in Egypt and Mesopotamia people believed that luminaries needed gates to enter the sky. Doors for luminaries in eastern and western horizons appear in both Egyptian sources (e.g., Coffin Text 696; cf. "doors of the horizon" in Pyramid Text 246),[334] and Mesopotamian ones (e.g., "great gates on both sides" opened by Marduk in *Enuma Elish* 5; Shamash opening "the portals of the sky" at his rising;[335] Akkadian cylinder seal BM 89110).[336] See "the gates of the sun" of Homer (*Od.* 24.12). Such gates are known to other apocalypses as well: "And they showed me the calculation of the movement of the sun, and the gates through which it goes in and out. Since these are the great gates which God created to be an annual horologe" (*2 En.* 15:3).

Ms B has "50 doors of [or "and"?] five heavens." Karpov, relying upon the evidence of Origen concerning the treatment of seven heavens in the *Book of Baruch* (see below introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*), supposes that this reading may go back to the original "50 doors of seven heavens," i.e., 50x7, according to 350 days of a Pentecontad calendar including seven periods of 50 days.[337]

However, it is more probable that G here has the original version. The solar year of 365 days (based on the addition of five epagomenal days to the ancient solar year consisting of twelve months of thirty days each) was known already in early Babylon and Egypt.[338] Greeks knew it at least since Thales (Diogenes Laertius 1.27) and it was part of the official Roman calendar from the time of Caesar. It is mentioned in early Jewish sources (e.g., Philo, *Quaest. Gen* 1.84) and referred to by Gnostics: 365,000 years in the world are a single year in the realm of light, while one day in the realm of light is a 1000 years in the world (*Pistis Sophia* 99); see the five great arch-

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333 Another function, to receive the virtues/prayers of men in mentioned in 11:5 below (cf. *T. Adam* 1:10).

334 Faulkner, *Coffin*, 2.261; idem, *Pyramid*, 1.59, 6; 1.281, #667; Brovarski, "Doors," 107–10; Keel, *Symbolism*, 24; Wright, *Heaven*, 19–20.

335 Frankfort, *Cylinder*, 58; Wright, *Heaven*, 34.

336 Keel, *Symbolism*, 23. Cf. Heimpel, "Sun," 132–40; Frankfort, *Cylinder*, pt. 18a; Wright, *Heaven*, 33–34.

337 Karpov, "O kalendare;" cf. Morgenstern, "Calendar."

338 Samuel, *Ptolemaic*, 76.

ons in charge of 360 other archons (ibid. 136; 139) and the 365 angels of Nag Hammadi *Apocryphon of John* 11:25; 19:3. "365 days of the sun" (שס"ה ימות החמה) were well known to Rabbis (*t. Nazir* 1.3; *Sifra* Behar 4; *Lev. Rab.* 5.1; *b. Ar.* 9b; etc.). The solar year of *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and Qumran has 364 days (*1 En.* 72–75; 82:11; *Jub.* 6:32; cf., e.g., 11Q Ps (11Q 5) 27.6–7; 4Q540 1.2).

Not only the full solar year, but even the same number of heavenly openings is known to Rabbis: "The Holy One created 365 windows for the world to use: 182 in the east, 182 in the west, and one in the middle of the firmament, from where [the sun] went out in the beginning of the Creation" (שלש מאות וששים וחמש חלונות ברא בקה"ה שישתמש בהן העולם מאה ושמונים ושתים במזרח ומאה ושמונים ושתים במערב ואחת באמצעו של רקיע שממנו יצא מתחילת מעשה בראשית; *y. Rosh. HaSh.* 2.58a). *Pirqe R. El.* 5 explicitly links the number of the gates and the length of the solar year, stating that in the firmament there are "366 windows, through which it [the sun] emerges and retires" (ובשס"ו החלונות יוצא ונכנס) "according to 366 days of the solar year" (כנגד שס"ו ימות שנת החמה).[339]

Why would the sun need a separate gate for every day? The rationale of 365 gates will become clear when we consider that the points of the sunrise and the sunset are constant only from the human point of view and only in relation to the earth. In the heavenly sphere these points, circulating around the static earth, would differ every day. This was a conception of "the learned of the nations" as defined in the following Baraita:

> The learned of Israel say, "The sphere stands firm, and the zodiacs revolve." The learned of the nations say, "The sphere revolves, and the zodiacs stand firm" [חכמי ישראל אומרים גלגל קבוע ומזלות חוזרין וחכמי אומות העולם אומרים גלגל חוזר ומזלות קבועין]. (*b. Pesah.* 94b)[340]

So Plato (*Rep.* 10; *Tim.* 38c–e) and Aristotle (e.g., *Cael.* 2.8 [289b–290b]). Moreover, the rotation of *3 Baruch*'s heaven may be deduced from the statement that the stars are fixed to heaven (9:8; see comm. ibid.), while their motion relative to earth is obvious. This conception also accounts for

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339 Cf. the sun likened to a ship with 365 ropes (solar year) and to a ship with 354 ropes (lunar year; *Midr. Pss.* 19.3); cf. *Eccl. Zut.* 1; *Yal.* Eccl 967. Biblical Enoch is taken to heaven on his 365th birthday (Gen 5:21–24).

340 In the continuation of this passage, R. Judah the Patriarch objects to the latter view: "We have never found the Bull in the south nor the Scorpion in the north, and were it as the learned of the nations declare, the position of the constellations would constantly change" (*b. Pesah.* 94b).

the change in the sun's position relative to the stars. Thus, 365 gates must be located along the moving circle of the horizon.

Wright supposed that "although the text does not mention it, there are presumably 365 corresponding gates on the western horizon through which the sun exits each evening."[341] There is no need for such a presumption since, according to the reconstruction above, all gates are distributed evenly around the horizon, and thus all gates in turn serve both purposes. In distinction to the Enochic system of six or twelve gates, defined by Wright as "more economical and sophisticated" than the "rather amateurish" system of *3 Baruch*,[342] the system of *3 Baruch* better harmonizes the daily motion of the stars with the constant location of sunrise and sunset.[343]

It is still unclear why all the gates must be opened every day. This prompted Gaylord to suggest that "the sun passes through all 365 gates every day."[344] This would have been plausible if there were 365 firmaments.

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[341] Wright, *Heaven*, 168. Compare this idea with *y. Rosh HaSh.* 2.58a cited above.

[342] Ibid.

[343] The astronomy of 360 solar gates (of which, as in *y. Rosh. HaSh.* 2.58a and par. above, 180 are in the east and 180 on the west) combined with the conception of the fixed stars (as in *3 Bar.* 9:8) and 365 days of the year, is elaborated in detail in *Bundahishn 5* B, probably based on early Babylonian astrology: "… For there are 180 windows [*rōzan*] in the East and 180 in the West, (put) in Harburz. Every day the Sun comes in through one window and goes out by one window. The *bond*s and the movement of the Moon and the fixed stars and planets are all to it. Every day it shines on three and a half continents (at any one time). As is obvious to the eye, twice each year day and night are equal, for at the Primordial Battle, when (the Sun) went forth from the first asterism of the Lamb, day and night were equal, at the time of spring; and afterwards, when it reaches the first asterism of the Crab, the days (are) longest, at the beginning of summer; when it reaches the (first) asterism of the Balance, day and night (are) equal, at the beginning of fall; when it reaches the first asterism of the Goat, the nights (are) greatest, at the beginning of winter; when it reaches the Lamb anew, day and night are again equal. As, from when it goes forth from the Lamb until it reaches the Lamb again, in 360 days and those five intercalary days, it comes in and goes out through the same windows. The (exact) window is not stated (here), for if it had been stated, the demons would have known the secret and could planned (their) damage …" (*5* B.3–6). I thank Dan Shapira for this new translation with comments, and Reuven Kuperwasser for the reference. See also MacKenzie ("Zoroastrian," 517–18) and the scheme of the revolution of the sun on p. 519 ibid. The cosmology of *Bundahishn* shares also other, more or less universal, motifs with *3 Baruch* (celestial dragon, celelstial demons, sun chariot, etc.).

[344] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 81.

See Basilides' teaching about 365 heavens and their archon Abrasax (Gk Ἀβρασάξ; the numerical value of this name also is 365; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.3–7; cf. 11.16.2 and Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.26.6).[345]

The light is being separated from the darkness. This light here is called φῶς, while the sun's light in the next verse (as well as in 7:2 below) – φέγγος (although the sun is called φωτοδότης.) Here it is definitely not the sunlight, but a primordial upper light, by which God illuminated all that he created even before the luminaries had been made (Aristobulus, *Fragment* 3; *4 Ezra* 6:40; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.27.2; *2 En.* (J) 25:3; *Gen. Rab.* 3.6; 11.2; *b. Hag.* 12a; *Pirqe R. El.* 3). Some of these sources are based on Isa 30:26 and Isa 60:19, 20 mentioning Heb אור עולם "eternal light." The luminaries receive a spark from this much stronger light (*Tan. B.* Behaalotekha 10) and they even need it to see their routes (*Midr. Pss.* 19).

In Gen 1:4 God already "separated the light from the darkness" on the first day of creation, while in *3 Baruch* the light and darkness are separated on a daily basis. The idea of the everlasting or continuous creation, i.e., an ontological dependence of the cosmos on God, may be implied; see "[God] renews every day the work of creation" (*b. Hag.* 12b; cf. *Midr. Pss.* 96.1; etc.). The concept of *creatio aeterna* or *creatio continua* might also be implied by Philo in his treatment of the non-temporal character of the creation (*Opif.* 7.26–28).[346] Alternatively, the regular mechanism of introducing the boundaries between the two may be meant, as in Philo's *Opif.* 9.33–34:

> God, in his perfect knowledge of their [i.e., of the light and the darkness] mutual contrariety and natural conflict, parted them one from another by a wall of separation. In order, therefore, to keep them from the discord arising from perpetual clash … he not only separated light and darkness, but also placed in the intervening spaces boundary-marks, by which he held back each of their extremities … These barriers are evening and dawn. The latter gently restraining the darkness, anticipates the sunrise with the glad tidings of its approach; while evening, supervening upon sunset, gives a gentle welcome to the oncoming mass of darkness.

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345 Przybylski, "Role."

346 See Winston (*Philo*, 13–21) and Sterling ("Creatio," 21–41) on *creatio aeterna* in Philo. Cf. alternative views of Wolfson on Philo holding to *creatio ex nihilo (Philo*, 1.295–324) and of Runia on *creatio continua (Philo and the Timaeus,* 96–103, 140–57, 215–22, 280–83, 287–91,416–20,426–33, 451–56, 505–19). See the summary of the debate in Sterling, "Creatio."

In *3 Baruch* the procedure of the separation is not explained. The separation of the light from the darkness by means of water is described in *2 En.* (J) 27:3–4. Animated darkness – "Prince of Darkeners similar to the bull" – was banished, because God wanted "to create the world in the light" (בשעה שברא הקב"ה את עולמו אמר לו לשר החושך סור מלפני מפני שאני מבקש את העולם לבראות באורה ושרו של חושך דומה לשור; *Pesiq. R.* 20). The separation of the light from the darkness is the main concern of the Nag Hammadi *Paraph. Shem* 40. See the following fragment, which is even structurally similar to *3 Baruch*:

Paraphrase of Shem	*3 Baruch*
and at that time the Light was about to separate from the Darkness. And a voice was heard in the world, saying, "Blessed is the eye which has seen you, and the mind which has supported your majesty at my desire."	and the light is being separated from the darkness." And a voice came saying, "O Light giver, give light to the world!"

Personified Darkness of the *Paraphrase of Shem* is connected to Hades. Personified and zoomorphic "outer darkness" is identified with the "great dragon" in *Pistis Sophia* (3.126). In *3 Baruch* Hades is defined as "dark and impure" (4:3) and located in a lower heaven (first or second; see comm. to ch. 11). At the same time, the sun is the "light giver," explicitly concerned with purity (8:4–5) and according to 7:2 passes through the third heaven.[347] It is not clear how this separation between light and darkness relates to the opposition between "dark and impure" Serpent-Hades, located on the lower heaven, and light and other pure images of the higher heavens. Such a distribution is known to *T. Levi* 3 with its dark lowest heaven (cf. comm. to 3:5: *Heaven as abode of demons*). It is dark because "it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men" (*T. Levi* 3:1), while the sun is defiled exactly for the same reason: "because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men" (*3 Bar.* 8:5). This is reminiscent of the dichotomy between sublunary chaotic and superlunary cosmic heavenly spheres in the Greek cosmology (see introductory comm. to ch. 10).

The fact of the daily separation of the light, reported exclusively by *3 Baruch*, clarifies a verse of the celestial song of Abraham, speaking about the light kindled "before the morning light:"

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347 The lake of ch. 10 may also have some implicit purificational functions and its birds are called "pure" in 10:5S; see comm. ibid.

> You make the light shine before the morning light upon your creation [тъ (S ты al.) свѣтъ сиѩеши ѡ҆ предъ ѹ҆тръниимъ (SU вноу҆трениимъ al.) свѣтомъ на тварь свою] from your face in order to bring the day on the earth [днєвати на зємли]. And in your heavenly dwellings there is an inexhaustible other light of an inexpressible splendor from the lights of your face. (*Apoc. Abr.* 17:18–19)[348]

See the retroverted text: המאיר אור עד אור הבוקר על יצירך מלפניך להביא יום על פני הארץ: ובמשכנות מרומיך שפעת אור אחר מזיו נגהות פניך.[349] In the Rabbinic Hebrew יום "day" means also "the sun" (*b. Shab.* 134a; *b. Hul.* 60a; *b. Ket.* 106a; etc.).[350] Thus, the sequence of events in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is identical to *3 Baruch*, first the "light" is made to shine, and then the sun (or its light) is brought on earth.

6:14. *O Light giver, give light to the world* (φωτόδοτα δὸς τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ φέγγος / свѣтодавьче дани мироу свѣтъ). In *2 En.* (J) 15:2 phoenixes and chalkydri sing: "The Light giver is coming to give radiance to the whole world." The same formula in similar circumstances is recited by the Rooster of the Slavonic *About all Creation* (cited in the introductory comm. to ch. 6: *Sun Bird*).

The sun is called "light giver" also in the so-called *Mithras Liturgy* (PMG IV.585; cf. I.596). Here also the sun must be meant, although Justin uses the same epithet for God: "the author of all his own forces and works, the *giver of light* in heaven, and father of all, the mind and vital power of the whole world, the mover of all things" (*2 Apol.* 6).

In S the motto is recited twice, either by the Bird itself or, according to an alternative interpretation of the text (see Notes), the Bird repeats what it has heard (from God's or the angelic "voice" of G). G also may imply that the words are pronounced by the Bird, if one understands "the noise of the bird" in 6:15 as referring to "a voice" of 6:14. In any case, it is not clear whether this call is a petition or an order to the sun. The latter would be

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348 CS сиѩати свѣтъ must reproduce Gk φαίνω φῶς and Heb האיר אור, both well attested (cf., e.g., MT and LXX in Ezek 32:7); cf. also Gk ἀνατέλλει translated as сиѩіетъ in Slavonic versions of Matt 5:45 (e.g., *Ostr*). For an interpretation and Hebrew retroversion of the verse, see Kulik, *Retroverting*, 78.

349 Ibid.

350 CS днєвати на зємли (with *hapax legomenon* translated here as "[in order] to bring the day") may be explained by *infinitivus finalis* in Hebrew. Cf. להאיר על הארץ "in order to bring light upon the earth" (Gen 1:15). The infinitive of purpose used alone (i.e., without ὑνα, ὡς, etc.) is attested also in Jewish Greek texts; cf. Moulton et al., *Grammar*, 3.134–135.

more probable, if Phoenix-Ziz were an angelic patron of the sun (on this see introductory comm. to ch. 4: *Celestial Bestiary*).

6:16. *This is what wakes up the roosters on earth / This is to wake up the roosters which are on earth in peace*. The Rooster as a celestial singer foreseeing the down and wakening men was known to Iranian mythology (e.g., *Avesta*, Vendidad 18).[351] Greeks knew it as a bird of the deity of light, announcing the coming of the morning (Theognis 863f.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10.46). As the bird of light, it also was an attribute of Christ (Prudentius, *Liber Cathemerinon* 1). The rooster's image was among the most popular in pre-exilic Jewish iconography.[352] One of the gigantic birds of Jewish lore is known as the Field Rooster (תרנגול ברא of *Tg.* Ps 50:11 and par.) to Rabbis and as Rooster (кокоуъ) in Slavonic *About All Creation*.

The wakening of earthly roosters by a cosmic Rooster is also found in *About All Creation*:

> There is a Rooster that has a head up to heaven, and the sea is up to its knees.[353] When the sun bathes in the Ocean, then the Ocean surges and waves start to beat the Rooster's feathers. And having felt the waves it says, "Kukoreku," which means, "Light giver, give light to the world." When it sings, then all the roosters sing at the same hour in the whole inhabited world.[354]

In *T. Adam* 1:10 Seraphim are those who, by beating their wings, cause the roosters to crow: "[at the tenth hour of the night] at the sound of the wings of the Seraphim at that time the roosters crow and praise God."[355] Rooster foresees the day in the morning benediction of *b. Ber.* 60b (based on Job 38:36). Late mystical tradition tells of a heavenly fire wakening the rooster and causing him to praise God and wake others to do it (*Zohar* Lev 3.22b; 23a; 49b).

The motif of the Bird causing the sun to rise and the earthly roosters to crow in response might have a textual basis in the verse "it will rise at the voice of the bird" from Eccl 12:4:

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[351] It must be connected to light and fire also in earlier Mesopotamian traditions; see Ehrenberg, "Rooster."

[352] See, e.g., Sass, "Pre-Exilic." In *3 Baruch*, the rooster is not a rain-bringer, in distinction of some other traditions; cf. Keel, "Zwei" and Delcor, "Nature."

[353] Cf. "a bird standing up to its ankles in the water while its head reached the sky" (*B. Bat.* 73b).

[354] Tikhonravov, *Pamiatniki*, 2.349.

[355] Ms E (British Museum ms Arund Oz 53) has "wheels" instead of "wings"; cf. *3 En.* 19:5–7 on the noise of Wheels; on the music of spheres see comm. to 6:13 above.

And the doors to the streets will be shut,	וסגרו דלחים בשוק
when the sound of the grinding becomes low,	בשפל קול הטחנה
and it will rise at the voice of the bird,	ויקום לקול הצפור
and all the daughters of singing will bow down [or "will be brought low"].	וישחו כל־בנות השיר

Here, the celestial gate is closed behind the sun going forth to its route ("the doors to the streets will be shut"), the noises of the rotating solar wheel come down ("when the sound of the grinding becomes low"),[356] the sun rises at the voice of the Sun Bird ("it will rise at the voice of the bird"), and the lower earthly birds greet it ("all the daughters of singing will bow down"). See also "a bird of the air shall carry the voice" (Eccl 10:20).

6:16G. *For as others do through the mouth, so also the rooster* (ὡς γὰρ τὰ δίστομα οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ). In Greek, this reading only occurs in ms A, which is obscure and possibly corrupt: lit. "For as double-mouthed [do?], so also the rooster." James suggests: "For as articulate-speaking beings do, so do the roosters."[357] However, Gk δίστομος is not attested in this meaning, unless we turn to *interpretatio hebraica*: Gk δίστομος means "double-mouthed, with two entrances," "double-edged (on swords)" and in LXX it renders Heb **פיפיות** with the same meaning. The latter, however, means also pl. "mouths" (see, e.g., Hebrew Sir 9:4: **פן ישׁ[ר]פך בפיפיתם עם מנג{י}נת אל תדמוך**); cf. *b. Ber.* 11b: **בפיפיות עמך בית ישראל**). In this case, the hypothetic Hebrew verse would read: "For as mouths [do], so also the rooster …" The translation here is based on the emendation proposed by Ryssel: ὡς γὰρ τὰ δῖὰ] στόμα[τος], but the message remains unclear. It may mean that they converse in the language peculiar to them.

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356 Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 6.7; *b. Yoma* 20b–21a; *Cant. Rab.* 5.9; *Pirqe R. El.* 34; *Eccl. Zut.* 86; *Midr. Sam.* 9.74; see comm. to "a thunder like a sound of thunder" in 6:13 above.

357 James, "Baruch," xvii.

Sun's Route (7)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And I said, "And where does the sun begin its labors after the rooster cries?"	1 I Baruch said, "How much does the sun rest?" And the angel told me, "From when the roosters cry out until the light comes."
2 And the angel told me, "Listen, Baruch: all I have showed you is in the first and second heaven.	2 And the angel told me, "Listen, Baruch: what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens,
And in the third heaven	in these places
the sun passes through and gives light to the world.	the sun goes through heaven; then it gives light to the world."
But wait, and you will see the Glory of God."	And he told me, "Wait and you will see the Glory of God.'"
3 And while I was talking with him, I saw the bird, and it appeared in front [of the sun], and grew little by little, and returned to its full size.	
4 And behind it [there was] the shining sun, and with it the angels carrying [it], and a crown upon its head – [it was] a sight we were not able to look directly into it and see [anything]. 5 And as soon as the sun lighted up, Phoenix also stretched out its wings.	
But I, seeing such great glory, became overcome with a great fear, and fled and hid in the wings of the angel. 6 And the angel told me, "Do not afraid, Baruch, but wait and you will see their setting also."	[Cf. 8:6]

NOTES

7:3G. *It appeared in front [of the sun]* (ἀνεφάνη ἔμπροσθεν). Cf. "I saw again the bird coming in front and the sun coming with the angels" (8:1). Hartom understood ἔμπροσθεν as "at the beginning" (7:3) or as ἔμπροσθεν [μου] "before [me]" (8:1).[358] However, 6:2 states clearly ὄρνεον περιτρέχον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡλίου "a bird circling in front of the sun." Cf. also 9:3, where ἔμπροσθεν is used with the third person pronoun: ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς "in front of it [the moon]."

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[358] Hartom, "Baruch," 418–419.

Grew little by little, and returned to his full size (πρὸς μικρὸν μικρὸν ἠΰξανε καὶ ἀνεπληροῦτο). Hughes understands it as "grew less and less," and even brings an Indian parallel on the bird Gadura diminishing its size.[359] In fact, πρὸς μικρὸν μικρόν is a biblicism, meaning "little by little; gradually"; cf. Gk κατὰ μικρὸν μικρόν, Heb **מעט מעט** "little by little" (cf. LXX Deut 7:22); CS **помалоу помалоу** (ms B of *Apoc. Abr.* 5:11).

7:4G. *And behind him [there was] the shining sun, and with it the angels carrying [it], and a crown upon its head* (καὶ ὄπισθεν τούτου τὸν ἥλιον ἐξαστράπτοντα καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους μετ' αὐτοῦ φέροντας καὶ στέφανον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ). Gk φέροντας lacks an object. Hughes understands Gk μετ' αὐτοῦ φέροντας as lit. "carrying along with it." Another possibility is a slight emendation: τοὺς ἀγγέλους μετ' αὐτοῦ φέροντας {καὶ} στέφανον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτου "the angels carrying a crown over its head." The image would be similar to Mithras holding a crown over the sun's head.[360]
7:5G. *Became overcome with a great fear* (ἐταπεινώθην φόβῳ). The same verb – Gk ταπεινόω – is used again with Phoenix in 8:2, 3, and 6 (twice). It means "lessen, reduce, humble, abase" also in the moral sense (cf. Gen 16:9; Lev 23:27; Sir 18:21; Isa 40:4; 58:10; Matt 23:12; 1 Pet 5:6). With "fear" it is used by Hesychius of Alexandia in his *Lexicon* explaining the word κατεπτήχασιν as τῷ φόβῳ ἐταπεινώθησαν.

COMMENTARY

The two versions differ regarding the character of Baruch's next inquiry, whether it concerns the sun's route (G) or a pause in its motion (S). Both versions can be corroborated intertextually.

7:1. "*And where does the sun begin its labors* [or "labors"] *after the rooster cries?" / "How much does the sun rest?" And the angel told me, "From when the roosters cry out until the light comes*." (καὶ ποῦ ἀποσχολεῖται ὁ ἥλιος ἀφ' οὗ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ φωνεῖ / **много ли почиваѥтъ слъньце и рече ми ангелъ отнѣли коуръ възглашатъ дондеже свѣтъ** [**бъıваѥтъ б**]). According to G Baruch shows interest in the sun's route. The constant course (πορεία) of luminaries is among the most magnificent works of God:

> Great is our God and glorious, dwelling in the highest, who established in [their] course [ἐν πορεία] the lights for determining seasons from year to year, and they have not turned aside from the way [ὁδοῦ] which he appointed them. In the fear of God (they pursue) their way [ὁδός] every day, from the day God created them and forever. And they did not err since the day he created them. Since the generations of old they have not withdrawn from their ways [ὁδῶν], unless God commanded them by the command of his servants. (*Pss. Sol.* 18:10–12)

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[359] Hughes, "Baruch," 538.
[360] *MMM*, 1.172ff.

The routes of luminaries are known to Judg 5:20; *1 En.* 14:11, 17; 1QH 1.13.[361] "Ways above the firmament" belong to the hidden knowledge according to *4 Ezra* 4:7. Curiosity for the moves of celestial bodies was considered pious by the Rabbis:

> R. Shimeon b. Pazzi said in the name of R. Yehoshua b. Levi on the authority of Bar Kappara: "He who knows how to calculate the cycles [of the sun and the moon] and planetary courses, but does not, of him the Scripture says, 'But they regard not the work of the Lord, neither have they considered the operation of his hands' [Isa 5:12]." R. Shemuel b. Nahmani said in R. Yohanan's name, "How do we know that it is one's religious duty [מצוה על האדם] to calculate the cycles and planetary courses? Because it is written, 'For this is your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the nations' [Deut 4:6]. What wisdom and understanding is in the sight of the nations? That it is the calculation of cycles and planets.'" (*b. Shab.* 75a)

On the interest specifically in the sun's route, see the following:

> How do the orbs of the sun and the moon set? R. Yehudah b. R. Lai and the Rabbis disagree. R. Yehudah said, "Behind the vault and above it" [מאחורי הכיפה ולמעלה]. The Rabbis maintained, "Behind the vault and below it." R. Yonathan said, "The view of R. Yehudah b. R. Lai that it is behind the vault and above it is preferable in respect of summer, when the whole world is hot while the wells are cold; and the opinion of the Rabbis that it is behind the vault and below appears correct in respect of winter [lit. "days of the rain"], when the whole world is cold and the wells are warm." R. Shimeon b. Yohai said, "We do not know whether they fly through the air, glide in the heaven, or travel in their usual manner [אם פורחין הן באויר, ואם שפין ברקיע ואם מהלכין הן כדרכן]. It is an exceedingly difficult matter, and no person can fathom it." (*Gen. Rab.* 6.8)
>
> We have learned in a Baraita, R. Nathan said, "In the summer time the sun moves in the zenith of the sky, hence all the earth is warm and the springs are cool; but in the winter the sun moves in the base of the skies, hence all the earth is cold and the springs are warm." The Rabbis taught: "The sun moves in four different paths. During the months of Nissan, Iyar, and Sivan it moves over the top of the mountains, in order to melt the snow. During Tamuz, Ab, and Elul it moves in the cultivated portions of the earth, in order to ripen the fruit. In Tishri, Mar-Cheshvan, and Kislev it moves over the seas, in order to dry up the lakes. And in Tebeth, Shebat, and Adar it moves in the desert, in order not to parch the seed sown." (*b. Pesah.* 94b)

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[361] Cf. the "paths of luminaries" in Mesopotamian texts (Horowits, *Mesopotamian*, 256–8).

The discrepancies between G and S in 7:1 are very instructive. Either S did not understand its Greek *Vorlage* properly, or, on the contrary, it reflects an older Greek version as is often otherwise the case. Greek *Vorlage* of S might have: καὶ εἶπον ἐγώ καὶ ποῦ ἀποσχολεῖται ὁ ἥλιος [Καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος] ἀφ' οὗ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ φωνεῖ … "And I said, 'And where does the sun begin its labors?' [And the angel told me,] 'After the rooster cries.'"[362] The original dialogue could be presented also without the remark "And the angel told me." (Such dialogues, without remarks between repliques, do occur in G in 6:10–11; 9:5–6, while all parallel texts in S always contain the introducing remarks. Here G could be the one that erroneously united the dialogue into one replique.) S understood Gk ποῦ as "how," and not "where," and either misinterpreted Gk ἀποσχολέομαι "be busy, occupied"[363] as ἀποσχολάζω "rest," or as said, its *Vorlage* in fact had it instead ἀποσχολέομαι, and it was misinterpreted by G.

In the latter case, S could preserve an original version. The question as it is presented in S may imply the concept of the permanent motion of the sun, even by night. The "tireless Helios" is known to *Homeric Hymn* 31; the sun moves at night (although sometimes slumbering) in Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 11.469–70; Ps.-Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.10; Eustath. *ad Hom.* 1632; Virgil, *Georg.* 1.246ff; and Apuleius, *Metam.* 9.22ff.[364] Moreover, in Jewish sources "the sun goes down from heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east" (*1 En.* 72:5; cf. Eccl 1:5).[365] It must pass from west to east either beneath the earth or above the firmament:

> The learned of Israel say, "The sun moves by day beneath the firmament, and by night above the firmament." The learned of the nations say, "The sun moves by day beneath the firmament, and by night beneath the earth."[366] Rabbi said, "The assertion of the learned of the nations seems to be the more reasonable, for during the day the springs are all cold and at night they are all warm." (*b. Pesah.* 94b).[367]

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362 Thus Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 87.

363 *LPG*, 215.

364 For similar Babylonian traditions on the sun that "remains sleepless," see *Great Shamash Hymn* 41–44 (cf. Heimpel, "Sun," 146–47).

365 Thus in the land of Laistrygonians, located in the extreme north, "the pathways of day and night [i.e., of the routs of the sun at day and night] come close together" (Homer, *Od.* 10.80 ff).

366 Thus already Anaxagoras (5th cent. BCE): "The revolution of the stars takes them beneath the earth" (apud *Hipp. Phil.* 8; *Dox.* 561); cf. "Sol has glided down beneath Oceanus, and was giving light to the regions of the world below the earth" (Apuleius, *Metam.* 9.22ff; cf. Virgil, *Georgics* 1. 246ff).

367 These passage comes before another fragment from *b. Pesah.* 94b cited in this comm. above.

The sun's nightly motion under earth and its rest are connected in one of the versions of *2 Enoch* in a very similar context that describes the sunset and the nightly removal of the sun's crown (see the next chapter): "And the sun goes under the earth [J; "revolves" A] in its chariot and rests [J; "goes without lights" A] for seven complete hours in the night" (*2 En.* 14:3). The reading with "rest" is more plausible with "seven hours," since otherwise not seven but twelve hours of night should have been mentioned. However, in *3 Baruch* the "rest" of the sun is much shorter: "from when the roosters cry out until the light comes." Both writings contradict *1 Enoch*, where the sun "does not rest," although it "runs day and night" as well (*1 En.* 72:37). The "rest" meant in *3 Baruch* must be a short phase of the dawn until the actual sunrise. The length of this period, defined as מעלות השחר עד נץ החמה, was of halachic interest for Rabbis as well (*b. Pesah.* 93b).

Our text must also stick to the opinion of "the learned of the nations," R. Yehudah the Patriarch, and *2 Enoch*, since it "gives light to the world" while not going under the firmament but passing above lower firmaments through the third (or second in S) heaven. This brings us to another important distinction between the versions concerning the location of the daytime routes of the luminaries: the third in G and the second in S (7:2). The rationale of placing the sun and the moon in the second heaven was explained by the Rabbis:

> Where are the spheres of the sun and the moon set? In the second heaven, as it is said, "And God set them in the Raqia [רקיע "firmament"] of the heaven" [Gen 1:17].[368] R. Pinehas said in R. Abbahu's name, "This verse is explicit, and the men of the Great Assembly further explained, 'You are the Lord, even you alone, you have made the heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host' [Neh 9:6). Thus where are all their hosts set? In the second Raqia which is above the heaven [i.e., in "the heaven of heavens"]" … R. Yehoshua b. R. Bun quoted, "The heavens declare his righteousness" [Ps 50:6] – In the future the heavens will declare the righteousness which the Lord did for his world in not setting them in the first Rakia, for had he set them in the first Raqia, no creature could have endure the fire of the sun. (*Gen. Rab.* 6.6; cf. *Eccl. Zut.* 1)[369]

Additional evidence for the secondary nature of G in this chapter may be found in verses 3–5a, absent in S, which give a variant of 6:2–5a and must have been interpolated into the extant version of the writing as a result of compilation:

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[368] *Raqia* "firmament" is the name of the second heaven according to *b. Hag.* 12b.

[369] For the hypothesis of the three-heaven structure (with the luminaries in the second heaven) in the *Urtext* of *3 Baruch*, see introductory comm. to ch. 11 (*Ouranology*).

6:2–5aG

And he showed me a chariot-of-four, which was with a fire underneath. And upon the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire. The chariot was drawn by forty angels. And behold, a bird was circling in front of the sun, about nine [cubits] away. And I told the angel, "What is this bird?" And he told me, "This is the guardian of the inhabited world." And I said, "Lord, how is it the guardian of the inhabited world? Show me!" And the angel told me, "This bird goes before the sun, and stretching out its wings receives its fire-shaped rays …"

7:3–5aG

I saw the bird, and it appeared in front [of the sun], and grew little by little, and returned to its full size. And behind it [there was] the shining sun, and with it the angels carrying [it], and a crown upon its head – [it was] a sight we were not able to look directly into it and see [anything]. And as soon as the sun lighted up, Phoenix also stretched out its wings …

See the duplication of the "Builders account" in 2:2–3,7 and 3:1–5a (see introductory comm. to ch. 3). The only justification for a duplication of the description of Phoenix here might have been an actual eye-witnessing of Phoenix stretching its wings only discussed in 6:5 above (on verbal vs. visual revelations cf. comm. to 4:8 and introductory comm. to ch. 9).

7:2. *All I have showed you is in the first and second heaven. And in the third heaven the sun passes through / what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens, in these places the sun goes through heaven*. Here is another important discrepancy between the versions. Although both versions do not number the transfer to the third heaven in 4:2 (in distinction to the two previous transfers, which were numbered), they may imply it, mentioning most other indications of the inter-celestial transition (like the journey and the plain in both versions, and the gate only in S). Nevertheless, S here ignores it, as if Baruch is still in the second heaven. Either this means that the sun descending from the third heaven passes through the gates of the lower two heavens, or this could be a rudiment of the original structure, according to which Beasts and Lights are located in the second heaven. In the latter case, differing from its Greek counterpart (7:2G), 7:2S concurs with another verse of G (10:1G), which numbers the heaven beyond the luminaries as "the third" (the problem is discussed in detail in comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*; see also comm. to ch. 3: *Interpolation Theory* and to 10:1G).

7:5G. *I, seeing such great glory, became overcome with a great fear, and fled and hid in the wings of the angel*. Compare this text with 8:6S. The sun is the only celestial phenomenon that frightens Baruch. Extreme fear or

fainting is a regular element of visionary experience, especially when seeing or hearing God (Dan 8:17–18; *1 En.* 60:3; 65:4; *Apoc. Abr.* 10:2; *Lad. Jac.* 2:1), but also with other visions (Dan 5:6; 7:15; 27; *1 En.* 14:9, 13–14; *4 Ezra* 10:30; Rev 1:17).

Sunset and Earthly Wickedness (8)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taken me he brought me to the west. And when the time of the setting came, I saw again the bird coming in front and the sun coming with the angels. And as soon as it came I saw the angels, and they took the crown off its top. 2 But the bird stood weary and it folded its wings.	1 And the sun came without a crown and 36 angels [with it],
	2 and also the bird [came] slack.
3 And having seen these things, I said, "Lord, why did they took off the crown from the head of the sun, and why is the bird so weary?"	3 And I said, "Lord, where is the crown of the sun gone, and [why] is the bird slack?"
4 And the angel told me, "The crown of the sun, when it has run through the day, four angels take it, and carry up to heaven and renew it, because it and its rays have been defiled on earth; and then it is renewed this way each day."	4 And the angel told me, "The crown of the sun, when the day is over, four angels take it and carry up to heaven, because its rays are defiled from earth."
5 And I Baruch said, "Lord, and why are its rays defiled on earth?"	
And the angel told me, "Because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men, that is to say: fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkennesses, murders, strifes, jealousy, slanders, murmurings, whisperings, divinations,	5 And the angel told me, "The sun seeing all the lawlessness in the world does not endure fornication, adultery, jealousy, rivalry, theft, murder,
and such like, which are not pleasing to God.	all which is not pleasing to God.
Because of these things it is defiled, and because of this it is renewed.	
6 And about the bird, how it becomes weary: because of restraining the rays of the sun, [and] because of the fire and of the whole day's burning it is weary.	6 And the bird is slack, like one of the birds of the world, since it takes up the fiery rays of the sun, and that is why it is slack."

7 For unless its wings, as we said before,
were screening the rays of the sun, no living
creature would survive."

And the four the angels brought the crown
of the sun again.

[Cf. 7:5–6]

And when I saw such glory, I was
frightened and fled under the wings of the
angel. And the angel said, "Do not fear,
Baruch, the Lord is with you, but be bold."

NOTES

8:1G. *Off its top* (ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτοῦ). In 7:4 and 8:3 there is Gk κεφαλή instead. Gk κορυφή, although used with a man or god, often denotes inanimate entities.

8:1S. Ms B: "I saw 230 angels removing the crown off the sun." Family β has instead: "And angels carried up the crown to the Throne of God, and I saw the sun coming, and it was like a man, slack and sad."

8:2, 3, 6G. *Weary* (τεταπεινωμένον). Also "humble," "dejected," contextually probably "exhausted, faint." S translated it as ⲟⲩⲛⲏⲩⲓⲗⲁ "slack." In Hebrew both words may be similar: עוף "bird" and עיף "faint, weary." The word play on the similarity of the two roots is found in *Exod. Rab.* 38: כתיב ארץ עיפתה כמו אופל זה גיהנם שהרשעים פורחים כעוף, ד"א עיפתה שהרשעים עייפים בה "A land *efathah* as darkness" [Job 10:22] – it is Gehenna, in which the wicked flit about like birds. Another explanation: *efathah* – the place where the wicked become weary."

It folded its wings (συστέλλον τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτου). Or: "it contracted/reduced its wings." The same word is used also in 9:1: τούτων συσταλέντων "when they withdrew."

8:5G. *Because of these things it is defiled, and because of this it is renewe*d (διὰ ταῦτα μολύνεται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνακαινίζεται). Or "By these it is defiled, and that is why it is renewed."

8:5S. Family β adds: "And the sun weeps, since it defiles its crown. For this reason it is cleansed at the Throne of God."

8:6–7S. Ms S has instead of these verses: "And the angel told me: 'It is sad because of the heat and warmth of the sun.'" Cf. "because of the fire and of the whole day's burning" of G.

8:7G. *As we said before* (ὡς προείπομεν). I.e., as said in 6:6. The expression is used by Greek historians (and esp. Josephus) and is widespread in documentary papyri but not typical for pseudepigrapha. The whole verse, absent in S, must belong to a later editorial layer.

COMMENTARY

The sight of the sunset from the celestial point of view focuses on the nightly renewal of the sun's crown defiled by earthly wickedness. This enables another demonstration of the interactive character of the relations between celestial and terrestrial realms, on the one hand, and of the physical and moral issues, on the other.

The procedure of removing of the sun's crown at night is attested also in *2 En*:

> When it [sun] goes out from the western gates, [+ it takes off its light, the splendor which its radiance and J] the four [+ hundred J] angels take away its crown, and carry it [+ up A] to the Lord." (*2 En.* (A) 14:2–3)

Then J proceeds on the sun's journey under the earth at night, while A has "But the sun turns its chariot around and goes without light; and then they place the crown on it." In the Slavonic *About All Creation* the crown is removed by three hundred angels.

Pirqe R. El. 7–8 gives the reason for this practice: as in *3 Baruch* the crown is taken in order to purify it after it being defiled by men's sins. From the *Life of Adam and Eve* it is possible to deduce an alternative rationale for the crown removal. Both the sun and the moon are seen by Eve as "two Ethiopians" (*Apoc. Mos.* 35:4), because "they cannot shine before the Light of all things, the Father of Light" (*Apoc. Mos.* 36:3); see the same logic applied to minor lights in *3 Baruch* below: "as before a king, his household cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine before the sun" (9:8). However, this consideration must be relevant only for the school of "the learned of Israel" who believed that at night the sun passes above the firmament and thus possibly close to the Throne of Glory (see *b. Pes.* 94b cited in comm. to 7:1; cf. *2 En.* (A) 14).

Through what procedure is the sun "renewed?" We are told only that it happens in some higher heaven, since the angels "carry it up to heaven" (8:4). In the next heaven, probably the last one before the heaven of the Throne of Glory, there is a celestial "lake of water" (10:2). It is an abode of the pious souls (10:5G), apparently on their way to other "resting places of the righteous" (16:6S), and although it is not stated, it must be their final purification basin, which could serve the sun as well (see comm. to "lake of water" in 10:2). The sun is known to set into the "water of life": "he lifted me up to the water of life and to the fire of west which receives every setting of the sun" (*1 En.*

17:4).[370] Ritual purificatory ablution as prescribed in biblical texts also becomes effective mostly after sunset (see *t. Shabb.* 2.9; *t. Para* 3.8; *m. Neg.* 14.3; *Sifre Deut.* 256; *b. Ber* 2a-b; on ablution see comm. to 10:2). The very idea of the daily purification of the sun after the sunset might have found its prooftext in ובא השמש וטהר of Lev 22:7, taken out of context and read literally as "and the sun sets and is purified" (instead of "when the sun sets, he [the unclean person] is purified"). The procedure of bathing the sun in a celestial "lake of water" (בריכה של מים) is also associated with another purpose, not for cleaning but for chilling it (see *Gen. Rab.* 6.6 cited in comm. to 6:6). Similarly the setting Shamash is supposed to calm his heart "with cool water" in the Babylonian "Sunset Prayer."[371]

8:1S. *36 angels*. 36 angels accompany the sun at the sunset (only in S). There were 40 angles at the sunrise (6:2), but four of them left to take care of the sun's crown (8:4). The resulting number may also correspond to the 36 "decans" well known to Egyptian and Hellenistic astronomy.

8:4. *Four angels*. These "four angels" who take care of the sun's crown must differ from the four angels of presence in 4:7S (see comm. ibid.). The sun's crown is taken away and brought back by four (or four hundred in J) angels also in *2 En.* (A) 14:2–3.

According to *Pirqe R. El.* 6 the angels must be different at day and night, i.e., a total of eight.[372] Similarly, there are two groups of four "great stars" attending the sun: "Four great stars, holding on the right side of the sun's chariot, four on the left side [going] with the sun perpetually" (*2 En.* (A) 11:4). See "It [the sun's wheel] has eight angels: four in front of it, and four behind it. In front of it – so that it will not burn the world, behind it – so that the it will not cool down" (*Eccl. Zut.* 1; *Yal.* Eccl 967).

Its rays have been defiled on earth. On luminaries witnessing the impiety of the lower world, see comm. to 6:6. Celestial entities can not only witness but even be defiled by earthly wickedness. Human sins darken heavenly waters

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370 The belief in the purificatory immersion of the sun may be referred by the Sadducees mocking the Pharesees: "It once happened that they immersed the [Temple] candelabrum on a festival, and the Sadducees said: 'Come and see the Pharisees who immerse the orb of the sun'" (so in *y. Hag,* 22.1: the Tosefta and the Babylonian Talmud have "the orb of the moon" instead). See Baumgarten, "Immunity." Cf. *Num. Rab.* 12.13 assoiating the Temple candelabrum with the luminaries.

371 Heimpel, "Sun," 129.

372 Toy, Ginzberg, "Baruch," 550.

in *2 Bar.* 58:1 and 60:1. "The lowest [heaven] is dark, since it sees all the injustices of mankind" (*T. Levi* 3:1). The defilement of the sun was known to the Rabbis: "'And it is like a groom going out from his chamber' [Ps 19:6]. As a groom enters in purity and exits defiled, so also the sun's wheel enters in purity and exits defiled [כך גלגל חמה נכנס בטהרה ויוצא בטומאה]" (*S. Eli. Rab*. 2.17; cf. *Midr. Pss*. 19.12, which adds that the sun like a groom "enters strong and exits weak, because of the human sins [מעוונות של בריות]"). See also *Lev. Rab*. 31.9; *Midr. Hag*. Gen 1:42; *Midr. Alphabetot* 118; *Baraita de-Maase Bereshith* 50.[373] The idea may go back to the biblical concept that sins may defile the land (Num 35:34) well developed in Rabbinic literature.

However, some did not agree with this idea: "For the sun [shines] on every impure place, and yet it is not defiled. So it is with Christ …" (Nag Hammadi *Teaching of Silvanus* 101.31–33). Tertullian, quoting a source, states, "Only recently I heard a novel defense offered by one of these devotees of games. 'The sun,' he said, 'nay, even God himself, looks from heaven and is not defiled!'" (*Spect.* 20).

8:5. *Fornications …, and such like*. This is the second list of vices in *3 Baruch*. See comm. to 4:17.

8:6G. *No living creature would survive* (οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα πνοή). For πᾶσα πνοή in similar contexts, cf. LXX Ps 150:6; *T. Abr.* (A) 13:6; and *Acts John* 8. See ξένη πνοή in 2:1G and comm. ibid. Very similar phrasing is found in Matt 24:22 and Mark 13:20: οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σάρξ "no flesh will survive." Another phrase from these verse ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας "he shortened the days" appears in 9:7 below.

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[373] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1.25; 5.37–38, n. 105.

Moon and Heavenly Disobedience (9)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And when they had withdrawn, at the same time the night also overtook, with the moon and with the stars.	
2 And I Baruch said, "Lord, show me it also, I entreat you, how it goes out, where it goes, and in what shape it walks."	2 And I said to the angel, "Lord, tell me about the movement of the moon, so that I know what it is."
3 And the angel said,	3 And he told me,
"Wait and you will see it shortly."	
And on the morrow I saw it in the shape of a woman, and sitting on a wheeled chariot.	"It is similar to a woman, sitting on an armed chariot,
And in front of it there were oxen and lambs [harnessed] in the chariot, and a multitude of angels likewise.	and the oxen drawing the chariot are 20,
And I said, "Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs?" And he told me, "They also are angels."	and also the oxen are angels.
	The form of the moon is like a woman."
5 And again I asked, "Why is it that at one time it waxes, but at another time wanes?"	5 And I Baruch said, "Lord, when is it extinguished and when does it change?"
6 [And he told me], "Listen, Baruch,	6 And he told me, "Listen, Baruch,
this which you are looking at was depicted by God beautiful as no other.	when it was beautiful,
7 And at the transgression of the first Adam, kindled [its light] for Sammael,	7 when the first-created Adam transgressed, having listened to Satanael,
when he took the serpent as a garment.	when he disguised himself in the serpent,
And it [the moon] did not hide itself but waxed, and God was angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days."	it [the moon] did not hide itself but shone, and God was angry with it and opened to it days to mourn."
8 And I said, "And how is it that it does not also shine always, but only at night?" And the angel said, "Listen, as before a king his household cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine before the sun. For the stars are suspended, but they are outshined by the sun, and the moon, [although] being intact, is exhausted by the heat of the sun."	

NOTES

9:1G. *When they had withdrawn* (τούτων συσταλέντων). Or "when they contracted," see note to 8:2.

At the same time the night also overtook, with the moon and with the stars (καὶ ἡ νὺξ κατέλαβεν καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ μετὰ καὶ τῆς σελήνης καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀστέρων). Ryssel emends: καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ [τὸ ἅρμα] {μετὰ καὶ} τῆς σελήνης καὶ μετα τῶν ἀστέρων ("and at the same time [came] the chariot of the moon with the stars").[374]

9:2G. *Shape* (σχῆμα). Some translate as "pattern, route." However, (1) in the next verse the same word is used unambiguously: ἐν σχήματι γυναικὸς "in the shape of a woman," and (2) nothing is said on the route of the moon below.

9:2S. *Tell … is*. Translation follows β, which is closer to G. Family α has an abridged reading: "teach me what the moon is." The verbal use in the family β is also closer to G. It has CS **съкажи** "tell," which may be a corruption of **покажи** "show, explain," corresponding to Gk δεῖξόν (like in 6:4; cf. 4:8S and comm. ibid.), while α has a contextual **наоучи** "teach."

9:3. *On a wheeled chariot / on an armed chariot* (ἐπὶ ἅρματος τροχοῦ / **на оружнѣ колесьници**). The translation is based on the assumption that Gk τροχός here is a noun "wheel." This way it was understood also by S: CS **на оружнѣ колесьници** (only in L; other mss omit **оружнѣ**), lit. "on an armed chariot" (*Gk ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἐνόπλου), must be a distortion of **на оружии колесьномь**; cf. 6:2S, where the word **оружие**, and not **колесьница** is used for "chariot." Hartom notes that "all chariots are wheeled," and proposes to interpret Gk τροχός as an adjective "running, tripping."[375] However, cf. Gk τροχῶν ἅρματος rendering Heb אופן המרכבה in 1 Kgs 7:33.

9:3S. *Drawing*. Ms L has **мьстѧще** meaning "revenge" or "vindicate" as in Gk ἐκδικέω (*Ostr* Luke 18:3). A gloss in L and readings of mss Bβ contextually emend it to different forms of the verb **возити** "draw." The verb might be added in S, since from Gk καὶ ἦσαν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς βόες καὶ ἀμνοὶ ἐν τῷ ἅρματι it may be concluded that "oxen and lambs" are inside the chariot.

9:5S. *When is it extinguished and when does it change*. Family β has "why the moon does not have light as the sun, but all the time is extinguished or begotten?"

9:6. *Depicted* (γεγραμμένη). Also "written" or "ordained, prescribed." See comm. ad loc.

9:7. *Of the first Adam / first-created Adam* (τοῦ πρώτου Ἀδάμ / **пръвосъзьданъı адамъ**). Greek Ἀδὰμ ὁ πρῶτος "the first Adam" (e.g., *Sib. Or.* 3:24; *Apoc. Ezra* 2:10; etc.; cf. *4 Ezra* 3:21) is a Hebraism going back to Heb אדם הראשון, אדם הקדמוני, Aram אדם קדמאה "first man" (*t. Ber.* 6.2; *t. Hul.* 3.20; *t. Sot.* 6.5; *Sifra Lev.* 12; *Gen. Rab.* 20.11; etc.). Cf. 1 Cor 15:45 emending it to "the first man Adam." For the "first-created

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374 Ryssel, "Baruch," 454.

375 Hartom, "Baruch," 420.

Adam" of S, cf. Wis 7:1; *Jub.* 3:28; 10:1; *Sib. Or.* 1:285; *Bib. Ant.* 13:8; *Apoc. Ezra* 2:10; *Apoc. Sedr* 4:4; and Philo, *Quaest. Gen.* 1.32; *Quaest. Exod.* 2.46.

9:7G. *Kindled [its light] for Sammael* (παρῆψε τῷ Σαμαῆλ). The root of Gk παράπτω has also semantics of "transgression," as in παράπτωμα/παράπτοσις. An intentional word-play is possible: "kindled [its light] for / transgressed to Sammael"; cf. the next note. The verb may mean "be near, approach, touch" (as translated by some) only in Medium. The meaning "give light" is given by Lampe basing on our text.[376]

And compressed it (καὶ ἔθλιψεν αὐτήν). Probably also a word-play on the polysemy of Gk θλίβω "compress, reduce in size" and "oppress, afflict, distress."[377]

Shortened its days (ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς). "Shortened life" (reduced the number of its days) must be meant. Cf. the same phrase: "He has broken my strength in midcourse, he has shortened my days [Heb קצר ימי]" (Ps 102:24[23]); "The fear of the Lord prolongs days, but the years of the wicked will be shortened" (Prov 10:27); "pray that your days may be few, that they may be shortened" (*4 Ezra* 2:13). The identical phrase (ἐκολόβωσε τὰς ἡμέρας) refers to the days of eschaton (Mk 13:20).

9:7S. *Opened*. S has **отъкрꙑ** for ἐκολόβωσεν "shortened" of G.

9:7S. *When … serpent*. Family β expands: "When the serpent deceived Eve and Adam, they bared themselves, having eaten the vine and wept bitterly on their nakedness, and all of creation wept with them: heavens, and stars, and the sun, and all of creation shook up to the Throne of God. The angelic powers were greatly shaken by Adam's transgression, but the moon alone laughed."

9:8G. *Household*. In Gk pl. οἰκέται "household members."

Outshined. σκεδάζονται. Lit. "scattered, dispersed" (applied also to rays). This must refer to the dispersed light of the stars.

COMMENTARY

In *3 Baruch*, as well as in some other Jewish sources, the solar and lunar tracks are both in the same heaven (cf., e.g., *2 En.* 11 and *Sefer HaRazim* 4). This differs from the Ptolemaic and most other Hellenistic systems, which posit independent spheres for each luminary (as also *2 En.* 30 does in conflict with the previous account in chs. 3–21).

Just as the Bible addresses sun-worship (see introductory comm. to ch. 6), it also treats the issue of moon-worship: it was forbidden (Deut 17:3) but still practiced (Jer 7:18; 44:17). Kissing one's hand upon seeing the moon,

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376 *LPG*, 1024.

377 Harlow, "Baruch," 10.

as an act of adoration, is mentioned in Job 31:26–27. The moon symbolized beauty (Cant 6:10) and eternity (Ps. 72:5, 7; 89:37).

In S, Baruch does not see the moon, but is told about it by the guiding angel. Gk δεῖξόν "show" in 9:2 corresponds to CS **наоучи** "teach" in family α and **съкажи** "tell" in family β. The latter might have been a corrupted **покажи** "show," but the next verse confirms the verbal nature of the subsequent revelation. The tendency to present verbal excurses in place of actual visions is characteristic for S: the main function of Phoenix, the magnificent view of stretching the wings before the sun, is only described in both versions of 6:4 and is actually only observed in 7:3–5G (probably interpolated; see comm. to 7:1). See also comm. to 4:8.

9:3G. *On the morrow.* In G Baruch already sees "the moon with the stars" (probably in their usual form) in 9:1, when the sun has withdrawn and "the night also overtook." However, the visionary situated in heaven can see the vision of the moon only "on the morrow" (τῇ ἐπαύριον), that is, during the daytime. This would concur with the view that after the sun's setting, the luminaries continue their route above the celestial vault (*Gen. Rab.* 6.8; the Baraita from *b. Pes.* 94b, cited in the comm. to 7:1). Following this logic, we can infer that the sun should have been shown at night; however, it was shown during the day too.

9:3. *Shape of a woman / similar to a woman.* See "the form of the moon is like a woman" in S below. This must be an answer to the question of 9:2: "in what shape it walks." This likening is rare in Jewish sources (cf., e.g., *b. Hul.* 60b). The notion of a female moon deity seems to have been a relatively late invention. In the ancient Orient (apart from in Egypt) the moon deities are exclusively male: Sumerian Nanna, Semitic Suen/Sin (although Nanna-Sin was known as a ruler of women, probably due to the connection to menstrual circles), Hurrite Kushuh, Hittite Arma, Syrian Sanugar (Ebla)or Shaggar, Sheger (Emar) or Yarih, Arabic Shahr, etc. The moon goddess appears only in Egypt from the time of Ramses II onwards (1290–1224 BC); in Hellenistic period it is sometimes associated with Isis. Greek mythology has both masculine Men and feminine Selene. The clear dichotomy between masculine Sun and feminine Moon (as in *3 Baruch*) is found in Rome, where Luna was subordinate to Sol.[378]

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[378] Bendlin, Röllig, Lieven, "Moon."

9:3. *A wheeled chariot. And in front of it there were oxen and lambs [harnessed] in the chariot / an armed chariot, and the oxen carrying the chariot are 20.* In *1 En.* 72:3 and in *2 En.* (A) 16:7 the moon in a chariot is carried by wind, and in *2 Enoch* it is also accompanied by angels. On the angel Ofaniel (from אופן "wheel") as responsible for the moon, see *3 En.* 14:4.[379]

The Greek female moon deity Selene, who drives a *biga* chariot of two horses or oxen (in distinction to the sun's quadriga), is well known in Greek iconography and written sources. The same representation of Roman Luna must also go back to Greek models (cf. Plautus, *Bacch.* 255);[380] cf. also Suidas, s.v. ταυροπόλος. All these elements – likeness of woman, oxen and chariot – appear in a Mythraic depictions of the moon chariot carried by white oxen.[381]

G has "oxen and lambs," while S has only "oxen." The visual similarity of a new moon to bull horns probably gave rise to multiple associations of the moon deities with images of oxen. The moon appears as a horned bull in Akkadian myths. In Palmyra and among the Lihyan, the moon deity Shahr was called Aglibol ("young bull of Bol"); in Hatra he was referred to as Barmaren and represented as a bull. In Egypt, the full moon was called the "rutting bull," the new moon – the "ox."[382] Late tradition connected Apis with the moon (Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 43). In the Jewish context, the list of animals in G, including lambs as well as oxen, is almost identical to the list of sacrificial animals prescribed for the New Moon service: "And in the beginnings of your months you shall offer a burnt offering to the Lord: two young bulls, and one ram, seven yearling lambs, without blemish" (Num 28:11; cf. Ezek 46:6; Josephus, *Ant* 3.10.1). Pagan sacrificial practices also included a pair of bulls for the moon:

> they offered to the Sun four white horses, the swiftest creatures to the most rapid of the gods; to the Moon a pair of oxen, giving her who is nearest to the earth those animals that work the earth … At the altar of the Moon stood two bulls, and at the altar of the Sun four white horses ready to be sacrificed. (Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* 10.6)

Tertullian, when referring to circus games, notes: "concerning the chariot, the four-horse team was consecrated to the Sun; the two-horse team, to the Moon" (*Spect.* 9).

S is the most consistent in agreeing with these traditions: similar to *3 Baruch* having a quadriga with forty "fiery horses" for the sun (6:2S; just "an-

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379 Cf. Goodenough, *Jewish*, 8.202–05.

380 Gordon, "Selene."

381 *MMM*, 1.126.

382 Bendlin, Röllig, Lieven, "Moon."

gels" in G) and a chariot with twenty oxen for the moon (9:3S; no number in G), the sources above speak of quadriga or four horses for the sun and biga and two bulls (or horses) for the moon.

9:6. *Depicted* (γεγραμμένη). Also "written" or "ordained, prescribed." This lexical choice may hint at the concept of a celestial archetypical "picture" of creation. This Platonic idea is probably intended in *Apocalypse of Abraham* and is developed in Rabbinic sources:

> And I said, "Eternal Mighty One! What is this picture of creation?" And he said to me, "This is my will for existence in design, and it was pleasing to me. And then, afterward, I gave them a command by my word and they came into being. And whatever I had determined to be had already been previously depicted and stood before me in this, as you have seen, before they were created." (*Apoc. Abr.* 21:2–3)

> The Torah declares, "I was the working tool of the Holy One. In human practice, when a mortal king builds a palace, he builds it not with his own skill but with the skill of an architect. The architect moreover does not build it out of his head, but employs plans and diagrams to know how to arrange the chambers and the wicket doors. Thus God consulted the Torah and created the world." (*Gen. Rab.* 1.1)

Serpent. See comm. to ch. 4.

9:7. *And it [the moon] did not hide itself*. But did the sun did hide itself? The moon was probably expected to eclipse at the fall of the first humans as the sun did during the crucifixion (Matt 27:45) following Joel 2:10: in the day of the Lord "the sun and the moon will darken, and the stars will withdraw their shining" (cf. Ps 72:5). Both luminaries are supposed to withhold their light, "where the light of Zion is darkened" (*2 Bar.* 10:12). During the Flood the moon did not give light together with the sun (*Gen. Rab.* 25.2; 31.11; 33.3; 34.11; *b. Sanh.* 108b; *Pirqe R. El.* 23; *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 6:16). Both luminaries refused to rise, when Korah was disputing with Moses (*b. Ned.* 39b; *b. Sanh.* 110a). On the sun's eclipse as a sign of grief, see also *b. Suk.* 29a.

Rabbinic sources also tell of the "fall" of the moon that happened for diverse reasons (*Gen. Rab.* 6.3; *Mek.* Bo 1; *b. Hul.* 60b; *b. Sheb.* 9a; *Tg. Jer.* Gen 1:16 and Num 28:15; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5; *Pesiq. R.* 15; *Pirqe R. El.* 4–6 and 51; *Tan. B.* 2.47; *Midr. Konen* 25–26). However, the connection between the moon's "fall," its diminishing and periodical disappearance, and the fall of the first humans – and even the cooperation of the moon with Sammael[383] are unique for *3 Baruch*. In human transgressions the sun and

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[383] Especially according to G, where it not only continued to shine as in S, but even waxed. According to the family β of S it laughed alone when all luminaries wept together with first men (see note to 9:7S).

the moon are normally not collaborators but witnesses (*1 En.* 1:7; 100:10; *Sifre Deut.* 306; *b. Abod. Zar.* 3a; etc.; cf. with *Helios Panoptes*). For the stars punished for disobedience in *1 En.* 18:15–16, see comm. to 9:8 below.

3 Baruch says nothing about the widely known motif of the moon as a symbol of Israel (the moon became such a symbol as a compensation for its reduction; cf. sources above and especially *Mek.* Bo 1, 3a; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5, 54a; *Pesiq. R.* 15; *Tan. B.* 2.47).[384] *2 Baruch* connected the destruction of Jerusalem with the moon's eclipse: "And do you, O moon, extinguish the multitude of your light; for why should light rise again where the light of Zion is darkened (*2 Bar.* 10:12), while Isaiah connected the restoration of Israel to the magnification (also restoration to the former state?) of the moon: "The light of the moon will be as the light of the sun" (Isa 30:26). Rabbinic exegesis also adds to the story of the moon's punishment a promise for its increase in future (see references in the next comm.). Can the fall and punishment of the moon allude to the fall and destruction of Jerusalem in the prologue? The only hint for such an implied comparison might have been found in 9:8G below: as Israel survives, though injured, so also "the moon, [although] being intact, is exhausted by the heat of the sun" (see comm. below).

God was angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days / *God was angry with it and opened to it days to mourn* (καὶ ὠργίσθη αὐτῇ ὁ θεός καὶ ἔθλιψεν αὐτήν καὶ ἐκολόβωσεν τὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς / **и прогнѣва са на нь богъ и отъкрꙑ ѥмоу дьни да скрꙑбитъ**). The nature of the punishment in G is not fully clear. Gk θλίβω may be taken literally as "reduce, compress, crash" or metaphorically "afflict, oppress." The latter meaning is widely attested in LXX, rendering Heb לחץ (LXX Judg 4:3; 2 Kgs 13:4; Ezek 18:18; Ps 56:1; 106:42; Job 36:15). Thus, either (1) God "compressed" the moon from its former size, which was equal to the sun and thus "shortened its days" or (2) he "afflicted" it by "shortening its days." The author probably was aware of both meanings, and it is one more intentional word-play in this verse (see note to "kindled [its light]/transgressed for Sammael" above; see also the word-plays in 1:7G; 4:7S; 4:17G; 9:7G; 15:1S). The first suggestion is in accord with the widely known tradition that initially both luminaries were of the same size, and only later the moon was diminished (*Gen. Rab.* 6.3; *Mek.* Bo 1; *b. Hul.* 60b; *b. Sheb.* 9a; *Tg. Jer.* Gen 1:16 and Num 28:15; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 5; *Pesiq. R.* 15; *Pirqe R. El.* 4–6 and 51; *Tan.*

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[384] The only link may be the definition of the moon as "beautiful" (9:6) like the bride "beautiful as the moon" in Cant 6:10.

B. 2.47). However, the second option may be confirmed by an older tradition which states that "his [the sun's] light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon, but as regards size they are both equal" (*1 En.* 72:37). Moreover, the verse 9:8 below, which says that "the moon, [although] being *intact* is exhausted by the heat of the sun" (ἡ σελήνη σῷα οὖσα ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου θερμῆς ἐκδαπανᾶται), may be interpreted also as "the moon being *undiminished* …," since Gk σῶς means not only "intact, safe, well," but also "whole, undiminished." And finally, the second interpretation aligns well with the question of the visionary, who did not ask, why the moon is smaller than the sun, but "why is it that at one time it waxes, but at another time wanes" (9:5). The phases of the moon are discussed also in *1 En.* 73–74 and *2 En.* 16.

The reading of S (ms L) is also not clear (explanatory reading of mss Bβ must be secondary). It does not refer to any reduction of the moon's size or light, but probably only to the moonless days as the "days to mourn" (cf. previous comm. on eclipse as a sign of mourning).

9:8G. *Stars*. "The moon and the stars cannot shine before the sun," just as the sun and the moon "cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, the Father of Light" (*Apoc. Mos.* 36:3). Does this imply that the stars were also punished? The stars were known to receive a punishment for disobedience:

> This place is the end of heaven and earth; this has become a prison for the stars and the hosts of heaven. And the stars which roll over in the fire are ones which transgressed the command of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, because they did not come out at their appointed time. And he was angry with them, and bound them until the time of the consummation of their sins – ten thousand years. (*1 En.* 18:14–16)

> And there I saw seven of the stars of heaven bound and cast together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. Then I said, "For what reason [or "sin" in Ethiopic] are they bound, and for what reason have they been cast here?" Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, and he was their leader, told me, "Enoch, why do you ask, and why are you eager for the truth? These are the stars of heaven, which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here until ten thousand years, the time of their sins, are consummated." (*1 En.* 21:3–6; cf. 88; 90:24; cf. "rebellious stars" in *b. Moed Q.* 16a)

As the stars are "bound" in *1 En.* 18:15–16 and 21:6, so also "the stars are suspended" (οἱ ἀστέρες κρέμανται) in *3 Baruch*. Aetius tells that the Pre-Socratic Anaximenes held that the stars were fastened like "nails" in the "crystalline" sphere of the sky (2.14.3; *DK* 13 A14), and Empedocles believed that the fixed stars were attached to the sky in distinction to "wandering" planets (2.13.11; *DK* 31 A54). "Fixed star" in Greek and Latin be-

came a technical term (Gk ἀπλανής; Lat *stellae inerrans/inerabilis*), which was known also to Jewish authors of *Pr. Jac.* 16 and *b. Pes.* 94b (מזלות קבועין). The assumption of the fixed stars must go together with the concept of rotating celestial spheres (in order to explain the visible motion of stars): "The learned of the nations say, 'The sphere revolves, and the zodiacs are fixed [וחכמי אומות העולם אומרים גלגל חוזר ומזלות קבועין]' (*b. Pesah.* 94b); cf. Plato (*Rep.* 10; *Tim.* 38c-e) and Aristotle (*passim*; e.g., *Cael.* 2.8 [289b–290b]). On the connection of this conception to the rationale of 365 celestial gates, see comm. to "365 gates of heaven" in 6:13 above.

IV. Birds or *Abode of Just*

Lake of Birds (10:1–7)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And when I had learnt all these things from the archangel,	
he took and brought me into	1 And the angel of host took me to
the {third} [fourth] heaven.	a large [and] wide mountain,
2 And I saw an even plain, and in the middle of it a lake of waters.	2 and in the midst of the mountain there was a large lake of water.
3 And there were in it multitudes of birds	3 And there were birds
of all species,	from all heaven,
but not similar to [those] here [on earth].	but not similar to these [on earth], [but] very large,
But I saw a crane [as large] as great oxen;	similar to a crane.
and all were larger than those in the world.	And there were other birds larger than those.
4 And I asked the angel, "What is the plain, and what is the lake, and what is the multitude of birds around it?"	4 And I asked the angel, "What is this lake in the midst of the mountain and what are these birds?"
5 And the angel said,	5 And he told me,
"Listen, Baruch! The plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir.	

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[Cf. 10:7]	"There are pure birds praising God unceasingly day and night.
6 But the water is that which the clouds receive and rain upon earth, and the fruits grow."	6 And the clouds take the water from there and rain upon earth, and a fruit grows."
7 And I said again to the angel of the Lord, "And the birds?"	
And he told me, "They are those which continually sing praise to the Lord."	[Cf. 10:5]

NOTES

10:1S. *Angel of host/power* (**ангелъ силыныи**). This definition, in distinction to **ангелъ силы** of 2:1S; 11:1S (cf. Gk ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων of 1:8G; 2:6G) may be understood also as "strong angel." Cf. comm. to T:1S.

10:4S. Translated according to ms B. Ms L adds an address "Lord" and omits the words "what is this lake in the midst of the mountain." Ms B corresponds to G, while ms L goes better with the continuation of S, which, in distinction to G, lacks the first explanation on the lake given in 10:5. Slavonic 10:5–7 correspond to Greek 10:6–7, but in reverse order. Thus, 10:5G, giving an additional explanation on both the lake and the birds, was either omitted in S or interpolated in G.

Lake of waters / large lake of water (λίμνην ὑδάτων / **ѥзеро велико водъı**). A biblicism found also in LXX (Heb **אגם מים**; Ps 107:35; 114:8; cf. Isa 14:23; 41:18).

10:5. *When they assemble, living together choir by choir* (ὅταν ὁμιλῶσι συνδιάγοντες χοροὶ χοροί). Gk ὁμιλέω may be also used as "hold converse." Gk χορός means "band of singers" (and/or "dancers"); it cannot be used for a "flock" of birds. Cf. Heb (ה)מקהל as "assembly" and possibly "choir" (Ps 26:12; 68:27). See comm. below.

10:7G. *And I said again to the angel* (καὶ εἶπον πάλιν τὸν ἄγγελον). Cf. καὶ λέγει καὶ τοὺς ἀποκένους φέροντας τοὺς κανίσκους (15:3). In both case λέγω is used with acc. in place of dat. with preposition.

COMMENTARY

Whereas in the lower heavens the punishment of the wicked was shown (the Builders and Hades of chs. 2–5),[385] here, in the higher heaven, there is a description of the abode for the righteous souls.[386] Its placement in the narrative and in the structure of heavens is meaningful: the account of the luminaries appears between the descriptions of the two realms (chs. 6–9), and the report on the higher realm follows the account of the moon (ch. 9), i.e., this abode is "beyond the moon" (cf. lower impure and higher "holy" heavens in *2 En.* 8:5; *T. Levi* 3:3; *Quest. Ezra* (A) 19–20). Although the world view of *3 Baruch* does not have much in common with Greek cosmologies (see *Introduction*: Cosmology), this detail may agree with the views known to the Greek philosophers who believed that the superlunary sphere was substantially different from the sublunary one. The idiomatic use of these terms in modern languages goes back to a literal structural and functional differentiation of the two realms in ancient science: according to the Pythagorean and Platonic determination the sphere beyond the moon is the region of immutable eternal order.[387]

The superlunary abode of pious souls is located together with the storage place of celestial waters. Parallels show that in accord with the "multifunctionalist" approach of *3 Baruch* (ascribing to physical phenomena metaphysical functions), these waters probably not only serve for "fruitful" rain and dew, but also for purification of the souls during their heavenly ascent, a purification which might precede their anointing necessary for their final transformation (see on the Oil Reward in ch. 15). Thus, the Lake must be a transition station in the migration of soul-birds to a higher and eternal "resting places of righteous" (16:6S).

10:1G. *A {third} [fourth] heaven*. The translation follows the logic of the extant redaction. Both mss have τρίτον "third." However, the entrance to the third heaven was implied in 4:2, although in the extant mss no number is provided (in contrast to 2:2; 3:1; 7:2G and 11:1, where the numbers of the first, the second; the third and the fifth heaven are explicitly mentioned). This might be the reason that here original Gk τέταρτον "fourth" could have been changed due to scribal conjecture to τρίτον "third." So it reflects

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385 On heaven as a place of punishment see introductory comm. to ch. 4 (*Celestial Bestiary* 1.4: "Hell in Heaven").

386 At least according to G (see below). The issues of the afterlife of the righteous are probably raised again in ch. 15:2 (see comm. ibid).

387 See Gilbert, *Meteorologischen*, 83.

an (inconsistent) logic of the extant redaction. Otherwise, if τρίτον here is not a corruption, but a remnant of the original version, the whole division into heavens in *3 Baruch* would appear to be a result of an inaccurate late elaboration of a proto-text which initially held a three heavens cosmology (on this see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

There is an alternative way to argue for the originality of the "third" here. A witty attempt to reconstruct the original structure of the text was made by Martina Frasson.[388] Here (in 10:1) the regular description of the intercelestial journey in G (cf. 2:1–3; 3:1–3; 4:1–3) is lacking, while the number of the heaven ("third") is given. In the previous transfer in 4:2, in contrast, the journey is described, but the number of the heaven is absent. The "fourth" heaven is never mentioned (while the fifth is; 11:1). The total number of days for all three journeys is 275: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); 185 (4:2). Assuming that Baruch's journey lasted 365 days (basing on the number of solar gates in 6:13), Frasson proposes to insert into 10:1 the notion of a 90-day journey. If we would like to put the numbers in ascending order, we would have to relocate the current chapter to between ch. 3 and 4: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); **90* (10:1); 185 (4:2). Thus, the visions of the second heaven (Serpent, Hades, Tree, the sun and the moon) would be related to the fourth heaven, the structure of which fits well with the cosmology of *2 En.* 11.[389]

10:1. *Archangel / angel of host*. The angelic guide is called "archangel" only here. Elsewhere in *3 Baruch* only Michael merits such a title (11:8; 12:4). Philo's "archangel," described as the "eldest Logos" (*Her.* 42.205) in all his works, normally refers to an angel of Israel, although the name "Michael" is not mentioned (*Somn.* 1.15.157; *Conf.* 28.146; *Mos.* 1.29; 166).[390]

10:2. *Even plain / mountain* (πεδίον ἁπλοῦν [acc.] / **горѣ** [gen.]). S has "mountain" instead of "plain." Heavenly mountains are known from Is 14:13 and Ezek 28:13–19. Among the many mountains seen by Enoch, most are located on earth, but some are explicitly defined as "secret things of heaven" (*1 En.* 52:2) and are destined to become "as a fountain of water" (*1 En.* 53:7; cf. "lake of water" in *3 Baruch*). More frequently in apocalyptic literature mountains are only conduits to heaven, i.e., they are

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388 Frasson, "Struttura."

389 Alternatively, the three journeys may reflect the original three heavens scheme (for additional arguments in its favor see comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology*).

390 See Goodenough, *Light*, 79–80; Wolfson, *Philo*, 1.378.

not located there (e.g., *Jub.* 4:6; *1 En.* 17–19; *Apoc. Abr.* 9:8; 12; *Apoc. Zeph.* 3:2; Nag Hammadi *Apocalypse of Paul*; etc.).[391] In *3 Baruch* the celestial mountain is a dwelling place for the birds, interpreted in G as the souls of the pious dead. A mountain in the west is the abode of the deceased also in *1 En.* 22, and it has "a fountain of water in the midst of it" as well.[392] Soul is called a bird fleeing to the "mountain" (Heb רכס) in Ps 11:1. "Birds of mountains" are adjacent to the celestial "archetypical" bird Ziz according to the Rabbinic reading of Ps 50:11 (*Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *b. B. Bat.* 73b; cf. comm. to "birds" below).

In G there are no mountains in heaven. Heaven is a plain, as are the other heavens (on celestial plains in *3 Baruch* see comm. to 2:2). However, only this one is defined as "even, monotonous, unbroken" (πεδίον ἁπλοῦν). Gk adj. ἁπλόος (or contr. ἁπλοῦς) means not only physically "even,"[393] but also "simple, plain, sincere," as well as being a moral virtue.[394] In this sense it could render Heb תם "simple, innocent, perfect" (LXX Prov 10:9; Job 22:3). In Patristic literature the adjective was often used to define the nature of God, Logos, divine wisdom, light, beauty, etc.[395] This may be linked to the function of this plain as a place of assembly for the pious souls (see 10:5G and comm. below). The proto-text could contain Gk πεδίον ἁπλῶν "valley of innocent [souls]" (Heb גיא התמימים?; unattested elsewhere).

Afterlife plains were known to Greeks (Elysian Fields and Isles of the Blessed; see Homer, *Od.* 4.561–69; Hesiod, *Op.* 167–73; cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 2.69–71; Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.26; Plato, *Phaed.* 113a; and Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* 2.6–13). In *Sib. Or.* 2:413–14 the "Elysian plain" is a location of "Acherusian lake" (cf. next. comm.). Different sorts of post-mortem valleys are known also to the Bible (although mostly with negative connotations): valley (Heb בקעה; Gk πεδίον) of resurrection of Ezek 37:1–2; "valley (Heb גיא) of the death shadow" in Ps 23:4, and "valley of weeping" in Ps 84:7. See the "deep valleys" of *1 En.* 10:2; 52:1, 53:1; and *passim.* Gehenna, which in *3 Baruch* and some other sources located in heaven (see comm. to ch. 4), is also described as a "plain" in *2 En.* (A) 40:13 ("plain like a prison"). Elijah testifies in the apocryphal Latin *Epistle of Titus:* "The angel

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391 On mountains in early Jewish literature cf. Clifford, *Cosmic.*

392 For non-Jewish parallels see Wacker, *Weltordnung*, 146–77.

393 Cf., e.g., τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων "open plains" in Aristophanes, *Eq.* 527.

394 *LPG* 187, B1. Theoretically Gk ἁπλοῦν may also be a part. praes. acc. sg. from ἁπλόω "unfold, stretch out" or even "open, reveal," also in theological contexts (see multiple examples in *LPG* 188, B2): "revealing plain"?

395 Ibid. 187, A.

of the Lord showed me a deep valley, which is called Gehenna." The word "valley" is in fact a part of the etymology of the term (Heb גי(א) (בן) הנום "valley of Hinom"). However, another Hebrew word for "plain," מישור, is found in the contexts reminding the descriptions of *3 Baruch*: "Your spirit [or "wind"] is good. Lead me to the plain land [תנחני בארץ מישור] (Ps 143:10)"; this term even relates to praise in assemblies: "My foot stands on a plain,[396] I will bless the Lord in assemblies" (Ps 26:12).

Lake of water. The lake of birds is a unique image in Jewish apocalypticism, not counting a negative definition in *1 En.* 18:12: "There was neither water, nor birds" (pl. in Ethiopic and sg. in Greek). The most similar is the Acherusian lake (Ἀχέρουσα λίμνη), which is also an abode of righteous or of immortal souls in *Apoc. Mos.* 37:3; *Sib. Or.* 2:334–338; *Apoc. Paul* 22–23; *Apoc. Pet.* 14; cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 113a). Sometimes "lake" and "river, stream" are not distinguished: "And behold, a *river*, and the waters of it were white exceedingly, more than milk, and I told the angel, 'What is this?' And he told me, 'This is the *lake* Acherusia'" (*Apoc. Paul* 22–23). The sources of water seem to be a regular accessory to the abodes of the pious: "Such a division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water" (*1 En.* 22:9). Cf. "fountain of life" (Heb מקור חיים) of Ps 36:10.[397]

Why are these waters necessary there? Although it is not stated in *3 Baruch*, parallels show that the lake must be a purgatory basin or even *fons vitae* for the souls as they transform into eternal and celestial beings.[398] In Egypt the righteous is "washed in the Lake of Perfection"[399] or "bathed in the celestial waters."[400] The idea was adopted by Plato (*Phaedo* 113a; cited below). The Lake of Acherousia has the same function in Jewish and Christian sources:

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396 LXX understood it here as "straightness." The word can mean also "uprightness" as in Isa 11:4; Ps 67:5; etc.

397 Here it follows "men shelter in the shadow of your wings" (Ps 36:8); on the protective "shadowing" in *3 Baruch*, see comm. to 6:2 and introductory comm. to ch. 6. Greek Hades also had springs of water (see Charles, *Enoch*, 49).

398 As probably also in Rev 7:17, where the pious in their afterlife are led to "the springs of living water." Heb מים חיים lit. "living water," referring only to "running water" in the Bible, could be midrashically interpreted as "water of life" (as in Rev 22:1, 17); for the same term see *1 En.* 17:4 (cf. comm. to ch. 8) and "water of life" of Babylonian mythology (*ANET* 108, l. 34).

399 *Book of the Dead* 172; Wright, *Heaven*, 23.

400 Coffin Text # 293; Faulkner, *Coffin*, 1.218; Wright, *Heaven*, 23.

> There came one of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake, and washed him thrice, and led him before God. And he stayed there three hours, lying down, and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael saying, "Lift him up into paradise unto the third heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world." (*Apoc. Mos.* 37:3–5)

> He [Adam] is delivered by the commandment of the Lord to Michael the angel, and he washes him in the lake Acherusa and so brings him in to the city of Christ with them that have done no sin. (*Apoc. Paul* 23)

> Then I will give to my elect and righteous the washing and the salvation for which they have besought me, in the field of Akroseya which is called Aneslasleya. They will adorn with flowers the portion of the righteous, and I shall go […] I shall rejoice with them. I will cause the peoples to enter into my everlasting kingdom, and show them that eternal thing. (*Apoc. Pet.* 14)

A similar function is attributed to the streams of balsam in which souls bathe before entering Paradise (*Bet HaMidr.* 3.31 and 139; 5.183; 2.29). Baptismal and ablutionary practices were well established in Jewish and Christian circles where, in addition to effecting purification, they could also signify a rebirth (especially for proselytes; cf., e.g., *b. Yeb*. 48b; John 3:5). Immersion into water could also have regenerative meaning in Hellenistic mysterial initiations:

> Washing is the channel through which they [the nations] are initiated into some sacred rites – of some notorious Isis or Mithras … At all events, at the Apollinarian and Eleusinian games they are baptized; and they presume that the effect of their doing that is their regeneration and the remission of the penalties due to their perjuries. (Tertullian, *Bapt.* 5; cf. Philo, *Somn.* 14)[401]

Note that in *3 Baruch* the lake waters are also a source of "the dew of heaven" (10:9G), which is frequently described as having resurrective qualities (see comm. ibid.)

There are two more indirect confirmations of the purificatory function of the lake within the text of *3 Baruch* itself: (1) the birds dwelling on it are called "pure [or "clean"] birds" in 10:5S (see comm. ibid.) and (2) the sun's crown is said to be carried from one heaven below the heaven of the lake somewhere "up to heaven" (8:4) for a daily purification (for details see introductory comm. to ch. 8). In *3 Baruch* the Lake account immediately follows the vision of the Lights, and in Rabbinic lore the "lake of water"

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401 Cf. Nock, "Pagan."

[בריכה של מים] was known to be set before the sun in order to chill it in its rise "lest it burn the world" (*Gen. Rab.* 6.6; see comm. to 6:6).

Below we learn that the righteous are rewarded with oil (ch. 15). If this oil reward is a reward of the afterlife, *3 Baruch* must present two kinds, or rather two stages, of the postcarnate transformation of the pious: ablution and anointing. Deceased Adam was subjected to both procedures: his soul was washed (*Apoc. Mos.* 37:3–5 cited above) and his body anointed (40:2). So, too, Levi's consecration into the priesthood, during his lifetime, underwent both processes in heaven, although in reverse order: "And the first [angelic "man in white"] anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the rod of judgment; the second washed me with pure water" (*T. Levi* 8:4–5). In *3 Baruch* the Tree of Life is most probably an olive and a source of anointing oil (see comm. to 4:7S and ch. 15). "Waters of life" and the "Tree of Life" are united in the concluding chapter of Revelation (22:1–2) and both are used subsequently: "who wash their robes, they may have the right to the Tree of Life" (Rev 22:14; cf. 22:17):

> Then he showed me a pure river of the water of life, clear as crystal, coming from the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the middle of its street. On either side of the river was the Tree of Life, bearing twelve ["crops of" or "kinds of"] fruit, yielding its fruit every month; and the leaves of the Tree were for the healing of the nations (22:1–2) … Blessed are those who wash their robes, so that they may have the right to the Tree of Life, and may enter by the gates into the city. (22:14)

Both procedures are united in the resurrection process of *Gos. Nicod.* 19:

> Then the most beloved Son of God will come upon earth to raise up the body of Adam and the bodies of the dead, and he will come and be baptized in Jordan. And when he comes forth of the water of Jordan, then he will anoint with the oil of mercy all that believe in him, and that oil of mercy will be for all generations of them that will be born of water and of the Holy Ghost, for eternal life.

The same order of the rite occurs in *Acts Thom.* 25: "cleansing them with your washing and anointing them with your oil from the error that encompasses them." The ablution and anointing in different orders were combined in many Gnostic and Christian baptismal practices (*Apost. Const.* 7.22; Ps.-Clementine *Rec.* 3; Pseudo-Justin, *Quaest. ad Orthodoxos* 137), and both are attested for the dead or dying with obvious connotations to the reward of the life after death; see baptism of the dead (1 Cor 15:29), Gnostic "sealing" of the dead with oil (Origen, *Cels.* 6.27, 34), and the rite of unction (cf. comm. to ch. 15).

The verse 10:5G says: "where the souls of the righteous *come, when they assemble* …". Does it mean they only come, occasionally, from other

abodes? Or do they rather "assemble" from earth and reside there temporarily before going to other abodes? In accordance with 16:6S, which employs the plural "the resting places of the righteous," the lake might not be the only place for righteous souls. The idea of the multiplicity of such abodes is not unique: "In my Father's house there are many mansions" (John 14:2; cf. Origen, *Princ.* 2.11.6); "Many shelters have been prepared for people, very good houses, [and] bad houses without number" (*2 En.* 61:2; cited according to A). The *Apocalypse of Paul* mentions three places: the Land of the Blessed (14), the paradise of the third heaven (45), and the terrestrial paradise (45–51). See also *1 En.* 22 on three "hollow places" for different categories of souls. Plato's Acherusian lake is also just a transition point:

> This is the lake to the shores of which the souls of the many go when they are dead, and after waiting an appointed time, which is to some a longer and to some a shorter time, they are sent back to be born again into living beings. (*Phaedo* 113a)

At the same time, "these, all who have duly purified themselves by philosophy live henceforth altogether without bodies, and pass to still more beautiful abodes which it is not easy to describe" (*Phaedo* 114c). In *3 Baruch*, the lake also may be a gathering and transition point, while the ultimate destination of the birds-souls must be the "the kingdom of Heaven" (11:2G) or "the resting places of the righteous" (16:6S), achieved probably in the Day of Judgment (1:7) due to the Oil Reward (ch. 15). The image of the soul-birds as "multitudes of birds of all species" residing on the lake shores on their way to their eternal abode could have been inspired by magnificent views of huge migratory birds flocks (often including cranes, as in 10:3)[402] stopping on the water reservoirs of Palestine and other lands of the south-eastern Mediterranean on their way to Africa, as can still be seen even today. These views are also a well attested iconographic motif in these regions (cf. comm. to "crane" in 10:3 below).

The most striking parallels to the destiny of the dead as presented in *3 Baruch* are provided by the "the speech of the deceased" from the Egyptian Papyrus of Nu (BM 10.477.24):

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[402] "Of birds, the crane, as has been said, migrates from one end of the world to the other" (Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 12).

"the dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly, and he is nourished by them" (4:5G)	The deceased asks to deliver him from "the god Baba who feeds on the entrails of the mighty ones upon the day of the great reckoning"
"blackened" angels of sinners bringing punishment on their charges (13:1; 16:2–3)	and from "divine messengers who cause dire deeds to happen, and who cause calamities to come into being, and who are without coverings for their faces."
the celestial lake, most probably the purification basin of the souls of the deceased (10:2–5) and the sun's crown brought by its angels at night (8:4)	He says, "I have purified myself and my breast with libations … and my hinder parts with the things which make clean, and my inward parts have been [immersed] in the Pool of Right and Truth. There is no single member of mine which lacks right and truth. I have been purified in the Pool of the South, and I have rested in the City of the North, which is in the Field of the Grasshoppers, wherein the divine sailors of Rā bath at the second hour of the night and at the third hour of the day."
Before the gate to the Kingdom of Heaven, the flowers-virtues of humans are exchanged in the heavenly liturgy for the oil (probably the Olive Tree of Life planted by Michael; 15:1–2; 4:7S)	In order to enter the "city," he adds, 'My name is he who is provided with flowers, and dweller in his olive tree.' Then let them say unto me straightway, 'Pass on,' and I would pass on to the city to the north of the Olive tree"

10:3–5. Birds here are a complex image, which may be connected variously to the souls of the deceased (thus explicitly in G), to celestial praise (in both versions), and probably to the archetypical giant Bird of chs. 6–8. The aquatic connections of birds, both terrestrial and celestial, may be traced in different traditions.

1. *Birds as Souls.* Souls of righteous are identified as birds only in G, and even there not explicitly: the text states that "the plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come," never saying that the birds are the souls. However, there are two arguments in favor of the identification: (1) the statement is made as an answer to the question "What is the plain, and what is the lake, and what is the multitude of birds around it?" (thus, the following question "And the birds?" relates only to the function of the soul-birds, since the function of the lake is explained above); and (2) souls are "living together choir by choir," while the birds similarly "continually sing praise to the Lord." The identification is

lacking in S. However, as we will see below, it was so widely and universally known, that the laconic Greek *Vorlage* of S did not see a need for the explanation added in the later version reflected by G.

The bird flight of the souls of the deceased was a common heritage of Jews and their neighbors (probably rooted in a universal animalistic motif). Egyptians knew of the journey of the soul of the deceased passing through numerous gates in its ascent (e.g., *CT* 44.492).[403] In Egyptian mythology the human soul – *ka* – leaving the body takes a form of a human-headed bird – *ba*, so that the soul can ascend "into the company of the gods, being alive in the bird-shape."[404] The souls live in the "Field of Rushes" (cf. our lake located in an "even plain" in 10:2).[405] The soul goes up "as a swallow" and cackles "as a goose" while ascending to the "great plateau" in the "eastern corner of the sky."[406] In ancient Mesopotamia the dead in "the dark house" are "clothed like birds, with wings for garments" (*ANET* 107). The souls of the kings of Egypt, Assyria and Persia were pictured with birds' wings; similarly the Arabs regarded the soul as a bird, and believed that after death it hovered around the body (Al-Mas'udi, *Golden Meadows* 3.310).[407] These views were shared by at least some Greeks and Romans:

> It [soul] traverses the whole heaven, appearing sometimes in one form and sometimes in another; now when it is perfect and fully winged, it mounts upward and governs the whole world; but the soul which has lost its wings is borne along until it gets hold of something solid. (Plato, *Phaedr.* 246b-c)

Plato also believed in "man to bird" metempsychosis, although prepared not for the righteous but for the "light minded" and empiric students of cosmology:

> And the tribe of birds are derived by transformation, growing feathers in place of hair, from men who are harmless but light-minded – men, too, who, being students of the worlds above, suppose in their simplicity that the most solid proofs about such matters are obtained by the sense of sight. (Plato, *Tim.* 91d)

See also Plato's idea of the pending period for such souls waiting for rebirth on the lake shores (*Phaedo* 609; cited in the previous comm.). As the birds of *3 Baruch* are defined as "pure" in 10:5S, so also Plato's souls return from

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403 See Zandee, *Death*, 25–31, 112–25; Goedicke, "Egyptian;" cf. Bonomi and Sharpe, *Alabaster*; Buck and Gardiner, *Egyptian*.

404 Faulkner, *Pyramid*, 1.281, #667A; Book of the Dead, #78; see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 2.295; Wright, *Heaven*. 20.

405 Coffin Text #159 and see 161; Wright, *Heaven*, 22.

406 Coffin Text #190; Wright, *Heaven*, 22.

407 Jastrow Jr., Nowack, Ginzberg, Kohler, "Birds."

their postcarnate journey "descending out of heaven clean and bright" (*Rep*. 10.614). The post-mortem "flight" of the human spirit to heaven, "its proper home and permanent abode," was known to Cicero ("Scipio's Dream," *Resp*. 6.29), Plutarch (*Rom*. 28.6–7), and others (cf. comm. to "as if [borne] on wings" in 2:2 above). Note also a Hellenistic (probably Jewish) epitaph: "This grave hides in its bosom my chaste body, but my soul has flown to the holy ones."[408]

Jews also believed that the soul had the form of a bird and often the flight of the soul is mentioned. The soul is a "bird:" "How will you say to my soul, 'A bird, wander [נודי] to your mountain!" (Ps 11:1; cf. a mountain in place of the lake in S). False prophets "trap souls like birds" (Ezek 13:20). "And the soul may say, 'The body has sinned; for since I am separated from it, I fly in the air like bird'" (*b. Sanh*. 92b). If these might have been considered not more than poetic comparisons, the following gives a more detailed picture:

> The words of Job, "Though he goes up as high as heaven, and his head reaches a cloud" [Job 20:6], refer to the day of death. When a man even reaches heaven and receives wings like a bird, because his death has come, his wings break, and he falls before the angel of death as a cattle before a butcher. (*Tan. B*. Vaethanan 6)

See "Gehennah, in which the wicked flit about like birds" (*Exod. Rab*. 38). Ornimorphic souls, similar to Egyptian *ba*, are known to *3 En*. 44:3: "their faces looked like human faces, but their bodies were like eagles." Moses asks to transform to a bird instead of dying in *Deut. Rab*. 11.9; cf. *y. Moed Q*. 3.82b; *y. Yeb*. 15.15c; *Gen. Rab*. 93.8 and 100.7; *Lev. Rab*. 18.1; and *b. Ket*. 62b. See also "the bird of this world" that cannot pass the river preventing an access to another world (*Hist. Rech*. 2:9; cf. comm. to 2:1).

In light of these parallels the problematic saying of R. Hanina in *b. Moed. Q*. 28b–29a (קשה יציאת נשמה מן הגוף כציפורי בפי הוושט), may be understood literally: "The way out of the body is difficult for the soul like the [fluttering of the] bird in the narrow place [or "gullet"]."[409] This interpretation goes well with the Hebrew term **צפור נפש**, lit. "bird of soul" designating the cartilage at the end of the sternum (*cartilago ensiformis*; *t. Sanh*. 12.3; *b. B. Qam*. 90b). According to *t. Mak*. 5.15 the whip "should not reach the 'bird of his soul,' lest the man dies" (**שלא תגיע לציפר נפשו וימות**).

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[408] Epitaph of Arsinoe of Leontopolis (Horst, *Ancient*, 51).

[409] And not "like whirling waters …" or as Rashi: "like the rope [passing] at the loop-hole of the mast" (in distinct of the following naval simile of R. Yohanan: **כפטירי בפי וושט** "like the top-sail at the loop-hole of the mast").

In late mystical texts the dwelling place of the Messiah's soul until his advent is known as "the Bird's Nest" (*Seder Gan Eden* in *Bet HaMidr.* 3.131–140; *Zohar*, Exod. 2.7b–9a; 3.196b). This might be rooted in a Rabbinic concept of "Guf," a celestial treasure-house of unborn souls (*b. Yeb.* 62a, 63b; *b. Nid.* 13b).[410]

2. *Angelic Birds*. Alternatively, it is possible that S preserves an older reading here, and that the identification of the birds with souls in G is a later misinterpretation (based in its turn as we have seen on the well developed tradition). The birds might initially have been understood as another kind of celestial, probably angelic, beings. Ornimorphic angels (with human faces) are known, e.g., to *3 En.* 2:1; 24:11; 26:3, 47:4. A unique and not fully clear interpretation of Ps 104 ascribed to R. Akiba may refer to an aggadic tradition which could stand behind *3 Baruch* as well. The psalm speaks about the waters that "stood above the mountain" (104:6), bounded to prevent a new Flood (104:9), in connection to the "heavenly birds" (Heb עוף-השמים) dwelling on the springs of water (104:11–12). These birds are explicitly identified with angels:

> "You have set a bound that they may not pass over … He sends the springs into the valleys … Above them dwell the birds of the sky." R. Ishmael and R. Akiba [disagreed]: R. Akiba maintained that "springs" referred to pools in which lepers, whose presence under a roof brings the same degree of uncleanness as a dead body, are required to immerse themselves [when they are healed], and *"the birds of the sky" are the ministering angels*. But R. Ishmael said to R. Akiba, "You ought to give up this kind of exegesis, and turn to the study of the treatises *Signs of Leprosy* and *Tents*." (*Midr. Pss.* 104: 9–12)

3. *Praising Birds*. The birds "assemble, living together choir by choir" (10:5G) and "continually sing praise to the Lord" (10:7G), also according to S they are "praising God unceasingly day and night (10:5S). If the birds are the souls of the just (10:5G), this is in a contradiction to Ps 115:7: "The dead do not praise Lord, nor all those who go down to silence." Singing in heaven and celestial choirs are well attested as a part of the celestial liturgy, but performed by angels rather than by souls or birds (e.g., *1 En.* 40; 60; *2 En.* 7–9; 21; *Apoc. Abr.* 18; *T. Levi* 3:8; *Apoc. Zeph.* 8; *Asc. Isa.* 7–9; and Qumranic *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*). Ornimorphic and probably angelic beings in this function are found in *2 Enoch*, where "phoenixes

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[410] Soul-birds appear in *Disputatio Panagiotae* (probably dependent on *3 Baruch*). Cf. Aptowitzer, "Seele."

and chalkydri" of the sixth heaven "sing in unison" to delight the Lord (*2 En.* 19:6); lower phoenixes and chalkydri also "broke into song at the command of the Lord" to praise the sun (*2 En.* 15:1; 19:6).[411]

4. *Birds and Phoenix*. These birds may be connected to the archetypical Bird of heaven, "Phoenix" of chs. 6–8. See "and the birds seek me" (6:8S; probably only earthly birds awaiting for a signal for the morning song are meant). Phoenix feeds on "the dew of earth" (6:11G), while the birds reside on the source of celestial dew (10:9G; see comm. ibid.). The phoenix-like bird is "the king of birds, for all the birds, as one, in fear did haste to follow after him" (Ezekiel the Tragedian, *Exagoge* 254–69). The Rabbinic counterpart of Phoenix, Ziz, is mentioned as "Ziz of the field and every bird of the mountains" (Rabbinic reading of Ps 50:11; see *Lev. Rab.* 22.10; *b. B. Bat.* 73b; LXX has "birds of heaven," τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, instead). "Phoenixes and chalkydri" of *2 Enoch* combine the functions of Phoenix and the birds of *3 Baruch*: like Phoenix, they accompany the sun (*2 En.* 12:1–2) and like the birds of the lake, they are connected to dew water (*2 En.* 12:2) and sing praises to God (*2 En.* 15:1; 19:6).

5. *Birds and water.* Birds of ancient lore are closely connected to water. "He made all kinds of birds, as sister kinds to those in the waters" (Philo, *Opif.* 20.63). The birds are created from water mixed with ground (cf. *b. Hul.* 27b; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 4.35a; *Tan. B.* 4.112; *Tan.* Hukkat 6; *Eccl. Rab.* 7.23; *Num. Rab.* 19.3). The birds of *3 Baruch* are set on the lake of the heavenly dew and productive rain. The task of the multiple "phoenixes and chalkydri" of *2 Enoch* (12:1–2) is to "carry heat and dew."

10:3. *Crane* (γέρανος / жєравъ). Among the birds of "all species" Baruch specifically mentions the crane. The crane (probably Biblical Heb עגור or סוס; Rabbinic כורכיא) is not listed among the birds forbidden for food (Lev 11; Deut 14), and it accords with the definition "pure birds" of 10:5S (see comm. below). "These birds [cranes] migrate from the steppes of Scythia to the marshlands south of Egypt where the Nile has its source" (Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* 12); they gather in large flocks and reside in Palestine only in summer (cf. comm. to 10:2, end). Jeremiah noticed that the crane, with some other bird species, "observe the time of their coming" (Jer 8:7). It is the largest bird seen in Palestine, and it is its size which is

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411 Cf. earthly birds uttering verbal praise to their Creator (as well as other creatures) in *Perek Shira*.

stressed in *3 Baruch*: "a crane [as large] as great oxen" in G and "very large [birds], similar to a crane" in S. The crane was known for its strong voice (cf. Isa 38:14), which became proverbial (cf. "cry like a crane" in *y. Dem.* 2.22c; *b. Kid.* 49a). This feature may be connected to the main function of the birds, "continually singing praise" (10:7G/10:5S) or to the cry of the departing soul which is so strong that it overthrows trees ("it breaks down cedars, it breaks down oaks;" *Gen. Rab.* 6.7). Images on coins and ancient gems demonstrate the popularity of the bird.[412]

There are South Slavic folklore accounts (according to Gura, of Greek origin), where men may transform into cranes and vice versa. This metamorphosis takes place when they bathe in a special lake.[413]

10:5S. *Pure birds*. The reading occurs only in S. Previously translated as "shining,"[414] CS ѡ҃ц(ь)нѣ "clear, clean" might render Gk καθαρός "pure."[415] Gk ὄρνεον καθαρόν renders Heb צפור טהרה of Deut 14:11 and Gk πετεινόν καθαρόν comes for Heb עוף טהור in Deut 14:20. This combination is rare in Greek and appears mainly in sources influenced by Jewish and Christian traditions,[416] Heb pl. עופות טהורים for ritually clean birds is widely used in Rabbinc sources (*m. Makshir.* 6.3; *t. Ohal.* 12.3; *Hul.* 2.14; 8.11; *Kel.* 7.5; etc.). Philo considered clean birds to be of especially noble and pure nature comparable to that of celestial bodies:

> But the fifth substance only is made unmixed and pure, for which reason it is not of a nature to be divided. Wherefore it is well said that "the birds he did not divide" [Gen 15:10] since, as in the case of birds, it is the nature of celestial bodies … to be elevated and to resemble both [kinds of] clean birds, the turtle-dove and the dove, which do not admit of cutting or division, since they belong to the simpler and unmixed fifth substance … (Philo, *Quaest. Gen.* 3.6)

A subtext of a talmudic saying that "the clean birds dwell with the righteous" may belong to the tradition presented in *3 Baruch*:

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412 Imhoof-Blumer, Keller, *Tier*, pls. 6.3; 6.6, 7; 22.2, 12, 17, and 24.8.

413 Gura, *Simvolika*, 647, 658.

414 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 111.

415 Srezn, 3.1668. Cf. *LPG*, 684–5.

416 Cf. Apollonius who calls pigeons "pure birds of God" – ὄρνεα καθαρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ (*Apotelesmata* 1389.1; the same work has Hebrew forms on 1384.7). Cf. τὰ καθαρὰ ὄρνεα ιν τί σημαίνει ἕκαστον τῶν ζῳδίων καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τίνων δεσπόζουσι (e cod. Laur. plut. 28, 34, fol. 155), l. 64 (Ludwich, *Maximi*, 119–122); cf. also Jerome, *Adv. Luc.* 22.

> Also he [Noah] sent out a dove from him, to see if the waters had receded [Gen 8:8]. R. Jeremiah said, "This proves that the clean birds dwell with the righteous [מכאן שדירתן של עופות טהורים עם הצדיקים]." (*b. Sanh.* 108b)[417]

A Rabbinic equivalent of Phoenix, Ziz is also known as a "clean bird" fit for the eschatological banquet (זיז עוף טהור הוא; *Gen. Rab.* 19.4 and par.). The late account on the Hebrew tribes living beyond the Sambation river probably preserves an echo of the tradition of a remote lake with "all species" (cf. 10:3G) of "pure birds" on it:

> And they [the tribes] assembled to the lake, and saturated their land from them [springs and lake]. And that lake teemed with all kinds of fish, and all species of clean birds flew on the springs and the lake [ועל המעינות ועל האגם יפרחו כל מיני עופות טהורים]. (*Gen. Rabbati*, Vayetse).

Excursus: Cosmic Hydrology Continued (10:8–9)

Greek	Slavonic
8 And I Baruch said, "Lord, and how is that men say that the water that rains is from the sea?"	8 And I said, "How is it that men say that clouds come down to the sea and take water and rain?"
9 And the angel said,	9 And the angel told me,
	"The race of men is mistaken,
"There is rain also from the sea, and from the waters upon earth, and this one; but that which produces the fruits is from here. Know, thus, from now on that from this comes what is called the dew of heaven."	for all the water of the sea is salty, so that if it rained by the sea [water], a fruit would not grow on earth. But know [pl.] that clouds are from that lake and they rain."

NOTES

10:9G. *From here* (ἐκ τούτου). Or "from this [place]." Cf. ἀπὸ τούτου "from there" (11:1).

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417 This is deduced from the words "from him," which is not mentioned in connection with the raven.

COMMENTARY

The sources of rain and dew are of common interest for apocalyptic visionaries. Enoch was shown "the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there I saw from where they proceed in that place and from where they saturate the dusty earth" (*1 En.* 41:3). Moses also was shown "the place from which the clouds draw up water to water the whole earth, and the place from which the river takes its water" as well as "the place in the firmament from which only the Holy Land drinks" (*Bib. Ant.* 19:10; it is unclear whether the first two sources are located in heaven, as the last one, or on earth, as "the land of Egypt" mentioned inbetween).

Rain. This might be a Mesopotamian idea that the rainwater is kept in special celestial reservoirs.[418] The idea of "heavenly waters" appears in Greek and Roman writings until the relatively late times (from *War of Titans* 4 [apud Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 7.277D] to Ovid, *Fast.* 4.386). It is also found in the Bible (Gen 1:6–7; Job 38:37; Deut 28:12). Other meteorological elements are also stored in heaven (Jer 10:13; 51; 16; Ps 135:7; *1 En.* 41:3–4; 76; *2 En.* 3–6; *T. Levi* 3:2; *b. Hag.* 12b). Similarly to our lake, the "upper water" (מים עליונים) of Rabbinic tradition was known as a source of the rain: "There is something like a box [קובה] in the firmament from which the rains issue" (*b. Taan.* 8b); "The upper water is suspended by the word,[419] and their fruit is rain water, as it is said, 'the earth is sated from the fruit of your work' [Ps 104:13]" (*b. Taan.* 10a). This water treasury was the objective of the Tower builders according to *b. Sanh.* 109a: "They said, 'Let us build a tower, ascend to heaven, and cleave it with axes, that its waters might gush forth.'" Some Church Fathers also held to this biblical conception (Isidorus, *Nat.* 14.1–2).[420] Cf. comm. to "sea" in 4:3S/4:6G.

However, the conception that the heavenly water is the one "which the clouds receive and rain upon earth" (*3 Bar.* 10:6) contradicted the new Hellenistic views (which must have become popular – as indicated by the expression "men say" in 10:8), according to which "the water that rains is from the sea" (10:8G), or more in detail, "clouds come down to the sea and take water and rain" (10:8S). The latter theory was known already to the Pre-Socratics:

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418 Cf. *Enuma Elish* 4–5; see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 5.344.

419 Cf. "much water suspended" in the first heaven (*T. Levi* 2:7).

420 Cf. Hoffmann, *Anschauungen*, 5–13.

> The sea is the source of water and the source of wind; for neither would blasts of wind arise in the clouds and blow out from within them, except for the great sea, nor would the streams of rivers nor the rain-water in the sky exist but for the sea; but the great sea is the begetter of clouds and winds and rivers. (Xenophanes, *Frag.* 11; *DK* 1.125, 20–23).

Aristotle even argues with the people "supposing that water, snow, and hail existed all along and were produced when the time came and not generated at all, as if the atmosphere brought each to hand out of its stock from time to time" (*Meteor.* 2.9.). His water cycle is completely terrestrial (ibid. 1.3). On the origin of clouds and rain see also Lucretius 6.495–523; Vitruvius 8.2.1–4; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2.111; Isidorus, *Orig.* 13.7.1–2; 13.10.2–3; *Nat.* 32.1–2; 33.1–3.

The conflict between the traditional and new views is documented by the Rabbis. Here both sides resort to the textual authority of the Bible:

> And from where does the earth drink? R. Eliezer and R. Yehoshua [disagreed]. R. Eliezer said, "From the waters of the Ocean, as it is written, 'But there went up a mist from the earth and watered, etc.' [ואיד יעלה מן הארץ והשקה; Gen 2:6]." R. Yehoshua told him, "But are not the waters of the Ocean salty?" He [R. Eliezer] said, "They are sweetened in the clouds, as it is written, 'Which the clouds distil' [אשר יזלו שחקים; Job 36:28]. Where are they distilled? In the clouds [שחקים]. R. Yehoshua said, "[The earth drinks] from the upper waters [ממים העיליונים], for it is written, "And [the land] drinks water from the rain of heaven [למטר השמים תשתה מים; Deut 11:11). The clouds, however, mount up to heaven and receive them [the waters] as from the mouth of a bottle [כמפי הנוד], as it is written, 'They gather up rain into its cloud' [יזוקו מטר לאידו; Job 36:27]? They distil it as from a sieve, not one drop touches another, as it is written, 'Distilling waters [from] the thick clouds' [חשרת מים עבי שחקים; 2 Sam 22:12]." Why are they [the clouds] called *shehaqim*? Resh Lakish said, 'Because they break up [*shohaqim*] the water [into drops].' R. Abba b. Kahana said, "They do this like the entrails of an animal." R. Yohanan and Resh Lakish [disagreed]. R. Yohanan said, "Clouds come from above, as it is written, 'And behold, with the clouds of heaven'" [וארו עם ענני שמיא; Dan. 7:13). Resh Lakish said, "Clouds come from below, as said, 'Who causes the vapors [clouds] to ascend from the end of the earth [מעלה נשיאים מקצה הארץ; Ps 135:7]?'" (*Gen. Rab.* 13.10–11; cf. *Eccl. Rab.* 1.7; *b. Taan.* 9b)

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan agrees with the Aristotelian views of R. Eliezer and Resh Lakish:

> And a cloud of glory descended from the Throne of glory, and was filled with waters from the Ocean, and afterward went up from earth, and gave rain to come down and water all the face of the ground. (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 2:6)

See also *Gen. Rab.* 12.3 (R. Joseph: "though the rain falls from heaven, its creation is from the earth"); *b. Menah.* 69a; and *b. Erub.* 45b. The origin of clouds from the sea is especially obvious for Palestine, where rain clouds

are often seen arising "from the west," that is, from the sea (1 Kgs 18:44; Luke 12:54; *2 Bar.* 53:1).

The idea of the salt waters distilled in clouds (as in *Genesis Rabba* above) was known already to Hippocrates (who provides the first detailed description of the theory of rain):

> Rain waters, then, are the lightest, the sweetest, the thinnest, and the clearest; for originally the sun raises and attracts the thinnest and lightest part of the water, as is obvious from the nature of salts; for the saltish part is left behind owing to its thickness and weight, and forms salts. (Hippocrates, *Aer.* 8).

The Greek version of *3 Baruch* aims to harmonize the traditional doctrines of heavenly waters with new Hellenistic meteorological science. It solves this problem in a creative way: resorting to a traditionally known Jewish dichotomy of productive and non-productive waters, G claims that both doctrines are right, since there are three kinds of rain: "There is rain also from the sea, and from the waters upon earth, and this one; but that which produces the fruits is from here" (10:9G). The idea that only rain water is productive might have been derived from Gen 2:5: "And no shrub of the field was yet in the earth, and no plant of the field had yet sprouted, for the Lord God had not sent rain upon the earth." Cf. "R. Hiyya taught: In both places [Eden and earth] nothing grew until rain descended upon them" (*Gen. Rab.* 13.1). The problem of productive (or masculine waters from heaven) vs. unproductive (or feminine waters from the abyss) irrigation is widely known in early Jewish science:

> And in those days the punishment will come from the Lord of Spirits, and he will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth. And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. (*1 En.* 54:7–8)

Cf. *t. Taan.* 1.4; *y. Taan.* 1.64b; *b. Taan.* 6b; *y. Ber.* 9.14a *Gen. Rab.* 13.14; 32.7; and *Pirqe R. El.* 5; 23. Ginzberg suggested that the whole idea of sexual dichotomy of waters must go back to the Babylonian conception of Apsu and Tiamat.[421] However, the development of this concept into the belief that only the rain water can be productive, which is plausible in Palestine with agriculture based on rain watering, could hardly be applied to the irrigation cultures of Mesopotamia or Egypt.

Rains of blessing were believed to come only from the south (*Pesiq. R.* 46; *Pirqe R. El.* 1; *Num. Rab.* 2.10). Some believed that the rains from the "Good Treasury" (**אוצר טוב**) ceased to exist after the destruction of Jerusa-

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[421] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5.182.

lem (*b. B. Bat.* 25b), so Baruch's vision could have been intended to prove the opposite (cf. comm. to ch. 11 on similar beliefs on the "Gate of Prayers" supposed to be closed since the destruction and Baruch's witnessing of its openings).

In S there is no trace of an attempt to compromise between the two schools: "The race of men is mistaken, … know [pl.] that clouds are from that lake and they rain" (10:9S). Not only its position, but even its argumentation are identical to what R. Yehoshua states: "All the water of the sea is salty, so that if it rained by the sea [water], a fruit would not grow on earth" (*Gen. Rab.* 13.10 cited above).

Both S and even compromising G reject the Greek idea of the closed water circle. Rain water or at least some of it (as in G) is constantly added from a heavenly store. This makes it necessary to introduce a mechanism for getting rid of the superfluous water, which is indeed enabled by the drinking Serpent of chs. 4–5, since "if Serpent did not drink one cubit from the sea [each day], there would be no dry land on earth" (4:5S, family β; see Notes and cf. introductory comm. to ch 11: *Celestial Bestiary* 3.1).

Dew. In addition to the rain, "from this [celestial lake] comes what is called the dew of heaven." The dew of heaven (10:9G; as well as "the dew of earth" in 6:11G) is mentioned only in G. The word combination occurs in Gen 27:28, 39; Dan 4:12; 20; 22; 30; and 5:21. The dew was known to be stored in heaven: "The spirit of the dew dwells at the ends of heaven, close to the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and in summer" (*1 En.* 60:20). See *2 En.* 5–6 on the celestial treasures of snow, ice, clouds, and dew. The revenue of the sun and celestial birds of praise, phoenixes and chalkydri, are those who "carry heat and dew" (ibid. 12:2). "The dew is descending from heaven" causing the grass to spring from the earth in the eighth hour of the night (*T. Adam* 1:8), just before angelic praise and human prayer (ninth and tenth hours; ibid. 1:9–10). Abraham sees dew most probably under the highest fiery heaven together with "a fire spread out and light," and "a multitude of angels, and a power of the invisible glory from the Living Creatures" (*Apoc. Abr.* 19:4). The storehouses of dew are unlocked on Passover (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 27:1–6; *Pirqe R. El.* 36).

There may be a connection between the dew here and the oil of ch. 15G.[422] They both play a role in the destiny of the righteous: the pious souls

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[422] Both dew and oil are consistently absent in S everywhere: "dew of earth" as a food of Phoenix in 6:11 (only manna is mentioned); "dew of heaven" in 10:9 (only rain); oil in 15:1 and 2 (substituted by mercy).

reside on the lake of dew (10:5G), and the oil is the reward of the pious (probably posthumously). This must be due to the fact that the both are known to be means of resurrection. Concerning the resurrective "oil of life," see comm. to 15:1. As for the dew, in Rabbinic sources it must be an equivalent of the "oil of life" in its resurrective and healing power; see *y. Ber.* 5.2.9b; *y. Taan.* 1.63d; *b. Shab* 88b; *b. Hag.* 12b; *b. Ket.* 111b; *Cant. Rab.* 5.6; *Mek.* Bahodesh Yitro 9; *Midr. HaG.* 1.430 to Gen 27:28; *Pesiq. R.* 20; *Pirqe R. El.* 32–34; *Tan. B.* Toledot 19, some with reference to Isa 26:19 interpreted as "a dew of herbs [or "lights"] is your dew, and the earth will cast off the spirits of the dead [כי טל אורת טלך וארץ רפאים תפיל]."[423] Healing dew is known to Hos 14:6 and *2 Baruch*:

> For winds will go forth from before me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health (29:7) … And then healing will descend in dew, And disease will withdraw. And anxiety and anguish and lamentation pass from amongst men. And gladness proceed through the whole earth. And no one shall again die untimely … (73:2–3)

Dew and oil are likened in *2 Enoch*: in order to be transformed into a heavenly being, Enoch is anointed by the oil which "ointment is *like sweet dew*" (*2 En.* 22:9). Heavenly dew also is *like oil* and is similar to flowers: "They [angels] showed me the treasure-house of the dew, like oil of the olive, and the appearance of its image, as of all the flowers of the earth" (*2 En.* 6:1; cf. "flowers" exchanged to oil or mercy in *3 Bar.* 12:1, 5; 15:2–3). See also "*mercy like dew* upon earth" (*1 En.* 39:5; "mercy" replaces "oil" in S; on "oil" and "mercy," Gk ὅλαιον and ὅλεος, see comm. to 15:1).[424]

In *3 Baruch*, Phoenix, a symbol of immortality in Greek tradition, feeds on manna and dew (6:11G). However, there it is called "dew of earth" (6:11G). Does the terrestial dew differ from the celestial one? Are there two kinds of dew? If it was the same, Phoenix could belong to the birds of the fourth heaven (or as Harlow carefully formulates, "that has access to the lake in the fourth heaven";[425] cf. comm. to "birds" in 10:3–5: "Birds and Phoenix"). However, the parallels show that the dichotomy of two sorts of dew was well known. *Jub.* 26:23 even modifies the verse of Gen 27:28 in order to discern two kinds of dew: "And may the Lord give you of *the dew of heaven* and of *the dew of the earth* [instead of "richness of earth" of Gen 27:28 and 39], and plenty of corn and oil [instead of "wine"]." See the

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423 Rain and resurrection are also frequently juxtaposed; see, e.g., *y. Ber.* 5.2.9a; *y. Taan.* 1.1.63c; *b. Ber.* 33a; *Taan.* 7a; *Deut. Rab.* 7.6.

424 Cf. also oil and dew united in Ps 133:3.

425 Harlow, *Baruch*, 145.

text, "And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. And Isaac answered and said to him: 'Behold, your dwelling will be far from *the dew of the earth* and far from *the dew of heaven* from above'" (*Jub.* 26:33). "The dew of the earth" is adduced among created terrestial "gatherings of waters:"

> And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth. (*Jub.* 2:7)

There was also a similar dichotomy of "good" and "bad" dews. Enoch saw "winds coming from the middle of the twelve portals bringing beneficial dew of prosperity; from other portals, hurtful dew accompanied by locusts and other calamities" (*1 En.* 76:8). Also in the Talmud, there is a distinction between "harmful dews" of the sixth heaven ("*Makhon* is that in which are the treasures of hail, and the high dwelling-place of harmful dews and the high dwelling-place of round drops [עליית טללים רעים ועליית עגלים]") and "the dew with which the Holy One is about to quicken mortals" of the seventh heaven, *Arabot* (*b. Hag.* 12b). The prayers against hurtful dews are mentioned in *Lev. Rab.* 28 and *b. Suk.* 37b.[426]

V. Angelic Service or *Retribution Mechanism*

Where Prayers Go (11)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And having taking me from here the angel brought me to the fifth heaven.	1 And the angel of host took me and carried me to the fifth heaven,
2 And he showed me large gates, and names of men were written [on them],	
2 And the gate was closed. And I said, "Lord, this gate-tower is not opening so that we can enter?" And the angel told me, "We cannot enter until Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom of Heaven, comes. But wait and you will see the Glory of God."	and they were closed. And I said, "Will these gates be opened so that we can enter them?" And the angel told me, "We cannot enter them until Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom, comes." And the angel told me, "Wait and you will see the Glory of God,"
	3 And while we were waiting,

[426] God's favor is often is pictured as the dew. For a survey of the image of dew in the Bible, see Bulgarelli, *L'immagine*. Cf. Uval, "Dew." Dew was also one of the signs of Baal's beneficent rule (*CTA* 19.41–46; 3.2.38–41; cf. Deut 33:28; Isa 26:29).

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3 And there was a great sound,

like thunder.

And I said, "Lord, what is this sound?"

4 And he told me, "Now Michael,

the commander-in-chief,

is coming down to receive the prayers of men."

5 And behold, a voice came, "Let the gates be opened!" And they opened, and there was a shriek [as loud] as thunder.

6 And Michael came, and the angel who was with me went to meet him and bowed to him

and said, "Hail, my commander-in-chief, and that of all our order!" 7 And the commander-in-chief Michael said, "Hail you also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life rightly!"

8 And having greeted one another thus, they stood still.

And I saw the commander-in-chief Michael, holding a very large flat bowl. Its depth was like [the distance] from heaven to earth, and its width like [the distance] from north to south. And I said, "Lord, what is it that Michael the archangel is holding?"

9 And he told me, "This is where the virtues of the righteous enter, and the good works that they do, which are brought through it before the heavenly God."

there was a sound

from the highest heaven

like a threefold thunder.

And I Baruch said, "Lord, what is this sound?"

4 And he told me, "Michael

is coming down to receive the prayers of men."

5 And then a voice came, saying that the gates should open, and they opened. And there was a great sound,

greater than the first.

6 And Michael came, and the angel who was with me met him and bowed to him.

8 And I saw him holding a very large receptacle, and its depth was like [the distance] from heaven to earth, and its width like [the distance] from east to west. And I said, "Lord, what is Michael holding?"

9 And he told me, "This is where the prayers of men enter."

NOTES

11:3S. *Like a threefold thunder* (**ꙗко громъ тришьдъı**). It might render Gk τρισμὸς ὡς βροντῆς "shriek like thunder" (as in 11:5G) understood as ὡς τρὶς βροντῆς.[427] Cf. βροντὴ ὡς ἦχος βροντῆς of *3 Bar.* 6:13 (see note ibid.) and ὡς φωνῇ βροντῆς of Rev 6:1 and 14:2. Alternatively, the triple sound may imply *qedusha/trisagion*. See "in a great sound of sanctification" (**въ мнози гласѣ свѧ̑тъбъı**) in *Apoc. Abr.* 16:3 (cf. 18:4). "Great sound" (**гласъ вельи**) appears also in 11:5S. Gk φωνῆ μεγάλη, Heb קול גדול is a well attested biblical combination (e.g., Isa 29:6) widely used in descriptions of angelic sanctification in Hekhalot literature.[428]

11:4. *Michael the commander-in-chief* [om. S] *is coming* (ἄρτι κατέρχεται ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος Μιχαήλ / **се съ҆ходитъ михаилъ**). Cf. the verbs κατῆλθεν "came" or "went down"' in 15:1 and ἀπῆλθεν "left" or "went up" in 14:1. On the suggestion of the horizontal motion of Baruch between the firmaments, see comm. to "wings" in 2:2.

Prayers. Gk δέησις is one of many Greek words meaning "prayer," more precisely "entreaty, supplication," also "written petition."

11:7G. *Order* (τάγμα). Also "military formation," "legion."

11:8G. *Heavenly God* (τοῦ ἐπουρανίου θεοῦ). This epithet of God goes back to Homer (only with gods; *Od*. 17.484; *Il*. 6.129; and *passim*), but is also found in many Jewish and Christian sources (3 Macc 6:28; 7:6; *Sib. Or.* 1:216; 4:51, 135; *T. Abr.* (A) 2:3; Matt 18:35; Phil. 2:11; *1 Clem*. 61:2).

11:9G. *Which are brought through it* (ἅτινα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκομίζονται). Usually translated "carried in it." Gk δι' αὐτου means rather "through it." The distinction may be relevant; cf. comm. to "flat bowl" in 11:8 and to 11:9.

COMMENTARY

*Ouranology**

The scene at the gate (chs. 11–16) is a culmination of the whole vision, the last and the longest of its sections. "It effectively combines the main themes of the apocalypse: the individual eschatology as a substitute for the restoration of Jerusalem and the Temple; the existential limits to the human efforts to attain transcendence; the emphasis on good works as the only means to access to God's glory; and the divine maintenance of the cosmic order."[429]

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427 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 121.

428 See Schäfer, *Synopse*, ## 390N, 476M2, 517N, 553M2.

429 Harlow, *Baruch*, 148.

* The section is based on my article Kulik, "Enigma."

To this may be added also the consolatory message of the unceasing existence of the heavenly Temple liturgy, which is immune to destruction, in contrast to the earthly Temple service.[430]

This scene takes place at the ultimate point of Baruch's ascent. The uniqueness of *3 Baruch*'s ouranology among other early Jewish and Christian writings lies in the fact that the visionary reaches the fifth heaven as his final destination, and does not mention any additional firmaments. At the same time, while referring to different stages of the ascent and the heavenly structure in general, the text abounds with inconsistencies and contradictions, both between the two versions, and internally within each.

(1) There is an inconsistency in the numbering of the heavens: G speaks of the first (2:2), second (3:1), third (10:1), and then the fifth heaven (11:1), omitting the fourth. S gives numbers to the first two heavens (2:2; 3:1) and then the fifth (11:1), but omits both the third and fourth.
(2) Other indications of intercelestial transfer do not conform to the numbering and are not consistent between the versions. These indications are: celestial gates, a journey through the gates, and a plain behind the gates. Celestial gates or doors signal ascents in G and S: the first (2:2), the second (3:1); the fifth (11:2; the same gate is mentioned also in 11:5; 14:1; 15:1; 17:1) and in S also the third (4:2; the heaven unnumbered). Journies appear three times in both versions: the first (2:2), the second (3:1) and the third ascent (4:2; the heaven unnumbered). Plains signal four ascents in G – the first (2:3), the second (3:3), the third (4:3; the heaven unnumbered) and the fourth (10:2, 4, and 5; the heaven numbered as the third). S has "plain" only twice: in the first (2:3, 4, 5) and the third (4:3) ascents, while on the second there is "great chamber" and in the fourth "mountain" instead of "plain."

	Ascent[431]		Number		Gate		Journey		Plain	
G	S	G	S	G	S	G	S	G	S	
2:2–3	*1	*1	1	1	+	+	+	+	+	+
3:1–2	*2	*2	2	2	+	+	+	+	+	–
4:2	*3	*3	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
10:1	*4	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
11:1	*5	*4	5	5	+	+	–	–	–	–

[430] Wright, *Heaven*, 174.

Additional confusion in numbering, and in the order of transitions, is caused by 7:2, where G says that "the sun passes in the third heaven" (7:2G; only the heaven of the "lake of birds," beyond the luminaries, is numbered as "third" below; 10:1G), while S relates the route of the sun to "what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens" (7:2S), although previously the three inter-celestial transitions are mentioned in both versions.

At least some of these problems could be explained by negligence during editorial interventions. It looks as though the ouranology presented in the proto-text was not satisfactory or detailed enough for later redactors. The situation could be complicated by the fact that some of the larger fragments, containing among other things indications of intercelestial transitions, may be suspected as having been interpolated. In this case, the subsequent editorial emendations could come to compensate for the problems that arose as a result of these interpolations. Fortunately, the emendations were not consistent enough, and rudiments of the initial text have been preserved. Moreover, the two extant redactions (Greek and Slavonic) present different stages of this elaboration. These two factors enable us at least to glimpse into the original cosmology of the writing. The main questions we are trying to answer are as follows: (a) how many firmaments were in the heaven of *3 Baruch*; (b) to what point has the visionary ascended; and (c) how do these data vary between the late redactions (reflected in the extant texts of G and S) and their proto-text (to the extent we can reconstruct its elements)? As we will see below, depending on different interpretations, the extant versions may reflect seven- or fivefold celestial structures, while the proto-text must have referred to another, probably older, model of three heavens (or "two plus one").[432]

1. Non-complete Ascent

Did Baruch enter the last mentioned heaven, whatever the original number of heavens may have been? As we can see from the table above, the description of Baruch's ascent to the last heaven offers no indications of an intercelestial transfer, such as those that appear after his entry into the other heavens: only the gate is mentioned but neither a journey through it, nor a plain or anything behind it.[433] Although these indications are not consistently used with other heavens as well, this is the only case in which both in-

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[431] In these columns the ascents are numbered in the order of appearance of any indication of an ascent.

[432] More on cosmology, including ouranological issues, see Introduction.

[433] Thus Wright (*Heaven*, 172).

dications are absent in both versions. One more difference between the last heaven from the previous ones is the term used to designate its opening. It is the only one called "gate" (Gk πύλη; CS **врата**) or even "gate-tower" (Gk πυλών) in distinction to "doors" (Gk θύρα, CS **двьри**) above (cf. comm. to "very large door" in 2:2).

Harlow suggests that "although Baruch's passage is not explicitly noted, it is nevertheless clearly implied in 11:5–8."[434] In fact, this assumption is not necessary. According to the plain meaning of the text, Baruch does not enter the fifth gate, which must be the final limit of Baruch's ascent. A rationale of the non-complete ascent may be found in the conceptions of inaccessible supercelestial realm and/or inner shrine of the celestial Temple.

God is known to reside above the heavens (Ps 57:6, 12; 108:6; 113:4; Job 11:8; 22:12). An extra heaven exceeding the typological number of seven is found mainly as the eighth heaven added to the most popular sevenfold structure (see "Alternative Cosmologies" below), but the idea could be applied to any number of heavens. The authenticity of this popular concept was defended by Origen:

> Celsus in the next place alleges that "certain Christians, having misunderstood the words of Plato, loudly boast of a 'supercelestial' God, thus ascending beyond the heaven of the Jews." … nor was the philosopher the first to present to view the 'supercelestial' place; for David long ago brought to view the profundity and multitude of the thoughts concerning God entertained by those who have ascended above visible things, when he said in the book of Psalms: "Praise God, you heaven of heavens and you waters that be above the heavens, let them praise the name of the Lord." I do not, indeed, deny that Plato learned from certain Hebrews the words quoted from the *Phaedrus* [27], or even, as some have recorded, that he quoted them from a perusal of our prophetic writings, when he said, "No poet here below has ever sung of the supercelestial place, or ever will sing in a becoming manner," and so on. (*Cels*. 6.19)

The concept of the supercelestial world could be interlaced with the idea of the celestial Sanctuary and its inner shrines. The supercelestial "intelligible world" as opposed to "sense-perceptible heaven" were regarded by Philo as counterparts of accessible and inaccessible areas of the terrestial sanctuary:

> The simple holy [parts of the tabernacle] are classified with the sense-perceptible heaven, whereas the inner [parts], which are called the Holy of Holies, [are classified] with the intelligible world. (Philo, *Quaest. Exod*. 2.94)

Josephus also states that the Tent was "an imitation of the nature of the universe" with its "heaven set apart to God":

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[434] Harlow, *Baruch*, 147 (cf. 36). The view is shared among others by James ("Baruch,"li); Hughes ("Baruch," 527); Ryssel ("Baruch"); Collins, *Apocalyptic*, 199.

> It happened that such an arrangement of the Tent was also an imitation of the nature of the universe [μίμησιν τῆς τῶ βὅλων φύσεως]. For its third part, which is within the four pillars, which was inaccessible to the [ordinary] priests like heaven set apart to God [ὡς οὐρανὸς ἀνεῖτο τῷ θεῷ], while the twenty cubits, just as earth and sea are accessible to men, were thus consigned to the priests alone. (*Ant.* 3.123)

On the Tent or Temple as a kind of microcosm, see also Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.12.66; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.181; *Pesiq. R.* 5; and *Num. Rab.* 12.13. On angels as priests and celestial Yom Kippur service in *3 Baruch*, see the introductory comm. to chs. 12 and 14 respectively.

As noticed by Harlow, there are a number of dramatic elements in this scene, such as (1) dialogues (not only between Baruch and his guide, but also between angels), (2) entrances and departures of Michael and three groups of angels (some signaled by different sounds; see 11:5; 14:1), (3) presupposed off-stage reality, for which Michael leaves and from where he comes back.[435] This dramatism is also characteristic of liturgical performances. The Temple imagery and semi-priestly activity are obvious in this scene, and the writing must refer to the widely known motif of the celestial Temple.[436] Baruch receives his revelation at the gates of the destroyed earthly Temple (T:2), and its ultimate scene takes place at the gates of the indestructible celestial Temple.[437] This may explain why, in contrast to the previous heavens, when the gate opens here, Baruch and his guide do not pass through it, but wait for the chief angel to descend and greet them. Just as restrictions apply to attendants of the earthly Temple, the protagonist does not have access to the inner shrines of the heavenly Temple to which only the priests (angels), or even only to the high priest (Michael), are permitted entry. Not only the Temple of Jerusalem had forbidden areas (for gentiles, women, profane Israelites, ordinary priests, and even the high priest for the most of the year), but also many pagan temples had their sacra inaccessible for the profane or impure.[438] Celestial sites inaccessible to humans, or to most humans, are mentioned in Gen 3:24 and *1 En.* 19:3 (see also comm. to 11:2S: *Michael the Gatekeeper*). Even the visionaries of a higher level of initiation, who in distinction to Baruch were allowed to

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435 Harlow, *Baruch*, 147.

436 For the widely developed motif of the heavenly Temple see, e.g., Philo *Spec. Leg.*1.12.66; *2 Bar.* 4; *T. Levi* 5; Rev 7:15; *t. Yoma* 4.6; *Mek.*, (Bahodesh, Yitro 9); *Gen. Rab.* 1.4; 69.7; *b. Yoma* 54b; *b. Sanh.* 94b; *Pesiqta R.* 20.4; *Tan.* Naso 19; *Tan.* Qedoshim 10; *Tg.* Isa 1:1-6; *Tg.* 1 Chr 21:15. Cf. McNicol, "Heavenly." See also introductory comm. to ch. 12 and the commentaries below.

437 Thus Wright, *Heaven,* 174.

438 Bickerman, "Warning," 389, n. 12.

ascend higher or at least to see the Glory, are said to have stopped at some earlier stage. Enoch stops before the gate of the "second house," although observing the Divine Glory dwelling in it from outside (*1 En.* 14:25). Moses does not reach the Throne, probably visiting only the lower heaven from where, like Baruch, he is shown the celestial sources of water (*Bib. Ant.* 19:10). Angels prevent Moses' ascent (*b. Shab.* 88b–89a; *Pesiq. R.* 20; cf. an Aramaic poem '*Angele Meroma* describing how Moses is trying to enter the gates of heaven, but is kept out by angels.[439] Ministering angels "sought to thrust away" R. Akiba during his ascent (*b. Hag.* 15b). Paul stops in the gate to the third heaven, which similarly to our gate has inscriptions – "golden letters" – on it. The gate restricts entrance to those "who have goodness and purity of body" (*Apoc. Paul* 19; cf. 24). Hekhalot tours are known to be aborted before the gate of the sixth or seventh Palaces, the most dangerous points for those who are "unfit to see the King and his Throne" (*Hekh. Zut.* ##408–409; *Hekh. Rab.* #259). Indeed, "at the entrance to the seventh Palace stand and rage all heroes" (*Hekh. Rab.* #213). All these may witness that the "gate standing" could be a topos of describing apocalyptic experience and moreover could define the status of a visionary; see "R. Akiba said, 'Ben Azai was found worthy and stood at the gate of the sixth Palace'" (*Hekh. Zut.*, ms New York 23a). In the following parable a Palestinian Amora R. Yudan might imply and even polemicize against such a "gate standing" pending angelic intercession:

> If a human has a patron, and then he finds himself in trouble, he does not enter his [patron's] house suddenly, but *he comes and stands in his patron's door and calls his servant or a member of his household* [אלא בא ועמד לו על פתחו של פטרונו וקורא לעבדו או לבן ביתו] and says, "So-and-so is standing at the door of your court." *He may be let in, and he may be not*. But the Holy One is not so. If trouble comes upon a person, let him cry neither to *Michael or to Gabriel*, but let him cry unto me, and I will answer him. This is the meaning of the verse: "Whoever calls on the name of the Lord will be delivered" [Joel 2:32]. (*y. Ber.* 9.13a)[440]

However, our author seems not to share this conception, and the visionary is deprived of direct communication with God. His ultimate vision is the "gates of prayer," an image also well attested in Jewish literature. Lamentations ascend to the "gate of heaven" in *1 En.* 9:10. Heavenly gates open in the constant time (the 10th hour of night) to receive the prayers of men (*T. Adam* 1:10 cited in 6:13S).

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[439] Ginsburger, "Introductions," 15–16, 186–194; Heinemann, "Seridim," 363–365.

[440] The parable must be regarded in a wider context of the customary prayer to and worship of angels. On this and on angelic intercession see in comm. to ch. 12. and to 11:4.

The theme of the "gates of prayer" (Heb שערי התפילה), their opening and closing, is well developed in Rabbinic sources This gates are also known to be periodically opened and closed (cf. *3 Bar.* 11:2 and 5), and the schedule of their opening hours was an object of talmudic discussion (*y. Ber.* 4.7c; *b. Ber.* 32b; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 24.2; *Pirqe R. El.* 35; cf. חפילת נעילה of the Day of Atonement service in *b. Yoma* 87b and "the gates of light and prayer" in *Sefer Raziel* 441). Baruch's evidence on the openings of the gate is not superfluous since some, as R. Eleazar, even believed that "from the day on which the Temple was destroyed the gates of prayer have been closed" (*b. Ber.* 32b).[441]

Harlow suggests that the abrupt ending of the ascent is designed intentionally to frustrate the readers' expectations of a climactic Throne theophany. It is prepared in the previous narrative by the "aborted theodicy" of the Prologue, the aborted ascent of the Builders (chs. 2–3), the declared distance of sinful humanity from God's Glory and even from the Glory of the sun (chs. 4 and 6). The purpose of the abrupt termination of the ascent, according to Harlow, is to polemicize against the conceptions of anthropomorphic depictions of God and angelic transformations of visionaries,[442] and against anticipation of the restoration of the Temple service. "The abrupt ending functions to *subvert* and thereby *reorient* the religious expectations of the readers."[443] Harlow compares the conclusion of Baruch's tour to the abrupt ending of the Gospel of Mark, where the expectation of arisen Jesus is frustrated.[444] Although the text itself hardly contains any hints to the dissatisfaction of the visionary, in the context of other major apocalypses Harlow's interpretation is plausible. Alternatively, it may be that the "gates of prayer" and the retribution mechanism connected to it were the intentionally ultimate objects of the ascent, which is thus not "abrupt," but just less advanced in comparison to theophanic and apotheotic mystic experiences. This understanding would be in complete accordance with the text, on the one hand, but a unique motif for the genre, on the other. On Baruch as a "modest" visionary, see comm. to T:1.

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441 Altogether this and similar sayings – as "Since the day that the Temple was destroyed, a wall of iron has intervened between Israel and their father in heaven" (*b. Ber.* 32b) – might have given an alternative explanation for the abruptness of the ascent in the post-Destruction world. For other celestial gates in *3 Baruch*, see 2:2; 6:13 and comm. ibid.

442 Cf. Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 87.

443 Harlow, *Baruch*, 76; 53–76.

444 Ibid., 55.

2. Number of Heavens

2.1. Seven Heavens

2.1.1. *Seven heavens and abrupt ascent.* The cosmology of seven heavens is the most developed model in early Jewish and Christian traditions.[445] This idea might be rooted in different ancient traditions and could be also linked to the sevenfold structure of the Temple of Jerusalem as described in *m. Kel.* 1.6–9, which lists ten areas of increasing holiness in the Land of Israel, of which seven refer to the Temple: (1) *heyl*, an area on the Temple mount forbidden to gentiles and to those defiled by the dead (שאין עובדי כוכבים וטמא מת נכנסים לשם);[446] (2) the court of women; (3) the court of Israel; (4) the court of priests; (5) area between the altar and *ulam* (בין האולם ולמזבח); (6) Sanctuary (היכל); (7) the Holy of Holies.[447] The celestial Temple also has a sevenfold structure in the Qumranic *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. The seven palaces of the Hekhalot literature must also be rooted in these traditions.

Theoretically *3 Baruch* could imply a sevenfold celestial structure, where Baruch was allowed to reach only the gate before the fifth heaven. This hypothesis would accord with a schema of a three-chambered celestial Sanctuary, parallel to the terrestrial one, consisting of *ulam*, *hekhal*, and *devir*. In this scenario, Baruch would have reached the fourth heaven, the last before the celestial Sanctuary including three more heavens. See the series of seven divided into groups of four and three in Rev 6:1–8 and 8:13.

In a similar manner, the visionary of the *Apocalypse of Paul* travels only to the third heaven, though the texts speaks of additional ones (at least seven, see ch. 29).[448] The same model is found in *b. Hag.* 12b: "Till this

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445 See *2 En.* (A) 3–31; *T. Levi* (β) 3; *Apoc. Mos.* 35:2; *Asc. Isa.* 9; *Quest. Ezra* A 19–21; *T. Hez.*; *Apocalypse of Paul*; *3 En.* 17:1–3; 18:1–2; *Gen. Rab.* 6; 19.7; *Lev. Rab.* 29.11; *Num. Rab.* 12.6; 13.2; *Deut. Rab.* 2.32; *b. Hag.* 12b; *b. Shab* 156a; *Abot R. Nat.* (A) 37.110; *Cant. Rab.* 5.1; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 1; 24; *Pesiq. R.* 5; 15; 20.4; *Tan. B.* 3.37–38; *Tan.* Pequde 6; Naso 15; *Pirqe R. El.* 19; *Midr. Pss.* 9.88; 109.471; 148.538; *Midr. HaG.* 1.14–15 (Exod 7:1); *Masekhet Hekh.* 4.5 (*Bate Midr.* 2.42); *Reuyot Ezekiel* (*Bate Midr.* 2.129–30); *Midr. Konen* (*Bet HaMidr.* 2.53); *Seder Rab. deBereshit* 5–6; 21–26. (*Bate Midr.* 1.29); and *Sefer Raziel* 343. Cf. also Quran 17:44; 65:12; 78:12.

446 Cf. the River that bounds the first heaven and "which no one can cross, nor any alien breath" (*3 Bar.* 2:1).

447 See Morray-Jones, "Paradise Revisited."

448 Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology*, 109.

place [seventh heaven] you may discourse, from here onwards you have no permission to discourse." The highest "holy" heavens are explicitly distinguished from the low ones (two in the rescension α, and three in the rescension β) in the both versions of *T. Levi* 3:3 (see below). Similarly to *3 Baruch* only on these lower firmaments is it said that they were seen by Levi (2:7–8), while the rest are probably only described by the guiding angel (3:1–8). In the *Ascension of Isaiah* the five lowest heavens have characteristics which differ from those of the higher two. Only in the lower five does Jesus have to disguise himself during his descent: "And you shall make your likeness like that of all who are in the *five heavens*" (10:9). There are more differences: "And he [angel] said to me, 'From the sixth heaven and upwards there are no longer those on the left, nor is there a throne placed in the middle, but [they are directed] by the power of the seventh heaven, where the One who is not named dwells'" (8:7).

2.1.2. *Seven heavens and abridged version.* Another alternative is to suppose that the initial text of *3 Baruch* did include seven heavens, and described a complete ascent to that ultimate seventh heaven. Several points may be adduced in favor of this hypothesis, but they are not conclusive:

(1) Origen attests to the existence of a "book of the prophet Baruch," in which there are "very clear indications of the seven worlds or heavens" (*septem mundis uel caelis*; *Princ.* 2.3.6). However, we cannot be sure that our text is meant, and moreover, the term "world" never appears in *3 Baruch*.
(2) The vision of "the Glory of God" is repeatedly promised (4:2S; 6:12; 7:2; 11:2; 16:6S), but not fulfilled, if "the Glory of God" is to be considered as referring to a Throne theophany. It could have been contained in the lost conclusion. For counterarguments see comm. to 4:2S.
(3) The last promise to see the Glory occurs in S at the very end of the vision, along with other unfulfilled promises (16:6S; in previous transaltion – 16:4S). It has been suggested that this is part of an abridged ending completely omitted in G.[449] This interpretation derives from a mistake in translation. On this see comm. to 16:6.
(4) Michael's movements to and from higher heaven(s) (11:6; 14:1–15:1) demonstrate that there are more heaven(s) beyond Baruch's ultimate stop before (or according to some interpretations – in) the fifth heaven. This argument would count in favor of the existence of heaven(s) beyond the fifth, only if Baruch is considered to have entered the fifth

[449] So Bauckham, "Hell," 372–74.

heaven, which seems to contradict the plain meaning of the text (see above for parallels). Otherwise, Michael's movements attest only to the existence of the fifth heaven beyond Baruch's standpoint before its gate.

(5) The concluding chapters have more Christian interpolations than the earlier sections, which could be taken as an indication of a more thorough reworking (including abridgement).[450] Morever, there is a total lack of an eschatological agenda (including issues of national concern, as restoration, etc.), contrary to expectations for the conclusion of a work in this genre. In combination with obvious interpolations of Christian passages in the last chapters, this may speak in favor of abridgement due to a "Christianization" of the text. However, "Christianization" of the text need not be taken as an indication of abridgement; in most other Jewish apocalypses preserved by Christians such materials have successfully survived.

(6) The only textual argument in favor of the abridgement theory is verse 11:2: "We cannot enter *until* Michael, the key-holder of the Kingdom of Heaven, comes (οὐ δυνάμεθα εἰσελθεῖν ἕως ἔθῃ Μιχαήλ …). The use of the word ἕως "until" presupposes that the entrance to at least the fifth heaven is expected or at least possible for Baruch.[451]

2.2. Alternative Cosmologies

Although the cosmology of seven firmaments is the most widely attested in Jewish tradition, various deviations from this number are also attested. Even though the plural form of Heb **שמים**, rendered by the plural also in LXX, could give an idea of the plurality of heavens, many ancient sources are not aware of this or ignore it altogether (thus all texts of the Bible, *1 Enoch*; *4 Ezra*; *Testament of Abraham*; *Apocalypse of Ezra*; *Vision of Ezra*; Revelation). Structures of two heavens (**שמים ושמי שמים**) were known to *b. Hag.* 12b (according to R. Yehudah bar Ilai, as opposed to the sevenfold model of Resh Lakish); *Deut. Rab.* 2.32 (6:4); and *Midr. Pss.* 114:2. Three heavens are found in *T. Levi* (α) 2:6–10; 2 Cor 12:2 (if it is a full ascent); and *Apoc. Sedr.* 2:3–5. Eight heavens, known to *Apoc. Abr.* 19:6[452] and *b. Hag.* 13a (cf. eight celestial spheres of Plato, *Rep.* 10.614–621), were especially popular with Gnostics (cf. *Poim.* 26; *Hip. Arch.* 95.13–96.3; *Apocryphon of John* 11:4; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.30.4–5; Epiphanius, *Haer.*

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450 So James, "Baruch," lxx.

451 For the detailed survey of the hypothesis see Harlow, *Baruch*, 36–41.

452 See Kulik, *Towards*, 143; Poirier, "Ouranology."

1.5.2; 40.2.3; 26.10.1–4; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.162.1; Origen, *Cels.* 6.21–22). There are eight heavens in *Reuyot Yehezkel*, where the eighth it is called "the Throne of Glory." These cosmologies, stressing the extra-transcendal character of God even in relation to the celestial realm, are in fact a modification of the schema of the seven heavens *plus one* supercelestial firmament as an abode of God (although in some sources above there is one more additional realm beyond the eighth). Ten heavens appear in *2 En.* (only J) 22; 20:3; Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 22–23; cf. *Poim.* 26 (similar to *2 Enoch* in many aspects); Origen, *Cels.* 6.25 (Ophitic diagram). Seventy two firmaments are mentioned in Gnostic *1 Apoc. James* 26. Basilides taught on 365 heavens (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.24.3–7; cf. 11.16.2; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 7.26.6). The number may rise to as many as 955 (*3 En* A48:1; *Masekhet Hekh.* 7 [*Bet HaMidr.* 2.45]).

2.2.1. *Five (or four plus one) heavens*. Picard suggested an original five heavens cosmology in *3 Baruch*, based upon structural literary analysis.[453] Harlow objects: "The proposal that *3 Baruch* envisions a five-heaven cosmology falters for the lack of a convincing precedent or analogy, the absence of any rationale for the number five …"[454] The only parallel was proposed by Wright: a fragmentary *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* A (cited in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.11.77), which also does not mention any higher heaven than the fifth (at least as far as we can judge from the preserved fragment).

In fact, additional parallels and analogies for the proposed cosmology of five heavens (or a refernce only to five lower heavens) can be adduced, along with a plausible rationale. In Coptic-Ethiopic *Ep. Apost.* 13[455] Jesus ascends directly to the fifth heaven and does not proceed any higher.[456] However, the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and *Epistola of the Apostles* may both depend upon the sevenfold model similar to *Asc. Isa.* 8–10, which clearly divides between the five low and two high heavens (cf. above). The model of five plus an additional "highest of all [heaven], where dwells the Great Glory, far above all holiness" may be ascribed to *T. Levi* (α) 3:1–8 ac-

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[453] Picard, *Apocalypsis*, 76–77; "Obseravariones," 94; "Autres," 28–29. Cf. Wright, *Heaven*, 340–42.

[454] Harlow, *Baruch*, 75; see 44–46; cf. "A weakness in his [Picard's] theory is that he does not explain why five rather than three or seven heavens are enumerated" (Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology*, 105).

[455] Dated by the 2th–3rd cent.; probably used by Commodianus (3rd cent).

[456] Similarly Abraham was taken directly to the highest seventh heaven (before the supercelestial eighth heaven) (*Apoc. Abr.* 19:4ff).

cording to one possible interpretation (see below). Notice also that in *b. Hag* 12b–13a the description of the first five heaven, containing *inter alia* ministering angels and Michael, is separated by a digression from the highest two.

Whereas the number "seven" does not feature in any numerical symbolism in *3 Baruch*, "five" plays an important role in the account of the "Five Trees" in 4:7S. There are five trees of Eden planted by five (chief?) angels (4:7S; four angels of Presence and the fallen angel Sataniel; see comm. to 4:7S: *Angelic staff*). An hierarchy of aeons called "Five Trees" is mentioned in *Pistis Sophia* 1.1 and 10; 2.86; 3.95; and *passim*; cf. also the *Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* 4. On this and on Gnostic and Manichaean pentads, referring also to the heavenly realm, see comm. to 4:7S: *Five Trees of Eden and 'Incurable Folly.'* Sometimes the number of angelic classes and/or archangels corresponds to the number of heavens; cf. seven classes and seven heavens in *1 En.* 61:10; ten heavens and classes in *2 En.* (J) 20:1 (here interchanging with five and nine), 20:3; 22; three and three formula in *Midr. Konen* 26–27.[457]

Origen refers to a "Book of Baruch" in order to demonstrate that the terms "heaven" and "world" are synonymous (*Princ.* 2.3.6).[458] In addition to the universally known scheme of five planets, modifications preserving the number five are known in later periods, from the "five worlds" of Proclus (*Theol.* 7.1–2; see below) to medieval concepts of hierarchical five worlds or celestial spheres. Maimonides spoke of "five spheres" (*kurra*) referring to a tradition of "early mathematicians (*Moreh Nev.* 2.9). Other kinds of hierarchies of five worlds are attested in Sephardi mystical cosmography and, independently, in the works of Hasidei Ashkenaz. See Abraham bar Hiyya, *Megillat ha-Megalleh* (p. 22–23); Elhanan ben Yakar, *Commentary* to *Sefer Yetsira* 183–198 (ascribing the concept to "the tradition from the days of ancient prophets" המסורת מימי הנביאים הקדמונים),[459] and

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457 There may also be a connection to the Builders's account in chs. 2–3. At some stage the fifth heaven became an abode of God's Presence as a result of the Builders' transgression according to the Rabbinic story about the gradual departure of the Presence from the first to the seventh heaven in the course of history (*Gen. Rab.* 19.7; *Num. Rab.* 13.2; *Pesiq. R.* 5.7).

458 Unde quidam volunt globam lunae vel solis ceterorumque astrorum, quae πλανήτας vocant, per singula mundos nominari; sed et ipsum supereminentum quem dicunt ἀπλανή globum, proprie nihilominus mundum appelari volunt < …> Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertinis huius testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis uel caelis euidentius indicator.

459 Vida, "Commentary," 192.

Pseudo-Saadia Commentary on the *Sefer Yetsira* 94d.[460] Cf. also the "five worlds" of the Sufis as witnessed by Qashani (*FN* 3). Gershom Scholem suggested that the independent kabbalistic traditions must have gone back to some "lost pseudepigrapha."[461]

The hierarchy of sacral areas modeled according to the Temple structure may accommodate a scheme of five areas even better than one of seven (see *Seven heavens: abrupt ascent* in this comm. above), if the celestial world is divided according to the five groups which had their own areas on the earthly Temple mount: (1) gentiles, (2) women, (3) men, (4) priests, and (5) the high priest. In *3 Baruch* angelic priests appear only in the fourth heaven (court of priests), and only Michael has access to the fifth heaven (Holy of Holies). The heavenly Temple is found in the fifth heaven (named *Shehaqim*) according to *Reuyot Yehezkel* (cf. *b. Hag.* 12b cited below).[462]

The proposed system of five heavens could actually reflect a "four plus one" scheme, involving an additional supercelestial realm similar to the eightfold schemes discussed above. The number "four" is attested in celestial divisions of *1 En*: "four quarters of heaven" (76:12) and "four hollow places" where the souls dwell (ch. 22). "The heaven [created on the fourth day] was afterwards duly decked in a perfect number, namely four" (Philo, *Opif.* 15.47). The quadriads may be connected to the concept of the four elements.[463] Philo, as well as other Hellenistic scientists, adds the "fifth element," "a wonderful and divine essence" (i.e., ether or *quinta essentia* of the Greco-Roman science), of which heaven is made (*Quaest. Gen.* 3.2). The whole world is divided according to these elements: "The universe also receives a division into five parts. For the world is one and quintuple, and is appropriately divided by celestial, empyreal, aerial, aquatic and terrestrial figures and presiding Gods" (Proclus, *Theol.* 7.1–2). The same could have

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460 See Scholem, "To the Study;" Epstein, *From the Jewish Antiquities*, 231–37.

461 " … fast sicher angenommen, daß beide Zuegen von einander unabhängig und daher auf eine ältere gemeinzame Quelle zurückgefüren seien" (Sholem, "Reste," 182),"Ich möchte die Vermutung aussprechen, daß dieses Stück aus demselben Buch stammt wie das Schema der fünf Lichtwelten, und daß wir als diese Quelle eines der für uns verlorenen Pseudepigraphen … zu betrachten haben" (ibid., 188). Note also certain similarities in the compound of the "worlds" in the above sources and the heavens of *3 Baruch*, like the location of Hades in the second, sources of light in the third, angels in the fourth, and God's Glory in the fifth heaven.

462 See Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic*, 128ff.

463 Cf. also a hierarchy of four metals, from Hesiod's four ages (*Op.* 106–201) to the four kingdoms of Dan 2, or the four as a Pythagorean perfect number (Collins, *Cosmology*, 92).

been applied to heaven alone: God's "Glory passed through the four gates of fire and earthquake and wind and ice, to give the Law to the seed of Jacob" (*4 Ezra* 3:19). If the subsequent gates are meant, there may be four heavens corresponding to fire, earth, air, and water.[464] The elements may be connected to the hierarchy of heavens and their angels in *Apoc. Abr.* 15–19, although in a different order: earth, air, water (as dew?), fire. The lowest heaven Abraham can see from the seventh heaven above is the fifth one with "the elements of earth" that obey "the incorporeal spiritual angels" of the sixth heaven, who in turn "carry out the orders of the fiery angels who were on the eighth firmament." The seventh heaven contains also dew, as well as fire and light (19:4–9). The hierarchy of earth, water, fire, air, and ether may correspond in the same order to the accounts of the Builders (first heaven), Sea Serpent, sea and rivers (second heaven), luminaries (third heaven), soul-birds (fourth heaven), and the inaccessible realm (fifth heaven).[465] The tetrad of elements in the same order integrated into seven plagues of Rev 16, beginning with earth (16:2), salt and fresh waters (16:3–4); the sun and fire (16:8), and finishing with air (16:17). See the angels responsible for different elements in Rev 14:18 ("the angel in charge of the fire") and 16:6 ("the angel in charge of the waters").[466]

2.2.2. *Three (three plus one) heavens and textual history of 3 Baruch*. It is possible that the original version of *3 Baruch* had a scheme of three or "three plus one" heavens, which was corrupted or intentionally changed during the transmission of the text.

Textual arguments. The suggestion helps to settle several textual problems:
(1) In G the last heaven visited by Baruch is numbered as "the third" (10:1G), while the next heaven is designated as "the fifth" (11:1 in both versions). At least one of the numbers must have been emended,

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464 Although here the four portals for the phenomena of weather may be meant (as in *1 En.* 36:1; 76), since different meteorological phenomena and/or luminaries can be found in the same heaven (*T. Levi* 3:2; *2 En.* 3:3–6; 5:1–2; 6:1; *1 En.* 76); see Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 72.

465 Cf. the idea of Apuleius that every element must have a creature proper to it (*Deo Socr.* 8). Cf. further Philo: "Our name for those which have the power of locomotion is animals. These took to the several main divisions of our universe, land animals to earth, to water those that swim, the winged creatures to air, and to fire the fire-born" (*Plant.* 3.12).

466 On the plagues of Rev 16 and the Hellenistic motif of the four elements, see Collins, *Cosmology*, 106; eadem, "History."

or alternatively both were inconsistently interpolated to the previously unnumbered descriptions (on the parallels for the phenomenon see below). The following considerations support the hypothesis that the reading of 10:1G is a remnant of an older structure.

(2) The numbering of 10:1G accords with the hypothesis of the duplication of the Builders account (see introductory comm. to ch. 3), which duplicates also the description of the lower heaven. Without the second account of the Builders, the number of the heavens before the last gate reduces to three.

(3) This numbering is corroborated by 7:2S, stating that all previous visions including the sun took place in the lower two heavens. In this case, the words "in the third heaven" of 7:2G might be either interpolated (in order to harmonize with the duplication of the account of the Builders) or, less probably, they may imply that Baruch sees the luminaries of the third heaven from his observation point in the second one (as Abraham sees different heavens from the seventh in *Apoc. Abr.* 19).

(4) The inconsistent (probably interpolated) numbering of heavens throughout the book contradicts other indications of the intercelestial transfer of the visionary (see the table above): both versions mention only three celestial journeys (2:2; 3:1; 4:2) and three gates (three before the last in S and a total of three in G; 2:2; 3:1; 4:2; 11:2). However, taking into account also the duplication of the account of the Builders (including 3:1), there will be a "secondary" indication to the ascent only for the first (Builders-Demons) and the second (Beasts and luminaries) heavens, while the transfer to the third heaven (Lake of Birds) is indicated only by the "plain" and a number in G, and is not indicated at all in S (see *Two heavens* below).

To summarize: (1) *lectiones difficiliores* of 7:2S and 10:1G both witnessing two heavens instead of three until 10:1 are the rudiments of the proto-text; (2) the second account of the Builders (3:1–5a) is a duplication; and (3) the inconsistent numbers – "third heaven" of 7:2G and the "fifth heaven" of 11:1 – are interpolated, probably with other numbers of heavens throughout the book.

In this case, the Builders occupy only one lower heaven, while Lights and Beasts are in the second heaven (in accordance with 7:2S), and the Lake of Birds is in the third (in accordance with 10:1G). Both the Serpent and Lights (especially the moon) situated in the middle heaven are known to divide between higher and lower realms in different sources (for the moon see introductory comm. to ch. 10; for the Serpent see Origen, *Cels.* 6.25; and Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 1.10.45–53 cited in the introductory comm. to ch. 4).

Precedents for original form. The system of three heavens is attested in Jewish sources: in *T. Levi* (α) 2:6–10; *Midr. Pss.* 114:2; and probably in 2 Cor 12:2 and *Apoc. Sedr.* 2:3–5, where visionaries arrive to the third heaven, and no higher heaven is mentioned.[467] For the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* it is probable that the third heaven is the highest, since there the visionary can "speak to God face to face" (2:4). The three stages of the ascent probably also appear in *1 En.* 14 (the fiery wall of 14:9 and two concentric houses in 14:10–17). Another trace of the "three plus one" heavens cosmology may occur in *4 Ezra* 3:19 (cf. another interpretation above), where the Sinai theophany is described as a gradual descent of God's Glory through four subsequent gates. It may mean that it comes (a) from the highest fourth heaven, or (b) from the supercelestial abode above the highest third heaven, or (c) from the middle of heaven viz. the fourth heaven (of total seven; cf. the heavenly Temple on the fourth heaven in *b. Hag.* 12b; *b. Zeb.* 62a; *b. Menah.* 110a).[468]

Bousset tried to trace the threefold celestial system back to the Persian model of the three firmaments with the Paradise located above them.[469] Zoroastrians believed that a just soul crosses three levels (even called "heavens") in order to reach the highest divine realm.[470] The scheme may even be older, since although the typical ancient Near Eastern systems normally had only one heaven, *Enuma Elish* has more than one level above the sky, and the three heavens system (parallel there to three terrestrial surfaces) is also attested among other multicelelstial systems in Mesopotamia (see Akkadian texts in *KAR* 307 and *OA* 8196). Some interpret the biblical expression שמי השמים "heaven of heavens [in dual. tant.]" as referring to the Babylonian conception of the celestial realm divided to "the upper," "the middle," and "the upper heavens" inhabited by Anu (cf. the terminology of *T. Levi* 2:7, 3:1, and 3:4 below).[471] A Hellenistic Egyptian depiction

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467 On 2 Corinthians see Young, "The Ascension Motif," 90.

468 Cf. Moses in Rabbinic sources, who ascents through the gates of seven heavens in order to receive the Torah (*Pesiq. R.* 96b–98a [ed. Friedmann]; *Chr. of Jerahmiel*).

469 Collins, *Cosmology*, 22; Bousset, *Himmelreise* 136–69; 229–73.

470 Panaino, "Uranographia."

471 Collins, "Seven," 64; Lambert, "Cosmology," 58–59; and Livingstone, *Mystical*, 82–86. Cf. also late Bronze or early Iron Age cultic stands from Taanach that have several registers one above the other. The sequence of four registers of one of them "could be interpreted as a way of using a three-dimensional piece to portray graded sacredness that become more intense as on progresses from < …> chaos to an ordered cosmos < …> the topmost register portrays the shrine itself with its inner sanctum, the cella" (Keel, Uehlinger, *Gods*, 158–159, fig. 184). Among other images the stand

of the goddess Nut and the god Geb dated by the Ptolemaic period presents a structure of three hemispheres (two of Nut and one Geb).[472] Wright considers it a product of "Egypto-Greek symbiosis" of the Hellenistic period (analogous to the Jewish-Hellenistic synthesis of our text).[473]

The contents of the first four heavens of a total of seven described by Resh Lakish in *b. Hag.* 12b is very similar to the heavens of *3 Baruch*, if it has been correctly interpreted above. In both sources the luminaries are located in the second heaven, "in which sun and moon, stars and constellations are set;" the rain and dew of the third heaven in *3 Baruch* correspond to manna in Talmud; and the inaccessible realm beyond the last gate, where Michael brings the angelic offerings corresponds to the fourth heaven, "in which [the heavenly] Jerusalem and the Temple and the altar are built, and Michael, the Great Prince, stands and offers up thereon an offering."

Precedents for reworking. The tendencies of (1) numbering previously unnumbered heavens, and (2) the standardization of the number of heavens according to the most common sevenfold models may be traced in the textual history of the *Testament of Levi* and *2 Enoch*. Similarly, in the *Life of Adam and Eve* we have a version that is reticent about the number of heavens (*Vita*), and another that gives the number seven (*Apoc. Mos.* 35:2).

There are several ways to calculate the amount and numbering of heavens in *T. Levi* 2–3. Two rescensions α and β have two different amounts which are widely recognized as three and seven correspondently. However, two verses 3:5 and 7 begin with Gk ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν, which may be read either as "in the one next to it," and thus as introducing an additional heaven each, or as "in the same [heaven] with it", thus referring to the heaven already introduced above.[474] The picture is complicated even more, since the two lowest heavens in 3:1–2α may appear again at the end of the next list (we call it the "repetition version" below). Alternatively, the next list may refer to additional heavens above the two lower ones (as in the rescension β; we refer to this as the "differentiating version"). Thus, these two alternatives create four different ways to count the heavens in the rescension α and two in the rescension β.

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has a tree (*ashera*?) and a winged solar disk. Some find a griffin in its upper tier, together with the sun (Taylor, "Yahwe," 35).

[472] See Keel, *Symbolism*, 34, fig. 30.

[473] Wright, *Heaven*, 103.

[474] See Wright, *Heaven*, 261.

Rescension α

T. Levi (α) 3:1–8	Repetit ion versio n "in the same [heave n] with it"	Repetit ion versio n "in the one next to it"	Differ entiati ng versio n "in the same [heave n] with it"	Differ entiati ng versio n "in the one next to it"
(3:l) Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause dark unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men. (3:2) And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgment, in the righteous judgment of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on men. [cf. 2:7: "And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging"]	1	1	**1**	1
(3:3) And in the second are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the Day of Judgment, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. [cf. 2:8: "And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a boundless light also therein"]	2	2	**2**	2
And above them are the holy ones.	Division between the lower and the higher realms ("holy heavens," *kosmos*)			
(3:4) And in the highest of all dwells the Great Glory, far above all holiness.	3	4	**4**	6
(3:5) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν there are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous; (3:6) offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savor, a reasonable and a bloodless offering.	3	3	**4**	5
(3:7) And in the one below this [ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποκάτω] are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.	2	2	**3**	4
(3:8) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν there are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.	2	1	**3**	3

The schema in the third column (presenting the "three plus one" heavens cosmology) looks the most logical: (1) different (even contradictory) descriptions refer to different heavens, and (2) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν of 3:5 and 8 functionally differs from ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑποκάτω of 3:7.[475] The description of specifically higher heavens in descending order is not unique: it is also attested in *Apoc. Abr.* 19 (describing heavens from the seventh to the fifth); see also the descent of Jesus in *Asc. Isa.* 10.

The redactor of β must have slightly emended the text above in order to adjust it to the seven heavens scheme.

Rescension β (main discrepancies with α are put in italics)

T. Levi (β) 3:1–8	"in the same [heaven] with it"	"in the one next to it"
(3:l) Hear, therefore, regarding the *seven* heavens. The lowest is for this cause dark, in that it is near all the unrighteous deeds of men.	1	**1**
(3:2) *The second* has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgment, in the righteous judgment of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on *the wicked*. [cf. 2:7: "And I entered from the first heaven into the second, and I saw there a great sea hanging between the one and the other"]	2	**2**
(3:3) *In the third* are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judgment, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. [cf. 2:8: "And I saw a third heaven far brighter than those two, for there was in it a height without bounds."]	3	**3**
And [the heavens] *up to the fourth* above these are holy.	Division between the lower and the higher realms ("holy heavens," *kosmos*)	
(3:4) *For* in the highest of all dwells the Great Glory, far above all holiness.	7	**7**
(3:5) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν there are the *angels of the presence of the Lord*, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous; (3:6) They offer to the Lord a reasonable sweet-smelling savor and a bloodless offering.	7	**6**

[475] Cf. Wright (*Heaven*, 461) suggesting the latter argument in order to reject the scheme of the second column.

(3:7) And in the heaven below this are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.	6	5
(3:8) ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν there are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.	6	4

The numbering of heavens in verses 3:1 and the end of 3:3 indicate that β, by declaring the seven heavens scheme (1) did not hold to the "repetition reading" (proposed by modern scholars for α) and (2) most probably understood ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτόν as "in the one next to it" (otherwise, it would lack the description of the fourth and the fifth heavens). Both assumptions must give six heavens also in α (cf. the fourth column of the previous table) and they enabled the emendation of α in accordance with the popular sevenfold scheme by just two changes: inserting numbering inside coherent descriptions and splitting the description of the first heaven into two. Rescension α was considered original by Charles, Bietenhard, and Kee, among others,[476] while De Jonge suggested an opposite development: from seven to three, corrupted under the influence of 2 Cor 12).[477] Despite De Jonge, it would be more difficult to imagine why and how β could be emended to α (except the possible influence of 2 Cor 12).

The *Testament of Levi*, in contrast to *3 Baruch*, has been preserved in both earlier and later versions. It provides us with a model of a redactional process similar to that proposed for *3 Baruch*. There is the same tendency (of multiplication of heavens) and the same method (of inserting numbering). In both cases, editors have left their fingerprints, although in *3 Baruch* the redactors' technique is more transparent, because it is less consistent (for the obvious reason that the emendation involved not a short chapter, but an entire book).

A similar relationship is observed between the two rescensions of *2 Enoch*: the longer rescension (J) has ten heavens, and a shorter one (A) has seven. Also there seem to have been some intentional correction in this text, from ten heavens, which is rather rare (although attested also in Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 22–23; cf. *Poim.* 26; Origen, *Cels.* 6.25 (Ophitic diagram); *Num. Rab.* 14) to a more common seven. An inconsistent interpolation of an ordinal number of a heaven most probably took place in the Greek *Apocalypse of Ezra*: at the beginning, "the first heaven" is mentioned, although there is no further evidence of the multiple heavens system.

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476 Charles, *Testaments*, 27; Bietenhard, *Himmliche*, 3–4; Kee, "Testaments," 1.788.
477 Jonge, *Studies*, 45–62.

Rationale of three heavens. Both the *Testament of Levi* and *2 Enoch* share the conception of the division of heavens to two groups, shared probably with the Hellenistic cosmologies distinguishing between the irregular *ouranos* and higher *kosmos*[478] and in accordance with the concept shared by Jews and Greeks that "the impure is not meet and right to be in contact with the pure" (Plato, *Phaed.* 67b).

In *2 Enoch*, the Paradise of the third heaven divides between "corruptible" and "incorruptible" (8:5), while the seven "stars" have their spherical routes in the middle zone of water dividing between the upper light and the lower darkness (*2 En.* 27:3; see "the light is being separated from the darkness" and the middle position of the luminaries in *3 Bar.* 6:13). The highest heavens are explicitly distinguished from the low ones in both versions of *T. Levi* 3:3 (two heavens in the rescension α, and three in the rescension β). The first heaven is "dark," because "it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men" (3:1). In *3 Baruch* the sun is similarly defiled, "because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men" in *3 Bar.* 8:5. In the *Testament of Levi* both lower heavens are inhabited by the demonic "spirits of the retributions for vengeance," "spirits of deceit and of Beliar" (3:2–3). Similarly, in *3 Baruch* the lower two heavens are inhabited by chimeric Builders and "dark and impure" Hades (*3 Bar.* 2–3). In the *Testament of Levi* above the lower heavens "there are the holy ones" (3:3).[479] In *3 Baruch* the superlunary heaven has "pure" birds and probably purificatory waters (see comm. to chs. 9 and 10). Note that in all three compositions the lower group consists of two heavens.

Three heavens and Temple areas. As well as other divisions discussed above, the threefold division could well be modeled according to either (a) the four elements or (b) the Temple areas:

(1) In the former case, (1) *earth* corresponds to earth, while the rest "three plus one" elements correspond to the "three plus one" celestial structure: (2) *air*: the firmament of the demonic Builders – demons, "spiritual ones" – abiding in the lower heaven known as "air" (Gk ἀήρ "air" means also "lower visible sky;" in LXX it renders exclusively Heb שחק "cloud," "sky;" cf. **аєръ** in this meaning on *Apoc. Abr.* 15:5); (3) *fire*:

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478 Andersen, "2 Enoch," 116, n. 81.

479 "The holy ones," Gk ἅγιοι may also be not קדושים as angels, but "holy heavens" in distinct of lower two heavens; cf. Wis 9:10: "O send her [Wisdom] out of thy *holy heavens*, and from the throne of thy glory, that being present she may labor with me, that I may know what is pleasing unto thee." "High, *holy*, and eternal heaven" appears in *1 En.* 15:3.

firmament of Lights and fiery Hades; (4) *water*: the Lake of Birds, the source of the celestial rain and dew; (5) *aether* – the inaccessible firmament beyond the last gate.

(2) In the latter case, the firmaments correspond to (1) the Women's Court, (2) the Court [of Israel] (עזרה), and (3) the Court of Priests or (1) the Court, (2) the Sanctuary, and (3) the Holy of Holies.[480] The latter partition would also be consonant with the "two plus one" model described below.

2.2.3. *Two (two plus one) heavens*. If to accept the hypothesis that (1) the second Builders account was interpolated (see introductory comm. to ch. 3) and that (2) the numbering of heavens was added to previously unnumbered descriptions (see above), then the Slavonic rescension, which in many cases reflects an earlier stage of the text development than the extant Greek one, witnesses only two heavens before the last gate and the supercelestial realm beyond it. The table below summarizes all the indications of intercelestial transfers throughout the book, ignoring ch. 3 and the numbering of the heavens:

	Ascend[481]		Gate		Journey		Plain	
	G	S	G	S	G	S	G	S
2:2–3	*1	*1	+	+	+	+	+	+
4:2	*2	*2	–	+	+	+	+	+
10:1	(*3)	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	–
11:1	*4	*3	+	+	–	–	–	–

Even for G, the transfer to the "third" heaven is signaled only by the "plain" (which could substitute for "mountain" of S). For S there are consistently only two lower heavens: two gates, two journeys, and two plains. Moreover, 7:2S explicitly speaks only of two heavens: "what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens."

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480 Cf. different divisions of the Temple area juxtaposed to the celestial world proposed by Morray-Jones, "Paradise," 204; cf. Maier, *Kultus*, 127; Milik, Black, *Enoch*, 40–41 and 231–36. Cf. also a threefold division of Paradise in *Abot R. Nat.* B 43 and *Maase deR. Yehoshua b. Levi* (Gaster, "Sefer").

481 In these columns the ascents are numbered in the order of appearance of any indication of the ascent.

This scheme may go back to a biblical conception of שמי השמים, which may refer to two or three heavens understood as "heaven of heaven" or "heaven of heavens" (Deut 10:14; 1 Kgs 8:27; Neh 9:6; Ps 148:4; 2 Chr 2:5; 6:18).[482] Thus it was interpreted by R. Yehudah bar Ilai: "There are two heavens, as it is written, 'Heaven, heaven of heaven, earth and everything in it, all belong to God' [Deut 10:14]" (*b. Hag.* 12b; cf. *Deut. Rab.* 2.32 [6:4]). *Midr. Pss.* 114:2 knows of both variations: the concept of two heavens based on Ps 68:34(33): "who rids upon the heaven of ancient heaven," and the alternative view that there are three heavens, referring to "the heavens [understood as dual] and the heaven of heavens [above them]" of 1 Kgs 8:27. The same conception may be ascribed also to *T. Levi* (α) if interpreted according to the scheme of the first column (see the table above). The stages of Enoch's tour in *1 En.* 14:8–18 can also be interpreted according to this model: heaven, "house," and the second "house" with the Throne corresponding to the supercelestial realm. In the Ethiopic *Apoc. Pet.* 17 Jesus ascends to the second heaven with Moses and Elijah (however, there are may be more heavens). The scheme most similar to this understanding of *3 Baruch* is brought in the Nag Hammadi *Apocryphon of James*, where disciples follow Jesus through the first two heavens and are not allowed to the third.[483]

A cosmology of "two plus one" heavens may serve an additional *raison d'être* of *3 Baruch*'s within the Christian tradition where it would have provide Christian readers with the detailed descriptions of the first two heavens, thereby complementing 2 Corinthians and *Apocalypse of Paul*, where the first two heavens are entirely ignored.

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[482] See Collins, *Cosmology*, 23–24.

[483] Cf. Josephus who discusses the symbolism of the Tent divided into three areas according to the structure of the whole universe (but just heaven), among which the third is inaccessible to humans: "For by dividing the Tent, which is thirty cubits long, into three parts, and designating two of them for all the priests as a place accessible and in common, he signifies the earth and the sea, for these also are accessible to all. But he earmarked the third part for God alone because of the fact that the heaven also is inaccessible to men" (*Ant.* 3.181).

Summarizing table of alternative ouranological schemes implied in 3 Baruch

3 Baruch	*Heavens*			*Main Parallels*				*Elements*		*Temple*		
	4+1	*3+1*	*2+1*	*T. Levi 3 (a)*			*b. Hag. 12b*					
Demons	1	1	1	Great sea	Dark heaven	Dark heaven	Veil	Earth	Air	Gentiles	Women's Court	Court
[Demons][484]	2				Spirits of retribution	Spirits of retribution		Water		Women's Court		
Beasts Lights	3	2	2	Light	Fighting angels	Fighting angels	Lights	Fire	Fire	Court of Israel	Court of Israel	Sanctuary
Celestial Waters Praising Birds Angelic Priests	4	3			Praising angels	Praising angels	Manna	Air	Water	Court of Priests	Court of Priests	
Celestial Temple Michael	5	4	3		Great Glory	Great Glory	Celestial Temple Michael	Ether	Ether	Holy of Holies	Holy of Holies	Holy of Holies

[484] Probably interpolated.

11:2S. *And he showed me large gates, and names of men were written [on them]*. Only in S. Family β explains: "And the angel told me: 'The names of those, who are to enter here, are written here.'" So in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, where the names of the righteous are written on the gates as well:

> And I followed the angel and he took me up unto the third heaven and set me before the door of a gate; and I looked on it and saw, and the gate was of gold, and there were two pillars of gold full of golden letters. And the angel turned again to me and said, "Blessed are you, if you enter in these gates, for it is not permitted to enter to anyone except those who have kept goodness and pureness of their bodies in all things." And I asked the angel and said, "Lord, tell me why are these letters set upon these tables?" The angel answered and told me, "These are the names of the righteous who dwell on earth and that serve God with their whole heart." (*Apoc. Paul* 19)

The last formula alludes to "Who will ascend to the mountain of the Lord? … He that has clean hands and a pure heart" (Ps 24:3). The entrance to the Temple in Jerusalem also had inscriptions (in Greek and Latin), although referring to those who are not supposed to enter beyond the *soreg* (i.e., gentiles; see Philo, *Leg.* 31.212; Josephus, *Bell.* 5.193–94., cf. 6.124ff.; *Ant.* 15.417; *m. Mid.* 2.3).[485] Similar warnings are attested also for pagan temples.[486] The names of those who are destined to be "delivered" are also written (although in a celestial book): "At that time your people will be delivered, everyone whose name is written in the book" (Dan 12:2).

The names here must be either of visionaries of a "higher rank" than Baruch, or rather of the righteous deserving eternal life in celestial resting places.[487] Thus, Baruch eventually stays outside, either since he is a "minor visionary" (see comm. to T:1) or because he makes his ascent while he is alive. The latter explanation has two arguments in its favor:

(1) It may be well integrated into the hypothesis of the developed conception of the afterlife contained in *3 Baruch*, according to which the Birds can be understood as souls ascending to their resting places in a higher abode (see ch. 10), and the Oil Reward can be interpreted as the gift of eternal life (see ch. 12).
(2) The only additional detail that we can learn about the forbidden realm guarded by Michael is its name: it must be "Kingdom" (S) or "Kingdom of Heaven" (G), of which Michael is a "key-holder" (Μιχαὴλ ὁ

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485 Two such tablets were discovered and published by Clermont-Ganneau ("Une stele") and Iliffe ("The θάνατος Inscription"). A similar proclamation was posted by Antiochus III on the gates of Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.145).

486 See Bickerman "Warning."

487 Cf. "he [God] raised him up men called by name" (CD 2.9); "elect of Israel called by the name" (קריאי השם; ibid. 6.1).

κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν). The term "Kingdom of Heaven" is known from Ps 103:19; Dan 4:34; Matt 3:2, and elsewhere in different meanings including the abode of the righteous: "Many shall come from the east and the west and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matt 8:11).

11:2. *Michael*. Michael was mentioned above in 4:7S. There he was commanded "to gather 200,003 angels to plant the Garden," and planted the olive himself (cf. comm. to 15:1S). In many and diverse sources Michael is a Prince of Israel and sometimes also "of all the righteous" (which is sometime a synonym for Israel) or of "the best part of mankind" or of "believers" (in Christian sources), sometimes combining this function with being the chief angel (see, e.g., Dan 7:1; 10:13, 21; 12:1; *1 En.* 20:5; *2 En.* 33:10; *4 Bar.* 9:5; *As. Mos.* 10:2; 1QM 17.6–8; *Herm. Sim.* 3.3.; *b. Hag.* 12b; *Yoma* 77a; *Tg. Cant.* 8:9; cf. a Michael-like figure in *T. Levi* 5:6). However, in *3 Baruch* these roles may be only implied by the action of bringing the Oil Reward for the righteous. Explicitly in *3 Baruch* Michael is only a "commander-in-chief," a gate-keeper, and probably the celestial high priest.

1. *Michael the commander-in-chief*. Below Michael is called ἀρχιστράτηγος (11:4; 11:6, 7, 8; 13:3). Only in G (in 13:3S the angels call him "our chief" – **начальниче нашь**). Usually Michael is called "archangel" (*1 En.* 71:3; *2 En.* (A) 22:6; 33:10; *Apoc. Mos.* Intr.; 3:2 and *passim*; *T. Abr.* (B) 2:2; *4 Bar.* 9:5; *Apoc. Ezra* 1:3; *Apoc. Sedr.* 14:1; Jude 9; PGM VII.257), but in *3 Baruch* he is called this only in 11:8G and 12:4G, while this title is assigned also to the guiding angel (10:1G). Since, despite the title "commander-in-chief" no military function is assigned to Michael in this work (nor in *2 Enoch* and in many other parallels below), Rohland supposed the title to be a result of later Christian redaction of *3 Baruch* on the background of the Byzantine cult of Michael as a distinctively military figure.[488] However, this title and military function are both well attested in many other Jewish and early Christian works. Michael is called by the Gk ἀρχιστράτηγος or CS **архистратигъ** also in *2 En.* (J) 22:6; 33:10; *T. Abr.* (A) *passim*; *T. Abr.* (B) 14:7; *Asc. Mos.* 10:2. Similar titles ἄρχων "prince" and ὁ ἄρχων ὁ μέγας "great prince" appear in Dan 10:13; 21 and in Dan 12:1. Cf. the Coptic *Fall of Satan*; *Apoc. Paul* 43; *Ep. Apost.* 13; *Gos. Bart.* 4:28. Michael overcomes the Kittim in *War Scroll* (1QM), and in Rev 12:7–9 he is a military com-

[488] Rohland, *Michael*, 55–57; cf. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 11–116; Harlow, "Baruch," 154, n. 143.

mander "fighting with his angels" against the Dragon "who leads the whole world astray." The Rabbinic title מיכאל שר צבא הגדול "Michael the Great/ Chief Commander" (and not "Prince of the Great Host" as sometimes translated) is identical to the Greek term, whatever their mutual dependence may have been (e.g. *t. Hul.* 2.18; cf. *b. Abod. Zar.* 41b; *Exod. Rab.* 32.9).

In the context of the astronomic interests of *3 Baruch*, this epithet could also have some astronomic meaning: "commander-in-chief" (שר צבא(ה), ἀρχιστράτηγος in Josh 5:14; Dan 8:11) stands at the head of the starry host. However, *3 Baruch* mentions stars only very briefly in 9:8G, and has no traces of the well known motif of their identification with angels.

2. *Michael the Gatekeeper.* "The key-holder of the Kingdom [S: + "of Heaven" G]" (ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν) Michael is "the archangel of righteousness, opens the gates for the righteous" in *4 Bar.* 9:5. An unnamed angel is a key-holder or a gate-guardian in *T. Levi* 5:1 (like Michael, he "intercedes for the nation of Israel" according to *T. Levi* 5:6). Peter inherits this function from Michael (cf. the wording in Matt 16:19, where Peter is given "the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" – κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν; cf. also a gatekeeper in John 10:3). Michael in his turn is a successor of ancient Near Eastern heavenly beings also guarding celestial gates; cf. *Adapa* in the similar context: "And he [Adapa] went up to heaven. When he came to heaven, when he approached the Gate of Anu, Dimmuzi and Gizzida were standing in the Gate of Anu."[489] Celestial gatekeepers appear in *Asc. Isa.* 10:23–31, where even Jesus has to give them a password in order to descend (cf. gatekeepers of the Gnostic *Apoc. Paul* 2–23; *1 Apoc. James* 33:7–15). Similarly, in Hekhalot literature the extent of ascension is often conditioned by the test of a visionary's worthiness before every gate (cf., e.g., *Hekh. Zut.*, ms New York 23a; *Hekh. Rabbati* 17–23) and thus it may be interrupted at any stage, sometimes by the "angels of destruction" guarding the gateways (see, e.g., *Hekh. Rabbati* 15.8–16.2).[490] As in *3 Baruch*, in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (9:1–5) and in the *Ozhayah Fragment* (2b/8–10)[491] the gatekeepers prevent the visionary from entering or are mentioned only before the last (there seventh) gate or palace.

Heavenly doorkeepers are ascribed to the beliefs of Ophites by Origen (*Cels.* 6.31; 7.40). Scholem suggested that the motif of gatekeepers in

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[489] Dally, *Myths*. Cf. also beasts guarding king palace gates in Mesopotamia (Wright, *Heaven*, 44, 83).

[490] Schäfer, *Synopse*, #213–15.

[491] Ibid., #2a/23–2b/24.

Hekhalot literature is "a Jewish variation" of a Gnostic and Hermetic tradition.[492] However, the motif is more widely known.

The two roles of Michael in *3 Baruch*, (1) the gatekeeper standing on the boarder of the "the higher heaven" and (2) the priest interceding for men (see below), are united in "the archangel and most ancient Logos" of Philo:

> To His Word, His chief messenger, highest in age and honour, the Father of all has given the special prerogative, to stand on the border and separate the creature from the Creator. This same Word both pleads with the immortal as suppliant for afflicted mortality and acts as ambassador of the ruler to the subject. He glories in this prerogative and proudly describes it in these words 'and I stood between the Lord and you' [Deut 5:5], that is neither uncreated as God, nor created as you, but midway between the two extremes, a surety to both sides; to the parent, pledging the creature that it should never altogether rebel against the rein and choose disorder rather than order; to the child, warranting his hopes that the merciful God will never forget His own work. (*Her.* 42.205–206; cf. *Somn.* 1.25; *Fug.* 19)

3. *Michael the High Priest*. If the previous two functions appear in *3 Baruch* only in Michael's titles, his role as a priest is described in detail through five chapters: Michael transfers the offerings brought by the angels representing men to the higher heaven and from there brings their reward in return (chs. 12–16). Eschatological purification, assigned to Michael in *1 En.* 10:20–22, may be a priestly function too. Michael is explicitly a heavenly priest in *b. Hag.* 12b: "Zebul [the fourth heaven] is that in which [the heavenly] Jerusalem and the Temple and the Altar are built, and Michael, the Great Prince, stands and offers up thereon an offering;" the same image of Michael offering on the altar is found in *b. Zeb.* 62a and *b. Men.* 110a. Even the establishment of the tithe was ascribed to Michael (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 32:25).

On Michael as an angel of prayer, on angels as priests in the heavenly Temple, and for worship and prayer to Michael, see introductory comm. to ch. 12.[493]

11:4. *To receive the prayers of men* (δέξηται τὰς δεήσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων / **да приметъ молитвы человѣча**). The practice of regular prayer is witnessed as early as in Dan 6:11; Ps 55:18. The commandment of prayer or praise was derived from Deut 10:20–21 (cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.57.311–312). Philo defines prayer as one of the most important "virtues" (ἀρεταί; *Plant.* 40.126). Rabbis ascribed the establishing of fixed prayers to "the Great Assembly" (*b. Ber.* 33a), "early sages" (*Sifre* Deut 343; *b. Meg.* 18a), and

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[492] *Major*, 49.

[493] For general bibliography on Michael see esp. Hannah, *Michael*.

"early *hasidim*" (*Midr. Pss*. 17). It is an act of piety prescribed by Jesus (Matt 6:5–13; 7:7–1; Luke 11:1–3).

Below we find angels bringing men's prayers through the ceremony which has much in common with different sacrificial rites (see comm. to ch. 12). Prayers were likened to sacrifices already in Hos 14:3 ("we will render the offerings of our lips for bullocks;" cf. LXX, where "bullocks" were substituted by καρπόν "fruit") and Ps 141:2 ("let my prayer be set forth before you as incense"); cf. Ps 50:14; 69:31–32; 107:21–22; 141:2; Prov 15:8; *Pr. Azar.* 15–18; and 11QPs[a] 18.10–11. Prayers were considered as a substitute or analogy of sacrificial offerings both by Jews (CD 11.20–21; 1QS 9.3–5) and by early Christians (see, e.g., Tertullian, *Scap*. 2).

For the context of Baruch's revelation given on the ruins of the recently destroyed Temple,[494] it is relevant to mention the conception of prayers taking place of sacrifices specifically after the destruction of Jerusalem (*Sifre* Deut 41; *y. Ber.* 5.5d; *b. Ber.* 26b; *b. Meg*. 31b; *b. Taan.* 27b; *Lev. Rab*. 7.3; *Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 6). On the one hand, the view of the prayer offering of the subsequent chapters may be the ultimate purpose of the vision, its promised "greater mystery" and also an answer to why Baruch should not "care much for the salvation of Jerusalem" (1:3), when the celestial Temple takes place of the terrestrial one, and prayers (as in S; or more general – "virtues" and "good deeds" as in G) take place of the sacrifice.[495] On the other hand, the acceptance of prayers may promise a restoration of the Temple service, like in the plea for the restoration of the Temple in Dan 9:17 and many Rabbinic prayers, following the logic of the saying, "When prayer comes, the Temple service will come" (*b. Meg*. 18a).

Altogether, verse 11:4 is the only instance where G and S agree on what angels bring to Michael. Whereas G varies between "prayers of men" (11:4), "virtues of men and good works" (11:9), "virtues of the righteous" (12:5), "virtues of men" (14:2), "good deeds" (15:2), S sticks consistently to "prayers of men" in all these verses (11:4; 11:9; 14:2; 15:2; the verse 12:5 lacks in S). The importance of prayer is mentioned again also only in S (15:3S and 16:4S; see below). The discrepancy between G and S might go back to an actual identification of the two concepts, "prayers" and "virtues": Gk ἀρεταί, in fact, may mean also "praises" of God rendering in

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494 Which according to many Rabbinic sources is placed opposite to the celestial sanctuary (*Mek*. Shira 10; *y. Ber.* 4.8a; *b. Taan.* 16a; *Gen. Rab*. 55.7; *Cant. Rab*. 3.10 and 4.4; *Pesiq. R*. 40; *Tan. B*. 1.112; *Tan.* Pequde 1–2; *Midr. HaG*. 1.454; *Midr. Pss*. 30.233; *Midr. Sam*. 1.45).

495 Thus Wright: "ascent whose pupose is to convince "Baruch" that God does attend to human prayer" ("Baruch, his evolution," 279).

LXX Heb תהילה (Isa 42:8 et al.), the meaning of which is not very far from "prayer." Prayer is one of the most important "virtues" for Philo (he uses the same word as in *3 Baruch* – ἀρεταί; *Plant*. 40.126).

The tendency of S may be integrated into the widely known motif of angelic intercession for human prayers (chs. 11–14; for parallels see comm. to ch. 12). The gate opening in order to receive the prayers is also well known (11:5; *T. Adam* 1:10; cf. *y. Ber.* 4.7c; *Pesiq. Rab Kah*. 24.2; *b. Yoma* 87b). However, the very prevalence of the motif and especially the similarity of the accounts of the Prayer Offering in *3 Bar.* 12–15 and Rev 5 and 8 could have influenced the Slavic editor and led him to harmonize the text in this direction, emending "virtues" to "prayers" (see comm. to 12:1). Bauckham proposed an explanation of why prayer would be so central an issue between God and men in *3 Baruch*. In light of the Deuteronomistic paraphrases in Prologue and ch. 16 referring to the fate of Israel (see comm. ibid.), he regards the final scene to be a prayer for mercy in the context of the Destruction: "as God has punished his people in response to their evil, so he will have mercy in response to their prayers."[496]

The offering of celestial prayer is connected to the topic of attendance at public prayer presented in three passages of dubious authenticity, one in G and two in S. Neither passage appears in both versions, but all three passages share a common topic and terminology, which must indicate that this topic was somehow represented also in the common proto-text of G and S:

13:4G	15:3S	16:4S
For we do not see them ever entering into assembly [or "church"], either into spiritual fathers or into any good thing[497]	Be not idle, but prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple [or "church" or "assembly"]	They do not fear God and they do not come to the Temple [or "church" or "assembly"] and to the place of prayers[498]
οὐ γὰρ εἴδομεν αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ποτέ οὐδὲ εἰς πνευματικοὺς πατέρας οὐδὲ εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἕν	не лѣните сѧ нѫ молитвоѭ въ свѧтꙑѩ цр҃кви припадаѭще	не боѩтъ сѧ бг҃а и не приχодѧтъ бъ цр҃къвъ и на молитвъ мѣсто

496 "Apocalypses," 185.

497 S has instead: "For their wives flee to the Temple, and from there they bring them out to jealousy and to fornication and to envy, and they strive to many other things, which you, O Glorious One, know" **ꙗко въ цр҃квь прибѣгаѭтъ женꙑ ихъ отътѫдоу изводѧтъ ѩ на ревности и на блѫдꙑ и на зависти{и} и на ина многа тꙑщѧтъ сѧ ꙗже тꙑ вѣси прѣславне**. What is meant remains enigmatic.

498 13:4G also mentions either "assemblies" or "churches," but adjacent to "priests," which make the latter meaning more plausible there.

In the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the only fault of the sinners mentioned specifically is that they are "not making so much as one pure prayer out of their whole heart all the time of their life" (10). The account most similar to the three passages of *3 Baruch (*especially to 16:4S) appears in *Apoc. Sedr.* 14:10. In both writings angels are saddened by men (13:1S) because of their neglect of communal prayer (13:4G); "assemblies" and "churches" are mentioned as probably different phenomena (cf. "Temple/church" and "the place of prayers" in 16:4S), and the need for "prostrating" is mentioned (15:3S):

> They [baptized but wicked] cause sorrow to my angels, and of certainty in my assemblies and in my services they do not heed my angels and they do not stand in my holy churches; [and when they do] they stand and do not prostrate themselves in fear and trembling, but they pronounce long words which neither I nor my angels accept.

All three passages were usually considered as Christian interpolations, due to the use of two terms – Gk ἐκκλησία / CS **црьковь** (in all passages) and πνευματικοὶ πατέρες (of 13:4G). If the latter combination is overtly Christian,[499] the former term is less obvious. It was understood as "church," although the primarily meaning of Gk ἐκκλησία as a regular equivalent of Heb קהל "assembly," "community" (cf., e.g., 1 Kgs 8:65; Joel 2:16; Ps 40:10) is also plausible here. Cf. especially εἰσελθεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ "enter an assembly" in 13:4G and a common Biblical and Rabbinic idiom **לבוא** בקהל, lit. "enter an assembly," i.e., "to become a part of the community," literally rendered in LXX: οὐκ εισελεύσεται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου (Deut 23 pass.; Lam 1:10). The combination "holy community" (Aram **קהלא קדישא**) is well known to Jewish sources as well (*b. Ber.* 9b and *passim*). The idea of

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[499] Gk πνευματικοὶ πατέρες "spiritual fathers" is the late Christian term referring to monks, church leaders, especially bishops, or godparents. However, the title "father" was attested among Jews (e.g., Matt 23:9) and the substantivized adj. "spiritual" with Gnostics. Cf. a Valentinian term πνευματικοί referring to chosen "spiritual" Gnostics opposed to those called "psychic" and "material" (Irenaeus, *Exc. Theod.* 56.2; *Haer.* 1.4–7; see Pearson, *Pneumaticos-Psychikos*, xii, 147.). Cf. also Mythraic initiation grade of *patres sacrorum* (*MMM*, 2.535). Michael Schneider suggests to understand πνευματικοὶ πατέρες as denoting guarding angels themselves, basing on the regular rendering of angels as "spiritual [beings]" and on the readings **מלאך אבות משמרו** of 4Q369 2.1 as "angel of intercession is guarding" and **אוחזי אבות** of 1QS 2.9 as "intercessors" (see Wernberg-Møller, *Manual*, 53–54). He states that angelic guardins must be especially intersted in the perfomance of the earthly liturgy ("entering into assembly" of the same verse), which is necessary to ebnable celestial liturgy and intercession according to many Jewish and Christian traditions (e.g., *Sifre Deut.* 306).

a permanent place for a prayer – public and even individual – must be old (some base it on Isa 26:20). See "Jacob had a secluded place where he entered to offer his prayers before the Lord in the night and in the day" (*T. Jacob* 1:9). The duty to attend synagogue and pray there is well attested in Rabbinic texts:

> R. Huna said, "Anyone who does not enter the synagogue in this world will nor enter the synagogue in the afterlife" … R. Yohanan said, "One who prays at home is as if surrounded with the iron wall" … R. Abba and R. Hiyya said in the name of R. Yohanan, "A person must pray in a place designated for prayer [מקום שהוא מיוחד לתפילה] … R. Pinehas said in the name of R. Yohanan Hoshaya, "One who prays in the synagogue it is as if he offers a pure offering [מנחה טהורה]." (*y. Ber.* 5.5d)

> R. Helbo said in the name of R. Huna, "Everyone who has a fixed place for his prayer [כל הקובע מקום לתפלתו] has the God of Abraham as his helper. And when he dies, people will say of him, 'Alas, the pious man! Alas, the humble man, one of the disciples of our father Abraham!' And how do we know that our father Abraham had a fixed place [for his prayer]? For it is written, 'And Abraham got up early in the morning to the place where he had stood' [Gen 19:27], and "standing" means nothing else but prayer, as said: 'Then stood up Phineas and prayed'" [Ps 106:30]. (*b. Ber.* 6b; cf. 7b–8a)

Note also the vision of the torments of the sinners in *Gedulat Moshe*, some of which were hanged by their feet, because among other transgressions "they did not walk to the synagogue to offer prayer to their Creator" and others because they "despised the sages."[500] For possible opposition to public prayer or at least reservation about it see Matt 6:5–8.

With the Slavonic counterpart of Gk ἐκκλησία – CS **црьковь** – the range of possibilities is even wider. It may mean not only "church" or "assembly, community" but also "temple" rendering not only Gk ἐκκλησία, but also ναός or ἱερόν. The combination of "temple/church" and "place of prayer" (16:4S) as different phenomena may also be regarded not in Christian but in Jewish context, as referring to the Temple and synagogue, i.e., sacrificial service and communal prayer.[501] In this case, 13:4G and 15:3S would refer to attendance at the Temple, while 16:4S would refer to attendance at both the Temple and places of communal prayer. Temple sacrificial service and prayer (including prayer in the Temple) were the two main modes of worship before the Destruction, even for many diaspora Jews; thus, Philo "journeyed to the Temple of my native land to offer *prayers and sacrifices*" (*Prov.* 2.64 apud Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 8.14.386–399). On Sabbath a man shall not do any

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[500] Ginzberg, *Legends*, 2.311.

[501] Cf., e.g., *Lam. Rab.* Intr. 12: "R. Pinehas said in the name of R. Hoshaya, 'There were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem, apart from the Temple.'"

work "except to praise the Lord in the assembly of the elders and to glorify the Mighty One in the council of the older men" (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8). The call to "prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple" in 15:3S can also be connected to Jewish practices. The Temple (or possibly another Jewish place of worship) is called the "House of Prostration" (Heb בית השתחות) in CD 11.23 and 4QD[f] 3.1.15. Prostration was among central elements of the Temple liturgy (Sir 50:16–17; *m. Tamid*. 7.3; cf. Deut 26:10; 1 Chr 16:29; Ps 5:8; Isa 27:13; Jer 26:2; Ezek 26:3; John 4:19–24; etc.). The main obstacle for such an interpretation lay in the fact that according to the Prologue the Temple does not exist when Baruch receives the revelation.

It is difficult to say whether these passages, or some of them, could reflect the rudiments of the original Jewish text. Whereas 13:4G with its Christian terminology and 15:3S with its reference to the contemporary "temple" look more like Christian interpolations or reworkings, 16:4S might have referred to the past and be mentioned among the reasons for the destruction of the Temple.

11:7G. *Interpreter of the revelations* (ὁ τὰς ἀποκαλύψεις διερμηνεύων). The same title is applied to Gabriel in Dan 9:23 and to Ramiel in *2 Bar.* 55:3.

11:8. *Flat bowl / receptacle* (φιάλη / **хранильница**). This CS form corresponds usually to Gk θήκη, φιλακή (also semantically as "preservation vessel"); ms T has **коупель** (Gk κολυμβήθρα). The ministering angels hold "flat bowls" (also Gk φιάλας) with prayers in Rev 5:8, while "another angel" there offers the incense from the "censer" (Gk λιβανωτός; Rev 8:3; see cited in the introductory comm. to ch. 12). The former must functionally correspond to the "baskets" of 12:1G, and the latter to the "flat bowl" here. In the angelic liturgy of *Apoc. Mos.* 33:4 the angels hold as θυμιατήρια so also φιάλας:

> And I saw golden censers and three flat bowls, and behold all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the incense offering and blew upon it, and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmament. And the angels fell down to God, crying aloud and saying, "Jael, Holy One, have pardon, for he is your image, and the work of your holy hands!" (*Apoc. Mos.* 33:4–5)

Whatever vessel is meant in *3 Baruch*, it must have liturgic prototypes and be connected to the priestly role of Michael; cf., e.g., Gk φιάλη rendering Heb מזרק "sprinkling pan" (Exod 27:3; 38:3); see also the receptacles of the anointing oil, Gk κέρας, Heb קרן (1 Sam 16:13; 1 Kgs 1:39), Gk φακός, Heb פך (1 Sam 10:1; 2 Kgs 9:1).

The dimensions of the bowl – its "depth was like [the distance] from heaven to earth, and its width like [the distance] from north to south," are comparable to the dimensions of heaven as given in 2:4–5 (see comm. ibid.). The angel Sandalphon, who is bringing men's prayers to God, is also of enormous size.[502] David Halperin notes on the bowl of *3 Baruch*:

> I am a little surprised that there are so many righteous people on earth that their merits would fill a container of such size, and I suspect that the underlying idea is that of a channel which conveys the merits from earth to heaven. (This would explain the Greek text of the end of 11:9, which ought to be translated: "which are escorted *through it* [Gk δι' αὐτοῦ] before the heavenly God.") III Baruch's vessel would then originally have been a sort of inanimate Sandalphon.[503]

According to one possible interpretation the bowl may be intended for the entrance of angels themselves (see next comm.). See another gigantic visionary "bowl," the "bowl of Hades," where the dead are supposed to enter (*Apoc. Ezra* 6:26).[504]

11:9. *This is where the virtues of the righteous ente and the good works that they do / This is where the prayers of men enter* (Τοῦτο ἔστιν ἔνθα προσέρχονται αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ὅσα ἐργάζονται ἀγαθα / **се есть идѣже въходатъ молитвы чловечѧ**). It is difficult to decide which reading, "virtues" or "prayers," is original. The same discrepancy occurs below: "prayers of men" in S corresponds to "virtues of men" (14:2) and "good deeds" (15:2) of G; for "virtues of the righteous" in 12:5 there is no equivalent in S (see comm. to 11:4 above).

In *T. Abr.* 4:6, Michael presents the virtues of Abraham to God: "I am unable to proclaim the notice of death to that just man. For I have not seen a man like him on the earth – merciful and hospitable, just, truthful, God-fearing, abstaining from every evil deed."[505]

The convention of listing four basic virtues is found in both pagan and Jewish sources of the Hellenistic and Roman periods (the number is preserved even when the content varies). The cardinal "four virtues" of Plato

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[502] "He is taller than his companions by the distance of a five-hundred-year journey. He stands behind the Chariot and weaves wreaths for his Creator" (*b. Hag.* 13b). These wreaths are weaved of prayers according to *Midr. Konen* 26 (see citation in comm. to "flowers" in 12:1).

[503] Halperin, *Faces*, 134.

[504] Cf. also Phoenician *phialae* found throughout the Mediterranean and containg sometimes the depictions of cosmos, including ouraborus, griffin, winged sun disks, chariots (Markoe, *Phoenician*; Marinatos, "Cosmic," 390–94).

[505] Allison, *T. Abr.*, 140.

(*Phaed.* 69c; *Rep.* 4.428; *Leg.* 631c) – wisdom (Gk φρόνησις or σοφία), courage (ἀνδρεία), moderation (σωφροσύνη), and justice (δικαιοσύνη) – became a universally known element of Greek ethics (especially of Stoics), influencing Jewish thought as well. Cf. four virtues of righteousness: "moderation and prudence, justice and courage" (Wis 8:7) and almost identical lists in 2 Macc 1:18ff; 4 Macc 5:22; Philo, *Leg. All.* 1.19.71–72 (cf. *Prob.* 10; *Cher.* 2.12; *Quaest. Gen* 1.12; et al.). There are different lists of four: prayer, fasting, charity, and righteousness (Tob 12:8–10); "Let his Presence dwell only with the strong, the rich, the wise, and the humble'" (*b. Ned.* 38a and par.; according to *m. Ab.* 4.1, strength corresponds to moderation, and richness to modesty, two other virtues are wisdom and respect). There are also lists of three, but these triads tend to refer to fundamental values rather than to virtues: "[the study of] the Law, [divine] service, and good deeds" (*m. Ab.* 1.2); "truth, justice, and peace" (ibid. 1.18); "faith, hope, and charity" (1 Cor 13:13); "prayer, charity, and repentance" (*y. Sanh.* 10.2). There are also expanded lists, e.g., "chastity and purity with patience and prayer, with fasting in humility of heart" (*T. Jos.* 10:1–2); cf. Sir 2.1–4.10.[506]

Whereas types of vice are defined thrice in the text of *3 Baruch* (4:17; 8:15; 13:4), the content of positive moral demands is not mentioned at all. At the same time, the very term and the symbolic representation of virtues may be more informative:

(1) *Botanic representation.* It is not unique for *3 Baruch*: virtues have a shape of flowers according to 12:5 (see comm. ibid.), and they are allegorized by the Trees of Paradise in Philo's works (*Plant.* 8–9.32–37; *Leg. All.* 1.31.97; cf. *Agr.* 4.17; *Quaest. Gen.*1.6; see comm. to 4:7S: *Paradise of Virtues*).

(2) *Number.* At the same time, in accordance with the Hellenistic set of the cardinal virtues, the Trees of Paradise are four and are planted by four archangels (excluding Sammael and his tree) in 4:7S.

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[506] The Amora R. Simlai compiled lists reducing the commandments to basic virtues; he already does not mention the list of the four among other figures of his catalogue (or probably he has not found a biblical prooftext for this number): "613 commandments were given to Moses. King David came and reduced them to eleven [Ps 15]. The prophet Isaiah further reduced them to six [Isa 33]. Micah reduced them to three: 'He has shown you, O man, what is good … to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God" [6:8]. Isaiah again reduced them to two [Isa 56]. The prophet Amos placed them all upon one principle: 'Seek me and live' [Amos 5:4]; or, as the prophet Habakkuk said, 'The just shall live by his faith'" (*b. Mak.* 23b–24a).

(3) *Term*. The very term "Virtues" is known to be an angelic title. Michael is one of two Virtues who help Eve in childbirth: *et ecce venerunt XII angeli et duo Virtutes stantes a dextris et a sinistris Evae. Et Michahel erat stans a dextris* … – "And behold, twelve angels came and two Virtues,[507] standing to the right and to the left of Eve. Michael was standing to her right …" (*Vita* 21:1–2).

Lat *Virtutes* here were supposed to be an equivalent of "the Honoured" ("the Honored, the Holy Ones, that minister to the Most High" – מכובדים קדשים משרתי עליון; *b. Ber.* 60b), but more probably this usage must be connected to personified Ἀρετή of pagan Classic and Hellenistic sources[508] and to Roman cult of "Virtues" (see, e.g., Cicero, *Leg.* 2.11.28; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11.14).[509] The same image of Virtues standing on each side of a woman in childbirth appears in Philo's account of the chaste woman's multiple virtues, in which "all are standing on each side of her, were her bodyguards, while she was in the middle of them" (*Sac.* 5.27). In another work Philo identifies Virtues as angelic beings: "the divine army is the body of virtues, the champions of the souls that love God" (Philo, *Agr.* 17). Virtues are mentioned among angelic classes by Irenaeus: "Angels, Archangels, Powers, Virtues" or "Principalities, Powers, Angels, Archangels, Dominations, Virtues" (*Haer.* 2.30); by Tertullian, discussing the views of Ophites: "These inferior Virtues and angels, therefore, had made man" (*Haer.* 2); by Origen: "the holy angels, and the holy Powers and the blessed Thrones, and the glorious Virtues and the magnificent Dominions" (*Princ.* 1.5.3). See Clement of Alexandria:

> These primitive and first-created Virtues are unchangeable as to substance, and along with subordinate angels and archangels, whose names they share, effect divine operations. Thus also Moses names the Virtue of the angel Michael, by an angel near to himself and of lowest grade. The like also we find in the holy prophets; but to Moses an angel appeared near and at hand. (On *1 John* 2.1 [Cassiodorus 3]).

The term is also applied to angels in some of the *Acta Martyrum*.[510]

Is it possible that this word usage in *3 Baruch* is a rudiment of the textual layer that refers to angels as Virtues? *3 Baruch* uses the term in expressions such as "Virtues of the righteous" (11:9 and 12:5) and "Virtues of men" (14:2). In the same context of the angelic presentation of deeds of humanity in different versions of *Apocalypse of Paul*, angels are also called "angels of

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507 Armenian and Georgian version have "Powers" instead.

508 See *LSJ*, 238, s.v. iv.

509 See Wissowa, "Vermehrung"; Mattingly, "Virtues."

510 See Ruinart, *Acta*, 510, l. 4; 540, 1. 23; Mattingly, "Virtues," 116.

men,"[511] as well as "angels of the righteous;"[512] cf., e.g., "all the *angels of men* and women go to meet God and present all the work which every man has done, whether good or evil" (Latin *Apoc. Paul* 7); "the *angels of the righteous* come, rejoicing and singing psalms, they meet for the worship of the Lord." In addition, see especially two passages of Syriac *Apoc. Paul* which run parallel to *3 Bar.* 11:9 and 12:2–5:

3 Bar. 11:9	*Syriac Apoc. Paul*
This is where the *Virtues of the righteous* enter, and the good works that they do, which are brought through it before the heavenly God."	And those *angels of the righteous* enter, and say to him, "O Lord, we have come now from the holy men, who have come out from the world, for your holy name."
*3 Bar.*12:2–5	*Syriac Apoc. Paul*
And I asked the angel, "Lord, who are these,	And I asked the angel who was with me, "Who are these, my Lord?"
{and what are the things brought by them?" And he told me, "These are angels who are over the principalities." And the archangel having taken the baskets put them into the flat bowl.}	
And the angel told me, "These {flowers} are the *Virtues of the righteous*."	And he said, "These are the *angels of righteousness*."

Both 11:9 and 14:2 may fit well with an understanding of "virtues" as angels. In the former text Baruch is shown the place where angelic virtues enter a higher realm (as Michael actually does in 14:1),[513] and in 14:2 Michael presents the angelic virtues of men to God. In this case, the definition that refers to flowers in 12:5 must have initially referred to the angels (see the reconstruction above; with 12:3–4 as probably later development), or alternatively the whole verse (absent in s) belongs to a later textual layer.

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[511] Concerning guardian angels see introductory comm. to ch. 12.

[512] Cf. צדיק מלאכי שלום מלוין לו (*Tan.* Vaishlah 8).

[513] This may also explain the extraordinary dimensions of the bowl *in* or *through* which the Virtues enter (see comm. to "flat bowl" in 11:8).

Flower Offering: Righteous (12:1–5)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And while I was talking with them, behold, angels came carrying little baskets full of flowers.	1 And, while I was talking, and behold, angels came, carrying offerings full of flowers.
2 And they gave them to Michael.	
And I asked the angel, "Lord, who are these,	2 And I said, "Lord, who are these?"
and what are the things brought by them?"	
3 And he told me, "These are the angels [who are] over the principalities."	3 And he told me, "These are the angels who are in the power of men.
4 And the archangel having taken the baskets cast them into the flat bowl.	4 And Michael took the offerings from them and put them in the receptacle.
5 And the angel told me, "These flowers are the virtues of the righteous."	

NOTES

12:1S. Thus ms T, which agrees with the word order of G. Other mss place **сѣ** "behold" (Gk ἰδού) in the beginning of the verse.

12:1S *Offerings full of flowers* (**дарꙑ плънꙑ цвѣтиꙗ**). Literally "gifts full of flowers" (cf. **дарꙑ** also in 15:3S). CS **дарꙑ** usually reproduces Gk δῶρα, either "[sacrificial] gifts, offerings" (like Biblical Gk δῶρον rendering Heb מנחה)[514] or less probably "palms."[515] In the latter case the Greek *Vorlage* of S would have "angels carrying full palms of flowers." Ms T has instead: "incenses (CS **кадила**) of the righteous, and they were full of flowers" (in 12:4 and 5 "gifts" are substituted by **кандила** "incenses" and also "lamps," "candles") most probably under the influence of Rev 5:8 identifying prayers with angelic incense offerings (cf. comm. to 11:4 and 12:1).

12:3G. *The angels [who are] over the principalities* (ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν). Ryssel suggests to emend ἐξουσιῶν to δικαίων, and thus reads: "angels [who are] over the righteous." See comm. ad loc.

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514 See *HR*, 359; cf. *LPG* 395. In this meaning it is used twice in *Apoc. Abr.* (13:2 and 29:18).

515 *LSJ*, 465.

COMMENTARY

Angelic Intercession

The angels were widely known as those who intercede for humans and bring their prayers to God. The very idea could be connected to the common Hebrew root for both concepts, of intercession and of prayer (פלל). The intentional word play on both meanings of the root is found in the theological statement of Eli: "If a man sins against man, then God intercedes for him [פללו], but if a man sins against God, who will pray for him [יתפלל-לו]?" (1 Sam 2:25). Eli's rhetorical question is challenged by the idea of angelic intercession: angels are the ones who intercede for humans and convey their prayers;[516] they also respond to prayers or help the praying.[517]

The function of intermediaries between God and men was known to Plato: daemons (δαίμονες) are "interpreting and transporting human things to the gods and divine things to men; entreaties and sacrifices from below, and ordinances and requitals from above" (*Symp.* 202e). There are "middle creatures" which are "holding the third and middle space, the source of interpretation … They interpret all men and all things both to one another and to the most exalted gods, because the middle creatures move both to earth and to the whole heaven" (*Epin.* 984d–985b). Philo has merged Greek and Jewish concepts (which could have had universal mythological roots at the beginning): "Beings whom other philosophers called daemons, Moses usually called angels" (Philo, *Somn.* 1.22); "they both convey the biddings of the Father to his children and report the children's need to their Father" (*Abr.* 23.115).

Specifically, Michael, playing the main role in the intercessory process as described in *3 Baruch*, is called "intercessor" in *2 En.* 33:10 and carries prayers of men in *T. Abr.* 9:2–3. In the *Apocalypse of Paul* he says: "It is I who stand in the presence of God every hour … For one day or one night I do not cease from praying continually for the human race, and I pray for those who are still on earth" (43). He was known as an angel of prayer to

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[516] See esp. Zech 1:12; Job 5:1; 9:33; 16:19–21; 19:25–27; 33:23; *1 En.* 6–11; 15:2; 39:5; 40:6; 47:2; 68:3–4; 89:76; 90:14, 17; 99:3; 104:1; Tob 12:12, 15; *2 En.* 19:5; 33:10; *T. Abr.* 9:2–3; *T. Levi* 3:5–7; 5:6; *T. Dan* 6:2; *Apoc. Mos.* 33; Philo, *Somn.* 1.22; *Gig.*; Matt 18:10 (cf. "Spirit" in analogous role in John 16; Rom 8); *Apoc. Paul* 43; and *Exod. Rab.* 21.4.

[517] So, e.g., Gen 21:15–19; Tob 3:16–17; *2 Bar.* 63:5–11; 2 Macc 3:15–35; 10:25–30; 11:6–11; 3 Macc 6:17–23; *Pr. Azar.* 26, 27; Matt 26:53; Luke 1:13, 19, 20; Acts 12:1–11; *Gen. Rab.* 85; *b. Ber.* 10b; *Pes.* 118a; *Shab.* 152b; *Nid.* 16b; *Sanh.* 94a, 95b; *Ar.* 15a; *B. Bat.* 25a; *Ned.* 32a; *Exod. Rab.* 21; and *Midr. Ps.* 88.4.

Origen: "to Michael is assigned the duty of attending to the prayers and supplications of mortals" (*Princ.* 1.8.1). See Gabriel who similarly is said to pray for humanity in *1 En.* 40:6, 9. In Tobit this is Raphael's function: "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and which go in and out before the Glory of God" (Tob 12:15).

In an extreme form, the role of angels as intercessors led some people to pray to angels or even to worship them. These practices were condemned by the Rabbis and by early Christian authorities. See the condemnation of angelolatry in Col 2:18;[518] its rejection in Rev 19:10; 22:8–10;[519] and note the Jewish angelolatry mentioned in *Kerygma Petrou*. "They [Jews] adore angels and archangels, the months and the moon" (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.5.41); "they adore sky and the angels" (Origen, *Cels.* 1.26, 5.6), cf. also Tertullian, *Praescr. Haer.* 23.[520] Pseudo-Philo condemns the sacrifice to angels (*Bib. Ant.* 34:2), but also mentions the "offering for your Watchers" of the New Year service in a neutral context (*Bib. Ant.* 13:6). Jeremiah prays to Michael in the Ethiopic *5 Bar.* 9:5. The Rabbis postulated: "If one slaughters an animal in the name of the sun, moon, stars, planets, and Michael the Great commander-in-chief and the tiny worm, it is regarded like flesh sacrificed to dead"(השוחט לשום חמה לשום לבנה לשם ככבים לשם מזלות לשם מיכאל שר צבא הגדול ולשום שלשול קטן הרי זה בשר זבחי מתים; *t. Hul.* 2.18; cf. *b. Abod. Zar.* 41b and *y. Ber.* 9.13a cited in introductory comm. to ch. 11 and *Mek.* Yitro 10). The worship to Metatron is mentioned in *b. Sanh.* 38b.[521]

All this evidence indicates that these practices were known.[522] Also our Baruch calls his guiding angel "Lord" (5:1; 6:4, 9; 11:2, 3, 8; 12:2), the same title he used before that while communicating with God (T:1; 1:2); in contrast to the visionary of *Asc. Isa.* 8:5, he is not prevented by the angel from addressing him thus (in the *Ascension of Isaiah* an angel says: "I am not your Lord, but your fellow-servant"). Although such an address to angels is found in other sources, from Gen 18:3 to *Apoc. Paul* 11, here, in combination with other factors, it may indicate that *3 Baruch* either shared some of the angelolatric beliefs or at least developed from a context in which they were relevant. This supposition is supported by the fact that our visionary is deprived of direct communication with God (cf. esp. "be silent"

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[518] If not angelic liturgy is meant here; cf. below.

[519] Cf. Stuckenbruck, "Refusal," 979–89.

[520] Cf. Simon, "Remarques."

[521] More evidence for early Jewish prayers to angels is assembled by Meir Bar-Ilan ("Prayers").

[522] Cf. however Hurtado who argues against this suggestion (*One God*, 28–34).

of 1:3S), and that his heavenly experience focuses on angelic beings, especially animated anthropomorphic luminaries, and reaches its highest point in the encounter with Michael (note that the luminaries are attested as main objects of angelolatry worship; cf. comm. to ch. 6 and 11:4).

Angelic Service

In many cases, angelic intercession is institutionalized as priestly service in the heavenly Temple:

> The highest, and in the truest sense the holy temple of God is, as we must believe, the whole universe, having for its sanctuary the most sacred part of all existence, even heaven, for its votive ornaments the stars, for its priests the angels who are servitors to his powers … (Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.12.66)

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* say that "the holiest of the holy ones" "have become for him priests," "ministers of the Presence in the Sanctuary of his Glory [כבודו משרתי פנים בדביר]" (4Q400.1). Similar to priests, angels could wear linen or white clothing (e.g., *T. Levi* 8). Cf. also *T. Levi* 3:5–6; *Apoc. Mos.* 33:4–5 (cited above).

Also our Baruch, at the ultimate point of his ascent, observes how the communication between men and God is made possible through angelic mediation, applied to prayer and to celestial judgment and reward. The mediation is placed in a liturgical setting and presented as an angelic offering service (chs. 12–15). The service consists of the following rites:

1. *Flowers Offering* of men's prayers, virtues and good deeds, divided into two ceremonies:
   - Angels transmit the offerings to Michael (chs. 12–13).
   - Michael passes the offerings to the "higher heaven" behind the closed gate. This ceremony is not visible (ch. 14).
2. *Oil Reward* distributed by Michael on his return (ch. 15).

Until the last point, the angels function as priests and Michael as the high priest, according to well-attested models of terrestial liturgies. However, the celestial service, unlike most earthly services, is interactive: it involves an offering that is immediately followed by a reward. Whereas the procedure of angelic service in *3 Baruch* is clearly described,[523] neither the timing of the ceremony in relation to human life nor the exact content of the offering are made clear. It might refer to either *prayer* or *judgment* (especially according to G, which consistently reads "virtues" instead of "prayers"). It might be

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[523] For its similarity to Jewish and pagan cultic practices, see comm. to 12:1G.

timed *daily* or *annually*; and if judgment is meant, it may be situated either in an *afterlife*, or in an *eschatological* setting. The closest parallels ascribe similar descriptions to prayer (Rev 5:8; 8:3–5; *T. Adam* 1:9) and to an appointed time of every day (*Apoc. Paul* 7; *T. Adam* 1:9). Cf. the Prayer Offerings as described in the Book of Revelation:

> the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders fell down before the Lamb, each one holding flat bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the holy ones (Rev 5:8) … And another angel who had a golden censer came and stood at the altar. To him were given many incenses in order to offer them with the prayers of all the holy ones upon the golden altar before the Throne. And the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the holy ones, went up before God out of the angel's hand. Then the angel took the censer and filled it with the fire of the altar, and threw it to the earth; and there followed peals of thunder and sounds and flashes of lightning and an earthquake. (Rev 8:3–5)[524]

The book of Revelation may contain the description of the Prayer Offering as part of an angelic liturgy, a procedure that belongs to the same model as in *3 Baruch*. The two-staged procedure described in *3 Bar.* 12–15 coherently and in detail as an offering of *flowers*, appears as an *incense offering* in Rev 5:8 and 8:3–5.[525] Both Revelation and *3 Baruch* refer first to a group of angels holding either baskets of flowers (*3 Bar.* 12:1) or bowls with incense (Rev 5:8), which in both texts are defined as prayers, and then either Michael (*3 Bar.* 14) or "another" angel (Rev 8:3) offers the gifts in his vessel (flat bowl in *3 Bar.* 11:8 and censer in Rev 8:5). In *3 Bar.* 15, Michael, having filled emptied baskets with celestial oil, returns them to the angels; in Revelation, "another angel" fills the emptied censor with the fire of the altar and casts it onto earth (Rev 8:5). The obvious similarity between the texts could have led to a Slavic translator or editor acquainted with the text of Revelation changing "virtues" to "prayers" in the whole account. Cf. ms T for 12:1S, which inserts "incenses" instead of "flowers,"probably under the same influence (see Notes ibid.).

The closest parallel to the angelic service described in *3 Baruch*, though more detailed, is found in *Apocalypse of Paul*. It is not clear whether the similarity is a result of mutual dependence or a source held in common with *3 Baruch*. This text attributes the ceremony to the fixed daily time:[526]

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[524] Cf. also the angelic offering of wreaths in Rev 4:10 (see comm. to "flowers" in 12:1). For prayers as offerings see comm. to 11:4.

[525] On real liturgical practices as possible prototypes for the service of *3 Bar.*, see comm. to 12:1 below

[526] Cf. *Apoc. Zeph.* 11, where the souls of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and other righteous beseech God on behalf of the tormented sinners once a day.

> At the hour of morning, which is the twelfth hour of the night, do all the angels of men and women go to meet God and present all the work which every man hath wrought, whether good or evil. And every day and night do the angels present unto God the account of all the deeds of mankind … At the hour appointed, therefore, all the angels, every one rejoicing, come before God together to meet him and worship him at the hour that is set. (*Apoc. Paul* 7)

The further account in *Apoc. Paul* 7–10 speaks of two groups of angels: one group, "rejoicing," represents those "who have renounced the world for your holy name's sake, wandering as strangers and in the caves of the rocks, and weeping every hour that they dwell on the earth and hungering and thirsting for your name; with their loins girt, holding in their hands the incense of their heart, and praying and blessing at every hour, suffering anguish and subduing themselves, weeping and lamenting more than all that dwell on the earth." The second group of "other angels" is said to be weeping and represents those "who have been called upon your name, and the snares of the world have made them wretched, devising many excuses at all times, and not making so much as one pure prayer out of their whole heart all the time of their life." As in *3 Bar.* 13:3–5 the latter group asks in vain to release them from the sinners, and both groups receive their due rewards.

In the *Testament of Adam* angels bring prayers (as in Revelation) on a daily basis (as in the *Apocalypse of Paul*):

> And at the ninth hour the angels perform their service of homage to God, and the prayer of the children of men comes into the presence of God the Most High. And at the tenth hour the gates of heaven are opened, and God hears the prayer of the children of the believers, and the petition which they ask from God is granted to them. (*T. Adam* 1:9)

This text also features a gate opening for prayers and further similarities with *3 Baruch* (see comm. to 6:13; 11:5).[527]

Among the many other depictions of angelic intercessive service, the two-staged model of angelic representation (involving the transmission of human deeds from a group of angels to one delegate) is found also in *Apoc. Zeph.* 3–4 (Akhmimic fragment), although there it is not placed in a liturgical, but a juridical setting:[528]

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[527] There are also later parallels on angelic ceremonies corresponding to human prayers; see, e.g., *Hekh. Rabbati* 8–12.

[528] As in, e.g., Mal 3:16; *Jub.* 5:13; *m. Abot* 2.1; 3.6; *b. Rosh HaSh.* 16b–17a; etc.

> I said, "O angel, who are these?" He said, "These are the angels of the Lord Almighty. They write down all the good deeds of the righteous upon their scrolls as they watch at the gate of heaven." And I take them from their hands and bring them up before the Lord Almighty. He writes their name in the Book of the Living. Also the angels of the accuser who is on earth, they also write down all the sins of men upon their scrolls. They also sit at the gate of heaven. They tell the accuser and he writes them upon his scroll so that he might accuse them when they come out of the world (and go) down there."

Here the angelic service has more to do with judgment than with prayer, and it is hardly daily.

If the service in Revelation corresponds to the daily mourning incense offering in the Temple of Jerusalem (as known from Exod 30:7; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.171, 276; *m. Tam.* 3.2; 4–7),[529] the service of *3 Baruch* may resemble either the first fruits offerings (see comm. to 12:1G) or the Day of Atonement service (see comm. to ch. 14), both of which were annual events. In chs. 14–15 we will examine other possible interpretations of the service which may connect it to a lifetime or eschatological judgment.

Guardian Angels and Angels of Nations

In *3 Baruch* the angels are not only celestial priests and intercessors for human prayers and deeds, they are also "given" to men (13:1), have to "remain with" (or even "are attached to" – Gk προσμένειν with dat.) them (13:3), and "are not able to get away from them" without permission (13:2). Angels assigned to men (i.e., guardian angels) are well known in Jewish sources,[530] and the idea is widespread in different cultures. For instance, analogous functions were attributed to Babylonian "personal gods" (in distinction to the celestial ones).[531] Greek δαίμων and Roman *genius* are likewise analogous phenomena. It is not always possible to discern between general mediatory and personal protective function of these beings (see citations from Plato and Philo above).

There are further similarities between *3 Baruch* and Plato concerning retribution: daemons as mediators "show extraordinary kindness to any one of us who is good and true and hate him who is utterly evil" (*Epin.* 985a). Compare this with *3 Bar.* 12:7; 13:1–4 and *Apoc. Paul* 8 which pres-

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529 Bauckham, *Climax*, 80.

530 E.g., Ps 34:7; 91:11; *Jub.* 6:5–6; 35:17; *Bib. Ant.* 11:12; 15:5; 59:4; *T. Benj.* 6:1; *Vita* 8:3 (7:4); Matt 18:10; Acts 12:15; *Tg. Jer.* Gen 33:10; *t. Abod. Zar.* 1.17–18; *b. Ber.* 60b; *Hag.* 16a; *Sanh.* 94a; and *Tan.* Mishpatim 19. Cf. *1 En.* 100:5 where the angelic guardians of the souls are mentioned.

531 Jastrow, *Religion*, 253–93, 328–406.

ent angelic compassion or antipathy to the men they are assigned to.[532] In other traditions, these accompanying angels may be good or wicked, and influence human beings accordingly. "Angels of Peace" and "angels of Satan" accompany, respectively, the pious and the wicked (*t. Abod. Zar.* 1.17–18 in dependence on Ps 91:11: "He will appoint his angels charge over you"). See the similar views of Stoics: "evil spirits wander up and down, which the gods use as public executioners of unholy and wicked men" (Plutarch, *Quest. Rom.* 51; cf. *Def. Or.* 17). There is no such division in *3 Baruch*; the different statuses or capabilities to influence are not mentioned in relation to mediatory angels, who are simply ascribed to different kinds of men and thus have different functions as messengers, not only of offering but also of reward and punishment (16:2–4). Even though they are "darkened" (13:1), it is because of grief or defilement by human sins (see comm. ibid.). This compares with the views of Philo who, despite dividing angels to beneficial and punitive, states that both kinds "have no participation in wickedness" (*Conf.* 35.177), being "sacred and inviolate by reason of that glorious and blameless ministry." Cf. the Rabbinic idea that "evil inclination [יצר הרע] has no power over angels" (*Gen. Rab.* 48.11). Philo clearly distinguishes between these "punitive" angels, on the one hand, and "evil" ones, fallen angels, and "Satans," one the other hand, who are "slipping into the name of angel" (*Gig.* 4.16–17), not unlike the way *3 Baruch* distinguishes between the angels assigned to the sinners, on the one hand, and Sammael/Sataniel and probably demonic Builders of *3 Baruch*, on the other.

We do not know whether the interceding angels of *3 Baruch* are understood as personal guardian angels or represent entire groups of men. In either case, we also do not know whether they represent only Israel or the whole of humanity. Their title in G, "angels over the principalities" (ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν), might imply that they are rulers of specific regions or nations, while their designation in S as "angels in the power of men" (**ангєли иже въ области человѣчии**) may have an opposite meaning (see comm. and note to 12:3). Plato also assigns to a certain class of daemons the task of being guardians of cities and districts (*Leg.* 4.713cff.). Angels of nations, including the angel of Israel (see comm. to 11:2: *Michael*), are known to many Jewish sources (see e.g. LXX Deut 32:8 (supported by 4QDeut^{j}); *Jub.* 15:31; *Gen. Rab.* 77.3; etc.). According to certain views, however, Israel had no angelic representation at all: "He appointed a Ruler [angel] for every nation, but Israel is the Lords' own portion" (Sir 17:17);

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[532] Wolfson, *Philo*, 1.369ff.

"but over Israel he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler" (*Jub.* 15:32); "beloved are Israel, since Scripture does not require them to have a messenger" (חביבין ישראל שלא הצריכן הכתוב לשליח; *b. Yoma* 52a); cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 24.[533] In distinction to these conceptions, *3 Baruch* (and parallels above) focuses on angelic mediation, and (in the case if it serves the whole mankind; cf. comm. to ch. 16) seems to make no distinction between Israel and the nations in this regard: all are equally mediated by angels. Thus *Exodus Rabba*: "What is the difference between us and between the idolaters? We have prophets and they have prophets; we have a guardian angel, and they have a guardian angel" (32.2–3).

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12:1G. *Carrying baskets* (φέροντες κανίσκια). The angels function here as *kanephoroi* of Greek cults (κανηφόροι; Aristophanes, *Lys.* 646; *Ach.* 242; Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 18,2; *IG* II² 334; *Syll.*² 388.32, 711e, 728e). Sculptured images of girls carrying offering baskets on their heads could be seen also in Rome (Cicero, *Ver.* 2.4.5[4.3]; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 26.225 [36.5]). The term used in *3 Baruch* for "basket," Gk κανίσκια "little baskets of reed or cane," diminutive of Gk κάνεον, often designates vessels used in sacred practices: sacrifices (Euripides, *El.* 1142; Menander, *Sam.* 7), votive offerings (*CIG* 2855.2). Like in our text, κάνεον is attested to be carried in processions (e.g., Menander, *Epitr.*).[534]

Below, these baskets are said to be filled with oil (15:2G). Woven baskets can hardly contain oil. Either Gk κανίσκιον or κάνεον designates another kind of vessel appropriate for oil, or more probably the "baskets" here are not wreathed but rather cultic basket-shape vessels made of metals. Such vessels are attested in both pagan (cf. epigraphic sources *IG* 11(2).161B34 and *passim*; 7.2424; *CIG* 2855.21)[535] and Jewish practices (*m. Bik.* 3.8; see below).

The ceremony also resembles the *bikkurim* (first fruits) offerings in the Temple of Jerusalem as described in the Mishna (*m. Bik.*; cf. Exod 23:19; 34:26; Num 18:13; Neh 10:36; Deut 26:1–11; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 2.29; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.8.22 [241]): the *bikkurim* were brought in baskets (Heb טֶנֶא, Gk κάρταλλος, as prescribed in Deut 26:2, 4, 10) through festive processions.

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[533] Sending an angel, including "guardian angels," sometimes is depicted as a punishment, a deprival of direct involvement of God. According to *War Scroll*, Israel is punished by being put under the charge of a guardian angel; cf. *Exod. Rab.* 32.2–3.

[534] For more examples see *LSJ*, 874.

[535] *LSJ*, 874, s.v. κάνεον.

Sometimes these baskets were not wreathed (cf. above): "The rich brought their *bikkurim* in baskets of silver or gold [קלתות של כסף ושל זהב[536]]" (*m. Bik.* 3.8). Flowers in the baskets of angelic processions in *3 Baruch* may visually resemble the *bikkurim* baskets, which were "decorated [with plant] other than the seven species [of fruit]"; "the decoration [עטור] of the *bikkurim* could also be of another kind" (*m. Bik.* 3.9–10). They were similarly transferred to priests: "And the priest shall take the basket from your hand, and set it down before the altar of the Lord your God" (Deut 26:4).

There was also another rite, the meal-offerings, which involved the transfer of offerings from baskets to a "ministering vessel" (as from the "baskets" to the "flat bowl" in *3 Baruch*):

> How is the procedure of meal-offerings? A man brings a meal-offering from his house in silver or golden baskets [קלתות של כסף ושל זהב], places it in a ministering vessel [כלי שרת], hallows it in a ministering vessel, adds to it its oil and frankincense, and carries it to a priest who carries it to the altar." (*b. Sot.* 14b)[537]

Flowers. Flowers are men's "virtues" (12:4G; 14:2G or "prayers" in the probably secondary 14:2S and *passim*). The connection, which can hardly be coincidental, may be traced between these Flowers-Virtues and Flowers of Paradise mentioned in 4:10 above. This connection may be corroborated by two links: (1) as the Trees of Paradise were planted by angels, so also the flowers are brought by them; (2) Trees of Paradise are also Virtues according to Philo's concept of "Paradise of Virtues" (see comm. to 4:7S). In our case (in distinction to Philo), one of the five trees is planted by Sammael,[538] which brings the number into correspondence with the four basic virtues of Hellenistic thought (see above).

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[536] From Gk κάλαθος.

[537] Cf. another similar description. As angels in *3 Baruch* come with their baskets to receive the oil of mercy, so Resh Lakish speaks of the earth coming to God with vessels of its own (clouds) to receive rain waters (see the beginning of the discussion cited in comm. to "rain" in 10:6–8): "In the view of R. Yohanan [believing that rain clouds come from above] it is like a man who presented his neighbor with a cask of wine together with the vessel. In the view of Resh Lakish [believing that rain clouds come from earth] it is like a man who asked his neighbor, "Lend me a *se'ah* of wheat, to which he replied, 'Bring your basket and come and measure it out' [הבא קופתך ובוא מדוד]. Similarly, the Holy One, blessed be he, says to the earth, 'Bring your clouds and receive rain.'" (*Gen. Rab.* 13.11).

[538] Cf. "tares" are planted by the "Enemy"/devil in the Tares Parable (Matt 13:24–43); and in both cases "the harvesters are angels" (Matt 13:37; cf. note to comm. to 4:8 above).

"Angels with flowers" appear, although in quite different context, in the Spanish rescension of *5 Ezra* 1:40 among patriarchs and prophets "coming from the East:"

> I [God] will lead them, together with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Elijah and Enoch, Zachariah and Hosea, Amos, Joel, Micah, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Jonah, Malachi [or: Mattathias], Habakkuk, and twelve angels with flowers (*angelos duodecim cum floribus*).[539]

The Flower Offering of *3 Baruch* may be a part of the tradition which mentions angels bringing wreaths during the celestial liturgy: "the twenty-four elders will fall down before him who sits on the throne, and will worship him who lives forever and ever, and will cast their wreaths before the throne" (Rev 4:10).[540] Gk στέφανος is usually translated here as "crown," but "wreath" is an even more common meaning. Similar to *3 Baruch*, the offered wreaths are identified as prayers woven and brought to God by angels in Rabbinic texts:

> Each day the exalted ones [angels] wreath the blessed Holy One with three "holies," as it says, "Holy, holy, holy." What does the Holy One do? He places one upon his head and two upon the heads of Israel. (*Lev. Rab*. 24.8)

> When Israel pray, you do not find them all praying at the same time, but each assembly prays separately, first one and then another. When they have all finished, the angel appointed over prayers collects all the prayers that have been offered in all the synagogues, weaves them into wreaths [עטרות] and places them upon the head of God. (*Exod. Rab*. 21.4)

See also *Midr. Pss*. 19.7; 88.2. The angel Sandalphon also "stands behind the Chariot and weaves wreaths for his Creator" in *b. Hag*. 13b. These wreath are prayers according to *Midr. Konen* 26:

> On the fifth day … [God] created one wheel on the earth, whose head is opposite the holy Living Creatures. He is an intermediary between the Jews and their father in heaven … His name is Sandalphon; and he weaves wreaths for the Master of Glory from "Holy [holy holy is the Lord of hosts]" and from "Blessed be he," and from "Amen, may his great name [be blessed for ever and ever]," which Jews utter as [liturgical] responses in the synagogue. He then adjures the wreath by the ineffable name, and it ascends by itself to the Lord's head. (*Midr. Konen* 26)

Virtues can also turn into a crown/wreath: the angel of Death says that Abraham's "righteous deeds and your boundless hospitality and the magni-

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[539] For possible interpretations see Bergren. "List." Cf. also the "flowers" promised to the righteous in one of the versions of Ethiopic *Apoc. Pet*. 14 (cited in 10:2 above).

[540] The similarity between *3 Bar*. and Rev 4:10 was noticed by Halperin (*Faces*, 134).

tude of your love for God have become a crown on my head" (*T. Abr.* 17:7).[541]

The Flower Offering also bears a resemblance to the Attic "Feast of Flowers" or Anthesteria (Floralia), considered a Lesser Mystery preliminary to the Eleusinian ones. The three days rites contained activities such as wine drinking, purifying baptism, passing the gate, and invocation of the dead.[542]

12:3. *Angels [who are] over the principalities / the angels who are in the power of men* (ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν / **ангели иже въ области человѣчии сжть**). These angels, are distinguished from Phanuel, who is called "the angel of hosts" (Gk ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων; CS **ангелъ силы**) in 1:8G; 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S and "archangel" in 10:1G (cf. comm. to 1:8G). The title for these angels may mean that they belong to a division called "principalities," ἐξουσίαι (Col 1:5; 1 Pet 3:22; *T. Levi* 3:8; *Asc. Isa.* 2:40; cf. *1 En.* 61:10 et al.). In all these sources they are named either "principalities" or "angels of principalities." The definition identical to the one of *3 Baruch* – οἱ ἐπ' τῶν ἐξουσιῶν – is applied to human high rank officials in LXX Dan 3:3. Cf. "the sixth [angelic] order which is over principalities," whose service is "to rule over kingdoms" (*T. Adam* 4:6). Thus, the title might have also implied that they are responsible for specific regions or nations (on national angels; see introductory comm. to 12).

According to S the angels are "in the power of men." Gaylord notes: "This could be translated also by 'in the region of men' … It is possible that the translator had the extant Greek before him, but did not understand it."[543] The Slavic translator must have understood Gk ἐπί with gen. as with dat. in the sense of "in the power of," "subordinated to."[544] On the other hand, we learn that they are "given" (13:1) and "attached to" (Gk προσμένειν with dat.; 13:3) men and "are not able to get away from them" without a permission (13:2). This may conform to the belief that in some aspects men (at least righteous ones) can have a higher status than angels (Heb 1:4–13; 2:5–9; *Pr. Jos.*; *Gen. Rab.* 17.4; *y. Shab.* 6.9.8d; *b. Sanh.* 38b; *Cant. Rab.* 1.4).

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[541] Cf. Green, *Keter*, 31–41.
[542] Richardson, "Athens'."
[543] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 127.
[544] See in late and Byzantine sources (*LSJ*:622; Sophocles, *Glossary*, 496).

Flower Offering: Unrighteous (12:6–13:5)

Greek	Slavonic
6 And I saw other angels bearing baskets	6 And I saw other angels carrying offerings.
which were empty, not full.	
And they came grieving, and did not dare to approach, because they had not the rewards complete.	And they were slack and did not dare to draw near, because they did not have a measure.
7 And Michael cried out saying, "Come also, you angels, bring what you have brought." 8 And Michael grieved much, as well as the angel who was with me, because they did not fill the bowl.	7 And Michael called out, saying, "Come also you, angels, as much as you have brought, so you will receive." 8 And Michael wept much [and] filled the receptacle.
1 And thus [these] other angels went weeping and bewailing and saying with fear, "Look at us Behold, how we became black, O Lord, for we were given to	1 And I saw {others} as they go and weep, and they were trembling with fear, saying, "Woe to us, darkened ones, that we have been given to
evil men,	evil places and men,
and we want to get away from them."	and we want to get away from them,
	if possible."
2 And Michael said, "You are not able to get away from them,	2 And Michael said, "You will not be able to get away from them,
in order that the Enemy may not prevail at the end;	
but tell me what you ask."	but tell me what you want."
3 And they said, "We pray you, Michael our commander-in-chief, remove us from them, for we cannot remain with evil and foolish men,	3 And they told him, "We pray you, Michael our chief, remove us from them, for we cannot remain with the disobedient [and] unreasonable men,
for there is nothing good in them, but all kinds of unrighteousness and arrogance."	
4 For we do not see them ever entering into assembly, either into spiritual fathers or into any good thing.	4 For their wives flee to the Temple, and from there they bring them out
But where there is murder, there also are they in the midst, and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, malices, drunkennesses, strifes, jealousy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like,	to jealousy and to fornication and to envy,

then they are workers of such things and of others worse. Therefore we pray to let us leave them.	and they strive to many other things, which you, O Glorious One, know."
5 And Michael said to the angels, "Wait until I learn from the Lord what is to happen."	5 And Michael answered and said, "Be patient until I ask God what he commands about you."

NOTES

12:6G. *Empty, not full*. See comm. to 12:1.

And they came grieving (καὶ ἤρχοντο λυπούμενοι). Or "and they began to lament."

They had not the rewards complete (οὐκ εἶχον τέλεια τὰ βραβεῖα). Gk βραβεῖον initially means "prize in game" (1 Cor 9:24; Phil 3:14), already there allegorizing the heavenly reward, a reward of virtue; cf., e.g., "the prize of patient endurance" in Clement of Rome, *1 Ep. Cor.* 5.6. Plato uses an analogous term, Gk ἆθλον, for the prize of the beatific afterlife for the virtuous: "the prize is fair and the hope great" (*Phaed.* 114c).

12:6S. *They … measure* [**правила**]. Ms T has instead "they were impure [**скверьна**], because they had their crowns [**вѣнець**]."

12:8S *And Michael wept much [and] filled the receptacle* (**и плака сѧ михаилъ мъного наплъни хранильницѫ**). The text differs from G, but is fully clear. Gaylord understands it as "And Michael cried greatly over the [un]filled receptacle," where "the negative has dropped out of S."[545] Such interpretation must imply the assumption of the following proto-text: **и плака сѧ михаилъ мъного на[дъ не]плън[оиѫ]{и} хранильниц[е]ѫ**, which seems unnecessary.

13:1. *And thus {other} angels went* (καὶ εἰθ' οὕτως ἦλθον ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι). Usually translated as "And then in the same way came other angels." See the introductory comm. below.

13:1S. *Evil places and men* (**непригазнина мѣста и члѣкы**). Gaylord transliterates **члѣкы** as **членѣкъ** (nom. sg. or gen. pl.).[546] According to this reading the text has to be emended and interpreted as "evil places {and} of men." However, the final letter **ь**, recognizable in the facsimile edition, must imply the form of dat. pl.: **чьловѣкомь**.

13:2G. *In order that the Enemy may not prevail at the end* (ὑνα μὴ εἰς τέλος κυριεύσῃ ὁ Ἐχθρός). Or " … for ever." The text is reminiscent of LXX Ps 73:10: ἕως πότε ὁ θεός ὀνειδιεῖ ὁ ἐχθρός παροξυνεῖ ὁ ὑπεναντίος τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τέλος – "How long O God, will the enemy reproach, provoke your name for ever."

13:3G. *Arrogance* (πλεονεξία). Or less probably "greed." Both not includes in the lists of vices (4:17; 8:5; 13:4).

13:4S. *Strive* (**тщѧти сѧ**). Also "hurry," "endeavor."

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[545] Gaylord, *Baruch*, 674.
[546] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 131.

COMMENTARY

Three or Two Classes of Angels?

The extant text speaks of three groups of angels representing three classes of human beings: (1) those whose baskets were "full of flowers," (2) those with "half-empty baskets," and (3) those who "brought nothing." As noticed by Martha Himmelfarb, there is no indication which class is bigger, and there is no mention of the dominance of evil, in contrast to the tradition in the Similitudes'.[547]

1 En. 22 (Ethiopic and Greek) reports three (22:9) or four (22:2) "hollow places," where different groups of the souls of the dead are stored. The three groups are (1) the "righteous", who have there "the bright spring of water" similarly to the soul-birds of *3 Bar.* 10 (22:9): (2) complete sinners upon whom "judgment has not been executed in their lifetime. Here their spirits are set apart for this great torment, until the great day of judgment" (22:10); and (3) the average group of those who "were not righteous but sinners, who were godless, and they were companions with lawless. And their spirits will not be punished in the day of judgment nor will they be raised from there" (22:13). Some discern a fourth group of "those who make their suit, who make disclosures about their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners" (22:12) and identify them as the generation of the Flood;[548] see the special location for the Tower generation in *3 Bar.* 2–3.

The threefold division of the human race was a popular Rabbinic model:

> There are three groups, one for eternal life, one for shame and everlasting contempt (those who are completely evil); and an intermediate group go down to Gehenna and scream and come up from there and are healed. (*t. Sanh.* 13.3)

A baraita from *b. Ber.* 61b also speaks of three main categories: righteous (צדיקים), wicked (רשעים), and average (בינונים; there is also a further division of two extreme classes into two groups each); cf. *b. Rosh HaSh.* 16b–17a; *Shab.* 33b; *Yoma* 75a; and *Abot R. Nat.* A 41. Gnostics also divided humanity to three classes, "spiritual," "psychic," and "material" (e.g., Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.7.5; *Exc. Theod.* 56.2; cf. Nag Hammadi *Tripartite Tractate* 118.14–119.34; *Teaching of Silvanus* 92.16).[549] This approach might have Hellenistic roots: in Virgil's Elysium there were also three kinds

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[547] Himmelfarb, *Ascent*, 93.

[548] Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 303.

[549] See Williams, *Rethinking*, 189–212.

of souls: perfect ones, those destined to purification, and those destined to reincarnation (Virgil, *Aen.* 6).

Three classes of men are represented by three groups of angels. The existence of three orders of angels may be implied also in 4:7S, which mentions four major angels, of whom Michael "the commander-in-chief" stands at the head of all angels (see comm. to "Michael" in 11:2), while the remaining three angels may be the heads of three angelic orders corresponding to three groups of angels and men.

However, the dichotomy of "righteous" and "sinners" is much more widely attested and may be older. The majority of texts know only the two classes. This binary opposition is treated extensively in Wis 3:1–13 (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 3; 13; 14; 15). The threefold division is known in Rev 3:15–16: "you are neither cold nor hot, I wish you were either one or the other …" In *Apoc. Paul* 7–10 (the closest parallel to the celestial liturgy of *3 Baruch*), the twofold scheme with two classes of angels representing two groups of humanity witnessed by Latin and Syriac rescensions, has probably been developed to the threefold model of the extant Greek rescension. This could be the situation with *3 Baruch*, where the extant text contains the rudiments of the original twofold division:

(1) Besides the passage under discussion, *3 Baruch* reflects a clear dichotomy between "those who pass through life rightly" (τοῖς καλῶς τὸν βίον διερχομένοις) and receive the revelations, on the one hand (11:7G), and "those who pass through life wickedly" (τῶν κακῶς τὸν βίον μετερχομένων) and as a result become the nourishment of the Dragon-Hades, on the other (4:5G).

(2) The concluding passage of 16:6–10S knows only of "the righteous" and "the impious."

(3) In 12:6G the second group of angels bring κανίσκια κενὰ οὐ γέμοντα – "baskets [which were] empty, not full." Hughes, however, suggested an emendation κανίσκια [οὔτε] κενὰ οὔ[τε] γέμοντα – "baskets which were [neither] empty, nor full." Nevertheless, the tautological formula "empty, not full" may be understood literally and could have reflected some Hebraic or colloquial construction (like ריק אין בו מים – κενὸς ὕδωρ οὐκ εἶχε – "empty, without water" of Gen 37:24). This refers to the offering of the sinners; otherwise it (or its absence) is not mentioned elsewhere in the offering account of chs. 12–13. This would mean that there are only two types of offerings, full and empty, which leave no place for the mediocre (exactly as in Latin and Syriac *Apoc. Paul* 7–10). Thus the angels of 13:1ff would be the same angels as in 12:6ff.

This interpretation would require one minor emendation in each of the two accounts:

– *Offering* (chs. 12–13): the word "other" (13:1) must be either a later addition or continues to refer to the same "other angels" of 12:6ff;
– *Reward* (chs. 15–16): the verse in 15:3 was either added or the rather the word ἀποκένους there is to be understood as "empty." The next verse (15:4) inteprets the word to mean "half-empty" (since both meanings are possible), but the whole verse is an obvious Christian interpolation absent in S.

This was also the interpretation of the Slavonic family β which also only speaks of two groups of angels (although it is shorter than G in these chapters, e.g., the whole Oil Reward account is absent).

These minor emendations could be made in order to replace a twofold division of humankind by the threefold one, that is, the displacement of a radical moral dichotomy with a more balanced and tolerant ethical system.

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13:1. *Angels weeping and bewailing and saying with fear / they go and weep, and they were trembling with fear.* According to some Rabbinic sources, they may have good reasons to fear, since angels are to be punished too:

> The Holy One will not revenge the kingdoms in the future before he will revenge their angelic patrons [lit. "princes," שרים] first, as said, "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord will punish the host of the high heaven on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth" [Isa 24:21] and "How you have fallen from heaven, O star of the morning, son of the dawn!" [Isa 14:12] and "My sword is satiated in heaven …" [Isa 34:5]. (*Mek*. Beshalah, Shira 2)

Weeping angels are known from different sources. In the *Hypostasis of the Archons* "the authorities will relinquish their ages, and their angels will weep over their destruction, and their demons will lament their death." Angels are "weeping over the three sons of Joatham" in a similar context (*Apoc. Zeph*. 3–4; cf. comm. to ch. 12); angels bewail Isaac (*Gen. Rab*. 56.6; *Pesiq. R*. 40; *Pirqe R. El*. 31; *Midr. HaG*. 1.322; etc.); God and angels bewail Moses (*b. Sot*. 13b–14a; *Tan. B*. 4.13; *Tan*. Vaethanan 6; *Abot R. Nat*. 156; etc.); angels bewail the destruction of the Temple (so, e.g., *Lam. Rab*. Intr.); and angels weep with Esther (cf. *Tg. Esth. II* 4).

Behold, how we became black / *Woe to us, darkened ones* (ἴδε ἡμᾶς μεμελανωμένους / **лютѣ намъ омрачєнъіимъ**). See the faces of the sinners in Gehenna that are literally "black like the sides of a pot" (*b. Rosh HaSh*. 17a). Here the figurative meaning is possible; cf. Rabbinic Heb השחיר פנים

"darken face" as a metaphor for "to ashame s.-o." (*b. Shab.* 152a; cf. *y. Hag.* 2.77d). In this case it is just an expression of distress or pain.

Otherwise, the darkness may be connected to demonic nature. "Black One" (μέλας) could function as a substitute for "Evil One" when used as a designation for Satan (*Ep. Barn.* 4.9; 20.1).[550] However, although these angels have punitive functions (16:2–4), there is hardly a demonic feature here (see introductory comm. to ch. 12), but rather a characteristic that reflects defilement. Thus Hades is both "dark" and "impure" (ζοφώδης καὶ βέβηλος in 4:3G; cf. introductory comm. to ch. 4). Here the causal relationship is given: the angels assigned to the wicked are "darkened" since they "are given to evil men" (13:1), according to the model of the sun defiled by human sins (8:4–5). Also, in other compositions sins can darken the lower heaven (*T. Levi* 3:1), as well as heavenly waters (*2 Bar.* 58:1; 60:1).

13:4G. See comm. to 11:4.

Behind the Door (14)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And at that time	
Michael left,	1 And Michael went up
and the doors closed. And there was a sound	and the gates closed, and there was a thunder,
like thunder.	like [bellowing] of 40 oxen.
2 And I asked the angel, "What is the sound?" And he told me, "Now Michael is bringing	2 And I said to the angel, "What is the sound?" And he told me, "Now Michael is bringing
the virtues of men	the prayers of men."
to God."	

NOTES

14:1G. *Left* (ἀπῆλθεν). Or "went up" as understood by S. See comm. to 11:4.

14:1S. *Like [bellowing] of 40 oxen*. See note to 6:13S.

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[550] *LPG*, 540. On darkness as demonic and netherworld feature see introductory comm. to ch. 4 (*Celestial Bestiary* 4.2).

COMMENTARY

Annual Judgment and Implied Chronology

1. Celestial Day of Atonement

Can Baruch witness to the celestial counterpart of Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement) service? The ritual procedure, its content (celestial judgment), its special relevance after the destruction of the Temple, and, as I will try to show, even the original imagery (preserved in a modified form in later Rabbinic tradition) have much in common with the terrestial Day of Atonement.

1.1. *Procedure*. The description here perfectly conforms to the performance of the high priest on the Day of Atonement.[551] Unseen to the audience, Michael alone enters a hidden realm behind the door in order to intercede for the supplicants before God. Other angels are left outside, just as other priests are not allowed to enter the Holy of Holies: "when he [the high priest] goes in to make atonement in the holy place, no one shall be in the Tent of meeting until he comes out" (Lev 16:17). Also in heaven "none of the angels could enter and could behold his face because of the magnificence and glory" (*1 En.* 14:21). Angels were prevented from entering even the earthly Holy of Holies, when the high priest is there (*y. Yoma* 1.5.39a; 5.2.42c; *y. Suk*. 4.6.54d; *Pesiq. R.* 47). On angels as priests and the celestial Temple and its forbidden areas, see introductory comm. to 12:1–5 and 11, respectively.

1.2. *Celestial judgment*. Michael's service in *3 Baruch* results in the dispensing of a reward to the righteous and in a verdict for the sinners (chs. 15–16), while in Rabbinic tradition the Day of Atonement is a day of "sealing" an annual judgment: "all are judged on New Year and the decree is sealed on the Day of Atonement" (*t. Rosh HaSh*. 1.13). In this case, the "Day of Judgment" of *3 Bar.* 1:7 may refer to the scene described here (see comm. ibid.).

1.3. *Relevance*. The loss of this rite created one of the most painful liturgical gaps after the destruction of the Temple. Evidence of its continuation in heaven and the ongoing opening of the "gate of prayer" could have been very relevant, especially in light of skeptical views like the one of R. Eleazar,

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[551] As noticed by Dean-Otting ("Baruch," 152) and Wright (*Heaven*, 173).

who believed that "from the day on which the Temple was destroyed the gates of prayer have been closed" (*b. Ber.* 32b). Tannaim decreed that the holiday was to be preserved inspite of the Temple's destruction: "though no sacrifices be offered, the day in itself effects atonement" (*Sifra* Emor 14; cf. *m. Yom.* 8.8). Later aggada even says that the world cannot exist without the Day of Atonement and that the day will be observed even when all other holidays will be canceled (*Pirqe R. El.* 46). It is also stated that the celestial Temple has been erected in order to serve for the atonement of Israel after the destruction of the Temple (*Bet HaMidr.* 5.63).

1.4. *Timing*. Later mystical tradition links revelatory experience with the Day of Atonement. It also provides a rationale for the forty days fast (as in Noah's revelation in *3 Bar.* 4:14; for numerous parallels see comm. ibid.) before the revelation as a period from the first of Elul to the Day of Atonement (*Hekh. Zut.* 424; ms Oxford 1531).

1.5. *Imagery*

- *Gate of Prayer.* In *3 Bar.* 12–13 angels bring men's virtues or/and prayers before the gate opening for this purpose (11:5; cf. 14:1; 15:1; 17:1G), while a special "gate of prayer" opens on the Day of Atonement (*y. Ber.* 4.7c; *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 24.2; cf. *b. Yoma* 87b; for more details see introductory comm. to ch. 11: *Ouranology: Non-complete ascent*). Note also Philo's discussion of prayer as means of expiation on the Day of Atonement: "at this time men feast, propitiating the Father of the universe with holy prayers, by which they are accustomed to solicit pardon for their former sins" (*Mos.* 2.4[24]).
- *Yom Kippur as the "Day of Mercy."* If we deal with the celestial Yom Kippur, how do we explain the oil imagery which is so central to the liturgical procedure described in *3 Baruch*? The reward for the pious in *3 Bar.* 15 is given as "oil" (according to G or "mercy" in S). The word play with homeophonic Gk ἔλεος "mercy" and ἔλαιον "oil," as well as the term "oil of mercy," are well attested (including *3 Baruch* itself; cf. LXX Ps 52(51):10; *Vita* 36:2; 40:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 9:4; 13:1; *Gos. Nicod.* 19; on this in more detail, see introductory comm. to ch. 15: *Oil Reward: Oil and Mercy* below). The term "mercy" could be closely associated with Yom Kippur. In *Bib. Ant.* 13:6 the Day of Atonement is called "the Fast of Mercy" (*ieiunium misericordiae*). The same avails in 4Q508 (4QPrFêtes) 2.2: "the Appointed time of your Mercy" (מועד רחמיך) and in *b. Ber.* 29a: "the Day of Mercy" (יומא דרחמי). In *Jubilees* the expression is also cardinal for the day of annual judgment: "he will have *mercy* on all who

turn from all their errors once each year" (*Jub.* 5:18; cf; also *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* 23). Less clear is the subtext of *Pss. Sol.* 18:6[5]: "May God cleanse Israel against the *Day of Mercy* and blessing, against the Day of Choice when he brings back his *anointed*" (καθαρίσαι ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ εἰς ἡμέραν ἐλέους ἐν εὐλογίᾳ εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκλογῆς ἐν ἀνάξει χριστοῦ αὐτου). If the term "Day of Mercy" refers here to the Day of Atonement, it provides an additional connection between the celestial judgment and the idea of the choice of the righteous by anointing.[552]

– *Anointing of Yom Kippur?* The word play on "oil" and "mercy" is not the only reason to connect celestial oil (ἔλαιον) with the Day of Atonement – the Day of Mercy (ἡμέρα ἐλέους). Supposedly there is no connection between anointing and this day. Celestial oil of the Olive of Life planted by Michael is known to be beneficial for this life (as well as for afterlife or resurrection according to some early Jewish texts). Symbolic anointing that has such implications is also well attested among early Christian and Gnostic practices (on this see introductory comm. to ch. 15:1–2: *Oil Reward*), but no oil was ever associated with the Day of Atonement. Anointing, however, can "atone" in certain cases (as in Lev 14:18: "The rest of the oil in his hand the priest shall put on the head of the man being purified. Thus shall the priest make atonement for him before the Lord"), though the anointing itself was never part of the terrestial Day of Atonement liturgy and regular anointing was even prohibited on that day (*y. Yom.* 8.1.76b).[553]
– *Chrismatic "Seal" of Yom Kippur?* Thus, the connection must be searched not in pre-Temple destruction liturgical practices of Yom Kippur, but in the imagery of its celestial counterpart, namely in the motifs of "writing" and especially "sealing" as preserved in Rabbinic tradition (with probably earlier roots; see *1 En* 81:67–77; 90:20–21, where the destiny of the "sheep," i.e., Israel, is written in the book, read to the Lord, and sealed by him). In *3 Baruch* the role of the "seal" in celestial Yom Kippur is taken by the anointing. Where the righteous of *3 Baruch* receive ointment, the righteous of Rabbinic sources are "written" and "sealed." The "sealing" of the judgment is a central image in Rabbinic presentation of the Day of Atonement. It follows the "inscribing" in the heavenly books on the New Year of Tishri (*t. Rosh HaSh.* 1.13; *b. Rosh*

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552 Cf. also the note to introductory comm. to 15:1–2 on "anointed of Aaron and Israel" of the *Community Rule* (1QS 9.11) and parallels.

553 Cf. also the "Festival of Oil" (היצהר/מועד השמן) taking place about a week before the New Year (22th or 20th day of the sixth month); 11QTemple[a]; 4Q365 23; 4Q327; cf. *Jub.* 32:11–13.

HaSh. 16a).[554] Is there a connection between this sealing and anointing? While in Rabbinic tradition the connection is untraceable, it is very obvious for the Hellenistic context: anointing, a chrismatic mark, is referred as a "seal" in many early sources (2 Cor 1:21–22; *Ap. John* 31.22–25; *Apost. Const.* 7.22; Origen, *Cels.* 6.27; etc.; on this in more detail, see comm. to ch. 15 and 16:3). Moreover, also in *3 Baruch* the anointing-"sealing" of the righteous comes together with the "writing" of their names, although not in the book, but on the entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven (probably in order to enable their access there; see 11:2S and comm. ibid.).

Apparently, the Jewish Hellenistic motif of chrismatic marking or "sealing" of the chosen in the celestial judgment (combined in *3 Baruch* with the motif of "writing" and connected to the celestial Yom Kippur service), associated with mysterial and liturgical practices, coexisted with a tradition which used the same term which, however, was understood in relation to a juridical setting (cf. different modes of celestial service-judgement in the introductory comm. to 12:1–5). The apocalyptic image of the chrismatic "seal" of mercy given in the "Day of Mercy," imagined as a liturgic procedure, is in Rabbinic juridical imagery presented as a "sealing" of the court's decision. In addition to the well known and expected general tendency, here the domination of the latter understanding in later Rabbinic tradition was inevitable, since the former meaning and connotations of the terms were only transparent within the Hellenistic milieu which associated "oil" and "mercy," on the one hand, and used the word "seal" for "anointing," on the other.

Implied Chronology

If at the end of his tour Baruch does arrive at the celestial service of the Day of Atonement, then we can try to trace the chronology of the vision. There are two ways in which the calculation can be attempted: according to the solar-lunar and according to the solar calendars. The total number of days of Baruch's celestial tour in the extant text is 275: so the addition of 30 (2:2), 60 (3:2), and 185 (4:2). According to Frasson's reconstruction (see comm. to 10:1G) it may be a full solar year, 365 days: 30 (2:2); 60 (3:2); **90* (10:1); and 185 (4:2). Acquaintance with the length of the solar year could be combined with the use of a luni-solar calendar (cf. *t. Nazir* 1.3; *Sifra* Behar 4; *b. Ar.* 9b; *Lev. Rab.* 51; etc.). According to an ordinary lunar

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[554] Cf. subsequent "writing" and "sealing" in real juridical practices, e.g., in Jer 32:10; *m. Yeb.* 2.9.

year of 354 days, the journey of 365 days had to start on the eve of the New Year. According to a solar year, the vision culminating with the celestial Day of Atonement would be given on the Day of Atonement as well.[555] Are there any justifications for these dates? In *Jubilees*, "on the first of the seventh month," i.e., on the New Year of Tishri, Abraham both observes heaven and receives a revelation (12:16–30), while Jacob also receives his vision in Bethel (31:3). This is also the period during which "the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah" (Jer 42:7). Baruch's visit to the destroyed Temple and the subsequent vision there could be matched in time with the New Year or the Day of Atonement. This kind of pilgrimage to the destroyed Temple "in the seventh month" is attested in Jer 41:5, when "eighty men came from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria with their beards shaved off and their clothes torn and their bodies gashed, having grain offerings and incense in their hands to bring to the house of the Lord."[556]

Oil Recompense for Righteous (15:1–2)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And at that time Michael came down, and the gate opened, and he brought	1 And at that time Michael came down, and the gate opened, and he brought
	to the first angels
oil.	[…] full of mercy.
2 And for the angels who had brought the full baskets,	2 And he said, "Come, angels,
he filled them with oil,	and receive mercies.
saying, "Bring a hundredfold reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds. For those who have sowed well, reap well."	As you brought prayers to God, so receive. As the prayers of men and their requests ask, so are them."

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555 The journey of 275 days had to start in the middle of Shevat (on or close to the New Year of Trees). On the trees motif in *3 Baruch* see comm. to 4:7S.

556 This happens approximately two months after the fall of Jerusalem which happened during "the fifth month" (between its fifth and tenth days; 2 Kgs 25:8, 9; Jer 52:12). Two months are attested as a mourning period in Judg 11:37–39. In *4 Baruch* after mourning Jerusalem (4:7–11), Baruch went outside the city and "remained sitting in a tomb" for an indefinite period until "the angels came to him and explained to him all the things that the Lord would reveal to him through them" (*4 Bar.* 4:12).

NOTES

15:1S. *And the gate opened*. Only in ms T (in accordance with G).

15:1S. *And he brought to the first angels […] full of mercy [or: "full mercies"]* (**и принесе пръвъимъ ангеломъ пълнъı милости**). Either "mercies" are "full," or the clause is elliptic, and what was "full of mercies" is not mentioned. Cf. comm. ad loc.

15:2G. *The full baskets* (τὰ κανίσκια πλήρης). Ryssel emends to πλήρη. It is also possible that πλήρης was used indeclinably.[557]

For those who have sowed well, reap well. Probably an allusion to Matt 19:29 and 25:24, 26 (cf. Mark 10:30; Luke 15:8; 2 Cor 9:6; although a similar expression appears also in Hagg 1:6). Cf. a paraphrase of Matt 25:21, 23 in 15:4G.

15:2S. *As you brought prayers to God, so receive. As the prayers of men and their requests ask, so are them* (**іакоже принесосте мл҃итвъı къ бо҃ тако и прим҃те іакоже просѧтъ мл҃итвъı чловѣци и прошениа ихъ іако и ти**). Or "as you brought prayers to God, so receive according to what the prayers of men and their requests ask, according to them." Ms T has: "As you brought prayers to God, so receive. As someone prays, so give them."

COMMENTARY

Oil Reward

The supposedly disconnected images of the vision of the Oil Reward may be understood only against the background of other documents, especially *2 Enoch* and *Life of Adam and Eve*:[558]

1. *Oil and Mercy*. "Oil" of G (15:1 and 2) does not appear in S at all. It has **пълнъı милости** "full of mercy" or "full mercies" (15:1) and **милости** "mercies" (15:2) instead. The Greek *Vorlage* of S might have contained "full of oil" instead of "full of mercy," if the Slavic translator confused Gk ἔλαιον and ἔλεος.[559] More probably, it is an intentional world play: the same word play of homeophonic ἔλαιον and ἔλεος is explicit in ms T to 4:7S which also refers to Michael: "Michael brought the *olive* and planted it. That is why Michael was called *merciful*" (see note ad loc.). The two words "oil" and "mercy" are used together in LXX Ps 52(51):10 and in the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*Vita* 36:2; 40:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 9:4; 13:1). Seth looks

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[557] Hughes, "Baruch," 540.

[558] Cf. the analyses of Gaylord and Orlov (Gaylord, "Baruch," 658; Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 230–231).

[559] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 139.

there for "the *oil* of life flowing from the Tree of *Mercy.*" The very combination "oil of mercy" occurs in *Apoc. Mos.* 13:1: "And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and they wept there praying to God to send his angel and give them the *oil of mercy*" (τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου; cf. *oleum misericordiae* of *Vita* 40:1). See also *Gos. Nicod.* 19: "then shall he anoint with the *oil of mercy* all that believe in him."

"Full of mercy" of S is known as a Rabbinic epithet for God, Heb מלא רחמים (*Mek.* Beshalah, Shira 4; Bahodesh, Yitro 4; *b. Sanh.* 39a; *Tan. B.* Naso 6; etc.).

2. *Oil and Glory.* Enoch is anointed with the "delightful oil" (*2 En.* 22:8) and the "oil of his [God's] Glory" (*2 En.* 56:2). Gaylord supposes that the oil *is* a Glory promised to Baruch above (4:2S; 6:12; 7:2; 11:2) and lost by Adam (4:16G).[560]

3. *Oil and Michael.* In all three documents (*Life of Adam and Eve*, *2 Enoch*, and *3 Baruch*) Michael is in charge of the celestial oil. However, only S explains the nature of this link: Michael is the one who planted the source of this oil, the Cosmic Olive (4:7S).

4. *Oil and Cosmic Olive.* In *3 Baruch* the two are only implicitly connected through the image of Michael planting the Olive (only in S). The olive was planted by Michael (4:7S), and the oil (apparently from the same olive) is distributed by him. The "Tree of his Mercy, from which flows the oil of life" (*arborem misericordiae suae de qua currit oleum vitae*; *Vita* 36:2; cf. *Apoc. Mos.* 9:4) is only explicitly identified as the Tree of Life in *Apoc. Mos.* 28:4: "when again the Resurrection has come to pass, I will raise you up and then there will be given to you from the Tree of Life and you will be without death forever." The olive tree of Paradise, "an olive, flowing with oil continually," appears in *2 En.* (A) 8:5. See also Origen, *Cels.* 6.27 and 34; Ps.-Clementine *Rec.* 1.45; *Acts Thom.* 157; *Gos. Nicod.* 19 (= Descent of Christ 3); Mark 6:13; Jas 5:14. Jacob receives celestial oil to anoint the site of Luz (*Gen. Rab.* 69.8; *Pirqe R. El.* 35).[561]

The motif of the reward of the righteous by the product of the Tree of Life may be connected *inter alia* to an exegesis of Prov 11:30: "The fruit of the righteous is the Tree of Life," which may mean that in their death they "eat

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[560] See Gaylord, "Baruch," 658.

[561] Cf. Quinn, *Quest.*

of the Tree of Life and live forever" (Gen 3:22).[562] See the expression "share in the Tree of Life" of Rev 22:19. Cf. *Eschatological resurrection* below.

5. *Nature of Oil Reward.* Michael declares oil as a "reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds" (15:2). In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Michael tells Adam that "the oil of life" will be dispensed only to the "holy people" (*Apoc. Mos.* 13:3; cf. *Vita* 42:2; *Gos. Nicod.* 19). Whereas plagues for the wicked are listed below, the nature of the reward for the just is not given in detail. It is just "oil" in G or "mercies" in S. Many parallels below agree on the identification of the reward as "life," and that the Tree of Life must be identical to the Tree of Oil, the Cosmic Olive (later Christian sources elaborate upon the symbolism of this identification, including in it the tree of the cross). What "life" is intended and when is it given? Do guardian angels access Michael during a human being's lifetime or after his death, and, in the latter case, is there an immediate reward of afterlife or is there a postponed eschatological resurrection?[563]

5.1. *Lifetime reward.* In biblical language oil symbolically represents joy (Ps 45:8; Prov 27:9). The celestial oil can help even during a human lifetime. It was supposed to heal Adam when he was dying (*Vita* 35; *Apoc. Mos.* 9). Anointing by earthly oil heals in Mark 6:13 and Jas 5:15–16. This is likely a reflection of the belief in the healing powers of oil (as well as of wine): "the fruit of the olive relieves the fatigue of the body, and that of the vine, when drunk in moderation, relaxes the excessive pains of the soul" (Philo, *Aet.* 12.63); "as the olive causes one to forget seventy years of study, so does olive oil restore seventy years of study … Wine and spices have made me wise" (*b. Hor.* 13a–b).[564] Sinful generations will be deprived of wine and oil: "There will be no produce from the vine and no oil because what they do is complete disobedience" (*Jub.* 23:18).[565] Anointing could be applied

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[562] The translators of the Targum and LXX did not understand it literally, emending the first part of this passage to "like a Tree of Life," similarly to another idea: "as the days of a tree shall be the days of my people" (Isa 65:22).

[563] The Essene avoidance of oil (known from Josephus, *Bell.* 2.8.3) should be also mentioned here despite its unclear character connected either to ascetic or purity concerns (see Baumgarten, "Essene").

[564] Cf. "healing dew" of *2 Bar.* 29:7; 73:2–3 (on oil and dew see comm. to "the dew of heaven" in 10:9).

[565] Notice that the two main Trees of Paradise according to *3 Baruch* are the Olive and the Vine. Cf. also the enigmatic order given to the third cavalier not to damage "oil and wine" (Rev 6:6).

not only to priests and kings, but also to the prophets (1 Kg 19:6; Isa 61:1; "his holy spirit-anointed ones and seers of truth" in CD 2.12–13; cf. 6.1 = 6Q15 3.4; 4Q267 2.6; 1QM 11.7–8; etc.), while according to *3 Bar.* 11:7G, the righteous do only only receive anointing but also revelations. Ointment can protect from death. Thus in the *Apocryphon of John* the living Gnostic is "sealed" (i.e., anointed) "in the light of the water with five seals that death might not have power over him from now on" (*Ap. John* 31.22–25; on protective seals see comm. to 16:3).[566] "Seals" of anointing are given to the righteous and to the chosen through baptism and other rites (e.g., *Acts Thom.* 26; *Apost. Const.* 7.22; cf. comm. to 16:3). They can symbolize God's "ownership" (2 Cor 2:21–22; similarly to the "seals" of circumcision or baptism) and exhort demons (Mark 6:13). A chrismatic seal may have a protective function like other protective seals of Jewish tradition, in order, for example, to defend the pious from the Locusts Plague described in ch. 16 (as a "seal" on their foreheads protects the righteous from the demonic locusts in Rev 9:4 or the chosen 144,000 "servants of our God" in the day of wrath in Rev 7:2–4; on this see comm. to 16:3).[567]

5.2. *Afterlife reward*. There is wider attestation of the use of oil at the moment of transfer from this world: it transforms Enoch into an eternal angelic being (*2 En.* 22:9). Both Adam's and Abraham's bodies are anointed by angels with "sweet olive oil" (*Apoc. Mos.* 40:2) or "with divine ointments" (*T. Abr.* 20:10). Aseneth, whose "name is written in the book of life," is promised to "eat the bread of life and drink the cup of immortality, and be anointed with the unction of incorruption" (*Jos. Asen.* 15:2–4; the same is applied to Joseph as "a man who worships God" in 8:5). There was also a Gnostic practice of "sealing" a dying person who declares, "I have been anointed with white ointment from the Tree of Life" (Origen, *Cels.*

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[566] The Gnostic "five seals" appear also in the *Trimorphic Protennoia* and *Gospel of the Egyptians*. For the identification of Gnostic "seal" with chrism, see Logan, "Mystery."

[567] Of special interest is the Bala'izah Gnostic fragment (see Kahle, *Bala'izah,* 1.437–477; Crum, "Coptic"), which connects the five seals of the Gnostic tradition and the five trees of Paradise (known also to *3 Bar.* 4:7S; Philo and other Gnostic sourses; see comm. to 4:7S: " … all they that (were) in the heavenly Paradise were sealed in silence. But such as shall partake thereof will become spiritual, having known all; they shall seal the five Powers in silence. Lo, I have explained to you, O John, concerning Adam and Paradise and the Five Trees, in an intelligible allegory …" Thus the Oil Reward as a "seal" of the righteous by the product of the Tree of Life might have been just one of the five possible "seals."

6.27), cf. "in all their writings [mention is made] of the Tree of Life, and a resurrection of the flesh by means of the 'Tree'" (ibid. 6.34). It is possible that a criticism of such chrismatic practices applied to the dead may be implied by Rabbis: "Good oil drops on the dead and becomes stinking … We found that people with good oil [בעלי שמן טוב] entered the place of life and went out dead, while people with good name [בעלי שם טוב] entered the place of dead and went out alive" (*Eccl. Rab.* 7.1; cf. *Exod. Rab.* 48.1; *Tan.* Vaiqhel 1). See also the Christian unction (εὐχέλαιον) with its multifunctional purposes (based on Mark 6:12 and Jas 5:14). Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* develop the same motif:

> Him [Christ] first God anointed with oil which was taken from the wood of the Tree of Life: from that anointing therefore he is called Christ. Thence, moreover, he himself also, according to the appointment of his Father, anoints with similar oil every one of the pious when they come to his kingdom (1.45)

Cf. *Gos. Nicod.* 19 cited below.[568]

While in *3 Baruch* the angels exchange flowers for ointment, in a similar account of angelic intercession in the *Apocalypse of Paul* "the angels of the righteous sent after the souls of the righteous" to convey them to the other world probably have both attributes: "they held in their hands the crowns [or "wreaths" – ܟܠܝܠܐ; of flowers?] and the seal [anointing?] of God on them" (Syriac version of *Apoc. Paul* 12).

If the reward of oil is intended to signify immediate afterlife, the wicked are deprived of it ("those who brought nothing" in *3 Bar.* 16). Instead they are given only the lifetime punishments (ibid.). This would conform the popular idea that "the pious will live in death and the wicked will be dead in life" (as in *b. Ber.* 18b):

> That death is of two kinds, one that of the man in general, the other that of the soul in particular. The death of the man is the separation of the soul from the body, but the death of the soul is the decay of virtue and the bringing in of wickedness. It is for this reason that God says not only "die" but "die by the death." (*Leg. All.* 1.33.105–107)

> The death of worthy men is the beginning of another life. For life is twofold: one is with corruptible body; the other is without body [and] incorruptible. So that the evil man dies by death even when he breathes, before he is buried, as though he preserved for himself no spark at all of the true life, which is excellence of character. The decent and worthy man, however, does not die by death, but after living long, passes away to eternity; that is, he is borne to eternal life. (*Quaest. Gen* 1.16 [on Gen 2:17])

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[568] Cf. Lampe, *Seal*, 120ff.

See also Philo, *Fug.* 21; *Jos.* 43; Matt 8:22; 10:28; and 1 Tim 5:6–7. The souls of the wicked are annihilated also according to some Rabbinic sources:

> Sinners of Israel and sinners of the Gentiles in body descent to Gehenna and are punished there for twelve months. After twelve months their body is consumed and their soul is burnt and the wind scatters them under the soles of the feet of the righteous. (*t. Sanh.* 13.4; cf. *b. Rosh HaSh.* 16b–17a)

> "[The soul] shall utterly be cut off [הכרת תכרת]" [Numb. 15: 31] – "cut off" in this world, "utterly cut off" in the world to come. This is the view of R. Akiba. (*b. Sanh.* 64b)

See futher *b. Ber.* 18b–19b and *b. Shab.* 33b.

In this case, Serpent-Hades of chs. 4–5 would hardly be an abode of the wicked. It is rather their ultimate annihilator: he "eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly" (4:5G) in order to deprive them from bodily resurrection at the end of days.

5.3. *Eschatological resurrection.* Many of the anointing rites mentioned above could be directed toward eschatological resurrection rather than immediate afterlife. In *Life of Adam and Eve* the oil will be given only "in the end of the times, then shall all flesh be raised up" (ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν καιρῶν τότε ἀναστήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ; *Apoc. Mos.* 13:2–3); "when again the Resurrection has come to pass" (ἀναστάσεως πάλιν γενομένης; *Apoc. Mos.* 28:4) or in the "last days" (*novissimis diebus*; *Vita* 42:1). After the bodily resurrection, Jesus will "anoint with the oil of mercy all that believe in him" giving them thus "eternal life" (*Gos. Nicod.* 19).[569] If this is the case in *3 Baruch*, the reward is postponed to the Day of Judgment (mentioned in 1:7), an idea shared by a wide range of early Jewish texts (e.g., *1 En.* 22:11; *Mek.* Beshalah, Vaihi 4; cf. *Midr. Pss.* 31.3; etc.).

15:2G. *Bring a hundredfold reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds* (ἀπενέγκατε δότε ἑκατονταπλασίονα τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς φίλοις ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόνως ἐργασαμένοις τὰ καλὰ ἔργα). The verse, absent in S and possibly an allusion to New Testament tradition

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[569] In this context the much disputed plural "anointed of Aaron and Israel" of the *Community Rule* (1QS 9.11) and par. can be understood not as two Messiahs, but as righteous Jews, both priests and laymen (for the literature on the passage see Flint, VanderKam, *Dead Sea*, 2.366–68). Cf. also "the anointed one" of *1 En.* 48:10; 52:4 called occasionally "the righteous one" (38:2; 53:6). See also on "anointed" as prophets above.

(Matt 19:29; Mark 10:30; Luke 15:8; 2 Cor 9:6), might well be one of the Christian interpolations or reworkings in *3 Baruch*.

"Our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds" is the second reference to the righteous in *3 Baruch*: in 10:5G we already learned that the pious souls dwell on the celestial lake continually praising God. If the Oil Reward is posthumous (see comm. above), they must be the "beloved" who await the final "hundredfold reward" of eternal life and transmission to the permanent residence, "the resting places of the righteous" (16:6S).

It is unclear whether these two designations, "our friends/beloved" and "those who have diligently done good deeds" refer to two separate groups or whether they merely indicate two characteristics of the same group. "Friends" may refer to the righteous (cf. Baruch called "beloved man" ἄνηρ ἐπιθυμιῶν in 1:3 above). For the righteous as God's "friends/beloved" (אהבים) see Prov 8:17; Ps 97:10; Exod 20:6; Deut 5:10. The Mishna expands the idea:

> Whoever occupies himself with Torah for its own sake, acquires by merit many things, nay more, the whole of the world is worthwhile for his sake. He is called a friend [רע], a beloved [אהוב], one that loves the All-Present, one that loves [his fellow-]creatures … (*m. Abot* 6.1)

Abraham is frequently called "friend/lover/beloved [Heb אוהב; Gk φίλος] of God" (Isa 41:8, 2 Chr 20:7; LXX Isa 41:8; 51:2; Dan 3:35; *Jub*. 19:9; 30:20; Philo, *Cher.* 2; *Abr.* 10.19; *Sobr.* 56; *4 Ezra* 3:14; *Apoc. Abr.* 10:5; CD 3.2; Jas 2:23; *1 Clem*. 10:1; 17:2). Gk φίλοι "friends/beloved" was a regular way of Jesus to address his disciples (Luke 12:4; John 15:15; and *passim*).

The term φίλοι might have also mean compatriots, referring to Jews, as Heb רעים and אחים in this sense: "You called us a beloved people" (*2 Bar.* 21:21); "Beloved are Israel in that they were called children of the All-Present (*m. Abot* 3.14); "Israel are beloved for they are called friends [חביבים ישראל שנקראו רעים], as said, 'For the sake of my brothers and friends [I will ask for peace for you]' [Ps 122:8]" (*Exod. Rab*. 27.9; cf. "friends" and "brothers" interchanging in the different versions of Matt 5:47); "They [Israel] are the friends of God [שהן רעיו של הקב"ה], as said … [Ps 122:8] (*Exod. Rab*. 52.1); et al.

If this is the case, the other definition, "those who have diligently done good deeds," may refer to virtuous heathens. This would contrast with Rabbinic sources which state that "all Israel have a portion in the world to come" (*m. Sanh*. 10.1; *b. Sanh*. 90a), on the one hand, and that Gehenna is destined only for the wicked of the heathens, on the other (*b. Shab*. 104a).

Compare also the *Life of Adam and Eve*, where "the oil of life" is dispensed exclusively to the "holy people" (*Apoc. Mos.* 13:3; cf. *Vita* 42:2; *Gos. Nicod.* 19).

See below, where the sinners are defined as "the sons of men" (16:1G), though the Deutoronomic paraphrases of 16:2 and 4G may be applied instead to sinful Israel.

Locusts Recompense for Unrighteous (15:3–16:10)

Greek	Slavonic
3 And he said also to those who brought the empty baskets, "Come you also;	3 And Michael called out again, "Come, you angels who brought little offerings each.
take the reward due for what you brought, and deliver it to the sons of men."	As you have brought, so you will receive, as men brought you prayers.
4 *Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those [who brought] the half-empty [baskets]: "Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus says the Lord, "You are faithful over a little, he will set you over many things; enter into the joy of our Lord."*	Tell [them], '{And} be not idle, but prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple.'"
1 And turning he said also to	1 Michael again called
those who had brought nothing,	those angels who were weeping,
	"Come also you, angels, and receive [the answers to] the requests, which the Lord said about those men,
"Thus says the Lord, 'Be not gloomy, and do not weep,	
and do not let the sons of men alone.	and you are not ordered to leave them.
2 But since they angered me by their deeds, go and make them envious and angry and provoke against them No-Nation, a nation void of understanding.	
3 Further, besides these, send forth	3 But bring them
	diseases and wounds and rupture
the caterpillar	and caterpillars
and the [kind of] locust,	

and the rust,

and [another kind of] locust,

[and] hail with lightnings and wrath,

and cut them in twain with the sword and with death,

and their children with demons.

4 Because they did not listen to my voice, nor observe my commandments, nor do them,

but came to be despisers of my commandments and my assemblies, and offenders of the priests who announced my words to them.

and grasshoppers

and clouds of thunders and hail,

and crash their children with demons.

4 Because they do not fear God and they do not come to the Temple and to the place of prayers.

Bring them a curse and rejection of good and murder."

5 And the angels received what was ordered to them by Michael. Trembling and rejoicing they went.

6 And the angel told me, "By the command of the Ruler I say to you, Baruch: Stand on the right side and see the Glory of God, and see the resting places of the righteous, glory and joy and happiness [and] glorification, and see the tortures of the impious, wailing and groaning, lament and the indefatigable worm. Their voice reaches heaven and calls, 'Have mercy on us, O God,'"

7 And I Baruch told the angel, "Lord, who are these?" 8 And he told me, "These are the sinners, having despised the commandment of God." 9 And I told the angel, "Order me, Lord, to weep on their behalf." 10 And he told me, "Weep, Baruch, [beginning] from the first-created man, Adam."

NOTES

15:3G. *And he said also to those who brought the empty baskets* (λέγει καὶ τοὺς ἀποκένους φέροντας τοὺς κανίσκους). Gk λέγω cum acc., see comm. to 10:7G.

Empty (ἀποκένους). The word may mean also "not quite full, half-empty." Thus, there is no need to emend it to ὑποκένους as Hughes suggests (also for the next verse).[570] The word can equally fit into the original account of two groups of angels and to the emended account of three (see comm. above). In the next, interpolated, verse only the second meaning would be appropriate.

15:3S. *Who brought little offerings each* (**иже дары принесосте по малоу**). Ms T omits **по малоу**: "who brought offerings." Thus, according to its reading there are only two groups of angels here, although while in G the verse refers to the second group, in ms T it refers to the first one. It also omits the words "as men brought … Temple" (absent also in G), which can hardly refer to the first group.

Tell [them], '{And} be not idle …' (**повѣдаите же и не лѣните сѧ** …). Probably from **повѣдаите же и[мъ] не лѣните сѧ** … "Tell them, 'Be not idle …'."

15:4G. *Over a little* (ἐπὶ ὀλίγῃ), in place of ἐπὶ ὀλίγα (Matt 25:21).

He will set you over many things (ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὑμᾶς καταστήσει). Ryssel suggests to read "I will set" (καταστήσω).[571]

16:1S. *Come … men*. Family β omits (in accordance with G).

16:3S. *Diseases and wounds and rupture*. Ms T: "sores and wounds and anxieties." Family β: "wounds and illnesses and sudden death."

16:3S. *Clouds of thunders*. Or: "a thunder of a cloud."

16:3S. *Hail*. Ms T adds: "and the destruction to their cities and demon [corrupt]." Family β mentions "destruction to their cities" after "demons."

16:4S. *Because they do not fear God and they do not come to the Temple and to the place of prayers. Bring them a curse …* (**зане не боѭтъ сѧ бг҃а и не приχодѧтъ въ црькъвь и на молитвъ мѣсто клѧтвѫ имъ принесѣте** …). Gaylord divides the sentences differently: "because they do not fear God and they do not come to church; and instead of prayers, bring them a curse,"[572] which seems less appropriate for the context: the sinners did not offer prayers and moreover are not supposed to receive them. An angelic prayer for them might have been meant, although this practice is not mentioned in *3 Baruch*. See comm. to 13:4G.

Rejection of good (**неначинанига добра**). CS **начинание** may mean 'deed, enterprise,' while unattested elsewhere **неначинание** could have meant "lack of deed." However, it may be a corruption of CS **неначаѥание** rendering Gk ἀπόγνωσις "despair" or "rejection."

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570 Hughes, "Baruch," 541.
571 Ryssel, "Baruch," 456.
572 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 145.

16:5S. *Trembling and rejoicing*. Alludes to Ps 2:11: "Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling." Cf. *b. Ber.* 30b (based on this verse): "R. Adda b. Mattena said in the name of Rab, 'In the place where there is rejoicing there should also be trembling.'"

16:6S. *Glory of God*. See comm. to 4:2S.

Indefatigable worm. It normally comes in a pair with fire; cf. Isa 66:24; *Apoc. Abr.* 31; Mark 9:48; and *2 Clem.* 7.6.[573]

16:10S. *Weep … Adam*. Family β has instead: "Weep also you for them; perhaps the Lord God will listen to your voice and have mercy on them."

16:10S Family α adds here an obvious Christian interpolation with a plea for murderers: "Weeping I said, 'Lord God who kindled the sun with his light, have mercy upon the sinners. Lord God who has prepared torment for the men slaughterers and who give us mercy, O Christ, for our sakes, I beseech you, O the Ruler God, take from their necks the word of God and extend your love and have mercy upon the sinners, since yours is the rule and the power …"

COMMENTARY

The wicked receive punishments during their lifetime (as, e.g., in *1 En.* 22:10; *Mek.* Beshalah, Vaihi 4; *Midr. Pss.* 31.3). The description of the retribution for the wicked, placed at the very end of the vision, may have one of the following three subtexts:

(1) It may refer to the past, implying the punishment of Israel and the fall of Jerusalem and thus answering the introductory question of the Prologue: "Why have you set on fire your vineyard and lay it waste?" (1:2).[574] Deuteronomic allusions and paraphrases of 16:2–4G, all in the original connected to the destiny of Israel, may corroborate this suggestion. The most obvious of these paraphrases (in vv. 2 and 4), however, do not occur in S, and thus probably are not original.
(2) The account may also refer to the future eschatological woes, "signs" promising revenge for the wicked in accordance with very common motif of the genre (e.g., Dan 12; *1 En.* 80:2–8; 99; *Jub.* 23:12 and 22; *4 Ezra* 4:52–5:13; 6:13–28; 9:1–6; 13:16ff.; *2 Bar.* 25–27; 48:30–38; 70; *Apoc. Abr.* 30; *Sib. Or.* 2; Mark 13; Rev 8–9 and 15–16). In this case, however, we would also expect to see a wider eschatological account, which is totally absent in this writing.

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573 Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 147.
574 Thus Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 151–152; Nickelsburg, "Jewish," 302.

(3) The description of the reward may be part of the general depiction of the retribution mechanism without any specific references. In this case, the past or future destiny of Jerusalem, its people or its destroyers would not find any treatment at the conclusion of the vision. Instead, the vision at this point turn out to be universalistic and rather focused on personal retribution and the celestial Temple, substituting for the values of national salvation, revenge, or renewal of the earthly Temple. The problem of this interpretation is in mostly collective form of the listed plagues.

All these suggestions heavily depend on the text-critical treatment of the section, in which the discrepancies between the versions are very significant. The problem is especially striking with the "Slavonic Conclusion" in 16:5–10S. If G finishes the vision with a dry and not too encouraging enumeration of plagues, S concludes the vision with a more optimistic picture of the beatific afterlife of the righteous, the tortures of the impious, and permission for Baruch to weep on the behalf of the latter.[575]

Whatever is meant in the Slavonic Conclusion, whether additional visits to Paradise and Hell or a summary of previous visions,[576] this section can hardly be original. The Conclusion is not integrated into the overall cosmological structure of *3 Baruch*. All spatial or transitional indications which have played such an important role throughout the whole writing are completely neglected here. Moreover, it can also hardly be an abbreviation of a longer original account. Bauckham, who posits such a longer original, has suggested that the original Slavonic Conclusion could have contained an ascent to the seventh heaven which included a vision of God's Presence (as in *2 Enoch* et al.) and separate visits to Paradise and Hell (as in the Syriac *Transitus Mariae* or in *Gedulat Moshe*).[577] However, this hypothesis of an abbreviation is based on an erroneous reading of the Slavonic text. To be sure, the last promise to see the Glory of God (cf. previous promises in 4:2S; 6:12; 7:2; 11:2) occurs in S at the very end of the vision (16:6S; in previous translations – 16:4S) and thus could be taken to imply a lost continuation of the narrative. Nevertheless, this argument is a result of a mistranslation of imperative forms as a future tense. The angel does not promise: "and *you*

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[575] A prayer for the dead, an important issue for early Christian thought, is attested as early as 2 Macc 12:40–46; cf. *Sifre* Deut. 210; *b. Hor.* 6a.

[576] In the case, "the tortures of the impious" would refer to Hades (ch. 5) and "the resting places of the righteous" – the Lake of Birds (ch. 10), although in S both visions lack clear indications of their connection to the afterlife (see below).

[577] Bauckham, "Hell," 373–74. On the abridgment hypothesis cf. comm. to ch. 11 (*Seven heavens and abridged version*).

will see the Glory of God; and *you will see* the resting places of the righteous, glory and joy and happiness [and] glorification; and *you will see* the tortures of the impious, wailing and groaning, lamentations and the indefatigable worm,"[578] but orders "And *see* [CS **вижь**]" all three times. Baruch's response in the continuation also indicates that he sees or hears at least the sinners (16:7S). This vision is defined as being of the Glory of God, similar to the previous ones (see comm. to 4:2S).

There is also a special reason why S found it so necessary to interpolate this passage. The Slavonic Conclusion is the most detailed treatment of the afterlife in 3 Baruch. In addition to the Oil Reward scene (ch. 15), which also can be interpreted as the reward of the afterlife (see comm. ibid.), postmortem destiny is in the rest of the text of *3 Baruch* only very briefly referred to in G:

– *"the dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly, and he is nourished by them" (4:5G);*
– "men drinking insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, make a transgression worse than Adam, and become far from the Glory of God, and commit themselves to the eternal fire" (4:16G); and
– "the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir" (10:5G).

All these appear exclusively in G. In S Hades is mentioned once (5:3S), and it is not clear whether it is identified or compared with the Serpent. Instead, at the very end of the vision S has rather declarative and formal? reference to the afterlife which compensates for the otherwise total lack of the topic in the version.

The inclusion of paraphrases from LXX and New Testament in G (15:4G; 16:2G; 16:4G; see comm. below), which showcases the erudition of the editor, reflects a deviation from the rest of the book, in which explicit reference to the biblical text is normally avoided. Similarly, the passage that probably develops the prayer agenda of S (16:4S; see comm. to 11:4), as well as the Slavonic Conclusion (overtly intended to provide a conceptual ending), seems to be a later elaboration intended to explain and harmonize a laconic proto-text.[579]

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[578] As translated in Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 678 (in his *Slavonic* the translation is improved). Bauckham, ("Hell," 373) and Harlow (*Baruch*, 37) base their interpretations on this mistake.

[579] Theoretically this elaborations could also substitute another ending, which contradicted the outlook of the Christian redactor. But we do not have textual evidence for this.

15:3S. See comm. to 11:4.

15:4G. The whole verse, absent in S and closely paraphrasing Matt 25:21, 23, must be a Christian interpolation:

3 Baruch	Matthew
You are faithful over a little, he will set you over many things; enter into the joy of our Lord.	You were faithful over a little, I will set you over of many things; enter into the joy of your lord
ἐπὶ ὀλίγῃ ἐστὲ πιστοί, ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὑμᾶς καταστήσει· εἰσέλθατε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν	ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἦς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω· εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου

Cf. an allusion to Matt 25:24, 26 in 15:2G above.

16:2G. Absent in S, the verse is a collage from Deut 31–32. "Angered me by their deeds" is a paraphrase of LXX Deut 31:29, while the second clause is obviously dependent on Deut 32:21.[580]

3 Baruch	LXX *Deuternomy*
But since they angered me by their deeds,	You will anger him by the deeds of your hands (31:29)
go and make them envious and angry and provoke against No-Nation, a nation void of understanding	I will make them envious by No-Nation, I will anger them by a nation void of understanding (32:21)
ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παρώργισάν με ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν	παροργίσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν (31:29)
πορευθέντες παραζηλώσατε αὐτοὺς καὶ παροργίσατε καὶ παραπικράνατε ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτω.	παραζηλώσω αὐτοὺς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει ἐπ' ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ αὐτούς (32:21)
	Cf. παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει ῥ' ἔθνει ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιῶ ὑμᾶς (Rom 10:19)

The wording is very similar to that of LXX (and to its paraphrase in Rom 10:19), and both texts have ἀσύνετος for Heb נבל. The promises of punishment put in Deuteronomy in future are presented as fulfilled in *3 Baruch*. The same is reflected in the paraphrase of Deut 28:1 in 16:4G

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[580] Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 141. Cf. also "He will arouse against them the sinful nations who will have no mercy or kindness for them" (*Jub.* 23:23).

(see below). These phrases were supposed to serve as an answer to Baruch's lament in 1:2: "And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but delivered us to such nations, so that they upbraid saying, 'Where is their God?'" (which, in turn, also alludes to Deut 32:37: "Where are their gods?").[581] There are also more allusions in ch. 16 to LXX Deuteronomy. See the list of punishments in 16:3b and Deut 32:41, 25, 16.[582]

This would mean that the plagues are destined for Israel, although in 16:1 we find a more general definition of "sons of men." Furthermore, such an understanding will present the whole retribution mechanism of chs. 15–16, which otherwise looks rather universalistic, as an inner Jewish matter. More probable is that the verse is just another Christian interpolation, characteristic of G, with a tendency to present Jews as the second group, i.e., as sinners to be punished. That is what we find in a most similar parallel to this section, in *Apoc. Paul* 10, where the sinners are identified as "those which have called upon your [Gods's] name."

16:3. *Cut them in twain with the sword* (διχοτομήσατε αὐτοὺς ἐν μαχαίρᾳ) may metaphorically mean "punish them severely" as in Matt 24:51. The rest of the verse alludes to LXX Deut 32:16–43, especially to 32:41 (having both ἀστραπή and μάχαιρα), 32:25 (ἔξωθεν ἀτεκνώσει αὐτοὺς μάχαιρα), and 32:16 (ἔθυσαν δαιμονίοις).[583]

Plagues

1. *Number of plagues*. Notably both versions, while differing in the content of plagues, still keep their number – seven, as the number of Egyptian plagues in Ps 78:44–51; 105:28–36; plagues for idolatry in Ezek 6:5–6; Amos 4:6–13; eschatological seven trumpets and seven bowls of Rev 8–9 and 15–16; seven last years each with its own woe of *b. Sanh*. 97a. The twelve plagues of *Jub*. 23:13 can also be divided to seven groups: (1) "disease and stomach pains;" (2) "snow, hail and frost;" (3) "fever, cold and numbness;" (4) "famine," (5) "death," (6) "sword," (7) "captivity." This number also conforms with the Mishna: "Seven kinds of penalties come to the world for seven transgressions" (*m. Abot* 5.8). In the spirit of *Mek*. Beshalah 6 (integrated into the Passover Haggadah), it is possible to divide the plagues of *3 Baruch* in different ways, as to four so also to ten. *Four*: vermins, meteoro-

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581 Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 151–152; Nickelsburg, *Jewish*, 302.

582 Harlow, *Baruch*, 155.

583 The instrumental use of ἐν, though known in Greek, may be an indication of Semitized usage; cf. the same use in LXX Deut 31:29 paraphrased in 16:2G above and in Matt 9:34 with similar context.

logical phenomena, death, plague of children. *Ten*: (1) "the caterpillar, and (2) the locust's larva, and (3) the rust, and (4) the grasshopper, [and] (5) hail with (6) lightnings and (7) wrath, and (8) cut them in twain with the sword and (9) with death, and (10) their children with demons." The seven plagues of Rev 15–16 probably contain a separate unit of four in accordance with four elements.[584] Ten plagues are known to *Apoc. Abr.* 30.

2. *Nature of plagues*. Although presented as an element of the personal retribution mechanism, most plagues look collective (cosmic or at least national). Such would be expected in an eschatological context; see collective natural disasters striking the last generations or impious nations in *1 En.* 80:2–8; *Jub.* 23:12 and 22; *Apoc. Abr.* 30; *Sib. Or.* 2; Rev 8–9 and 15–16; etc.

2.1. *Locusts*. The list of four vermins is borrowed from Joel 1:4 and 2:25 although in a changed order. In Joel all Hebrew terms refer to different kinds of locust:

Gk κάμπη "caterpillar"	Heb גזם (also in Am 4:9);
Gk βροῦχος "locust" or "locust's wingless larva"	Heb ילק (in Lev 11:22 it corresponds also to ארבה);
Gk ἐρυσίβη "rust"	Heb חסיל
Gk ἀκρίς "locust," "grasshopper"	Heb ארבה

The uniqueness in *3 Baruch* lies in the locusts taking the majority of the plagues. There are several possible explanation for this:

2.1.1. *Locusts as locusts*. Locust plagues are among the most infamous natural disasters (Deut 28:38, 42; 1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28; 7:13; Pss 78:46; 105:34–35; Joel 1:4; 2:25; Amos 4:9; 7:2; Nah 3:15; Philo, *Mos.* 1.123; *Praem.* 128). They are listed among the punishments for Israel's disobedience to God (Deut 28:34; 1 Kgs 8:37; 2 Chr 6:28) and among the eschatological plagues (*Sib. Or.* 5:454 and Rev 8:3–11). In an agricultural society, the locust was synonymous with death: "let him [God] remove from me this death" (Exod 10:16–17); "If one sees the locust, he says, 'Blessed is the just Judge'" (*y. Ber.* 6.5c; 10.70c; the same formula was used upon being informed of a death). Public fasts are declared even if one locust has been seen in the Land of Israel (*m. Taan.* 3.2; *b. Taan.* 22a).

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584 So Collins, "Numeric," 126.

2.1.2. *Locusts as invaders*. In Joel 1–2 the locusts are the main precursors of the eschatological "Day of the Lord," and also symbolize foreign invaders. This will go well with interpretation A above.

2.1.3. *Locusts as demons*. Being either a natural disaster or foreign invaders still does not justify why they take four of seven plagues. The list does not look balanced, unless one considers the locusts as a symbolic representation of some wider phenomenon. The rationale of the Locusts Plague of *3 Baruch* can be clarified against the background of the analogous plague in the book of Revelation. This juxtaposition enables an association of the plagues of ch. 16 with the motifs of the implied demonology of 1:1 and chs. 2–3, on the one hand, and with the Oil Reward of ch. 15, on the other:

(a) The locusts are one of the eschatological woes of Revelation (9:3–11). Their description also depends upon the locust imagery of Joel 1–2 (they are likened to horses, army, etc.). In Revelation they are described as hybrid demonic creatures identified as the army of Abaddon-Apollyon:

> The appearance of the locusts was like horses prepared for battle; and on their heads appeared to be crowns like gold, and their faces were like the faces of men. They had hair like the hair of women, and their teeth were like the teeth of lions. They had breastplates like breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was like the sound of chariots, of many horses rushing to battle. They have tails like scorpions, and stings; and in their tails is their power to hurt men for five months. They have as king over them, the angel of the abyss; his name in Hebrew is Abaddon, and in the Greek he has the name Apollyon. (Rev 9:7–11)

The "fiery locusts" coming out of the mouth of "a mighty Beast like a whale" (Herm., *Vis.* 4.1.6) must be of the same demonic nature. Can this also be true for the locusts of *3 Baruch*? The list of plagues is the only instance when demons are explicitly mentioned in *3 Baruch* (see below), and a certain implied demonology can be reflected in the images of the celestial satyr-like Builders (chs. 2–3) and probably terrestrial demons defined as "alien spirits" (1:1).

(b) The demonic locusts of Revelation were told to harm "only those people who did not have a seal of God on their foreheads" (Rev 9:4; cf. 7:2–4). The notion of a protective "seal" is a very developed motif in Jewish literature (Gen 4:15; Ezek 9:4–6 [cited in CD 19.12]; *Pss. Sol.* 15:6; *4 Ezra* 6:5; 8:53; *5 Ezra* 2:38, 40; *Acts Andrew* 27; *Ap. John*

31.22–25; cf. Josephus, *Ant*. 8.47 and Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls),[585] while their nature is usually not clarified.[586] However, some Gnostic and Christian sources consistently identify protective "seals" as anointing:

> Give us the seal, for we have heard you saying that the God whom you preach knows his own sheep by his seal … and he commanded them to bring oil, that they might receive the seal by the oil." (*Acts Thom.* 26)

See *Apoc. John* 31.22–25; *Apost. Const.* 7.22; Origen, *Cels.* 6.27; etc.[587] The two are probably identified by Paul: "He anointed us, set his seal of ownershhip on us" (2 Cor 1:21–22). As "seal" protects from demons in Rev 9:4, so anointing is used to exhort demons in Mark 6:13.

The identification of "seal" and chrism can shed light on the protective purpose of the Oil Reward in *3 Baruch*. It is hardly coincidental that in *3 Baruch* we find an opposition between the pious rewarded with oil, and the wicked punished with locusts, while in Revelation there is almost the identical opposition between the pious marked by a "seal" (probably a chrism), and the wicked tortured by demonic locusts. The situation is typical for the laconic symbolic language of *3 Baruch*, which can be deciphered only with the help of more detailed parallels:

3 Baruch	*Revelation* 9:3–4
since they angered me by their deeds … send forth the caterpillar, and the [kind of] locust, and the rust, and [another kind of] locust (16:3)	Then out of the smoke came locusts upon the earth, and power was given them, as the scorpions of the earth have power.
And for the angels who had brought the full baskets, he filled them with oil, saying, "Bring a hundredfold reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds (15:2)	They were told not to hurt the grass of the earth, nor any green thing, nor any tree, but only the men who do not have the seal of God on their foreheads.

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585 E.g., " … doubly-sealed with the seven seals from all evil plagues, from all bad spirits, from monsters, from liliths, and from all blast-demons and harmers" (Isbell, *Incantation,* 83 (#31.24), cf. 21–22, 24, 62, 116).

586 In Josephus, *Ant*. 8.47 it is "a ring that had under its seal a root from among those prescribed by Solomon."

587 In other sources the term could apply also to other ritual marks of the sacral belonging, like circumcision or baptism.

2.2. *Children and demons.* The concluding plague will strike the children of the wicked, who will be hurt "with demons." Children suffer for their fathers' sins in many sources. "Who despises wisdom … their offspring are accursed" (Wis 3:11–13; cf. Ezek 16:44; Sir 41:5; *4 Ezra* 9:17). In the last days "the destitute will go forth and carry off their children, and they will abandon them, so that their children will perish through them" (*1 En.* 99:5). "How dreadful it will be in those days for pregnant women and nursing mothers!" (Mark 13:17). Mass massacre of children forms part of the eschatological scenario of the *Apocalypse of Daniel* (1:10; 2:1).

As for the demons' role in this plague, the demonic Builders hurt a woman in childbirth in *3 Bar.* 3:5. Jewish traditions on Lilith and other demons hurting newborns and women in labor go back to universal beliefs. Akkadian Lamashtu attacks mothers and newborn infants. Hellenistic demons Gello, Lamia, Mormo can cause child death (Pseudo-Herodotus, *Vit. Hom.* 32; *Hom. Epigr.* 14). The sinful generations of Israel "will sacrifice their children to demons" (*Jub.* 1:11). Demons struck human children also in the past:

> the unclean demons began to lead astray the children of the sons of Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons." (*Jub.* 10:1–2).

In the *Testament of Solomon* demons torture boys, strangle newborn children, "blind children in women's wombs, and twirl their ears round," and "make them deaf and mute" (*Test. Sol.* 2; 13). In the time of the Antichrist "the unclean spirits and the demons will … kill the babies of the women and they themselves will suckle from them" (*Apoc. Dan.* 12:1–2). See also Rev 12ff; Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 5.2, and especially *Acts Thom.* 12:

> the more part of children become useless oppressed of devils, some openly and some invisibly, for they become either lunatic or half withered or blind or deaf or dumb or paralytic or foolish; and if they be sound, again they will be vain, doing useless or abominable acts, for they will be caught either in adultery or murder or theft or fornication.

16:4G. This must be one more Christian interpolation with rich intertextuality. "They did not listen to my voice nor observe my commandments, nor do them" is a paraphrase of LXX Deut 28:1: "if you listen to the voice of Lord your God, observe and do all these commandments" (cf. also Exod 15:26; Deut 26:17; 28:15; etc.). The paraphrase is closer to MT and some versions of LXX which have "*his* commandments" instead. "Despisers" (καταφρονηταί) is a term known, e.g., from LXX Hab 1:5 (the

equivalent word is absent in MT, while the whole verse is cited in Acts 13:40) and from Zeph 3:4 (Heb אנשי בגדות): "her prophets are despisers, her priests profane holy things." In verbal form it is used in a similar context in 1 Cor 11:22: "do you despise the assembly of God?"[588] See also Am 2:4: "I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have despised [מאסם] the law of the Lord, and have not observe his commandments" and *4 Ezra* 1:34: "And your children shall not be fruitful; for they have despised my commandment, and done the thing that is an evil before me." Priests in a very similar context appear also in 1 Chr 16:22: "Do not touch not my anointed [i.e., priests], and do not offend my prophets." Hughes notes that the term 'priest' ἱερεύς "does not seem to have been applied to the Christian ministry till the end of the second century."[589]

[588] The latter parallel is brought by Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 149.
[589] Hughes, "Baruch," 543.

D. Return (17)

Greek	Slavonic
1 And as he spoke, the door closed, and we withdrew.	
	1 And a voice from heaven came, saying,
2 And the angel having taken returned me to where I was at the beginning.	"Bring Baruch down to the face of earth,
	so that he will tell the sons of men what he saw and heard, and all the mysteries you gave him."
3 And having come to myself, I gave glory to God, who honored me by such honor.	
4 And you, brothers, who attained such a revelation, yourselves also glorify God, so that he also may glorify you, now and forever, and ever. Amen.	And to our God – let it be glory, now and forever and ever. Amen."

COMMENTARY

As in the conclusion of the vision in the previous chapter, which is full with discrepancies and interpolations, there is great disparity between the two versions of the conclusion of the frame narrative. G and S agree only in the fact that Baruch returns to earth (but not even in the wording of this report) and share the final glorification (cf. the final blessing of the *Book of Watchers*; *1 En.* 36:4), although the latter may be due to a medieval scribal etiquette (cf. the blessing in the Title).

17:1S. *All the mysteries you gave him* (**и вьсѣѧ таинъı прѣдастъ емоу**). See the wording in *Pistis Sophia*: "And also as it was said: 'Righteousness [looked forth] from heaven': righteousness is the power which looked forth from the height, which will *give the mysteries* of the light to the race of mankind" (1.61); "And Michael and Gabriel, who served me and brought the outpouring of light to the Chaos, will *give the mysteries* of the light to them" (2.64).

17:2G. *Returned me to where I was at the beginning*. Compare *2 Bar.* 7:2 (according to the emendation of Charles):[1] "And the Spirit restored me to the place where I once stood."

17:3G. *And having come to myself* (καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθών). This may mean that all the previous was a vision or a dream, but not an actual ascension *in corpore* (in distinction to *2 Enoch*; *Apocalypse of Abraham*; *Testament of Abraham*).[2] On the possible identification of Baruch's vision and the dream of Abimelech, see comm. to T:2. Psychonodia, the ecstatic ascent of the soul without the body, is explicit and typical for later Jewish mysticism,[3] but known also from some early texts. Thus, Er's soul visits heaven and netherworld and returns to the body (Plato, *Rep.* 10.614a–621d). In *1 En.* 71:1 only Enoch's "spirit was carried and ascended into the heavens" (cf. 71:5, 6). Paul twice wonders and cannot decide, if his ascent was "in body" or "outside the body" (2 Cor 12:2–3). The Gnostic *Apocalypse of Paul* holds to the latter, since Paul sees himself on earth (20). During his vision Isaiah "became silent, and he did not see the men who stood before him, though his eyes were open. Moreover his lips were silent, and the mind of his body was taken up from him, but his breath was in him" (*Asc. Isa.* 6:10–12). Another revelation concludes similarly, even in wording: "When he [Jesus] had said these things, he [Peter] came to himself" (Nag Hammadi *Apoc. Pet.*, end). The regaining of consciousness also comes together with glorification: "And Peter came to himself, and having beheld the Lord ascending up into heaven, he returned to Rome, rejoicing, and glorifying the Lord" (*Acts Pet.* 35). Dream visions are known to Gen 15:12; 28:13; 37:5–10; 40:1–41:49; Dan 2, 4, and 7; *1 En.* 13–14; 83–90; *4 Ezra* 3:1 and 5:14; *T. Levi* 2:5; and *Lad. Jac.* 1:3. The "torpor of prophecy" (תרדמת נבואה) is discussed in *Gen. Rab.* 17.5. Dream is defined there as "an incomplete form of prophecy" (נובלת נבואה חלום). Cf. a reservation about the revelatory quality of dreams in Sir 34:1–6. The fact that Baruch's ascent was not physical may join other indications of the second rate of Baruch's prophetic gift (see comm. to "Baruch" in T:1).

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[1] Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, p. 12.

[2] In *T. Abr.* (A) 9:6 the words "while I am in this body I wish to see all the inhabited world and all the creations" may mean "before the death," and not necessarily an in-body ascent.

[3] See Idel, *Kabbala*, 88–96; *Ascensions*.

I gave glory to God, who honored me by such honor (δόξαν ἔφερον τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἀξιώσαντί με τοιούτου ἀξιώματος). Or: " … appraised me by such apprise." Baruch praises God for the revelation also in *2 Bar.* 54:6–8:

> You have shown to your servant this vision, reveal to me also its interpretation. For I know that as regards those things wherein I besought you, I have received a response, and as regards what I besought, you did reveal to me with what voice I should honor you, and from which members I should cause glory and praise to ascend to you.

God "honored" (τιμῇ) a visionary by the true revelation according to Josephus:

> In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder how God honored Daniel. (*Ant.* 10.11.7)

Our visionary emphasizes certain reciprocity of his praise: he will "give glory" to God, since he "honored" him with a revelation. If *3 Baruch* had a Hebrew original, both terms might have been of the same root (כבד), similarly to 1 Sam 2:30: "I will honor that who honors me" (כי מכבדי אכבד).

17:4G. *And you, brothers, who attained such a revelation* (ὦ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοὶ οἱ τυχόντες τῆς τοιαύτης ἀποκαλύψεως). Dean-Otting notices: "Most remarkably he includes others in his closing remark, intimating that they too have the potential for such experiences … This inclusion of others is an astonishing exception to the other heavenly journey accounts."[4] In fact, what the text must mean is that the audience obtained the revelation *from* Baruch. He shares his revelation with his "friends" (44:1) and the elders of the people also in *2 Baruch* (5:5; 31:3–32:7; 44–46; 77:1–17).

A very similar closing is found in the *Testament of Abraham* (20:15) and many late Christian compositions.[5] The address "brothers" (ἀδελφοί) may indicate a monastic audience and would thus be a later addition, but this is not necessarily the case, as the term is already widely used as an address in the New Testamental epistles (Gal 5–6; Heb 8; and *passim*). It is used in the sense of compatriots in many Jewish texts (cf. Lev 10:5; 25:46; Deut 3:18; 24:7; et al.; *m. Sotah* 7.8; see in similar context *2 Bar.* 77:4; cf. comm. to 15:2G).

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[4] Dean-Otting, "Baruch," 153.

[5] See Allison, *T. Abr.*, 410–11.

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Hekhalot/Merkabah literature

RA'ANAN S. BOUSTAN

Hekhalot literature represents the earliest extensive collection of Jewish mystical writings from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Hekhalot compositions are characterized by a unique, if eclectic, literary style. These texts consist variously of detailed descriptions of the topography and denizens of the heavenly realms, the elaborate protocols for the liturgy performed by the angels before God, as well as the actual hymns of praise of which this heavenly liturgy consists, and, most distinctively, ritual instructions to enable the practitioner either to ascend to heaven or to bring angels down to earth. The term *hekhalot* comes from the Hebrew word for the celestial palaces or temples (sing. *hekhal*) within which God and his angelic host reside. The form of religious praxis and experience described in Hekhalot literature is often also referred to as "Merkavah mysticism" because it draws upon the prophet Ezekiel's vision of the divine chariot-throne (the *merkavah* of Ezek 1:10).

This diverse literature resists easy geographic and chronological classification. Written in Hebrew and Aramaic, with traces of Greek, Latin, and Persian influence, Hekhalot literature developed in the major centers of Jewish learning – Palestine and Iraq. While the corpus may contain traditions from the second to fifth centuries CE, it emerged as a recognizable and distinct genre of literature only during the second half of the first millennium (Boustan 2006).

Modern scholars have access to Hekhalot texts primarily through manuscripts from medieval western Europe produced in the twelfth century and after (Schäfer 1981). In addition, more than twenty fragments of Hekhalot texts have been retrieved from the CAIRO GENIZAH (Schäfer 1984). Significant differences exist between the materials contained in the Genizah fragments and those that were transmitted within the European manuscript tradition. This disparity between its "Oriental" and "European" branches suggests that Hekhalot literature circulated in a wide variety of forms along different regional trajectories. Hekhalot literature cannot simply be divided into stable "works," but represents a relatively open-ended set of compositions that remained in flux as they were transmitted and actively refashioned by later scribes (Schäfer 1988). The complex literary and scribal processes that shaped this literature complicate any attempt to reconstruct its formative literary and textual history.

Absolute criteria for delimiting the boundaries of the Hekhalot corpus on internal, formal grounds also prove elusive. The following compositions are generally considered to belong to Hekhalot literature proper: *3 (Hebrew) Enoch*; *Hekhalot Rabbati* ("The Greater [Book of Celestial] Palaces"); *Hekhalot Zutarti* ("The Lesser [Book of Celestial] Palaces"); *Ma'aseh Merkavah* ("The Working of the Chariot"); *Merkavah Rabbah* ("The Great [Book of] the Chariot"); and, finally, a series of relatively autonomous adjurational complexes known as *Sar ha-Torah* ("Prince of the Torah"), texts that promise the practitioner angelic assistance in acquiring and retaining knowledge of Torah. Embedded within or appended to these major literary units are a number of formally distinct texts, most significantly the Shi'ur Qomah ("The Measure of the [Divine] Body") materials that catalogue the sizes and names of the limbs of God's gargantuan body. While Hekhalot literature does exhibit certain formal and thematic affinities to ancient Jewish magical texts, the two corpora employ appreciably different ritual techniques and, most likely, reflect distinct sociological profiles (Bohak 2008: 329–39).

The authorial voice of Hekhalot literature is anonymous and collective, as is typical for much rabbinic literature. Rabbinic figures from second-century Palestine – most commonly, Rabbi Ishmael and Rabbi Akiva – serve as the protagonists of Hekhalot literature

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and the tradents of its esoteric teachings. This pseudonymous framework serves as an authorizing strategy to anchor Hekhalot literature to the increasingly hegemonic rabbinic tradition.

Hekhalot literature centers upon two principal themes, heavenly ascent and angelic adjuration. Gershom Scholem (1965) accorded temporal and thematic priority to the ascent narratives; the heavenly journeys continue the form of ecstatic mysticism attested in earlier Jewish (and Christian) apocalyptic writings and in the Dead Sea Scrolls, while the "magico-ritual" elements found in the corpus mark the subsequent degeneration of its original "mystical" impulse. More recent scholarship has emphasized the degree to which ritual practice pervades every facet of Hekhalot literature. In both ascent and adjuration, movement between the earthly and heavenly realms is achieved through the meticulous performance of ritual speech and action. And even the aim of the ascent process has been profoundly shaped by a ritual-liturgical sensibility: the culmination of the ascent, as conceived in Hekhalot literature, primarily consists in the practitioner's participation in the heavenly liturgy (*unio liturgica*) and his commission by God to communicate his abiding love for his people Israel (Schäfer 2009: 243–330).

The heterogeneity, fluidity, and pseudonymity that characterize Hekhalot texts create formidable obstacles for determining the *Sitz-im-Leben* of this literature with any precision. It is perhaps not surprising that theories have nevertheless multiplied. Scholem situates Hekhalot literature within the main currents of rabbinic Judaism from the second century onward. In sharp contrast, David Halperin (1988) detects in this literature the populist ideology of the Jewish masses, who sought an accessible – and immediate – path to the revelation of Torah. Michael Swartz (1996) interprets the *Sar ha-Torah* literature as an expression of the aspirations of "secondary elites" who served Late Antique Jewish communities as minor religious functionaries; while these low-status scribes were deeply influenced by the scholastic culture of the rabbis, they found themselves excluded from rabbinic institutions of learning and thus resorted to magical means for acquiring mastery of Torah. James Davila (2001) argues that Hekhalot literature and the Jewish magical texts, when taken together as a coherent corpus, reflect the religious vocation of a guild of Jewish shamans whose transformative experience of mystical ecstasy empowered them as healers and ritual experts. Rachel Elior (2004) believes that Hekhalot literature preserves a continuous stream of ancient priestly tradition intended to compensate for the loss of the sacrificial cult following the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 CE. Scholarship has only just begun the interrelated tasks of situating Hekhalot literature within its (changing) sociohistorical context(s), defining its relationship to other branches of Jewish literary culture, and analyzing the religious phenomena it both describes and embodies.

SEE ALSO: Akiba, Rabbi; Apocalypses, Christian; Apocalypses, Jewish; *Enoch, Books of (1, 2, 3 Enoch)*; Magic, Jewish; Piyyut (Jewish liturgical and secular poetry); Prayer, Jewish; Shi'ur Qomah (Jewish mystical texts).

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כירים 'stove' *kirayim* (Lev. 11.35, for כִּיְרַיִם *kīrayim*; Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan תפיין *tpyyn*)

מבחר *miḇḥar* 'best' (Exod. 15.4, for מִבְחָר *miḇḥar*; Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan שפר *špr*)

מדרך *miḏraḵ* 'tread' (Deut. 2.5, for מִדְרַךְ *miḏraḵ*; Neofiti מדרס *mdrs*)

מספד *mispad* 'mourning' (Gen. 50.10, for מִסְפֵּד *mispēd*)

נגח *naggāḥ* 'prone to gore' (Exod. 21.29, etc., for נַגָּח *naggāḥ*; Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan נגשן *ngšn*)

פיח *piaḥ* 'soot' (Exod. 9.8, 10, for פִּיַּח *pīaḥ*; Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan קטם *qṭm*)

קנא *qannā* 'jealous' (Exod. 20.5, etc., for קַנָּא *qannā'*; Neofiti קניי *qnyy*, Pseudo-Jonathan קנאן *qn'n*)

שוכבת זרע *šuḵbaṯ zəraʿ* 'emission of semen' (Lev. 15.16, etc., for שִׁכְבַת־זָרַע *šiḵḇaṯ-zāraʿ*; Neofiti תשמיש דזרע *tšmyš dzrʿ*)

תופיני *tupīnē* 'pastries' (Lev. 6.14, for תֻּפִינֵי *tūpīnē*; Pseudo-Jonathan מרסקא *mrsq'*)

Onqelos also sometimes uses BH words not appearing elsewhere in Aramaic and not derived from the translated text, such as גלולין *gillulin* 'idols' (Num. 23.21), זדון *zādōn* 'arrogance' (Deut. 29.17), יבול *yəḇul* 'produce' (Deut. 33.14), מלקוש *malqoš* 'late rain' (Deut. 32.2, also Neofiti), מעמק 'depth' *maʿmaq* (Gen. 49.25, Deut. 33.13), עיצא *ʿēṣā* 'counsel' (Lev. 18.17, etc., instead of Aramaic עטה *ʿēṭā*), reflecting an influence of BH that goes beyond the immediate source text.

Although the examples given are from Onqelos, the same phenomena are found in varying proportions throughout all of the targumim.

In the late Pseudo-Jonathan targum, borrowings from post-Biblical Hebrew are very frequent, and can sometimes be traced back to the influence of a particular rabbinic text (Neumark 1905). For example, the words לביסיא קדירתא שפודיא ואסכלתא *lbysy' qdyrt' špwdy' w'sklt'* 'cauldrons, pots, spits, and grills' (Num. 31.23) represent a thin Aramaizing of the words from Sifre be-Midbar 158 הלובסין והסכינין והקדירות והשפודים והאסכלות *ha-loḇsin we-ha-sakkinin we-ha-qəderot we-ha-šippudim we-ha-'askelot* 'cauldrons and knives and pots and spits and grills'. Likewise, for instance, גריסין *grysyn* 'split beans' of Pseudo-Jonathan Lev. 14.37, not mentioned in the Hebrew text, is derived from the discussion of גְּרִיסִין *gərisin* in Mishnah Negaʿim 12.3.

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Hekhalot

Hekhalot literature is the name given to a group of texts which constitute the earliest known products of ancient Jewish mysticism. The texts cover a wide range of themes, such as magic, cosmology and liturgy, but their conceptual core has traditionally been taken to be *Merkavah* mysticism, i.e., the idea that the ultimate aim of the mystical experience is to enter the celestial palaces (היכלות *heḵalot*) and view God sitting on His throne. Following Ezekiel's vision, the divine throne is depicted as a chariot (מרכבה *merkaḇa*). The mystical experience is essentially perceived as *ascension* to heaven, yet the term denoting it is ירידה למרכבה *yerida la-merkaḇa* '*descending* to the chariot' (Kuyt 1990; 1995; Wolfson 1993).

Scholem (1965) argued that *Hekhalot* literature was rooted in Tannaitic teachings. However, even if some of its themes may be traced

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back to such early times—which is not at all certain (e.g., Boyarin 1987:492–500)—the texts in their present form are clearly post-Talmudic (thus already Scholem 1953:463), dating from late Antiquity through the Middle Ages (Boustan 2006). Similarly, attempts to show the existence of a relationship between *Hekhalot* literature and the literature of the Second Temple period or even the Bible (e.g., Gruenwald 1980:3–123; Elior 2004) are relevant at most to its prehistory, but not to the form and language of the extant texts (Mizrahi 2009). *Hekhalot* literature is in any case not a unified body of texts; it encompasses writings composed over a number of centuries and of more than one provenance.

Surviving manuscripts of *Hekhalot* literature are all medieval (Schäfer 1988:154–233; Hermann 1994:22–65). Fragments of the earliest, produced mostly in the 10th–12th centuries (with only one possibly antedating the 9th century), have been preserved in the Cairo Genizah (Schäfer 1984). The earliest complete manuscripts are even later, and of European provenance. Dan (1987:436–437; 1993b:92–95) has suggested that they all descend from a single archetype, but this remains to be proven. Seven comprehensive copies, produced in the 14th–16th centuries, were published in a synoptic edition (Schäfer 1981), accompanied by a concordance (Schäfer 1986–1988). The precise relationship between the various manuscripts is obscure, and no systematic philological typology has been developed (a possible model for such study of related material is furnished by the analysis of *Pereq Šira* by Beit-Arié 1967).

Some of the extant manuscripts were partly reshaped by the Ashkenazi pietists (e.g., Hermann 1993). The knotty process of transmission is especially evident in the case of transliterated Greek terms and magic formulae, which were misunderstood and mutilated by later copyists (Lewy 1951; Bohak 2001). A textual analysis of these compositions reveals such a convoluted picture of textual and literary fluidity that the very existence of distinct literary works within *Hekhalot* literature has been questioned (e.g., Schäfer 1988:8–16, 50–74), as well as its exact scope (Boustan 2009:139–142).

Most of the texts are written in Hebrew, with several extended sections in Aramaic. In addition, there are many passages of *nomina barbara*, especially in lists of divine and/or angelological names. The language of *Hekhalot* literature is basically Rabbinic (Mishnaic) Hebrew, but its exact profile varies from one text to another. Many passages are couched in a poetic style. Special attention was paid to a syntactical feature of this kind, namely, the use of long chains of synonymous expressions (Maier 1973). However, creative linguistic usages abound in all other aspects of the language as well, for instance:

(a) *Lexicon*. One finds unique lexemes, such as ריגיון *rigyon* or *regyon* 'fiery stream' (e.g., Schäfer 1981:§198, §407), possibly of Greek origin < *ῥυάκιον, diminutive of ῥύαξ 'stream of lava' (Lewy 1960:264–265); זיהיון *zihyon* (e.g., Schäfer 1981: §100, §200), which is related to זה"י *z-h-y* in Palestinian Aramaic (and *Piyyut* Hebrew) 'to shine' and figuratively 'to rejoice' (Ben-Ḥayyim 1977).

(b) *Onomasticon*. Previously known components are combined into novel compound names of angelic and divine entities, such as לבבפיאל *leḇabpiʿel* (Schäfer 1981: §243), lit. 'heart of the mouth of God'. There are also utterly cryptic proper names, such as אזגובהיי *ʾzgwbhyy* (Schäfer 1981: §27) or אזבוגה *ʾzbwgh* (e.g., Schäfer 1981: §415, §863; see Dan 1994), but such names can also be attached to a standard theophoric element, such as רדוריאל *rdwryʿl* (Schäfer 1981: §43; see Alexander 1983:282, n. 27a). Some of these combinations may stem from old traditions, while others represent certain theological trends (Dan 1996a).

(c) *Phraseology*. One often meets idiosyncratic phrases and idioms, e.g., בהרפסת עין *be-harpasat ʿayin* 'in a wink of the eye', i.e., 'immediately' (Schäfer 1981: §410; see Ben-Ḥayyim 1970:431–432); זוחלי אשות *zoḥale ʾiššot* 'creepers of (or: in) fire', i.e., 'salamanders' (Schäfer 1981: §101; see Zelikovitch-Nadav 1953:12); לראות מלך ביופיו *li rʾot meleḵ be-yoṗyo* 'to see the King in His beauty' (adapted from Isa. 33.17), referring to the awesome vision of God in His celestial palace (e.g., Schäfer 1981: §407–§409).

(d) *Morphology*. A common feature is the use of denominative verbs of the *piʿel* stem, such as איבר *ʾibbēr* 'to give strength' (Schäfer 1981: §72, §405), derived from אַבִּיר *ʾabbīr* 'strong, powerful', and חילם *ḥillēm* 'to cause to dream', i.e., 'to make (someone) fall asleep' (§120), derived from חֲלוֹם *ḥălōm* 'dream'. Another widespread phenomenon is the employment

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of uncharacteristic nominal patterns, such as בזיקים *beziqim* 'flashes, lightning' (Schäfer 1981: §41, §72, §79), construed as a plural of בֶּזֶק *bezeq* rather than בָּזָק *bāzāq*. So also the abstract noun עזירות *ʿăzīrūt* 'strength, might' (Schäfer 1981: §251), which seems to be derived from the (undocumented) adjective עַזִּיר *ʿazzīr* (as demonstrated by similar forms in the same context: אדירות *ʾaddīrūt* < אַדִּיר *ʾaddīr* 'huge'; עריצות *ʿarīṣūt* < עָרִיץ *ʿārīṣ* [<**ʿarrīṣ*] 'fearful') rather than the (well attested) noun עֵזֶר *ʿēzer* 'help, strength'.

Also noteworthy are elements with affinities to late strata of the rabbinic and para-rabbinic literature, which suggest a post-Talmudic dating for *Hekhalot* literature. Such elements show similarities to two corpora in particular:

(a) *Tanḥuma* literature, e.g., the use of the collocation שבעים לשון *šiḇʿim lašon* 'seventy tongues' (cf. Mishna Sheqalim 5.1; Mishna Soṭa 7.5) as an idiom meaning 'all the foreign nations' (cf. *Tanh. Noaḥ* 19; *Way-Yešeḇ* 2).

(b) *Piyyut* (the liturgical poetry of the Byzantine period), e.g., the derivation of the segholate masculine noun בהל *bahal* from the biblical feminine בֶּהָלָה *behālā* 'panic, horror'. Note that this *linguistic* similarity is to be distinguished from the question of *literary* dependence between these corpora (Bar-Ilan 1987; Rand 2009:189–196).

Indeed, already Zelikovich-Nadav (1953), who analyzed the language of *Hekhalot Rabbati*, concluded that it was composed in Palestine between the 4th–6th centuries. However, since her work was carried out before the 'Jerusalem School' revolutionized the study of Mishnaic Hebrew and prior to Schäfer's publication of *Hekhalot* manuscripts, this text needs to be investigated anew. A more precise characterization of the language of this literature is currently hampered by the complicated textual evidence. Until an attempt is made to identify linguistically reliable manuscripts (if indeed there are any), any linguistic generalization is necessarily tentative.

The conceptualizations of language in general and Hebrew in particular in *Hekhalot* literature have been studied from a performative perspective (e.g., Janowitz 1989), emphasizing textual recitation as a kind of speech act. Attention has also been given to traditions about the creation of the world out of the Hebrew alphabet and/or God's names (e.g., Weiss 2008). Other studies have often been shaped by *Sefer Yeṣira* (e.g., Dan 1984:16–24; Dan 1996b; Elior 2007:104–133), yet this book is an independent work that does not seem to belong to *Hekhalot* literature proper.

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Hittite Loanwords see → Lexicon: Biblical Hebrew

Holy Tongue

1. Background

This survey traces the history of Hebrew as לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ *ləšōn haq-qōḏeš* 'the holy language' (lit. 'holy tongue') from the Second Temple Period through its development in early rabbinic literature (c. 800 C.E.). The concept under review involves two discrete ideas: 'holiness'

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The Revelation of the Magi
A summary and introduction

by Brent Landau

The *Revelation of the Magi* (*Rev. Magi*) is a pseudepigraphical early Christian writing purporting to be the personal testimony of the Magi (better known as the "Wise Men" or the "Three Kings") on the events surrounding the coming of Christ. It is by far the longest apocryphon devoted to these figures, and contains several unique interpretations of the biblical Magi story (Matt 2:1–12) not seen elsewhere in early Christian biblical interpretation. In *Rev. Magi* there are twelve Magi, or possibly more, in contrast to the traditional enumeration of three. They reside in a semi-mythical land in the Far East called "Shir"; and perhaps most startlingly, the Magi's star is actually Jesus Christ himself, who transforms from star to human and back again throughout the course of the narrative. Although the only complete version of *Rev. Magi* is preserved in Syriac, a much briefer Latin summary of the same basic narrative exists in an ancient commentary on the Gospel of Matthew.

Contents

Rev. Magi is a lengthy text—about 6,500 words in Syriac. The narrative will be summarized briefly here, and a much more detailed summary will follow the introduction. *Rev. Magi* is summarized in this volume instead of translated because it was published recently in English by a trade press in a format designed primarily for a general audience.[1] The chief goals of this entry are twofold. First, it provides a fuller introduction to the text and its interpretative problems than that found in the trade press version. Second, because of the length and complexity of *Rev. Magi,* a detailed summary provides readers with a convenient and accessible overview of the text's content.

According to *Rev. Magi,* the Magi are an ancient order of mystics residing in a land called "Shir," located at the extreme eastern edge of the inhabited world (1–2). They are descendants of Adam's son Seth, who received a prophecy from his father Adam about the coming of a star that would signify the birth of God in human form (2). This prophecy is written down by Seth in the world's first book, and is transmitted through the generations by his offspring, the Magi (3–4). In expectation of the star's coming, every month the Magi immerse themselves in a sacred spring, ascend their country's most sacred mountain (the "Mountain of Victories"), pray to God in silence, and enter a cave (the "Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries") atop the mountain to read Seth's prophecies (5). At last, the star appears to the present generation of Magi (who serve as the story's narrators), descends to the peak of the Magi's mountain, and transforms into a small, luminous human being (11–13). Then, in star form once more, it guides them on a miraculously brief journey from

1. See Landau, *Revelation of the Magi.* For more detailed discussion of the text, consult the author's dissertation, "Sages and the Star-Child."

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Shir to Bethlehem, during which it relieves their fatigue and multiplies their food (16). When they reach Bethlehem, the star enters a cave, transforms into a luminous infant, and commissions the Magi to return to their country to spread his gospel with his other disciples (18–21). After meeting Mary and Joseph (22–25), the Magi return to Shir with the star's assistance (26). They tell the inhabitants of their country about their journey, and explain that the people of Shir also can experience the presence of Christ if they partake of the food that the star multiplied (27). The people eat, immediately have visions of the heavenly and earthly Jesus, and convert to the faith proclaimed by the Magi (28). Finally, the apostle Judas Thomas arrives in the land of Shir, meets the Magi, and baptizes them and commissions them to preach throughout the entire world (29–32).

Manuscripts and Versions

The full text of *Rev. Magi* is preserved only in Syriac, in a single eighth-century manuscript housed in the Vatican Library (Biblioteca apostolica, syr. 162). The manuscript contains a world-chronicle known as the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* (named for the monastery in southeastern Turkey where it was produced, henceforth *Chron. Zuq.*) or, less accurately, as the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahre.*[2] In its recounting of the history of the world from Creation to the late eighth century, *Chron. Zuq.* embeds a number of previously independent documents, such as a legend about Alexander the Great, the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, and *Rev. Magi.* Based on the way that the compiler of *Chron. Zuq.* has handled other literary sources that he incorporated, there is no reason to think that he has altered the text in any substantial respect.[3] A critical edition of Vat. syr. 162 was produced by the Swedish scholar Otto Tullberg and his pupils in 1851.[4] In 1927 J.-B. Chabot edited the text again for the CSCO and translated *Chron. Zuq.* into Latin,[5] though by the time of Chabot's edition the manuscript had become increasingly illegible (the cause of the deterioration remains unclear) and Chabot was forced to rely on Tullberg's readings at several points.[6] The present author is preparing a new edition of the Syriac as part of his CCSA volume on *Rev. Magi;* the new edition utilizes high-resolution digital photographs of the manuscript taken under ultraviolet light, in addition to direct observation of the manuscript at the Vatican Library.

Although the only witness to the complete text of *Rev. Magi* is Vat. syr. 162, a much shorter summary of the same basic narrative appears in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* (henceforth *Op. Imperf.*), a Latin commentary on the Gospel of Matthew that was wrongly attributed to John Chrysostom.[7] Some scholars have regarded the summary

2. See the comments of Amir Harrak, *The Chronicle of Zuqnin, parts III and IV: A.D. 488–775* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1999), 3–4.

3. See Witakowski, *Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius,* 124–36.

4. Tullberg, *Dionysii Telmahharensis Chronici liber primus.*

5. Chabot, *Chronicon anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum.*

6. See Witakowski, *Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius,* 32 n. 20.

7. In Migne, PG 56:637–38. A critical edition of *Op. Imperf.* is apparently underway, though the prefatory volume appeared more than twenty years ago; see van Banning, *Opus Imperfectum.* The portion related to *Rev. Magi* is translated in Landau, *Revelation of the Magi,* 103–5; for a detailed comparison of the *Op. Imperf.* version of the legend with the Syriac form of *Rev. Magi,* see Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 137–74. An introduction to and translation of the summary has been published recently by Alexander Toepel, "The Apocryphon of Seth," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* (ed. Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013), 33–39. For a complete translation of *Op. Imperf.*, see James A. Kellerman, trans., *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew (Opus Imperfectum)* (2 vols.; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2010).

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found in *Op. Imperf.* as a witness to a shorter, more succinct version of *Rev. Magi* that was later expanded into the form contained in the extant Syriac text from *Chron. Zuq.*[8] But there has been no consensus about which portions of the Syriac might be secondary, and the version in *Op. Imperf.* possesses the same basic narrative structure found in the Syriac. Therefore, it seems preferable to regard *Op. Imperf.* as a witness to a form of *Rev. Magi* very similar in content and length to that found in the received Syriac.

Original Language, Date, and Provenance

If we assume, as does the most recent scholarship, that *Op. Imperf.* was written in the fifth century by an Arian theologian who had spent some time in Constantinople, then a Greek version of *Rev. Magi* must have been in existence at this time.[9] Nevertheless, it is highly likely that *Rev. Magi* originally was written in Syriac. Several plays on words only make sense in Syriac,[10] and Judas Thomas was the apostle *par excellence* for Syriac-speaking Christian communities.

The Syriac form of *Rev. Magi* must have existed by some time in the fourth century in order to account for its translation into Greek. However, there are several reasons to suspect an origin earlier than the fourth century.[11] Chief among these is the fact that the concluding episode about Judas Thomas's visit to the Magi's homeland in *Rev. Magi* 29–32 appears to be an interpolation. The narrative abruptly switches from first-person narration by the Magi to third-person narration just prior to Thomas's arrival. The Thomas episode also uses vocabulary not previously seen in the narrative, including Syriac ascetical terminology and the proper name "Jesus Christ," which is steadfastly avoided in the first-person plural narration by the Magi. In addition to these textual markers of interpolation, on a literary level the Judas Thomas episode shows a concern for officially integrating the Magi into the broader Christian church through an apostolic visit and baptism, whereas the earlier part of the text has the Magi receive revelation directly from Jesus Christ despite his never being identified to the Magi by this specific name.

A comparison between the Judas Thomas interpolation and the *Acts of Thomas* helps to determine the date of composition for the interpolation. The Thomas story shows no awareness of the storyline of *Acts Thom.*, particularly its setting in India. Yet the baptismal hymn sung by Thomas in *Rev. Magi* 30:2–9 has strong formal similarities to several of the epicletic prayers in *Acts Thom.*[12] These factors suggest that the Judas Thomas interpolation was composed in an environment where liturgical forms similar to those in *Acts Thom.* were in use, but at a time when traditions about the precise places Thomas evangelized were still somewhat in flux. Therefore, a third-century date for the composition and interpolation of the Judas Thomas episode seems appropriate.[13]

The original form of *Rev. Magi,* as a pseudepigraphon with only the Magi as its pur-

8. See the discussion of the relationship between these witnesses in Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 165–73.

9. See van Banning, *Opus Imperfectum,* v-vi.

10. For example, the play on the words "divide/division" and "doubt" (7:2), both of which have the same root in Syriac.

11. For a broader discussion of the evidence see Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 176–90.

12. This was noted independently of my own research by Sebastian P. Brock, "An Archaic Syriac Prayer over Baptismal Oil," in *Studia Patristica: Papers Presented at the Fourteenth International Congress on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2003* (ed. Francis M. Young, Mark J. Edwards, and Paul M. Parvis; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 3–12.

13. See Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 190–200.

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ported authors, likely was composed in the early third or late second century, based on the affinities of this work with other Christian literature of this time period. Other Christian pseudepigraphic compositions attributed to "pagans," such as the Abgar Correspondence and the earliest forms of the Pilate literature, probably originated in the second or third century as apologetic pieces illustrating the truth of Christianity through the testimony of outsiders.[14] Also, the ability of Christ in *Rev. Magi* both to transform his appearance and to appear in several different forms simultaneously is quite similar to the depictions of the polymorphic Christ found in the *Acts of John* and other second-century texts.[15]

There is one other early Christian writing with which *Rev. Magi* has a substantial amount in common, though the literary relationship between the two writings is far from clear. This is the little-studied but potentially quite ancient infancy gospel incorporated in a branch of the manuscript tradition of *Ps.-Mt.* and in several Irish witnesses.[16] First discussed by M. R. James in 1927[17] and recently christened the *Liber de nativitate salvatoris* ("Book about the Birth of the Savior," abbreviated henceforth as *Birth Sav.*) by Jean-Daniel Kaestli,[18] this work is an expansion and harmonization of Matthew's and Luke's infancy narratives. In Kaestli's opinion, the *Protevangelium of James* may be dependent upon *Birth Sav.*,[19] which would necessitate an origin for *Birth Sav.* sometime in the middle of the second century or earlier. *Birth Sav.*'s account of the Magi's visit shares a number of striking details with the contents of *Rev. Magi*—for example, in both texts only the Magi can see the star, a tradition found nowhere else in early Christian literature.[20] It appears that one text is dependent upon the other, though it is not certain in which direction the relationship goes. We may provisionally say that *Rev. Magi* is more likely to be dependent on *Birth Sav.* than the other way around, because in terms of genre *Birth Sav.* is a harmony and expansion of the canonical infancy narratives, and gospel harmonies appear to be some of the earliest apocryphal compositions that exist,[21] whereas narratives that focus on one specific biblical character or group of characters seem to be a slightly later development in the tradition. Moreover, given that *Birth Sav.* may date from the mid-second century or

14. See Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 214–18. See also Landau, "The Christian Production of 'Pagan' Pseudepigrapha" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Boston, Mass., November 24, 2008).

15. For a comparison of the polymorphic Christ in *Rev. Magi* with that found in the *Acts of John,* see Landau, "Polymorphy, Metamorphosis, or Something Else? The Plasticity of Christ in the Syriac *Revelation of the Magi* and the *Apocryphal Acts of John*" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Chicago, Ill., November 18, 2012).

16. For text and translation of the Irish witnesses and text of the Latin Arundel and Hereford recensions, see Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Martin McNamara, "Latin Infancy Gospels: The J Compilation," in *Apocrypha Hiberniae 1: Evangelia Infantiae* (ed. Martin McNamara et al.; 2 vols.; CCSA 13–14; Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 2:619–880. See also the translation of the Latin Arundel recension in *AG,* 115–55.

17. Montague Rhodes James, *Latin Infancy Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927).

18. See the recent study by Kaestli, "Mapping."

19. See Kaestli, "Recherches nouvelles."

20. The similarities between *Rev. Magi* and *Birth Sav.* were recognized first by Alois Kehl, "Der Stern der Magier: Zu §94 des lateinischen Kindheitsevangeliums der Arundel-Handschrift," *JAC* 18 (1975): 69–80. For more detailed comparisons of these two texts, see Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 202–14, and Kaestli, "Mapping," 528–33.

21. Although they probably contain some traditions independent of the canonical Gospels, the *Gospel of Peter* and at least some of the so-called Jewish-Christian Gospels may profitably be described as gospel harmonies, all of which likely originated in the first half of the second century.

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earlier, dependence upon *Rev. Magi* would mean that *Rev. Magi* is earlier than any other Syriac Christian literature we possess, and this seems inherently unlikely.[22]

In sum, a date for *Rev. Magi* in the late second or early third century appears warranted. There are no compelling reasons to believe that the Syriac text is a translation of an originally Greek work. As the strongest center of early Syriac Christianity, Edessa would be a very likely candidate for this text's place of birth. At any rate, the popularity of Judas Thomas in Edessa would indicate that at least the redaction of the text took place there. Determining the characteristics of the individual or the community that produced this pseudepigraphic composition is quite speculative. Nevertheless, it is tempting to read some elements of *Rev. Magi*'s narrative—in particular, ingesting a particular food that facilitates visionary experience—as the religious experiences of some early Christians who adopted the personae of the Magi in order to give expression to such experiences.[23]

Literary Context

As mentioned above, *Rev. Magi* may have been directly or indirectly dependent on the traditions about the Magi found in *Birth Sav.* Apart from this work, several other definite and potential influences on *Rev. Magi* may be noted. Obviously, it is indebted to the story of the Magi in Matt 2:1–12 above all; yet *Rev. Magi* is not slavish in its devotion to this source text. It shows little interest in the Magi's interaction with the inhabitants of Jerusalem; it never even alludes to King Herod's slaughter of the innocents; and the gifts brought by the Magi to Jesus are neither specified as the familiar gold, frankincense, and myrrh, nor as anything else. As for other NT texts, the Gospel of John is as important as Matt 2:1–12, if not more so. *Rev. Magi* is replete with Johannine terminology, often describing Christ as the "Son" who "was sent" by the "Father," and its depiction of Christ as a star may be influenced by the Fourth Gospel's well-known description of Christ as "the light of the world" (John 8:12; 9:5).

Two geographical locations found in *Rev. Magi* also appear in the Syriac work known as the *Cave of Treasures* (*Cav. Tr.*), dated in its final form to the sixth or seventh century but doubtlessly preserving earlier traditions.[24] In *Rev. Magi,* the "Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries" is where Seth's books of revelation are kept, along with (unspecified) gifts that the Magi are to offer to Christ when the star appears; in *Cav. Tr.*, the cave is the burial place of Adam and his offspring, as well as the repository of the Magi's gifts. Additionally, in *Rev. Magi,* the Magi's sacred mountain is named the "Mountain of Victories" and the "Cave of Treasures" is located at its summit; the "Mountain of Victories" is mentioned also in *Cav. Tr.*, as the residence of Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah (14:1). These commonalities are intriguing; however, *Cav. Tr.*'s narrative about the Magi has very little in common with the content of *Rev. Magi.* In *Cav. Tr.*, the Magi live in Persia, are startled by the unexpected appearance of the star, and consult the "revelations of Nimrod"—not Seth—to understand the meaning of the star (45:11). It is often thought that *Cav. Tr.* had

22. The earliest Syriac Christian writings are probably the *Odes of Solomon* (often dated to the early second century) and Tatian's *Diatessaron* gospel harmony (second half of second century).

23. See my "Under the Influence (of the Magi): Did Hallucinogens Play a Role in the Inspired Composition of the Pseudepigraphic *Revelation of the Magi?*" Forthcoming in *Fakes, Forgeries, and Fictions: Writing Ancient and Modern Christian Apocrypha* (Eugene, Ore: Cascade).

24. See the new introduction to and translation of this work by Alexander Toepel, "The Cave of Treasures," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures* (ed. Richard Bauckham, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013), 531–84.

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access to earlier Christian (and perhaps Jewish) exegetical traditions; in the case of the Magi traditions it is probable that both works had access to similar sources, but that neither work utilized the other. *Rev. Magi* also knows earlier traditions about a revelation or testament of Adam written down by Seth and about the great virtue of Seth and his progeny. It is intriguing that Josephus (*Ant.* 1.70–71) names the land of Seth's descendants as "Seiris," though Josephus apparently envisions this land as being somewhere in Transjordan, whereas *Rev. Magi* is dependent upon a widespread ancient geographical tradition that designated "Shir" or "Seiris" as the land known today as China.[25] In its use of the figure of Seth, *Rev. Magi* does not show any resemblance to the speculation about Seth as a salvific figure that appears in some works from the Nag Hammadi library.[26]

One final alleged antecedent (or group of antecedents) must be mentioned, since it dominated earlier scholarship on *Rev. Magi* and is still cited as authoritative by some recent scholars. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, scholars associated with the "History-of-Religions" School claimed that *Rev. Magi* was a product of indigenous Iranian religious thought.[27] Most notably, it was held that the appearance of Christ to the Magi atop the Mountain of Victories was a lightly Christianized version of an Iranian legend about the coming of the Saoshyant (a Zoroastrian savior figure) or the birth of the god Mithras.[28] Even scholars who were critical of the most thoroughgoing forms of this "Iranian thesis" have conceded that *Rev. Magi* has some Iranian elements.[29] As alluring as it may be to regard *Rev. Magi* as a window into the beginnings of Christianity in Iran and pre-Christian Iranian religion, the alleged parallels between *Rev. Magi* and Iranian religion are indeed quite meager and rely heavily on inference. It is important to note also that the genealogical approach to religious thought espoused by the "History-of-Religions" School, wherein all religions are merely replicating the ideas of earlier, primitive religions in disguised form, has largely fallen out of favor among scholars because it posits a very simplistic view of interaction between religious systems. Finally, it must be kept in mind that the scholars who put forth the most detailed versions of this thesis wrote in the 1950s and 1960s, when there was an obsession with establishing Iran as the cradle of Jewish, Christian, and gnostic thought—a notion few scholars today accept.[30] Thus, there is little need to resort to more exotic influences than earlier Christian and Jewish texts and traditions in order to explain the religious worldview found in *Rev. Magi.*

Literary and Theological Importance

Although *Rev. Magi* was virtually unknown and/or ignored by specialists in early Christian apocryphal literature until quite recently, the text contains several distinctive and intriguing elements. First, and most obviously, it is by far the longest and most detailed apocryphon relating to the enigmatic figures of the Magi to have survived from antiq-

25. See Reinink, "Das Land 'Seiris.'"

26. For contextualization of *Rev. Magi* among other traditions about Seth, see Albertus F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 48–60.

27. See the (favorable) overview of this scholarship by Hultgard, "Magi and the Star."

28. The most famous and committed proponent of this viewpoint was the Swedish scholar Geo Widengren. For the fullest exposition of Widengren's thesis, see his *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit* (Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960), 62–86.

29. See the evaluation of Mary Boyce and Frantz Grenet, *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (vol. 3 of *A History of Zoroastrianism;* Leiden: Brill, 1991), 449–53.

30. See the criticisms of these tendencies of the "History of Religions" School in Karen L. King, *What Is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 71–109.

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uity. The Magi do make appearances in the *Protevangelium of James* and other infancy gospels,[31] and there are several shorter compositions in which the Magi play a major role.[32] Yet *Rev. Magi* tells the story of Christ and, indeed, the entire history of salvation, from the perspective of the Magi themselves with a level of detail found nowhere else.

Second, the text surprisingly places the Magi in the legendary far-eastern land of Shir, ignoring the most popular homelands imagined for the Magi by other early Christian commentators: Persia, Babylon, and Arabia. In a number of ancient sources, the land of Shir seems to be roughly equivalent to China, and its inhabitants are said to possess extraordinary virtues and abilities.[33] No other ancient Christian writing locates the Magi in this land,[34] and the author of *Rev. Magi* presumably intended to appropriate for the figures of the Magi the sorts of qualities elsewhere ascribed to the inhabitants of China.

Third, the text is strongly invested in the notion of a polymorphic Christ, which, as mentioned above, demonstrates an affinity with writings of the second and third centuries.[35] *Rev. Magi* contains several instances of Christ appearing simultaneously to people in a multiplicity of forms (see chaps. 14 and 28), but the most distinctive instance of Christ's shape-shifting is his transformation from a star into human form and back again during the narrative.[36] Although there was a great deal of debate in ancient Christian circles about what the mysterious "Star of Bethlehem" was,[37] *Rev. Magi* is the only known writing to claim that this star was Jesus in a celestial, pre-incarnational form. The precise background for the idea of Jesus being a star still remains unclear, though it is certainly possible that the well-known statement of Christ that he is "the light of the world" in John 8:12 and 9:5 has played a role. In any case, *Rev. Magi* suggests in 13:1–2 that it is actually Christ's luminous appearance as a star that is closest to his true form, with his human form merely being an accommodation for the purposes of fragile human beings. Beyond these instances of polymorphy or metamorphosis, it is also notable that *Rev. Magi* depicts Christ as being able to appear in two places simultaneously—both with the Magi in Shir and in Bethlehem (13:9, see also 23:2).

These extraordinary bodily properties of Christ are relevant also for the fourth and

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31. See *Prot. Jas.* 21, *(Arm.) Gos. Inf.* 10–11 (see n. 39 below), *(Arab.) Gos. Inf. 7*, and *Birth Sav.* (see the discussion above).

32. For other substantial (but still significantly shorter than *Rev. Magi*) compositions featuring the Magi, see the *Legend of Aphroditianus* elsewhere in this volume, and Pseudo-Eusebius's *On the Star* in William Wright, "Eusebius of Caesarea on the Star," *Journal of Sacred Literature* 9 (1866): 117–36 (Syriac text); 10 (1866): 150–64 (English translation).

33. See Reinink, "Das Land 'Seiris.'" Attributing such exalted status to peoples on the edges of the civilized world was a common trope in Greek and Roman literature; see James S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

34. Though some later Syriac Christian texts, probably under the influence of *Rev. Magi,* place the apostle Thomas's missionary work in China. See Jürgen Tubach, "Der Apostel Thomas in China: Die Herkunft einer Tradition," *ZKG* 108 (1997): 58–74.

35. The best discussion of this phenomenon is Paul Foster, "Polymorphic Christology: Its Origins and Development in Early Christianity," *JTS* 58 (2007): 66–99; see also Landau, "Polymorphy."

36. *Rev. Magi* is also one of the only Christian texts to depict Jesus appearing in nonhuman form (though cf. the strange statement in 1 Cor 10:4 that "the rock was Christ").

37. See the discussions in Dale C. Allison, "The Magi's Angel (2:2, 9–10)," in his *Studies in Matthew: Interpretations Past and Present* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2005), 17–41, and Nicola F. Denzey, "A New Star on the Horizon: Astral Christologies and Stellar Debates in Early Christian Discourse," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (ed. Scott B. Noegel, Joel T. Walker, and Brandon M. Wheeler; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 207–21.

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final distinctive feature of *Rev. Magi:* the text's surprisingly tolerant attitude toward religious diversity. Since Christ can appear to anyone, in any place, at any time, *Rev. Magi* holds him to be the source of most—if not all—of humanity's religious systems. In an extremely important passage, Christ (who is not named as such until the redactional Judas Thomas ending) tells the Magi:

> And I am everywhere, because I am a ray of light whose light has shone in this world from the majesty of my Father, who has sent me to fulfill everything that was spoken about me in the entire world and in every land by unspeakable mysteries, and to accomplish the commandment of my glorious Father, who by the prophets preached about me to the contentious house, in the same way as for you, as befits your faith, it was revealed to you about me. (13:10)

According to this statement, Christ has been spoken of throughout the entire world, not just through Israel's prophets and the Magi's books of revelation (see also the Magi's similar statements at 17:5 and 23:4). This belief is quite unusual in early Christian literature, as most early Christian writers regarded the gods of other peoples as either imaginary or demonic. This more tolerant attitude perhaps has its origins in the fact that Syriac Christians had far more exposure to well-established religious traditions of Central and Southeast Asia—Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, most notably—than did their Christian counterparts within the Roman Empire. As a consequence of this inclusive attitude regarding religious diversity, the Magi in *Rev. Magi* become followers of Christ despite never actually knowing him *by* the name "Jesus Christ"—a situation that the more theologically conservative redactor of the text who added the concluding Judas Thomas episode sought to remedy.[38]

Later Influence

There are two distinct trajectories for the reception history of *Rev. Magi:* the use of the original Syriac form of the text in Eastern Christian communities, and the use of *Rev. Magi*'s narrative as preserved in *Op. Imperf.* in medieval Europe. The former trajectory is somewhat sparse, while the latter is surprisingly rich. We will examine each trajectory in turn.

The earliest Eastern Christian text to show awareness of the Syriac *Rev. Magi* is not in Syriac; rather, it is the sixth-century *Armenian Infancy Gospel,* which is based upon a lost Syriac original. The gospel references *Rev. Magi*'s notion that the Magi are in possession of an ancient prophetic writing by Seth; in fact, they bring this writing with them to present it to Jesus (*[Arm.] Gos. Inf.* 10–11 and 22–23).[39] In the late eighth century, about the same time as *Chron. Zuq.* was written, the Syriac writer Theodore bar Konai mentions that the Magi arrived in Jerusalem "in the month of flowers" (i.e., April), and that they laid their crowns at his feet.[40] Both of these elements also appear in *Rev. Magi* (at 17:1 and

38. For more detailed analysis of *Rev. Magi*'s understanding of divine revelation, see Landau, "'One Drop of Salvation"; and Landau, "Sages and the Star-Child," 244–66.

39. See the translation by Abraham Terian, *The Armenian Gospel of the Infancy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 51–52.

40. Theodore bar Konai, *Book of Scholia, 7.17.* For a French translation of the passage, see Theodore bar Koni, *Livre des Scholies (recension de Séert) II. Mimrè VI-XI* (trans. Robert Hespel and René Draguet; CSCO 432, Syr. 188; Leuven: Peeters, 1982), 51.

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18:5, respectively), and the tradition about Jesus being born during the month of April is quite unusual, so it is highly probable that Theodore was familiar with *Rev. Magi.* Because Theodore lived in Ira and *Chron. Zuq.* was compiled in southeastern Turkey, this suggests that *Rev. Magi* had been disseminated rather widely by the end of the eighth century.

In the thirteenth century, Solomon, the bishop of Basra, wrote a compendium of biblical and extrabiblical lore known as the *Book of the Bee,* which demonstrates some knowledge of *Rev. Magi.* Solomon mentions that some Christians say that the gifts brought by the Magi were deposited in the Cave of Treasures by Adam, and that he commanded his son Seth to hand them down through the generations (*Bk. Bee* 39; cf. *Rev. Magi* 4:7). Solomon also states that some say that it was at the time of Seth that writing was invented (*Bk. Bee* 18), and *Rev. Magi* 3:3 claims that Seth wrote the first book in the history of the world. Both of these traditions, Solomon says, are not accepted by the church. This suggests that Solomon viewed *Rev. Magi* as heterodox in some respects, but he does not elaborate further.[41]

It is also worth mentioning that the list of the names of the twelve Magi and their fathers in *Rev. Magi* 2:3 is found in works by a number of other Syriac writers. However, the names from this list are never referenced again in the narrative of *Rev. Magi,* and they are so widespread throughout Syriac literature that they are likely not to have originated in *Rev. Magi,* but instead were added to the text at some point after its creation.[42] Indeed, there are hints scattered throughout *Rev. Magi* that the Magi constituted a group much larger than twelve: the text uses the Syriac term *mashritha* to describe them on several occasions, a word found in the Syriac NT to translate the Greek *parembolē,* used almost exclusively for large assemblies of people (e.g., Acts 21:34; Heb 11:34; 13:11).

Although there are some clear indications that *Rev. Magi* remained known in Syriac Christian communities for several centuries after its inclusion in *Chron. Zuq.*, the references to it are rather meager overall. In contrast, *Op. Imperf.*'s summary *of Rev. Magi*'s narrative was extremely influential for understandings of the Magi in medieval Europe. *Op. Imperf.* was attributed, incorrectly, to John Chrysostom, and thus it was copied along with his other works. Its story about the Magi was incorporated into Jacob of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (the "Golden Legend"), an extremely popular thirteenth-century compendium of saints' lives.[43] In the fourteenth century, the German priest John of Hildesheim used *Op. Imperf.*'s narrative (along with other sources) in the composition of his enormously popular *Historia Trium Regum* ("History of the Three Kings"), which stands as the most detailed medieval account of the Magi.[44] The Magi legend was referenced also by Thomas Aquinas, Peter Abelard, and other medieval theologians.[45]

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41. For an English translation of the relevant passages see Solomon of Basra, *The Book of the Bee* (trans. Ernest A. W. Budge; Oxford: Clarendon, 1886), 28 and 85.

42. See the helpful tables of the names of the Magi in Syriac sources in Witakowski, "Magi in Syriac Tradition," 839–43.

43. For an English translation of the material in the *Golden Legend* pertaining to the Magi, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints* (trans. William G. Ryan; 2 vols.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 1:40, 78–84.

44. The most accessible version of the *Historia Trium Regum* is a Middle English recension; see Frank Schaer, *The Three Kings of Cologne: Edited from London, Lambeth Palace MS 491* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2000).

45. See Thomas Aquinas, *ST* III, Q. 36, Art. 5, ad. 4, and Peter Abelard, *Sermo IV in Epiphania Domini.* For the latter, see Paola de Santis, *I sermoni di Abelardo per monache del Paracleto* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 198–99.

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Artistic representations of *Rev. Magi*'s narrative exist as well: Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* ("Mirror of the Salvation of Humankind") contains a drawing of the Magi bowing before a star containing a small child, an unmistakable reference to *Rev. Magi*'s understanding of the Magi's star as Christ himself.[46] Moreover, two fifteenth-century paintings by the Flemish artist Rogier van der Weyden and his school show the Magi looking in awe at the star-child hovering over a mountain; one of these shows the Magi bathing in their sacred spring.[47] It is also remarkable that the *Rev. Magi* traditions were known by some of the early explorers of the Americas: one Spanish Augustinian was so impressed by the similarities between Incan religious practices and Christianity that he surmised that the Incans were the descendants of those evangelized by the Magi and the apostle Thomas.[48] Thus, the narrative of *Rev. Magi* became a valuable resource during the Age of Exploration for fitting the indigenous cultures of the Americas into the traditional Christian schematization of the world.

About the Summary

Because *Rev. Magi* is easily accessible in English through the present author's HarperCollins translation and his dissertation, it is unnecessary to reproduce that translation here. Instead, what follows is a detailed summary of the text (with explanatory footnotes for difficult passages) that will help readers to become aware of the specific content of *Rev. Magi* without having to read a translation of a Syriac text that is not infrequently verbose, repetitive, and stylistically awkward.

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46. See the plate in Landau, *Revelation of the Magi,* 40–41; two other versions of this image are found in Hugo Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Seemann, 1908), 2:211, 213.

47. See the plates in Landau, *Revelation of the Magi,* ii, 51. These paintings today reside, respectively, in the Gemäldegallerie in Berlin and the Cloisters Museum in New York. For discussion of these artistic witnesses to the Magi narrative of *Op. Imperf.*, see Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, "The Wise Men from the East in the Western Tradition," in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce* (ed. Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin and Pierre Lecoq; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 1:149–57.

48. See the discussion of the Spanish search for the Magi and the apostle Thomas in Trexler, *Journey of the Magi,* 135–52.

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The Revelation of the Magi (Summary)

Introduction (chap. 1)
The compiler of *Chron. Zuq.* has provided his own descriptive title for the work that follows: "About the revelation of the Magi, and about their coming to Jerusalem, and about the gifts that they brought to Christ" (1:1). The text presents itself as the personal testimony of the Magi; these Magi are called by that name because they pray in silence.[a] In their silent prayer, they glorify the Father of Heavenly Majesty, who is above all human thought. The only way in which the lower and upper worlds can speak about him is if the Father wills to reveal himself to them by means of a gift.

The Magi: their names and lineage (chap. 2)
The connection of the name "magi" to their practice of silent prayer is restated and, once again, the object of their prayer is the Father of Heavenly Majesty. The text supplies the names of the twelve current Magi and the names of their fathers. The Magi are described as wise men and kings who live in the land of Shir, which is on the eastern edge of the inhabited world, at the shore of the great Ocean, east of the land of Nod, in which Adam dwelt. The Magi have handed down from generation to generation books of laws and commandments, which go back to Seth, who received these revelations from his father Adam.

The transmission of the Magi's mysteries (chap. 3)
Seth listened to the instructions of Adam with a virtuous heart, and he wrote them down in a book, the first book ever written. Seth gave the book to his descendants, and his descendants passed it down to Noah, who took the books (hereafter described in the plural) with him in the Ark during the Flood, and then passed it down to his descendants. The books continued to be handed down by Seth's progeny until the present generation of Magi—who narrate this writing—receive them from their fathers. In accordance with the teachings of their fathers, the present Magi pray in silence, bowing their knees and stretching their hands forth toward the heavens.

The prophecy of the star (chap. 4)
Seth's books are placed in a cave, known as the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, that is atop the Mountain of Victories, located in the eastern part of the land of Shir. Re-

a. Although the text suggests that there is an etymological relationship between the words "magi," "silence," and/or "prayer" in the Magi's language, there is no obvious resemblance between these words in any of the relevant ancient languages. Since the Magi are said to live in a semi-mythical country, this alleged wordplay may simply be an exoticizing device intended to provide realism for the narrative.

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citing the prophecy that they received from their own fathers, the fathers of the present generation of Magi instruct them to wait for a star that will appear over the Mountain of Victories, then descend to the mountain, and sit upon a pillar of light in the Cave of Treasures. The Magi are instructed also to tell their own sons about this coming star, whose great light will obscure the sun, moon, and stars. The star is a "mystery" of the Son, a being who is the visible counterpart of the Father of Heavenly Majesty. When the Magi see this star, they are to take the gifts deposited in the Cave of Treasures and follow where the star leads. They will see God appearing in the lowly human form of an infant, and they shall offer their gifts to the child and worship him. The Magi, in turn, will receive salvation from the child. Finally, their fathers exhort the present Magi that if the star does not come during their lifetime, they are to instruct their sons to pass along the prophecy to future generations until the prophecy is fulfilled.

The Magi's monthly ritual (chap. 5)

The Magi come together at the Mountain of Victories from their own dwelling places every month. On the twenty-fifth day of each month, they purify themselves in a spring on the foothills of the mountain. The "Spring of Purification" has seven diverse trees around it, and the smell of sweet spices effuses from the beautiful mountain. On the first day of the month, the Magi climb to the top of the mountain and stand before the Cave of Treasures, bowing their knees and stretching forth their hands in silent prayer. On the third day of the month, they enter the cave, see the gifts that have been prepared for the star's coming, and recite from Seth's books of revelation. Then they descend from the mountain and instruct their families and anyone else who wishes to learn. When any of the Magi die, one of his sons or other relatives is raised up in his place. The Magi present their teachings to the people of Shir, though some do not wish to learn from the Magi because of their practice of silent prayer.[a]

An excerpt from Seth's books of revelation about Adam's fall (chaps. 6–10)

The narration about the Magi, their prophecy, and their ritual is interrupted by an extended quotation from Seth's books of revelation, mainly consisting of a speech of Adam to Seth about the circumstances of his fall, a prediction of apostasy in the end times, and an exhortation to Seth to seek after righteousness.[b] The speech of Adam is prefaced by the explanation that Adam was able to prophesy about the coming star because the same star hovered over the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden. When Adam sinned, the star disappeared from his sight and he was expelled from Eden. Adam tells Seth that he was deceived by Eve, and that Seth should take care not to let himself be deceived by her as well. Despite Eve's complicity in his downfall, Adam admits that he did not sufficiently recognize how exalted he was above all of God's other creations. Adam states that God was

a. The passage from 5:11 that apparently describes the opponents of the Magi is confusing and may be corrupt, since it seems to lack an apodosis: "And those who did not wish to learn and distanced themselves from help because they saw our quiet way of life, that we prayed in silence, and we said our mysteries to them with honor."

b. Although this "excerpt" probably contains some earlier Jewish traditions, there is no evidence that chapters 6–10 had a prior written existence independent of *Rev. Magi.* That said, its subject matter pertains very little to the narrative of *Rev. Magi.* From a narratological point of view, however, these chapters do serve the function of giving the impression of some passage of time between the first time that the present generation of Magi has performed their monthly ritual (in chap. 5) and the occasion upon which the star appears to them (in chap. 11).

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indeed merciful in his punishment, since he did not take away from Adam the authority he possessed over all creation. In contrast, the snake was treated harshly by God, losing both its ability to speak and its feet.

Adam then predicts that the generations that come forth from him will be the venerable possessors of the ritual practices connected with the worship of the Father of Heavenly Majesty. Despite their great honor, however, they will rebel against the Father at the end of time.[a] They shall blaspheme the Father, make idols, worship the sun and moon, and desire the pleasures of the world. Adam concludes his instructions to Seth by reiterating his own failure to understand the Father's ways, and encourages Seth and his generations to seek mercy from the Father when they stray. Seth writes down these instructions and other commandments of Adam in the books, which are then placed in the Cave of Treasures, and the reading of these books continues throughout the ages until the present generation of Magi.

The star's appearance to the Magi (chap. 11)

After this "flashback" to the instruction of Seth by Adam, *Rev. Magi* then resumes its narrative, with the present generation of Magi revealing that it was in their time that the star and its wondrous visions finally appeared. As is their custom, the Magi come together to wash in the Spring of Purification, but a pillar of light suddenly appears and hovers over the spring, terrifying the Magi. The star[b] that the Magi see is unspeakably bright, far brighter than the sun, which becomes as faint as the daytime moon in the star's presence. Yet, it is only the Magi themselves who are able to see this star, since they alone are deemed worthy by the Father to hand down the prophecy through the generations.

The star descends to the Mountain of Victories (chap. 12)

The Magi finish bathing in their spring, climb the Mountain of Victories, and find the pillar of light standing in front of the Cave of Treasures. In their usual way, they kneel before the cave and pray in silence, praising God for the wonders they are seeing. Then, the heavens are opened, and two glorious men carry the star down from heaven and place it upon the pillar, filling the mountain with ineffable light. A small hand emerges from the pillar and star to comfort the terrified Magi. The star enters the cave, and a friendly voice bids the Magi to enter as well.

Epiphany in the Cave of Treasures (chap. 13)

The star gradually transforms itself into a small, humble human being, and says to the astonished Magi, "Peace to you." The being then begins a lengthy discourse about the form he has taken, what the Magi are to do, and what his mission upon the earth is. The being has taken the form of a humble human because it is impossible for humanity to see the true glory of the Son of the Father. He has humbled himself in this form and will even die upon a cross in order to bring salvation to humanity. The being instructs the Magi to

a. Presumably, Adam refers here to the Magi, but this is never made explicit. The apparent prediction of the Magi's apostasy is found only here in *Rev. Magi*. It may be a coded reference to schisms in the community in which *Rev. Magi* was produced.

b. The Magi begin to describe the star in 11:5, but the star does not actually seem to appear in the narrative until 12:3, when it is carried down from heaven by two glorious men. There is a lacuna of one word in 11:3 before the phrase "in the form of an ineffable pillar of light," but "star" is probably not the missing word, since *Rev. Magi* seems to regard the star and the pillar of light as separate entities.

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take the treasures deposited in the cave and to bring them in worship to the place[a] where the being will be born in human form. Indeed, even as the being is speaking now with the Magi atop the Mountain of Victories, he is also present in the place where he will be born and in the presence of the Father. The being is actually everywhere in the entire world, because he is a ray of light from the Father of Majesty. The Father has sent him in order to fulfill everything spoken about him throughout the entire world, which includes both the prophets of Israel and the Magi's own books of revelation. The being will be a guide for the Magi on their miraculous journey to Jerusalem, where their prophecies will be fulfilled at last. The humble and frail human form that the being takes will cause the people of the world to do evil to him, but this will lead both to their own destruction and to the salvation that the Father intended.

The Magi realize Christ's polymorphy (chap. 14)

After the being has said these things to the Magi, they exit the cave with the treasures that were set aside for the coming of the star and begin to descend the mountain, rejoicing at all they have seen and heard. As they speak to one another about the revelations of the star, they realize that they each saw something different in the cave. One of the Magi saw a light with many images; another, an infant with indescribable forms; another, a youth with an otherworldly form; another, an ugly and humble human being; another, a cross and a person of light upon it, taking away the sins of the world; another saw the being powerfully descend into Sheol and receive worship from the dead; another, his ascension (from Sheol?) and his opening of the graves; and another, his ascension into heaven, accompanied by throngs of praising angels. The Magi rejoice greatly at the sharing of these numerous visions and the fact that they, among all the righteous people of the earth, were deemed worthy to see them.

The Father speaks to the Magi (chap. 15)

As the Magi rejoice, they suddenly hear a voice from the heavens that reveals itself eventually to be that of the Father himself. In a lengthy speech, the Father describes the manifold attributes of the Son.[b] He tells the Magi that everything they have just experienced is merely "one drop of salvation from the house of majesty" (15:1), a tiny fraction of the Son's activities and attributes. The Son is the only being who knows the Father, and it is the Son himself who created everything in the heavenly and earthly worlds. He reveals the Father's secrets to his believers and he becomes a human being in order to destroy death and grant eternal life. He is the "bread of life," the "shepherd of truth," and the "great priest who by his blood absolves the worlds" (15:9). In spite of the Son's multiplicity of forms, he is nevertheless one with the Father.

The miraculous journey (chap. 16)

As the Father speaks to the Magi, the star is present with them also. The entire company[c] gathers its provisions for the lengthy journey and the star's gifts, and sets out with the star

a. Two lacunae in 13:8 make it unclear whether or not the being specifically states the location of his birth (which is, of course, Bethlehem).

b. The detailed and extravagant speech of the Father is difficult to summarize succinctly; I have only mentioned some of its most noteworthy elements here.

c. In 16:2 we have the first of several instances of the Syriac term *mashritha* ("encampment") used to describe the Magi. Since this term is used in the Syriac versions of the NT to describe large groups of

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as their guide. In the extraordinary journey that follows, the Magi walk day and night in the light of the star, having no need of the sun or the moon. Despite their continuous travel, the Magi miraculously experience no fatigue. The star also provides a sort of dwelling-place for them to rest on the journey.[a] Moreover, the Magi's provisions increase whenever the star's light shines upon them. Mountains and other rugged terrain are made level for the Magi by the star, they cross rivers by foot, and trample beasts and snakes underfoot. The star appears to the Magi in a multiplicity of forms throughout the journey, a journey that seems incredibly swift to the Magi despite the great distances.

The Magi in Jerusalem (chap. 17)

After a journey of unspecified duration, the Magi arrive in Jerusalem in the month of April. The star leads them into the city, but its inhabitants apparently cannot see the star and mistakenly regard these Magi as practicing "Magianism."[b] The Magi inform the Jerusalemites about their prophecy and what they have seen, and Herod calls the "elders of the city" and asks where the Messiah and savior of the world will be born. As soon as the elders reveal that it will be in Bethlehem, the Magi see their star (again?), rejoice greatly, and set forth to Bethlehem. The Magi remark that the foolish scribes fail to believe what is written in their own sacred writings. They also state that Herod had asked them to return to tell him where the Messiah is found, but that the star told them not to obey him.[c]

Arrival in Bethlehem (chap. 18)

When the Magi enter Bethlehem, they see a cave just like the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries in their own country. As with the star's initial epiphany, the pillar of light descends and stands in front of the cave, and the star with its accompanying angels descends upon the pillar. The star, angels, and pillar enter the cave, and a voice bids the Magi to enter. The Magi enter, place their crowns under the child's feet, kneel and worship before him, and offer their treasures to him.

Epiphany in the Bethlehem cave (chap. 19)

As with the epiphany in the Cave of Treasures, here again the luminous infant[d] gives a lengthy discourse to the Magi. He declares that their ancient mysteries have now been completely fulfilled with his bringing of them from Shir to Bethlehem. He tells them that

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people, it may be that the earliest form of *Rev. Magi* envisioned the Magi as a group much larger than the list of twelve found in 2:3.

a. The author of *Rev. Magi* apparently does not regard the star's removal of the Magi's fatigue and its providing of a resting place for them as being contradictory.

b. The text at 17:2 reads: " 'On account of what cause have you come here? Perhaps because of the mysteries of your Magianism?' because they saw us looking up at heaven, and worshiping our sign, and praying to our guide, because they did not understand our mysteries, and they reckoned us as Magi." Obviously this is a quite difficult passage, since it implies that the central protagonists of the narrative are somehow *not* Magi. Presumably *Rev. Magi* is attempting to make a distinction between the Magi who are Seth's descendants from the land of Shir and more "common" magi who are simply astrologers and/or magicians.

c. There is no reference here or elsewhere in *Rev. Magi* to the "slaughter of the innocents" (Matt 2:16–18). The text simply states that Herod "was not worthy for the worship of the light that was born, because he was a dwelling of error . . ." (17:9). Whereas Matthew's Gospel is more concerned with the consequences that the arrival of the Magi and their star produce for the inhabitants of Judea, *Rev. Magi* is interested instead in the identity of the Magi and their star; so, its retelling of this part of the Matthean narrative seems almost perfunctory.

d. Unlike in chapter 13, there is no explicit narration here of the star's transformation into human form.

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they will be his witnesses in the East, along with his disciples. The being will return to his Father when he has completed everything commanded by the Father, yet he is never actually separated from him. The being tells the Magi that when they see the sun darkened during the daytime, a great earthquake, and the dead rising from their graves, they will know that the end of the ages has come and they will see him ascending into the heavens.[a]

Angels praise Christ (chap. 20)

As the star-child speaks with the Magi, the cave shines so much that it becomes like some other world. Suddenly, the voices of many (apparently invisible angelic) beings offer praises to him. They praise his creation of the worlds, his complete unity with the Father, and the salvation that he provides.

The commissioning of the Magi (chap. 21)

At the sound of these angelic praises, the Magi fall to the ground terrified. The star-child puts his hand upon them forcefully and comforts them. He tells them that as powerful as these angelic beings might seem to the Magi due to their human frailty, they are insignificant to him. There are, in fact, other things that even the angels are incapable of hearing or speaking about. Because the Magi's ancient mysteries have been completed, the star-child now dismisses them to return to their own land. They will be witnesses to him along with his disciples, and once he has ascended to heaven, he will send disciples to them. The Father and the Son are completely inseparable.[b] The Son has been sent to redeem the world from Adam's sin, and will give eternal life to the Magi through water and the giving of the Holy Spirit. Unseen voices praise the Son once more.

The Magi meet Mary and Joseph (chap. 22)

The Magi go forth from the cave to begin the return journey to their homeland. Joseph and Mary, who were appointed to be the parents of the star-child, go out with the Magi.[c] They see the light traveling along with the Magi, the same light that had been born in their house, and so Mary and Joseph are upset by the prospect that the Magi are taking their child away from them.

The Magi's revelation to Mary (chap. 23)

The Magi praise Mary for being chosen to give birth to the Son in human form. They tell her that her child is still inside of her[d] and is in her house, even though he is also present with the Magi. This great gift does not belong to Mary alone, but is for the salvation of all the heavenly and earthly realms. The Magi urge her to look up and see that he is present

a. The events predicted by the star-child seem to be the Passion, particularly its Matthean version with the earthquake and the raising of the saints (cf. Matt 27:51–53). It is curious, however, that this prediction never actually comes to pass in the form of *Rev. Magi* that we possess. If the Judas Thomas episode is indeed an interpolation, it is possible that the fulfillment of this prediction did actually take place in the narrative, but was obliterated when the Judas Thomas redactional material was added.

b. Much of the content of this speech is slightly rephrased from the speech of the star-child in chapter 19 (and to some degree, the speeches in chaps. 13 and 15).

c. The appearance of Mary and Joseph is quite abrupt: were they in the cave with the Magi, or were they simply in the general vicinity?

d. It is surprising that the text claims that the child is still inside of Mary, since the birth would seem to have already taken place. But this is best interpreted as another case of *Rev. Magi*'s strong insistence on Christ's omnipresence throughout the entire world.

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throughout the entire creation, and he appears in every land, since he has been sent for the redemption of all human beings.

Mary speaks to Christ (chap. 24)
After the Magi explain to Mary and Joseph the true nature of their child, the couple returns to their house.[a] They find their luminous child laughing and speaking about his great mysteries. Mary and Joseph worship him, and Mary praises the child who has been given to her because of her obedience. She explains to the child that she had supposed that he was going with the Magi because of the gifts that they had offered him.

Christ blesses Mary (chap. 25)
The child praises Mary for being worthy to conceive the one who would bring salvation into the world; her deed will bestow blessing and remembrance upon her in this world, and reward in the world to come. She has redeemed Eve and her offspring, and all the worlds have peace because of her. He is now turning to his believers throughout the world, for whom he will fulfill everything promised by the Father.

The return journey home (chap. 26)
During the journey back to Shir, the star again appears to the Magi, and they worship it. The star tells the Magi that he is everywhere, and that he is even greater than the sun. When the time comes to eat, the Magi see that their provisions are now even more full than when they departed from their homeland, a miracle that causes them fear and awe. As they eat their provisions, the visions and wonders that they see in the presence of their guide do not resemble one another.[b]

The Magi address the people of Shir (chap. 27)
The Magi complete their journey back to Shir under the guidance of the star, and when they arrive at the border of their land, their families and many other inhabitants of the land come to greet them and marvel at their health despite the length of their journey. The Magi narrate for the people the journey that they undertook. They mention the visions of the star that accompanied them, their visit to Jerusalem, and the epiphany of the star-child at Bethlehem in the cave that resembled the Cave of Treasures. When they began the journey back to their homeland, the Magi say, they found their provisions to be more full than what they initially had brought, and now these overflowing bags of provisions are sitting before the people of Shir. The Magi invite the people to partake of these provisions, because when they eat them, they too will be able to experience the visions and revelations that the Magi have seen.

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a. In chapters 24 and 25, which take place in the house of Mary and Joseph, there is no indication that the Magi are present. If they are not, this would be the only interruption in the first-person narrative perspective of the Magi between the formal commencement of first-person narration in 3:6 (or possibly 2:6) and the clear termination of first-person narration in 28:4, just prior to the beginning of the Judas Thomas material.

b. This statement that the Magi have diverse visions is similar to what was stated about the epiphany in the Cave of Treasures in chapter 14. However, the fact that these visions take place for the Magi in the context of eating their provisions foreshadows the visions of the inhabitants of Shir in chapter 28, which are clearly connected with the people's eating of the same food (though the Magi's visions here are not expressly said to be the result of the eating of the provisions).

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The people eat the Magi's food (chap. 28)

Some of the people eat from the Magi's provisions, and as soon as they do, they begin rejoicing because of the visions that they immediately see. One of the people sees a great light unlike anything in the world; another sees God giving birth to himself; another, a star of light that darkens the sun; another, a man uglier than any other human being, saving the world through his blood and his appearance; another, a lamb hanging upon a tree of life, redeeming the world through his blood; and another, a pillar of light diving down inside the earth, with the dead rising and worshiping it. The ones who eat of the provisions see many other things beyond these, and the people of the entire land come to hear the revelations of the Magi.[a] Day by day, the revelations increase, all sorts of miracles are performed by the Magi, and the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ grows in the land of Shir.

Judas Thomas arrives in Shir (chap. 29)

The faith increases even more when the apostle Judas Thomas arrives in the land, sent there by the Lord. When the Magi hear of his arrival, which the star-child had promised to them, they go to meet him. Thomas[b] rejoices when they come, and after they tell him about the journey that they underwent, he recognizes "that the gift of our Lord had overflowed upon them" (29:4). He tells them, in turn, about his own experiences with Christ during the Lord's earthly ministry, including his ever-changing appearances. When the Magi hear this, they glorify God and ask Thomas to give them "the seal of our Lord," baptism (29:5).

The hymn of Judas Thomas (chap. 30)

Early on Sunday, while still night, Thomas takes the Magi to a spring of water. He takes oil and sings a hymn over it. He praises Christ for the gift of the oil, which gives salvation and takes away darkness, and he praises the oil, which hovers over the water as the Holy Spirit did. Using a number of epithets for Christ, Thomas asks him to be present and come upon the believers for their salvation.

The Magi receive the Eucharist and commission to preach (chap. 31)

After singing this hymn, Thomas baptizes them, and when they come out of the water, a luminous child descends to them from heaven. The Magi fall upon the ground, terrified, and when they stand up, the child has become a glorious young man. He takes a loaf of bread, gives praise, and breaks it, giving it first to Thomas and then to them. The being then ascends into heaven once more. Thomas glorifies the amazing and diverse images in which this being appears, stating that none of the names that he is called is his true name, which only he and the Father know. Thomas thanks the Son for enduring all the suffering on humanity's behalf, despite "being exalted above all sufferings and being a kinsperson of that one who does not suffer" (31:6). The Magi echo Thomas's praise, confessing that the Son's majesty is beyond their ability to describe. As they give thanks and praise, a great

a. At 28:4 the first-person narration definitively ceases, the Magi are spoken about here as if they are new characters not previously introduced into the narrative, and we have the first use of the familiar Christian terminology "our Lord." The text reads: "And there was great joy in the entire land of the East, and the nobles, and the poor, and women, and children from the entire land were gathered together in the love of our Lord before those nobles who were called Magi."

b. The text refers to this individual mostly as "Judas." Because the name "Thomas" is more familiar to many readers, I use that name here instead.

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many are added to the faith day by day. Thomas tells the Magi that they must fulfill the commandment of the Lord to preach the gospel throughout the entire world, just as the other apostles have done.

The preaching of the Magi (chap. 32)

The Magi go out from there, preach about the coming of Jesus Christ, and perform miracles and healings through his name. They preach to everyone, urging all to flee from the "fearsome judgment of fire that will come suddenly to purify the entire earth from error" (32:2). By faith in Jesus Christ, all will be delivered from the fire and shall enter the eternal rest prepared for believers in his kingdom. At the end of the Magi's missionary speech, the compiler of *Chron. Zuq.* adds, "The story about the Magi and their gifts has finished" (32:4).

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MANICHAEISM AND THE *REVELATION OF THE MAGI*:

SYRIAC "CHRISTIANITIES" IN LATE ANTIQUE MESOPOTAMIA

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ABSTRACT:

The recently published Syriac Revelation of the Magi has proven to be a remarkable addition to the corpus of early Christian apocryphal literature. This unique amplification of the traditional Nativity narrative recounts the Magi's encounter with a "star-child" who leads them from their homeland in the far east to the birth of Jesus at Nazareth, where the polymorphic nature of Christ is revealed along with his message of universal salvation. Interestingly, the Revelation of the Magi contains several important points of contact with early Manichaean texts. This paper will examine what those shared motifs might tell us about the common milieu out of which both Manichaeism and the Revelation of the Magi might have emerged.

INTRODUCTION

Over-familiarity with the biblical narrative often obscures the strangeness of the tradition, attested by the *Gospel of Matthew*, that the infant Jesus was visited by a group of Persian priests. Stranger still, if the term *magos* is interpreted as "sorcerer." Either way, the idea that the birth of Jesus was attended by a group of travelling magicians or Zoroastrian clergy is an odd detail to be included in the Christian foundation narrative. Unfortunately, Matthew's account is short on specifics, other than that they were led to Bethlehem from "the east" by some astral event—an equally exotic motif—and that they brought with them some rather impractical gifts. Over time, however, Christian tradition has tried to fill in the blanks. Centuries of commentary and apocryphal mythmaking have transformed the *magoi* of the gospel account into the "Three Wise Men" (or "Kings") prominently featured in nativity scenes and Christmas carols throughout many parts of the Christian world.

In fact, the tradition of the magi developed in two divergent directions. Whereas western Christian tradition saw them fashioned into Balthazar, Melchior, and Gaspar—kings from Arabia, Persia, and India respectively—eastern Christians identified twelve kings from "beyond the land of Nod." One of the "apocryphal"[1] texts that attests to this eastern tradition is the Syriac *Revelation of the Magi*.[2] Although conventionally dated to

[1] While the utility of this term has been contested, it continues to be used (albeit reluctantly) by various scholars as a way to demarcate an important body of early Christian literature. For an extensive discussion see *New Testament Apocrypha: More Canonical Scriptures, Volume I*, ed. Tony Burke and Brent Landau (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), xxii-xxiii.

[2] Brent Landau has done a great service to the field of Early Christian Studies by bringing increased attention to this hitherto practically unknown Syriac text. Landau's Harvard doctoral dissertation, under the supervision of François Bovon, "The Sages and the Star-Child:An Introduction to the Revelation of the Magi, An Ancient Christian Apocryphon" (PhD diss.,

sometime between the late 2nd and early 4th century CE[3] and associated with the city of Edessa,[4] the origins of the *Revelation of the Magi* remain largely obscure. We find it preserved in the 8th-century Syriac *Chronicle of Zuqnin*,[5] as part of a world history.

Harvard University, 2008) contains a re-edited Syriac text along with English translation and contextual commentary. A "popular" translation was published in 2010 by HarperCollins, *Revelation of the Magi: The Lost Tale of the Wise Men's Journey to Bethlehem*, while a summary of the text has appeared in *New Testament Apocrypha: More Canonical Scriptures, Volume I*, 19-38.

[3] The text appears to have undergone several redactional stages, such as the possible later addition of the Judas Thomas epilogue (*New Testament Apocrypha I*, 20-23). A much shorter version of the story is found in a 5th-century Latin commentary on Matthew, known as the *Opus Imperfectum*. While some scholars, such as Duchesne-Guillemin, believed that both works drew on a common source ("Die Magier in Bethlehem und Mithras als Erlöser?" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft* 111, no. 2 (1961): 472), Landau has argued that the *Opus Imperfectum* is an abbreviation of a 4th-century Greek version of the *Revelation of the Magi*, with the original Syriac version dated even earlier to the 3rd or 2nd century CE (*New Testament Apocrypha I*, 21-22). Moreover, thematic affinities with other early Christian apocrypha texts also point to a 2nd-3rd century context (*New Testament Apocrypha I,* 22).

[4] Landau has asserted a partial Edessene association for the text (*New Testament Apocrypha I,* 23), but this is conjectural. It has become customary in scholarship to highlight the role of Edessa in the emergence of Christianity in Mesopotamia, largely due to the success of the Abgar legend, and to associate early Syriac literary traditions with that locale. This view, however, has been problematized by David Taylor ("The Coming of Christianity to Mesopotamia," in *The Syriac World,* ed. Daniel King [New York: Routledge, 2019], 68-87), who highlights the historical unreliability of the traditional apostolic origin stories and advocates for a more nuanced reconstruction of the origins of Syriac Christianity. As for the *Revelation of the Magi,* there is no internal evidence that specifically links its origins to Edessa, other than the emphasis on Thomas, which itself appears to be a later addition.

[5] The text was inserted into the world-chronicle by the author/compiler with no commentary (Landau, *Sages and the Star-Child*, 3-5).

This text is remarkable in several ways, not only does it offer an extensive and compelling amplification of a key part of the Nativity story, but it also presents a decidedly pluralistic concept of revelation, prophecy, and divine truth.

According to the *Revelation*'s account, the magi form part of a long lineage of initiates from "land of Shir" (2.4) in the far east,[6] who have preserved primordial revelations from Adam and Seth in a remote mountain retreat. Praying in silence, they await the appearance of a brilliant star that will outshine the heavens and lead them to further divine knowledge. When the star finally appears after many generations, it reveals itself as a polymorphic saviour and leads the magi on a fantastic journey westward to Bethlehem just in time for the birth of Jesus.[7] After their return home, the apostle Judas Thomas arrives and explains to them the true Christological meaning of their experience. The magi are then baptized and given an apostolic commission of their own.[8]

In-depth study of the *Revelation of the Magi* has only just begun and its relationship with other late antique religious traditions has yet to be fully explored. Who wrote it and for what sort of audience or community are questions that remain unanswered. As a starting point for further contextualization, it

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[6] For perceptions of the far east in late antique literature, including the *Revelation of the Magi*, see Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Beyond the Land of Nod: Syriac Images of Asia and the Historiography of 'The West'," *History of Religions* 49, no. 1 (August 2009): 48-87.

[7] Early Christians have put forward a variety of explanations for the appearance of a star at the birth of Jesus (see Nicola Denzey, "A New Star on the Horizon: Astral Christologies and Stellar Debates in Early Christian Discourse," in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World,* ed. Scott Noegel et al [Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003], 207-221), although none are as theologically developed as what is presented in the *Revelation of the Magi*.

[8] See Landau's full translation in *Revelation of the Magi* and summary in *New Testament Apocrypha* 30-38.

should be noted that there are a number of passages in the text that resonate with terminological and theological motifs found in the surviving corpus of Manichaean literature. As such, this article will argue that several key elements found in both the *Revelation of the Magi* and Manichaean discourse are indicators of their emergence from a shared historical and religious milieu within early Syriac Christianity.

THE MAGI IN MANICHAEAN LITERATURE

Even though the figure of Zoroaster (Zarathustra) is considered to be an important part of the Manichaean prophetic lineage—along with the Buddha and Jesus—and Mani is sometimes presented as debating Zoroastrian doctrines,[9] the figure of the *magus* is generally despised in early Manichaean texts due to the role played by members of the Zoroastrian priesthood in the execution of Mani[10] and the persecution of his early movement. According to the *Narrative of the Crucifixion*, from the Manichaean *Homilies* codex:

> When the Magi noticed how (people) asked: 'Who, indeed, is this person who has entered (the city)?,' [(and how others) answered] them: 'It is Manichaios,"—when they heard [these (words), they shook] and were filled with wrath. They went and accused [him] before Kardel (ⲕⲁⲣⲇⲉⲗ). Kardel himself told it to the assessor (ⲥⲩⲛⲕⲁⲑⲉⲇⲣⲟⲥ). Then Kardel and the assessor went [and proclaimed] the accusations to the counsellor

[9] See Paul Dilley, "Also Schrieb Zarathustra? Mani As Interpreter of the 'Law of Zarades'" in Iain Gardner, Jason BeDuhn, and Paul Dilley, *Mani at the Court of the Persian Kings: Studies on the Chester Beatty "Kephalaia" Codex* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 101-135.

[10] See W. B. Henning, "Mani's Last Journey," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10, no.4 (1942): 941-953; see also Iain Gardner, "Mani's Last Days," in Gardner, BeDuhn, and Dilley, *Mani at the Court of the Persian Kings*, 159-208.

> (ⲙⲁⲅⲓⲥⲧⲱⲣ). The counsellor himself told it to the king. When he heard these (words), … Then he sent and called for my lord. On the lord's day (ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕⲏ) he entered Belapat (ⲃⲏⲗⲁⲡⲁⲧ)" (*Homilies* 45.11-20).[11]

The "Kardel" mentioned in this Coptic text is none other than the (im)famous Zoroastrian high priest Kartir, who boasted about his persecution of various religious communities in the Sassanian Empire in Middle Persian inscriptions from the 3rd century CE, including the Manichaeans themselves.[12]

As a result, the Zoroastrian priestly class is subsequently portrayed in an extremely negative light by Manichaean authors, particularly those writing in the late 3rd and early 4th century CE Mesopotamian context, for whom the traumas of persecution were still deeply felt. For instance, in the Manichaean *Sermon on the Great War*, also from the Coptic *Homilies* codex, the biblical figure of Babylon is presented as the personification of Evil and as the enemy of righteousness in the world. Specifically, we are told, she has "reigned in the fire [of the] magi" (ⲁⲥ̅ⲣ̅ ⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ⲉⲛ̅ ⲧⲥⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲛ [ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲙ̅]ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ) (*Homilies* 11.17-18),[13] who are also referred to as "rulers in the world" (ⲛ̅ⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ⲉⲙ̅ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ) (*Homilies* 26.2) in the text's originally Sassanian context. Similarly, in the Coptic Manichaean *Psalm-Book*, the magi (ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲅⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ) are classed among the "lawless sects" (ⲛ̅ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ ⲛ̅ⲁⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ)

[11] Nils Arne Pedersen, *Manichaean Homilies*, Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum, Series Coptica II (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

[12] D. N. MacKenzie, "A Zoroastrian Master of Ceremonies," in *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*, ed. Mary Boyce, and Ilya Gershevitch (London: Lund Humphries, 1970).

[13] Pedersen, *Manichaean Homilies*.

(*Psalm-Book* 15.7) and are called "impious men, mad and godless" (ⲛ̅ⲁⲥⲉⲃⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲗⲁⲃⲉ ⲛ̅ⲁⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) (*Psalm-Book* 15.11).[14]

Moreover, on a more scriptural level, Manichaeans had little to no interest in the Nativity story, since they generally denied the physical birth of Jesus. In the 4th century CE anti-Manichaean disputation known as the *Acts of Archelaus*, Mani is presented as writing to a pious Mesopotamian man named Marcellus in order to win him as a convert to his new religion, saying:

> I am completely amazed at how they can dare to call God the maker and creator of Satan and his evil deeds. Would that their vacuity had reached only this far and they did not say that the only-begotten Christ, 'who descended from the Father's bosom,' was the son of a woman called Mary, and was born of flesh and blood and all the other pollutions of women" (*Acts of Archelaus* V).[15]

This position is also affirmed by the "Psalms to Jesus" from the Manichaean *Psalm-Book*, which state that Jesus "was not born in a womb corrupted" (*Psalm-Book* 53.23).[16] As such, in surviving sources, Manichaean authors display no real interest in the magi as playing a role in the story of birth of Jesus,[17] other than for polemical purposes. For them, Jesus has a much larger function in their cosmogonic myth as an avatar of the ruler of

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[14] The *Psalm-Book* further castes them as "brothers of the Jews, the murderers of Christ" (*Psalm-Book* 15.11-12) in an effort to make the death of Mani more closely resemble that of Jesus.

[15] Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* (*The Acts of Archelaus*), trans. Mark Vermes (Louvain: Brepols, 2001), 42; Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, GCS 16 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906).

[16] C.R.C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938).

[17] On the origins of Jesus in the Manichaean myth see Majella Franzmann, *Jesus in the Manichaean Writings* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 51-59.

the light realm and his chosen champion against the powers of darkness. Augustine, in fact, in his dispute with the North African Manichaean Bishop Faustus, referenced the Magi as he mocked this Manichaean notion of the cosmic Christ:

> You are not ashamed, however, to speak ill of the star by which the Magi were led to adore the infant Christ. And yet you do not locate your false Christ, the son of your false first man, under a star that bears witness to him, but you say that he is imprisoned in all the stars. For you believe that he was mingled with the princes of darkness in that war by which that first man of yours fought against the nation of darkness, with the result that the world was fashioned out of the very princes of darkness who were captured in such a mingling. Hence, these sacrilegious ravings also force you to say that Christ—no longer your savior but someone for you to save when you eat those things and belch—is confined and imprisoned not only in heaven and in all the stars but also in the earth and in all the things that are born from it (*Contra Faustum*, 2.5).[18]

Unbeknownst to Augustine, the astral messiah he ridicules here is not entirely dissimilar to the saviour figure portrayed in the *Revelation of the Magi*.

MANICHAEAN MOTIFS IN THE *REVELATION OF THE MAGI*

Given the apparent lack of interest that Manichaeans would have had in the Nativity story generally and the "magi" specifically, it seems surprising that a text such as the *Revelation of the Magi* which seeks to amplify and expand upon their story

[18] Augustine, *Answer to Faustus, a Manichean*, trans. Roland Teske, *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century* (NY: New City Press, 2007), 73-74; *Sancti Aureli Augustini,* ed. Zycha, CSEL 25.1 (Vienna, 1891), 258.

should contain elements that appear to resonate strongly with several important concepts[19] from Manichaean tradition.[20]

1. Father of Greatness

The first element that stands out is the terminology used by the author of the *Revelation of the Magi* to describe God. According to the text, as the magi reflected upon their ancient

[19] This comparative exercise is based on the fact that both the *Revelation of the Magi* and early Manichaean texts derive from the same geographic and linguistic milieu, as well as being more or less contemporaneous with each other. As mentioned above, the *Revelation of the Magi* is thought to have been composed originally in Syriac sometime during the 3rd-4th centuries CE, whereas the earliest expressions of Manichaean theological discourse would have been in Syriac (the language of Mani himself) during that same period. Some of the earliest surviving Manichaean literature in Greek and Coptic shows significant traces of this Syriac substratum (particularly the "Psalms of Thomas" and the *Cologne Mani Codex*, see below). In fact, the Manichaean material from Kellis contains multilingual texts including Coptic-Syriac glossaries (Iain Gardner, *Kellis Literary Texts, Vol. I* [Oxford: Oxbow, 1996], 101-131). For these reasons, as well as the limits of the author's linguistic abilities, this study is restricted primarily to Manichaean texts in Coptic and Greek. Further work would be needed to trance these elements further afield in Manichaean literature from Central Asia.

[20] It should be noted, also, that this study seeks to compare a single text (*Revelation of the Magi*) to a parallel religious "discourse" attested by multiple (often fragmentary) sources. Even thought Mani went to great lengths to record his teachings in writing, this "canonical" tradition has been mostly lost. The theological framework articulated by Mani must be pieced together from a variety of sources, some of which show significant evidence of redaction and development by later Manichaean interpreters (see Timothy Pettipiece, *Pentadic Redaction in the Manichaean Kephalaia* [Leiden: Brill, 2009]), as well as a degree of regional variation (see Jason BeDuhn, *The Manichaean Body in Discipline and Ritual* [Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000], 1-24). At most we can speak of early Manichaean tradition(s), as opposed to what Mani himself may or may not have specifically taught. Still the proximity of these sources to one another warrants juxtaposition.

ritual tradition, they knelt before the "Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries" (ܟܐܦ ܡܣܬܪܐ ܕܪܙܐ ܟܡܝܢܐ) and "prayed and worshiped in silence, without a sound, to the *Father of that heavenly majesty* that is ineffable and infinite forever" (*Revelation of the Magi* 5.7).[21] Aside from the (likely incidental) fact that Mani is said to have composed scriptural texts known as the *Treasure of Life* and the *Mysteries*,[22] the Syriac phrase translated by Landau as "Father of Heavenly Majesty"[23] can also be rendered as "Father of Greatness" (ܐܒܐ ܕܪܒܘܬܐ) (*Revelation of the Magi* 5.7). As it happens, the "Father of Greatness" is the primary name for the ruler of the Manichaean light-realm used in Syriac, Greek, and Coptic Manichaean texts.[24] A similar figure, the "Lord of Greatness," (*mara d-rabuta*)

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[21] Landau, *Revelation of the Magi*, 43.

[22] According to John C. Reeves, terms like *treasury* and *treasure of life* "pepper the lexicon of Syro-Mesopotamian gnosis" ("Reconsidering the 'Prophecy of Zardūšt'," in *A Multiform Heritage: Studies in Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft*, ed. Benjamin G. Wright (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 167-182) as commonly shared motifs.

[23] A slight variant occurs at *Revelation of the Magi* 3.5: "Greatness of the Father" (ܐܒܐ ܕܒܪܘܬܐ).

[24] Sebastian Brock has already signaled the importance of this association in 2006 ("An Archaic Syriac Prayer over Baptismal Oil," *Studia Patristica* 41 [2006]: 12), although without further comment. See Theodore bar Khonai's Syriac account of the Manichaean cosmogony in *Book of Scholia* (*Liber scholiorum,* ed. Addai Scher; CSCO 69; [Louvain: Imprimerie orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1954], 313.15). Also attested in Greek as ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ μεγέθους in the *Seven Chapters Against Manichaeans* 3 (see Lieu, Fox, and Sheldon *Greek and Latin Sources on Manichaean Cosmogony and Ethics*, Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum, Series Subsidia VI [Turnhout: Brepols, 2010], 119), and as ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲙⲉϩ in Coptic sources, including the (as yet) unpublished portions of Mani's *Living Gospel* from the *Synaxeis* codex (Wolf-Peter Funk, *personal communication*). See Aloïs van Tongerloo, "The Father of Greatness," in *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Holger Preißler und Hubert Seiwert (Marburg: diagonal-Verlag, 1994), 329-342 and Paul Van Lindt, *The Names of Manichaean Mythological Figures: A Comparative*

is also mentioned in Mandaean texts,[25] and as there is a close relationship between Manichaean and Mandaean literature, Geo Widengren suggested that there must be some link between the *Revelation of the Magi* and those traditions.[26]

While the use of the title "Father of Greatness" is most often associated with Manichaeism, it is not unthinkable that such an epithet formed part of a shared Aramaic religious vocabulary in late antique Mesopotamia, as it is also attested in a handful of post-Manichaean sectarian theologies.[27] Still, given the title's close association with Manichaean discourse it is difficult to imagine it being used by an author who wasn't sympathetic to Mani's ideas or seeking to appeal to them in some way.

Similarly, the *Revelation of the Magi* also refers to God as the "Lord of All" (ܡܪܝ ܟܠ) (32.3), a title which is found is found in Manichaean sources ("Lord of All" ([ⲡⲧⲁϣⲁⲓⲥ] ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲣϩⲣϥ) as an alternate name for the "Father of Greatness" (*Homilies* 47.13-14; *Kephalaia* 40.10; 156.6). Once again, it is difficult to determine if this reflects a distinctively Manichaean usage or is derived from a common theological lexicon.

Study on Terminology in the Coptic Sources (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 3-16.

[25] See Mandaean *Book of John* 66.13; 67.41 (Charles G. Häberl and James F. McGrath, eds., *The Mandaean Book of John: Text and Translation* [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020]).

[26] *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit* (Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960), 74.

[27] Theodore bar Khonai describes the teaching of a certain John of Apamea (not the influential monastic spiritual author), in which the sole God is referred to as the "Father of Greatness" (*Book of Scholia* 11.76) (*Théodore bar Koni: Livre des scholies* (*recension de Séert*) *I. Mimrè I-V,* trans. Robert Hespel and René Draguet, CSCO, Scriptores syri 187 (Louvain: Peeters, 1981), 248. He also presents the doctrine of the (5th cent CE?) sectarian leader Batai, who promoted a kind of modified dualism whereby Good and Evil were derived from the "Father of Greatness" (*Book of Scholia* 11.85 (*Théodore bar Koni*, 256-257).

2. Revealed Books and Primordial Prophets

The *Revelation of the Magi* also puts an important emphasis on revealed knowledge being recorded in books. Seth, we are told, set his wisdom "down in a book" and, in fact, "from him a book appeared in the world for the first time" (3.2-3). Noah, in turn, preserved the "books of Seth about the majesty (i.e. greatness) of the Father" (3.5 ⲛⲥⲏⲓ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲁϩ) and took them into the Ark. These books were then subsequently preserved in the ancient tradition of the magi (3.6).

With this idea, too, we find parallels in Manichaean tradition. Whereas Mani is said to have included Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus in his list of prophetic predecessors, some early Manichaean texts also insert a pre-Noachid lineage going back to the biblical figure of Seth(el).[28] For example, in *Kephalaia* Chapter 1 "On the Coming of the Apostle" Mani is presented as articulating a sequence of apostolic predecessors "from Sethel [the first] born son of Adam up to Enosh, along with [Enoch]; [from] Enoch [up] to Sem [the] son of [Noah …" (*Kephalaia* 12.10-12).[29] Seth is also listed in the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* as part of a litany of biblical and apostolic figures

[28] This sort of biblical lineage is found in a wide array of Manichaean and anti-Manichaean sources, see Michel Tardieu, *Le manichéisme* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1981), 20-22. Moreover, the idea of "Sethian" *gnosis* is a well-established trope in apocryphal literature, see A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1977). A discussion of a so-called "Prayer of Sethel" forms the basis of *Kephalaia* chapter 10 (42.24-43.21). This connection to Seth is particularly notable in light of the fact that the "abbreviated" version of the *Revelation of the Magi* story, found in the *Opus Imperfectum*, is said to be derived from an "apocryphal book in the name of Seth" (Alexander Toepel, "The Apocryphon of Seth," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, vol. 1, ed. Bauckham, Davila, and Panayotov [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013], 33-39).

[29] Polotsky, H.-J. and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia* (*I*)*: 1. Hälfte* [*Lieferung 1-10*]. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1940. See also the litany from *Psalm-Book* 179.

embodying the ideal of "endurance" (ϩΥΠΟΜΟΝΗ) (142.4), and there is even a passage from a so-called Sethian book quoted in the hagiographical account of Mani's life preserved in the Greek *Cologne Mani Codex*, where Seth(el) recounts a vision of a luminous entity: "I opened my eyes and I saw before my face an [angel] whose [brightness] I could not describe [for he was] nothing other than lightning" (CMC 50).[30] Earlier in the same text Adam is quoted as receiving a command from "Balsamos, the greatest Angel of Light" to "receive from me and write these things I reveal to you on the purest papyrus which is not perishable or liable to worms" (CMC 49). A similar episode occurs in the *Revelation of the Magi*, where we are told:

> Adam instructed Seth his son about … [and about the revelation] of the light of the star and about its glory, because he [saw] it in the Garden of Eden when it descended and came to rest over the Tree of Life; and it illuminated the entire (garden) before Adam transgressed against the commandment of the Father of heavenly majesty (i.e. greatness) (ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓ (6.2) "(ⲙ̀ⲡⲉϫⲁ.

As such, in both the *Cologne Mani Codex* and the *Revelation of the Magi* we have accounts of revelatory encounters with luminous beings in the Garden of Eden which are then recorded in primordial holy books. In both contexts these episodes are used as a means to establish their protagonists' divine authority as part of a chain of true prophecy traced back to the biblical forefathers Adam and Seth.[31]

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[30] Iain Gardner and Samuel Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 55; Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: Über das Werden seines Liebes* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988), 32-33.

[31] Nicholas Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism: An Ancient Faith Rediscovered* (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 50-51.

3. Polymorph Messiah

Mani's notion of prophetic succession was also linked to the periodic appearance of an entity he called the "Light-Mind" (essentially a sort of Manichaean Logos) via "apostles of light" in various times and places. Most notably, Mani is quoted as stating in a discourse given to Sassanian King Shapur I that "Apostles of God have constantly brought wisdom and deeds in successive times."[32] Similarly, the Manichaean *Kephalaia* equates "all the apostles who are on occasion sent to the world" to farmers" (9.24-25), comparing their periodic appearance with the agricultural cycle of sowing and reaping. According to John C. Reeves, Mani would have likely inherited this idea of a cyclical apostolate from the Elchasaites, a Mesopotamian sect among whom he is reported to have spent his early life.[33] According to the 3rd-century CE Christian heresiological treatise attributed to Hippolytus,[34] certain devotees of a *Book of Elchasai*:

> do not confess one Christ. Rather, they believe in a single Christ above who transmigrates numerous times into numerous bodies and was recently incarnated in Jesus. Likewise, he is sometimes born from God, while at other times he becomes spirit. Sometimes he is born from a virgin, at other times not. Later on, he continues his never-ending transmigration into bodies and is manifested in many different bodies at various times.

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[32] As quoted by 11th century Islamic scholar al-Biruni in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (see John C. Reeves, *Prolegomena to a History of Islamicate Manichaeism* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2011), 102.

[33] Tardieu, *Le manichéisme*, 9-12; Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism*, 47-48; Samuel N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 35-50.

[34] Hippolytus' authorship is disputed. See *Refutation of All Heresies*, trans. M. David Litwa, *Writings from the Greco-Roman World 40* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), xxxiii-xlii.

> They also use incantations and baptisms in addition to their confession by the elements. They plume themselves on their knowledge of astronomy, astrology, and magic; and they call themselves "knowers of the future" (*Refutation of All Heresies* 10.29.2).[35]

In the 4th cent. CE, Epiphanius similarly stated that the Elchasaites believed Christ "was created and that he appears time and again…he was formed for the first time in Adam and he puts off the body of Adam and assumes it again whenever he wished" (*Panarion* 53.1.8).[36] The same idea is also found in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies,* which state that Christ "changed his forms along with his names from age to age" (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αἰῶνος ἅμα τοῖς ὀνόμασιν μορφὰς ἀλλάσσων τὸν αἰῶνα) (3.20),[37] and where the idea of the polymorphic "True Prophet" is traced back to what some scholars have described as a "Jewish-Christian" source document from the 3rd century CE.[38]

The idea that the saviour has appeared periodically in many forms[39] also fits well with what we find in the *Revelation of the*

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[35] *Refutation of All Heresies*, 739. See John C. Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm: Syro-Mesopotamian Gnosis and Jewish Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 8; A. F. J. Klijn and G. J. Reinink, *Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 122-123

[36] Reeves, *Heralds of That Good Realm*, 8; Klijn and Reinink, *Patristic Evidence*, 196-197.

[37] Rehm, ed. *Die Pseudoklementinen I: Homilien* (Berlin: Akademie, 1992), 64.

[38] See *New Testament Apocrypha, Vol. 2,* ed. Schneemelcher, (Louisville: WJK Press, 2003), 488-492, where the resonances with Manichaean and Mandaean tradition are noted.

[39] Landau discusses the topic of the polymorphic Christ and universal revelation in his dissertation on the *Revelation of the Magi*, but only engages with a small sample of possible cognate traditions (mostly biblical) ("Sages and the Star-Child," 249-255). A survey of (the fairly extensive) evidence from both canonical and non-canonical sources is provided by Paul Foster, "Polymorphic Christology: Its Origins and Development in Early Christianity," *Journal of Theological Studies* 58 (2007): 66-99.

Magi, which states that Christ (the "star-child") has appeared "in the world in a body, and the forms with him are seen in every land, because he has been sent by his majesty (i.e. greatness) (ܡܫܬܐ) for the salvation and redemption of every human being" (23.4). The "star-child" himself states "I am everywhere, and there is no land in which I am not" (26.3). At the end of the text, when Judas Thomas has brought the gospel back to the homeland of the magi,[40] the apostle proclaims:

> We glorify your sweet majesty (i.e greatness) (ܫܒܚܬܐ), your singularity in many personifications (ܟܝܢܐ),[41] your glorious images (ܐܝܩܘܢܐ)[42] that you have shown us, and the clothes that you have put on for our sake, that we may be clothed in your powerful majesty. And by as many names as you have been called, you are not in any one of them, for you alone have known your great name and your majesty, and your exalted Father, and no one else. And all these forms in which you were clothed and appeared for our sake (ܠܒܫܬ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܢ ܠܡܢ ܕܐܬܠܒܫ ܒܫܘܒܚܟ), that we might know you, were because you loved us with your great mercy (*Revelation of the Magi* 31.4-6).

This passage presents a remarkably open-ended Christology, even employing the term πρόσωπον for the savior's many manifestations and appearances. Such radical inclusivism has startled modern readers and has been used to

[40] Thomas was traditionally considered to have been an apostle to the east. Eusebius mentions him going to Parthia in particular (*History of the Church* 3.1).

[41] πρόσωπον in a Christological sense, but also "*appearance, likeness*" (R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903], 464a).

[42] From Greek εἰκών.

market the text to the religiously interested reading public.[43] Yet is such a perspective really that unique or was it part of the text's original environment?

4. Thomas Twins

The apostle Thomas, it should be noted, is already well-known for his many Manichaean associations,[44] and the polymorphic Christ[45] is explicitly attested in Manichaean tradition. For example, the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* states: "You assumed different forms until you had visited all races" (42.31). In this context, Mani himself is understood as being the last of those

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[43] The back of the dust-jacket to the mass-market edition published by HarperCollins includes quotations from well-known scholars of early Christianity such as Marvin Meyer and John Dominic Crossan about the "astonishing," "theologically sophisticated," "unique," and "radical depth" of the text. The work no doubt appeals to those seeking ancient precedent for an inclusivist and pluralist approach to Christianity in a modern context.

[44] Not only are there "Thomas Psalms" in the Manichaean *Psalm-Book*, but strong associations with both the *Gospel of Thomas* (Wolf-Peter Funk, "Einer aus Tausend, zwei aus Zehntausend: Zitate aus dem Thomasevangelium in den koptischen Manichaica," in *For the Children, Perfect Instruction: Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke*, ed. Bethge et al. [Leiden: Brill, 2002], 67-94; J. Kevin Coyle, "The Gospel of Thomas in Manichaeism?" in *Colloque international L'Évangile selon Thomas et les textes de Nag Hammadi, Québec, 29-31 mai 2003*, ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirier [Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval / Louvain : Éditions Peeters, 2007], 75-91; Paul Allan Mirecki, "Coptic Manichaean Psalm 278 and the Gospel of Thomas 37," in *Manichaica selecta*, ed. A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen [Louvain, 1991], 243-262) and the *Acts of Thomas* (A. F. J. Klijn, "The So-Called Hymn of the Pearl [Acts of Thomas ch. 108-113]," *Vigiliae Christianae* 14, no. 3 [1960]: 154-164).

[45] A list of sources for the polymorphic Christ is provided by Henri-Charles Puech, *EPHE Annuaire* 73 (1964): 122-125. See also Gedaliahu G. Stroumsa, "Polymorphie divine et transformations d'un mythologème : L'Apocryphon de Jean et ses sources," *Vigiliae Christianae* 35, no. 4 (1981) : 412-434.

many forms, since the psalmist refers to Christ as Mani's "light-twin" (ⲡⲥⲁϊϣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁϊⲛⲉ) (*Psalm-Book* 42.22). The concept of the celestial "twin" is central to Mani's own prophetic and revelatory authority, as it is for all of his alleged predecessors.[46] Not surprisingly, the notion of divine twinship is also invoked in the hymn at the end of the *Revelation of the Magi*, where Judas Thomas describes Christ as "twinned (ܐܬܬܐܡ) with the Spirit" (30.5) and as soaring over the water "like your twin (ܐܚ ܡܠ) the Holy Spirit" (30.6).[47]

Paul-Hubert Poirier has argued that the "Thomas" to whom the "Psalms of Thomas" (ⲛ̀ⲯⲁⲗⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲑⲱⲙ) are attributed in the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* could be based on a word-play involving the Aramaic/Syriac term for twin (ܬܐܡܐ),[48] which is cognate with the verb "twinned" used in the final hymn from the *Revelation of the Magi* (30.5). Similarly, the Greek term σύζυγος, used as a loan-word in the same passage (30.6), is used of Mani's celestial twin throughout the Greek *Cologne Mani Codex*. Moreover, of all the liturgical texts collected in the Manichaean *Psalm-Book*, the "Psalms of Thomas/Thōm" are the

[46] For a discussion of the widely attested tradition of divine twinship in Late Antiquity see Charles M. Stang, *Our Divine Double* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[47] Brock has pointed out the early Syriac usage of the grammatical feminine for the Holy Spirit ("An Archaic Syriac Prayer over Baptismal Oil," *Studia Patristica* 41 [2006]: 9). See also Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Feminine Imagery for the Divine: The Holy Spirit, the Odes of Solomon, and Early Syriac Tradition," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 37 (2004): 1-29.

[48] Paul-Hubert Poirier, "Une nouvelle hypothèse sur le titre des Psaumes manichéens dits de Thomas" *Apocrypha* 12 (2001) : 9-27. According to the 10th-century Islamic scholar al-Nadim, when Mani was twenty-four years old, he was visited by an angel named *"the Tawm*, which is a Nabatean word meaning 'Companion'" (Bayard Dodge, ed., *The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, Vol 2 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1970], 774).

ones that most clearly reveal traces of an Aramaic *Vorlage*,[49] and display striking thematic and compositional parallels with Mandaean liturgical texts.[50] Therefore, it is not surprising that we might observe various points of contact between the Manichaean Thomas-psalms and the *Revelation of the Magi*.

5. Little Child of Light

The *Revelation of the Magi* also presents an episode that is strangely evocative of Steven Spielberg's *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*. When the magi have their epiphany in the Cave of Treasures, they see "(something) like the hand of a small person draw near from the pillar and the star," (12.3) and a light-being "that appeared to us in the bodily form of a small and humble human, and he said to us: 'Peace to you'" (13.1). Surprised by this luminous appearance, the light-being reassures the sages: "(do not doubt that)… it appeared to you in the form of a small, humble, and unworthy human, because indeed, the inhabitants of the world cannot bear to see the glory of the only Son of the Father of majesty (i.e. greatness) (ⲙⲡϣⲁϩⲣⲓ ⲙⲡⲣ)" (13.2).

Once again, the Manichaean "Psalms of Thomas" provide an important parallel. There, the cosmic avatar of the heavenly father is described as the "the Little One" (ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ) who leaps into the abyss to do battle with the powers of darkness (*Psalm-Book* 204.22-27), and describe him as appearing as an "image of light" (ⲁⲩϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲉ)[51] to the powers of the world (*Psalm-Book*

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[49] Peter Nagel, *Die Thomaspsalmen des koptisch-manichäischen Psalmbuches* (Berlin, 1980).

[50] For example, "Psalm of Thomas 13" (T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book* [Uppsala, 1949] 119-120). The relationship between Manichaean and Mandaean traditions is complex, as there are multiple points of context between both textual corpora. Säve-Söderbergh ultimately argued that the Manichaean "Psalms of Thomas" were based on Mandaean prototypes (161).

[51] See *Revelation of the Magi* 31.4 mentioned above.

214.1-12) who are driven mad by its brightness. In reverence, the powers then proclaim: "You have come in peace, O Child of Brightness, that you shall be the illuminator of our worlds" (*Psalm-Book* 214.12-14). In fact, "Jesus the Child" features prominently in the "Psalms of Thomas" as one important aspect of the polymorphic Manichaean Christ.

As might be expected, a similar motif is also found in the Mandaean *Book of John*, although with a somewhat different prophetological focus:

> A child was transplanted from on high — a secret was revealed in Jerusalem.
> The priests had dreams.
> An utter silence fell upon the Eulaeus, — an utter silence fell upon Jerusalem.
> He opened his mouth for evil, — and his lying lips.
> He opened his mouth for evil, — saying to all the priests,
> "I saw in my night visions, — in my vision when I lay down—
> *I didn't sleep, rest or lie down,* — *and sleep did not overtake me in the night.*
> *I didn't sleep and I didn't rest*— — that a star came to Elizabeth, father Zechariah,
> a fire rose, burning over elder — the sun set and the lamps shined forth.
> three lamps appeared,
> … … …
> A shooting star burst over Judaea, — a shooting star burst over Jerusalem.
> The sun appeared at night, — and the moon shined forth during the day."[52]

[52] *Book of John*, 18.1-15.

In this passage a divine child is reveled from the heavenly realm, holy silence is observed, just as the sages pray silently in the *Revelation of the Magi*, while a star appears, as well as light in multiple forms. Even though the focus may be different, the general contours remain the same.[53]

6. Darkness and Error

The theological hallmark of Manichaeism is its dualistic cosmological framework in which Light is radically opposed to Darkness as two pre-existent cosmic principles. This doctrine, more than any other aspect of Manichaean teaching, was the focus of fierce polemical backlash from a variety of quarters. Although not nearly as pronounced, traces of this sort of dualistic imagery can also be discerned in the *Revelation of the Magi*. For example, when the magi encounter Mary and Joseph in Bethlehem, Mary is said to a have become "a gate for the great light (ܢܘܗܪܐ) that entered the world in grace to banish the darkness (ܚܫܘܟܐ)" (22.2). Later, in the Thomas hymn, the apostle asks Christ to "enlighten us and drive away darkness and error" (30.4 ܢܗܝܪ ܚܫܘܟܐ).[54] In Coptic Manichaean texts,

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[53] Interestingly, the Mandaean *Book of John* presents Christ's polymorphy as a sign of his duplicity and untrustworthiness (Chapter 76) as one who "changes his appearance." See James McGrath, "Polemic, Redaction, and History in the Mandaean Book of John: The Case of the Lightworld Visitors to Jerusalem," *Aram* 25 (2013): 378-379.

[54] Sebastian Brock has suggested that this may indicated the influence of "Zoroastrian terminology" ("An Archaic Syriac Prayer over Baptismal Oil," *Studia Patristica* 41 [2006]: 8), whereas Geo Widengren perceived an Iranian background behind the text as a whole (*Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit* [Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960], 71-72). Hultgård, however, acknowledged criticisms of Widengren's interpretation, but nonetheless asserts that Iranian traditions were at play (Anders Hultgård, "The Magi and the Star—the Persian Background in Text and Iconography," in *"Being Religious and Living Through the Eyes": Studies in Religious Iconography* [Uppsala, 1998], 223).

"error" (ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ) is practically synonymous with the power of Darkness and evil in the world.[55] For instance, the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* states: "Let us bless our Lord Jesus who has sent us the Spirit of Truth. He came and separated us from the Error (ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ)" (9.4-5). This "Error" is most often associated with the various sects to which Manichaeans were opposed, whereas the light-child in the *Revelation of the Magi* explains how "error has reigned in deceit over your generations" (21.9) and that only those who possess true knowledge belong to the "race of light" (21.9 ⲣⲓⲉⲙⲛⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧϩ ⲙ̀). As we might expect, this last motif ("race of light") is also present in Manichaean *Psalm-Book* in a passage denouncing the "sects of Error" (ⲛ̀ⲁⲟⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ) (86.14).

The use of imagery contrasting light and darkness is certainly not unique to Manichaean discourse, as it appears to have been widespread in Mesopotamia. Not only were dualistic concepts important to various forms of Zoroastrian theology, but also to the teachings of Marcion and Bardaisan, each of whom were closely associated with Mani in early Syriac tradition.[56] Moreover, the Mandaeans too made extensive use of it in their own literature, which as we have already seen has some relationship with early Manichaean texts. It is not surprising, then, that the *Revelation of the Magi* should display at least some dualistic tendencies.

7. Final Fire

Fittingly, the final point that ought to be highlighted in this study is how the *Revelation of the Magi* imagines the end of cosmic history. As much as the text is focused on the beginning

[55] See *Kephalaia* 21.18; 28.31; 31.30; 33.24,30; 48.34; 90.20, etc.; *Psalm-Book* 4.22; 8.8,24; 52.31, etc.

[56] François De Blois, "Dualism in Iranian and Christian Traditions," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10, no. 1 (2000): 1-19.

of the Christian narrative, by highlighting the birth of Jesus, it closes with a (dualistic) vision of the end-time and an eschatological exhortation from the magi:

> Flee from the *darkness* (ܚܫܘܟܐ) and come to the *light* (ܢܘܗܪܐ) that does not pass away, so that you may live and have refuge under the wings of our Lord Jesus, our saviour and our great refuge on the last day, from the fearsome judgement of *fire* that will come suddenly to purify the entire earth from *error*, which has ruled over it in its deceit. And you shall be delivered by faith from the heat of the fire and shall enter that *rest* that is prepared for all the *chosen* and the believers who have believed in the *child of perfect light* (ܢܘܗܪܐ ܡܫܠܡ ܒܪܝܬܐ), and in eternal life, in the kingdom of my Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the *Lord of all* (ܡܪܝ ܟܠ), in his heavenly *majesty* (i.e. greatness) (ܡܗܝܡܢܘ), in his *new world* (ܥܠܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ), and in his heavenly and great and never-passing away light, and in his glorious rest (32.2-3 *emphasis added*).

Once again, we can observe numerous resemblances to Manichaean religious discourse. For its part, the Manichaean vision of the end times foresees the final appearance of Jesus the Splendor, avatar of the "Lord of All" (see above) who will vanquish the powers of darkness and purify the world by means of a "Great Fire." The chosen "Elect" will then be rewarded in a "New Aeon" of eternal light and rest.[57] As one Middle Persian fragment from Mani's *Book of Giants*[58] suggests:

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[57] Baker-Brian, *Manichaeism*, 116-118; Timothy Pettipiece, "Burn the World Down: Manichaean Apocalyptic in Comparative Perspective," in *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition: A Comparative Perspective,* ed. Kevork Bardakjian and Sergio La Porta (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 657-666.

[58] Counted among Mani's canonical scriptures, this work contains many points of contact with other apocryphal texts from an Aramaic background (see John C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the* Book of Giants *Traditions* [Cincinatti, 1992]).

> …on brilliant wings they (the righteous ones) shall fly and soar further beyond and above that Fire, and shall gaze into its depth and height. And those righteous ones that will stand around it, outside and above, they shall have power over the Great Fire, and over everything in it … they are purer and stronger [than the] Great Fire of Ruin that sets the worlds ablaze.[59]

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

What, then, are we to make of all the apparent similarities between the *Revelation of the Magi* and Manichaean theological language? While some resemblances are perhaps more on the surface level, such as imagining God and the divine realm in terms of *life, light, treasure, splendor,* and *greatness*—all of which seem to have been part of a shared Aramaic religious vocabulary—others emerge as more deeply rooted themes. Most notably:

> *i*) *identifying God as the "Father of Greatness"*
> *ii*) *a chain of True Prophets traced back to Adam and Seth*
> *iii*) *a polymorphic messiah-figure who appears to all humanity*
> *iv*) *revelatory authority granted through divine twinship*
> *v*) *emphasis on Thomas traditions*
> *vi*) *opposition between Light and Darkness / Truth and Error*
> *vii*) *eschatological fire and rest*

As such, both the *Revelation of the Magi* and Manichaean literature construct the same basic soteriological storyline.

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[59] T ii D ii 164 (trans. Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* [San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1993], 247); W. B. Henning, "The Book of Giants," BSOAS 11 (1943): 68.

Namely, that the *Father of Greatness* reveals himself through a chain of *true prophets* extending back to *Adam and Seth* that have appeared in many times and places as manifestations of *divine twinship*. The message that these prophets deliver periodically to all humanity emphasizes the opposition between *light and darkness* and the *error* manifest in sectarian divisions. The forces of darkness and evil, however, will ultimately be defeated when Jesus returns in glory to set *fire* to the world and grant eternal *rest* to the *children of light*.

Does this mean that the *Revelation of the Magi* is a Manichaean text? I am not ready to go that far. Notably absent are a multiplicity of technical terms for the many well-defined figures from the Manichaean cosmogonic myth, other than the "Father of Greatness."[60] Nor is there any direct or implied references to Mani himself.[61] Even though Manichaean scribal activity has been observed in other pieces of Christian apocryphal literature, that does not appear to be happening here.[62] Moreover, as mentioned above, the magi and the Nativity story were of little intrinsic interest to Manichaean authors, who found the idea of an incarnated Jesus theologically offensive. It seems more likely that the presence of common thematic elements points to a common milieu out of which

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[60] This in itself does not necessarily discount the idea of the *Revelation of the Magi* being a Manichaean text, as the specific technical language of the cosmogony appears to have been largely unknown to outsiders, with a few notable exceptions such as Theodore bar Khonai. Most polemical descriptions of the Manichaean myth make use of a generic template focused on its dualistic basis rather than a detailed narrative.

[61] There is a somewhat oblique reference to the "Paraclete Spirit" (14.8) in the text, although this does not appear to connect with the Manichaean notion of Mani as the Paraclete promised by Jesus.

[62] See Timothy Pettipiece, "Manichaean Redaction of the *Secret Book of John*," in *Fakes, Forgeries, and Fictions: Writing Ancient and Modern Christian Apocrypha: Proceedings from the 2015 York Christian Apocrypha Symposium*, ed. Tony Burke (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2017).

both the *Revelation of the Magi* and Manichaeism emerged. More specifically, I would argue that both are building on a pre-existing soteriological narrative that appears to have been rooted in *variant*[63] forms of Christianity that developed in Aramaic/Syriac speaking Mesopotamia.[64] The exact origins of this narrative, however, remain difficult to define, as they appear tied to the notoriously complex and contested issue of "Jewish Christianity."[65]

As mentioned earlier, the *Revelation of the Magi* was likely composed in Syriac, possibly near Edessa in the 3rd or 4th century CE,[66] which was an important center of early Christian activity in Mesopotamia. We also know that Mani and his early disciples wrote and preached in Syriac in the same region around the same time. Mandaic, for its part, is an Aramaic

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[63] By *variant* I mean streams of early Christian tradition that diverge considerably from emerging orthodoxy.

[64] This geographic area has been described as a "crucible of cultural creativity for Jews no less than Platonists, Christians, and Manichaeans in the first three centuries of the Common Era" (Han and Reed, "Reorienting Ancient Judaism," 148).

[65] The notoriously difficult puzzle of "Jewish Christianity" has been the subject of much debate and controversy. See Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Historicizing 'Jewish-Christianity'," in *Jewish-Christianity and the History of Judaism: Collected Essays* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), xv-xxx. Typically, this hybrid term has been used to describe either an imagined segment of Jesus' earliest followers, or in reference to certain sectarian groups identified by patristic heresiologists as outliers. In spite of the term being "anachronistic, clumsy, fraught, and contested," (as Reed admits), it nonetheless points to a liminal historical, discursive, and even geographical space in which certain discernable expressions of late antique religious tradition and community connect themselves in important ways to both *Christianity* and *Judaism* while at the same time resisting those categorical constructs as they have come to be defined. As problematic as the term is, it nonetheless points to something that needs to be further explored and better understood.

[66] See note 4.

dialect, and communities of Mandaeans, or their predecessors, have in some form been (until recently) historically present long the Tigris and Euphrates since at least the 3rd cent. CE.[67] It is therefore not surprising that religious traditions emanating from the same time-period and geographical area would demonstrate some common characteristics and thematic concerns. In fact, as recent studies continue to demonstrate, Jewish, Christian, Zoroastrian, and Manichaean traditions regularly engaged one another in late antique Mesopotamia and display significant degrees of overlap.[68]

Unfortunately, the story of early Christianity beyond the eastern borders of the Roman Empire is not one that is well-known or well-understood outside of specialized circles.[69] Thus modern readers' surprise at a text such as the *Revelation of the Magi*. While early missionaries would have arrived by the 2nd century CE, there was also a significant influx of Christians due to the forced deportation of hundreds of thousands of captives from the Roman Empire by Persian King Shapur I in the 3rd

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[67] The recent re-assessment by Kevin van Bladel suggests that a distinctive "Mandaean" identity only emerged in the 5th century CE out of competition among other "Syro-Mesopotamia" religious groups (*From Sasanian Mandaeans to Ṣābians of the Marshes* [Leiden: Brill, 2017]).

[68] See, for example, Adam H. Becker, "The Comparative Study of 'Scholasticism' in Late Antique Mesopotamia: Rabbis and East Syrians," *AJS Review* 34 no. 1 (2010): 91-113; Yishai Kiel, "Study Versus Sustenance: A Rabbinic Dilemma in Its Zoroastrian and Manichaean Context," *AJS Review* 38 no. 2 (2014): 275-302; Yishai Kiel, "Reimagining Enoch in Sassanian Babylonia in Light of Zoroastrian and Manichaean Traditions," *AJS Review* 39 no.2 (2015): 407-432 to name but a few.

[69] As Sebastian Brock has pointed out, the Eusebian model of early Christian history has linked that narrative so closely with the Roman Empire, that the development of Christianity in Persia is either omitted from that story or minimized (see Sebastian Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire: A Case of Divided Loyalties," in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, 2-3).

century CE.[70] Notably, an inscription by the Sasanian high-priest Kartir (mentioned above) points to an official differentiation between two groups known in Middle Persian as *nāsrāy* and *kristiyān*.[71] It has been suggested that the former group, the "Nazoreans"[72] represents local Aramaic-speaking Christians, many of whom were still strongly connected to non-rabbinic Jewish traditions, while the latter refers to relocated "western" Christians who had more in common with the Roman church.[73] Similarly, Persian authorities in Syriac martyr acts from the Sasanian period seem to make the same terminological differentiation when discussing interactions with Christian communities under their jurisdiction.[74]

While a more concrete history of the churches of Persia begins to take shape in the 4th century CE, prior to that, particularly in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, Iranian territories appear to have been home to an eclectic mix of doctrines and sects associated with early Christian teachers such as Marcion,

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[70] Josef Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 1998), 201.

[71] It is difficult to imagine that Kartir would use these terms in an official inscription without understanding that they implied some important distinction.

[72] Based on what we know from early Christian heresiological sources, the term "Nazorean" is used as a kind of catch-all to connect a cluster of sectarian groups that were all thought to derive from the so-called "Jewish-Christian" stream of early Christianity, such as Cerninthians, Elchasaites, and Ebionites. "Nazorean" is also attested as a term of self-designation found in Mandaean writings, although in a somewhat ambivalent sense, and is applied to Christians pejoratively in the Talmud (see François De Blois, "Naṣrānī [Ναζωραῖος] and ḥanīf [ἐθνικός]: Studies on the Religious Vocabulary of Christianity and of Islam" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65, no. 1 [2002]: 4).

[73] Sebastian Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire: A Case of Divided Loyalties," *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, 3-6.

[74] De Blois, "Naṣrānī [Ναζωραῖος] and ḥanīf [ἐθνικός], 8.

Bardaisan, and Elchasai,[75] all of whom where later deemed "heretical" by proto-orthodox authorities, but whose doctrines were considered authoritative and foundational for the earliest forms of Aramaic/Syriac Christianity[76] in the region. As we saw above, several of the central themes and motifs common to both the *Revelation of the Magi* and Manichaean discourse, such as the chain of True Prophets and the polymorphic Christ, point back to such "Elchasaite" or "Nazorean" prototypes.[77]

The current model of the historical development of early Christianity has long had its own version of a "dark matter" problem. There are strong indicators of an important stream of early Christian tradition that exerted considerable influence on other contemporary trajectories and against which proto-orthodoxy defined itself, but whose exact nature remains obscure, since evidence of it has been almost totally erased.[78]

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[75] Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, 205. Later, Mani himself will be added to this list of founding figures.

[76] The work of Stanley Jones has helped further refine this understanding of early Christianity in Syro-Mesopotamia (see F.S. Jones, *Pseudoclementia Elchasaiticaque inter Judaeochristiana: Collected Studies* [Leuven: Peeters, 2012]).

[77] Cirillo, Luigi, "From the Elchasaite Christology to the Manichaean Apostle of Light," in *Il Manicheismo: Nuove Prospettive della Richerca. Atti del Quinto Congresso Internazionale di Studi sul Manicheismo* (*Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale"; Napoli, 2-8 Settembre 2001*), ed. van Tongerloo, Aloïs and Cirillo, Luigi. Manichaean Studies 5. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 47-54. Gerard P. Luttikhuizen has referred to this idea as a distinctly "Syrian Christology" (see "The Baptists of Mani's Youth and the Elchasaites," in *Gnostic Revisions of Genesis Stories and Early Jesus Traditions*, NHMS 58 [Leiden: Brill, 2006], 178-179).

[78] Nearly a century ago, Walter Bauer argued that the prevailing forms of "orthodox" Christianity that developed during Late Antiquity were often built against a pre-existing background of traditions later deemed "heretical." A key example of this phenomenon relates to the story of King Abgar and the introduction of Christianity to the city of Edessa

This tradition can only be vaguely decerned as a palimpsest read against the background of preserved early Christian discourse and is partly visible through heresiological labels such as Gnostic, Ebionite, Elchasaite, and Nazorean, as well as surviving early Christian and Jewish apocrypha traditions.[79] This evidence suggests that a well-developed and widespread *parallel* Christian tradition (or cluster of traditions) developed early on and largely independently in Aramaic-speaking Mesopotamia that presented a much different theological focus than what developed later into Nicene orthodoxy and therefore looks alien to ancient and modern commentators for whom Christianity in the Roman Empire is the primary point of reference. In particular, in these alternate traditions, a much stronger emphasis is placed on Christ's appearance (or rather appearances) in the world and his role as a revealer rather than the redemptive value of his embodiment, death, and resurrection, which were viewed as illusory. It is also differentiated by its assertion of an alternative Trinity emphasizing the femininity of the Spirit,[80] and a chain of "true prophets" periodically sent to humanity. I am suggesting, here,

(*Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1934]).

[79] Geo Widengren identified this as a form of "jüdisch-iranischen Gnosis" in specific reference to the *Revelation of the Magi* (*Mani und der Manichäismus* [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961], 29).

[80] This too was a reflection of its Aramaic context, in which the word for "spirit" is grammatically feminine. See Timothy Pettipiece, "Many Faced Gods: Triadic (Proto-)Structure and Divine Androgyny in Early Manichaean Cosmogony," *Open Theology* (2015) 1: 245–254, where it is argued that the entirety of the early Manichaean cosmogonic myth is rooted in this alternate trinitarian framework of Father-Mother-Child. François De Blois has suggested that this type of trinity tradition was "widespread" on the periphery of the late-antique world, and in fact represents the form of Christianity likely engaged with by Muhammed and the early Muslims, adding to its historical importance ("Naṣrānī [Ναζωραῖος] and ḥanīf [ἐθνικός]," 27).

that the *Revelation of the Magi* and the teaching of Mani represent two closely related theological trajectories derived from this stream of early Mesopotamian Christianity.

What accounts for such theological differences? The fact that these alternate Christian traditions developed in Iranian territory, during the late Parthian and early Sassanian periods, is certainly key. Sebastian Brock has suggested that the *Revelation of the Magi* may have, at least in part, sought to provide "a foundation legend for the Iranian Christian community."[81]Although, if we imagine the considerable religious diversity *on the ground* in the early Sasanian Empire, as evidenced by the inscription of Kartir, which mentions Jews (*yahūd*), Buddhists (*šaman*), Brahmans (*brāman*), and "baptisers" (*makdag*) as objects of his derision,[82] then it is possible that the *Revelation of the Magi* (and the teachings of Mani for that matter) could be viewed as an attempt to bridge the gap between a diversity of communities and establish a unified soteriological framework. It is worth noting, however, that the *Revelation of the Magi* contains almost no overtly polemical elements, and its author does not seem interested in attacking other religious perspectives directly. Instead, a story is told of a saviour from the light-realm that appears in multiple forms throughout the ages to all people in an on-going effort to achieve universal salvation. Tellingly, at the end of the star-child's discourse to the magi a voice is heard saying: "Amen! The will of complete salvation, joy and peace to all the worlds!" (*Revelation of the Magi* 21.12). One has to wonder if the very focus placed on the magi as bearing witness to the appearance of Jesus is in some sense an attempt to appeal to the imperial Zoroastrian tradition and to validate Christianity's status as a

[81] Sebastian Brock, "An Archaic Syriac Prayer over Baptismal Oil," 5.

[82] Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia*, 199.

religious minority in the Sasanian Empire.[83] Moreover, if indeed the author of the text was attempting to build a bridge between various neighboring religious communities, then perhaps the use of the title "Father of Greatness" itself could similarly be seen as a deliberate theological overture to Manichaean sensibilities.

As Sebastian Brock has also pointed out, the history of early Christianity is often distorted by the overriding emphasis placed on the Roman context, which is seen as somehow essential to its early development. From this perspective, the experience of Christians has often been stereotyped as either persecuted minority or supremacist majority.[84] Imperial Roman Christianity, as reflected by post-Nicene orthodoxy, could afford to be supremacist and exclusive in orientation, as it had the full-force of the emperors to assert its theological and ideological agendas. But what about Christianity in other contexts? For the most part, Christians in Persian territory were

---

[83] See Hultgård, "The Magi and the Star—the Persian Background in Text and Iconography," 225. A similar point is made by Sergey Minov in relation to representations of the magi in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, which are said to "reflect the values and aspirations of a Christian minority group seeking to engage actively the dominant culture of the Sassanian empire" ("Dynamics of Christian Acculturation in the Sassanian Empire: Some Iranian Motifs in the *Cave of Treasures*," in *Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians: Religious Dynamics in a Sasanian Context*, ed. G. Herman, *Judaism in Context 17* (Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2014), 200). Even the names of the Magi, such as Hormizd, Atrahšišat, Merodak, appear designed to make allusion to figures from prior Iranian and Mesopotamian traditions (*Revelation of the Magi* 2.3).

[84] Sebastian Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire: A Case of Divided Loyalties," 1-2. A similar issue has affected scholarly discussions of ancient Judaism, which until recently have placed emphasis on Graeco-Roman contexts as opposed to Parthian and Sassanian (see Jae Hee Han and Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Reorienting Ancient Judaism: Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Persian Perspectives," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 9 no. 2 (2018): 145-146).

tolerated as a recognized religious minority. Whereas Mani, in the 3rd century, sought to replace all existing religious traditions with his own universal church, his highly polemical efforts generated enormous hostility and resulted in his execution by the state. The *Revelation of the Magi*, however, appears to take an equally inclusivist approach, but a more conciliatory tone, in that it avoids overt attempts to antagonize other religious communities, while seeking to integrate them into a discourse of universal salvation. Such a universalizing soteriology might appear surprising and appealing to modern readers, but when viewed in its historical context and against a broader background of other related, early Christian traditions, it is perhaps not all that original. It is simply unfamiliar.

While enigmatic and exotic on the surface, the *Revelation of the Magi* and its Manichaean parallels appear to have inherited and integrated significant elements from a pre-existing tradition we know largely from fragments and hostile testimonies. Not only is it theologically compelling, but it also provides another important piece to the still incomplete puzzle of "early Christianities"[85] outside the Roman Empire.

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[85] I am not particularly fond of the plural coinage "Christianities." However, in the case of the earliest forms of the Christian movement in Syriac-speaking Mesopotamia it does seem as though we are faced with some fairly independent trajectories of development with unique characteristics.

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WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PREFACE

The present volume contains the translation of the text of the Odes and Psalms of Solomon, as they are edited in the previous volume. A critical introduction is prefixed dealing with the main questions that affect the time and place of production of these Odes and Psalms and their interpretation, and accompanied by detailed notes to each of the Odes.

We have availed ourselves, as far as possible, of the great efflux of literature caused by the discovery of the Odes, but it has not been found practicable to give exact credit to everything that has been wisely said, nor is it consistent with the laws of charity to register all the mistakes of translation and interpretation that have been perpetrated by the various writers who have discoursed on the theme, including ourselves. We are sensible that much yet remains to be done in the explication of the Odes

of Solomon, just as we are hopeful that a real advance will be registered in the present volume.

We hope, also, that the microscopic dissection of the text of these Odes, and the corresponding attempts to reach the mentality of their composer, will not wholly obliterate 'the first fine careless rapture' that accompanied their resurrection.

R. H.
A. M.

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

The Identification of the Odes.

We have given in the previous volume a brief summary of the materials upon which this edition of the Odes and Psalms of Solomon is based; and it is not necessary to repeat the descriptions which are there presented. For the sake of historical completeness we repeat, however, the evidence for the identification of the new Odes with the lost book which the Early Church spoke of under the title of *The Odes of Solomon*. The identification is the more necessary since the beginning of these Odes and the ending of the Psalms of Solomon are missing in the Rylands MS., and in the Nitrian MS. the greater part of the book is wanting, including the opening and the close. Thus we are precluded from appealing to introductory matter or to an attached colophon which might have contained a reference to Solomon, or to the songs themselves as either Odes or Psalms.

We begin, obviously, with the recognition that the latter part of the book contains, nearly complete, the collection known to scholars as the Psalms of Solomon, a collection extant in Greek in a number of MSS., and thought by most scholars to be directly derived from a Hebrew original. These Psalms are eighteen in number, a volume to themselves, and our MSS. show that they have been attached to a similar collection of Syriac hymns, forty-two in number. No distinction is made in our MSS. between the two collections, which are numbered continuously and described

simply as Psalms. We are to show that the first forty-two hymns are the lost *Odes of Solomon*, and then we separate the two collections, and assign to them the titles of *Odes of Solomon* and *Psalms of Solomon* respectively: for it is certain that the two collections did not always stand together.

In the Codex Alexandrinus of the New Testament (Codex A) the index at the end of the MS. shows that there once stood in the volume the eighteen Psalms of Solomon, the close of the index being as follows:

Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου·
Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ α′.
Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ β′.
ὁμοῦ βιβλία —.
Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος ιη′.

Here we see the Psalms of Solomon standing just outside the accepted Christian books of the New Testament in the very penumbra of canonicity. There is no evidence that the Odes of Solomon stood with them, though if we judged by the contents they are much nearer to the New Testament than their companions. At a later date we shall find the two collections fused together, with the priority given to the Psalms over the Odes.

Thus in the *Synopsis Sanctae Scripturae*, which passes under the name of Athanasius, though it belongs to a much later date (say the sixth century) we find after the enumeration of the *Antilegomena* of the Old Testament as follows:

Σὺν ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἠρίθμηνται·
Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δ′.
Πτολεμαικά.
Ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδὴ Σολομῶντος.
Σώσαννα.

Here ᾠδή is clearly a misunderstanding for ᾠδαί, under the influence of the canonical *Song of Solomon*.

We turn in the next place to the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus,

Patriarch of Constantinople, in the ninth century, where we find as follows:

ὅσαι ἀντιλέγονται καὶ οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζονται·

Μακκαβαϊκὰ γ΄· στίχ· ,ςτ΄.
Σοφία Σολομῶντος· στίχ· ,αρ΄.
Σοφία υἱοῦ τοῦ Σιράχ· στίχ· ,βω΄.
Ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδὴ Σολομῶντος· στίχ· ,βρ΄.
Ἔσθηρ· στίχ· τν΄.
Ἰουδίθ· στίχ· ,αψ΄.
Σώσαννα· στίχ· φ΄.
Τωβίτ, ὁ καὶ Τωβίας· στίχ· ψ΄.

In this list we again see the form ᾠδή for ᾠδαί: we edit the singular because it occurs in some MSS. of Nicephorus, and because it gives us evidence that these two book-lists have a common element; but we do not justify it as Zahn tried to do, by a reference to the LXX of 1 Kings viii. 53 (οὐκ ἰδοὺ αὕτη γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς;) it is clearly a mistake which has come down on two separate lines: the recognition of the error shows us, as Bernard points out, that we have to qualify our statement that the junction of the Psalms with the Odes may be dated in the sixth century. After all it may be earlier.

We observe that Nicephorus has given us the content of the joined Odes and Psalms as 2,100 verses. It is easy to show from the MSS. of the Psalms of Solomon extant in Greek that they were credited with a compass of 950 verses. Thus the proportion of the two books is:

Odes to Psalms as 1,150 to 950.
or as 23 to 19.

Now let us turn back to our MS. and we shall find as follows: at the beginning, three leaves are missing, the book being arranged in quires of ten leaves; these three leaves contained the first two Odes and the opening of the third Ode. The Odes then run continuously till the fourth quire, where they stop on the verso of the fourth leaf: this makes 34 leaves for the first group of songs in

the MS. Then we come to the known *Psalms of Solomon* for which we reckon 26 leaves, and if we estimate the space required for the missing portion, we may say that the Psalms occupied 28 leaves, and that the proportion between the two parts is Odes to Psalms as 34 to 28. This agrees closely with the estimate furnished by the Stichometries, being in each case a proportion of 1·2 to 1, which enables us to identify our first group of songs with the *Odes of Solomon* spoken of by ps.-Athanasius and Nicephorus.

Before we pass away from this part of the investigation we may find it important to note that there is a suspicion that both the Odes and the Psalms had been discarded from the canonical and deutero-canonical literature of the Church at Carthage at a very early date. The evidence is as follows: we possess a catalogue written in the year A.D. 359, and of North African origin, known as the Cheltenham Stichometry, from its discovery in the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham by Mommsen;[1] in this catalogue, the Salomonic writings are introduced as follows:

> 'Psalmi David CLI $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\bar{\text{V}}$.
> Salomonis $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\bar{\text{V}}$ D
> profetas maiores $\overline{\text{ver}}$ XVI CCCLXX. numero IIII.'

This is at first sight somewhat perplexing: it seems as if the Cheltenham list had only one book of Solomon, or several books reckoned as one, and that the total extent of this book or books is 5,500 verses. But, as Preuschen[2] has suggested, the real reckoning for Solomon has got into the next line, and we should read:

> 'Salomonis lib. V. ver $\overline{\text{VII}}$. CCCXX.
> profetas maiores numero IIII.'

If this restoration be correct we should have the Cheltenham list in evidence for five books of Solomon, but without any clue to the identification of the five books, or any means of comparison with the stichometry of the Psalms and Odes as given by Nicephorus.

[1] Sanday, in *Studia Biblica*: vol. iii. 217 sqq.
[2] Preuschen, *Analecta*, pp. 135 ff.

Now that Preuschen is correct as regards the numbers may be seen from the fact that the figure 7,320 agrees with the count which we find in the Vulgate MSS.[1] For here we have:

'Proverbs	1,740	verses.
Ecclesiastes	800	„
Canticles	280	„
Wisdom	1,700	„
Ecclesiasticus	2,800	„
Total	7,320	„'

This justifies Preuschen's restoration, and shows that five books of Solomon were reckoned amongst the canonical and semi-canonical books in North Africa in the middle of the fourth century, but *the Psalms and Odes of Solomon are not amongst the five.* The very same thing follows from the consideration of the list of canonical Scriptures contained in the Acts of the Council of Carthage in A. D. 397, for the entry in the list of canonical books,

'Salomonis libri quinque,'

can hardly be referred to any other grouping than that which we have already described. From this time onwards the tradition of the Church is steady that there are *five* books of Solomon. Thus we find in Innocentius, writing at the beginning of the fifth century:

> 'Prophetarum libri sexdecim, *Salomonis libri quinque*, Psalterium;'[2]

And in Cassiodorus, writing at the middle of the sixth century:[3]

> 'Psalterium librum unum; Salomonis libros quinque, i. e. Proverbia, Sapientiam, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum;'

and so in other places.

[1] Sanday, l. c., p. 266.

[2] *Ad Exsuperium* (Galland, *Bibl.*, vol. viii, pp. 561 ff.).

[3] *De instit. div. litt.*, cap. xiv.

Isidore of Seville, in the early part of the seventh century, divides the five Salomonic writings into groups of three and two respectively, and explains that the two which he detaches (Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus) were really the works of Jesus the son of Sirach, but have been credited to Solomon on the ground of style:[1]

> 'Duo quoque illi egregii et sanctae institutionis libelli, Sapientiam dico et alium qui vocatur Ecclesiasticus: qui dum dicantur a Iesu filio Sirach editi, tamen propter quandam eloquii similitudinem Salomonis titulo sunt praenotati.'[2]

We have been at some pains to show the persistence of the tradition of five books of Solomon in the Church, on account of its importance in regard to the question of the reception or the rejection of the Psalms and Odes of Solomon in the African Church. If they were ever extant in the Church of Carthage, it would seem that they were very early discarded, and perhaps by the authority of Cyprian himself; but we must not assume too hastily that either the Odes or the Psalms were extant in a Latin dress. We need not spend more time over this paleographical and statistical identification; and there are, as far as we know, no further references to the Psalms or Odes of Solomon in the lists of canonical books that have come down to us, unless there should be a cryptic allusion to them in the 'new book of Psalms written for Marcion', which the Muratorian Canon (sec. ii–iii) condemns, or the ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί which the Council of Laodicea (*c.* A.D. 360) prohibits from being used in the Church. In the latter case we have the opinion of John Zonaras in favour of the identification. But Zonaras in the twelfth century was probably, like ourselves, engaged in speculation. On the other hand, if we might describe ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί as meaning Psalms of personal experience, the term would exactly suit our collection of Odes.

We pass on, then, from catalogues of canonical books and their

[1] Isidore, *De ordine libb. S. Script.*, P. L. lxxxiii. 155 ff.

[2] For the persistence of the tradition as to the five Salomonic books see Nestle, *Zeitschrift f. alttest. Wiss.*, 1909, xxvii. 294 ff.

stichometry to the evidence furnished for the *Odes of Solomon* by actual patristic and quasi-patristic quotation.

We begin with a reference in the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius, to which, as far as we know, the attention of English readers was first drawn by Whiston in his *Authentic Records*.[1] Here we find Lactantius saying in the fourth book[2] as follows:

> 'Salomon in Ode undevicesima ita dicit: Infirmatus est uterus Virginis et accepit foetum et gravata est, et facta est in multa miseratione mater virgo.'

Lactantius tells us to look for this passage in the 19th Ode of Solomon,[3] and we immediately verify this on turning to our text. The only discordance appears to be the first word *infirmatus*, which stands in the place of an obscure Syriac word, and is itself obscure in the meaning. Of this more presently.

Before the discovery of the actual text of the Odes had made this identification possible, it had been acutely suggested by Ryle and James, in their edition of the eighteen Psalms of Solomon, that the reference of Lactantius proved that at one time more Salomonic matter was available than the eighteen known Psalms; and that it was probable that the original collection of the *Psalms of Solomon* was fitted with an appendix of the *Odes of Solomon*, the added matter being approximately equal in length to the original collection, and either Christian or marked by distinctly Christian interpolations. This was a brilliant piece of divination. It was not, however, necessary that the supposed appendix should come last. Our text shows it in the front place. No doubt there are two traditions as regards the order, as we shall see more clearly presently.

[1] Vol. i. 155.

[2] *De Div. Inst.* iv. 12.

[3] There is no reason to doubt the reference which is in all MSS. of the apparatus of Brandt's edition: the number is wanting in the MS. Kk. 4. 17 of the Cambridge University Library, but is found in Gg. 4. 24 of the same collection. We must certainly edit 'undevicesima' in Lactantius's text: the fact that no number is given in the *Epitome* of the *Institutes* does not invalidate this conclusion. The number was not wanted in an *Epitome*.

It was not unnatural to infer from the existence of the aforesaid quotation in the beginning of the fourth century, taken along with the fact that Lactantius, when quoting Greek books, such as Hermes Trismegistus or the Sibyl, quotes in Greek and does not offer a translation, that the Odes were current in a Latin version at the date mentioned. Further examination throws grave doubt on the accuracy of this suggestion, On reading over the fourth book of Lactantius's *Institutes* we came to the conclusion that it was based throughout upon a volume of *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos*, agreeing closely with the treatment of Cyprian of the same theme, and that, in particular, the quotation about the Virgin Birth is one of the anti-Judaic extracts in the collection. We thus arrived in this examination at the same result as Pichon, in his study of Lactantius, who is followed pretty closely by Bernard in his introduction to the *Odes of Solomon*. The matter is so important in view of recent investigations, which confer an almost apostolic authority on the primitive collections of *Testimonia*, that we must examine the question more in detail.

Bernard, then, whose attention had been drawn to the matter by Lawlor, put the case as follows:

> 'In Pichon's study of Lactantius, it is pointed out that his Bible quotations do not exhibit any special familiarity with the Old Testament—he only became a Christian while living in Nicomedia—and Pichon thinks that he may have got them from a collection of *Testimonia* like Cyprian's. If this be a well-grounded opinion, we can understand how Lactantius, alone among the Fathers, Eastern or Western, could have made the mistake of quoting the Odes as genuine Solomonic prophecy. He did not accurately know the limits or contents of the Old Testament. Other Fathers may have known the Odes, and probably some of them did, but they knew that they were not Scripture, so they did not quote them.'
>
> 'The evidence, then, of Lactantius amounts to this—that the Odes were known, and were ascribed to Solomon before the year 305 in the district of Nicomedia. We cannot be sure of the existence of a Latin version, nor even whether Lactantius

had access to them in Greek or Syriac, but we can be sure that he counted them genuine writings of Solomon.'

We agree that there is no evidence for the existence of a Latin Version; there is, however, evidence for the existence of a Latin *Testimony Book*, containing one sentence of the Odes of Solomon. It is the composer of this *Testimony Book*, or the person who interpolated Solomon into it, to whom Bernard's remarks appiy about his not knowing accurately the contents of the Old Testament. Thus Lactantius moves off the scene altogether, and we have instead to chase, and if possible to catch, the editor of the *Testimony Book* who is responsible for the insertion of the passage. To do this we must move into a much earlier time than Lactantius. We note in passing that if it can be established that Lactantius and Cyprian are using the same Latin collection of Testimonies, Cyprian has dropped the Odes from his tradition; this agrees with what we have shown above, that they were not a part of the canonical Scriptures at Carthage in Cyprian's day. But, if Cyprian dropped the passage, to what Father, at an earlier date, are we to credit their insertion? It is almost certain, as a result of recent investigations, that the *Testimony Book* in its earliest form antedates the New Testament, and is of Apostolic origin. How far back towards such an early origin does the quotation of Lactantius take us? The answers to these questions are of the first importance. We shall return to them again, when we come to discuss the date and authorship of the Odes in a subsequent chapter. For the present we content ourselves with stating the following positions:

(i) Lactantius in his fourth book of *Divine Institutes* is working from a *Testimony Book* as the foundation of his argument.

(ii) This *Testimony Book* was written in African Latin, and agrees closely with the *Testimonia* of Cyprian.

(iii) Where Lactantius diverges from Cyprian, as in the addition of uncanonical matter, it often happens that the divergent and additional matter will be found in Justin Martyr.

(iv) It is a reasonable inference from the foregoing that the common origin of *Testimonia* of Lactantius and Cyprian is earlier than the time of Justin Martyr.

Under the first head, which can be easily verified by a careful student, a detailed proof will be found in the recently published volume entitled *Testimonia*.[1] We note here the following points: the chapter in which Lactantius discourses of the Virgin Birth is headed editorially as follows:

> 'De Iesu ortu ex Virgine, de eius Vita, Morte, et Resurrectione; atque de iis rebus *testimonia Prophetarum*.'

The chapter opens as follows:

> 'Descendens itaque de caelo sanctus ille Spiritus Dei sanctam Virginem, cuius utero se insinuaret, elegit. At illa divino Spirito hausto repleta concepit, et sine ullo attactu viri repente virginalis uterus intumuit. Quod si animalia quaedam vento et aura concipere solere omnibus notum est, cur quisquam mirum putet, cum Spiritu Dei, cui facile est quicquid velit, gravatam esse Virginem dicimus? Quod sane incredibile posset videri, nisi hoc futurum *ante multa saecula Prophetae cecinissent*.'

It is clear from the foregoing that Lactantius is going to use *Testimonies from the Prophets* in proof of the Virgin Birth. He proceeds at once to the passage in the Odes, 'Solomon says in the nineteenth Ode', and then continues as follows:

> 'Item propheta Esaias, cuius verba sunt haec: Propter hoc dabit Deus ipse vobis signum. Ecce Virgo accipiet in utero et pariet filium, et vocabitis nomen eius Hemanuel.'

This is Cyprian, *Testimonies*, ii. 9. And that Lactantius is not only quoting prophets, but quoting them *adversus Iudaeos*, appears from what follows:

> 'Quid hoc manifestius dici potest? Legebant ista *Iudaei*, qui eum negaverunt.'

[1] *Testimonia*, by Rendel Harris and Vacher Burch (Cambridge University Press).

Very well, then: Lactantius quoted his passage from the Odes of Solomon by the way of a *Testimony Book* of an earlier day than his own, in which he found the Odes quoted as Solomon's, Solomon himself being numbered amongst the prophets. The introductory formulae:

> '*Salomon in ode undevicesima;*
> *Item Esaias;*'

are easily seen to be entirely in the manner of the *Testimony Book*.[1]

That the *Testimony Book* of Lactantius was in Latin, and of the Cyprianic type is seen by the fact that the editors use Lactantius's quotations to edit Cyprian by.

That Lactantius agrees with Justin in presenting an earlier type of quotation than Cyprian may be seen in a number of ways. Here is a single instance: in the eighteenth chapter of the fourth book, Lactantius quotes against the Jews a passage from Esdras:

> 'Apud Esdram ita scriptum erat:
> Hoc pascha Salvator noster est et refugium nostrum,' etc.

This unknown extract from Esdras is found again in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. 72:

> *Καὶ εἶπεν Ἔσδρας τῷ λαῷ·*
> *Τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ καταφυγὴ ἡμῶν·*

and it is one of the passages which Justin says the Jews have removed from the Bible; an explanation which probably means that he used it as an argument from his *Testimony Book* and could not verify it from the Scriptures. The concurrence of Lactantius

[1] Having shown the origin of Lactantius's quotation, the force is taken out of attempts to find parallels to the Odes of Solomon elsewhere in Lactantius. The most striking parallel is in *De Divin. Instit.* iv. 26 'Is, qui humilis advenerat ut humilibus et infirmis opem ferret et omnibus spem salutis ostenderet, eo genere afficiendus fuit, quo humiles et infirmi solent, ne quis esset omnino, qui eum non posset imitari.' This makes a very good commentary on Ode vii. 4, 'Like my nature He became that I might put Him on', but is not to be taken as derived from it.

and Justin in anti-Judaic matter is significant. It appears, then, that as early as the first half of the second century, the Odes of Solomon could be quoted as a part of the *Old* Testament, and that at this date they passed as being the work of Solomon.

The next stage in the identification of the Odes is concerned with the fact that five of them are quoted in the curious Gnostic book which passes under the name of the *Pistis Sophia*, where they are definitely referred to Solomon, are evidently transcribed from the author's Biblical text, and in one instance the quoted Ode has a number from which important inferences may be made. These five Odes are printed in full in our previous volume, in the Sahidic language in which they occur, with the commentaries and explanations offered by the author of the *Pistis Sophia*, and we do not need to recapitulate the textual evidence. Neither is it necessary to discuss in detail the composition of this strange book, the wildest of all the productions of Gnosticism that are extant. It is sufficient for our purposes to remember that the unique MS. in which the *Pistis Sophia* is found is credited to the sixth century, and that the book itself can hardly be later in date than the end of the third century. At first sight, then, it appears to be the *terminus ad quem* for the Odes which it quotes; but we must remember what has resulted from our examination of the citation in Lactantius, that the passage in Lactantius is taken from a book of *Testimonies*, which are probably at least as early as the second century; so that the honour of the first chronological evidence for the Odes of Solomon does not any longer lie with the *Pistis Sophia*.

Let us now see the way in which the writer of the *Pistis Sophia* makes use of the Odes. His method consists in working out a game of question and answer between Jesus and the disciples (male and female) who are gathered round him on the Mount of Olives. The Saviour takes a Psalm of David, disguises it carefully by the substitution of Gnostic terms for the ordinary Biblical language, and then asks for the solution of the meaning and origin of the fantastic Scripture which he has manufactured. One or

other of the disciples solves the riddle, and recites the Psalm which has been perverted. We have in this way what has been described as a Gnostic Targum preceding the text that is Targumized. Then, after the solution has been found, the whole Psalm is sometimes gone over sentence by sentence with its parallel Gnostic equivalent; this is what may be called for convenience the Gnostic commentary. Psalm after Psalm of the Biblical Psalter is treated in this way, and then referred to its place in the Psalter and to the Davidic authorship, usually in a formula like the following:

> 'This is what your Light-Power (a substitute for the Divine Name) prophesied through David in the 69th Psalm.'

Intermingled with these Gnosticised Psalms of David, we have, as stated above, five Odes of Solomon similarly treated; and because the treatment is similar we are entitled to say that the author of the *Pistis Sophia* found the Salomonic matter in his Old Testament, where it ranked along with the Davidic Psalter. Let us see how he introduces them when they are identified by the disciples.

The first Ode is introduced as follows:

> 'Mary the mother of Jesus answered and said: My Lord, thy Power of Light prophesied aforetime in these words through *Solomon in his nineteenth Ode* and said: The Lord is on my head like a crown,' &c.

Here the reference to the 19th Ode shows that we have the missing first Ode of our collection, taken from a text in which the Odes were preceded by the eighteen Psalms of Solomon, and numbered continuously with them, only in the reverse order of the relative position of Psalms and Odes from what we find in the Syriac MSS.

The fifth Ode is introduced as follows:

> 'And it came to pass when Jesus had done speaking these words to His disciples, that Salome stepped forward and said: My Lord, my [? thy] Power constrains me to tell the solution of

the words which *Pistis Sophia* spake. Thy Power prophesied aforetime *through Solomon* and said: I will give thanks to thee, O Lord,' &c.

The sixth Ode is introduced as follows:

'Peter stepped forward and said: My Lord, as to the solution of the words which thou hast spoken, thy Power of Light prophesied aforetime through *Solomon in his Odes*.'

The 22nd Ode is introduced as follows:

'And the Prime Mystery (i.e. Jesus) answered and said: Matthew, I bid thee produce the solution of the hymn which *Pistis Sophia* uttered. And Matthew answered and said: As to the solution of the hymn which *Pistis Sophia* uttered, thy Power of Light prophesied aforetime in the *Ode of Solomon*; He who brought me down,' &c.

The 25th Ode is introduced as follows:

'And the Prime Mystery answered and said unto Thomas: I bid thee produce the solution of the hymn, which *Pistis Sophia* hymned upwards to me. And Thomas answered and said: My Lord, as to the hymn which *Pistis Sophia* uttered, when she was liberated from Chaos, thy Power of Light prophesied aforetime through Solomon the Son of David in his Odes: I was rescued from my bonds,' &c.

Over and above these references to the Odes, when they are discovered by the acuteness of the disciples, we have in the commentaries an occasional reference to the Salomonic authorship; e.g. in referring to Ode vi, Peter says:

'Listen, my Lord, I will utter the word boldly (ἐν παρρησίᾳ) after the fashion that thy power *prophesied through Solomon*.'

Referring to Ode xxii Matthew says:

'This, then, my Lord, is the solution of the hymn which *Pistis Sophia* uttered. Listen, then, I will recite it frankly. The word which thy Power *spake through Solomon*,' &c.

For Ode xxv Thomas is the speaker, who says:

> 'This, then, my Lord, is the solution of the Penitence which *Pistis Sophia* uttered, when she was freed from Chaos: listen, then, I will speak boldly (ἐν παρρησίᾳ): the word which thy Power of Light *spake through Solomon*; I was rescued from my bonds,' &c.

It will be seen that it is only in the first Ode that we have the number of the hymn given; fortunately for us it was so given, as it enabled us to restore the Ode to its right place. The author of the *Pistis Sophia* had been misled by the similarity in one of its sentences to the fifth Ode, and had attached them to the explanation of that Ode.

We have now shown that the author of the *Pistis Sophia* had the Odes in his Biblical text, preceded, in all probability, by the Psalms of Solomon, and like them, ascribed to Solomon. He uses them alternately with the Davidic Psalms as being of equal, or approximately equal authority. This is not, however, all that we discover from the use of the Canonical Psalms in the *Pistis Sophia*. About ten years before the discovery of the Odes Dr. Budge published the Sahidic Psalter in a complete form from a sixth-century papyrus MS. When we compare the text of the Psalms in the *Pistis Sophia* with that of this newly published Sahidic Psalter we find that they are the same text with microscopic variations.[1] Either the *Pistis Sophia* was written in Sahidic, and naturally employed the Sahidic Psalter, or the translator who turned the *Pistis Sophia* into Sahidic reverted to the Sahidic Psalter when he came to translate the Psalms which he found in his text. And as we have shown that the treatment of the Salomonic Odes and the Davidic Psalms in the *Pistis Sophia* is strictly parallel, we are entitled to infer with strong probability that the Odes of Solomon have also been taken from the Sahidic Bible. That is to say.

[1] Rahlfs has pointed out that this is not true of the Psalms xxx (xxxi), xxxiv (xxxv), li (lii), and cviii (cix), which show signs of independent translation; v. *infra*.

before the end of the third century, there was a Sahidic Bible, as well as a Greek Bible, containing both the Davidic Psalter and the Psalms and Odes of Solomon. The antiquity which this consideration assigns to the Odes in their first form must be very great.

Incidentally we have shown that the Sahidic Bible must be also earlier than the end of the third century. This is a distinct gain to our knowledge of the versions. When Professor Burkitt wrote his article on the Texts and Versions of the Bible for the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, he could only say that 'the Sahidic version is probably of considerable antiquity', and that it can be traced back to the early part of the fourth century. The suggestion which he made that the orthodox Psalter had been used by the writer of the *Pistis Sophia* to make his unorthodox matter more respectable is negatived by a careful reading of the book, in which the canonical Psalms are seen to be a necessary part of the argument throughout.

CHAPTER II

Quotations of Odes in the Early Fathers.

We may now pass on to the consideration of the traces of the Odes in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. We have already shown that the quotation made by Lactantius comes through the medium of a collection of *Testimonia* very similar to the *Testimonies* of Cyprian, and earlier in date than the latter. It need hardly be said that these *Testimonies* are not of Latin origin: they must be translations from either the Greek or some Oriental language. Thus we have no Latin evidence, as yet, for the Odes. When we turn to the Greek Fathers the poverty of evidence is almost as conspicuous. The only passage, as far as we know, in Greek Patristic literature that has yet been claimed

as a transference from the Odes is the introductory sentences of the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, addressed to candidates for baptism, to which Dr. Bernard has drawn attention. It runs as follows:

> 'Already is there on you the savour of blessedness, O ye who are soon to be enlightened; already are you gathering spiritual flowers, to weave heavenly crowns withal; already hath the fragrance of the Holy Spirit refreshed you; already are you at the entrance hall of the King's house: may you be brought into it by the King! For now the blossoms of the trees have budded; may but the fruit likewise be perfected.'[1]

It must be recognized that there is some parallelism between this passage and the first Ode of our collection, in which we have an unfading crown of Truth which blossoms upon the head of the singer, and brings forth fruits that are full and perfect.

One might, perhaps, add a further parallel for the 'fragrance of the Holy Ghost' from Ode xi. 15:

> 'My nostrils had the pleasure
> Of the pleasant odour of the Lord.'

Dr. Bernard suggests that the first Ode had actually been sung before the delivery of the address to the Catechumens, and that Cyril's language was suggested to him by the song.

We shall return to the question of the supposed dependence of Cyril upon the Odes in a later chapter.

Meanwhile it is sufficient to state that we have not hitherto found any other passage in the Greek Fathers which has been claimed as evidence of a direct dependence upon the *Odes of Solomon*: we shall now turn farther east in search of parallels, after which we will return to the evidence of Greek Patristic literature.

When we pass from the Greek and Latin Churches and examine the Syriac literature, we come across indisputable traces of the

[1] Translated by J. H. Newman in *Library of the Fathers*.

Odes, both in the form of direct quotations and indirect allusions. Nothing definite can be found, as far as we know, in the pages of Aphrahat; but when we come to the works attributed to Ephrem Syrus we find ourselves in an atmosphere where the Odes are certainly at home. We use the expression 'works attributed to Ephrem' because we are obliged to recognize that a good many Syriac compositions bear his name without his authority, and thus acquire an artificial eminence. We may have to revise the mark of authorship in some cases; at present it stands for what it is worth. We are looking, in the first instance, for traces of the Odes in Syriac, and we find such traces in works attributed to Ephrem.

For example, here is a certain quotation from the Odes. In a series of discourses *on Paradise* Ephrem tells us:

'For nothing there is idle (*or* useless).'—*Ed. Rom.* iii. 584.

which is almost exactly the language of Ode xi. 23:

'There is abundant room in thy Paradise,
And nothing is useless therein;
But everything is filled with fruit.'

The Syriac of both is:

ܒܠܝ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܘܝ [ܚܕ̈ܪ̈ܘܗܝ] ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܝ ܘܠܐ ܒܛܠ.—Ephrem.

ܘܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܝ ܘܠܐ ܒܛܠ [ܚܕ̈ܪ̈ܘܗܝ] ܡܠܝ ܒܗ ܟܠ.—*Ode Sol.*

In the same series of hymns we find that Ephrem has made explanation for us of an obscure passage in the same Ode:

'They have turned away the bitterness of the trees,
When they were planted in thy land.'—Ode xi. 21.

To which apparently the following of Ephrem corresponds:

'The Devil caused the tares to grow
that he might choke the fair plants;
But the Blessed One in *His glorious Paradise*
sweetens their bitterness.—*Ed. Rom.* iii. 588.

An almost exact quotation from and imitation of the 13th Ode ('Behold, the Lord is our mirror') occurs in Ephrem, who, by the

slightest change of ܡܪܝܐ (the Lord) into ܡܝܐ (water), with subsequent modification of the pronouns, tells us that 'the water (sc. of baptism) is a mirror'; the passage is as follows:

'The water! its nature is like a mirror
To him that scrutinizes therein;
Provoke thy soul, O elect one,
And become like to that in which thy own image was depicted.
Take from it a demonstration;
Fix thine eyes on baptism,
Clothe thyself with the beauty that is hidden in it.'

Eph., *Hymn in Fest. Epiph.* i. 93.

The parallels are obvious:

'The Lord is our mirror;
Open your eyes and see them in him:
. . . . . .
Love His holiness and clothe yourselves therewith.'

It seems probable that Ephrem has changed the 13th Ode in the interest of the ritual of baptism, and turned the most beautiful of all the songs in the collection into a very second-rate product.

The same use of the 'mirror' Ode may be detected in a passage in the *Hymns on the Church and on Virginity* ascribed to Ephrem:[1]

ܡܪܝܐ ܕܢܩܝܐ : ܕܩܕܡ ܠܥܡܡܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ :
ܒܗ ܚܙܐ ܕܝܢܐ : ܡܢܗ ܡܬܟܫܦ ܓܠܝܐ :
ܘܒܗ ܫܡܗܝܢ : ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܟܕ ܚܙܝ :
ܫܒܚܝܢ ܡܢܗ ܚܛܗ : ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝ ܚܙܝ ܒܗ :
ܕܚܙܘ ܒܗ ܓܠܝ ܐܦ ܫܡܗܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ :
ܕܚܙܘ ܒܗ ܓܠܝ ܐܦ ܫܡܗܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ :
ܘܐܬܟܣܝ ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܘܡܢ ܟܝܢܗ :

i.e. 'The pure mirror: which is set before the Gentiles: they have acquired the hidden eye: they have drawn near and gazed into it: and because they have seen their own hatefulness, they have reproached themselves: their blemishes they

[1] Ephr. (ed. Lamy), iv. 602.

> have wiped away by it: their beauties have become fair by it. Blessed is he who reproves his own hatefulness by [the sight of] thy beauty: and on whom thou hast imprinted thy likeness.'

There can be no doubt that this section of the Hymn of Ephrem is based on the 13th Ode of Solomon (there is also an accessory parallel to Ode xv. 3, 'Eyes I have acquired', &c.). It becomes a matter of interest to inquire whether the Ode read in its first clause 'The Lord is our mirror' or 'The water is our mirror'. If we examine the composition of the poem from which our extract is taken, we see that it is a series of adorations addressed to Christ under various titles. For example, He is:

'The Treasurer of the Father',
'The High Priest',
'The Dew and the Hyssop',
'The treasure of the poor, and fountain of the thirsty',
'The rock upon which the Gentile Church is built',
'The Door of Truth',
'The refining furnace',
'The yoke that makes the bondman free',
'The pure mirror',
'The Vine',
'The Bread',
'The shipmaster who brings his ship to the haven'.

These titles of Christ show that it is Himself who is intended by the 'pure mirror', and that in Ephrem's book of Odes the 13th Ode began like ours. It is probable that the 'pure mirror' is an alternative form of the ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον of the Wisdom of Solomon, in which case it certainly did not stand, in the first instance, for the water of baptism. That 'the Lord is our mirror' appears also from the reference to 'thy beauty', 'thy likeness'; cf. the language of the Ode, 'Love His holiness and clothe yourselves with it'.

The reader will hardly fail to note that in the successive stanzas of the hymn we have been considering, there are suggestions of further parallels with the Odes of Solomon.

For instance, we shall find that Christ is called the 'purifying dew'; this goes back to the Old Testament (Deut. xxii. 2, and elsewhere), and is a common figure in the Odes, 'Bedew us with thy dew', 'The dew of the Lord', &c. The 'gracious one who chose the Gentiles and tolerates their blemishes, because he receives the penitent', is the same Christ who in the Odes is Himself 'unpolluted by His love for the Gentiles, because they confessed Him in high places'. (See *Odes* iii. 10; xxxv. 1; x. 5.)

The Christ who is 'the rock upon which the Gentile Church is built', is the one referred to in Ode xxii. 12, as the 'Rock which is the foundation of everything, upon which thou didst build thy kingdom'.

The 'yoke that makes bondmen free' is illustrated by Ode xvii. 11, Ode xlii. 7, 8, 20. 'All my bondmen', 'my yoke over those that know me', 'they are free men, they are mine', and note the parallelism between, 'by thy aid he has led captive his captivity', and Ode x. 3, 'to lead captive a good captivity for freedom' (cf. Ps. lxviii. 18).

Last of all, there is the figure of Christ as the Shipmaster who brings his glorious ship out of the turbid sea to the haven of life and the haven of peace. The original of this is, of course, Psalm cvii. 30, 'So he bringeth them to their desired haven', 'they are glad because they are quiet'; but the proximate parallel is Ode xxxviii: 'the Truth led me and brought me ..... to the Haven of Salvation—the ascent of immortal life'.

It is Ephrem, then, who is responsible for reading 'water' instead of 'Lord' in the opening of the Ode. It is quite impossible to approve his correction, however attractive it may have seemed to a primitive exegete. Dr. Abbott was certainly right when he said that 'to emend "the Lord is our mirror" into "the water is our mirror" would be, in my judgement, to degrade a simple,

deep, noble and truly poetic conception into a (comparatively speaking) artificial, thin, and elaborate conceit'.[1]

Mr. Aytoun reminds us that Ephrem's language has affected Moses Bar Kepha in his tract on the *Mysteries of Baptism*, 'When thou lookest on the water thou seest in it another in thine own likeness—like thee. Here thou wilt perceive that thou goest down to baptism one person, and comest up another instead, the new instead of the old'. The same transference of ideas can be traced in other Syriac writers.

To return to Ephrem and his acquaintance with the Odes, which is the question upon which we are engaged.

In the very obscure 24th Ode, which appears to be a combination of the Baptism of our Lord with the story of the Flood and the descent into Hades, we are told that:

> 'The abysses were seeking for the Lord, as women in travail:
> And He was not given to them for food,
> Because He did not belong to them.'

If this is rightly understood of the descent into Hades, we have striking parallels to the starving abyss in the *Carmina Nisibena* of Ephrem, e.g.:

> 'I, Sheol, was fed upon the dead,
> Yes! I feasted upon corpses.
> Elijah slew the prophets of Baal,
> And gave me those who on the bread of Jezebel had waxed fat.
> The righteous had constrained me to devour,
> But Jesus compelled me to disgorge all I had eaten.'
>
> *Carm. Nisib.* 39, 18.

> 'Gluttonous death lamented and said, I have learned fasting which I used not to know ..... One man has closed my mouth, mine, who have closed the mouths of many.'—*Ibid.* 35, 8.

The suggestion is natural that the hungry Hades in Ode xxiv is the Abyss which cries in vain for food to the triumphant Lord who liberates the imprisoned souls. In that case we should have

[1] *Light on the Gospel*, p. 416.

a parallel between Ephrem and the Odes, which is not far from a dependence of the former upon the latter.

For another instance of the way in which Ephrem modifies the Ode from which he borrows, we may take the opening of the ninth Epiphany Hymn (i. 89), from which we took the reference furnished by 'the water':

'O John! who sawest the Spirit
Which dwelt on the head of the Son;
That She (the Spirit) might show that the head of heaven
Had descended and been baptised,
And (from the water) had gone up to be the head of earth;
You have therefore become children of the Holy Spirit.
Christ has become your head;
And you are become his members.'

Dr. Wensinck noted that the last two lines were parallel to Ode iii. 2, 'His members are with Him', and Ode xvii. 15, 'because they were members to me, and I was their head'; but he did not seem to notice that the opening sentences were based on Ode xxiv:

'The Dove flew over the head of the Messiah
Because He was her head.'

A couplet which was quite primitive in its unorthodox doctrine of the subordination of the Spirit to the Son. The play upon the word 'head' which occurs in Ephrem is due to the fact that he is trying to make the Ode which he borrows orthodox. He explains carefully that Christ is the head of heaven (*not* of the Spirit), and that he becomes the head of earth also, for are not believers His members? We may take it that Ephrem was acquainted with the 24th Ode, which he borrowed and modified.

The point which we have established is Ephrem's acquaintance with the Odes and his dependence upon them. This means that he had the Odes in a Syriac dress, for he did not know Greek, nor Greek literature, except as translated. Thus the Odes must have been extant in Syriac before the latter part of the fourth century.

The Syriac Odes known to Ephrem must have been the same Odes as have come down to ourselves.

A curious case of the dependence of Ephrem on the Odes may be noted in Ode xxxiv. 1, where Ephrem says:

'The way is easy for the simple' (Eph., *R. E.* ii. 486);

which is an obvious adaptation of

'No way is hard where there is a simple heart.'

In Ode xxxviii. 4 the expression

'Because it was and is the Truth'

appears to have been reflected on

'Because He was Truth which He (also) is' (Ephr., *R. E.* ii. 388).

The next step in the inquiry as to the Patristic attestation of the Odes is the discovery that Ephrem refers to the Manichaeans, or to Bardaisan the teacher of Mani (as he calls him), a belief that the sun and moon receive mutually light one from the other. Now this belief is involved in the language of Ode xvi. 17, where the meaning was not detected by the first editors of the Odes. Literally the passage runs:

> 'And by their reception one from the other, they (sc. the sun and the night) fill up (*or* speak) the beauty of God' (Ode xvi. 17);

with which we compare:[1]

> 'Let us say what they say,
> But let us not assert what they assert.
> They say that it is the sun who receives this light from the moon:
> Beautiful (ملاع) are these receivers,
> Who receive one from the other,'
>
> (ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܙܢ ܡܢ ܙܢ)

which agrees closely with the Ode:

ܕܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܙܢ ܡܢ ܙܢ

the subject being, as we suppose, the sun and moon in both cases.[2]

[1] Ephrem, *Second Discourse to Hypatius*, ed. Mitchell, p. 20.

[2] See the note attached to the Ode in question.

The last sentence about the beauty of the receivers is interpreted in an ironical sense by Mitchell, who translates:[1]

> 'Right worthy [an ironical exclamation] are these receiving vessels which receive from one another.'

It is not necessary to take the irony so far back in the text, and the translation of ملم by 'right worthy' obscures the fact that the word is involved in the Ode, according to which 'by their receptions one from the other they fill up (*or* speak) the *beauty* of God'. Hence we translate '*Beautiful* are these receivers', and carry the expression back to Bardaisan, who is thus convicted again of an acquaintance with the Ode in question. The opening of the Ode has also something of Bardaisan about it in its references to 'the work of the steersman being the guidance of the ship':

ܡܕܒܪܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܐܚܕܐ.

for we have a similar expression attributed to Bardaisan in *De Fato*, c. 11:[2]

> 'We are not called upon to guide the ships, which only sailors know how to guide.'

ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܐܚܕܐ ܐܢܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܣܘ ܣܒܪ̈ܐ ܠܡܕܒܪ.

It is not an unreasonable supposition that Ephrem is here quoting Bardaisan in the very language of our Odes; and it follows from this either that the Odes are Bardesanian in origin, or that Bardaisan himself used a Syriac text of the Odes coinciding closely with our own. In either case the antiquity of the Syriac Odes would be made out without contradiction. We, therefore, proceed to inquire whether there is any trace in the known teaching of Bardaisan of such a coincidence with the teaching of the Odes generally as we have just noted.

In order to make the inquiry without prejudice we have to remind ourselves that the net result of recent investigation into

[1] *Introd.*, p. xxxviii.
[2] *Patr. Syr.* ii. col. 552.

the character and teaching of Bardaisan, such an inquiry, for instance, as is made in the very adequate discussion which Abbé Nau has prefixed to his study of Bardaisan in the Syriac Patrology, leads directly to the conclusion that the character of Bardaisan has been systematically blackened by Ephrem, who connects him with the worst aberrations of the Manichaeans, and thus makes a typical Gnostic out of a man who was, in all probability, as good a Christian as himself. In his early days Bardaisan was a follower of the Babylonian astrology, and he himself admitted in his later days that he had been thus misled; it was, probably, his knowledge of astrology which, in the first instance, cast a shadow over his great name. Although the fragments of the Bardesanian tradition which have come down to us are scanty, enough remains to indicate important correspondences with the teaching and language of the Odes. For example, it has been often observed that the creed of the Odist was defective in the article of the Resurrection. The teaching of Bardaisan had the same lacuna.

It appears that Bardaisan and his school held dishonouring views of the Human Body as the seat of evil, and that they interpreted the Body as the Coat of Skin which the Soul has to shed. It is clear that they had a very strongly stated doctrine of the Coat of Skin, and Ephrem makes emphatic protest against it. The heretics whom he denounces talked of the 'intoxicating foulness of the body', and that it was 'a hateful harp which prevented the melody of Truth from being played upon its strings'.[1]

Ephrem protests nobly against this depreciation of the Human Body, and maintains that 'the Body is akin to all the beauties of the Soul, and a partner with it in all good things. By means of the Body the Soul preaches truth in all the world, and the Body is a pure harp for the Soul'.

Ephrem will not allow that the Soul has put on the Coat of Skin over itself. He expresses himself ironically: 'How pleasing it

[1] See Ephrem, *Fifth Discourse to Hypatius* (ed. Mitchell, pp. cii ff.).

must have been to the subtle nature of the Soul to put on the gross coat of the vile Body! For the Body is vile according to their account'. 'But', says Ephrem, 'it is not vile, because the Soul praises Him who clothed it with the rational covering of Intelligent Senses.'[1] Ephrem makes a similar reply to the Apostates who hold the doctrine that the Body is a vile 'Coat of Skin' to the Soul, by affirming that the Body is not necessarily impure, nor the Soul necessarily pure.

> 'For consider the pure and righteous Body, how it is not such as the Apostates state when they say "that the Body is a covering which is from the evil Nature", nor is the Soul, as they say, from a pure root. For the eyes of the glorious body clothe themselves with chastity, its ears with purity, its limbs with glory, its senses with holiness; in its mouth is praise, and on its tongue is thanksgiving, and on its lips is blessing,' &c.[2]

The protest which Ephrem makes against the doctrine of the 'Coat of Skin' is a noble one. It is not necessary to assume that the doctrine, in the form in which Ephrem denounces it, is the actual doctrine of the Odes. There has been an accentuation put upon the Odes, or upon some expressions in them, in a Gnostic direction.

It is quite clear from these references that the Coat of Skin and the Harp of the Spirit, which we find so often referred to in the Odes, were a part of the theological furniture of Bardaisan and his followers, and that Ephrem resents the interpretation which they have put upon the language of the Odist; for our present purpose the coincidences in language which are involved in the teaching of the Bardaisan school and the Odes are a further proof, if proof were needed, that the Odes were known in Edessa, and that they were in theological use in the system of Bardaisan and his congeners. The Coat of Skin had, according to their teaching, replaced the original Coat of Light; that was the story of the

[1] See Ephrem, *Fifth Discourse to Hypatius* (ed. Mitchell, p. cvi).

[2] Ibid., p. lxxi.

descent of the Soul into the gross material body. The Way of Life consists in finding again the original Robe of Light. We have some account of this in the *Hymn of the Soul* in the Acts of Thomas, where the Soul coming from its state of pre-existence goes down into Egypt and 'forgets the imperial palace whence it came', and the imperial robe in which it had been arrayed. It is significant that Ephrem in attacking Bardaisan finds fault with this very *Hymn of the Soul*. He says (*l.c.*, p. cvii):

> 'If the Soul *came from a place*, as they say, who know not what they say, how and why is it not able to return to its natural place? For if it was *sent forth when a child*, it was here that it received understanding,' &c.

The allusion here is to the opening verses of the *Hymn of the Soul*,[1] which may be taken on Ephrem's showing as Bardesanian, as had been conjectured on other grounds. We are, then, entitled to say that the doctrines of the Coat of Skin and the Robe of Light, which we find in the Odes, were known to Bardaisan. Thus the Odes must have been known in Edessa before the end of the second century.

A further parallelism between the ideas of Bardaisan and the Odist will be found in the 38th Ode. In this Ode Ephrem discourses at length on Error as a form of intoxication, which Evil produces in those who go astray. Thus he says (*Fifth Discourse to Hypatius*, p. cxv), that

> 'Those things which intoxicate us also take away our memory, so that in one respect the drunken ones who go astray are not blamed, for they do not know that they are assuredly going astray.'

We have only to compare with this *Ode* xxxviii. 12, 13:

> 'They invite many to the banquet,
> And give them to drink of their intoxicating wine;
> So that they vomit up their wisdom and intelligence,
> And the [Deceivers] deprive them of understanding.'

[1] 'When I was a little child and dwelling in my Kingdom in my Father's House', &c.

Dom Connolly has suggested with some hesitation that there is a quotation from the Odes in an extract from Moses Bar Kepha in a British Museum MS. The passages to be compared are these:

ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܕܟܪ ܠܥܠ ܗܝ ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܕܟܪ ܠܬܚܬ ܗܝ.

'The likeness of that which is below is that which is above;'
Ode Sol. xxxiv 4.

ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܕܟܪ ܠܥܠ ܗܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܕܟܪ ܠܬܚܬ ܗܝ:

'For they say: The likeness of what is above are those things that are below.'—Moses Bar Kepha (*Exposition of the Jacobite Liturgy*), in Brit. Mus. Add. 21210, fol. 51 b.

Bar Kepha is explaining that the deacons with their fans represent the cherubim and seraphim, which is good enough allegory for the ninth century. Dom Connolly says that it is obvious that there is some close connexion between the two passages quoted above; but hesitates to claim dependence of Bar Kepha upon the Odes, on account of the ambiguity of the expression 'they say', with which Bar Kepha introduces the matter. We do not think he need have hesitated. It is almost certain that Bar Kepha is acquainted with the Odes in this passage and elsewhere.

We have stated in a previous passage that there had not been recognized up to the present time any quotations in the Odes in the writings of the Greek Fathers, unless we were to make an exception in favour of Cyril of Jerusalem and the prologue to his catechetical lectures. We are now going to show reason for believing that Eusebius of Caesarea was acquainted with the Odes.

In the tenth Book of his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (c. 8), Eusebius establishes the Messianic character of the 22nd Psalm, as shown by the agreement between its language and the Passion story in the Gospels. In the course of his argument he comes to the verse in which the Psalmist describes himself as surrounded by dogs and hemmed in by a congregation of evildoers. In the text of the LXX it runs thus:

ἐκύκλωσάν με κύνες πολλοί,
συναγωγὴ πονηρευομένων περιέσχον με.

The question naturally arises whether this text does not underlie the passage in the 28th Ode (v. 13), where the speaker says that

'They came round me like mad dogs,
Who ignorantly attack their masters.'

Let us see whether this is more than an accidental coincidence.

Eusebius explains that the dogs in the Psalm are the assembly of the rulers of the Jews who sought for the blood of Christ. Isaiah had also called them dogs, stupid dogs, who did not know how to bark (Isa. lvi. 10). If they had been good dogs they would have known how to bark intelligently at the guardians of the spiritual flock of the house of Israel, and how to fawn upon and *to recognize their master* (*ἐπιγινώσκοντας τὸν ἑαυτῶν δεσπότην*) and chief shepherd: and they would have watchfully guarded the flock entrusted to them, and, if they had barked at all, it would have been at those who had evil designs upon the flock: instead of that, after the fashion *of dogs really stupid and mad* (*ἑνεῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεμηνότων*) they set up a howling, and drove wild the shepherd's sheep. There can be no doubt that in his comments on the 22nd Psalm Eusebius has made use of the 28th Ode of Solomon; for here we have not only the encircling dogs, but also the statement that they are mad and do not recognize their own master. Eusebius, therefore, knew the Odes, and it is also abundantly clear that the language of the Odes is borrowed from the 22nd Psalm, and that the speaker of the verses which we have been discussing must be Christ Himself.

And if we are satisfied that the Odist found his mad dogs in the 22nd Psalm, we shall be justified in reading in verse 17 of the Ode that

'Vainly did they cast lots against me';

for this is Psalm xxii. 18, 'upon my vesture did they cast lots'.

The personation of Christ by the Odist probably begins with the eighth verse:

'They who saw me marvelled at me,
Because I was persecuted,' &c.

In that case, too, the statement that

'My birth was not like theirs'

is to be interpreted of the generation of Christ.

In the *editio princeps* it was remarked that 'perhaps the writer was speaking in these verses as if in the person of Christ'. The observation appears to be justified.

The same passage of the Psalms which we have expounded in Eusebius recurs in Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus, and with the very same explanation. Theodoret says that our Lord was surrounded by dogs and bulls, according to the Psalms: the bulls are the Jews who are, or should be, under the yoke of the law: they hand over our Lord to the unclean Gentiles, who pass under the name of dogs. After the Passion many of the dogs passed over into the rank of sons, and conversely: so that now the unbelieving Jews received the appellation of dogs because, after the fashion of dogs, they had *gone mad against the Master*:

τὴν κυνῶν προσηγορίαν ἐδέξαντο, ἅτε δὴ
κυνῶν δίκην κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου λυσσήσαντες.

The concurrence of Eusebius and Theodoret in quoting the 22nd Psalm with the singular number for δεσπότης shows that we should correct the Syriac text of the Ode from ܡܪܝܐ to ܡܪܝ, and read that the dogs 'came unwittingly against their Master'. Labourt and Batiffol have, in fact, translated it so; 'comme des chiens enragés, ceux qui dans leur inconscience marchent contre leur Seigneur'. Flemming also corrected the plural to a singular.

In the *Prophetic Eclogues* (ii. 13) Eusebius treats the passage in the Psalm which speaks of the dogs and bulls as encircling our Lord, in an anti-Judaic manner; first, by asking definitely those who vaunt themselves of circumcision, who are the synagogue of evil doers here referred to? and next by answering his own question and saying:

> 'Certain evil and beast-like powers wrought out the plot against Him, on whose account He said that "Many bulls encircled me about: fat oxen hemmed me in"; and con-

> cerning the synagogue of circumcision that made onslaught against them, he said, "Many dogs encircled me, a synagogue of evil doers hemmed me in,"' &c.

There can be no doubt as to the place which the Psalm occupied in anti-Judaic theology. We note, in passing, the anti-Judaic accent in the Ode.

Having convicted Eusebius of the use of the Odes in the passage about the mad dogs, we may examine into one or two further coincidences of thought and language.

In the sixth book of the *Demonstratio Evangelica* (vi. 9, p. 267) Eusebius is arguing, as he does in a number of places, that the 'new song' of the Psalms of David and elsewhere is a prediction of the 'new covenant'. In the 144th Psalm, for instance, we have (1) the inquiry, 'What is man that thou art mindful of him?' (2) the appeal to God to *descend* from Heaven. 'Bow the heavens and *descend*, touch the mountains and they will smoke'; (3) the resolve of the Psalmist, 'I will sing a new song unto thee, O God'.

Here, says Eusebius, the Psalmist, 'who marvels at the knowledge of God the Word toward men, is in deep amaze over *His kindness*, by which He took a lower place than Deity, and *minished Himself* of *His* native *greatness*, and *made the human race worthy of His own knowledge*:'

> *Τὴν γὰρ εἰς ἀνθρώπους γνῶσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου θαυμάζων, ὑπερεκπλήττεται τῆς φιλανθρωπίας, δι' ἧς τῆς θεότητος ὑποβὰς καὶ τοῦ συμφυοῦς μεγέθους ἑαυτὸν σμικρύνας, ἠξίωσε τῆς ἰδίας γνώσεως τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος.*

Now if we compare with this the seventh Ode of Solomon we shall find the following sequence:

> 'He hath *caused me to know Himself* without grudging in His simplicity: because *His kindness has minished His greatness*.'—*Ode Sol.* vii. 3.

There can be little doubt that the language of Eusebius depends upon the Ode. It helps us to see that 'humbled' for ܐܬܚܫ 'minished' was an inadequate translation.

The same argument in a narrower compass will be found in the *Prophetic Eclogues* (ii. 14), where Eusebius tells that:

> 'In great amazement the Word says: "Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou regardest him?" For to this very end the Word of God bowed the so-called heavens and descended, in order that He might be known to the race of men to have become incarnate, though He was previously unknown to them.'

When we compare this sentence with the preceding, and with the language of the seventh Ode we can have no doubt that all these passages are connected *inter se* by the language of the Psalm, and that Eusebius's comments on the Psalm involve the language of the Ode.

Our next example is from the tenth book of the *Demonstratio* (*D. E.* x. 8, p. 499), where Eusebius discourses in detail on the prophecies of the Lord's suffering and death which are contained in the 22nd Psalm. When he comes to the verses in which Christ speaks to the Father as *the one who drew me forth from the womb*, and was my hope upon my mother's breasts, he remarks that the Lord recalled those early days of Divine care for a consolation in His last agonies, and he represents the Messiah as saying:

> 'Just as thou wast my help when I assumed a human body, when from the womb of her that bare me, thou thyself, my God and Father, *as if playing the midwife's part*, didst draw forth from the womb that flesh which had been prepared for me of the Holy Ghost,' &c.

in which we see that God the Father is described obstetrically, in harmony with the language of the Psalm, 'Thou art he that didst draw me forth from the womb'. But this is precisely what is said in the 19th Ode:

> 'She had not required a midwife;
> For He (*sc.* the Father) was midwife to her.'

Thus there is no doubt that Eusebius has the 19th Ode in mind: that is shown by the use of the word μαιούμενος (acting the

midwife) as well as by the coincidence in thought: but both Eusebius and the Odist are ultimately drawing on Psalm xxii.

The identification is an important one, as the passage in the 19th Ode was thought by Mingana to be decisive as to the Syriac origin of the Odes, on account of the underlying play on the senses of the word سدا: but of this more elsewhere.

The 19th Ode has now been shown conclusively to involve the Virgin Birth, and a Divine accoucheur, and a painless delivery. So that if the Odes are from one hand the writer must have held the fully developed doctrine of the miraculous birth.

In the *Prophetic Eclogues* (ii. 13) Eusebius discusses the 22nd Psalm and its reference to our Lord. He says that it is matter of general consent among believers that the opening words refer to Christ, for they are the words from the Cross: then he says, in a striking and anti-Judaic manner:

> 'Before we begin to take over the prophecy of the Psalm as relating to Him, we will first inquire of those who vaunt themselves over circumcision, Who is the speaker in the Psalm? for it can hardly be an ordinary person who, *inter alia*, says the words, "Thou art He that didst draw me from my mother's womb," &c. It was to Christ, Christ alone, that it was appropriate to use such words to the Father.'

Here Eusebius fastens upon the birth-care of God as something outside ordinary life and faith, in a way that shows him to have in the *Prophetic Eclogues* the same idea of the miraculous birth as in the *Demonstratio*.

It is interesting, in this point of view, to notice that the very next page of the chapter of the tenth book of the *Demonstratio* has significant language regarding the supernatural birth of Christ, which can be paralleled in another of the Odes, from which it is probably derived. Eusebius (*D. E.* ix. 8, p. 500), continuing his comments on the verse of the 22nd Psalm, says:

> '"Thou didst cause me to hope when I was upon my mother's breasts", makes our Lord say on the Cross that "it is not now for the first time that I begin to hope in Thee,

but when I drew my infant nourishment from my mother's breasts, I was thought to be, like human babes, an imperfect and irrational being; yet I was not so, for even though my body was like other men's, yet it did not resemble the general in regard to power or essenec," &c.'

'Ενομιζόμην ὁμοίως τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βρέφεσιν ἀτελὴς εἶναι καὶ ἄλογος· μὴ ὢν γὰρ τοιοῦτος, εἰ καὶ σῶμα μοι ὅμοιον ἀνθρώποις ἦν, ἀλλὰ οὐ κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν οὐδὲ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῖς πολλοῖς ὢν ἐμφερής κτέ.

This is closely parallel to Ode xxviii, v. 16, 'I did not perish, for I was not their brother, *nor was my birth like theirs*'.

In the very same section Eusebius discourses of the descent of the Messiah into Hades, and his language is either borrowed from the Odes, or helps us to understand the meaning of the language of the Odes in obscure passages. For example (*D. E.* x. 8, p. 501) he tells how Christ descended into Hades, breaking the brazen doors and smashing the iron bars, and setting at liberty those who had aforetime been the bondsmen of Hades. With this last expression we may compare the closing words of the 42nd Ode: 'they are free men and they are mine'.

In the same 42nd Ode there is a curious expression, where the Lord, descending into Hades, is said to have been *gall and bitterness* to it. This is borrowed from the passage in Isaiah, where the fall of Lucifer is described: in the language of the LXX:

'Hades from beneath was embittered on meeting thee.'

'Ο ᾅδης κάτωθεν ἐπικράνθη συναντήσας σοι.—Isa. xiv. 9.

The objection might be made that the description of the fallen Lucifer is not a suitable parallel for the descending Christ: but this objection is met for us by Eusebius who speaks (*D. E.* x. 8, p. 503) of the angry demons crowding round Jesus like birds of prey, *just as they did round Lucifer* in the passage from Isaiah.

If we must not say that Eusebius is here reminiscent of the 42nd Ode, we may say that his language helps us to find the passage in the Old Testament that has influenced the Odist.

As the Peshiṭta version of Isaiah here follows the Greek, and not the Hebrew, we cannot draw any conclusions as to the original language of the Odes. The recognition of the dependence of Eusebius on the Odes is an important strategic point gained in their interpretation. *Inter alia* we see that the Odes like the *Demonstratio Evangelica* are occupied with the interpretation of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and especially with the Psalms. Among the Psalms it is evident that the 22nd Psalm had been an especial object of study: Eusebius devotes nearly a whole book to its Messianic prophecies; and the Odist has also studied it carefully, since he took from it the reference to the 'mad dogs', to the 'casting of lots', and to the miraculous accouchement of the Virgin. This Psalm, then, must have had a larger place among the primitive anti-Judaic *Testimonies* than we should, perhaps, have suspected; an examination of Cyprian's *Testimonies* shows four extracts from the Psalm, but not the reference to the mad dogs, nor to the miraculous birth. Gregory of Nyssa has the 'mad dog' passage, and some of the Cyprianic matter in a form that is archaic and anti-Judaic. Enough has been said to emphasize the connexion between Eusebius and the Odes, and between both of them and the primitive anti-Judaic *Testimonies*.

The discovery of the Eusebian use of the seventh Ode enables us to take a further step in another direction.

In the *Acts of Thomas*, in the story of the Wild Ass that talked to the Apostle, we have a kind of doxology to Jesus into which Judas Thomas breaks out, in which occurs the following expression:

Δόξα τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ σου
τῇ δι' ἡμᾶς σμικρυνθείᾳ.
Acta Thomae, ed. Bonnet, p. 195.

the parallelism of the language to that of Eusebius invites attention: but as the Greek of the *Acts* is not the original, we turn to the Syriac and find the words that have been translated:

معصما لحصلو وهلحلي احنا.
Acta Thomae, ed. Wright, p. نصح.

i. e. 'Glory to thy greatness which for our sakes was minished.'

which agrees closely with the language of the Ode, and is based upon it, just as the language of Eusebius is derived from the Ode on the Greek side.

We are able in this way to add another witness to the Syrian attestation, and it is very early testimony indeed, for every one is agreed to place the *Acts of Thomas* among the earliest remains of Syriac literature.[1]

As we have, in the course of our inquiry into Greek Patristic quotations from the Odes, stumbled upon a parallel in the *Acts of Thomas*, it may be thought worth while to add a few further remarks on the existence of other traces of the use of the Odes by the author of the *Acta*. It is probable that these Acts belong to the cycle of Bardesanian literature, and in particular that the *Hymn of the Soul* which is embedded in the *Acts* is itself Bardesanian and earlier in date than the first quarter of the third century. Thus the evidence, if we find any further coincidences, takes rank very nearly with the references in Bardaisan which we had already recovered; and the evidence will be especially valuable if it should come from incorporated hymns, which may be much earlier in date than the main body of the book. For example, when Judas Thomas

[1] The quotation was first recognized by Stölten in his *Gnostische Parallelen zu den Oden Salomos*, p. 36. Stölten, working from Bonnet's Greek text, thought he had found a further parallel in a passage in the *First Act of Thomas*, where Jesus is addressed as

'Ο σεαυτὸν εὐτελίσας ἕως ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σμικρότητος, ἵνα ἐμὲ τῇ μεγαλωσύνῃ παράστησας ἑνώσῃς σεαυτῷ.—*Acta Thomae*, ed. Bonnet, p. 121.

But here the parallel is not so close as in the former case. The Syriac is:

ܐܠܗܝ ܚܒܐ ܕܐܬܚܫܝܬ ܘܥܕ ܠܙܥܘܪܬܝ ܕܢܬܩܪܒ ܠܪܘܡܗ.

'Who hast let thyself down even to my littleness, that we might attain to His greatness.'—*Acta Thomae*, ed. Wright, p. ٩٩.

This is, however, no nearer to the Odes than the Greek, and like nine out of ten of Stölten's parallels may safely be set aside as irrelevant.

comes to the wedding of the King's daughter, he sings an epithalamium of his own, in praise of the Church as the Bride of Christ, and says of her that

> 'On her head dwelleth[1] the King,
> Who feedeth his dwellers that are beneath;
> Truth is placed on her head.'

The conjunction of these clauses is in exact parallelism with

> 'The Lord is on my head like a crown:
> . . . . . .
> The crown of Truth was woven for me.'—*Ode Sol.* i. 2.

and makes it clear that the *Acta* are quoting the Odes. The identification is important, as it confirms what we suspected from other considerations, that the first Ode of Solomon is of the nature of an epithalamium. The crown, moreover, is emphasized as being *Truth*, just as it is said to be in the ninth *Ode of Solomon*:

> 'An everlasting crown is Truth,
> Blessed are they that put it on their head.'—*Ode Sol.* ix. 8.

There is still a question to be solved as to the ultimate meaning of such a statement as 'the Lord is on my head like a crown'. The best parallel that has yet been suggested is the description of

[1] The Greek translator missed the meaning of ܗܢ in

ܕܫܪܐ ܗܢ ܟܟܠܐ.

and, supposing the root to be ܫܪܐ, rendered it

ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ ἵδρυται ὁ βασιλεύς.

He made a similar mistake on p. ܟܓ, where he rendered

ܐܠ ܗܢ ܠܟܠ ܟܥܣܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܢ ܗܘܝ ܕܥܡܠ ܠܟܠ ܣܡܠ:

'Come, dwell on this unguent as thou didst dwell on the tree'

by

ἐνιδρύσθω τῷ ἐλαίῳ τούτῳ ὥσπερ ἱδρύνθη
ἐν τῷ συγγενεῖ αὐτῷ ξύλῳ ἡ τότε αὐτοῦ δύναμις.

the high-priestly dress in *Sap. Sol.* xviii. 24, where the πέταλον is termed

μεγαλωσύνη σου ἐπὶ διαδήματος κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ,

where μεγαλωσύνη is the Incommunicable Name. The language would be appropriate to St. John at all events: for the early Church had a tradition that he used to wear the πέταλον, as if he were a high priest.[1]

The first Ode, then, is involved in the first of the Hymns in the *Acts of Thomas*. Now let us see whether we can find any traces of the 42nd Ode.

The *editio secunda* had already suggested that a parallel to Ode xlii. 18,

'It was not able to endure my face',

might be found in the *Acts of Thomas* in the words:

Οὗ τὴν θεὰν οὐκ ἤνεγκαν οἱ τοῦ θανάτου ἄρχοντες.
(ed. Bonnet, p. 265);

where the Syriac has the singular 'ruler of death':

ܠܐ ܝܟܠ ܗܘ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܠܡܣܒܘܗܝ.
(ed. Wright, p. ٥٥);

but does not say what it was that 'the ruler of Death was unable to bear'; probably the words, 'my face', have dropped from the text.[2] It is possible that an object to the verb is missing: Wright adds a general object 'it' in brackets. Notice that with the exception of the missing object, the Syriac of the Ode is very close to the *Acta*:

ܠܐ ܝܟܠ ܠܡܣܒܘܗܝ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ.

Certainly the one text is dependent on the other.

So we prove the book of *Odes*, from its first Ode to its forty-

[1] Batiffol also compares Proverbs iv. 9:
'[Wisdom] shall put on thy head a crown of grace.'

[2] Vision is implied in the previous clause:
'The dead saw thee and became alive.'
'It' is therefore what the dead saw.

second, to be available for the author of the *Acta Thomae* unless it can be shown that there is interpolation in the series of the Odes.

Further traces of the use of the 42nd Ode may be seen in the prayer of Judas Thomas in the bride-chamber in the first Act.

We may compare:

'Thou didst descend to Sheol and go to its uttermost end';
Acta Thomae, p. مه.

with

'I descended with him to the extreme of its depth.'—*Ode* xlii. 12.

And:

'Thou didst open its gates and bring up its prisoners',
Acta Thomae, ibid.

with

'Bring us out from the bonds of darkness, and open to us the gate by which we may come out to thee.'—*Ode* xlii. 16, 17.

CHAPTER III

Quotations of Odes in the Early Fathers (*continued*).

We come now to a very obscure passage in the Odes, where by a slight emendation the text can be reduced to intelligibility, and, perhaps, dependence upon the Odist can be established on the part of one of the earliest Christian Fathers.

In the 38th Ode we have a story of the triumph of the Odist over the wiles of heresy, perhaps as represented in the persons of a male and female heretic. From the allurements of heresy and the witchcrafts of error the writer is preserved by the Truth which goes with him, and which exposes to him the sophistries and dangers of the aberrant teaching. The Ode says obscurely, according to the rendering of the *editio princeps*:

'(The Truth) made clear to me all the poisons of error and the plagues which announce the fear of death.'

For this the second edition substituted:

> 'And the plagues of death which they think to be sweetness.'

Here a slight change has been made in the order of the words,[1] and an attempt was also made, following the suggestion of Ungnad and Stärk, to restore ܣܟܘܬܐ ('sweetness') of the MS. for ܕܚܠܬܐ ('fear'). This correction is confirmed by the Nitrian MS. The sense, however, is still obscure; for what meaning can be attached to the 'sweetness of death', and how could the 'plagues of death be thought to be sweetness', without a strong margin being allowed to the imagination as interpreter of obscure readings?

Our suggestion now is that we follow the reading of the MSS., with a possible displacement of the word 'death', and see what can be done to reduce to intelligibility the sentence:

> 'All the poisons (*or* medicaments) of error, and the plagues of death, which they think (*or* which are supposed) to be sweetness.'

A little lower in the Ode we are told that the teachers of error operate upon their victims with intoxicating wine; and the suggestion arises that the deadly poison has been introduced into the wine, and that the wine thus drugged has been sweetened with honey. The victims think they are drinking *οἰνόμελι*: and a reference to the Syriac Lexicon of Brockelmann will show that the Syriac word for 'wine sweetened with honey' is ܣܟܠܐ, which is very near in form and meaning to the 'sweetness' of the MS.

The very word ܣܟܘܬܐ in our MSS. can, in fact, be taken to mean 'sweet drink'. Ephrem, in attacking Bardaisan and his heresies, uses the same figure and the same expression as the Odes. He says that Bardaisan, in composing his Psalter in imitation of David, was 'administering to the simple bitters in ܣܟܘܬܐ'. Here

[1] The Syriac tolerates the detachment of the words which we throw into connexion. 'Plagues of death' are the same thing, of course, as 'deadly plagues'.

سحصلا is not merely 'sweetness', but something with which the poison is taken, i. e. a sweet drink. It would naturally be equated with the Greek *οἰνόμελι*:

هنس حلاهتصا صذزا حسحصلا:
Ephr. *R. E.* ii. 553 F.

We thus are able to read the sentence in the Ode thus:

> 'All the drugs of Error and the plagues of death which they think to be honey-wine.'

Now let us turn to the Ignatian Epistles: in his letter to the *Trallians* (chap. 6) Ignatius warns the Church against those heretics who are mingling poison with Christ, and who give, as it were, some deadly drug along with honey-wine (*οἰνομέλιτι*), which the unwary receives with delight (and along with his evil delight, receives death[1]). Here, then, we have the very same sequence of ideas as in the Odes, erroneous teaching mingled with truth, like poisonous, deadly drugs in honey-wine.

So we suggest that the Syriac of the Odes has been trying to translate *οἰνόμελι* (or conversely), and has given a rendering (or a vocable) very similar to that in the *Geoponica* to which Brockelmann refers.

If this be the case we shall be almost obliged to admit that the *Ignatian Epistles have incorporated a quotation or the equivalent of a quotation from the Odes of Solomon.*

If this can be maintained we ought to be able to take certain further steps: in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans (chap. 7) the prospective martyr speaks of the decline of his natural passions, and of his attachment to the Cross, and says that within him the living water is talking and saying 'Come to the Father'. The water is oracular, like that of the fountain of Daphne, with which the writer was familiar. For the *ὕδωρ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν* Lightfoot argues that we ought to read *ὕδωρ ζῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενον*, and so to

[1] Greek text somewhat obscure at the end.

make connexion with the Gospel of John (iv. 14). The reader is referred to the note in the *editio princeps* (pp. 47, 48), in which it was maintained that Lightfoot's view was untenable, and it was concluded that 'our seventh Ode showed the fitness of the Ignatian expression, but that it was not necessary to assume any connection, either of place or authorship, with the Ignatian letters'. The coincidence of language was established, but not pressed. In view, however, of the possible use of the 38th Ode by Ignatius, the coincidence between the 11th Ode (verse 6) and Ignatius *ad Rom.* (chap. 7) may be more than accidental.

The coincidences between the Ignatian Epistles and the Odes are deserving of further attention. Assuming that we are correct in finding in the Odes the Ignatian 'oenomel' into which drugs are put, and assuming that the reference to the 'talking water' is a genuine parallel, we have to ask what is the meaning of these coincidences. If the oracular water is that of the sacred spring at Daphne, as has been suggested by writers on the Ignatian Epistles, the use of the figure for spiritual inspiration might be Ignatius's own. In that case, what of the Odes? Do they copy Ignatius's language? That seems very unlikely. If the 'oenomel' is a correct parallel, it is surely original with the Odist, for it is far more likely that Ignatius, writing letters rapidly on his western journey, should quote the Hymn-book of the time, than that the early Hymn-book should have picked up an obscure passage in a letter which had hardly got into circulation at a very early date.

What shall we say? Is it possible that the Odist is himself Ignatius? It is well known that there is a tradition in the Church that Ignatius taught the Antiochenes their hymns, that is, that he composed them, words and music. The passage is as follows:

> 'We must also tell whence the custom of the Church of singing antiphonal hymns had its origin. Ignatius, the third bishop after Peter of the Syrian Antioch, who also had personal intercourse with the Apostles themselves, saw a vision of angels praising the Trinity in Antiphonal hymns, and

> delivered the fashion of the vision to the church in Antioch: from whence also the same tradition was transmitted to other churches.'—Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 8.

This is the earliest evidence, dating from the middle of the fifth century, for the tradition of Ignatius and his vision of the angelic choirs. Lightfoot points out that it is repeated by later writers, chiefly Syrian, such as Solomon of Bassora, Gregory Bar Hebraeus, Nicephorus Callistus, and Amr of Ṭirhān, and says that 'a tradition which appears so late (as the time of Socrates the historian) does not deserve consideration, as containing any element of historical fact'; and that 'antiphonal singing did not need to be suggested by a heavenly vision'. Well, suppose we let the vision go. The tradition, if it has an historical nucleus at all, can hardly be reduced to less than the existence of an Antiochene antiphonal hymn-book and some possible connexion of Ignatius with the same.

Let us see if we can find any further coincidences of language. In Ode VI we have the following expression:

> 'Blessed are those *ministers* (διάκονοι) who are *entrusted* with that water of His.'

Here there is no need to take the term 'ministers' in an ecclesiastical sense, as limited to a third order. In Ignatius we find the following passage:

> τῶν διακόνων τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—*Ad Magn.* 6.

Here we get the same idea of ministers *entrusted* with ministry, but it is of the formal diaconate that the writer is speaking; he has already referred to bishops and presbyters.

In writing to the Philadelphians, Ignatius asks them to select a special minister, to carry a message to Antioch:

> χειροτονῆσαι διάκονον . . . . . μακάριος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὃς καταξιωθήσεται τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας.—*Ad Phil.* 10.

Here the deacon elected is a kind of superfluous officer, chosen for a particular service. He is described as μακάριος, as in the Odes, and he is happy in being *counted worthy* of his ministry, which is very near to the πεπιστευμένος of the former passage of the Odes. Taking the two passages together it looks as if Ignatius had the language of the Ode in his mind when he was writing.

In Ode VII, 21 we are told that 'ignorance hath been dissipated because the knowledge of the Lord hath arrived'. This curious statement about the 'dissipation or destruction of ignorance' has a parallel in the epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians:

> 'Ignorance was dissipated, the ancient kingdom was destroyed, when God was manifested as man for the renewal of eternal life.'—*Ad Eph.* 19.

There is a certain degree of parallelism here; but if there is any connexion the priority is with the rhythmic sequence of the Ode.

In Ode XVII, 10, 11 we have Christ speaking:

> 'Nothing appeared closed to me:
> Because *I was the door* of everything:
> And I went towards *all my bondsmen to loose them.*'

In the Epistle to the Philadelphians, Ignatius says that

> 'Christ Jesus shall *loose* from you *every bond*' (*Ad Phil.* 8),

and this is followed by the statement that

> '*He is the door* of the father, by which enter Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the prophets and the apostles and the Church.'—*Ad Phil.* 9.

that is, Jesus Christ is the door *of everybody*, which is an explanation of the '*door of everything*' in the Ode. Somewhat in the same way, Ignatius has modified 'all my bondsmen', to 'all your bonds'.

It certainly is suspicious that we find these parallelisms: they invite the belief that Ignatius knew the Odes closely.

Reviewing the group of passages, whose degree of parallelism we have to estimate, we may, perhaps, find sufficient reason for believing (i) that Ignatius knew the Odes; (ii) that he was not

himself the Odist: as indeed his style bears no resemblance to the lofty strains of the Odes. Where the two writers come nearest together geographically is in the reference to the 'talking water', if that really means the water of Daphne. Is it possible that it is an Antiochene book of sacred songs that we have been discussing? They are certainly Antiphonal if they are not Ignatian: that part of the tradition of Socrates may be accepted.

Having traced certain agreements in thought and expression between Ignatius and the Odist we have been reminded that, quite in the early days of the criticism of the Odes, Professor de Zwaan constructed in the *American Journal of Theology* a spiritual parallel between the two writers.[1] He argued for 'a certain similarity', not so much between the Ignatian letters and the early Christian hymns which Dr. Harris had recovered, as between 'Ignatius and the Odist', and concluded that 'literary dependence is out of the question, but *spiritual kinship* is so clear in this case, notwithstanding the evident difference in character and pursuits, that one may feel sure of its testimony'.

Professor de Zwaan actually draws attention to the parallel between the language of Ignatius, *Ad Eph.* 19, '*Lack of knowledge* was destroyed' (so translating ἄγνοια), and the teaching of the Odist, who lays 'much more stress on truth and error than on the Cross'. But apparently he did not quote the actual words of the Odist (Ode vii) with regard to the 'destruction of ignorance'. He very justly makes a parallel between the 19th Ode and the language of Ignatius in reference to the Virgin Birth, and presumes that 'Ignatius would not have heard without edification the passage which to some scholars seems incongruous with the elevated tone of the Odes'. With this judgement we are in agreement, for Ignatius when he ventures into poetical figure can be almost as unbridled in the use of the imagination as anything we find in the Odes, and, moreover, he is undoubtedly in evidence for the Miraculous Conception and Birth.

[1] *Amer. Journ. Theol.* for 1911, pp. 617–25.

In discussing the tradition of Socrates with regard to the choral or antiphonal singing in the Church at Antioch, it is natural to refer to the passage in which Ignatius, in his letters, suggests choral singing to the Churches to whom he has written: it may be assumed that such forms of singing were familiar in Greek Churches, at all events. In the Epistle to the Ephesians Ignatius sets the chorus, which he forms, with its face towards the bishop, having previously strung the presbytery on the bishop, considered as the framework of a lyre. 'All of you form yourselves into a chorus', says he: 'in your harmonious love, Jesus Christ is sung.'

In the *Odes of Solomon*, upon whose choral character Tondelli and others have rightly laid such stress, we find the chorus for the most part involved in the doxology with which so many of the Odes conclude: but there is one Ode in which the Odist does not sing in his own person, but assumes an accompanying chorus and invites it. The language is so similar to that of Ignatius that we may resort to the interpretation by parallel. The 41st Ode, then, begins as follows:

> 'Let *all of us* who are the Lord's bairns, praise Him:
> And let us appropriate the truth of His faith:
> *And His children shall be acknowledged by Him:*
> Therefore *let us sing in His love.*
> . . . . . .
> Let us, therefore, *all of us unite together* in the name of the Lord.'

The Ignatian parallels, the one referred to above, and a corresponding one in the Epistle to the Romans, are as follows:

> '*In your* concord and harmonious *love* Jesus Christ *is sung.* And do ye, *each and all* (κατ' ἄνδρα), form yourselves into a chorus, that, being harmonious in concord, and taking the key-note of God, ye may *in oneness sing* with one voice through Jesus Christ unto the Father, that He may both hear you *and acknowledge you* by your good deeds to be the members of His Son (i. e. his children).'—*Ad Eph.* 4.
>
> 'Forming yourselves into a *chorus, in love sing* to the Father in Jesus Christ.'—*Ad Rom.* 2.

The language of Ignatius again suggests familiarity with the Odes, and confirms our belief in their choral character; it helps us to understand what is meant by the Syriac sentence which literally says, 'His children shall be known with Him', and which evidently means, 'Shall be acknowledged by Him' (ἐπιγνωσθήσονται) in accordance with Syriac idiom.

In the *editio princeps*, as stated above, there were feelers thrown out without any decisive result for coincidences with the Ignatian Epistles. One passage to which reference was made was in the 41st Ode, to which we have just been alluding, where the Odist tells us that

'The Christ is really One' (xli. 15),

and the parallel which was quoted was from the letter to the Magnesians, in the words,

εἷς ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.—*Ad Magn.* 7.

The parallel is really stronger than the quoted words. For it continues with the statement that there is 'one temple, even God; and one altar, even Jesus Christ, who came from One Father, and is with One and departed unto One'. This passage may be taken as a comment upon the sentence in the Ode, which it actually reproduces (without the adverb 'truly'); Lightfoot has wrongly emended ὅς for εἷς.

Let us see whether Ignatius agrees with the Odist in the treatment of the heretics of his time. He has already compared them to persons who put drugs in sweet drinks. We found, also, that the Odes describe such persons as 'mad dogs who ignorantly attack their Master', the language being derived, like so much else, from an allegorical interpretation of the 22nd Psalm. Ignatius also has described the heretics as 'mad dogs' (κύνες λυσσῶντες) who bite stealthily (λαθροδῆκται), and whose bite is practically incurable (*Ad Eph.* 7). These are evidently the same dogs as we know in the Odes. Apparently Ignatius has misunderstood the words of the Odist as to the dogs biting (ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ), which was

meant to express the ignorance of dogs failing to recognize their own particular master; Ignatius takes it to mean that the dogs bite when one is not aware of what is coming; the ignorance is in the bitten, not in the biter.

We see, then, that Ignatius regards the heretics and unbelievers as (i) poisoners; (ii) mad dogs, just as the Odist does. In the first instance the 'mad dog' was the Jew, and the mention of him came in from an anti-Judaic testimony against the Jews as a 'synagogue of evil-doers'; by Ignatius's time the application appears to be general.

A particular heresy which both writers combat is that which denied the unity of Christ's nature, perhaps a form of Docetism. Ignatius, as we have seen, may be using the very formula of the Odes ('Christ Jesus is one person').

We now come to a curious coincidence both in thought and in language between the Odes and the *Epistle of Barnabas*. In Ode xxxi. 10–13 the Odist is speaking in the person of Christ, and affirms:

> 'I *endured and* held my peace,
> . . . . . .
> That I might redeem my people and *inherit it*:
> And that *I might not make void my promises to the patriarchs*,
> To whom I promised the salvation of their seed.'

With this we may compare *Barnabas*, c. 5:

> 'He *himself endured* that He might destroy death and show forth the resurrection of the dead (for that He must needs be manifest in the flesh); *that* at the same time *He might redeem the promise made to the fathers* and prepare the new people for Himself,' &c.

The closest Biblical parallel is Romans xv. 8, where Christ is said to be God's minister:

> εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν πατέρων.

We may compare Irenaeus, iv. 15 (ed. Mass. 236):

> 'Abraham, et semen eius quod est Ecclesia, per Christum Iesum, cui et adoptio *redditur et haereditas quae Abrahae promissa est.*'

The same arguments may be found in Justin, *Dial.* 119, 120. It is possible that the coincidences are due to dependence upon a primitive collection of *Testimonies*. The coincidence, however, between the Odist's language and that of Barnabas is very close.

The suggestion in the foregoing passages that we have recovered a genuine parallel to the Odes in the *Epistle of Barnabas* encourages us to look more closely into the texture of this Epistle: for the *Epistle of Barnabas* is one of the least-valued books of the sub-apostolic literature and one of the most valuable. Its anti-Judaic character, combined with its constant dependence upon primitive anti-Judaic *Testimonia*, makes it one of the best exponents that we can find of primitive Christian belief and teaching. It quotes the *Teaching of the Apostles en bloc*, and not only *en bloc* but in separate passages.[1] The observation is an important one, as showing how Barnabas operates with his sources and is influenced by them. If, then, Barnabas uses written sources and uses them freely, as in the case of the *Didaché* and the *Testimony Book*, it is at least an open question whether he does not, in a similar manner, show reminiscence of the Odes. Let us see what the Epistle suggests in the way of parallels, over and above the reference to the 31st Ode which we have already quoted.

In i. 2 Barnabas speaks of having observed that upon his hearers there had been poured forth the Spirit *from the wealth of the fountain of the Lord*:

> ἀληθῶς βλέπω ἐν ὑμῖν ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου τῆς πηγῆς Κυρίου πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.

In Ode xi. 6 we have:

> 'Speaking waters touched my lips
> From the *fountain of the Lord plenteously*.'

[1] Cf. *Barn.* iv. 9.

The same expression 'the fountain of the Lord' occurs in Ode xxx. 2:

> 'Come all ye thirsty and take a draught,
> And rest by *the fountain of the Lord.*'

In i. 4 Barnabas apologises for his loquacity in the Christian meetings, and says that

> 'Although I talked much among you I know well that *the Lord travelled with me in the way of righteousness.*'

> *ἐν ὑμῖν λαλήσας πολλὰ ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι ἐμοὶ συνώδευσεν ἐν ὁδῷ δικαιοσύνης Κύριος.*

In Ode xxxviii we have constant references to the companionship of the Truth with the Odist in his journey; e. g.:

'The Truth went with me':
'I walked with him':
'The Truth proceeds in the right path':
'I congratulated myself because the Truth went with me.'

Again in Ode xli. 11:

> 'His Word is with us in all our way.'

Again, in Ode xvii. 5:

> 'The thought of the Truth led me on,
> And I walked after it and did not wander.'

In Barnabas iv. 12 we may note the expression used of the good man, that

> 'His righteousness shall go before him.'

(i. e. to judgement).

> *ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ προηγήσεται αὐτοῦ.*

With this we may compare Ode viii. 21, 22:

> 'At my own right hand I set my elect:
> *And my righteousness goeth before them.*'

Both of these passages go back ultimately into Isaiah lviii. 8:

> 'Thy righteousness shall go before thee.
> The glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward.'

καὶ προπορεύσεται ἔμπροσθέν σου ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου, καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ περιστελεῖ σε.

Special attention should be paid to this section of Isaiah, because it is certainly a part of the primitive *Testimony Book*: the section in which it occurs is actually quoted in Barnabas iii, in order to establish the doctrine of the *new fast* ('Why do ye fast, saith the Lord?'); and it appears to have influenced one other passage in the Odes, viz. Ode xx. 9:

> '*His glory shall go before thee,*
> And thou shalt receive of His kindness and His grace.'

Either, then, Barnabas has been influenced by the Odes or by Isaiah; more probably the latter, as he is shown to have quoted the section of Isaiah to which we have been referring, and coincides in his language at one point with that section more closely than the Odist does.

In Barnabas xii. 5, where the brazen serpent is said to be a type of Jesus, we are told that:

> 'Moses again made a symbol of Jesus to show that He must suffer, and that He Himself *whom they shall think to have perished* shall make alive again by a sign (of his cross) though Israel falls (*or*, shall typically make alive again', &c.).

Πάλιν Μωϋσῆς ποιεῖ τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν παθεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ζωογονήσει ὃν δόξουσιν ἀπολωλεκέναι ἐν σημείῳ, πίπτοντος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

With this description of the Christ whom they shall think to have perished, we may compare:

Ode xxviii. 9:

> 'They supposed that I was swallowed up:
> *For I seemed to them as one of the lost.*'

Ode xxv. 5:

> 'I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many;
> And *I was in their eyes like lead*';

where the reading 'as lead' has been conjectured by us to be a misunderstanding of the word 'lost', 'perished'.

In Barnabas v. 7 we have already drawn attention to the statement that 'the Lord endured, in order that He might give back the promise to the fathers'; and we have compared Ode xxxi. 10–13, 'I *endured* . . . that I might redeem my people *and inherit it, and that I might not make void the promise to the patriarchs*'. We may now further compare Barnabas xiv. 4:

> 'The Lord Himself gave (the Covenant) to us, *for a people of His inheritance, having endured for our sakes.*'

εἰς λαὸν κληρονομίας, δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείνας.

Here Barnabas appears again to have been influenced by the language of the Odes, and our first supposition is confirmed.

Reviewing the passages to which we have drawn attention, we think there is some reason for believing that Barnabas is under the influence of the Odes, though it would clearly be unwise to assume that the parallels which we have brought forward are all of equal validity, and one or two of them may have to be rejected. It is much to be wished that some competent scholar would give us a really good edition of this important sub-apostolic document.

As we have reason to believe that Ignatius of Antioch knew the Odes, and that the language of his letters is much under their influence, it is interesting to notice that a later bishop of the same city shows similar traces of dependence upon the Odist. Theophilus is a very learned person, and occupies an important position in the evolution of theology; it is interesting to see that when he treats of the errors of the Greek poets and philosophers, whom he knows well, he uses the same figure almost exactly as we detected in

Ignatius and the Odes. He says that, even if any truth was spoken by the Greeks, it was

> '*Truth mixed with error.* A strong *poison mixed with honey and wine* or any other liquid, renders the whole injurious and useless.'—Theoph. *Ad Autol.* ii. 12.

> *Καθάπερ γὰρ φάρμακόν τι δηλητήριον συγκραθὲν μέλιτι ἢ οἴνῳ, ἢ ἑτέρῳ τινί, τὸ πᾶν ποιεῖ βλαβερὸν καὶ ἄχρηστον.*

We can take the case of the supposed parallel to the Odes in Theophilus one stage further.

Theophilus speaks of the mingling of Truth and Error as comparable to the infusion of some deadly drug into honey or wine or something similar:

συγκραθὲν μέλιτι ἢ οἴνῳ ἢ ἑτέρῳ τινί.—Ad Autolycum, ii. 3.

Here we notice that it is peculiar to use ἑτέρῳ for the third place in a series of specifications, where we should have expected ἄλλῳ. Our first impulse is to set it down as a case of want of precision, such as characterizes the common Greek of the Hellenistic period. Examination of the style of Theophilus does not show any such lack of precision, but on the contrary a careful observance of Greek usage. Here, for example, is a case where he introduces two alternatives followed by a third:

> *τοὺς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις προφήτας ἢ Χαλδαίους τούς τε ἄλλους συγγραφεῖς.—Ad Autolycum*, ii. 32.[1]

It will be noticed that Theophilus uses ἄλλους, and not ἑτέρους, as of course he should do. We infer, then, that if he uses ἑτέρῳ τινί in the passage previously cited, he did not have two preceding terms, but only one. The natural inference is that μέλιτι ἢ οἴνῳ stands for a single word, which has been replaced, perhaps because it was not understood: accordingly we restore οἰνομέλιτι to the text of Theophilus, in harmony with Ignatius and the Odist. We need not be surprised at the change which has occurred (if our

[1] Cf. ii. 4 ἔνιοι . . . ἕτεροι . . . ἄλλοι.

argument be just) in the text of Theophilus, for the same kind of change was made by the translator, who turned the Ignatian Epistles into Syriac: he rendered *οἰνόμελι* by سحنا ەوحما.

In another passage Theophilus corrects the Odes in an opinion, which we observed Bardaisan to hold, viz. that the sun and moon received light alternately from one another, the moon receiving light in the first half of the month, and giving it back during the period of waning. The Antioch astronomy was evidently ahead of the Edessan of the same date, the latter half of the second century. So Theophilus says:

> '*The sun always remains full*, without becoming less, as God always remains perfect . . . . . but the moon as a type of man wanes month by month.'—Theoph. *Ad Autol.* i. 15.

Theophilus evidently did not believe with the Odist that the two Light Vessels poured, backward and forward, into one another. We suggest that he has corrected his Church Hymnal.

Cyril of Jerusalem has drawn upon the language of Ode xlii in which our Lord's descent into Hades is described. The Odist says:

> 'Those who had died *ran towards me*,
> And they cried and said, Son of God,' &c.—*Ode* xlii. 15.

Cyril expands the statement by specifying the persons to whom reference is made:

> 'The holy prophets *ran unto Him*, and Moses the Lawgiver, and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, David also, and Samuel and Elijah and John the Baptist.'—*Cat.* xiv. 19.

That is what one might call an enlarged edition of the Ode.

It is probable that Cyril may also furnish us with the key to the obscure sentence in the same Ode, where Hades lets go the head and the feet (of the Lord) (xlii. 13). It was suggested in the *editio princeps* that the Head was Christ and the Feet the Saints. We notice, however, that Cyril has another explanation of 'head

and feet' of Christ. He refers the words to the two natures in Christ, and illustrates from the eating of the Paschal Lamb:

> 'We who are accounted worthy to partake of the spiritual Lamb, partake of the head with the feet: of the head, which means His Godhead; of the feet, that is His manhood.'
>
> *Catech.* xii. 1.

Is there any early explanation of Exod. xii. 9 that runs on that line of thought?

Cyril of Jerusalem also treats the 22nd Psalm as containing a prophecy of the Miraculous Birth, though he does not, like Eusebius, speak of God the Father in midwife language, and so make connexion with the Odes. According to Cyril:

> '*Thou art He*, says the Psalmist, *that drew me out of the womb*. Mark carefully the word, *drew me out of the womb*, which means that He was born without man, being drawn from the womb and the flesh of the Virgin: for it is different in the case of them that are born of the marriage law.'
>
> Cyril, *Catech.* xii. 25.

It seems, from the artificial meaning which Cyril attaches to the word 'drew out', that he is avoiding the interpretation put on the word by Eusebius and the Odist. There is no doubt that he regards the Psalm as predicting the Virgin Birth.

A coincidence between the Odes and Irenaeus was pointed out in the *editio princeps*, without presenting an absolute claim for the recognition of a quotation. Now that we have the antiquity of the Odes well established there seems no reason for hesitation as to Irenaeus's acquaintance with them. The passage referred to was as follows: Irenaeus is explaining that the less God needs man, the more man needs God *and His fellowship*:

> 'In quantum enim Deus nullius indiget, in tantum homo indiget Dei communionis.'
>
> Iren. *adv. Haer.* iv. 25 (Mass. 243).

Here we have the thought of fellowship with God as the expression of man's need, just as in Ode iv:

> 'Thou hast given us *thy fellowship*:
> *It was not that thou wast in need of us*:
> but that *we were in need of thee*.'—*Ode* iv. 9.

The same thought recurs a little lower in the form:

> 'Ipse quidem *nullius indigens*: his vero *qui indigent eius, suam praebens communionem*.'

And again, in the following book, Irenaeus returns to the theme:

> 'Nihil enim illi ante dedimus, neque desiderat aliquid a nobis, *quasi indigens*: nos autem *indigemus* eius quae est ad eum communionis (χρῃζόμεθα τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν κοινωνίας).'
> Iren. *adv. Haer.* v. 2, p. 293.

It was remarked that, in these passages, 'the evidence is rather in the direction of recognizing a quotation on the part of Irenaeus from the Odes'. The hesitation was proper to the first exposition, but may now be discarded, and Irenaeus numbered amongst those who are familiar with the Odes.[1]

Before leaving this part of the subject, we may point out some remarkable coincidences with the *Apology of Aristides*, c. i. In Ode vi. 5 we have the statement that

> 'Nothing should be His adversary,
> Nothing should stand up against Him.'

In the *Apology of Aristides* we have the following statement:

> '*Adversary He has none*:
> For there is none that is more powerful than He:
> Anger and wrath He possesses not;
> *For there is nothing that is able to stand against Him*.'

[1] It is not a little curious that Ephrem twice attacks as heretical the opinion that God was in no need of man: for instance,

> 'The heretics endeavour to say of Him that He is in no need at all, but that He furnished us with opportunity to be saved by all means.'
> *R. E.* ii. 522: cf. also *R. E.* iii. 12.

Was he, perhaps, attacking the Bardesanians for their use of the Odes?

That is how the passage runs, rhythmically enough in the Syriac translation. The Greek is a mere staccato abbreviation at this point: God is

ἀνώτερος πάντων τῶν παθῶν
. . . . . .
ὀργῆς τε καὶ λήθης καὶ
ἀγνοίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

Now the concurrence noted above may be accidental, and the statements may be the trite phrases of Theistic teaching; but their coincidence deserves study. For this is not the only coincidence which the Odes show with the opening chapter of Aristides's *Apology*. Here we have also the statement (a conventional one, it must again be admitted) that

'He stands in need of nought,
But everything stands in need of Him.'[1]

which is in Ode iv. 9 in the form:

'It was not that thou wast in need of us;
But that we are in need of thee.'

The passage about the impossibility of an adversary to God is followed in the Syriac Aristides by the words:

'Error and forgetfulness are not in His nature;
For He is altogether wisdom and understanding.'

(The Greek abbreviation quoted above suggests that 'ignorance' should be added after 'forgetfulness'.)

But this is very like Ode xviii. 8–11:

'Thou art my God:
. . . . . .
Error thou knowest not,
For neither knows it thee.
And ignorance . . . . . .'

[1] The very same statement in Tatian, *Oratio*, chap. 4: 'He who is in want of nothing is not to be misrepresented by us as though he were in need.'

If the parallelism had been in a different region from that of philosophical and theological commonplaces we should have said at once that one of these writers was quoting the other. As it is the parallelisms of the sentences and the close coincidences in language seem to involve some connexion between Aristides and the Odes.

We come now to a remarkable statement, due apparently to Anastasius the Presbyter in the fifth century, which seems to refer the authorship of the Odes to Montanus in the second century or to some earlier date.

In the seventh volume of Mai's *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio* there occur a number of unedited fragments from a Patristic Catena on the Incarnation. These are accompanied by a series of extracts from detestable heretics, who give their testimonies on the same theme, such as Ebion (!) Paul of Samosata, Nestorius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, &c. Amongst these we find as follows (p. 69) : *Μοντανοῦ ἐκ τῶν ᾠδῶν· Μίαν ὁ Χριστὸς ἔχει τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ πρὸ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ μετὰ τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα μὴ διάφορος γένηται ἀνόμοια καὶ διάφορα πράττων.*

We have here a statement that Montanus composed Odes (such at least is the natural inference on first reading the passage), and that the doctrine of the unity of the nature of Christ was taught in them; according to the quotation from these Odes, this unity existed both before and after the Incarnation. The Ode quoted would thus be capable of an anti-docetic interpretation, and would not allow that the Christ had descended upon Jesus. The emphasis in the quotation is on the word *μίαν* with which it opens.

Now when we turn to our *Odes of Solomon*, we find as follows: 'The Christ is truly one; and he was known [i. e. as such] before the foundations of the world, that he might save souls for ever by the truth of his name.'—*Ode Sol.* xli. 15, 16. Here we have something very like the quotation brought forward by Mai and attributed to Montanus. The anti-docetic statement as to the unity of the Messiah, i. e. of Christ in the flesh, is accompanied by a statement

as to his pre-existence, not only before the Incarnation but before the foundation of the world.

Is it possible that there is any connexion between the quotation of Mai and the passage in the Odes? Assuming that the extract is rightly referred to Montanus, can he be regarded as the author of the Odes? It will be remembered that the Odes had already been claimed as Montanus's by Mr. F. C. Conybeare, and it may be admitted that the tradition as to Montanus's teaching finds excellent illustration in the Odes. On the other hand, it is impossible to regard the extract which Mai gives from his Vatican manuscript as poetical in form. It is clearly, undeniably prose. Consequently it can only be connected with the Odes as commentary is connected with text. The Odes must underlie the passage referred to Montanus, if the connexion be conceded. Upon this supposition the Odes must be as early as 175 A. D., if Montanus is glossing his own composition, or much earlier, if he is quoting a recognized Church book of sacred songs. The latter appears to be the correct conclusion, but we may allow for a margin of doubt, and for the possibility of some other explanation.

Dr. Bernard has made a great deal more than was warranted of a reference in the Syriac *Testamentum Domini*,[1] where a rubric for the morning office directs that there should be sung 'four hymns of praise, one by Moses, and of Solomon and of the other prophets'.

The rubric certainly does not mean 'one hymn out of a collection ascribed to Solomon'. It is, probably, nothing more than an injunction to sing the 72nd Psalm, whose heading is 'A Psalm of Solomon'.[2]

The parallel with Moses is explained in like manner by a reference to the 90th Psalm; it is doubtful if there is any reference at all to the so-called canticles which appear at the end of the Psalter in some copies of the LXX.

[1] I. 26.

[2] The Targum says it was spoken prophetically by Solomon.

CHAPTER IV

The Origin and Time of the Composition of the Odes.

We now pass on to discuss the 'when and the where' of the Odes, on the assumption that they constitute a literary unity, and that the problem is not to be complicated, in the first instance at all events, by a multitude of suggested interpolations. That is, we set on one side for the present, and perhaps finally, such theories as that of Harnack, who finds the Odes to be a Jewish document, patched with Christian interpolations; we also set on one side, *pro tempore*, and again perhaps finally, the theory of the first edition that Odes xix and xlii betrayed a later hand and a more highly evolved doctrine than the rest of the book. We put in a plea, on behalf of the author, against his first editors and commentators, that a little more time should be spent on understanding his text before the hypothesis of interpolation is resorted to. For example, even if we conceded something in favour of a belief in strata of late theological thought in certain Odes, we must at once check ourselves from drawing hasty critical consequences, by the observation that it is these very Odes that may turn out to have the earliest literary attestation. The 19th Ode, for example, grotesque as it may seem to us in its allegory, and full-fledged in its details of the Virgin Birth, is precisely the Ode which Lactantius quotes; and we have shown that he took it from an early collection of *Testimonies*, an observation which at once carries us back to a time when the Odes were a part of the Old Testament, and to the second century, if not to the first.

The accuracy of the observation is confirmed by our discovery that the very same Ode is quoted by Eusebius and by Theodoret. It must be allowed that the 19th Ode has acquired chronological dignity.

Not very different is the case of the 42nd Ode, which has such a strongly developed *Descensus ad Inferos* involved in it. Here again we have a quotation recognized, this time by Cyril of Jerusalem, which takes us back to the year A.D. 348. Citations such as these should make us hesitate before we resort to the theory of interpolation, and the argument from the Unity of Style looks in the same direction. It seems, therefore, best to set Harnack and those who follow his method of criticism on one side, and try to solve the problem on the hypothesis that the Odes are a literary unity, with a definite time and place of production.

We reopen the investigation with a sense of a large increase in the data for the solution of the problem, since the first expositions of the subject were made. Some of the fresh data supply arguments for the time of composition of the Odes, others give suggestions both for time and place. For example, when we explain the meaning of Lactantius's quotation from the 19th Ode, and trace it to an early collection of *Testimonies against the Jews*, we lose the note of place, supplied by Nicomedia, and we may add, the note of language: we have no longer any evidence for Latin Odes, but we have evidence for the existence of the Odes, either in Greek or some Semitic language, at a much earlier date than Lactantius. In the same way, when we are dealing with the occurrence of the Odes in the *Pistis Sophia*, we keep apparently the note of place, but the note of time is made for a much earlier period than the end of the third century, when the *Pistis Sophia* was produced; for if the Sahidic Odes were taken from the Sahidic Psalter and were bound up with the Psalter, we are again carried backwards in time: we have first to allow for the fact that the Sahidic Bible is necessarily earlier than the *Pistis Sophia* (an important point for Biblical critics), but also we have to remember that the Sahidic Old Testament is disclosed to us as a translation from the Septuagint, with which, for the purposes of our inquiry, the Odes must be connected. The Egyptian note of place does

not altogether disappear, but it becomes secondary and relatively unimportant.

When we come to actual Patristic quotations, or to references which are the equivalent of citations, we find as the result of careful investigation two lines of tradition opening out before us, one which may be called Mesopotamian, and the other which may be called Palestinian, or at all events, West Syrian.

The first line is marked by definite fixed points. It may be taken as proved that the Odes in their present Syriac form were well known to Ephrem. Definite quotations have been established, and general allusions abound. Later Syriac writers can be put in evidence: Moses bar Kepha, for instance, interprets the Odes baptismally, and it is possible that the Eastern rituals may show traces of their influence. For us the fixed point of departure is Ephrem, since he is a genuine Syrian knowing no Greek, and the evidence is decisive for the actual use of our Syriac text, which is thus carried back into the fourth century in Mesopotamia.

The next point for the same region and for Edessa as a centre is the somewhat less certain observation that Ephrem attacks Bardaisan for an interpretation which he makes of the Odes in the region of astronomy, where the Sun and Moon are regarded as supplying light, each to the other, the Moon receiving light during the period of its waxing and returning it in the time of its waning.

Here Bardaisan, if we have understood the matter rightly, speaks in the very language of the Odes, and makes the interpretation of the Ode quoted, an interpretation which was not unnaturally missed by the first editors. It is probable, as we have said, that we must translate the passage in the 16th Ode to which we refer in the sense that

> 'Their reception (*sc.* of the Sun and Moon) one from the other speaks (*or* fulfils) the beauty of God.'—*Ode* xvi. 17.

Thus we may, perhaps, get another fixed point in the use of the Odes by Bardaisan. The suggestion arises that Bardaisan

may, then, himself be the author of the Odes, an idea already thrown out by Newbold, upon other grounds, but without sufficient reason.[1] We do not think Newbold's investigations are to be undervalued. He was quite right in maintaining that 'no antecedent improbability precludes the ascription of the Odes to Bardaisan'; we have given above a proof that he is also right in saying that some of the Odes can be readily interpreted in the light of Bardaisan's theories (the 16th Ode, for instance). But since Newbold wrote his interesting article we have fresh information concerning Bardaisan, in the recently published *Discourses of Ephrem to Hypatius*, and these new Discourses require to be carefully studied; we have also, as we shall see, evidence which will take the Odes to an earlier period than that of Bardaisan.

It would have been a pleasure to endorse Newbold's suggestion of the Bardesanian authorship of the Odes, which came up also in our own field of view. Bardaisan was, no doubt, both scholar and saint, a Syrian blend of Socrates and St. John; and if we could prove him to be the author he would be a worthy author, for he was certainly a great Christian, and perhaps the greatest man that Syria ever produced. If we cannot redeem his character from the aspersions of many generations, we can salute him with a lowly reverence in passing, and make him a fixed point in the inquiry upon which we are engaged.

Bardaisan's period of literary activity is the latter half of the second century: if we set his birth in A.D. 154 and his death in A.D. 222, we conclude that the Odes (in the Syriac form in which we know them) were perhaps extant in Edessa in the latter part of the second century. There, for the present, our first line of advance stops: we cannot get any earlier Syriac patristic evidence: it stops with Bardaisan. That is a very important position gained.

Our next line of investigation runs through western Syria.

[1] 'Bardaisan and the Odes of Solomon', in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xxx, Part II, 1911.

We can begin, if we please, at Jerusalem. St. Cyril's *Lectures* are valuable in many ways beside the light they throw upon the preparation of catechumens in the middle of the fourth century, and on the Jerusalem rituals of that date. These lectures are based upon the prophets as the only authority, and the proof-texts are in the main those which occur in collections of *Testimonies against the Jews*. He constantly indulges in side-thrusts at the Jews, which was not unnatural considering the position which he occupied. We should naturally expect that a writer or an orator, who practises so skilfully the art of quotation, will make familiar use of a book like the Odes, which may very likely have been still in use in Jerusalem, and was itself, as we believe, deeply tinged with anti-Judaism and closely linked with the early Church method of teaching by Testimonies.

Dr. Bernard has suggested that in the prefatory lecture to the catechumens Cyril has actually used the first Ode, and the parallel is certainly a very striking one. We have shown that Cyril also quotes from the 42nd Ode, thus establishing his acquaintance with the book from first to last in the form in which we possess it. There is more light to be thrown on the Odes by Cyril, and perhaps more actual quotations may be found; but even where we cannot always find the evidence of direct citation we can see Cyril dealing with similar problems to the Odist, and sometimes correcting the explanations of the latter. For example, while Cyril approves of the reference to Christ in Psalm xxii. 10 ('thou art he that didst draw me out of my mother's womb'), he will not introduce God the Father as operating after the manner of a midwife, but explains that it refers to the drawing of flesh from the substance of the Virgin. When again he is interpreting the term *Monogenēs* as applied to Christ, he almost always interprets it to mean that Christ had no brother: this is what the Odist makes Christ Himself say ('I was not their brother, nor my birth like theirs', Ode xxviii. 16); so that both writers are dealing with the same problem, but we must not say that Cyril is quoting the Ode: he is

probably making a popular theological statement such as was also familiar to the Odist.

Now let us move to Caesarea and to a slightly earlier date. We have shown the importance of Eusebius in the explanation of the Odes by pointing out a number of positive quotations of the first importance. As in the case of Cyril, these references are sometimes Old Testament references as well as references to the Odes. Eusebius agrees with Cyril in the use of conventional *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos*. He uses the 22nd Psalm when at the same time he is quoting the Odes. The one is the bridge to the other. These Eusebian extracts are not only valuable in themselves: they serve to bring the Odes with themselves into a theological system, into a propaganda of an anti-Judaic character. In this point of view it is peculiarly important to find so much stress laid upon the 22nd Psalm. The use made of this Psalm by the Odist, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and others, shows that it was an armoury of weapons for controversy with the Jews, some of which were found ready to hand, as in the quotation of the opening words of the Psalm by the Crucified, and some of which appear to have been manufactured artificially, like the interpretation of the 'extraction of the Messiah from the womb of the Virgin'.

It will be agreed that Eusebius must have been familiar with the Odes and have shared some points of view with the Odist. He, for instance, does not try to get rid of the description of God the Father as *μαιούμενος*, in the way that Cyril appears to do. Much of what we learnt from Eusebius was arrived at by the study of that much neglected book the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, a work which is based from first to last on excerpts of the Septuagint, with occasional side-lights from the Hebrew or the Hexaplaric versions. The *Demonstratio* is, in fact, a *Testimony Book* with a Commentary, just in the same way as Cyril's work is *Lectures on Testimonies*: only, where Cyril calls them *Testimonies*, Eusebius habitually reverts to an even earlier title and calls them *Logia*.

The importance of these observations lies in the fact that Eusebius was working on Greek texts when writing his *Demonstratio*, and we may infer that he knew the Odes also in Greek. Not that he was incapable of Syriac scholarship, as we know from his actual use of Edessan records in his *History*; but there does not seem to be any reason to invoke Syriac at this point. If, however, any one should object to the statement, made absolutely, that Eusebius used the Odes in Greek, the question can remain open. The Greek text was certainly current when Eusebius wrote. The question of the relative priority of Greek and Syriac is not a fourth-century problem: it belongs a good deal higher up. In connexion with Eusebius's use of the Odes in the interpretation of the 22nd Psalm, we pointed out a similar use in the case of Theodoret. He, too, interprets the mad dogs that do not know their master. He, too, is a Syriac scholar in a bilingual Church and community. We think it is possible that he may be dependent upon Eusebius; if not, he is working on the same tradition, and may be reckoned as acquainted with the Odes.

Theodoret's position is a peculiar one, as he forms a link between Antioch and Edessa. It will be remembered that he was a leading agent in the extrusion of the Diatessaron from the churches in the diocese of Cyrrhus. This probably means the Syriac-speaking churches; but he himself is an Antiochene, born in Antioch in the closing years of the fourth century, and brought up in a monastery not far from Antioch. It is, therefore, natural for us to turn in the next instance to Antioch itself, where we have been fortunate enough to detect the use of the Odes by no less a person than Ignatius the Martyr. If the parallels which we brought forward are valid, then it is hardly possible to refer the Odes to any other time than the first century, or to any other district than Antioch. The question of the original language of the Odes may be left open for a little longer: Ignatius himself, though we know him by Greek writings and Greek traditions, is in many ways more like a Syrian than a Greek; and even if he

should be a true Greek the church over which he ruled was Syrian as well as Greek.

In support of an Antiochene origin for the Odes we have urged above that another bishop of Antioch, somewhat later than Ignatius, shows traces of an acquaintance with the Odes. This time it is not a choice between Syriac and Greek, for Theophilus, who writes the treatise *to Autolycus*, in the year A.D. 168, is educated as a Greek (though perhaps of Mesopotamian origin), familiar with the Greek poets and philosophers, and altogether diverse in character from Ignatius. Yet we find him making what seems to be the same comparison that Ignatius does, of the heretics who mingle error with truth, to those who put poisonous drugs in honey-wine; and we also find him using language concerning the Sun and Moon which seems to deliberately contradict the Odist, who believes the two great lights to be vessels, which are filled alternately one from the other. Here again the antiquity of the Odes appears to be established, as well as the area in which they are most at home.

Only one further sub-Apostolic writer has been claimed by us as a possible witness to the Odes. In the so-called Epistle of Barnabas we have a writing commonly referred to the last decade of the first century, or the first decade of the second century, and generally supposed to bear marks of an Egyptian ancestry. The evidence which we bring forward from Barnabas will be thought less convincing than what we have adduced from other writers. It is not altogether negligible, even if it is not so striking as that furnished by Ephrem, Eusebius or Ignatius. It may for the present be covered by *valeat quantum*.

Our second line of advance has now brought us very nearly into conjunction with the first: for not only is Edessa religiously and politically adjacent to Antioch, but Bardaisan spans the space between them, as being at once a Greek scholar and a philosopher and a man of travel, familiar with cities and with men. There is no difficulty in joining up the communities to which we assign the

earliest traces of the Odes; and if we are wrong in assigning them as written at Antioch in the first century, we are not far wrong either in place or in time.

CHAPTER V

Christ and Solomon.

A few words may be thought necessary on the question whether the name of Solomon attached to the Odes is more than the *nom de plume* of the author, or an artificial title assimilating the new Christian Psalter to the ancient Psalter of David, or to the already existing Pharisee Psalms which go under the name of the Psalter of Solomon. Clearly there is no necessity to involve Solomon in the structure of the Odes because his name is on the cover. On the other hand, it is possible that there may be a Salomonic influence in their composition. For instance, the fact of the Odes being bound up with the Old Testament in certain Greek bibles, as we have shown to be probable, would mean that they had been grouped with other writings more or less definitely accredited to Solomon. If, then, we should find that there were traces of a strong influence on the Odes from the Sapiential books, we might be led to suspect that they had been composed with the view of continuing the Salomonic tradition, in which case it is no longer a matter of a mere bookmaker's or bookseller's title. And it is certain that our Odes are frequently coloured from Sapiential books; the margins and notes of this edition will show abundant evidence on this head. May we go further than this, and is it possible that the history as well as the supposed writings of Solomon have been drawn upon for incident or allusion? Let us take a case which is parallel to our inquiry. The *Wisdom of Solomon* affects to be the work of the Wise Man of Israel, and it imitates very effectively the noblest passages in the book of

Proverbs, frequently borrowing whole sentences by way of justifying its title. But it does more than this: to keep up the illusion of the title, it brings Solomon himself on the scene and makes him tell the story of his own birth and education. Three whole chapters (vii–ix) tell how the royal babe grew up, became enamoured of Wisdom (whom the Most High also loved), and prayed that she might be his bride; the prayer is given in detail in the ninth chapter, and is a very noble aspiration. It is therefore open to us to raise the question whether Solomon may not be involved also in the Odes, either by historical allusion or by quotation from his supposed language and experience. With this hangs another supposition: we know that Christ in certain circles in the Church occupied a quasi-Salomonic position: on the one hand He was identified with the Wisdom of the Sapiential books, on the other He was identified with Solomon, as being 'great David's greater Son'; and one of the Psalms in which the future glories of Solomon are described was, in the earliest days of the Christian faith, pressed into the service of theology.[1]

It seems that we ought at least to contemplate the possibility of some such influence in the Odes as we have described, say, in the *Wisdom of Solomon*. For example, in the prayer just alluded to we have the request:

> 'Reject me not from among thy servants (παιδῶν);
> For I am thy servant (δοῦλος) and the son of thy handmaid.'

It is curious that in the Odes we get a similar refrain: the 29th Ode ends as follows:

> 'I gave praise to the Most High,
> Because He exalted His servant
> And the son of His handmaid.'

Apparently Christ is here referred to. The language may be conventional; or again, it may be Salomonic.

[1] See Ps. lxxi (lxxii), 'Give the King thy judgements', &c., and the comments of the earliest Fathers upon it.

The importance of the inquiry lies in the possibility that it offers of elucidation of obscure references in the Odes. It is not surprising that the crown with which the Odist is adorned in the first Ode has been regarded by some persons as the nuptial crown of King Solomon in the Canticles: 'the crown with which his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals', and certainly the first Ode is of the nature of a spiritual epithalamium.

Equally suggestive is the possibility that the references to the Temple on the part of the Odist may find their explanation in the story of the building of Solomon's temple. In the fourth Ode it has been conjectured that the words

'Thou hast given *thy heart*, O Lord, to thy believers' (Ode iv. 3),

might be illustrated by the promise of the Lord to Solomon that

'My eyes and *my heart* shall be there continually'
(2 Chron. vii. 17),

so that the Odist may have had Solomon's Temple in his mind when he began the Ode with the affirmation that

'No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place.'

For we find in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, in the prayer which we quoted above, the same assertion of the eternity and immovability of the Divine dwelling-place:

'Thou didst bid me build a temple in thy holy mountain:
And an altar in the place of thy tabernacling,
An imitation of the holy Tabernacle
Which thou didst prepare from the beginning.'
Sap. Sol. ix. 8.

These words may furnish us with the very key that we need to the understanding of the perplexing fourth Ode.

The writer sees two temples, one the Salomonic building, which can be changed and moved; the other and elder, the spiritual sanctuary of which the Jewish temple is, at best, the transient mimicry. Other suggestions may be made in the same directions.

They must of necessity be tentative in our present state of knowledge and of criticism. It seems, however, to be proper to allude to the possibility of further Salomonic elucidations, even if they have, at first, to be covered by a cautious *valeat quantum*.

The case for a Salomonic element in the Odes will be much strengthened, if our interpretation of the 37th Ode should acquire probability. In this Ode we have suggested that the Odist personates Solomon himself in his prayer at the Dedication festival, and in his subsequent reception of a gracious message from God. Even if we suppose the language to describe the Odist's own experience of answered prayer, it is couched in the language of Solomon, so that the Odist had the King of Israel in his mind when he wrote: that is, the reference of the Odes to Solomon belongs to the original collection, and not to the hand of any later bookseller or editor.

We may also refer to the suggestion made by several who have written on the Odes, that it is Solomon, under his other name of Jedidiah, or *Beloved of the Lord*, who is responsible for the appearance of the 'Beloved' in the third Ode. Abbott draws attention to the language employed in 2 Samuel xii. 24:

> 'There is in the second book of Samuel a record connecting "love" with the anticipations formed by some about the infant king: and he (i. e. David) called his name Solomon. And *the Lord loved him*, and sent by the hand of Nathan the prophet, and he called his name *Jedidiah*.'

CHAPTER VI

The Christology of the Odes.

Since the Odes were first published a good deal of light has fallen, from one quarter or another, on the dogmatic position of the writer, and especially upon his Christology. It has, for instance, become increasingly clear that Christ is often made to be the chief

speaker in the Odes, so that the structure of an Ode can be resolved into (i) a prologue on the part of the Odist; (ii) an oracular statement made *ex ore Christi*; and (iii) a doxology, which is meant for the congregation to participate in, when the Ode is recited or sung. We have tried to indicate the transitions between the parts of such Odes by the insertion of the words *Christus loquitur* or *Doxologia*; and it will probably be found that the understanding of the Ode is much assisted by the division thus made, though it may be admitted that there will be a margin of uncertainty as to the points where the dividing chasms have to be placed. By making Christ speak for Himself the Odist secures a position of literary advantage for the enunciation of dogmatic truth. It is almost equivalent to the 'thus saith the Lord' of the ancient prophet, or the words of Paul when he affirms that 'this we say unto you by the word of the Lord'. Indeed, the Odist sometimes casts his thought of personal inspiration into this very mould, as, for instance, when he asks (Ode xxvi), 'Who can so rest (*or*, Oh! that one could so rest) on the Most High, that with (God's) mouth he may speak?', language which recalls Jeremiah xv. 19, 'Thou shalt be as my mouth'. The singer is, in fact, a prophet as well as a poet, and uses prophetic formulae and prophetic emphasis.

We might take as an illustration of the illumination which is thus cast upon the Odes a specimen Ode like the 28th, of which the *editio princeps* was not able to say more than that 'in some respects the Psalm appears to be Messianic in a Christian sense, for the writer concludes his exulting strain over enemies who had come round him like mad dogs, and had left him for dead, with the remark that it was not possible for them to blot out the memory of one who existed before them, and who was of a different birth from theirs'; and it was added that 'Perhaps the writer is speaking in these verses, as if in the Person of Christ'.

The hesitation was quite proper to a first inquiry, but it may be finally laid aside. The passage about 'mad dogs that ignorantly attack their master' has been definitely recognized in Eusebius and

in Theodoret as an expansion and interpretation of the 22nd Psalm, and further investigation shows other traces of the same Psalm, interpreted Messianically.

The statement that 'I was not their brother, nor my birth like theirs', has been shown to cover the doctrine that the Son of God is Monogenēs or Only-begotten, without a brother, and that His birth was miraculous. The evidence of Cyril of Jerusalem, to which we have referred above, will be found to be decisive on the first of the points involved. Thus Christ is certainly the speaker, and says definitely in the Ode:

> 'I am the Only-Begotten Son,
> I am miraculously born,'

just as He is the speaker in the 22nd Psalm, according to the view of primitive Christians.

Yet it is not easy to mark the exact point where the Ode modulates, so that the Odist's 'I' becomes the 'I' of the Messiah. Probably the change of key is at the words:

> 'They who saw me marvelled at me.'

We should then have an exactly parallel situation to that in the 41st Ode where the Odist stops his own recitative with the words:

> 'Let us exult with the joy of the Lord,'

and the Lord begins with:

> 'All they that see me will be astonished at me,'

and continues certainly as far as the stanza:

> 'The (Father of Truth) possessed me from the beginning:
> His wealth begat me, and the thought of His heart.'

Even where we have to allow a margin of residual uncertainty for the translation from speaker to speaker, it is a great advantage to have dogmatic statements made as if by Christ Himself at first hand.

The last instance to which we referred leads to another very important discovery, which has gradually drawn the attention of the students of the Odes. In the words just referred to Christ is speaking not only in His own person, but in the person of Wisdom, for the language is borrowed from the eighth chapter of Proverbs:

> 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way.'
> Prov. viii. 22.

Thus Christ is made to say that 'He is the Wisdom of God', and this is only one of a series of passages in which the Christology of the Odist is based upon the Sapiential books. It is hardly necessary to remind the dogmatic theologian of the importance which the eighth chapter of Proverbs plays in the history and evolution of the Nicene Symbol, but it is necessary, both for the understanding of the Odes and of the primitive Christology, to point out that other Sapiential books are treated in the same way as we have seen the Odist treat Proverbs, and that the seventh chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon in particular is a rich and fertile soil for the growth of Christian formulae. Here, for example, we find Wisdom defined as Monogenēs, as an *ἀπαύγασμα* or Effulgence of God, as an *ἀπόρροια* or Efflux of His glory, as an *ἀτμίς* or Emanation of His power, and as an *ἔσοπτρον* or Mirror of His activity. Monogenēs needs no explanation; it is fundamental to the Christian Symbol; the Effulgence also is well-known, since it passed from the Wisdom of Solomon to the Wisdom of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. We shall show in another place the importance of the doctrine of Efflux, both for the understanding of the Odes and of the *Pistis Sophia*, as well as for its Nicene relations. It is curious that the Odist treats it as the Efflux of an irresistible stream of Water, while the *Pistis Sophia* makes it an outburst of Light. Origen in his commentary on Romans leans to the interpretation of the *Pistis Sophia*, and so does Athenagoras.

The Lord as the Mirror is the key to the very beautiful 13th Ode in our collection.

The knowledge that Wisdom-texts are being employed by the Odist makes it interesting to inquire whether there are any traces of the definition of Wisdom (or the Sophia-Christ) under the connotation of *ἀτμίς*.

It will help us to understand the part which these terms *ἀτμίς*, *ἀπόρροια*, and *ἀπαύγασμα* have played in the definition of Christ as the Wisdom of God, if we transcribe some passages from the Commentary of Origen on the Epistle to the Hebrews:

> 'Cum autem discutitur hoc quod dictum est de Filio Dei, quod est splendor gloriae (*sc.* *ἀπαύγασμα*), necessario videtur simul disserendum et illud quod dictum est, non solum quod splendor est lucis aeternae, sed et quod huic simile in Sapientia Salomonis refertur, in qua seipsam Sapientia describit dicens: *Vapor enim est virtutis Dei, et aporrhaea gloriae Omnipotentis purissima* (Sap. vii. 25).
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Oportet autem scire nos quia per ineffabilia quaedam, et secreta ac recondita quemdam modum sibi faciens, Scriptura Sancta conatur hominibus indicare, et intellectum suggerere subtilem; *vaporis* enim nomen inducens hoc ideo de rebus corporalibus assumpsit, et vel ex parte aliqua intelligere possimus, quomodo *Christus, qui est Sapientia*, secundum similitudinem eius *vaporis qui de substantia* aliqua corporali procedit, sic etiam ipse ut quidam *vapor* exoritur *de virtute* ipsius Dei: sic et *Sapientia* ex eo procedens, *ex ipsa Dei Substantia generatur*. Sic nihilominus et secundum similitudinem corporalis aporrhaeae, et dicitur "aporrhaea gloriae Omnipotentis pura quaedam et sincera". Quae utraque similitudinis manifestissime ostendunt *communionem substantiae esse Filio cum Patre*. Aporrhaea enim *ὁμοούσιος* videtur, id est, unius substantiae cum illo corpore ex quo est vel aporrhaea, vel vapor.'

These comments show how Christ was identified with Wisdom on the one hand, and with the descriptions of Wisdom on the other, and how the Nicene formula was anticipated. In the argument of Origen *ἀπόρροια* and *ἀτμίς* are a pair of corporeal illustrations

of the Homoousian doctrine. We have found the ἀπόρροια in the Odes, let us now look for the ἀτμίς.

Gressmann thinks that instead of ܫܘܠ in Ode xii. 5 (expression), we should at the second time read ܫܠ (= ἀτμίς), so as to render:

> 'The swiftness of the Word is inexpressible,
> Like an ἀτμίς is its swiftness and its sharpness.'

Some such restoration seems necessary, and if it can be justified, then the ἀτμίς as well as the ἀπόρροια is a part of the intellectual furniture of the Odist. See further our note on the verse in question.

As soon as we have detected in the Odes at any point the use of the Sapiential terms to which we have been referring, we see that the pre-existence of Christ is affirmed in the generation of the Divine Wisdom, to which Origen would add that the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son is also involved: but the Odist will hardly have seen as far into possible controversy as this. He is nearer to the Pauline position that 'Christ is the Power of God and the Wisdom of God', without undue elaboration of what is involved in that doctrine.

Where the Odist does seem to be face to face with controversial matter is in the 41st Ode, where Christ is described as the Word that was beforetime in the Father, after which the Odist adds:

> 'The Christ is *truly One*:
> And He was known before the foundation of the world.'

The words 'The Christ is truly one', taken along with the other statements as to His pre-existence, suggest a controversy over a division in the Nature of Christ, such a controversy as finds reflection in the first Epistle of John (1 John iv. 3) where we are told that

> πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν,

and where some Docetic fission of the Nature of the Son appears to be contemplated. It would be, however, premature to affirm

that the Christology of the Odist can at all points be compressed within the limits of orthodox definition, for at the early date to which we have referred the composition of the Odes it was easier to be unorthodox than to be logically exact.

In regard to the Incarnation, we have had the advantage of a slight improvement in the translation of a passage in the seventh Ode, which we are now able to recognize as having been quoted by Eusebius. As we have already discussed the passage in the chapter on *Quotations from the Odes* in the early Fathers, it is only necessary to remind ourselves that the verses:

> 'He hath caused me to know Himself,
> Without grudging in His simplicity,
> Because His kindness hath minished His greatness.'
>
> *Ode* vii. 3.

are accurately reflected in Eusebius, who, in his comment on the 144th Psalm, speaks of Christ as

> *τῆς θεότητος ὑποβὰς καὶ τοῦ συμφυοῦς μεγέθους ἑαυτὸν σμικρύνας.*—Euseb. *D. E.* vi. 9, p. 267.

There can be no doubt that the verses in the Ode are descriptive of the Incarnation.

Enough has been said to show that the Odist is a person of no slight theological knowledge, and that the terms he employs are, for the most part, theologically correct.

It is increasingly clear that the Christology of the Odes is based (i) upon the prophecies, and those passages which were assumed to be prophetical, in the Old Testament; (ii) upon the descriptions of Wisdom in the Sapiential literature. Under the first head, as we have seen, the Psalms occupy an extraordinary place, and amongst the Psalms, such as have always been held to be Messianic. The 22nd Psalm in particular has thrown great light on the composition of the Odes. The Odes make Christ speak in his own person, and the language spoken is a reflection from the Psalms. This need not surprise us, for the same thing

which the Odist did in poetry the evangelical historian did in prose. We do not yet know whether those incidents in the Gospel which reflect the language of the 22nd Psalm, for example, are all of them genuine history; but we may be sure that in some cases the imagination of the writer has been assisted and the language found for him by the Psalms with which he was familiar, or which he may actually have studied for coincidence. Take, for example, St. Luke's allusion to the 'acquaintance of our Lord, who stood afar off' at the time of the Crucifixion: the incident is natural enough, but the language

εἱστήκεισαν δὲ πάντες οἱ γνωστοὶ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν.
Luke xxiii. 49,

is based on the Psalms: the margin of Nestle's New Testament carries the references (from Hort) to Psalms lxxxviii. 8, xxxviii. 11, and underlines as above, the precedence being given to Psalm lxxxviii. 9, which in the LXX is:

ἐμάκρυνας τοὺς γνωστούς μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·
ἔθεντό με βδέλυγμα ἑαυτοῖς·

This recognition of our Lord's 'acquaintance' in the narration of Luke helps us to the understanding of a difficult passage in the opening of the 42nd Ode, which runs as follows (the text had lost a clause in the Rylands MS. which we have restored from the Nitrian MS.):

'I became of no use to those who know me;
For I shall hide myself
From those who did not take hold of me;
And I shall be with those who love me.'

The speaker is certainly Christ, as was indicated in the *editio princeps* by a note attached to the opening clause. It is clear that the language is again that of the 88th Psalm; 'those who know

me' is *τοὺς γνωστούς μου* of the LXX: the words 'I became of no use' reflect

ἐγενήθην ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀβοήθητος.

in the sixth verse of the same Psalm, the opening clause of the Ode being *quam proxime* in Greek:

ἐγενήθην ὡς ἀβοήθητος τοῖς γνωστοῖς μου.

The Greek *ἀβοήθητος* in the sense of 'helpless' is not badly represented by the Syriac ܠܐ ܥܒܕ 'no use', and it is possible that here also we may be able to convict the Syriac of being secondary.

What is of more importance at this point is that we have found the clue to the interpretation and the composition of the Ode. The Psalm has been taken as prophetic of the Descent into Hades, an interpretation which is invited by the words

ἡ ζωή μου τῷ ᾅδῃ ἤγγισεν.

and which was commonly assumed to underlie the words

ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλεύθερος·

So in the Ode, the words 'I went down with him to its utmost depth', reflect Psalm lxxxvii (lxxxviii) 7:

ἔθεντό με ἐν λάκκῳ κατωτάτῳ·

We also have the key to the opening words of the Ode, for the Psalm tells us in the tenth verse:

καὶ ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, κύριε, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν·
διεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου·

So the opening words of the Ode in reference to the stretching out the hands and approaching the Lord, are to be either referred to Christ Himself, or they are anticipative and mimetic of one of the verses in the Psalm, 'the stretching out the hands being His sign', which the writer has identified in the Psalm.[1]

[1] We find the same quotation in *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili*, vi. 22.

That the Psalm in question early supplied Testimonies to the Death and Resurrection of Christ appears certain, though some leading exegetes like Theodoret (following, no doubt, the lead of Theodore) prefer to interpret the whole Psalm of the Jews in captivity.

In the *Testimonia* of Gregory of Nyssa, we find under the chapter on the Cross (cap. vii):

> καὶ πάλιν· ἔθεντό με ἐν λάκκῳ κατωτάτῳ
> (Psalm lxxxvii (lxxxviii) 7).

and in the chapter on the Resurrection (cap. viii):

> καὶ πάλιν· ἐγενήθην ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀβοήθητος, ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλεύθερος (Psalm lxxxvii (lxxxviii) 6.

Cyril of Jerusalem takes the whole Psalm to be spoken *ex ore Christi*, and refers to the words just quoted (see *Cat.* xiv. 8), which we have shown to underlie the speech of Christ in Ode xlii. 3.

Augustine also, commenting upon the Psalm, says:

> 'Let us therefore now hear the voice of Christ singing before us in prophecy, to whom His own choir should respond either in imitation or in thanksgiving.'

We said that it could be proved from the language of Cyril of Jerusalem, that the Odist believed Christ to be (1) Monogenēs or Only-Begotten; (2) Miraculously born. The passage which we were discussing was as follows:

> 'I was not their brother,
> Nor my birth like theirs.'—*Ode* xxviii. 16.

The language is, at first sight, somewhat alien to the Spirit of the Incarnation: there is a touch of contempt mingled with its necessary superiority. It does not square with Paul's interpretation of Christ as the First-born among *many* brethren, nor with the writer to the Hebrews in saying that he took part in the flesh and blood of the children. It would be easier to find patristic parallels to the

second clause ('my birth not like theirs') than to the first clause, 'I was not their brother'. Let us see if we can find the key to the language. It is clear that the Odist is not speaking of Christ as the πρωτότοκος (the first stage of evolution of the Wisdom doctrine, according to which Wisdom was God's First-born, and Christ was the Wisdom of God): the alternative term to πρωτότοκος is μονογενής, the former representing Pauline Christology, the later Johannine. It can be shown that it is to this term μονογενής that the explanation belongs of the words 'I was not their brother', in the sense that the Only-Begotten has no brothers.

Suppose we turn, then, to the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem: we find the following statements:

> 'A Son Only-Begotten, *having no other for His brother*; for therefore is He called Only-Begotten, *because He has no brother*.'—*Cat.* xi. 2.
>
> 'When thou hearest of the First-born, think not that this is according to men; *for the first-born among men may have other brothers also*.'—*Cat.* xi. 4.
>
> 'Neither has He who begat, a father, *nor He who is begotten, a brother* . . . . . The Father being eternal, eternally and ineffably begat One Only Son, *who has no brother*.'—*Cat.* xi. 13.
>
> 'As there is One God the Father and no second Father: and as there is One Only-Begotten Son and Word of God, *who has no brother*.'—*Cat.* xvi. 3.

Thus, according to Cyril, we are to interpret 'Only-Begotten' in the sense of not having a brother; and even the term First-born has to be used judiciously for fear the conclusion should be drawn that Christ had brothers. We may, therefore, take it as the meaning of the Odist that Christ is the Only-Begotten and is miraculously born. This does not mean that the Odist is using St. John, but that he has a theology parallel to the Johannine. He is nearer to the Gospel of John than he is to the Epistle to the Colossians. Dependence, however, is not proved, for Monogenēs

is one of the terms that is taken over from the description of Wisdom, and not necessarily borrowed from the Gospel.

The difficulty of reconciling the two titles of Christ, *μονογενής* and *πρωτότοκος*, must have been felt very early: and it remained as an objection which heretics employed against the Nicene faith. Basil, in his treatise against Eunomius, meets the objection by saying that one can be first-born without introducing any brothers, for was not Christ called the *first-born son of the Virgin*?

ὥστε οὐκ ἀνάγκη ἀδελφοῦ πρωτότοκον λέγεσθαι.

The objector's case was stated as follows:

εἰ πρωτότοκος ὁ Υἱός, οὐκέτι μονογενής· ἀλλ' ὀφείλει καὶ ἄλλος εἶναι, οὗ πρωτότοκος λέγεται.—Adv. Eunom. iv (292 E).

It was assumed that *Monogenēs* meant *brotherless*: but first-born could not mean that.

Basil's argument was a mere evasion, for the terms in dispute were not used of the natural birth of Christ.

Up to this point the inquiry into the doctrine of Christ that is held by the Odist leads to the conclusion that it is Nicene in a nascent form. There is no doubt as to the pre-existence of Christ (Ode xli. 15, &c.) or to His pre-eminence; He is the Head of the Church and believers are His members (Ode xvii. 15, &c.). He is the Word of God (Ode xvi. 8, 19; xli. 11, 14; vii. 7; xii. 5, 12; xxxii. 2) and the Wisdom of God (Ode vii. 8; xli. 9); the unique Messiah miraculously born (Ode xxviii. 16). Against the Docetists the Odist is firm that the Christ is One (Ode xli. 15), against the Jews that He is the Lord (Ode xxix. 6).

There are, however, some elements of a heretical or incompletely developed character in the Odist's views. In two places, perhaps, the Christ is spoken of as one of the Divine Neighbours (Ode xxi. 7; xxxvi. 6), an expression which co-ordinates Him with the angels in rank; in the 36th Ode, the statement is made almost as in the Koran, where Jesus is called 'one of those that are near

to God'; and in that very same Ode we have the Odist's description of Christ as 'Most Glorified among the Glorious and Greatest among the Great Ones'. It will take some justifying to make these expressions theologically innocuous.

The Odist's doctrine of the Holy Spirit is, as we have already seen, so unorthodox in its subordination of the Spirit to the Son, that Ephrem had to alter it. In one place in the Ode already referred to (Ode xxxvi. 3) the Spirit is represented as the Mother of Christ! (we find a similar statement in Aphrahat, *Dem.* xviii, col. 840).

When we come to the Passion of Christ we do not find anything that we can call a doctrine of the Atonement in the Pauline sense of the word: he does not teach the forgiveness of sins, but only the abolition of ignorance, a very good doctrine and deserving a place in the creed, but not exactly the same as the other. The Odist is, however, well acquainted with the details of the Passion, especially where such details are accompanied by prophetical correspondence.

If the writer is un-Pauline in the matter of the sacrificial aspect of Christ's death, he is equally un-Pauline in the article of His resurrection. A single doubtful allusion exhausts his reference to it (Ode xxxi. 11). The fact is that he is like Bardaisan on the question of the Resurrection; he doesn't hold his doctrine of the future life in that form: we may call him unorthodox or not according to our predilections. The Odist believes in eternal life as attainable and attained in the present life; this reduces his doctrine of the last things almost to zero; it is possible, however, that in this direction we may find further reason for classifying him as a Johannine Christian, in view of the very limited eschatological outlook of the Fourth Gospel. If the Odist is weak on the article of the Resurrection he makes, on the other hand, a speciality of the Descent into Hades, as our notes will abundantly show.

Enough has been said to indicate the place of the Odist in schools of Christian thought.

CHAPTER VII

The Odes and the Biblical Targum.

We find in the course of our examination into the linguistic phenomena which are offered by the Odes that there are cases, apparently of an indubitable character, where the Odes have come under the influence of the Targums; and if this can be established there are two directions in which the influence may have come into play: first of all, there is the natural and direct use of the Targum by a person who has a knowledge of the Hebrew language, or, at least, of its related Aramaic; second, there is a possible influence through the Syriac version of the Old Testament, which (like the Old Syriac Version of the New Testament) occasionally shows traces of a Targumist hand. Thus the question of Targumist influence is of importance in the determination of the original language of the Odes. If, for instance, there should be a probability that the original form of the Peshiṭta version of the Old Testament showed at any point the same trace of Targum that we find in the Odes, the natural conclusion would be that the Ode in question has imitated the Peshiṭta text, and is itself a Syriac product. If, however, any of the Odes, using Biblical matter, shows traces of the Targum, where the corresponding passage in the Peshiṭta does not show it, then (unless the Peshiṭta has corrected its Targumisms away) the Odist had access to the Targum outside the Peshiṭta, and may probably be independent of the Syriac version. We shall see presently how to apply these criteria. Meanwhile, if the traces of the Targum can be detected, we may say in advance that it is extremely improbable that the Odes were composed in Greek. It would almost reduce the choice of origins to Hebrew, Aramaic, or Syriac. We reserve, of course, the case of a bilingual writer, who should be at home both in Greek and in Semitic. How, then, shall we establish our statement as to the existence of cases of

Targumism in the Odes? For the detailed evidence in individual cases we must refer to the notes under the Odes in question: but some general statements may be made. The first suspicious case upon which we stumbled was in the first Ode of the collection, which showed an inner connexion with the first Psalm in the canonical Psalter, in its allusions to a never-withering and always fruitful crown upon the head of the Odist. 'His leaf also shall not wither', 'He brings forth his fruit in his season', being, in fact, a tree of righteousness, well-placed by abundant streams of water. Then, at the end of the Ode, came the obscure remark, 'Thy fruits are full and perfect, full of thy salvation'. The suggestion arose whether this could be the equivalent of the sentence in the first Psalm that 'whatsoever he doeth shall prosper'. Could the words 'he doeth' refer to the 'tree' which immediately precedes? In that case the 'doing' of the tree, as in the first chapter of Genesis ('tree of fruit, making fruit'), is the fruit that it produces. And if this fruit is prosperous the words 'full and perfect' are the natural comment. At this point we turn to the Targum and find that it has made this very explanation; and, curious to say, one-half of the explanation, the 'perfectness' of the fruit, survives in the text of the Peshiṭta, which does not, however, make it clear that it is the tree that is making a perfect product.

This is a very good case to begin with: it shows that there is a nexus between the Ode and the first Psalm in matter that is derived from the Targum or from the Syriac version in an early form of its tradition.

Now let us take another illustration. In Ode xxix. 8 the writer says that the Lord has given him 'the rod of His power':

ܡܫܟܚܬܗ ܕܚܝܠܗ

We recognize at once that this peculiar expression is taken from the 110th Psalm. On turning to the Peshiṭta text, we find a partial coincidence:

ܡܫܝܚ ܕܚܝܠܗ

the word for 'rod' is the same: the word for 'power' is different. If the Odist varies from the Syriac Psalm he varies equally from the Targum, with which the Syriac Psalter at this point agrees.

Using the result thus obtained of the dependence of the Odist upon the 110th Psalm, we see at once that there must be further coincidence or dependence; for the 'rod of power' in either case is to be used for the suppression of one's enemies. Then we observe a peculiarity of the Odist; his military operations are to be undertaken '*by the word* of the Lord', and victory over his enemies is attained through 'the Lord overthrowing them *by His Word*'. Should we write in our translation 'word' or 'Word'? We translated at first without a capital letter; but on looking at the first verse of the Psalm we find that 'the Lord said unto my Lord, sit still, &c., until I subdue thy enemies': and on turning to the Targum we find that 'the Lord said *by His Word*'; so we are led to use a capital letter, and to find the origin of the references in the Ode in question.

The case differs from the preceding in that there appears no trace of the Targum's expression in the Peshiṭta. In this way we are able to affirm that the language of the Odes is at certain points under the influence of the Targum on the Psalms: and if this conclusion is correct the observation will be far-reaching in character. We shall find our Odist in a Jewish area; he may even be a Judaeo-Christian. In one case at least we have shown an acquaintance with the Hebrew text as against its Targum (and the leading translations), for the Odist knows both the readings in Proverbs viii. 22, the 'Lord possessed me', and 'the Lord created me'. The former is the Hebrew reading: the latter that of the Targum, the LXX, and the Peshiṭta. Evidently we shall have to enlarge our idea of the scholarship of the author of the Odes; for he appears to be a scholar as well as a poet.

The recognition of occasional Targumic traces in the language of the Odes raises a further question; are there any instances of the influence of those devices which are employed by Targumists, in

order to avoid the repetition of the Divine Name, or to escape from describing the Divine action in human terms, such as attribute to the Lord 'hands, eyes, organs, and dimensions'? We have already referred to the leading instance of such substitution, in the introduction of the 'Word of God' in the 110th Psalm, and the reflex action from the Targum in the 29th Ode. Let us see if we can find traces of similar substitutions.

In Genesis iv. 14, 'Cain said unto the Lord ..... Thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth, and from thy face shall I be hid.' Here the Targum first of all gets rid of the conversation between Cain and God, by substituting 'Cain said *before* the Lord', and then he has a double difficulty before him; (i) the reference to the face of God, (ii) the supposition that anything can be hidden from God. To avoid this he first replaces 'face of God' by 'from before God', and then he boldly says that 'it is impossible that I shall be hid'. We notice that the Targumist (Onkelos) objects to the 'face of God' and resorts to a circumlocution. Here we come across a curious feature of the Odes: the Odist on several occasions refers to the 'face of God', which sometimes comes in very awkwardly in the context, but he appears to have equated it in his mind with the Memra or Logos, so that the difficulty is got rid of in another way. Thus he says in Ode xxii. 11:

> 'Thy way was without corruption
> And thy Face:'

and in Ode xxv. 4:

> 'Thy Face was with me,
> Which saved me by thy grace.'

Here the expression 'thy Face' would not be used by a strict Targumist, but the Odist uses it of Christ, and does not find any difficulty in it. It has become for him one of the terms of a new and lawful vocabulary.

In order to see more clearly how the writer uses these *quasi*-Divine Names, we may compare Ode xv. 8, 9:

'I have put on incorruption through His Name,
I have put off corruption by His grace:
Death hath been destroyed before my Face:
Sheol hath been abolished by my Word.'

Note the parallelisms between the 'Face' and the 'Word': it suggests that God is the speaker (through the prophet) in the last two lines, and that the Word is the Logos. We observe further that the Odist has another Targumist substitution in the use of the 'Name' of God, again, as it seems, as an equivalent of the Divine Word.

We may compare for this equivalence Ode xxii. 6:

'Thou wast there and didst help me:
Everywhere *thy name* was a rampart to me.'

In another Ode the 'name' is thrown into parallelism with the Holy Spirit. Ode vi. 7:

'The praise of His name He gave us:
Our spirits praise His Holy Spirit.'

A very interesting passage, charged with Targumic language, will be found in Ode xxxvi. 2:

'The Spirit made me stand on my feet in the high
place of the Lord,
Before His perfection and His glory.'

Here both of the terms 'perfection' and 'glory' are used as paraphrases for 'the Lord'; the 'glory' (יקיר or שכינא) is a common Targumic substitution. In the next line of the Ode the speaker is Christ, and the reserve in language is not necessary; accordingly the Odist says:

'The Spirit brought me forth
Before the Face of the Lord.'

Here the language is proper *ex ore Christi*, but not proper (to the mind of the Targumist) for an ordinary person.

There is no doubt that the use of Targums has contributed to the religious language of the time and the place where they were current. A Targumist does not say 'God knows'; he says, 'It is revealed and known before the Holy One, blessed is He'. Thus in Genesis xlix. 16 Judah must not say, 'God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants'; he says instead, 'From before the Lord there has been found iniquity in thy servant.' Such expressions readily become conventional, at least among Aramaic-speaking peoples. They pass into the religious language of the time.

Accordingly, when the Odist in Ode iv. 12 wishes to say that God knew all that was going to happen to the Temple, he expresses it thus:

'The end was revealed to thee:

سنالا ىحلا ىىا لحو

All was revealed to thee as God.'

ىلا صحم امو ألحوا ىلا ىىا لحو

Notice, too, how the Odist reminds the Lord of the impossibility that He should repent of anything that He gave or designed. This is one of the crucial cases for a Targumist, who, when he finds in the Scripture that God repents of having made man, as in Genesis vi. 6, for example, resorts to the device of the 'Word' by whom God acts, and says:

'God repented in His Word that He had made man.'

Our Odist is equally sure that God could not change His mind: he is almost a Targumist, and moves in the circle of ideas to which Targums belong. A careful study of Targumic language will, no doubt, throw much light upon the language and the thought of the Odes.

For example, in Genesis iii. 5, the serpent says: 'God doth

know: ye shall be as God (אלהים) knowing good and evil.' This language would certainly offend the Odist who would say:

'Evil thou knowest not, neither doth it know thee.'
Cf. *Ode* xviii. 9, 10.

The Targum evades the difficulty of translating Elohim as a real plural (and so does the Authorized Version): accordingly we have:

'It is revealed before God;
. . . . . .
Ye shall be as the magnates, knowing between good and evil.'

Here the word 'magnates' (רברבין) is meant to express the 'angels' or the 'heavenly beings'.

We notice it is the very expression which the Odist puts into the mouth of Christ in Ode xxxvi. 4:

'I was glorified amongst the glorious ones,
And great amongst the magnates.'

The language of the Odist overlaps that of the Targum; they have much in common.

Perhaps enough has been said in support of the thesis that there is common matter (both in language and in ideas) between the Odist and the Targums. The Odist himself lives next door to the Synagogue and in the Jewish quarter.

CHAPTER VIII

Style of the Odes.

We can state with confidence that the Syriac style used in the Odes is not that of the Edessene productions represented by the Peshiṭta Version of the Old Testament, the *Hymn of the Soul* in the Acts of Thomas, the *Book of the Laws of Countries*, the

Acts of Thomas generally, the poetical works of Ephrem, &c. In all these works there is a certain freedom of writing and ease of expression which cannot be clearly detected in the Odes. Much of this harshness may, perhaps, be accounted for by the allegorical allusions which sometimes underlie the outer form of the words; but when every allowance is made under this head there remains always something which distinguishes the style of the Odes, say, from that of the canonical Psalter.

Two hypotheses may here be put forward: either the writer was working with a language which had not undergone a long period of development resulting in the fixity of the terms employed, or that he was translating from another language a text that was itself obscure; in this case, not wishing to indulge in countersense or nonsense, he might have tried to follow the original more closely than was consistent with a fine literary style. His choice of terms is, however, very happy, and one could with difficulty substitute a better lexicographical vocable for that adopted in his actual phrases. A Syriac scholar with a tried taste in Syriac language might perhaps reproach the Odist (or his translator) with an occasional weakness in the construction of a sentence, but not with a wrong use of a word. The terminology is, therefore, archaic, and certainly cannot be placed after the seventh century of our era, when foreign linguistic influences, already in existence, began to make themselves felt in a more accentuated manner in the Syriac language.

As an example to illustrate the first hypothesis we may quote the two terms used to express the 'Word', or the Johannine λόγος: ܦܬܓܡܐ (*pethghāma*) and ܡܠܬܐ (*melletha*). The first word, derived from a Persian root, is in classic Syriac used exclusively in the sense of *word* 'in concreto', i.e. vocable, sentence, order, answer; the second, which is employed in the Syriac New Testament to express the Johannine λόγος, has acquired in post-biblical Syriac, from the end of the second century onwards, the meaning of *word* 'in abstracto'. In reading the Odes we find that in two of them

(xvi and xli) ܡܠܬܐ is used to express 'Logos'; but this same λόγος is expressed by the inadequate ܦܓܡܐ in the Odes xii, xxxii. No *Christian* Syrian writer would have ever used, in speaking of Christ, such an unchristian and unevangelical expression if he were writing long after the end of the second century, i. e. after the vulgarization of the Syriac Gospels, any more than a modern English theologian would say that 'in the beginning was the vocable'.

It is certainly remarkable that the Syriac Odes should prefer to speak of Christ, the Word of God, under the term ܦܓܡܐ (*pethghāma*) rather than the term ܡܠܬܐ (*melletha*). It suggests an early date for the text when we find that so little regard is paid to the ecclesiastical use of terms. The use of *pethghāma* as an equivalent for *Logos* must have soon become obsolete under the influence of the Syriac Gospels; all through the Syriac literature the rendering of the Gospel of John, where λόγος = ܡܠܬܐ (*melletha*), is the conventional one. There is, however, a slight trace of the existence of a double translation in Syriac, corresponding to the usage of the Odes and to the Latin *Sermo* and *Verbum*: in Aphrahat (i. 389) we find Christ described as ܡܠܬܐ ܘܦܓܡܐ where two possible renderings stand side by side. And in the very same sequence (i. 392) there is a trace of a third attempt at the rendering of λόγος; for Aphrahat goes on to say that 'it is written, In the beginning was the Voice (ܩܠܐ *ḳāla*) which is the Word (*melletha*)'. In this connexion we must remark that in the prophetic Books of the Old Testament Peshiṭta the use of *melletha* and *pethghāma* alternates confusedly without any difference of meaning, because the Johannine and Christian conception of λόγος is not well developed at the time of their translation. On the hypothesis of a Greek original, the translator, believing the Odes to be the work of the Biblical Solomon, must have adopted the unsettled terminology of the Old Testament. On the other hand, would not this Syrian Christian translator have preferably used the word *melletha* to make the sentence more applicable to Christ, the *Word* of God?

The phraseology of the Syraic text in connexion with the word ܪܘܚܐ (= spirit *or* wind) deserves also special notice. In the Syriac Old Testament, when this term is applied exclusively to the wind or to the spirit of men and angels, it has commonly the feminine gender, and when applied to the Spirit of God it is also used more in the feminine than in the masculine gender, except in the expression ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ (holy spirit) where it is generally used in masculine (cf. Ps. li. 11, &c.). At the beginning of Christianity in the Syriac Churches, the Christian *Holy Spirit*, as constituting a personality distinct from God the Father, was frequently spoken of as feminine; it is so used by Aphrahat, by the old Syriac versions, and generally by Ephrem, possibly under the influence of Old Testament phraseology. To give the word a more orthodox meaning, when these versions were revised sometime in the second half of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century into the Peshiṭta, or Vulgate version of all the branches of the Syrian Church, the revisers changed it into masculine in John xiv. 17, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 13, 14; Luke xii. 12; but it has been retained as feminine in Luke i. 35, ii. 25, iii. 22, iv. 1; John vii. 39, and John i. 32 (but with the elimination of the word 'Holy').

After the fifth century, the expression 'Holy Spirit', ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ, Christian or Judaic, became conventionally masculine (cf. Eph. iv. 30, Pesh.); and the Christian *Holy Spirit* with ܪܘܚܐ alone, and to some extent with the expression ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ, is also commonly masculine, except in the passages where the wording is visibly inspired from the corresponding passages of the Peshiṭta and Ephrem. We give the only instances to the contrary with the adjective ܩܕܝܫܐ, and it is even possible that in two of these instances the 'Spirit of God' was understood by the translators in the sense of that of the Old Testament, and not of the Christian Holy Spirit, a person distinct from the Father. This is probably the case with Aphrahat (ii. 128), where ܪܘܚܗ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ (His Spirit) is used, and with the colophon to the Lewisian text (page 268, edit. Lewis), and with 1 Thessalonians iv. 8 (= Ezek. xxxviii. 14).

Possibly this could not be applied to Luke ii. 25–6 in the Lewisian text, where ܢܫܡܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ is employed. These are the only instances against the stereotyped formula which we have noticed in the Syriac literature. Probably one or two other instances have escaped our notice, but they will hardly counterbalance the thousands of examples which might be given to the contrary.

Coming to the Odes, we notice that the expression ܢܫܡܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ is used in the masculine in the stereotyped Syriac formula for the 'Holy Spirit', Judaic or Christian (see Odes vi. 7, xi. 2, xiv. 8, xxiii. 22 B). But in the famous Ode xix, which contains indubitable marks of the Christian 'Holy Spirit' outside the sphere of the stereotyped formula, we see the Holy Spirit spoken of as feminine. If the Syriac text had seen the light long after the sixth century we should have expected a more natural masculine use of ܢܫܡܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ. Not once is the word used in the feminine in the works of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, translated from the Greek into Syriac by Jacob of Edessa about 698 (*Patrologia Orientalis*, iv. 1–94; viii. 100–280 et seq.).

On the other hand, there is a sentence which would suggest that the style of the Odes is dependent on that of the New Testament Peshiṭta. Ode xli. 15 has the expression ܡܫܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'the foundations of the world'. This is the Peshiṭta rendering of *καταβολὴ κόσμου* (cf. Matt. xiii. 35; John xii. 24; Ephes. i. 4). This coincidence, which is not to be lightly disregarded, is discussed in our note to the Ode in question and by E. A. Abbott in *The Fourfold Gospel*, p. 408 seq.; see also p. 122 of the present volume. Whether the phraseology of the Odes is dependent on the Syriac Old and New Testaments is discussed in another chapter. As far as the particularities of the Syriac text are concerned the philological notes placed at the end of every Ode may be found useful.

The subject being so intricate, it would be rash to attach the style of the Odes to that of a known group of authors, or a determined school of thought, and it would be highly precarious

to try to fix the epoch of their composition by the outward form of style.

On the one hand they certainly contain many of the elements which characterize a Syriac composition under Greek influences, and in this respect, were it not for some extraneous considerations arising chiefly (1) from a certain play on the different meanings of some Syriac words; (2) from the almost certain hypothesis that Ephrem (d. 373) knew them in their present form; (3) from a certain literary ascendency which the Syriac text possesses when compared with the Coptic translation and the Latin quotation of Lactantius—we should without hesitation have asserted that they were a translation from a Greek original. The only Syriac translations of Greek originals in the time preceding Ephrem, from which we can form a judgement as to the nature of early translations, are the Old Syriac Gospels; but the slight linguistic coincidences between the Odes and the Lewisian and Curetonian Versions do not seem to be sufficiently numerous to enable us to draw a safe conclusion of a constant relation between the style of the Odes and the style of the Gospels. Something, however, emerges clearly from an even superficial reading of the phraseology of the Odes, viz. that the difficulty of translation of some words lies not so much in their lexicographical or grammatical formation as in the precise meaning, sometimes hidden and mystical, which the author himself appears to have given them.

Everything well considered, there is much truth in F. C. Burkitt's verdict to the effect that no theory of the origin of these Odes is satisfactory which regards the Syriac translation (? text) that we possess otherwise than as an exotic. This is true if a comparison is established between the stylistic method of *Acta Thomae* (which, however important for a theologian, not many Syrians would consider as a model of Syriac composition) and the Odes, but it would somewhat exceed the boundaries of truth if that comparison were established with the writings of Sergius of Resh'aina, John of Ephesus, Jacob of Edessa, Maraba, Paul the Persian, &c.

In other words, Syrian authors with a Hellenic education write Syriac in a very different way from that of a man who knows no Greek. The *Acts of Judas Thomas* were written by a man who knew no Hellenic culture, and the works of Jacob of Edessa reflect the Hellenic education of their writer. A learned Syrian with a Hellenic education would write in a more grammatical Syriac than that used by Ephrem himself, would employ happier and more technical terms; but any one would notice that his style lacked that grace and flexibility which characterize a man without any exotic influence, such as Ephrem. The stiffness and the absence of characteristic native idiom, which would surely be found in the style of the former, would not prohibit our referring the composition to a real Syrian, who was writing in his own language.

Generally speaking the phraseology of the Odes is harmonious and correct, and stands in a very marked contrast with some extant Syriac translations of Greek originals, instances of which are found in the *Psalms of Solomon*, the *Geoponica*, the *Aphorisms of Hippocrates*, the *Didascalia*, &c. There are even sentences which could scarcely have been found in Greek thought or in Greek phrase. Ode xii. 6 has ܘܠܐ ܡܬܩܝܡ ܗܘ ܩܐܡ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܩܝܡ ܢܩܝܡ *And it (the Word) never falls, but standing He stands*, for 'He stands firmly and continually'; Ode xxviii. 4 has ܒܪܟ ܒܪܟܢ *He blessing blessed me* for 'He surely and frequently blessed me'. If the opinion held by all Semitists that the so-called *mimmed* infinitive used to give more emphasis to the verb is an undoubted Semitism, there is reason to believe that the instances above quoted, if not pure inventions of the unknown translator, are genuine marks of a Semite. Instances to the contrary are, however, numerous, and an examination of the early and late Syriac translations of Greek originals is instructive.

In the old Syriac Gospels, where the translated text is not so servile to the Greek as that of the Peshiṭta, this linguistic phenomenon occurs more than once; examples: Matt. ix. 24 (Lewis),

v. 32 (Lewis and Cureton); Luke viii. 50 and 53 (Cureton), xvi. 18 (Lewis), xxii. 15 (Lewis and Cureton); John vii. 47 (Lewis and Cureton).

In all these passages the revisers of the N.T. text have eliminated the *mimmed* infinitives, which are no more found in the Peshiṭta. The elimination has been effected as follows: ܗܕܐ ; ܗܕܐ (*bis*) for ܗܕܘ ܗܕܐ : ܐܙܠ (*bis*) for ܡܐܙܠ : ܗܘ ܗܘ for ܗܘ ܗܘ ܗܘ : ܠܡܚܙܝ ܠܡܚܙܝ for ܡܚܙܝ ܠܡܚܙܝ : ܠܡܫܕܝ ܠܡܫܕܝ for ܡܫܕܝ ܠܡܫܕܝ.

In all these examples the employment of the infinitive was facultative, and the revisers eliminated it: sometimes, however, it has been overlooked, and once it appears to have been retained because its position was necessary to the expression of the thought (see John ix. 9, x. 20, xiii. 29). The case is similar where the evangelist is quoting from the Old Testament where the phenomenon exists in the Hebrew and Syriac texts, as in Mark vii. 10, &c.

As far as the Syriac *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Pauline Epistles* are concerned, the use of the infinitive referred to above seems to be infrequent, and is generally confined to Biblical quotations from the Old Testament and to passages where a special stress is required by the Greek context, such as 2 Corinthians viii. 10, x. 9, xi. 7; Philippians i. 29; Romans xiv. 4 (as in Ode xii. 6). As we have already said, these phrases may be considered as remnants from the old Syriac Epistles, and for this reason they might not have been touched, out of respect for an ancient text.

The Syriac translations of the sixth century onwards offer very few instances of a constant use of this linguistic phenomenon, and for all practical purposes they may be left out of the question. We have not found it employed in the translation of the works of Severus of Antioch given in vol. viii of *Patr. Orient.* except on p. 245 in a quotation from 3 Kings xix. 10, which has no bearing on our case.

In the following example there may have been in the mind of the Odist the idea of a substantive derived from its verb, ܫܪܪܐ (*truth*) from ܫܪܪ (*to be firm*). This could hardly have been the case

if the author was a passive translator from a Greek original, because in this last language, the common word 'truth' is not derived from a common verb meaning to 'consolidate'.

ܘܐܬܬܩܢܬ ܥܠ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ

'And I was established (= confirmed) upon the rock of truth (= firmness)' (*Ode* xi. 5).

This phenomenon is to be carefully distinguished from the use of a noun of action or a mere substantive, with or without any preposition before or after the verb. Any Syriac book affords examples of such sentences, especially where the noun of action has constituted something like an inseparable expression with the verb from which it is derived. It will be useful for future investigation to give a list of all such phrases found in the Odes and Psalms of Solomon. They do not constitute by themselves an irrefragable token of Semitism, but their frequency in a work is a good guarantee that it emanates either from a Semite or from a man with Semitic learning and influenced by a Semitic Bible. It is a semi-play on words which is not to be completely disregarded.

(*a*) Examples with a preposition:

ܘܐܓܪܝܘ ܒܡܩܕܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܓܪܝܘܬܐ

'They defiled the sanctuary of the Lord with defilement.'
Ps. Sol. i. 8.

ܐܠܗܝ ܒܫܘܪܝܟ ܬܬܙܕܩ ܒܙܕܘܬܟ

'That thou mightest be justified, O God, by Thy justification.'
Ps. Sol. ix. 3.

ܩܝܡܬ ܥܡܢ

'Thou didst surely covenant.'—*Ps. Sol.* ix. 19.

ܐܬܟܣܝܬ ܒܟܣܝܬ

'I was covered with the covering.'—*Ode Sol.* xxv. 8.

ܢܗܘܐ ܦܪܨܘܦܝܢ ܒܢܗܝܪܘܬܗ

'Let our faces shine by His shining.'—*Ode Sol.* xli. 6.

ܒܪܘܟ ܥܡ ܒܪܘܟܗ

'Let us exult with His exultation.'—*Ode Sol.* xli. 7.

ܚܣ ܥܠܝ ܒܚܣܝܗ

'He pitied me in His pity.'—*Ode Sol.* vii. 10.

ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܢܦܚ

'From the inspiration that He inspired.'—*Ode Sol.* xviii. 15.

ܘܐܝܟ ܚܕܬܗ ܫܒܐ

'Like His own newness He renewed me.'—*Ode Sol.* xxxvi. 5.

ܘܐܝܟ ܢܗܪܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܫܪܪ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܝ

'And like the flow of water flowed truth from my mouth.'
Ode Sol. xii. 2.

(*b*) Examples of a substantive or a noun of action:

ܡܢܛܪ ܠܗ ܫܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܠܚܝܐ

'Treasures him a treasure of life.'—*Ps. Sol.* ix. 9.

ܘܐܬܩܝܡ ܩܝܡܐ ܒܝܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ

'They covenanted covenants among themselves.'
Ps. Sol. viii. 11.

ܠܡܚܙܐ ܒܝܩܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܝܩܪ ܐܬ̈ܝܩܪ

'To see the glory of the Lord, wherewith
He had glorified him.'—*Ps. Sol.* xvii. 35.

ܘܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܚܝܐ ܥܡ ܡܝܐ

'They lived a life by the water.'—*Ode Sol.* v. 18.

ܐܩܪܒ ܐܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ

'I offer the offering.'—*Ode Sol.* xx. 2.

ܠܒܝ ܐܬܪܘܩ ܪܘܩܐ

'My heart gushes out a gush.'—*Ode Sol.* xxxvi. 7.

ܠܡܫܒܐ ܫܒܝܐ

'To lead captive a captivity.'—*Ode Sol.* x. 3.

ܥܘܠܬܐ ܥܠ̈ܬ

'Error erred.'—*Ode Sol.* xxxi. 2.

Another phenomenon which goes to the credit of the Semitic origin of the Odes is the repetition of the same root as has occurred in a previous word of the sentence, although an interval may separate the two occurrences of the root. This is a proof of a continuous attention on the part of the Odist which in some cases is quite different from the function of a translator.

Examples:

ܘܣܒܘ ܚܟܡ̈ܐ ܕܡܕܡ ܗܘ ܪܒ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܘܐܬܕܡܘ ܠܗ
ܘܐܬܛܥܘ ܒܗ

'And *vain* people supposed that it was something great:
And they came to resemble it and *became vain*.'—*Ode* xviii. 12.

ܒܬܘܠܬܗ ܕܥܡ ܥܡܠܘ ܘܥܡܠܘ ܘܣܘܦ ܥܡܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܚܝܐ

'And they *travailed* from the beginning,
And the end of their *travail* was life.'—*Ode* xxiv. 8.

ܪܐ̈ܝ̈ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܘܢܬܚܙܘܢ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ

'The *seers* shall go before Him,
And they shall be *seen* before Him.'—*Ode* vii. 18.

ܘܢܗܦܟ ܥܡ ܥܘܠܐ ܕܚܛܝܢܘܬܐ ܠܘܬ
ܘܐܬܗܦܟ ܠܢ ܘܐܬܩܢܝ ܡܢܢ

'And they *turn away* from wickedness to thy pleasantness:
And *have turned* from themselves, &c.'—*Ode* xi. 21.

ܢܬܚܐ ܐܦ ܚܢ ܒܦܘܪܩܟ
ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܦܘܪܩܢ

'Let us also be *saved* with Thee:
For thou art our *Saviour*.'—*Ode* xlii. 18.

More important for all purposes is the play on the different meanings of a verb, or a noun. For example:

ܘܚܙܝܬ ܠܡܚܒܠܐ ܕܡܚܒܠ

'And I saw the *destroyer* of the *corruptor*.'—*Ode* xxxviii. 9.

ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܪܫܗ ܪܫܐ ܘܐܬܓܠܝ

'And there was seen at its head
A head which was revealed.'—*Ode* xxiii. 18.

The first example, if translated by 'corruptor of the corruptor', or 'of the corruption', would scarcely yield any meaning; obviously its true meaning is, 'destroyer of the corruptor'. The author is therefore playing on the different meanings of the verb ܫܚܬ 'to destroy' and 'to corrupt'; he used it first in the sense of 'to destroy', and second in the sense of 'to corrupt', and this apart from his other play on the two different forms of the verbal participle. Curiously enough the same play on words occurs, but in a lesser degree, in 1 Corinthians iii. 17:

ܡܢ ܕܡܫܚܬ ܗܘܟܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܚܬ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ

'Him that *corrupts* the temple of God, God shall *destroy*.'

But this unique instance can hardly weaken the above statement.

In the second example the play is on the two meanings of the word ܪܫܐ, which means 'head', 'chief', and 'beginning', but as the meaning of the whole Ode is problematical it would not be safe to build much on a 'sealed letter', although at the first sight it would seem that the first ܪܫܐ is to be translated by 'beginning', and the second by 'head', or 'chief'. In Ode xxiv. 1 a play exists on the same word ܪܫܐ 'head' and 'head, superior', but this might have arisen also with the Greek κεφαλή.

Three other plays upon the different meanings of a word, in which a contrast is also established between these meanings, deserve consideration:

ܘܐܢܫܩܬ ܥܠ ܟܣܝܬ ܣܥܪܐ
ܡܢ ܝܡܝܢܗ ܕܢܫܩܢܝ

'I removed from me the raiment of skins
For thy right hand lifted me up.'—*Ode* xxv. 8, 9.

ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥ ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲧⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥ ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ

'And they made me a criminal when I rose up,
Me who had not been condemned.'

'And they divided my spoil,
Though nothing was due to them.'—*Ode* xxxi. 8, 9.

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲱⲟⲩ . . . . ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲱⲙ
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲓ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲗⲟ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̀ⲡⲱⲟⲩ . . . . ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲱⲙ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲧⲁⲙⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲱⲙ

'All the thirsty on earth were given a drink of it:
And thirst was done away and quenched . . . .
They have assuaged dry lips:
And the will that had fainted they have raised up.'
Ode vi. 11, 14.

In the first example ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ with ⲙⲁⲣⲉ means 'take off', and ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ alone means 'to extol, exalt, enhance'. The second example contains a contrast between 'to condemn', ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ 'condemned, culprit', and ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲱⲙ 'something due to somebody'. The third example, although the two terms of the linguistic play are separated from each other, requires also careful examination on account of the corresponding Coptic text; the words are the verb ⲁⲓⲁⲗⲟ 'to be dissolved, to perish', and the past participle ⲧⲁⲗⲟ 'paralytic'. The Coptic expresses also the same words by the same root.

A last linguistic feature worth mentioning is the tendency of the Odist to repeat the same verb in the same sentence with the substantive derived from it. For example:

ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲁⲓⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥ

'I *believed*, therefore I was at rest:
For faithful is He in whom *I have believed*.'—*Ode* xxviii. 3.

ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܚܬܢ ܠܡܨܒܐ
ܘܫܘܠ ܐܡܘܬ ܕܥܒܕܝ ܡܝ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܩܐ

'And the dykes (lit. *restrainments*) of men were not able *to restrain it*:
Nor the arts of those whose business it is *to restrain* waters.'
Ode vi. 9.

ܘܚܙܝܬ ܠܡܚܒܠܐ ܕܡܚܒܠܐ ܒܗ ܘܠܟܠܬܐ ܕܐܬܚܒܠ ܒܗ ܘܠܚܬܢܐ ܕܡܬܚܒܠ
ܘܡܬܚܒܠ ܘܡܫܚܬ ܠܟܠܬܐ ܘܠܚܬܢܐ ܡܫܚܬ ܠܟܠܬܐ

'And I saw the *Destroyer* of the *Corruptor*, when the Bride that was being *corrupted* was adorned, and the Bridegroom was *corrupting* and being *corrupted*.'—*Ode* xxxviii. 9.

ܘܥܕܘ ܕܝܕܝ ܡܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܡܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܒܫܪܪܐ ܘܐܬ

'And *understand my knowledge*,
Ye *who know me* in truth.'—*Ode* viii. 12.

ܛܘܪ ܪܙܝ ܐܢܐ ܕܢܛܪܝܢ ܒܗ
ܛܘܪ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܒܗ

'Keep my secret, ye who are kept by it
Keep my faith, ye who are kept by it.'—*Ode* viii. 10.

Apart from these general remarks upon the stylistic method of the Odist the following particular observations may be added as a corollary:

(1) Verbs are sometimes used in an absolute manner without any complements. For example:

ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ
Ode xlii. 10.

ܐܬܟܬܒ ܥܠܝ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܘܐܬܚܬܡ ܘܐܬܚܬܡ
Ode iii. 7.

ܡܢ ܕܐܬܟܚܫ ܒܟܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟ
ܘܐܬܟܚܫ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܟܐ ܕܐܬܟܚܫ ܒܗ ܘܐܬܟܚ
Ode xix. 5.

ܘܐܬܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܚ
Ode ix. 7.

(2) In a contrast between terms, instead of a single verb expressing a negative, there is a tendency to use a positive word with the negative participle ܠ. For example:

ܟܕܡܗ ܟܠ ܫܚܠ ܕܒ ܥܡܗ
ܘܥܡܗ ܟܫܚܠ ܟܝܚܝܗ

Ode xv. 8.

ܐܫܬܟܚ ܟܘ ܡܢ ܠ ܒܝܚܐ
ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐ ܟܘ ܒܝܚܗ ܘܥܕܢ

Ode vii. 21.

Even without any contrast this phenomenon occurs with the words ܫܚܠ and ܒܝܚܐ in xviii. 11, xxxiii. 12; this feature, which answers to the privative *alpha* and the English prefix *un* or *in*, loses its value when it is preceded by a *dālath*, because in this case the word has exactly the English meaning of 'without'.

This contrast between terms by means of ܠ is, generally speaking, much used in Syriac literature, even by writers who knew no Greek, and no serious conclusion can be drawn from it in favour of an anti-Syriac original; one example from Ephrem will suffice:

ܒܝܚܗ ܠ ܒܝܚܐ ܐܫܚܠ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܐܫܚܠ ܠ ܒܝܚܗ

'His knowledge will become ignorance, and His existence non-existence.'—Mitchell, p. 173.

(3) The future tense is more frequently expressed by the aorist than by the verbal participle.

(4) The Odist has a marked predilection for the use of ܕܠ with a substantive; expressions such as 'without death', 'without corruption', for 'immortal', 'incorruptible'.

CHAPTER IX

The Style of the Odes and that of the Psalms of Solomon compared.

Since the two manuscripts of the Odes couple with them the Jewish *Psalms of Solomon*, it may be useful to examine whether in their stylistic form they resemble so closely each other that one could, on the hypothesis of a translation, safely ascribe both pieces to a single translator.

In the foregoing pages it has been pointed out that there is much in the Odes which would be explained by the supposition of Greek influence; this being the case we should, generally speaking, expect to find more harmony between the phraseology of the Odes and the Psalms than between, let us say, that of Ephrem or Aphrahat and the Odes. The difference between a work which is under Greek influence and another which is a direct translation from the Greek, is not as great as that which exists between the first work and the compositions of a genuine Syrian writer without any Hellenic culture. There need, therefore, be no wonder if a comparison between the style of early Edessene productions and that of the Odes and Psalms of Solomon should show that the Odes are nearer to the Psalms than to the Edessene productions. Notwithstanding all this, there are linguistic characteristics, some general and some particular, which suggest that both works could not have emanated from a single man.

General Characteristics.

1. The Psalms, contrary to the Odes, contain some obvious mistakes which point to a Greek original; scholars interested in the Syriac translations of Greek composition know that from A. D. 400 to 700 they were very literal, and even somewhat servile. The translators, out of respect for their text, used to follow it so closely that often they transgressed in a flagrant manner the

very rudiments of their language. The Psalms of Solomon offer a striking example to the point. In Psalm iii. 16 the translator, who was rendering literally the Greek sentence, used instead of ܠܚܝܐ in plural ܠܚܝ in singular, as it was before him in Greek, overlooking the fact that the subject of the verb, the word ܚܝܐ 'life', was only used in the plural, contrary to the Greek *ζωή*. The same mistake of translation, although in a lesser degree, occurs in the Peshiṭta rendering of John i. 4 *ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν* = ܗܘܐ ܚܝܐ ܒܗ.

2. All the above linguistic features which add to the value of the Syriac text of the Odes, and their correctness of style and the harmony between their sentences, are, generally speaking, absent in the Psalms. Further, some phrases of the Psalms suggest that they are a mediocre piece of work so far as the Syriac is concerned; and contain even expressions foreign to Syriac. For example:

ܐܠܗܐ ܚܟܡܬܐ

Ps. Sol. i. 5.

ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܕܒܝܠ ܠܐ ܕܚܟܡ

Ps. Sol. ii. 35.

ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܒܟ ܕܠ ܐܠܗܐ

Ps. Sol. iv. 13.

ܐܐܠ ܡܢܐ

Ps. Sol. viii. 17.

ܚܕܝܢ ܒܝ ܚܣܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܒܥܡ ܚܣܕܝ

Ps. Sol. ix. 7.

ܐܝ ܠܐܦܠ ܒܥܡ ܥܡ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܒܚܝܠ
ܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܢܐ ܚܝܢ

Ps. Sol. xvi. 3.

Particular Characteristics.

The difference between both styles will be more clearly understood in the case when the writer had the liberty of choice between two forms of verbs or two ways of expression. The case would be similar if in two Latin compositions the writer of both had used in one of them the form *amaverunt* in exclusion of *amavere*, or *vice versa*. If many such divergent forms occur in a pair of writings which are under consideration there is reason to believe that their author was not the same man. A cumulative evidence by many grammatical licenses of this kind would suggest that it would at least be highly precarious to assign both pieces to a single man; *le style c'est l'homme*.

Here are the main stylistic ways of expression which characterize the Psalms and the Odes, and seem to separate both compositions from each other.

1. The Odes, but not the Psalms, have used a conjugated ܐܝܬ with the principal verb to express indicative and subjunctive. For example:

ܡܚܝܠ ܘܡܟܝܠ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܠ ܥܡ ܢܥ
ܐܝܬ ܥܠܝ ܒܝ ܚܕܝܕ

Ode xxxv. 1, 2.

ܡܢ ܐܝܬ ܥܡ ܡܢ ܒܝ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܒ ܕܥܡ

Ode xxxviii. 14.

ܒ ܡܢ ܐܝܬ ܡܫܟܚܢ ܐܢܐ ܒܫܒܝ ܒܚܝ

Ode xxxix. 8.

ܡܫܟ ܘܠ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܒܫܒ

Ode xlii. 14.

2. The Psalms, but not the Odes, have used the otiose corroborative with both pronouns and ܗܘ declined. For example:

ܡܡܘܚܐ ܐܢ ܗܘ

Ps. Sol. v. 16.

ܚܕܟܝ ܘܒܟ

Ps. Sol. ix. 3.

3. The Psalms, but not the Odes, have used the apocopated form of pronouns with the declined verbal participle. For example:

ܟܥܒܐ ܘܥܒܕܢ ܢܥܡ ܠܐ ܥܒܕܢ

Ps. Sol. iii. 1.

ܐ ܥܒܗ ܢܦܩ ܥܡ ܠܐ ܥܒܡ ܘܟܒܐ

Ps. Sol. v. 5.

4. The Psalms, but not the Odes, have used the third person plural with the form of the paragogic *nun*. For example:

ܥܒܢܗ ܘܐܦܥܟܡ ܐܗܟܠܬܐ ܐܡ ܘܢܘ

Ps. Sol. ii. 14.

5. The Psalms, but not the Odes, have used an otiose *waw*:

ܢܥ ܥܥܠ ܘܟܥ ܥܥܟܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܥܡ

'He falls and because his fall is grievous, (and) he rises not again.'—*Ps. Sol.* iii. 13.

ܥܐ ܐܘ ܘܒܐ ܟܥܒ ܠܐ ܢܠܝ ܥܥܐ ܐܥܐ ܐܥ

'And if it should be that he repeats his gift,
And does not grumble, (and) that is a wonder.'

Ps. Sol. v. 15.

ܥܥ ܐܟܟ ܘܥܐ ܘܥܟܒ ܥܐ ܥܥܥܒ ܐܢ

'And every petition of the soul that trusts in Him, (and) the Lord fulfils it.'—*Ps. Sol.* vi. 8.

6. The Odes, and not the Psalms, have put the *mimmed* infinitive after the object:

ܥܒܥ ܘܢܬ ܥܥܥ

'And the power of the men of might to bring down.'

Ode xxix. 8.

ܘܕܝܘܬܐ ܠܡܣܒ ܒܚܝܠܗ

'And victory to take by His power.'—*Ode* xxix. 9.

On the other hand some identical constructions of sentences are found in both Psalms and Odes, possibly owing to the fact that no other reasonable ways of expression were available. Of this category are to be counted:

1. The comparison between two objects by means of ܐܝܟ and ܗܟܢܐ, 'as . . . . . so . . . .;' see *Ps. Sol.* xvii. 2, &c., and Ode vii. 1, &c.

2. The use of ܡܢ and ܥܕ ܗܟܢܐ, 'from . . . . . to . . . ;' see *Ps. Sol.* xvii. 21, &c., and Odes xi. 4, xxvi. 7. Ode vii. 14 has, however, ܥܕ ܗܟܢܐ only without *waw*.

These are the main points of similarity and dissimilarity between the style of the Odes and that of the Psalms. Although the linguistic features which distinguish both compositions from each other are not very striking there is sufficient evidence to show that they emanate from two different writers.

CHAPTER X

The Biblical Quotations of the Odes.

The question of the Biblical quotations found in the Odes is very important, involving as it does many interesting points in regard to their age, their original language, and the country in which they were written. Unfortunately, as very few quotations can clearly be singled out in the Odes, their total effect is somewhat impaired. There are, however, some unmistakeable semi-quotations drawn from the Scriptures which bring the whole collection into relation with an extensive Biblical nucleus. Now if these semi-quotations are in harmony with the LXX there is reason for believing that the Odes which contain them were originally written

in Greek; if, on the contrary, there are linguistic features which suggest their dependence on the Hebrew text, it would not be very rash to state that their first author was a Judaizing writer, who availed himself of the Scriptural text with which he was familiar in his Synagogues or in his Church. Finally, if these quotations agree with the Peshiṭta Version of the Syriac speaking churches, there would be ample justification for the belief that the Odist, or, at least, his translator, was drawing his phraseology from a text with which he was already acquainted.

An English theologian of the twentieth century, when quoting Psalm i. 4, or translating a Latin book in which the verse is quoted, would hardly say, 'But are as the stubble that the wind carrieth away', but would very probably, as far as the text which he is translating would allow, use 'chaff' for 'stubble', and 'driveth away' for 'carrieth away'. As a matter of fact, this very verse is quoted in Ode xxix. 10, where the verb ܢܫܐ of the Peshiṭta is superseded by ܥܠܠ, the writing of both being as follows:

Peshiṭta: ܐܝܟ ܚܛܐ ܕܢܫܐ ܢܫܡܐ

Odes: ܐܝܟ ܚܛܐ ܕܥܠܠ ܗܘ ܢܫܡܐ

It is worth noting that a semi-quotation of this verse by Aphrahat has also ܥܠܠ for ܢܫܐ (ii. 117).

Verses like this are numerous; the most striking parallelisms and coincidences are the following:

Ode xxvi. 11: ܡܢ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܡܦܫܩ ܒܬܪܥܝ ܕܡܪܝܐ

'Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord?'; and Psalm cvi (cvii). 2, which is quoted here, has: ܡܢ ܢܡܠܠ ܒܬܪܥܝ ܕܡܪܝܐ with a change of the verb ܢܡܠܠ into ܦܫܩ, and the addition of the verb ܡܫܟܚ, the position of which is facultative in interrogative and admirative sentences combined. The idea of 'interpretation of the wonders of the Lord' occurs several times in the canonical Psalter, and it is always translated in the Peshiṭta by ܦܫܩ (see Pss. ix. 15, xxviii. 4, cv. 2).

Ode xxix. 8 has ܫܘܛܐ ܕܚܝܠܗ 'The rod of His power'. This rod of power occurs in the canonical Psalter (Ps. cx. 2), and is there expressed by the Peshiṭta as ܫܘܛ ܕܬܫܒܚܬܐ. Note the change of the language of the Psalter.

Ode xxvi. 4 has ܐܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܠܒܝ 'I will cry unto Him with my whole heart'. The idea of crying from one's whole heart is in Psalm cxviii. 145, where it is expressed in the Peshiṭta with the verb ܙܥܩ, and not ܩܪܐ as in the Odes.

Ode v. 8 has ܐܬܚܫܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ 'For they devised a counsel, and it has come to nought' (lit. it has not been for them). The idea of 'devising' a counsel which does not succeed is in Psalm xxi. 11, where it is expressed by the Peshiṭta as follows: ܐܡܪܘ ܣܠܐ ܠܐ ܩܐܡ ܐܬܚܫܒ ܒܥܬܐ with the substitution of ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ for ܐܡܪܘ ܣܠܐ ܠܐ.

Ode xxx. 4 has ܡܪ ܘܕܒܫ ܡܢ ܕܒܫܐ ܡܪܝܪ ܗܘ 'Much sweeter is its water than honey'. A parallel sentence of Psalm xix. 10 is as follows: ܘܡܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܕܒܫ 'And sweeter than honey'. The Odes have changed ܡܬܘܩ to ܡܪܝܪ.

In some other verses, the same words are used in the Odes as those found in the canonical Psalms. Generally, however, this happens in the case when another word could hardly be substituted for that used in both compositions; further, in most of these occurrences, the Odist seems to have purposely changed the nature of the text from which he was drawing his inspiration. For example:

Ode v. 11: ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܦܘܪܩܢܝ ܘܠܐ ܐܕܚܠ 'And because the Lord is my salvation, I will not fear.'

And Psalm xxvii. 1: ܡܪܝܐ ܦܘܪܩܢܝ . . . . ܡܢ ܕܐܕܚܠ 'The Lord is my . . . . salvation, whom shall I fear?'

Ode xxix. 1, has ܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܣܒܪܝ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܒܗܬ ܒܗ 'The Lord is my hope, in Him I shall not be confounded;'

and in several passages of the Psalms the sentence is constructed as follows:

ܒܡܪܝܐ ܣܒܪܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܒܗܬ 'In the Lord I put my hope, I shall not be confounded' (Pss. xxii. 5, xxv. 2, xxxi. 1, lxxi. 1, &c.).

Ode xvii. 9 has ܘܒܪܥ̈ܬ ܣܟܘܠܐ ܕܦܪܙܠ 'And I broke in pieces the bars of iron'; and Psalm cvii. 16 has ܕܒܪ ܣܟܘܠܐ ܕܦܪܙܠ 'And he has broken in pieces the bars of iron'. Cf. also Isaiah xlv. 2.

Ode xxviii. 13 has ܘܐܬܘ ܟܠܒ̈ܐ ܣܒ̈ܝܢ 'And they came round me like mad dogs'; and Psalm xxii. 16, from which the idea is drawn, has ܟܠܒ̈ܐ ܣܒ̈ܝܢ 'Dogs came round me'.

Ode xxix. 11 has ܡܛܠ ܕܪܡ ܥܒܕܗ ܘܒܪ ܐܡܬܗ ܐܦ ܐܢܘܢ 'Because He exalted His servant and the son of His handmaid'. The idea of 'servant and son of handmaid' is in Psalm cxv. 16, where it is expressed ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕܟ ܘܒܪ ܐܡܬܟ 'I am thy servant and son of thy handmaid'. There was possibly no other way to express such an idea in Syriac.

In some verses the change of words between the phraseology of the canonical Psalms and that of the Odes is confined to a particle or to a facultative way of expressing the comparative or superlative. For example: Ode iv. 5 has, 'For one hour of thy faith is more precious (= better) than all days and years'. There is probably a relation between this verse and Psalm lxxxiv. 10, which has: 'For a day in thy courts is better (= more precious) than a thousand.' The Odes express the Syriac comparative 'better' or 'more precious' with ܛܒ instead of that of ܛܒ used in the Psalms. Ode xiv. 1 has ܐܦ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܥܝܢ ܕܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܠܡܪܝܗܘܢ 'As the eyes of a son to his father.' The verse has a certain relation with Psalm cxxiii. 2, which has three times the particle ܟܕ instead of ܐܝܟ of the Odes, and in no case any attempt is made to put the suffix pronouns at the end of ܥܝܢ. One of these three cases is: ܐܦ ܥܝܢ ܕܥܒ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܠܡܪܝܗܘܢ 'As the eyes of servants to their masters'.

The idea that a mischief should return upon the head of those

who do it is expressed in Psalm vii. 16, and in Ode v. 7. The difference in phraseology is in the use of the preposition 'upon', which follows the verb ܦܠܓ. This preposition is ܥܠ in the Odes, and ܒ in the Psalms.

In Ode xxxviii. 1 the starting-point of the thought is undoubtedly Psalm xlii (xliii). 3, where God is implored to 'send out His *Light* and His *Truth*, that they may *lead* me and *bring* me to His holy mountain'. In the LXX of the Psalm the Hebrew tenses have been rendered by the past tenses,

αὐτά με ὡδήγησαν καὶ ἤγαγόν με·

which makes even closer agreement with the Ode. In the Peshiṭta version the coincidences have almost disappeared. Instead of 'Truth' it has 'Faith', instead of 'lead me' it has 'comfort me'.

In Ode xiv. 4, 5 we have distinct traces of the influence of Psalm xlvii (xlviii). 15, and Psalm xxx (xxxi). 4. The Odist prays that the Lord may be his guide even to the end (ܥܡ ܠܥܠܡ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܢܕܒܪܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡ), he has substituted 'the end' for 'death', but agrees with the Hebrew and its dependent Peshiṭta in the use of the verb ܢܕܒܪ ('to guide'), while the LXX has the more remote *ποιμανεῖ*. After the manner of the Odist we have in the next verse the influence of Psalm xxx (xxxi). '*For thy name's sake* lead me and guide me', where the Peshiṭta does not mention the idea of guidance, which is involved in the Hebrew and the LXX. Here again the Odist shows independence of the Peshiṭta tradition.

In Ode xxviii we have signalized a reference to the 22nd Psalm in the 'mad dogs who come round their master'; a further reference from the same Psalm, 'they *cast lots* for my vesture', will be found in the seventeenth verse of the Ode:

'Vainly did they *cast lots* against me.'

In the next verse of the Ode, the Odist appears to be drawing upon Psalm cxviii (cxix). 161:

'Princes *persecuted me without a cause*' (*κατεδίωξάν με δωρεάν*),

for which the Ode has:

ܐܠܗܝ ܥܡ ܚܠܦ ܗܘܐ ܩܕܡ.

The Peshiṭta of the Psalm has:

ܘܥܕܘ ܩܕܡܝܢ

These are the most striking parallels and semi-quotations which attract the attention of the reader of the Odes in relation to the canonical Psalter.

In leaving the Psalms for the purpose of consulting some other prophetical books of the Old Testament, we shall find that such parallels and semi-quotations are less numerous and less significant. The most striking are the following:

Ode viii. 21 has ܘܙܕܩܬܝ ܩܕܡܝ ܗܠܟ 'And my righteousness goes before them'. This is related to Isaiah lviii. 8 ܘܙܕܩܬܟ ܩܕܡܟ ܗܠܟ 'And thy righteousness shall go before thee', with the change of ܩܕܡ of the Peshiṭta to ܩܕܡܝ of the Odes.

Ode xxii. 9 has ܓܪܡܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܟܣܝܢ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ 'Dead bones, and it covered them with bodies'. This is possibly under the influence of Ezekiel xxxvii. 4–6:

ܓܪܡܐ ܝܒܫܐ . . . ܐܡܪ ܥܠܝܟܘܢ ܦܓܪܐ

'Dry bones . . . . . and I will cover you with skin.'

The changes of ܝܒܫܐ 'dry' into ܡܝܬܐ 'dead', and of ܦܓܪܐ 'bodies' into ܦܓܪܐ 'skin', is probably due to the Odist himself, and has, therefore, no bearing upon the phraseology of the Syriac text.

In Ode xii. 3, 11 we have allusions to Wisdom as being the *Mouth of the Lord*, or the *Mouth of the Most High*, which are parallel to the language of Sirach xxiv. 3 sqq.

We compare:

Ode xii. 3: ܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܦܘܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܘܥܡܕ ܘܫܟܢ

and Ode xii. 11: ܡܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܘܫܟܢ ܦܘܡ ܥܠܝܐ ܘܡܠܐ

with Sirach xxiv. 3 ἐγὼ ἀπὸ στόματος Ὑψίστου ἐξῆλθον.

The Peshiṭta of Sirach has ܐܬܝܬ where again we see the Odist

to be independent of the Peshiṭta. The whole of the 12th Ode is a Wisdom composition, showing striking parallelism with the *Praises of Wisdom* in Sirach xxiv.

In Ode xxiii. 1–3 the song is based directly upon some sentences in the Wisdom of Solomon iii. 9 and iv. 15. Thus we have for a parallel to the statements that

> 'Grace (ܚܢܐ) is of the elect (ܒܝܪܝ) : and Love (ܚܘܒܐ) is of the elect ; and who shall receive it but those who have trusted (ܗܝܡܢ) in it,'

in the verses *Sap. Sol.* iii. 9:

> οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῷ συνήσουσιν ἀλήθειαν·
> καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ προσμενοῦσιν αὐτῷ·
> ὅτι χάρις καὶ ἔλεος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ.

The underlined Greek words agree with the language of the Ode, and are reflected exactly in the Peshiṭta. It is to be remarked that the coincidence is here so exact between the language of the Ode and the Peshiṭta.

In the 20th Ode there is a recurrent allusion to the language of Isaiah lviii to which an indisputable reference had already been made in the eighth Ode ('Thy righteousness shall go before thee'). In the 20th Ode this has been modified to 'His glory shall go before thee'; and if this parallelism be admitted for Ode xx. 9 with Isaiah lviii. 8 we can hardly avoid recognizing some allusion to Isaiah lviii. 7 in the somewhat obscure verse in Ode xx. 6. Here, then, the parallel will be made with:

> 'When thou seest the naked that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thy own flesh: then shall thy light break forth as the morning and thy healing shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go forth before thee.'

This reference, however, does not supply all that the Odist has in mind: his naked person is the one who has left his garment in pledge. This comes from Exodus xxii. 24–6, where the pledged garment must be restored before sundown, because it is the covering

of a man's nakedness. It is not easy to find close coincidences of language between the Ode and either the LXX or the Peshiṭta: the underlying ideas, however, seem to be the same.

These are the most obvious Biblical semi-quotations. It is noticeable that their phraseology in the Odes is not always in accordance with the wording of the Old Testament Syriac. As far as the sense of the sentences is concerned we cannot know from them the kind of text the Odist was using; because in some cases this sense is exactly the same in Hebrew, Greek, and Syriac; but as far as the wording is concerned the divergences are sometimes striking, and frequently more noticeable in the case where the quoted phrase has more the form of a real citation than of a mere inspiration, and this is all the more worthy of consideration.

It should be noted that in a few Syriac translations of Greek originals, the wording of the sentence does not resemble that of the Old Testament Peshiṭta; this is especially the case with the homilies of Severus of Antioch, translated by Jacob of Edessa (*Patr. Or.* iv, viii). This anomaly may frequently be explained by the fact that the text of the Septuagint had a meaning which that of the Peshiṭta could not exactly render, and the translator not wishing to weaken the statement of the first writer, translated literally the terminology which was before him, even to the detriment of his own Version of the Bible. It is a well-known fact that Syrian authors were fond of literal translation.

Outside the sphere of the Syriac phraseology, some quotations seem to suggest that the Odist was using the Hebrew text rather than the Septuagint. Verse 4 of Psalm i quoted above is in Hebrew: אם־כמץ אשר תדפנו רוח, which strictly means 'Like the chaff which the wind driveth away'. In the Septuagint the text is longer and paraphrastic at the end:

ἀλλ' ἢ ὡς ὁ χνοῦς ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.

The Syriac ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܘܐ ܕܡܫܕܝ ܪܘܚܐ is exactly the Hebrew text faithfully translated. The sentence of Ode xxix. 10, in which the

text is quoted, is in complete harmony with the Hebrew and with the Peshiṭta, except in the wording of the phrase where ܡܢ ܥܠ is used for לא ; but it obviously lacks the additional sentence *ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς*. One might, perhaps, say that if the Odist was using the LXX he would have added these final and additional words in a way similar to the following: ܡܢ ܥܠ ܐܦ ܕܐܪܥܐ 'From the face of the earth'. (The Vulgate is in accordance with the LXX in exhibiting *a facie terrae*.) The Hebrew, the Targums, and the Peshiṭta are at one against the LXX and its dependent Vulgate; and the Odes follow the first group of texts.

The twelfth verse of Psalm xxi, is in Hebrew חשבו מזמה בל יוכלו 'they have devised a counsel, but they were not able' (to perform it). In the LXX and the Vulgate the idea of performing the counsel which underlies the Hebrew sentence, but which is not expressed in words, is stated as follows: *διελογίσαντο βουλὴν ἣν οὐ μὴ δύνωνται στῆσαι* and 'cogitaverunt consilia quae non potuerunt stabilire'. The word *στῆσαι* (*stabilire*) is not expressed in Hebrew. The Syriac Peshiṭta and the Targums are exactly like the Hebrew except that the Targums paraphrase the word מזמה and add the suffix 'thee' at the end of the last verb. The sentence of Ode v. 8 is more in harmony with the Hebrew and the Peshiṭta than with the LXX, but instead of ܘܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܠܗ 'and they were not able' it exhibits ܘܠܐ ܫܪܝ ܠܗܘܢ 'and it did not succeed for them', or simply 'they were not able'.[1]

The Ode, therefore, is in harmony with the Hebrew, the Peshiṭta, and the Targums, against the Septuagint and the Vulgate, in not expressing the idea of *stabilire*.

Some verses seem to suggest remotely a borrowing from the Hebrew text and not from the Peshiṭta and Septuagint. In Ode xli. 9 the Christ says: 'For the Father of Truth remembered me, He who possessed me from the beginning.' In Proverbs viii. 22, Wisdom says: 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His

[1] The Syrians frequently say ܠܐ ܫܪܝ ܠܝ ܕܗܟܝ 'I was not able to do this'. This expression may even be considered as a Syriacism.

ways.' If there is any relation between these two verses the Biblical thought must have come to the mind of the Odist through the Hebrew text, because all the Versions of the Bible, except the Vulgate, convey the idea of *creation*, and not of *possession*; Peshiṭta ܚܘܐ; the Targums בראני; the Septuagint ἔκτισέν με; but the Hebrew קנני and the Vulgate *possedit me*. We must observe, however, that the alternative reading in Proverbs viii. 22 has also found a place in our Odes; in Ode vii. 8 we are told that 'He who has *created* Wisdom is wiser than His works', which implies the reading of the LXX (ἔκτισέν με). The author of the Odes must, therefore, be credited with a knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek texts. This is especially interesting because the Greek Church did not get back to the Hebrew reading before the time of Eusebius and the Arian controversy. A case of no slight interest occurs in Ode xxv. 4, where the Odist says:

'Thy Face was with me,
He who saved me by thy grace.'

The peculiar expression 'Thy Face' is due to Exodus xxxiii. 14, where God promises Moses that *His presence* will go with him, and that He will give him rest. Here the word which is commonly rendered 'presence' is in the Hebrew 'Face'. This 'Face of God' which accompanied Israel was identified by the early Christians with Christ, the Angel of the Covenant. It was an awkward expression for those who wished to avoid anthropomorphic representations of Deity, especially in view of the statement that no man can see the Face of God. Accordingly the Septuagint replace the Hebrew expression, and say, 'I myself will go before thee'; while the Peshiṭta alters it into an injunction to 'walk before me'. When we turn to the Targum of Onkelos, we find that the 'Shekinah' replaces the 'Face'. Even more curious is the manipulation of the passage by the Targum of Jonathan. Apparently the Odist is working from the Hebrew, with whose text he is directly acquainted. If our explanation is correct the Odist at this point does not Targumize. Possibly the Odist also has in

mind Genesis xxxii. 30, 'I have seen God face to face, and my life *has been saved*'. Here the Targums and the Peshiṭta replace the God whose face is seen by the Angel of God.

On the other hand, verse 11 of Ode xxvi: 'Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord?' is more in harmony with the Targums than with any other version of Ps. cvi [cvii]. 2, because all the versions, including the Hebrew text, omit the verb. 'Who is able', which is clearly expressed in the Targum by מן יכל למללא.

Many similar cases of dependence of the Odist upon the Targums are treated elsewhere.

The only verse in the Odes which offers a definite savour of a borrowing from the Septuagint is the following: 'An everlasting crown is Truth; blessed are those who set it on their heads; a stone of great price it is' (ii. 8, 9). In Psalm xx. 4 mention is made of a crown which the Hebrew expresses as עתרת פז 'the crown of *paz*'.[1] The Peshiṭta rendering of *paz* is ܕܡܓܕܫܐ, 'glorious' crown. The Septuagint understood it in the sense of a 'crown of precious stones', *στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίου*. Since no other mention is made in the Old Testament of a crown of precious stones it is clear that this verse of the Psalms was in the mind of the Odist, who, in this case, would have worked on it in explaining the nature of the crown which it contained. But on this point *cf. infra*.

Coming to the semi-quotations from the New Testament we notice that we are less fortunate in our investigations, because although many thoughts expressed in the Odes are found in some passages of Johannine and Pauline writings, yet no clear borrowing of a complete sentence can be singled out. These identical thoughts in the Odes and in the New Testament are more of the nature of parallels than of any form of quotation. The verses which can be better paralleled with statements found in the New Testament are the following:

[1] The origin of this word, which sounds more Persian than Semitic, is problematic; we may compare the Arabo-Persian بز *baz* 'rich dress', 'fine linen'. In default of a better sense the English Bible has rendered it by 'pure gold'.

Ode xxii. 12 says, 'And that the foundations of everything might be thy rock (*or* stone); and on it Thou didst build thy Kingdom.' Matthew xvi. 18 has: 'Thou art Cephas, and upon this rock (*or* stone) I will build my Church . . . And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.' In both texts the words used to express 'to build' ܒܢܐ, 'Kingdom' ܡܠܟܘܬܐ, and 'stone' ܟܐܦܐ, are identical.

Ode xxix. 8 has: 'That I might subdue the imagination of the people and to bring down the power of the men of might'; and Luke i. 51–2 says: 'He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts; he hath put down the mighty from their seats.' The words which in these quotations are nearest to one another are those which express the idea of 'to lower'—in the Odes ܫܦܠ, and in the Syriac Gospel ܡܟܟ (Peshiṭta), ܐܫܬ (Lewisian); and 'imagination'—in the Odes ܡܚܫܒܬܐ, and in the Syriac Gospels ܪܥܝܢܐ (Peshiṭta and Lewisian); and 'powerful men'—in the Odes ܓܒܪ̈ܐ, and in the Syriac Gospels ܐܡܝܢܐ (Peshiṭta and Lewisian).

It is to be observed that the whole of the language in Luke i. 51, 52 appears to be borrowed from the Song of Hannah in 1 Samuel ii, with occasional colouring from the Psalms: e. g. Psalm lxxxviii (lxxxix), 10. We have also a similar strain of thought in 2 Corinthians x. 5: 'Casting down (ܡܗܪܣ) imaginations (ܡܚܫܒܬܐ) and every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God.' It will be very difficult to establish a direct connexion between the Odes and St. Luke, unless there should be closer linguistic agreement.

As far as the phraseology of the Odes is concerned the most obvious New Testament verses, which might have affected it, may be summarized as follows:

The idea of a babe leaping in the womb is expressed by the same words in all the Syriac versions and the Odes.

ܒ̈ ܚܕܐ ܒܛܢܗ are the words used by the Lewisian and the Peshiṭta Versions of Luke i. 44, and in Ode xxviii. 2.

The idea that the sword will not separate us from the Lord

is in Romans viii. 35 expressed in words different from those used in Ode xxviii. 4; for whereas the Odes use ܦܠܓ to express 'separate', the Syriac version of Romans exhibits ܦܪܫ, and whereas the Odes use ܣܦܐ to express 'sword', the Syriac of Romans has ܣܝܦܐ.

The idea of 'walking' in the Lord is expressed by the verb ܗܠܟ in Ode xxxiii. 13, and Colossians ii. 6.

The idea of a voice reaching its destination is expressed in Luke i. 44, and in Ode xxxvii. 2, by the phrase 'the fall of the voice' (ܢܦܠ ܩܠܐ), the only difference being the use of the particle of the indirect complement. This particle is ܠܘܬ in the Odes and ܕ in the Peshiṭta and Lewis texts.

The idea of Christ having been humbled, and then exalted, is expressed in Philippians ii. 8–9 with the verb ܡܟܟ 'to humble', and ܪܘܡ 'to exalt', while in Ode xli. 12 ܩܝܡ is used to express 'to exalt'.

The idea expressed by the sentence 'before the foundation of the world' has a different phraseology in the Old and the New Testaments and the Odes. Ode xli. 15 has ܩܕܡ ܡܝܡ ܕܐܬܣܝܣ ܥܠܡܐ. This is identical with the Peshiṭta rendering of *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* of the Greek of the New Testament. The Old Syriac versions, both Lewisian and Curetonian, render this Greek expression by the simple word ܩܕܡ ܡܝܡ (Matt. xiii. 35 = Ps. lxxvii [lxxviii]. 2), which means 'from the beginning'. In Matthew xxv. 35 there is a lacuna in the Old Syriac versions, and we do not know how the Greek phrase was rendered. In John xvii. 24 the Curetonian text is missing, and the Lewis text follows the Greek reading *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, and gives us ܩܕܡ ܡܝܡ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܝܣܕ 'before the world was'. The same idea is found in Proverbs viii. 23, 29, but it is expressed in a very different manner.

The idea of God not repenting of what He does is in Romans xi. 29; and in Numbers xxiii. 19, and in Ode iv. 11. In Romans it is expressed by the verb ܢܚܡ, in Numbers by ܢܚܡ, and in the Odes by ܬܒ.

The idea of imploring God to be delivered from the Evil One is in the Lord's Prayer, which was evidently known to every Christian. In all the Syriac versions of Matthew vi. 13 the sentence 'Deliver us from the Evil One' is rendered by the verb ܦܨܐ, but in Ode xiv. 5 it is expressed by the verb ܢܨܚ. The divergence in phraseology is remarkable.

In Ode vii. 23 we have a parallel to the language of 1 Corinthians. The Odist, who is emphasizing the importance of Christian song and praise to God, says:

> 'Let there be nothing without life (ܠܐ ܕܚܝܐ)
> Nor without knowledge, nor dumb' (ܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܒܟܡ).

With these we compare 1 Corinthians xiv. 7:

τὰ ἄψυχα φωνὴν διδόντα,

and 1 Corinthians xiv. 10:

τοσαῦτα εἰ τύχοι γένη φωνῶν εἰσιν ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄφωνον,

of which passage the Peshiṭta rendering is:

ܐܝܟܡ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܚܝ

and

ܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܐܠܡ

where the Ode has ܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܒܟܡ instead of ܠܐ ܐܠܡ. Here again we note the independence of the Odist as compared with the Peshiṭta.

In Ode vi. 6 we have an interesting parallel in the language of 1 Corinthians ii. 12. The passage in the Ode expresses the desire of God

> 'That those things should be known which by His grace have been given to us.'

This is nearer to the Greek of Corinthians,

ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ἡμῖν

('that we may know the things that are *freely given* us of God')

than to the Peshiṭta rendering:

ܕܢܕܥ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܕ.

Thus either the passage in Corinthians is borrowed from the Odes, or the Odes have made use of the text of Corinthians, and have given us the borrowed passage in an earlier and more exact translation than we have in the Peshitta, where the *graciousness* of the gift (χαρισθέντα) is not so clearly stated.

In Ode xxxviii. 16–21 we have a sequence which is closely parallel to the argument in 1 Corinthians iii where Paul explains that, although he had planted and Apollos watered, they were really only under-workers with God, so that the planting was really God's. And he says the same thing when he turns to a parallel figure of the building of a house, that, although he might have laid the foundations, God was really the builder. All of this is taken up by the Odist, who refers the laying of foundations and the planting of the field to the Lord, with the watering and the husbandry of the same, and with the remark that the Lord *alone* is to be glorified.

These coincidences are so minute and so varied that we can hardly believe the Ode to be independent of the Epistle. The Odist has made the Pauline position more clear by leaving Paul out entirely.

In Ode xiv. 10 the Odist concludes with the sentiment that 'God is able for all our needs', which is nearly parallel to Philemon iv. 20, 'My God shall supply every need of yours'. 'Need' (χρεία) is in the Ode سعسلا, in the Peshitta صنعصلا. Further, the Peshitta follows the Greek in rendering πληρώσει ('shall fulfil') literally, which the Odist explains in the sense of Divine ability (صحر).

In Ode xxxiii. 13 we have noted the coincidence with the Pauline language in Colossians ii. 6, 'walk ye in me' being parallel to 'receive Christ Jesus the Lord and walk in Him'. Thus Wisdom who speaks in the Ode is understood to be Christ, as in other passages, and there is an exact agreement between the Ode and the Greek or the Syriac of Colossians.

In Ode xxviii. 3 we have what may be a case of dependence of the Odist upon the Epistle to the Hebrews (or conversely).

It is certainly remarkable that the peculiar expression of the Odist:

'I believed, therefore I rested',

should coincide so closely with the Biblical language:

'We who have believed, do enter into rest.'

CHAPTER XI

Poetry of the Odes.

In the Semitic languages there is a great difference between a poetical style and poetry. In the Hebrew of some books of the Old Testament there is a poetical style of high charm, with a certain cadence and rhythm in the arrangement of phrases created by the use of the well-known parallelism; but poetry, as consisting of short and long vowels, or of an equal number of syllables divided into two stanzas, or, as Arabs and Syrians call them, two 'houses', is utterly missing. The first category of poetry is only parallelistic, and the second is metrical and may be parallelistic as well.

As to the Arabic language, its poetry from the middle of the seventh century onwards is classed with the second category of metrical poetry. Before the seventh century we are not in a position to know how this poetry was constituted. The numerous poetical compositions known as 'early Arabian poetry', and represented chiefly by the well-known *Mufaḍḍalyāt*, *Mu'allaḳāt*. *Ḥamāsah*, and *Jamharah*, are enveloped in a thick mist of prehistoricity and spuriousness, and in the present state of our knowledge we may assert that till fuller light dawns they can hardly stand in the domain of a positive study. Before this metrical poetry showed itself with all its complicated rules there was the *saj'* or rhymed prose of the nomads, in which traces of ancient Hebrew parallelism are numerous and undoubted. But the same parallelism is, generally speaking, absent in the subsequent elaborate development of poetry. The Arabic poetry is, therefore, useless so far as the Odes are concerned.

Let us now examine the Syriac poetry. The style which greatly influenced the poetry of the Syrians from the fourth to the twelfth centuries is that of Ephrem. If in abstract and original studies he has found some critics who perhaps not very unjustly lowered his talent far below the rate of his fame, no one has the right to deny that by the multiplicity and the charm of his poetical compositions he has the first place among ecclesiastical poets in general, and certainly so in all the branches of the Syrian Church. The poetry of this Father is metrical and parallelistic; but obviously Ephrem did not invent Syriac poetry. What kind of poetry had the Syrians, then, before Ephrem? We have at our disposal three independent sources from which to draw our knowledge: (1) the *Hymn of the Soul*; (2) poems of Ephrem purporting to imitate those of Bardaisan: (3) genuine quotations from Bardaisan.

The *Hymn of the Soul* has found many editors and translators. It was almost certainly written in the school of Bardaisan by one of his disciples about 180 to 220. It is precarious, however, to assert that Bardaisan himself was its writer, because of the exclusively Syriac colour of its phraseology. Had Bardaisan, who knew and wrote Greek as well as Syriac, written it, he would have left traces of his Greek science in it. The poetry of this Hymn is parallelistic and partly metrical, but the metre is frequently imperfect, owing to the fact that the silent letters of the declension might have been pronounced in some cases at that early time, or possibly owing to a certain corruption of the text by the copyists. As it stands the poem can be reduced to the five, six, and the seven-syllable metre: but in respect of its syllabic rhythm it is far below the metrical perfection which the majority of Ephremic compositions can justly claim.

Ephrem, according to the Roman edition of his works (iii. 87–128), wrote seventeen hymns in imitation of the tune of the Psalms written by Bardaisan, or sung by his disciples. These hymns have generally stanzas of four metrical lines, three of which have twice five syllables, and the last one once seven syllables; but frequently

also the order is inverted, and one finds in them lines of nine syllables:

حصلا حرا معصا حنصنا (*R. E.*, p. 127)

or of thirteen syllables, which in the last analysis can be reduced to two lines of four syllables, and one of five:

وصا وصحصم معصنم لوحا معقصا معصحم هلاا (*ibid.*)

However imperfect the metrical arrangements appear sometimes to be, the parallelism is in all of them obvious and perfect in all its details.

As far as the Psalms which Bardaisan wrote are concerned we are in complete ignorance. If the information of Ephrem has any historical value (and it surely has) his Psalms were 150 in number, apparently in imitation of their proto-type, the Psalms of the King-Prophet. Appropriate to the point which concerns us are the words (ii. 554, *R. E.*):

حصلا حسنا هبوحما معصلي حصنصلا معمص وصحنصلا:
ماحصلا معمصسلا حصنصلا معصلاقلا هحي حنصا قلل.

'(Bardaisan) wrote hymns and adapted (them) to airs; he composed *Odes* and introduced rhythms[1] (in them); he divided the words in measures and weights.'

We can infer from these words that Bardaisan's Odes certainly contained rhythm; but it is not clear whether the terms 'measures and weights' refer to the metrical arrangement as we understand it in our days. The critics have generally understood them in this sense, and the tradition of the end of the fifth century affirmed that Ephrem's orthodox hymns were written to counteract the nefarious effect produced by Bardaisan's heterodox psalms. All this is a theme for speculation to amplify.

The only clear quotations from Bardaisan are given by

[1] The word معمصسلا refers probably to a parallelistic poetry, and no metrical arrangement was intended by Ephrem when he used it. Theodore Bar Kewani says that the Psalms of David and the books ascribed to Solomon are written in معمصسلا (*Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.*, vol. lxv, p. 323).

Theodore Bar Kewani (seventh century), and have been published by H. Pognon in *Inscriptions Mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir*, 1899, pp. 122–3;[1] these quotations contain five stanzas from a work written by Bardaisan, and are in some passages difficult to understand. Their poetry is parallelistic and rhythmical with an apparently defective metrical arrangement of six, seven, and eight syllables. The last stanza is as follows:

ܐܘܝܪܐ ܒܗ ܚܕܐ ܘܫܪܝ ܐܬܘ ܒܗ ܫܪܝܐ ܘܫܠܝܐ ܘܡܫܒܚ ܐܬܘ ܒܚܟܡܬܗ ܘܐܙܠ ܐܬܘ ܒܛܝܒܘ ܕܚܢܗ.

i. e. 'The air rejoiced in it: And there was quiet and rest, And the Lord was glorified in His wisdom, And thanks mounted to His grace.'

After these preliminaries, the poetry of the Odes may be summarized as follows:

Rhythm and Strophe.

The rhythm proceeds regularly throughout; we give two examples according to the terminology sanctioned by G. B. Gray in his *Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (pp. 132–3).

Example of a *balancing* rhythm:

'And His members are with Him
And on them do I hang and He loves me.'—iii. 2.

Example of an *echoing* rhythm:

'Distil Thy dew upon us
And open Thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey.'—iv. 10.

Generally two parallelisms constitute a strophe of complete meaning. For example:

'Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord,
And let your love abound from the heart and even to the lips,
To bring forth fruits to the Lord, a holy life,
And to talk watchfully in His light.—viii. 1, 2.

[1] They have been re-edited by Nau in *Patrologia Syriaca*, ii, p. 517, and by A. Scher in *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.*, vol. lxvi, p. 308.

Frequently, however, one parallelism and a half constitute a strophe:

'My heart was cloven and its flower appeared,
And grace sprang up in it,
And it brought forth fruit to the Lord.'

Metre.

Strictly speaking, no regular metrical measures are found in the Odes. However, by scanning carefully the lines many half-strophes fall into seven-syllabled metre, the most used in Syriac literature; next come the fifth, sixth, and fourth-syllable metres:

ܘܐܬܦܬܚ ܟܡܐ ܘܐܬܝ : ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܫܟ ܟܠ.

(seven syllables) *Ode* iii. 2.

ܘܠܐܟܠ ܘܐܫܬܩܢ ܟܠܘܗܝ : ܐܟܠ ܟܠ ܗܠܐ ܘܐܡܪ :
ܐܫܬܩܢ ܐܟܠ ܘܐܫܬܩܢ : ܐܫܬܩܢ ܐܫܬܩܢ.

(six syllables) *Ode* xxxix. 1, 2.

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܘܐܡ : ܐܟ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܟܠ.
ܐܫܬܩܢ ܘܐܡ ܐܡܪ :

(five syllables) *Ode* xxviii. 11.

ܐܠܗ ܘܐܬܝ : ܐܠܐ ܟܠ ܟܡ :
ܐܟ ܟܠ ܐܡܪ.

(four syllables) *Ode* ix. 1, 2.

A combination of this syllabic arrangement gives even lines of 8, 9, 10, 12 syllables; but the arrangement being so unsteady and somewhat superficial, it has not been found necessary to follow it in our numbering either of the verses of the text or of those of the translation.

Parallelism.

The Aramaeo-Hebraic parallelism is represented in the Odes from beginning to end with all its subdivisions. We give an example of complete and another of incomplete parallelism.

Complete:

'The work of His hands
And the fabric of His fingers;
The multitude of His mercies
And the strength of His word.'—xvi. 6, 7.

Incomplete:

'I have been united
For the lover has found the beloved.'—iii. 7.

The numbers of the verses of the Odes have been adapted to parallelism. This adaptation, as in the case with the canonical Psalter and some prophetic books, can sometimes be amplified by subdivision of the text so that one parallelism should contain two verses instead of one; the examples just quoted can serve as an illustration:

'1. I have been united
for the lover has found the beloved,
2. In order that I may love Him that is the Son
I shall become a son.'

In many cases we have assigned one number which we have, however, divided into two by means of letters 1 a, 1 b. This might have been done for some other cases, but in occurrences of this kind there is a great deal of variety in the possible arrangement, so that here, too, the best thing to do is to leave the matter to every one's own judgement.

Parallelism is not always a good guarantee for the right translation of a verse; for example:

'And let our faces shine in His light
And let our hearts meditate in His love
By night and by day
Let us exult with the joy of the Lord.'—xli. 6, 7.

It is evident that we ought to join the sentence 'By night and by day' to the preceding member; for the Odist is imitating the first canonical Psalm (Ps. i. 2); but the poetical parallelism

contradicts that of the MS., and requires that the same sentence should be attached to the following member:

'By night and by day
Let us exult with the joy of the Lord.'

In many other places the sense was not so obvious; in such cases, we have followed the indications of the MS., leaving the ultimate question of division of the verses to be decided by every one's own taste. For example:

'And His cleaving (of my heart) became my salvation,
And I ran in the way, in His peace,
In the way of truth.
From beginning and even to the end
I acquired His knowledge,
And I was established upon the rock of truth.'—xi. 3, 4.

It is obvious that one may refer the sentence 'From beginning and even to the end' to the first member, as meaning, 'I ran in the way of truth from beginning and even to the end'; and one may refer it equally well to the following member as meaning 'From beginning and even to the end I acquired His knowledge'. In such cases it was safer to follow the MS. and leave speculations aside.

We conclude this short study by remarking that the poetical style, or the poetry, of the Odes is more Hebraic and Bardesanian and more early Syriac than Ephremic, or later Syriac; and, with some reserve for our ignorance of early Syriac poetry, we would venture to add that it is more Hebraic than early Syriac, except in supposing (and this might probably have been the case) that the early Syriac poetry was modelled on that of the Hebrew of the Old Testament.

Another question dealing with the Odes will not be out of place here. Since they are undoubtedly written in poetical style, and are devotional hymns, have they ever been used in the churches? To this question we can only give a very imperfect

answer, owing to the fact that the books containing the breviaries of the Syrian Churches which we were able to read were printed for the use of those Syrians who are in communion with the Church of Rome. Generally the printing of these books is undertaken by the Roman congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, and the editors carefully expunge from them everything that is not in accordance with the doctrine of Rome and its canon of the Bible; such is the case with the *Breviarium Chaldaicum* of the Eastern Syrian Church (1886–7, Paris, vols. i, ii, iii), and the *Breviarium iuxta ritum eccles. antioch. Syrorum* of the Western Syrian Church (1886–98, Mosul, vols. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii). For purposes of comparison we have read the first publication and the first three volumes of the second, and we have not found any use of the Solomonic Odes in them.

Our knowledge is, therefore, reduced to our two MSS. From the indications of H it appears that the text was sung in the churches, or in some devotional meetings, of the Western Syrians. Syrians in general have the habit of dividing a verse of the canonical Psalms into two, and of inserting a Hallelujah between the two parts. The English reader would have an idea of this process if in all half-verses of the second Psalm he were to read: 'Why do the heathen rage, *Hallelujah*, and the people imagine a vain thing. The Kings of the earth set themselves, *Hallelujah* . . .,' &c. The Western Syrians have every day such Psalms sung in public with a special tune, the one used in the evenings being invariably the 91st. Coming to the Odes, the facsimiles will show that in the first part of them the verses have the letter ܗ, sign of *Hallelujah*, inserted between the first and the second member, and this is an unmistakable mark that these same verses were sung in an ecclesiastical gathering, or, more probably, in the churches. It is necessary, however, to point out that the letter ܗ of Hallelujah is only exhibited in Odes iii–xxviii, and is missing in Odes xxviii–xlii.

CHAPTER XII

Unity of the Odes.

As Kittel has rightly pointed out, a composition transmitted to posterity as a literary unity is to be so considered until the contrary is established beyond doubt. The first serious attempt to challenge the unity of the Odes has been made by Harnack, who, believing them to be a Jewish production, found himself bound to declare all the obviously Christian passages which they contain to be mere interpolations. An attentive perusal of the Odes makes it probable, however, that, generally speaking, all of them emanate from a single source. This can be proved by the contents of the Odes and by their form.

1. *Contents of the Odes.*

The concordance to the text of the Odes placed at the end of this volume will be useful for our investigations. It will be found that in general the theme developed by the Odist is one throughout. The most striking features in the whole collection may be summarized as follows:

Love. Ode iii. 2–5: 'And (His?) members are with Him, and on them do I hang, and He loves me. For I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not loved me. For who is able to distinguish love, except one that is loved? I love the Beloved, and my soul loves Him, and where His rest is, there also am I.' See further vi. 2; vii. 19; viii. 1, 13; xi. 2; xii. 12; xiv. 6; xvi. 2, 3; xvii. 12; xviii. 1; xxiii. 3; xl. 4; xli. 2, 6; xlii. 7, 9. Besides, the verb meaning 'to love' is used five times, and the adjective 'beloved' three times.

Knowledge. Ode vi. 6: 'The Lord has multiplied His knowledge, and is zealous that those things should be known which by His grace have been given to us.' See further vii. 7, 13, 21; viii. 8, 12; xi. 4; xii. 3; xv. 5; xvii. 12; xxiii. 4; xxxiv. 5. Besides, the verb meaning 'to know' is expressed forty-five times.

Ignorance is expressed in vii. 21, 23; xi. 8; xviii. 11; xxviii. 13.

Faith. Ode iv. 5: 'For one hour of thy faith is more precious

than all days and years.' See further viii. 11; xvi. 4; xxii. 7; xxviii. 3; xxix. 6; xxxiv. 6; xxxix. 5, 13; xli. 1; xlii. 9, 19.

Truth. Ode viii. 8: 'Hear the Word of Truth and receive the knowledge of the Most High.' See further ix. 8; xi. 3, 5; xii. 1, 2, 12, 13; xiv. 7; xv. 4; xvii. 5, 7; xviii. 6, 15; xx. 9; xxiii. 18; xxiv. 10, 12; xxv. 10; xxxi. 2; xxxii. 2; xxxiii. 8; xxxviii. 1, 4, 7, 10, 15; xxxix. 10; xli. 1, 9, 15, 16.

Error. Ode xv. 6: 'The way of error I have left and I went towards Him.' See further xviii. 10, 14; xxxi. 2; xxxviii. 6, 8, 10. For the use of the verb meaning 'to err' see xvii. 5; xxxi. 2; xxxviii. 4, 5, 11.

Glorification or Praise. Ode vi. 7: 'And His praise He gave us for His name.' See further x. 4; xi. 17; xii. 4; xiii. 2; xiv. 5; xvi. 1, 2, 5, 20; xvii. 16; xviii. 16; xx. 9; xxi. 9; xxvi. 1, 5; xxix. 2, 11; xxxi. 3; xxxvi. 2; xl. 2; xli. 4, 16. Besides, the verb meaning to 'glorify', to 'praise', is used twelve times.

Rest. Ode iii. 5: 'And where His rest is, there also am I.' See further xi. 12; xiv. 6; xx. 8; xxv. 12; xxvi. 3, 10, 12; xxviii. 3; xxx. 2, 7; xxxv. 6; xxxvi. 1; xxxvii. 4.

Grace. Ode iv. 6: 'For who is there that shall put on Thy grace and be injured?' See further v. 3; vi. 6; vii. 22, 25; ix. 5; xi. 1; xv. 8; xx. 7; xxiii. 2, 4; xxiv. 13; xxv. 4; xxix. 2, 5; xxxi. 3, 7; xxxiii. 1, 10; xxxiv. 6; xxxvii. 4; xli. 3.

Light. Ode vii. 14: 'And He set over it the trace of His light.' See further v. 6; vi. 17; viii. 2; x. 1, 6; xi. 11, 19; xii. 3, 7; xv. 2; xvi. 15; xxi. 3, 6; xxv. 7; xxix. 7; xxxii. 1; xxxviii. 1; xli. 6, 14.

Darkness. Ode xi. 19: 'And they grow in the growth of thy trees, and they change from darkness to light.' See further v. 5; xv. 2; xvi. 15, 16; xviii. 6; xxi. 3; xxxi. 1; xlii. 16.

Thought. Ode ix. 3: 'The word of the Lord and His good pleasures, the holy thought that He has thought concerning His Messiah.' See further ix. 4–5; xii. 4, 7; xv. 5; xvi. 8, 9, 19; xvii. 5; xviii. 14; xx. 2, 3; xxi. 5; xxiii. 5, 19; xxiv. 7; xxviii. 19; xxxiv. 2; xxxviii. 21; xli. 10.

Mark, Trace, Seal. Ode iv. 7: 'For Thy seal is known and Thy creatures are known by it.' See further vii. 14; x. 6; xxiii. 8, 9, 12; xxvii. 2; xxix. 7; xxxix. 7, 10, 11; xlii. 1.

Way. Ode vii. 13: 'For it is to Knowledge He hath appointed His way.' See further iii. 10; xi. 3; xii. 6; xvii. 8; xxii. 7, 11; xxiii. 15; xxiv. 13; xxxiii. 8, 13; xxxiv. 1; xxxviii. 7; xxxix. 7, 13; xli. 11; xlii. 2.

Righteousness and Justification. Ode viii. 5: 'Ye who were despised be lifted up, now that your righteousness has been lifted up.' See further viii. 21; ix. 10; xvii. 2; xx. 4; xxv. 10, 12; xxix. 5; xxxi. 5; xxxvi. 7; xli. 12.

Corruption and Incorruption. Ode viii. 23: 'And ye shall be found incorrupt in all ages to the name of your Father.' See further vii. 11; ix. 4; xi. 12; xv. 8; xvii. 2; xxi. 5; xxii. 11; xxviii. 5; xxxiii. 1, 7, 12; xxxviii. 9; xl. 6. Besides, the verb meaning 'to corrupt' is used fifteen times.

Life. Ode ix. 4: 'For in the will of the Lord is your life, and His thought is everlasting life.' See further iii. 9; vi. 18; viii. 2; x. 2, 6; xv. 10; xxii. 10; xxiv. 8; xxvi. 9; xxviii 6; xxxi. 7; xxxviii. 3; xl. 6; xli. 3; xlii. 14. Besides, the verb meaning 'to live' is used seven times, and the adjective meaning 'living' eight times.

Salvation. Ode v. 11: 'And because the Lord is my salvation I will not fear.' See further vii. 16; xi. 3; xv. 6; xvii. 2; xviii. 7; xix. 11; xxi. 2; xxv. 2; xxviii. 2; xxxi. 13; xxxiv. 4; xxxv. 2; xxxviii. 3; xl. 5. Besides, the verb meaning 'to save' is used seventeen times.

Word. Ode. x. 1: 'The Lord hath directed my mouth by His Word.' See further vii. 7; viii. 8; ix. 3; xii. 3, 5, 8, 10, 12; xv. 9; xvi. 7, 8, 14, 19; xviii. 4; xxiv. 9; xxix. 9, 10; xxxii. 2; xxxvii. 3; xxxix. 9; xli. 11, 14; xlii. 14.

Face. Ode xi. 14: 'My eyes were enlightened and my face received the dew.' See further viii. 14; xiii. 2, 3; xv. 2, 9; xvii. 4; xxi. 6, 9; xxii. 11; xxv. 4; xxxi. 5; xxxvi. 3; xl. 4; xli. 6; xlii. 13.

Right-hand. Ode xix. 5: 'And gave the mixture to the world without their knowing, and those who take it are in the fullness of the right hand.' See further viii. 6, 20; xiv. 4; xviii. 7; xxii. 7; xxv. 2, 7, 9; xxviii. 15; xxxviii. 20.

Some less general but more characteristic topics of the Odes are the following:

1. Allusions are made to a mystical crown in Odes i. 1; v. 12; ix. 8, 9, 11; xvii. 1; xx. 7.

2. Four passages mention a harp, generally the Lord's harp on which the believer wants to play. Odes vi. 1; vii. 17; xiv. 8; xxvi. 3.

3. The idea of God being the helper of man is expressed in vii. 3; viii. 6; xxi. 2, 5; xxii. 6; xxv. 2, 6; xxvi. 13.

4. The idea of experiencing an effect on the face, or of acquiring a new face, is expressed in xvii. 4; xxi. 9; xl. 4; xli. 6. See for further references the above heading, *Face*.

5. The offering to God of the fruit of the lips (Heb. xiii. 15) is mentioned in viii. 1–2; xii. 2; xvi. 2; xx. 4; xxxvii. 2–3; xl. 2.

6. The figure of the milk from the breasts of God is emphasized in viii. 16; xiv. 2; xix. 2–3; xxxv. 4–6; xl. 1.

7. The joy felt by good people is found in vii. 1–2, 17; xv. 1; xxiii. 1; xxxi. 3, 6; xxxii. 1.

8. The peace in which true believers live is mentioned in viii. 7; ix. 6; x. 2; xi. 3; xxxv. 1; xxxvi. 8.

9. The general idea of fruits of God or man is expressed in iv. 4; vii. 1; viii. 2; xi. 1; xiv. 6–7; xvii. 13; xxxvii. 3.

10. For putting on of Christ, His grace, His light, &c., see iv. 6, 8; vii. 4; xiii. 3; xv. 8; xx. 7; xxi. 3; xxiii. 1, 3; xxxiii. 12; xxxix. 8.

11. On the rescue from bonds affected by Christ by His descent into Hades or otherwise, see x. 2–5; xv. 9; xvii. 8–16; xxi. 2, 4; xxii. 8–9; xxv. 1, 3–4, 9, 11–12; xlii. 11–20.

12. The idea of God being our hope is in v. 2, 10; xxix. 1; xl. 1.

From the foregoing quotations and references it seems to us

probable that the Odes are derived from one source. The characteristic features which form their essence link them, indeed, to one another so closely that it is very difficult not to ascribe the whole collection to a single man, or, at all events, to a single school of thought. This unity of thought had evidently been noticed by Harnack himself, for he writes 'Nimmt man sie in der Gestalt, in der sie uns vorliegen, als eine einheitliche und originale Sammlung'.

2. *Form of the Odes.*

If we examine the form in which the Odes have come down to us it will appear that as their main thoughts and theological expressions are one, the thread of their narrative is also unmistakably one. The following considerations will render this view probable:

(*a*) In all the above features the Syriac words used are identical. In case of the Odes being a translation from another language it goes to the credit of the Syrian translator that so little change in the lexicological form of the narrative is noticeable in his work. Two instances only to the contrary are somewhat striking; the first is the employment of the verbs ܐܚܕ and ܪܚܡ in the sense of 'to love'. Lexicographically speaking, the former conveys more the sense of 'love' than the latter, which naturally means to 'unite in friendship, to befriend, to pity'. This etymological sense is, however, not followed by Syrian writers, with whom both verbs have acquired an almost identical meaning, although in their derived nouns of action the etymological distinction is frequently preserved. The second example is the alternate use of ܡܠܬܐ and ܡܐܡܪܐ to express 'Word' or 'word', cf. p. 92. Some other instances may be mentioned here, such as ܚܣܝܒܬܐ and ܐܦܣܬܐ 'thought', 'intention', ܢܝܚܐ and ܫܒܬܐ 'rest', ܬܫܒܚܬܐ and ܡܙܡܘܪܐ 'ode, psalm', &c. But since the exact meaning conveyed through them by the first author is not clear, the determination of their linguistic meaning would require useless lexicographical subtleties on which much should not be built.

(*b*) Some Odes are united to one another by the same process of introducing the subject. So Odes viii, ix, x, and xiii begin with the imperative 'open ye'. Odes iii, vii, viii, xiii, xxxiv end with an exhortation to the believers or singers, and Odes xi, xvi, xvii, xviii, xx, xli with a doxological formula. The beginning of Odes vi, xiv, xv, xvi, xxviii have an identical way of expressing a comparison.

CHAPTER XIII

Syriac or Greek?

We come now to one of the most difficult parts of our inquiry, the determination of the original language in which the Odes were composed. We shall assume them to be Christian, for all objections on this side are either superficial and need not be regarded, or they are such as are evanescent as soon as we succeed in getting at the meaning of the author. No one who has spent any time on the study of the book would lay any stress on the fact that the name of Jesus does not appear in its pages, for it is clear that the author has a distinct Christology, not very different from that of the Nicene theology, and employs most of the terms and figures in which the early Christians expressed their doctrine of the Divine nature. His Christ is the Christian's Christ, with an Incarnation in terms more pronounced, in some respects, than the New Testament itself.

In many of the Odes, Christ is Himself the speaker, for whom the Odist artificially moves on one side, after a slight overture, and who is the subject of the final doxology with which the Ode concludes, at least in certain cases.

Consequently our problem reduces to this: we have a Christian book of hymns written in or on the borders of the first century, and we have to decide whether of two forms to which we trace it in early times (the Greek or the Syriac), either can be regarded as the origin of the other. Did the Odist write in Syriac? and

did someone render him into Greek? Or was it the converse? Is it possible that the author was responsible for the issue of his work in a bilingual form? For we have great bilingual scholars like Bardaisan capable of writing such Odes, and we have great bilingual Churches like Antioch capable of singing them. We shall try in the present chapter to clear up the relation between the Greek and the Syriac. If any further hypothesis should be necessary, such as the existence of another Semitic speech behind the Greek and Syriac, we can resort to it, but certainly not before it is necessary; for the antiquity of both Greek and Syriac forms of the Odes is now well attested.

One of the first things which the student of the Odes will gather from the translations which are offered in the present volume is the unusual amount of Semitism in the language of the Odes. There is a constant recurrence of paronomasia, to which we have drawn attention elsewhere, which at first sight, at all events, appears to be Semitic paronomasia; such cases as:

'I was *truthed* on the rock of *truth*.'—*Ode* xi.

'I was *covered* with the *covering* of thy Spirit.'—*Ode* xxv.

'*Blessing* He *blessed me*.'—*Ode* xxviii.

'My heart *gushes* out a *gush*.'—*Ode* xxxvi.

and the like.

Besides these Semitic idioms and assonances there are instances of Semitic word-play which at first sight seem inexplicable except in the Syriac language. It was not surprising that the 'midwife' passage in Ode xix should have been claimed by Mingana as a decisive Syriacism, since such language as

'She had not sought a midwife (ܡܝܠܕܐ),
For He was midwife to her (ܡܝܠܕܬ̈ܐ),'

does not appear, at first sight, to be possible except in Syriac, for in what other language would it be possible to produce or

reproduce the word-play? Thus we find ourselves face to face with a row of decided Semitisms, such as would not normally occur in translation, and the first suggestion is to conclude that the Syriac Odes have precedence over the Greek Odes.

The same suggestion comes up when we explore into the Greek Odes which underlie the Coptic tradition. Cases occur in which the Syriac appears to be the better text than the Copto-Greek text, and perhaps to be responsible for it. Here is an extremely suggestive instance. The opening of the fifth Ode is in Syriac:

ܐܘܕܝ ܠܟ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܝ

of which the natural translation is:

'I will give thanks to thee, O Lord.'

The Coptic equivalent to this has caused hesitation to translators, who have wavered between

'Gratias tibi agam, domine;'

and

'Manifestabo tibi, domine;'

and it is not surprising that the second translation, which is a literal rendering of the Coptic, should be regarded as a misunderstanding of the Syriac, through the substitution of ܐܘܕܝ for the almost equivalent ܐܘܕܝ. If such a substitution could be justified, and if parallel cases of misreading or misunderstanding could be found, the Syriac would move into the place of honour.

These, then, are some of the directions in which a careful study of the related texts is necessary. Even a late Syriac text like ours would acquire predominance if it furnished explanation of variants or readings in Greek or Coptic, and if it was intelligible where the Greek was, relatively to itself, obscure; and in our case the Syriac is no longer to be regarded as late, for its antiquity is established. The MSS. may be modern, but the text is that of Ephrem, and, perhaps, of Bardaisan.

On the other hand, we shall have to walk warily, if we are

to reach the true solution. For example, in the sporadic instances already cited, no conclusion is to be drawn from the expression in Ode xxviii:

ܡܒܪܟ ܒܪܟܢ

'He has richly blessed me;'

for this is a reproduction of Genesis xxii. 17, where the LXX is *εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε*, and may just as well be a reproduction of a Greek text as an original Semitism of the Odist.

In the same way the instance of misunderstood Syriac in the opening verse of Ode v disappears upon closer examination. The case is exactly the same as that in which *Pistis Sophia* quotes the 107th Psalm, where the German translators have again given us:

'Manifestate Domino, quod (*l.* quia) est *χρηστός*:'

it is, however, the regular translation of the LXX:

ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ ὅτι χρηστός κτέ.

and should have been translated:

'Gratias agite Domino,' &c.

We were, then, correct in explaining the Syriac word as *ἐξομολογήσομαι*, but wrong in suggesting 'manifestabo' as a translation of the parallel Coptic. With the translation corrected the supposed Syriac variant disappears. It was a mere blunder of the first German translators in the use of the Coptic dictionary.

The 'midwife' passage is not so easy to clear up. Here the paronomasia in the Syriac is very pronounced, and the challenge to produce a similar one in Greek is very resonant. We may find the key, perhaps, in Eusebius, who has used the Greek Odes in this very passage, and who speaks of God the Father as *μαιούμενος*. This suggests a Greek rendering:

οὐκ ἐζήτησε μαῖαν·
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐμαιώσατο αὐτήν.

and when we write it down in that form we see another possible

word-play involved in the text; for the word *μαιόομαι*, 'to bring to bed', has another word, so closely related to it as hardly to be distinguished from it, viz. *μαίομαι*, 'to seek'. We must, therefore, replace *ἐζήτησε* by *ἐμαίετο* (or some nearly coincident form): we may then restore as follows:

οὐκ ἐπεμαίετο μαῖαν·
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐμαιώσατο αὐτήν.

The paronomasia would then be double in Greek; and the Syriac would have cleverly retained one half of it.

These considerations will show how careful one needs to be in avoiding hasty or premature solutions of the problem.

It may perhaps be thought that this attempt to reconstruct the lost Greek of the sentence in the Ode which describes the miraculous birth has the inherent weakness of conjectural restoration and of over-subtlety. The following consideration will operate in support of the theory of an original Greek at this point. The Syriac sentence is certainly an exposition of the verse in the 22nd Psalm to which allusion has been made above; but this verse is not extant in the Peshiṭta version; it is replaced by something quite different. It follows, then, that unless we assume the Peshiṭta version as we possess it to have varied from its original type, the verse in the Psalm cannot have been expounded in the Syriac, but only from the Greek, or (in the last resort for possible sources) from the Hebrew.

This makes it possible that we have restored the Greek with some measure of correctness, and that the Greek is the original rather than the Syriac.

On the other hand, the sentence which is wanting in the Peshiṭta is extant in the Targum, and we must reserve the possibility that the Odist was acquainted with the Targum. For such an acquaintance might exactly reverse the argument, and reduce to zero the value of our Greek speculation. Mingana's argument for Aramaism would hold the field.

Now let us see whether there are other directions in which we can pick up clues for the determination of priority. Here is an extremely interesting case at the close of the 25th Ode. In this Ode the sentence, 'I became the Lord's by the name of the Lord', was emended wrongly in the first edition to 'I became admirable by the name of the Lord', on the ground that the former expression was unintelligible. There was no need of such a correction. It means 'I became a Christian by the name of Christ', or 'I became Christ's by becoming a Christian'. We may compare the following passages:

> Just. *Ap.* i, 12: 'Jesus Christ, *from whom* also we have received *the appellation of Christians.*'
>
> Just. *Dial.* 63: 'The Church, which *arose from his name* and *partakes of his name* (for we are all called Christians).'
>
> Just. *Dial.* 96: 'You curse all those who *from Him have become Christians*' (*τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου γενομένων Χριστιανῶν*).
>
> Just. *Dial.* 117: 'All those who *by the Name of Jesus have become Christians.*'
>
> Iren. *Adv. Haer.* iii. 17: '(in Antiochia) pro fide, quam in Christo habebant, vocati sunt Christiani.'

So there seems no doubt as to the meaning of the words 'I became the Lord's by the name of the Lord'. We may set down the following as an equivalent Greek sentence:

ἐγενόμην δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ·

or:

ἐγενόμην δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου.

If this is correct the next sentence, 'I was justified by His gentleness', should stand for:

ἐδικαιώθην διὰ τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ

with employment of the favourite paronomasia between *χρηστός* and *χριστός*, with which we are familiar in Justin Martyr and elsewhere.

The transition of thought is exactly the same as in Just. *Ap.* i, 4:

> *Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν μισεῖσθαι, οὐ δίκαιον*

where there is no need to correct *Χριστιανοί* to *χρηστιανοί*.

That we have rightly restored *χρηστότητος* in the Greek appears by a reference to the Coptic text, where the word has been preserved with a slight modification (ⲁⲩⲧⲙⲁϊⲟ ⲉⲡ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧⲭ̄ⲣⲏⲥⲧⲟⲥ). The Coptic translator, however, did not know what to make of the previous sentence, which is altogether omitted. The existence of this favourite early-Christian play on words is evidence that the Ode was composed in the Greek language: in the Syriac the allusion disappears, nor is the first clause intelligible.

The correctness of our interpretation may be further seen by the light which it throws upon the New Testament itself. When, for example, Paul tells the Corinthians (iii. 23) that they are Christ's, and that Christ is God's, he means that, being Christians, they are Christ's by the name of Christ, and are in a relation of ownership to or of derivation from Christ, just as Christ is in a relation to God, implying either sonship or dependency. Even more striking is the light which is cast upon a passage in the Gospel of Mark, by this expression of 'becoming the Lord's by the name of the Lord'. In Mark ix. 41 we have the following sequence:

> *ὃς γὰρ ἂν ποτίσῃ ὑμᾶς ποτήριον ὕδατος ἐν ὀνόματι, ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστε, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ.*

The difficulty here is to determine what is meant by 'in the name', and also to explain how, at the time involved in the narration, Jesus could speak to his disciples as 'belonging to Christ'. Matthew (x. 42) apparently gets over the difficulty by saying that the name is 'the name of a disciple', and leaves out the clause about Christ's ownership; but this does not explain what is meant by the 'name of a disciple'; is it the same thing

as the 'name of a prophet'? Matthew appears to mean something of the kind, to judge from the preceding verse, but he has clearly misunderstood Mark, who either means:

'In *my* name, because ye are Christ's,'

or:

'In the Christian name, because ye are Christ's.'

The Ode comes to our aid at this point, and shows that the alternatives mean the same thing. We are Christ's because we are Christians. The name is, therefore, the name of the Lord.

The play upon *Christos* and *Chrestos* is a very early one, and probably belongs to the period of the nicknames of the Antiochenes. There is a reflexion of it in the New Testament; cf. Ephesians ii. 7:

ἐν χρηστότητι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Here the paronomasia is easily missed by the modern student: it would be quite otherwise with a Christian of the first or second century, who is always trying to explain to his tormentors why he is *anointed*, and how he is *good*.

For instance, in Tertull. *Apol.* 3, we have:

> 'Nemo retractat, ne ideo *bonus* Caius et *prudens* Lucius, quia *Christianus*' (i. e. χρηστός = bonus *aut* prudens).
>
> *Ad Nationes*, i. 3 'Christianum vero nomen, quantum significatio est, de *unctione* interpretatur: etiam cum corrupte a vobis Chrestiani pronuntiamur . . . . . sic quoque de *suavitate* vel *bonitate* modulatum est' (i. e. χρηστότης = suavitas *aut* bonitas).

The ultimate origin of these etymologies is, as is generally agreed, to be sought in Antioch.

Such an instance as that which we have been discussing almost implies that the Ode was composed in Greek; for the play upon *Christos* and *Chrestos* is only to be made in that language. When it passes into another language, as in the sentence quoted from Tertullian, it requires the assistance of a commentator to make the

argument intelligible. We shall assume then, provisionally, that the Ode in which the writer talked of becoming *the Lord's by the name of the Lord*, and of being justified by His *goodness*, is a Greek composition.

In the foregoing discussion we could readily imagine ourselves back in early times and at Antioch, where believers were called Christians as belonging to Christ, with ironical references to their personal *ointment* or superior *goodness*, according to which they became either Christs, or Chrests because they were Christ's. The believers accepted all these titles and appellations. They even took the title of Christ to themselves personally, and gave the explanation of it in the sense that they had received a Divine Anointing. In consequence of this, we cannot always tell whether the word χριστός in early Christian tradition belongs to the Lord or to His followers; and similar difficulties arise in the Odes upon which we are engaged. In Ode xxxvi. 6 the writer says:

> 'He anointed me from His own perfections:
> And I became one of His neighbours.'

The first edition remarked on this sentence that it 'was almost impossible to determine whether the Psalmist is speaking in his own name, or in that of the Messiah, or whether it is an alternation of one with the other'. Most probably the Odist, as in so many other cases, is speaking in the person of Christ, but the sentence which we have quoted shows that the decision is not an easy one to make. We might have quoted Theophilus of Antioch on the other side, who says: 'We are called Christians because we are anointed with the oil of God' (*ad Autol.* i. 12).

The foregoing argument for interpreting the name as the Christian name, followed by a play upon χριστός and χρηστός, is undoubtedly a very strong one. Let us see whether there is anything that can be said on the other side.

It is possible that the expression

> 'I became the Lord's by the name of the Lord'

may be derived from the Old Testament. For instance, in Isaiah xliv. 5 we find the following prediction of the admission of proselytes to the covenant of Israel:

> 'One shall say, *I am the Lord's*; and another shall call himself *by the name of Jacob*; and another shall subscribe with his hand *unto the Lord*, and surname himself *by the name of Israel*.'

We may fairly assume (at all events as a working hypothesis) that this passage underlies the language of the Ode. It is quite in the Odist's manner to say 'by the name of the Lord' instead of 'by the name of Jacob' or 'by the name of Israel'. But then this rules out the LXX as the starting-point of the Odist's thought, for the LXX has

Οὗτος ἐρεῖ, τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰμί·

while on the other hand the Peshiṭta says exactly:

ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܝܠܝ ܐܢܐ

'This one will say, *I am the Lord's*.'

Thus the Syriac would become the prime authority and not the Greek: the reference to χρηστότης, which certainly stood in the Greek text of the Ode, might be due to the fact that the Odist was bilingual, but would hardly have originated in the Syriac.

We have discoursed at some length on this passage in the Odes on account of its importance. At this stage of the argument we can hardly draw a final conclusion, as the considerations on either side are so strong. We must look to the rest of the Ode to see whether it furnishes further indications of Greek or Syriac origin.

It is interesting to notice, in passing, that the passage in Isaiah was recognized as being the language of a proselyte. The Targum, for instance, says, 'I became one of the God-fearers', which is the regular term for Gentiles who attach themselves to Judaism, and occurs in the New Testament itself. Thus we shall raise the

further question as to what kind of proselyte is speaking, and perhaps revive for further study the theory of Professor Menzies that the Odes are the Hymns of *Jewish Proselytes*. Every stone must be turned, and turned again!

We propose in the next place to try and explain the opening verses of the 38th Psalm, which have been the centre of a good deal of discussion. The Syriac tells us that the Odist

'Went up into the Light of Truth as into a chariot',

and then that the Truth took him and led him, preserved him from rocks and waves (?) and brought him to the haven of salvation. The suggestion was made that the language was that which describes a sea-voyage, and that the writer had embarked on the good ship 'Light of Truth'. Carriages naturally do not require special names, and travelling in a carriage involves more delight than danger, and does not end up in a haven, except by extreme poetical licence. At this point the Syriac lexicons barred the way: they could not supply a sufficiently early instance for the translation of ܡܪܟܒܐ (*markaba*) as 'ship'; but the text of the Odes, whether translated or original, is certainly early: so it seemed that the rendering 'chariot' would have to stand. On that supposition it was natural that the word for 'waves' should be read as 'cliffs' or 'valleys': though why 'cliffs' should be a special terror to carriages was not clear. Some persons wished to get rid of the 'haven' which had been misread in the *editio princeps*; but this word is certain: it is guaranteed by manuscript authority, and by the fact that it is a quotation from Psalm cvii. 30. The 42nd Psalm is also in evidence, for it is thence that the language is derived about the leading and guiding of the Truth. In the LXX it runs thus:

ἐξαπόστειλον τὸ φῶς σου καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου·
αὐτά με ὡδήγησαν καὶ ἤγαγόν με.—Ps. xlii (xliii). 3.

Moreover, the Ode here, in the use of the past tense, is nearer

to the language of the LXX than to that of the Hebrew or the Peshiṭta. So we are led to look for some Greek word (such as ὄχημα) by which to explain the Syriac.

The two Psalms quoted must be the key to the understanding of the Ode. It occurs to us to inquire, also, whether this Ode (whatever be its original meaning) may not have been interpreted in later times in a baptismal sense, as indeed Dr. Bernard maintains to have been the meaning of the whole body of the Odes. For instance, it appears to have been so interpreted in the Nestorian ritual, where we find the following sequence:[1]

> 'Save me, O God, by thy name (Ps. liv. 1). In the hidden valleys of the world thou walkest as in the sea, O thou who art unbaptised; hasten to come to the glorious haven of baptism . . . . . And he led them to the haven where they would be (Ps. cvii. 30): to the covenant of the haven of life we have come: to the glorious resurrection of Christ our Saviour.'

Here we recognize at once the reference to the same Psalm that certainly underlies our 38th Ode. And the rest of the language, with its picturesque confusion between land and sea, reflects closely the Ode itself. In the mind of the composer of the Liturgy, Baptism is the ritual and the Church the haven. We find something similar as far back as Theophilus of Antioch. It is not, however, in the Nestorian ritual only that we find suspicious traces of the 38th Ode. We have already suggested that the difficulty in translating the Syriac, which seems to record the feat of taking a chariot and going to sea, was due to a natural misunderstanding of a Greek word susceptible of two meanings, to which the Syriac translator has given the more common meaning. What is remarkable is that Cyril of Jerusalem is, perhaps, guilty of the same misunderstanding, because he did not realize that the usage was poetical. He calls baptism the 'chariot to heaven'; and the expression is so peculiar that we naturally connect it with the opening sentences of the 38th Ode. What then is the term which

[1] *Nestorian Ritual*, ed. Conybeare and Maclean, p. 335.

Cyril uses? If we look at his introductory lecture, from which Dr. Bernard drew his striking baptismal analogies, we shall find him describing baptism as

> ἔνδυμα φωτεινόν· σφραγὶς ἁγία ἀκατάλυτος· ὄχημα πρὸς οὐρανόν· παραδείσου τρυφή.

All of these expressions are borrowed from or illustrated by the Odes; and the ὄχημα is the 'chariot' of Ode xxxviii. Only it ought not to have been rendered 'chariot' (for the word may be rendered 'ship') except on the assumption that Cyril misunderstood it. If he did misunderstand it there is no need why we should follow him: there is, however, the residual possibility that his translators are at fault (including J. H. Newman). Every one did not misunderstand the language. For instance, in the *Coptic Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle*,[1] we find the following language used by the Apostle Thomas:

> 'Behold! Jesus Christ *set me on board the ship* of Salvation, and *brought me into the haven* of peace.'[2]

The advantage of the new interpretation is that it rids us of the difficulty which Syriac students had felt in attaching the meaning 'ship' to the Syriac word. We get rid also of the confusion in the language of the Ode, where the terrors of travels in a coach are described in terms of rocks and waves. We have no need of emendation of the translation of the text in order to get rid of the 'waves'. The 'haven' for the chariot is no longer a matter of allegory; and, most important of all, we see that the Greek is the original which has been the subject of misunderstanding.

We referred above to the possibility that Theophilus of Antioch was also acquainted with the good ship 'Light of Truth'. On this point we note as follows: The first thing that would occur to a thoughtful person on reading the Ode would be that

[1] Loc. cit., p. 211.

[2] The ordinary Sahidic word for 'ship' is employed, and there is no Greek transliteration to assist us.

the Truth stands for the ship as well as for the shipmaster. The 'Light of Truth' is the name of the ship, the 'Light' and the 'Truth' of the 42nd Psalm correspond to the 'Truth' in the Ode which has charge and direction of the passengers in the ship; thus the ship and the shipmaster appear, as far as nomenclature goes, to be interchangeable. The peculiarity appears to have struck Theophilus of Antioch; in presenting an argument for the necessity of Faith he tells Autolycus that one cannot cross the sea unless he first trust himself to *the ship and the shipmaster*:

> τίς δύναται διαπερᾶσαι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν πιστεύσῃ τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ;—*ad Autolycum*, i. 8.

The conjunction of ideas may have been suggested by the terms of a familiar hymn: to go on board was an act of faith.

Theophilus is, perhaps, under the influence of the same opening verses of the 38th Ode at a somewhat later point, where he explains how advantageous to the storm-tossed voyager are those islands which have *havens* in which they may take refuge, and how they are guided to these havens and anchorages by the *Word of Truth*. And he explains that the havens are to be understood mystically as being Christian congregations, that is, holy Churches. The whole passage is inspired by the Ode, and is, like the Ode, a parable of Truth and Error. We will transcribe the passage, and underline the expressions which are especially reminiscent of the Ode:

> 'Just as in the sea there are islands inhabited, well-watered and fruitful, having anchorages and *harbours*, so that the storm-tossed mariners may find refuge in them: so God has given to the world, wave-driven and storm-tost by sins, assemblies (I mean holy Churches) in which, *as in havens* with good anchorage, there are to be found the teachings *of the Truth*, to which those who wish to be saved flee for refuge, *having become lovers of the Truth*, and desirous to escape the wrath and judgement of God. And just as there are other islands, rocky and waterless and barren and beast-ridden and uninhabited, to the hurt of the mariners and the storm-tost,

> where ships are broken and those who go on board of them perish, so is it with the teachings of the Error (I mean heresies) which utterly destroy them who meddle with them. For such persons *are not led by the word of Truth*, but like pirates, when they have filled their ships, run them on the aforesaid places, with the object of utterly destroying them, so does it happen with those that *wander from the Truth*, and are utterly ruined by *the Error*.'—Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 14.

The motive of the foregoing allegory is to be sought in the first chapter of Genesis, where the *Synagogê*, or gathering together of the waters, is described, and where the dry land appears. This leads to the describing of the islands of the sea, as above, and to the mystical explanation of the 'Congregation of the Waters'. Theophilus found these explanations a convenient starting-point for the description of Truth and Error, of which one guides to the haven and the other runs on the rocks. He makes his parable, as we have said, in terms that are reminiscent of the 38th Ode of Solomon.

It appears, then, that there are at least three distinct traces of the influence of this 38th Ode on his mind: for besides this parable of Truth and Error, there is the description of heresy as deadly poison mixed with wine, and the joint faith in the Truth as the ship and the shipmaster. It is, however, quite likely that this argument for a Greek original, and the interpretation attached to it, are too subtle to carry conviction. To begin with, although ὄχημα is a poetical term for a ship, it is not the natural one: and if the word is somewhat strained, the interpretation is even more so. The main difficulty lies in the use of the word 'haven', which appears to be out of place in overland travel. That such overland travel, however, is contemplated, appears to be involved in the subsequent language of the Ode, where the Truth (ver. 7) takes the traveller on the right road. This is not nautical language. We leave the discussion with a margin of uncertainty.

Now let us turn to another point in which the study of the doctrine of the Odes throws light upon the language in which that

doctrine s expressed. We have shown elsewhere that the writer has a Christology which contains the germs from which the Nicene Creed was evolved. For instance, there is the doctrine of the pre-existent Wisdom of God, co-eternal with the Father and identified with the Son. The proof-text for this doctrine, from which all the later theological developments take their rise, is Proverbs viii. 22 ff., where Wisdom says:

'The Lord possessed me in the beginning':

or according to the LXX:

'The Lord created me the beginning':

These words with their context were transferred at an early date in the first century from the Wisdom of God to Christ as the Wisdom of God; and it is to be noticed that both the Hebrew and the LXX forms are involved in the Christology of the Odes.

Thus in Ode xli. 9, apparently *ex ore Christi*:

'The Father of Truth remembered me;
He who possessed me from the beginning.'

and in Ode vii. 8, in an impersonal manner, God is said to have '*created* Wisdom', which involves the reading ἔκτισέ με. As we have pointed out, the Church teachers used almost exclusively the LXX rendering, and got into difficulties thereby; and did not recognize, as far as we know, before the time of Eusebius, that the Hebrew text had another sense than the LXX. These passages suffice to show that we are in a region of thought where Christ has been recognized as the Wisdom of God. So we may proceed to inquire into the use, if any, which the Odes make of the language in which Wisdom is described (and Christ by implication) in the Old Testament. This we have done in another chapter, and we only repeat some of the matter in order to prepare the way for the question as to whether the particular title ἀπόρροια is found in the Odes.

The statement of the case for *ἀπόρροια* is as follows:

(i) It is an undoubted title of Wisdom in *Sap. Sol.* vii. 25, where Wisdom is said to be 'a pure *effluence* from the glory of the Almighty'.

(ii) It was applied to Christ as being the Wisdom of God; as Origen says in his commentary on Romans:

> 'Ipsius unius Paterni fontis (sicut Sapientia dicit) purissima est *manatio* Filius.

Here the Son is defined in Sapiential language as the *ἀπόρροια* of the Father.'

(iii) It appears, however, that a good while before Origen's time the title had been transferred to the Holy Spirit, as indeed Origen was aware, for he goes on to say that the term 'Wisdom of God', may be also applied to the Holy Spirit:

> 'Hoc idem autem Sapientia Dei etiam de Spiritu Sancto intelligi debet, ubi dicit: Spiritus Domini,' &c.—*Sap. Sol.* i. 7.

We can see the change already made in the following passage from Athenagoras:

> 'The prophetic spirit also is in concord with our argument, for it says, "The Lord created me the beginning of His ways, for His works". Yea, and the very Spirit that was operating in those who made prophetic utterances we affirm to be an effluence (*ἀπόρροια*) of God, flowing forth (*ἀπορρέον*) and reflected back again like a ray of the sun.'[1]

Thus Athenagoras first finds Christ in the Wisdom doctrine of Proverbs, and then finds the Holy Spirit in the same Wisdom as described in the Wisdom of Solomon. The transference of this particular title of Wisdom from the Son to the Holy Spirit had, then, already been made as early as the time of Athenagoras (A.D. 177). Wisdom generally had been transferred as a title to the Holy Spirit by Theophilus of Antioch in the famous passage in which he says that the three days which elapsed before the creation

[1] Athenagoras, *Supplicatio* 10.

of the luminaries are a type of the Trinity, i.e. of God and His Word and His Wisdom.

It appears, then, that *ἀπόρροια* is a classic term in the evolution of Christian theology. It denotes the procession of the Son from the Father, and the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father (and the Son). Now turn to the Odes. The sixth Ode opens with a prologue about the impossibility of resistance to God, and the impracticability of taking the position of an adversary to Him. The writer is thinking of the Wisdom of God which is described in the Sapiential Books in just such terms:[1] e.g.

Prov. iii. 15 *οὐκ ἀντιτάξεται αὐτῇ οὐδὲν πονηρόν.*

Sap. Sol. vii. 30 *σοφίας δὲ οὐκ ἀντισχύει κακία.*

From this prologue the Odist proceeds to his main theme, the coming of the *ἀπόρροια*: 'for there went forth a stream and it became a river', &c. It is clear that this effluence is either Wisdom itself, or it is some point of view of Christ or the Holy Spirit. In any case it is the classic *ἀπόρροια* that has turned up. Fortunately for us the Sahidic Bible preserved the term, and its importance was so evident that the writer of the *Pistis Sophia* makes it one of his main themes. He knows, moreover, that it was susceptible of an interpretation as an *ἀπόρροια* of Light as well as one of Water, and changes the Ode accordingly, with a persistent reference to the efflux of Light, of which the unfortunate *Pistis Sophia* has been deprived by malevolent powers. No one can read or understand the *Pistis Sophia* who does not observe the stress that is laid in it on the efflux of Light. The use and importance of the term being established and conceded, we can by no means derive the language or the involved doctrine from the Syriac language.

The Odist says in the Syriac that 'there went forth a brook'; this is quite colourless, and has nothing in it to guide us to the

[1] See, however, on this point the coincidence which we have noted with the *Apology of Aristides*.

Sapiential thought or language: in fact it misleads us, rather than leads us, for it suggests the torrent in Ezekiel which flows from the Temple, and our investigation has shown that this is not the right quarter in which to find the ἀπόρροια or its meaning. The use of this Greek term, taken from a Greek book, and expressive of a Greek theology, is, at first sight, decisive against the possibility of a derivation of the Odes from an original Syriac. The sixth Ode, in its fundamental conception, is Sapiential. The argument would be equally decisive against the belief in any other Semitic origin for the Odes; for the Wisdom of Solomon is a fundamentally Greek book, which has no Hebrew original behind it; and even if it had such an original (as Professor Margoliouth once tried to maintain), the chance that the Odist's 'translator' would have turned up the form ἀπόρροια in making his rendering is quite negligible. Thus the Odes are seen to be fundamentally and altogether Greek, unless the argument can be met from other quarters.

Now let us return to the seventh Ode, from which we have already detected a quotation in Eusebius. There is still something to be cleared up in the passage of the seventh Ode which we have been considering in a previous chapter. If we consider the verses referred to,

> 'He hath caused me to know Himself without grudging, in His simplicity
> For His kindness has minished His greatness,'

the question will arise as to the meaning of the words 'In His simplicity', when taken in connexion with the Incarnation, to which we have shown the succeeding words to apply. If we turn the words back into Greek we have:

> ἐν τῇ ἁπλότητι αὐτοῦ, ἡ γὰρ χρηστότης αὐτοῦ ἐσμίκρυνε τὴν μεγαλαιότητα.[1]

Now let us turn to Tatian's *Oration to the Greeks*. We shall find

[1] Connolly has already noted this: *J.T.S.*, 1913, p. 531.

that after establishing the doctrine of the One True God, he goes on to state the doctrine of the Logos as follows:

> 'With Him, through rational power, the Logos also itself which was in Him subsisted. By the will of his ἁπλότης springs forth the Logos; and the Logos, not having gone into vacuity, becomes the First-born Work of the Father.'
>
> Tatian, *Oratio* 5.

The words θελήματι τῆς ἁπλότητος, when spoken of the Incarnation, correspond closely to the language of the Ode. The only question is as to the meaning of the word ἁπλότης, which the Syriac gives in the sense of 'simplicity'. If this is really the meaning, the 'simplicity' referred to is that of the Divine Nature, alone in itself, and yet possessing in itself the δύναμις λογική. Thus the Divine Goodness makes His *simple* nature known by ministering His greatness. It has been suggested, however, that we ought to take the later meaning of ἁπλότης, and interpret it as 'liberality' and 'wealth', just as we interpret ἁπλῶς to mean not merely 'simply' but 'abundantly'. We should then have the sentence,

> 'By His liberality His kindness minished His greatness.'

Now turn back to the Syriac, and we shall see the alternative translation involved in the words 'without grudging', which correspond ordinarily to ἀφθόνως, and really mean 'abundantly', 'liberally'. Thus the Syriac may have made two translations of ἐν τῇ ἁπλότητι αὐτοῦ, and in that case is not the original. The Greek is the original, and corresponds closely to the language of Tatian, who may even have been acquainted with the Ode. A parallel passage in the Odes will be found in Ode xli. 10, where Christ is made to say:

> 'His *wealth* begat me
> And the thought of His heart.'

The arguments for a Greek original which we have been considering thus far are as follows:

> (1) The 'midwife' passage in Ode xix: where the dependence is on the 22nd Psalm.

(2) The 'proselyte passage' in Ode xxv, with a probable dependence on Isaiah xlv, and a possible Greek play upon χρηστός and χριστός.

(3) The 'chariot' passage in Ode xxxviii, which depends on Psalm xliii and Psalm cvii, and has a possible reference (to which we have endeavoured to do justice) to the initiation of baptism.

(4) The 'Efflux' passage in Ode vi, with the assumed dependence on *Sap. Sol.* vii.

(5) The linguistic argument in Ode vii.

These are the five strongest arguments that we have found for a Greek-original: of these, we may say on review that the evidence for (1) inclines rather to the Greek side, unless we can adduce the Targum to turn the scales; for (2) the evidence is again somewhat in favour of the Greek, but not decisively. In (3) the difficulty of the Syriac reading is relieved (but not really got rid of) by substituting the Greek counterpart, and no definite conclusion can be reached; in (4) the argument for a Greek original appears at its clearest and strongest; in (5), the linguistic argument is somewhat on the side of a Greek original. The argument is not final, and it does not necessarily carry the whole body of the Odes, but it certainly has the field at present as regards the Odes in question.

Other suggestions of a Greek original may be found in the papers of Frankenberg, Preuschen, and Connolly, and will be discussed later.

It remains to be considered whether any light is thrown upon the original text of the Odes by the Biblical or semi-Biblical quotations which they contain. On this question of Biblical citations we have made a careful study in a previous chapter; the results of that examination would be naturally affected by the early date to which we have referred both the Odes (if Greek) and their Syriac form. It will be useless to look for coincidence with the Peshitta version of the New Testament in a document which antedates the time of Ephrem and Bardaisan. With the Old Testament the case is different, for there is reason to believe that some parts

of the Old Testament were rendered into Syriac at a very early date, directly from the Hebrew. So that here coincidences with the Peshiṭta on the part of the Odes would have weight. We have, however, seen that in the case of the most obvious Biblical semi-quotations their phraseology in the Odes is not always in accordance with the wording of the Old Testament Syriac. There are suspicions of an occasional Hebrew influence in quotations, and now and then the text of the Septuagint asserts itself; but it does not appear as if there was much in this region of inquiry to turn the scales very definitely one way or the other.

The real question that remains is as to whether there are sufficient genuine Semitisms in the Odes to set off against the numerous cases in which we have affirmed the existence of Greek language and Greek thought.

CHAPTER XIV

Syriac or Greek? (*continued*).

Up to this point we have found ourselves still in the region of uncertainty: some considerations pleaded strongly for a Syriac (or at all events a Semitic) original; others suggested Greek expressions at the back of the tradition of the Odes. Where we have thus far traced Biblical coincidences we did not get much that weighed the scales on one side or the other. Evidently we must make a closer study both of the Biblical allusions and of the general fabric of the Odes.

One thing, however, is coming out clearly, viz. that the portion of the Bible which, more than any other, underlies the Odes, is the Canonical Psalter, and next to that come the Sapiential books and Isaiah.

It may be suggested that this was something which could have been guessed in advance; for if we are making a book of hymns or Psalms of any length, it is only natural that it should imitate the style and thought of such Psalters as are already in existence.

This may readily be granted, so far as the use of the prevailing modes of thought is concerned, or the use of known metres and tunes. Ephrem, for instance, in order to displace Bardaisan's hymns and counteract their witchcraft, had to use Bardaisan's tools, his metres, and his harmonies; and Bardaisan went further than this: for if Ephrem tells true, he imitated David by making a new Psalter of 150 Psalms. Such a Psalter does more than affect unconsciously the style of Hebrew sacred song; it becomes a deliberate imitation, surely not confined to mere number. So the question is raised for us whether our book of Odes is also, in a deliberate sense, dependent upon the Psalter. That is the question to which we address ourselves. If it turn out that the question is answered affirmatively, and that the Odist has constantly one eye fixed on the Canonical Psalter, we may be in a position to decide more definitely the question of the dependence of the Odist upon the Septuagint or the Peshiṭta, that is, upon the relative order of the Greek or Syriac Odes.

Before we examine this point we may say a word or two about the supposed Bardaisan Psalter and certain Psalters that may be grouped with it or related to it.

The tradition of the Church knows of at least three second-century Psalters, besides our Odes, which cannot be later than the second century. That is, to all appearance, there were four separate Psalters current in the second century.

Now of these, the first is ascribed to Valentinus, the second to Marcion, and the third to Bardaisan. Of Valentinus and his Psalter Tertullian speaks with contempt:

> 'Nobis quoque ad hanc speciem Psalmi patrocinabuntur, non quidem apostatae et haeretici et Platonici Valentini, sed sanctissimi et receptissimi prophetae David.
>
> *De Carne Christi*, chap. 20.

Of Marcion we have a well-known statement in the Muratorian Canon, that amongst the books which the Church does not receive,

and the authors whom it rejects, must be reckoned the new Psalter made for Marcion, and its authors:

'Qui etiam novum psalmorum librum Marcioni conscripserunt.'

Of Bardesanes, Ephrem tells us that he composed hymns and Psalms in various metres, that he imitated David and composed 150 Psalms, and that he administered his false doctrine in this way to simple-minded people, like poison in سكبا (*Patr. Syr.* ii. 495).

The suggestion naturally arises whether these three lost Psalters are really independent, and whether they do not reduce to a single Psalter. Valentinus and Bardaisan are known to have some connexion one with the other, the latter having been, it is said, at one time a disciple of the former. On the other hand the tradition of independent Psalm-writing in Syriac is closely bound up with the name of Bardaisan and his followers; Ephrem could not have made a mistake on that head. So if any one is to disappear it should be Valentinus. We should be left in that case with Bardaisan as the great Psalmist of the second century, unless it could be shown that he had imitated Valentinus as well as David.

It becomes a matter of great interest to determine whether our new Odes are in any way related to the Psalms that we are discussing. Do they also imitate the Canonical Psalter? Are they heretical, say with Valentinus as author in general, as Preuschen promises to prove? Or with Valentinus and Bardaisan in particular, in ignoring the resurrection of the body?

It will be seen that the relation of the Odist to the Canonical Psalter is really one of importance; we must clearly do more than pick up a stray reference. The matter requires a closer scrutiny.

The inquiry is complicated, as Connolly and others have pointed out, by the fact that the Odist, when he quotes, deliberately alters his text. If, for instance, he is quoting as Paul does, the words:

'I believed, therefore have I spoken',

he makes out of it:

'I believed, therefore I was at rest.'

And it follows from this that when we find him quoting the Psalter the agreement is often, of necessity, limited; but, whether limited or not, it is that agreement that we are in quest of; the disagreement is not to be reckoned as of the first importance in the case of free-handling and of adaptation like that which the Odes offer us. It is the agreements that count. We know, then, what to ask for in searching the Odes that we may find the Psalms. We are looking for unmanipulated sentences and half-sentences and expressions. For we do find them, not merely those sentences which we have already tabulated, but a great deal more, and the closer we look the more we shall see. In not a few cases we can detect (i) a Psalm underlying the Ode, (ii) we can watch the Odist picking up the bits of the Psalm on which he is working and putting them together in the Ode that he is composing. The key to the Ode will then lie in the printing of a certain Psalm of David by the side of it and using it as a search-light. It will be convenient to do this generally in the notes that we attach to each translated Psalm, but one or two specimens may be given here in order to illustrate the method, and to help us with our problem of the relations of the Syriac to the Greek.

For example, when we read our first Ode, with its reference to a crown upon the writer's head that does not fade nor wither, but blossoms and bears fruit, we are evidently under the influence of the first canonical Psalm, where the righteous man is described under the terms of a tree planted by rivers of water, whose leaf does not wither, and which brings forth its fruit in its season. So much being clear, we have to find the motive for the statement in the Ode, that

> 'Thy fruits are full and perfect,
> Full of thy salvation.'

The parallel to this is:

> 'Whatsoever he doeth shall prosper',

taking 'doeth' in the Hebrew sense of 'producing fruits', (עשׂה פרי).

and making the subject of the verb the 'tree' in the previous sentence. This is actually the sense given by the Targum, and the Peshiṭta Syriac has preserved a trace of it by saying:

'Whatever he does he perfecteth'.[1]

This will serve as an illustration of the action of the Psalter upon the Ode. In the present case it seems clear that the action could not have been effected through the LXX. It might have come through the Targum or an early form of the Peshiṭta (which is known to have been under the influence of the Targum).

Now we begin to see the direction in which to go to work. Let us take another instance. In Ode xvii. 9 every one will recognize that the words

'I brake in pieces the bars of iron'

come from the 107th Psalm (Ps. cvi (cvii). 16). The agreement is complete as far as the Peshiṭta Psalter goes, every word used being the same; but one must not form a hasty judgement since both the Ode and the Peshiṭta have transliterated the Greek word for 'bars', which occurs in the LXX (μοχλούς). Why should they transliterate at all? Is their agreement in this transliteration a proof of interdependence? Does it mean that there was a Greek Ode for the original, agreeing at this point with the LXX, or was it a Syriac Ode that agreed with the Peshiṭta? A pretty problem!

However, we have caught the Odist pilfering from the Psalm, and we look round for more: in verse 4 the Odist says that 'the choking bonds were cut off by His hands'; on comparing the text with the Peshiṭta, we find that this is the same as verse 14 of the Psalm, which appears in the Greek as 'He brake their bands in sunder'. Here, then, we have a crucial instance. The Odist is not using the Greek Bible; he is using the Peshiṭta rendering of the Hebrew text.

[1] We follow the traditional vocalization.

Here is a similar instance in which use has been made of a very noble anti-ritualistic passage in the prophet Isaiah, where the true fast of the soul is described. In Ode xx. 9 the writer has borrowed from this passage the words

'His glory shall go before thee' (Isa. lviii. 8),

making, as his custom is, a slight adaptation of the words

'His righteousness shall go before thee,
And the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward.'

He has just before said that one is to

'Come into Paradise and make a garland from its tree.'

This is taken from Isaiah lviii. 11:

'Thou shalt be as an irrigated garden.'

Here the Hebrew is 'garden' (גַּן), and the Greek is the same (κῆπος); *but the Syriac is 'Paradise'*.

Finally the Odist says:

'Thou shalt be *fat* in truth in the praise of His holiness.'

This also is taken from Isaiah lviii. 11:

'The Lord shall satisfy thy soul',

where the Syriac says 'satisfy with fatness'; ܫܒܥ 'to fatten' is the same as the word for 'fat' in the Ode. There are several other words available to express 'fatness'. If any doubt remained as to the dependence of the Odist on the Peshiṭta at this point, it would disappear on setting the two texts side by side, when it will at once become clear that the Odist is engaged in actual word-play with the Syriac text. We compare Isaiah lviii. 11 (Peshiṭta)

ܘܢܫܒܥ ܒܥܡܐ ܚܘܪܒܬܟ ܘܢܚܝ ܓܪܡܟ ܘܗܘܝ ܐܝܟ ܓܢܬܐ ܪܘܝܐ ܠܗ ܘܐܝܟ ܡܒܘܥܐ ܕܡܝܗܝ ܠܐ ܡܟܣܝܢ ܠܗ ܟܕܒܐ ܀

with Ode xx. 9

ܘܐܫܒܥ ܠܟ ܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܫ ܩܘܕܫܟ ܀

where the sequence of the underlined words shows that the Odist is playing with two different senses of the root ܫܒܥ 'to confirm or

establish', and 'to be true'. This appears to be decisive as to the dependence of the Odist upon the Syriac text.

We had a precisely similar word-play on the very same root in Ode xi. 5 ('I was *established* upon the rock of *truth*'); *vide supra*, p. 99.

These instances will show that we have picked up an important clue. We prove the dependence of the Ode (in these particular cases at least) from the Peshiṭta. That is a great point gained: it has history and chronology in it. It has long been suspected that portions of the Old Testament were done into Syriac at a very early date, by Jewish hands (or with the assistance of Jewish hands), and long before any portions of the New Testament had been done into Syriac. Such portions were the Psalter, then the Pentateuch, and perhaps some part of Isaiah. Our Odist has used this rendering.

If we can find sufficient cumulative evidence of this kind we may state the result in a general form. For this the reader is directed to the notes on the separate Odes. Supposing this reasoning to be justified, we must now go over the previous arguments on the opposite side, and see if they can be countered. If not, we shall have a bilingual Psalter, some of which was produced in Syriac and some in Greek, and then each part translated from the primary to the secondary language. In any case it must have been translated so early that we may safely assume its origin to be in a bilingual community, such as the district of Antioch. Probably the arguments referred to for Greek origins can be met upon further study. Provisionally, then, and with all due homage to light that may come from unexpected quarters, we suggest tentatively that the Syriac of the Odes is the original language in which they were composed.

On reviewing the foregoing argument, it may be instructive to compare the Odes with the Psalms of Solomon; and some one might say that the very same treatment may prove the Psalter of Solomon to be under the influence of the Peshiṭta Old Testament,

whereas we know that they come into the Syriac by translation from the Greek. Let us examine into this a little more closely.

It is evident to the most superficial reader who looks at the text of the Psalms of Solomon that it is saturated with Biblical language. If we remove the historical references and allusions to Pompey the great dragon and the Romans, we have often a mere cento of Old Testament references for the residue. A glance at the uncial-typed words in the edition of Ryle and James will show what we mean. When, however, we come to the detailed examination of these borrowed words and phrases, we do not find that the writer takes any special theme, as the Odist does, and reverts to it. We have only noted one place where a Psalm of the Old Testament that has been quoted appears to have lingered in his memory. In *Ps. Sol.* v. we have the following sequence:

Ps. Sol. v. 11. Thou givest rain in the desert to cause the grass to spring up, (Ps. civ. 11.)

v. 12. to prepare food in the wilderness for every living thing, (Ps. civ. 28; Ps. cxlv. 16.)

and if they be hungry, to thee they will lift up their faces. (Ps. civ. 27; Ps. cxlv. 15.)

v. 14. His soul shall be satisfied when thou openest thy hand in mercy. (Ps. civ. 28; Ps. cxlv. 16.)

There is no necessity, however, to refer more than the first of the passages quoted to the 104th Psalm, the remainder come from the 145th Psalm. Nor is there any peculiar agreement of the Psalter of Solomon at this point with the Syriac Psalter. So far from any such agreement being detected, the evidence is in the other direction.

We have examined a good many cases of occurrence of Biblical language in the Psalms of Solomon without finding more than superficial or inevitable coincidences; and there are many divergences in the language, and no special Syriac singularities. This is what we should naturally have expected. Our reason for alluding to it is to remove any possible misapprehension with regard to our linguistic criticism of the Odes.

Suppose we try and tabulate in a preliminary manner some of the results as to the original language of particular Odes which we have tentatively reached. We anticipate some results that will be worked out in the notes.

Ode i. Certainly of Semitic origin. (See explanation of 'fruits full and perfect'.)

Ode iv. Of Semitic origin: traces of Targumism.

Ode vi. Probably of Greek origin (reference to the ἀπόρροια of the Divine Wisdom).

Ode vii. Of uncertain origin; contains Wisdom references (Prov. viii. 22) and has very early attestation.

Ode viii. Of Syriac origin with some traces of Targumic influence

Ode ix. At first sight appears to be under the influence of LXX (cf. λίθος τίμιος), but see note, and reserve judgement.

Ode xvii. Based upon the 107th Psalm, Syriac version.

Ode xix. If the Ode is based on Proverbs ix it is a Greek Ode; the references to Psalm xxii are capable of either Greek or Syriac illustration.

Ode xx. Based on Isaiah lviii, and the evidence is in favour (but not conclusively in favour) of a Syriac origin.

Ode xxi. Certainly modelled on Psalm xxx in the Syriac version.

Ode xxiii. Probably based in its opening verses on the Greek of the third chapter of *Sap. Sol.*

Ode xxv. Decided suggestion of a Greek origin in closing verse.

Ode xxvi. Probably based on the 107th Psalm in Syriac (but some hesitation on account of the form of the refrain of the Psalm in the Peshiṭta).

Ode xxviii. Shows significant coincidence with the Syriac Psalter (an objection on the part of Connolly that in verse 4 it reflects a Greek διό).

Ode xxix. Indecisive references to the Psalter.

Ode xxx. Depends upon 24th chapter of the Wisdom of Sirach; probably Greek original.

Ode xxxvii. Probably Semitic in origin (suggestion of influence from Targum; cf. Ode i).

Ode xl. Apparently connected internally with Ode xx. and like that Ode dependent upon the Syriac of Isaiah lviii.

Ode xli. Shows acquaintance with the Hebrew of Proverbs viii. 22.

Ode xlii. Depends on Psalm lxxxviii, but not decisive as to Syriac or Greek.

This is a rapid glance at the phenomena of the textual transmission (omitting altogether the Syriacisms and Semitisms which we have collected elsewhere). It is perplexing because of the cross-evidence within the individual Odes. It would have been easy to affirm bilingual authorship and refer the hymns to the use of a bilingual church; but we have against this the lack of decisive evidence within the particular Psalms, and sometimes there is ambiguity which arises from the evidence being given on both sides. If we had to decide at this point we should be tempted to say that the Wisdom Odes were composed in Greek and the rest in Syriac; but the conclusion would be too rapid.

There remains, then, the internal evidence of Syriacism. This is abundant, but it requires sifting. For example, it is not a peculiar Syriacism to say that 'all who overcome shall be written (booked) in her book', for how else could one express it in Syriac?

There are, moreover, cases of supposed Syriacism like the 'midwife' passage in Ode xix, where the evidence can be countered as we have shown, so that it is not possible to leave the Syriac label any longer on the text without an attached mark of caution.

There are, however, very many Syriacisms and Aramaisms which we have tabulated, far beyond the natural accidents of a translator. Wellhausen made a distinction between 'biblisms' and 'Aramaisms', conceding the former and denying the latter. We may concede all the possible 'biblisms' like 'blessing he blessed me', and we have still a rich harvest of remaining Aramaisms. It is probable that these will be the deciding factor in the question,

and will require us to admit that the greater part of the Odes (to say the least) are of Syriac origin (*vide* supra, pp. 97–104).

Amongst the Aramaisms those will be felt to be of the greatest weight which involve Syriac word-play, with various meanings for the same root, or for related roots. Upon such cases, where they can be clearly made out, and upon the cases of influence from the Targums and the methods of Targums, the decision as to origins will ultimately be made (*vide* supra, pp. 101–3, 164).

To give one or two more illustrations, the 35th Ode will exhibit even to the eye of a person that knows no Syriac, that the writer is using recurrent expressions, almost coincident in form. The words ܛܠܐ, ܛܠܠ, ܛܠܝ, and ܛܠ stand up from the page. The Syriac scholar knows that three different roots are being played with, conveying the ideas of 'dew', 'shelter', and 'boyhood'. These ideas are woven together in the Ode, and the assonance, which even the eye can detect, is the key to the Ode. This cannot possibly be Greek work: it may be bad philology, but it is Syriac philology. And when we have proved this 35th Ode to be a Syriac product, a very little study will show that the result carries with it a similar conclusion for other Odes, such as the 36th Ode where the same 'cloud of dew' is detected, and can be traced to an ultimate origin in the Syriac of Isaiah and the Targum.

Equally decisive is the study of Targum quotations and the use of Targum methods of interpretation. The Odes are full of both. The Odist is always avoiding anthropomorphism in the Targumist's manner. He is constantly saying 'Before the Lord' instead of 'the Lord', or quoting the 'Name of the Lord', or the 'Word of the Lord', in the place of 'the Lord'. As soon as we take this key into our hands any number of textual locks fly open. We see at once why, in Ode xxix. 9, 'War is made by the Word', and 'Victory taken by the Word', for the writer is making metre out of the Targum on the 110th Psalm.

We see why in Ode xxii 'the name of the Lord' was surrounding the Odist; it is a Targumist periphrasis for 'the Lord is round

about his people' (Ps. cxxv. 2). And it is not merely an oral Targum, or the method of an oral Meturgeman that is employed; sometimes we catch the Odist poring over a written Targum and picking up stray expressions from it. See the notes on Ode xxxv, where it is shown that the motive for the expression 'More than shelter was He to me' is caught up from the Targum.

No doubt these discoveries of the influence of the Targum and its closely related Peshiṭta text upon the Odes are of ultimate importance for the history of the Targum itself; but the immediate result is that they carry the Odes back into the time when the Church was still adjacent to the Synagogue, and they show conclusively the Aramaic origin of the Odes in which the influence of Targum can be traced.

We may make a reserve, if we please, for the possible bilingualism of the author; he *may* have known some Greek, he *must* have known a great deal of Aramaic; he *may* have known the Septuagint; he *must* have known the Hebrew, the Peshiṭta, and the Targum. With the reserve in question which comes under the formula *exceptis excipiendis*, we affirm the Aramaic origin of the Odes. The result has been reached after a close and careful inquiry, with the scales vibrating alternately to this side and that; in our judgement they have now inclined to one side.

It must be clear to any who has followed carefully the argument up to the present point, that the introduction of the idea of the Targum is the decisive factor in the solution of the problem before us. If we can show either the methods of a Meturgeman or the actual use of a Targum, the problem is solved so far as relates to the Odes in which such methods and influences are at work.

It would take us too long to discourse at length on the mentality of the Aramaic interpreter of the Scripture to a congregation; and in the collection of readings that may be fairly described as Targum we have a wide area to select from. We know that we must not ascribe personality to God in terms borrowed from human life, and that we must say 'Word of God'

instead of 'God'. We must not say that 'God sees' or that 'God knows', much less that He 'walks' or 'smells sweet savours'. If we want to say that 'He knows', let us say 'it is revealed and known before Him', and generally let the periphrase 'done before Him' be used for everything that He does. This consideration alone should have betrayed the secret to us; for the Odist uses the very expression 'it was revealed' which is current all over the Targums (ܐܬܓܠܝ, ܐܬܓܠܐ). And the abnormal recurrence of ܩܕܡ (*before* a person) should have been recognized.

As for expressions to be avoided, a good plan will be to read through a section of the Pentateuch or Prophets or Psalms, and see what changes are chronic. For example, God is never called 'a rock' in the Targums, but he may be called 'the strong one'. In the Psalms where the appellation of 'rock' occurs, this substitution is chronic; and we shall see why the Odist who is working so constantly on the Psalter never uses the term. In one case there is a reference to 'foundations laid upon God's rock', but that is not the same thing. What was the ultimate reason for the avoidance of the term we are not at present in a position to determine.

The recurrence in the Odes of the expression 'His Word' is not to be taken as necessarily Targumic; but sometimes it must be so taken, for it will be seen to be a substitute for, or an evasion of, the utterance of the Divine Name. When we say that 'His Word is with us in all our way', or that the Lord has 'bridged the rivers by His Word', or 'my voice fell to him and his Word came to me', we are dealing with what may fairly be labelled as Targum.

This relates, however, to the method of the Meturgeman, which appears to be also, if occasionally, the method of the Odist. Method is one thing: actual employment of existing Targums is another. It is here that our investigation becomes decisive, for we shall find over and over again that we have to refer an expression in the Odes to the Targum or to the closely related Peshiṭta, if we are to understand it rightly. The proof of this

statement must be sought in the foot-notes to the separate Odes. We believe it will be accepted as final and conclusive.

This does not mean that the Odist is always making or quoting Targum. Sometimes he speaks as a Meturgeman would have been slow to do, of God's 'right hand', or the 'Lord's hand': and we doubt if any Meturgeman would have invented or tolerated the 'breasts of God'. The use of such expressions does not invalidate the statement that the Odist can be shown to have, in certain places, Targumized.

We must observe also that the value of this discovery is two-fold: first of all, it is of value with regard to the Targum itself, whose antiquity and written transmission is established more clearly than ever; second, it makes the Odes themselves into a commentary upon the older Scriptures as well as a book of songs. Such a commentary is of the highest value; just as the Targum on the Scripture is regarded by the interpreter of Scripture as an 'inestimable treasure', so the Odes, in so far as they reflect the Targum, acquire additional worth and value, and constitute a precious link between the Judaism of Palestine in the first century of our era and the Christianity of the same period.

Enough has been said to accentuate the importance of the conclusions to which we have been led in a somewhat extended and often perplexing investigation.

A very judicious summary of the arguments for and against a Greek original for the Odes will be found in Tondelli's excellent edition to which we have already made reference. Tondelli, indeed, concludes for a Greek original, but that is not altogether surprising: many of the considerations which we have adduced for an opposite view are new, and our own first judgement was the same as that of Tondelli and the majority of the critics. Bernard, however, expressed his belief definitely in a Syriac original, though he was unable to work the thesis out; Abbott made a strong fight (against Connolly and others) for a Semitic base; and Grimme went so far as to turn the Odes back into classical Hebrew, and even

declared that they showed traces of Acrostic arrangement according to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet! Bruston brought forward cases of Syriac assonance, and of Syriac corruption, but as Tondelli rightly observes, his instances were not very strong. For example, it was surely incorrect to suppose that in the opening verse of Ode xxxiv there was an intentional assonance between ܥܡܩܐ (hard) and ܥܡܝܩܐ (simple): the Oriental does not confuse the sounds in question: to him, at all events, they are not assonant.

On the other hand, many of the arguments for a Greek original have also disappeared in the course of the investigation. It was quite natural to suppose that when the Odist uses the expression ܪܘܡܐ ܫܘܝܐ, he was translating literally from the Greek *μεγαλοπρέπεια* in the two instances where the expression occurs. Only it had been overlooked that the Syriac Psalter had already made the expression common property, so that there was no need to think of translation at all. The same thing is true of a number of primitive forms like ܠܐ ܡܬܠܐ = *ἄφθαρτος* or ܠܐ ܒܣܡ = *ἀφθόνως*; for it can be shown that such forms were at home in the Syriac language and literature from the earliest times; Ephrem, for example, uses them freely, and without any possible suspicion of translation. There is really no reason why the writer of the Odes, if a Syrian, should not have employed the transliteration of *πρόσωπον*, *κίνδυνος*, or *γένος*. These are superficial Grecisms, and not necessarily evidences of an immediate derivation from Greek. Frankenberg, by retranslating the Odes into Greek, was able to take the argument somewhat deeper; the suggestion in Ode xxx that the couplet:

> 'It flows forth from the mouth of the Lord,
> And from the heart of the Lord is its Name,'

had been affected by a misreading of *νᾶμα* (flow) for *ὄνομα* (name) was certainly striking, and restored parallelism to the members of the couplet. It is, however, possible that there may be a Syriac explanation of the passage. See our note on the verse.

Another suggestive instance is in the 13th Ode, where Frankenberg and Preuschen would have us restore

'Open your eyes and see *yourselves* in Him';

thus reading *αὐτούς* (= *ἑαυτούς*) instead of *αὐτούς*, and crediting the translation with a wrong reference of *αὐτούς* to the eyes instead of the observers. The suggested modification of an assumed underlying Greek text was very attractive. We should also note that the expression in Ode vii. 17 ('harp of many *voices*') may very well be the equivalent of a Greek *κιθάρα πολύφωνος*.

Somewhat different is Nestle's suggestion that in Ode vii. 12 we should read *οὐσία* for the implied *θυσία*, a very easy change in Greek uncial writing. This interpretation would give us an original sentence to the effect, 'He granted me that I should ask of Him and partake of His nature', presumably in the attainment of immortality as a gift of God. We might compare 2 Peter i. 4, where believers are said to become 'partakers of the Divine Nature', but here the word is *φύσις* and not *οὐσία*. There is, however, a doubt whether any change is necessary: we have suggested in the note that the Syriac is intelligible as it stands, and that it means:

'That I should ask of Him
And receive of His *largesse*.'

These, then, are some of the best cases for Grecism.

Connolly, who spent a good deal of time and labour in vindicating the priority of the Greek text, made an interesting point out of the words:

'I believed, *therefore* I was at rest.'[1]

The argument is that the Odist, after his usual manner, is imitating a canonical Psalm with slight variations in the terms of speech or the language used. In this case it will be Psalm cxvi. 10.

[1] Is there any connexion with Heb. iv. 4: 'We who have believed do enter into rest'?

'I believed, *therefore* have I spoken', and we are entitled to affirm that the word 'therefore' is taken from the Psalter. It answers, in fact, to the διό of the Septuagint, which will be found reflected in the Pauline correspondence at 2 Corinthians iv. 13. This διό is not represented in the Syriac text of the Psalms, which simply says, 'I believed and I spake'. Connolly, not unnaturally, concluded that it was not the Syriac Psalter that underlay the language of the Ode. A past tense, too, seemed to be postulated for the model which has been imitated by the expression 'therefore I was at rest'; and this is not the Hebrew of the Psalm which runs:

'I believe, therefore *I will speak*.'

Thus there was a slight balance in favour of the Septuagint. We note, however, that the Targum has also the desiderated 'therefore', so that its omission by the Peshiṭta is not quite decisive of the question. As it stands, the balance of the argument is on Connolly's side, unless it should be overborne by the general considerations contained in the previous pages of the present work.

We may now relegate the discussion of other and minor points of difference between the Greek hypothesis and the opposing Syriac to the notes attached to the translation of the individual Odes. We have been anxious not to omit anything of importance in the extant criticisms of the Odes, but it is permissible to pass over in silence some things which do not require a serious refutation or a sustained discussion.

CHAPTER XV

The Coptic (Sahidic) Version.

We have already explained that five of the Odes of Solomon are found embedded in that curious Gnostic book which goes under the name of *Pistis Sophia*. In this book a number of the Psalms of David and the afore-mentioned five Odes of Solomon are the basis of the penitences which the unfortunate Sophia addresses

to the Saviour, disguised in each case by the substitution of Gnostic language for that of the selected Psalm or Ode. Then the Psalm having been identified by some one of the Disciples, male or female, we have the actual text of that Psalm or Ode, after which in a number of cases the Gnostic Targum and the Biblical text are gone over, sentence by sentence, for the purpose of comparison, so that we have the Ode or Psalm in two forms, and sometimes in what looks like a third.

Evidently we must try and find out what light the text of the *Pistis Sophia* and the methods of its author can throw on the origin of the Odes.

The first thing that comes to light in reading the *Pistis Sophia* is that its Old Testament is the Septuagint, and not the Hebrew nor the Peshiṭta Syriac, which is based for the most part on the Hebrew.

For instance, the first passage of Scripture discussed is Isaiah xiv. 1, 3, 12, which is explained as follows by the Virgin Mary (in quoting we use the translation of Schwartze-Petermann):

> 'Locuta est hoc modo vis. quae in Esaia *προφήτῃ* et protulit eum in *παραβολῇ πνευματικῇ*, tempore quo dixit *de ὁράσει Aegypti*, id est:
>
> 'Ubi. igitur, Aegypte, ubi sunt tui divinatores, et ordinatores horae: et hi, *qui vocant e terra et hi, qui vocant ex sese*. Monstranto tibi facinora, quae perpetrabit Dominus Sabaoth.'

The heading, *ὅρασις Αἰγύπτου*, and the equivalents for *ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας* and *ἐγγαστριμύθους*, betray the use of the Septuagint, or of an Egyptian translation based upon the Septuagint.[1]

In this passage it will be found on examination that it is Jesus who is speaking Gnostically and is interpreted by Mary. A similar case will be found when we come to the sixth Ode of Solomon, where again it is Jesus who has to be interpreted and not the

[1] The chapter quoted must have been often in use in the propagation of the Christian religion in Egypt, since it predicts the return of Egypt from idolatry to monotheism and the service of Jahweh.

repentant Sophia. So it was not absolutely true that the book was made out of the penitences of Sophia, which some have imagined, apparently without sufficent reason, to be incorporated from without in the texture of the *Pistis Sophia.*

Returning to the text of the Psalms in the *Pistis Sophia* we may make comparison with the Sahidic Psalter recently published by Dr. Budge from a papyrus of the sixth century, and we shall find in the greater part of the Psalms discussed, that the coincidence is so close (often there will hardly be a sensible variation in the texts) as to leave no doubt that the Sahidic Psalter was extant when the *Pistis Sophia* was written, and that it was employed by the author. Now this Sahidic Psalter is simply the Septuagint done out of Greek into Sahidic. Unless, then, the *Pistis Sophia* has substituted the Sahidic version for some other version which lay before the author, of which he has avoided the trouble of making a fresh translation, there is a strong presumption that the *Pistis Sophia* is a genuine Coptic book, and not a rendering of some other work (Greek or Syriac) into Coptic. Let us see if we can confirm this by a closer examination.

Towards the end of the book the problem is raised as to what is to be done with persons who are baptised but do not bring forth fruits meet for repentance. The story which deals with the problem is as follows:

> 'After these things Jesus, seeing a woman who came to repent, baptised her three times, though she had not done anything worthy of baptism. And the Saviour, wishing to try Peter, in order to see whether he was merciful and remitted sins, as He had commanded him, said to Peter: "Lo! these three times I have baptised this soul, and in these three times she has done nothing worthy of the Mystery of Light. Why then does she also render the body useless? Now, therefore, Peter, perform the Mystery of Light, which cuts off souls from the Inheritance of Light; perform that mystery, so as to cut off this woman from the Inheritance of Light." When the Saviour, therefore, had said these things, he tried Peter, to see whether he was merciful and forgiving. When, therefore, the

> Saviour had said these things, Peter said, "My lord, leave her alone this time also, that I may give her the sublime mysteries. And if she turns out useful, you allow her to inherit the Kingdom of Light." When Peter had said these words, the Saviour recognized that Peter was merciful like Himself and forgiving.'

Evidently we have been treated to a Gnostic Targum upon the parable of the barren fig-tree in Luke xiii. The explanation promptly follows, for the writer continues:

> 'When, therefore, all these things had taken place, the Saviour said to his disciples, "Have ye understood all these things and the pattern of this woman?" Mary answered and said, "My lord, I understand that mystery of the words which were done to this woman; concerning the things, then, that were done to her, thou didst speak to us aforetime in a parable, saying: 'A certain man had a fig-tree, in his vineyard. And he came seeking its fruit, and found nothing in it. He said to the gardener: Lo! three years do I come seeking fruit in this fig-tree and I find nothing in it. Cut it down, therefore, why does it also cumber the ground? But he answered and said to him: My Lord, let it alone this year also until I shall dig about it and give it dung; and if it produce fruit next year, *you leave it alone*; but if you do not find anything you cut it down.' Behold, my lord, this is the solution of the matter." The Saviour answered and said to Mary: "Very good, spiritual woman, that is exactly the case."'

Here, then, we have a parable of the New Testament treated in precisely the same way as the Psalms and Odes. We have a passage of the Sahidic New Testament before us, and a Gnostic Targum, apparently, on the same. When we look closely at the Sahidic text we see a number of readings peculiar to that version. For instance, the lacuna in the unfinished Greek sentence in verse 9:

κἂν μὲν ποιήσῃ καρπὸν εἰς τὸ μέλλον—

is filled up by the explanatory word ⲁⲕⲕⲁⲁⲥ (= *sinis eam*): the word creeps back into the Greek in the bilingual (Graeco-Sahidic) codex T in the form ἀφήσεις.

Now let us look back at the Gnostic Targum on the passage and we find the same Sahidic gloss in the sentence:

'Et si fuerit utilis, *sinis eam* κληρονομεῖν regnum lucis.'

From which it appears that the Targumist was also operating on a Sahidic text. So then, for our purposes, it is clear that the *Pistis Sophia* is a Sahidic book, and the writer is using his Sahidic Bible, from which he took, as need required, Psalms, Odes of Solomon, Prophecies of Isaiah, Gospels, &c. The Old Testament upon which he operated was itself based upon the Greek text of the LXX, and the Odes of Solomon were, for the author of the *Pistis Sophia*, a translation of the Greek, fragments of which lay before him in the untranslated Greek words that adorn his text. Now when we examine side by side the Coptic text of a Psalm of David, as it occurs in the penitences of Sophia, with the same Psalm as it occurs in the Sahidic Psalter of Dr. Budge, we see no difference, or hardly any difference, in the transferred Greek words, any more than we do in the Psalms generally. Occasionally one or other of the contrasted texts may replace a Greek word by its Coptic equivalent: for instance, in Psalm xxxiv (xxxv). 3:

ⲁⲭⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ

the *Pistis Sophia* has

. . . . . ⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ̈ (= *σωτηρία*).

In Psalm xxx (xxxi). 12:

ⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲣ ⲟⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲣⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲱⲣⲙ̄ :

the *Pistis Sophia* has

. . . . . ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ . . . . . :

In the former case the Psalter has the original Greek word (*σωτήρ* standing for *σωτηρία*); in the latter the *Pistis Sophia* has preserved the original *σκεῦος* of the Septuagint. In neither case has the Coptic text been Grecized by the author of the *Pistis Sophia*.

The importance of these observations lies in their application to the Odes that are mixed with the Psalms in the *Pistis Sophia*.

In every case where a Greek word, or a fragment of a Greek word, is found in the text of the Odes in the *Pistis Sophia*, we are entitled, unless some strong reason can be shown to the contrary, to read back that Greek word into the lost Greek of the Odes. We have already seen the importance of this in the Sapiential word *ἀπόρροια*, which is thus vindicated for the Ode in which it occurs; and we may be sure that such a highly specialized and profoundly theological word never came into our Coptic text except from the Greek. A Syriac intermediary or a Hebrew antecedent is not to be thought of.

The next thing that we may be reasonably sure of is that the primary authority for the text of the Ode is not the Gnostic Targum; it must be clearly shown that the text which underlies the Targum differs from that which is in the Bible of the composer of the *Pistis Sophia*, before the Targum comes into evidence at all; and even when it differs the Biblical text has a prejudice in its favour; it must not be disturbed except for very strong reasons.

We may, however, observe that occasionally the Biblical text in the *Pistis Sophia* shows internal traces of variation or of correction. Here is an instance:

In Psalm lxviii (lxix). 2, where the text of the LXX is

ἐνεπάγην εἰς ἰλὺν βυθοῦ,

the Sahidic has, according to Dr. Budge's edition,

ⲁⲓⲧⲱⲗⲋ ⲉⲧⲗⲟⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲩⲏ:

while the *Pistis Sophia* has

ⲁⲓⲧⲱⲗⲋ ⲏ ⲁⲓⲱⲙⲋ ⲉⲧⲗⲟⲓⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲓⲟⲩⲏ:

('infixus sum *aut immersus* in coenum abyssi').

Here we have an alternative rendering for *ἐνεπάγην* which has crept into the text. Lower down in the Psalms, where the word recurs (*ἵνα μὴ ἐνπαγῶ*). there is no variation suggested The first rendering is clearly ⲁⲓⲧⲱⲗⲋ: the other is a reviser's correction. The advantage we gain from such corrections is, that we can see that

the Sahidic Psalter has a history of its own, even before the time when we find it made use of in the *Pistis Sophia*. We must also be careful to see that we do not justify casual omissions of single words, half verses, &c., with which any manuscript is likely to be affected.

Let us now look a little more closely into the relations one to another of the forms in which the *Pistis Sophia* presents to us any Ode of Solomon which it quotes or works over. In the most extended case we have three forms: (i) the Ode itself; (ii) the Gnostic Targum on the Ode; (iii) the Commentary upon the Ode, which last is made by taking sentences, one after another, from the Ode and equating them with their proper Targum. Strictly speaking, the third form ought to add nothing to the other two; for if the sentences are properly transcribed and accurately paralleled, no new matter is introduced. But we shall find cases in which this is not confirmed. If we call the Coptic text C, the Targum T, and the Commentary *com*, then *com* ought to break up into two parts, *com* 1 and *com* 2, of which *com* 1 should equal C and *com* 2 should equal T. We must examine carefully into cases where this is not found to be verified.

Suppose we take a specimen passage. In the sixth Ode we find the following sequence (we quote the Latin rendering of Schwartze-Petermann for convenience, without trying to reform it in every particular):

verse 15 comprehenderunt animas (ψυχάς) eiicientes halitum, ne morerentur.

verse 16 restituerunt membra (μέλη) quae ceciderunt.

For this the Targum is:

vivificarunt σῶμα eius ὕλης, in qua nullum lumen, haec quae peritura est aut haec quae perit, et constituerunt eius vires omnes, quae erant solvendae.

And the Commentary is:

verse 15, *com* 1 vivificarunt ψυχάς, eiicientes halitum, ut ne morerentur.

com 2 vivificarunt σῶμα eius ὕλης, a quo lumina sua abstulerunt prius, hoc, quod erat periturum.

verse 16, *com* 1 constituerunt μέλη, quae collapsa sunt, aut ut ne collaberentur.

com 2 quum intulissent in eam eius lumina, constituere (i. e. erexere) eius vires omnes, quae erant dissolvendae.

Here we have three peculiarities to explain: (i) the substitution of *vivificarunt* for *comprehenderunt* in *com* 1; (ii) the double rendering in the Targum which is not exhibited by *com* 2; (iii) the double rendering in *com* 1, which does not appear in C.

That *comprehenderunt* is right may be seen from its correspondence with the Syriac: the eye of the Commentator has wandered to the Targum which he was comparing with the text, so as to read *vivificarunt*. The double rendering in the Targum, which wavers between a future participle and a present tense, appears in the Coptic in the form:

ταϊ̈ ε πεσπατακο πε

ἢ ταϊ̈ ε ϣαστακο

Here we may recognize a variant translation of the Greek, just as we did in a previous case: we conjecture that the difficulty arose in translating the Greek text:

ψυχὰς αἴτινες ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν·

which would answer very nearly to the Syriac:

ܕܡܬܚܡ ܠܡܡܬ ܕܥܬܝܕ

The alternative reading probably found its way in from the margin of the text of the Odes.

The other double translation is similar: the text of the Odes has:

αγταρο π̄ ρεπ μελος ερατογ ε αγρε

to which the Commentary adds:

ἢ ϫε π̄ πεγρε

We need not assume any variation in the underlying Greek, it was probably:

ἀνώρθωσαν τὰ μέλη τὰ παραλελυμένα,

very nearly as in Isaiah xxxv. 3.

If we make an allowance for a few cases in which the reading of the Targum may be nearer to the Syriac than the reading of the Coptic Ode, we do not need to make any detachment of the Targum from the Coptic text which accompanies it, so as to assume that the Gnostic parts of the *Pistis Sophia* belong to an independent tradition which has been re-incorporated with the Odes by the author of the *Pistis*. We have already pointed out that the same method of Gnosticising a Scripture text prevails throughout the book, and is applied both to Old and New Testaments. Any thoughts of separating out the *Penitences of Sophia* must be abandoned.

Mr. Worrell has attempted, in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for October 1911, to prove that 'the Syriac through its ancestor was influenced by those very Gnostic Hymns which are now in the *Pistis Sophia*, and that these were at an early date in circulation apart from that book, and wholly independent of it, forming a collection of Gnostic Hymns parallel to the orthodox Odes from which they were derived'. We have not been convinced by his reasoning, which is incompatible with what we believe to be the right view of the antiquity of the Syriac text; nor do we think with him that 'for several reasons it is likely that the *Pistis Sophia* was composed in Greek and translated into Coptic as a whole'. It is possible that there may be sections (perhaps of Valentinian origin) to which this supposition of Greek origin will apply, but we do not think it is true of the *Penitences of Sophia*, nor of the *Pistis Sophia* as a whole. Special cases of the kind to which Mr. Worrell alludes, and upon which he builds his arguments, will be found discussed in our notes as they arise.

The question of the relations between the Coptic and Syriac Odes would have to be considered from quite another point of view if it could be maintained that the Syriac Odes were Nitrian

in origin. Tondelli, in his excellent book *Le Odi di Salomone*, has tried to prove this,[1] first, by affirming, with Burkitt, that the MSS. of the Odes are Monophysite in origin; second, by a detailed proof of the close connexion between Syrian and Egyptian monachism; and third, by laying stress on the fact that our oldest MS. comes from Nitria, and that the Odes were certainly at home in Egypt at a very early period. But he sees clearly the weakness of the position, and admits that the Nitrian origin of the Syriac text would have to be abandoned if the dependence of Ephrem upon the Odes, as maintained by Harris and Wensinck, were conceded.[2]

We have given further proofs, not only of the dependence of Ephrem on the Syriac Odes, but, probably, also of Bardaisan. So that it is not necessary to follow the Nitrian hypothesis any further. The Odes were extant in Greek and in Syriac before the Nitrian desert was thought of as a paradise for monks, a home alike for learning and religion.

There is one direction in which the foregoing reasoning may appear to be invalidated. We tested our Sahidic Psalms where they occurred in the *Pistis Sophia* by comparing them with Dr. Budge's Psalter, and found the agreement to be phenomenally close, except for five Psalms which occur on pp. 86–110 of the *Pistis*. Rahlfs had compared the Psalms with a Berlin MS. of the Sahidic Psalter, and had made the same statement.[3]

The question arises as to how we are to explain the variation of the text of these five Psalms, viz. Psalms xxx (xxxi), xxxiv (xxxv), li (lii), cviii (cix), cxix (cxx). Do they constitute with their Gnostic counterparts a separate document which has been incorporated with the *Pistis Sophia*? Or are they a section of the *Pistis Sophia* which has escaped revision or been unequally revised, by com-

[1] Loc. cit., p. 38.

[2] 'L'origine nitriaca della versione sarebbe da negarsi qualora si dovesse riconoscere la dipendenza di S. Efrem dalle Odi, sostenuta dall' Harris, *Expositor* decembre 1911, e Wensinck, *Expositor* febbraio 1912.'

[3] *Die Berliner Handschrift des sahidischen Psalters*, 1901.

parison with the Sahidic Psalter? Let us first of all make the matter clearer to our minds by actually comparing the text of the shortest Psalm of the group with the Sahidic Psalter, Psalm cxix (cxx). There are certainly variants in the translation, e.g. in verse 4 the *Pistis* has ϣⲟⲗϭ where the Psalter has ⲧⲏⲓ; and in verse 7 the Psalter has ϣⲁⲩϯ ⲟⲩⲃⲏⲓ where the *Pistis* has ϣⲁⲩⲓⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲓ, the meaning in each case being the same. The only variation in the underlying Greek text appears to be ἤ for καί in verse 3, a variant which will be found in the apparatus of the LXX. The text of the Psalter keeps closer to the Greek in rendering πολλά in verse 6 by ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ, than the *Pistis*, while the *Pistis* has ⲉⲡ ⲟⲩ ⲙⲛⲏⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ (= *in multis locis*).

In both versions the last clause of verse 6 is placed after the first clause of verse 7, a very striking agreement. Even more remarkable is the fact that the very same Greek transliterations (ψυχή, ἄνθρακες, εἰρηνικός, εἰρήνη), occur in both versions. If this feature is consistently present throughout the group of Psalms, then the two translations are not independent. Suppose we test the matter further in Psalm xxx (xxxi).

The translations differ as before at certain points: e.g. in verse 5 the Greek παγίς is rendered by ⲡⲁϣ in the *Pistis*, and by ϭⲟⲣϭⲉ in the Psalter,[1] and there are a good many other differences, but apparently none that imply a different Greek text. The transliterations which are common are as follows: δικαιοσύνη, πνεῦμα, δέ, εὐφραίνεσθαι, ψυχή (*ter*), ἀνάγκαι, θλίβειν, κλῆροι, ἀσεβεῖς, δίκαιος, ἀνομία. The only variation in transliteration is that the *Pistis* has σκεῦος in verse 12, where the Psalter has a Sahidic equivalent ⲭⲡⲁⲁⲩ. These coincidences again can hardly be accidental: they suggest that the translations are not to be considered as independent.

Of the two the *Pistis* appears to be the earlier in the retention of the Greek σκεῦος, which has disappeared in the Psalter: the two versions are not, however, to be regarded as different. It appears,

[1] The same variation occurs in Psalm xxxiv (xxxv). 7, 8, but in the latter part of verse 8 the Psalter and the *Pistis* reverse their translation.

then, that a certain point in the *Pistis*,[1] perhaps in a particular quire or quires of the original composition, the writer (or was it his translator?) used a second copy of the Sahidic Psalter, of a somewhat earlier type, but not fundamentally different from the one which he normally employed. We see no reason for assuming discontinuity in the text of the *Pistis*, or interpolation. The argument of the book is continuous, and the text must not be broken up.

It is not necessary for our present work to decide all the unsettled questions with regard to the *Pistis Sophia*. Schmidt is very decided that it and all the associated Gnostic books are translations from the Greek: he will not hear of a possible Sahidic original. We suggest that the matter needs some further elucidation. If the original is Greek, the Sahidic Bible has been used by the translator in presenting the Psalms and other parts of the Scripture that were in his text. In that case there should be no Sahidic variants in the Gnostic portions of the book. Are we quite sure of this? If such Sahidic variants should be detected, could the Greek original be any longer maintained?

We may be satisfied that the Odes of Solomon were extant both in Greek and Sahidic, and that the Sahidic (however it passed into the *Pistis*) is based on an original Greek.

It should be noticed, in leaving this part of the inquiry, that there is reason to hope that the Odes may some day turn up in a complete form in Sahidic. Another direction that seems hopeful for further discovery is the literature of the Ethiopic Church. The Abyssinians have a literary cult of Solomon, whom they regard as the father of their first king, through the much-wandered Queen of Sheba. For this reason they assiduously copied the book of Proverbs, the Canticles, and the Sapiential books. It is very likely that they paid attention to the Odes of Solomon also, though we have not yet found any trace of them in the Ethiopic literature.

[1] The change occurs in the MS. of the *Pistis* between ff. 79 and 99; this looks like quires 9–10 in a book written in quires of ten leaves.

CHAPTER XVI

The Odes and Baptism.

Let us now turn to the discussion of the interpretation made of the Odes of Solomon by Dr. Bernard, according to whom they are a series of baptismal hymns to be employed ritually in the initiation of catechumens in the period that precedes the Easter baptisms. They are not mystical in the sense of being pure spiritual aspirations, and expressions of personal experience; they are to be regarded as sacramental in intention, and almost, if not quite, liturgical in character. Even the fact of their being forty-two in number is significant; for they were to be sung *de die in diem* during the period that extends from the first Sunday in Lent to Easter Eve. As they are of a Palestinian, or at all events a West-Syrian origin, it is natural to explain their occurrence in the lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem to the candidates for baptism in the year A.D. 348. Bernard was able to show that the opening lecture of the series was marked strongly by reminiscence of the first Ode of Solomon; and on the hypothesis offered it was significant that the 42nd Ode, which deals with the release of the prisoners in Hades, should fall on the Saturday before Easter. Cyril, indeed, does not give a special lecture on the *Descent into Hades* (if indeed he has the article in his creed), and on Easter Eve he is occupied with the *Resurrection of the Body, the Catholic Church, and the Life Everlasting*.[1] He does discuss the subject in his fourteenth lecture, on the Resurrection of Christ, and here, as we have already pointed out, there is a distinct reminiscence of the 42nd Ode (*vide supra*, p. 55). The acquaintance of Cyril with the

[1] The Lectures were twenty-four in number, one of which is introductory, and the last five are post-baptismal, and delivered after Easter, so that chronological parallelism between the supposed Lenten *Odes* and the *Lessons to Candidates* must not be unduly pressed.

Odes must be conceded, as we have shown in a previous chapter; and it is an acquaintance with the same book of Odes that is known to ourselves.

Assuming, for a while, Dr. Bernard's position and using Cyril's lectures as a commentary on the Odes, we can readily find a number of striking parallels, over and above the crown which blossoms and bears perfect fruit in the first Ode and in the Introductory Lecture.

In the first lecture Baptism is spoken of as the 'Seal of Salvation, that wondrous seal at which devils tremble, and which angels recognize': this suggests that we identify the Seal in Ode iv, which is 'known to God's creation, and with which the elect archangels are clad', with the Seal of Baptism.

In the same lecture, believers are spoken of, as 'planted in the spiritual Paradise and receiving a new name'. The 'Paradise' references in the Odes are striking, especially Ode xi, 'Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in thy land and who have a place in thy Paradise!'

The injunction of the Odes to 'keep my mystery' (Ode viii. 10) is interpreted by Dr. Bernard as being equivalent to a *Disciplina Arcani*, according to which the initiates into mysteries, whether Christian or non-Christian, were solemnly forbidden to divulge the rites in which they took part. Dr. Bernard has been criticized for this interpretation, as if it were impossible that there could have been any secret about Christian Baptism, concerning which every one was well-informed, and which the early Christians, like Justin Martyr, were not slow to discourse upon. The criticism was not well-founded. It is certain that St. Cyril, at all events, in his opening lecture, put the initiates on their honour in the very language of the Odes. 'If', said he, 'one should ask what the teachers have said, "Tell nothing to a stranger; for we deliver to thee a mystery, even the hope of the life to come; *keep the mystery* for Him who pays thee".' If the language seem somewhat Eleusinian, and Cyril poses as a hierophant, that may very well

be the attitude of the Christian teacher in his day; and on this point Dr. Bernard interprets correctly the mind of St. Cyril.

In the very same introductory lecture Cyril describes the benefits of Baptism in glowing language: it is the 'ransom of captives; the remission of offences; the death of sin; the regeneration of the soul; *the garment of light*; the holy *seal* indissoluble; the *chariot* (or perhaps *ship*) to Heaven; *the delight of Paradise* the procuring of the Kingdom; the gift of Sonship'. Special attention should be paid to those italicised terms, which are susceptible of illustration from the Odes.

These illustrations will suffice to show the way in which Cyril's lectures may be used to throw light on the Odes. As we have previously shown, his acquaintance with them must be conceded, and his use of them is demonstrated. He knows them well; they colour his language, and affect his doctrine; and he has employed them in a number of instances in the sacramental as well as the mystical sense.

In the next place, Dr. Bernard shows that there are a number of baptismal hymns extant, and attributed to Ephrem the Syrian, a contemporary of Cyril of Jerusalem, in which there are undoubted traces of the use of the Odes. They appear to have been composed for the festival of the Epiphany, which marks them off as a distinct tradition from the Easter baptisms at Jerusalem upon which Cyril is engaged. Bernard makes a special study of the thirteenth of these Hymns of the Epiphany, and deduces a number of parallels. The matter deserved a closer study.

We have shown in a previous chapter the dependence of Ephrem upon the Odes, and his use of the similitudes that are either borrowed from the Odes or may be brought into connexion with them; and this dependence was not deduced from the Epiphany Hymns: the first passage which we have identified was from Ephrem's *Discourses on Paradise*; in which we detected a quotation from the 11th Ode of Solomon. Again, among the *Hymns on the Church and on Virginity* we found Ephrem carefully re-editing

and expanding the 13th Ode of Solomon (the 'mirror' Ode). We were able to establish that he knew the Ode in the form in which we have it:

'Behold, the Lord is our mirror';

and on comparison with the first of the Epiphany Hymns, we found the same Ode employed with this modification:

'The water! its nature is like a mirror.'

So it was clear that Ephrem had in writing the Baptismal Hymns for the Epiphany changed 'the Lord' مرنا into 'the water' مينا. If then the Ode in question was originally baptismal, it was now become baptismal in a new and indisputable manner. There can be no doubt about Ephrem's use of the Odes, nor about his power of adapting them to the theme upon which he is working.

The Epiphany Hymns are charged with baptismal allusions, borrowed from the Scriptures and from the Odes of Solomon. The question is at once raised as to whether this exegesis is valid, either in the one case or the other. To take an example, Ephrem says in the seventh of the Epiphany Hymns that Moses appealed to the children of Lot for water (which was to be paid for) and a right of way. He was refused both. But under the New Covenant we have living water gratis and a path that leads to Eden. Obviously Ephrem has read 'water' to mean 'baptism' mystically, and 'the path' to mean the 'way to Paradise'. This is illicit in exegesis, but at least it shows that Ephrem believed that 'baptism' and 'living water' in this connexion were the same thing, and that baptism was the entrance to Paradise, just as Cyril believed it to be.[1] Are we justified in carrying this method of interpretation back to the time of the composition of the Odes? We can easily carry it forward and find later Syriac writers, like Moses Bar Kepha, who will expand and dilate upon the baptismal

[1] Ephrem sometimes uses 'living water' for the grace of God: he says that Judas the traitor drank living water (*Brev. Chald.* ii, p. ٥٥٥).

language of the Scriptures and of the Odes, but how far back did this manner of teaching prevail? It is full-fledged in Ephrem: was it nascent in the Odes? It is good for the end of the fourth century, did it prevail at the beginning of the second century or the first?

Here is an instance from the very same hymn which is more favourable to Dr. Bernard's view. Ephrem draws a baptismal illustration from the lapping of water by Gideon and his men, and infers that those who go down to the victorious waters will get the victor's crown. Shall we make a parallel with the ninth Ode of Solomon?

'Put on the crown . . . . . .
All those who have conquered shall be written in His book,
For their book is victory . . . . . .'

Evidently the Ode will not bear the strain of such interpretation. But Ephrem continues:

'Ye baptized take your torches,
Like the torches of the Gideonites:
Conquer the darkness with your torches:
The stillness with your Hosannas.'

This, too, is illicit exegesis, except that for our purposes it is valuable as showing that the newly baptized carried torches in the fourth century and shouted Hosannas: but this is the very thing which has been suggested as an illuminant for the obscurity of Ode xxv. 7:

'Thou didst set me a torch at my right hand and at my left.'

And as the same thing occurred in the mysteries of Isis, why may it not have occurred in an early Christian ritual? To which the answer probably is, What do you mean by early? How early? Do you mean the third century or the first? The time just before the Nicene Council, or the time just following the Council of Jerusalem? It must be admitted that Dr. Bernard has established a number of important coincidences between the Odes and the

fourth-century rituals; but almost all his authorities are subsequent, not merely to Apostolic times, but to sub-apostolic writings and to the early apologists. Is not Dr. Bernard reading into the Odes a liturgical evolution of a later period? Or are we wrong in having carried the Odes so far back into primitive times?

Let us look at the matter from another point of view. Suppose we had discovered, instead of a Christian Psalter, some Psalms from the Hebrew Psalter, imagined to have been lost. Would it not have been just as easy to read baptismal allusions into them as into the Odes? The first Psalm, for instance, would make almost as good a parallel for Cyril, with its trees planted by rivers of water, and its leaves that never fade, as is furnished by the first Ode. And the second Psalm, with its adoptionist language ('Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee') actually carried over into the Western text of the Baptism of Jesus, would be almost irrefutable.

Now the supposition that we are making is not an idle one. The first Psalm was actually handled in this way, as being, according to Barnabas, predictive of the 'water and the Cross'. He differs from our odist in the emphasis which he lays upon the 'cross', and agrees with him in the stress laid upon the 'water'. The passage in Barnabas is very suggestive; it runs as follows:

> 'And again he saith in another prophet: *And he that doeth these things shall be as the tree that is planted by the parting streams of waters, which shall yield his fruit at his proper season, and his leaf shall not fall off, and all things whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. Not so are the ungodly, not so, but are as the dust which the wind scattereth from the face of the earth. Therefore ungodly men shall not stand in judgement, neither sinners in the counsel of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly shall perish.* Ye perceive how he pointed out the Cross and the water at the same time. For this is the meaning: Blessed are they that set their hope upon the Cross, and go down into the water; for He speaketh of the reward *at His proper season*; then, saith He, I will repay. But now, what saith He? *His leaves shall not fall off.* He meaneth by this that every word which shall come forth from your

mouth in faith and love, shall be for the conversion and hope of many.'

This is a very instructive case of the way the ecclesiastical and allegorical mind finds what it looks for in the Scripture:

'quaerit sua dogmata quisque,
invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua.'

If Barnabas can do this on the ancient Psalter, why should not the like be done on the new Psalter, which we have seen to have been at an early date attached to the elder volume, of which, indeed, it is in part a reflexion? We conclude, then, that great caution is necessary before we infer that a book, which has been treated to a baptismal or liturgical exposition, is itself baptismal or liturgical. To complete the proof we shall need some much earlier evidence than Dr. Bernard has brought forward, or we shall have to reduce the evidence for the antiquity of the Odes.

Dr. Bernard, naturally, sees this quite clearly, and goes in search of the early baptismal rituals. With a correct instinct (for his whole work is full of just and felicitous intuitions) he takes the Liturgy of the Church of Antioch, so far as it has been restored from the writings of Severus the patriarch in the sixth century, and from the writings of Chrysostom. In this restored ritual Bernard sees ecclesiastical form and usage which go back to the second century, and he concludes (p. 64) that 'The Liturgy of Antioch is, without doubt, much older than the days of Chrysostom, and it may well have been in existence, in its main features, in the second century. It is even possible that the parallels which have been indicated between the phrases of the Prayer for the Catechumens, and the words of our Odist, show that the writer of the (eighth) Ode composed his poem with these phrases in his mind.'

We have no space to discuss the parallels to which Dr. Bernard refers, which do not seem conclusive: the point which we lay stress on is that, even if we take the Antioch Liturgy back to the second century, in the form which we can trace in the fourth century, or

the sixth, we are still very far from the date to which the investigation in the present volume refers the composition of the Odes. Bernard makes the following judgement as to the time and place of production of the Odes (p. 42):

> 'It is clear that the Odes are of Syrian, or Palestinian origin. The Baptismal allusions which abound are always to beliefs and practices current in the East; with Western ceremonial they have little affinity.'

We agree that the Odes have nothing to do with the Western Church and that they are Syrian or Palestinian in origin.

'They can hardly', said Bernard, 'be later than A.D. 200, and may be some years earlier . . . It is not likely that the baptismal ritual was so fully organized as it appears to be in these Odes, before the days of Justin Martyr. I incline, then, to a date between 150 and 200 for their origin, and *preferably in the latter half of that period*.' We note the admission with regard to the evolution of the baptismal ritual.

There is another direction in which we have found serious difficulty, as we have gone over the ground of this new edition, not without some attraction to Dr. Bernard's position, nor without a sense of admiration at once for the learning which is involved in his material and the skill with which he employs it.

We find that, in a number of directions, the Odes have suffered from a want of adequate knowledge of the theology of the time in which they were composed. It is clear that they belong to a time when the Wisdom-Christology was passing into the Logos-Christology, and had not yet been practically effaced by it. We have shown that a number of the original Sapiential terms are still lying about in the Odes. The 'Mirror' of the 13th Ode is certainly Christ, and Christ as Wisdom. The situation is reflected for us in the Apocryphal Acts of John, where Jesus says:

> 'I am a mirror to them that know me.'

It is the 'unspotted mirror of the Father' in *Sap. Sol.* vii. 26. For

this reason alone we are forbidden to take the mirror, as Ephrem and Moses Bar Kepha do, in a baptismal sense, as if it were a water mirror, with the candidate for baptism standing before it like a new Narcissus, to see his old face passing into his new. The same thing is true of the ἀπόρροια or Efflux in Ode vi. Here again the *editio princeps* went wrong in its interpretation, following a previous lead of Ryle and James in their book on the *Psalms of Solomon*, in the suggestion that the Ode had to do with the river in Ezekiel. It was a natural conclusion, deduced from the growth of the ἀπόρροια or Efflux, from brook to river. The term belongs to Wisdom, and the Efflux is either the Holy Spirit, or, in an experimental sense, the knowledge of the Lord. In favour of the identification with the Sapiential language we may compare what is said in the opening verses, as to the improbability of resisting or standing up against the Lord, with what is said of His Wisdom in *Sap. Solomon* ; and the growth of the stream is anticipated in the clause which tells us that the Lord has multiplied His knowledge.[1] This Knowledge is the Divine Wisdom, which is here identified with the Holy Spirit, for the writer says :

'Our Spirits praise *His Holy Spirit:*
For there went forth an ἀπόρροια.'

Thus there is no reference at all to baptism : the mysticism of the writer is in a different region ; and though he makes his irresistible Wisdom into a stream of water, the author of the *Pistis Sophia* knew that it was really an efflux of Light, a companion term to ἀπαύγασμα. This Ode must be removed from the argument ; and the parallels which prove that the waters in Ezekiel are baptismal are no longer valid.

[1] That the Efflux 'filled everything' is due, as Tondelli points out, to the prophecy that

'The earth shall be full of the Knowledge of the Lord
As the waters cover the sea.'—Isa. xi. 9.

or we may compare

πνεῦμα Κυρίου πεπλήρωκε τὴν οἰκουμένην.—*Sap. Sol.* i. 7.

One other feature of the Odes deserves some attention. Dr. Bernard agrees with ourselves that in a number of Odes there is a change in the personality of the speakers between the Odist and Christ. It is difficult to mark the exact point at which the prophetic speech becomes 'thus saith the Lord'. A great deal depends on this determination in Dr. Bernard's argument. For instance, in the 26th Ode, Bernard puts the heading

'A song of the baptized Christian.'

We have, on the other hand, come to the conclusion that the

'Luminary, the Son of God'

in verse 3, is Christ Himself, and that the following stanza should be translated:

'I was the most glorified amongst the glorious ones,
And the greatest among the great ones.'

This being so, the being who is brought forth by the Spirit as Mother is Christ. Christ is the anointed of God, and is spoken of (a phrase preserved in the Koran) as one of the Divine Neighbours. The theology of the Ode is not quite settled into orthodox terms and distinctions, but it is not to be taken as deliberately unorthodox. If our view here is right and our translation correct, there is no reference to a baptized and illuminated Christian in the Ode. It becomes increasingly clear that the Odes are not dominated by a single theme, as Dr. Bernard's theory requires.[1] When the various subtractions are made from that theory, which the foregoing arguments require, it does not follow that there is nothing left of the nature of a baptismal allusion. The *editio princeps* and several of the first commentators may have overstated the matter in one direction, just as Dr. Bernard has done in another.

The 'crown', however, is gone, and the 'efflux' and the

[1] Tondelli, to whose excellent study of the Odes we have already referred, says of the theory of a single dominant interpretation (loc. cit., p. 120): 'Non vi potra mai essere una interpretatione unica di cantici tanto variati.'

'torches', and the 'coat of skin': perhaps the 'seal' remains, but this 'seal' is also in the Psalter of Solomon, and appears to mean 'a mark of ownership' or 'talisman'.

On the whole, we must conclude that the Odes, taken *en bloc*, are not baptismal hymns, that they have nothing to do with the forty days of Lent, that they do not respond to the tests of a highly evolved ritual; and that such references to baptism as may remain are merely occasional and not structural.

CHAPTER XVII

Harnack and the Odes.

We come now to the explanation of the genesis and structure of the book of the Odes of Solomon, which was put forward by Harnack, and endorsed by Spitta, Diettrich, Grimme, and others, viz. that they are a collection of Jewish Odes, which have passed, as so many other Jewish books, into early Christian hands, and have been the subject of Christian interpolations and corrections. These interpolations Harnack essays to define, and in so doing lays himself at once open to the counter-criticism that what is interpolated is of the same fabric as what is original. The old cloth and the new patch are so exactly of the same material, that one naturally concludes that the coat was not really torn nor mended. In many cases, that is, our closer study has removed the apparent discontinuities in the sequence of the Odes.

According to Harnack, then, the Odes were originally composed by a Jewish mystic, somewhere in the period between 50 B.C. and A.D. 67, and were re-handled by a Christian mystic about the year A.D. 100. This is very nearly the date arrived at by ourselves for the completed volume. The limits of time for the assumed earlier Jewish mystic are defined, (i) by the fact that they are later than the Psalter of Solomon, with which we often find them associated; (ii) by the assumption that the Temple at

Jerusalem is still supposed to be standing in the time of the first writer, as is inferred from the language of the fourth Ode, and is an object of his religious affection. On the former of these points there can hardly be a doubt ; but the question of the Odist's references to the Temple will require some further study before the obscurities that are attached to it can be said to have disappeared. We may have to admit that the Temple is gone.

Meanwhile it must be said over again that the hypothesis of Harnack has many antecedent objections. The hypothesis of a Christian, or Judaeo-Christian composer, who betrays (at first sight at all events) few of the external signs of Christianity, because of the elevation of his personal experience above the levels of ritual practices and dogmatic definitions, is replaced by Harnack by the hypothesis of a Jewish composer who is as free from definite traces of Judaism as the assumed Christian writer is of the corresponding elements of Christianity. The man who, as far as his language goes, had no Eucharist is replaced by a man without a Passover. The man without a doctrine of Penitence is replaced by a man who has no doctrine of sacrifice and no Day of Atonement. The man who moves so lightly among the early Christian orders as not to refer to a bishop, while apologizing for his own priesthood, and apparently confounding deacons with evangelists, has to be replaced by a Jew who loves the Temple, but has not a word to say of the associated priesthood and ritual! At first sight, as we say, this looks very unlikely, and it is made more so by the necessary deduction that the assumed non-ritualist, undogmatic, mystical Jew suffered interpolation at the hands of an equally non-ritualistic, undogmatic, and mystical Christian! Probability is against the conjunction. The argument may be challenged for either of the two contrasted pictures; for it has been argued that the Christian Odes are coloured by Christian cult, and it is certain that they are saturated by Christian theology, and this modifies one side of the contrasted mysticisms, at least to some extent; while the hypothetical Jew, who occupies the

other side, is still a creature of the air, for whom no historical or literary corroboration is yet forthcoming. And whatever may be the personalities dissected out of the authorship of the Odes, the crowning objection will probably be found in the internal unity of the Odes to any theory of interpolation.

Let us now come, for a few moments, to the Temple references.

In the fourth Ode the singer commences with a eulogy on the unchangeable and eternal Holy Place of the Most High, over which human hands have no power.

In the sixth Ode, the river of life (whether it be the Holy Spirit, or the Knowledge of God, or whatever else) comes to the Temple and apparently sweeps it away, and flows out to cover the face of the whole earth. On the first publication of the Odes it was naturally supposed that we had found a historical landmark. The Temple in the sixth Ode is certainly the Jewish temple, whatever happens to it, be the waters friendly or hostile. Assuming that the Temple in the fourth Ode was also the Temple of Solomon, it was argued by Harris that it was probably in recent ruin, and that attempts had been made to build it elsewhere or to find it elsewhere. Harnack, however, while agreeing as to the sympathetic attitude of the Odist, thought the Temple was still standing. To these views there has been a chorus of objection. It was maintained, and with much justice, that the Temple of the fourth Ode, which could not be replaced or displaced, was spiritual and not local, and that it stood either for the Christian believer or for the Christian Church; and if this objection were valid, then the supposed historical landmark had disappeared, at least as far as the fourth Ode is concerned.

If, however, the writer of the fourth Ode is looking away from the Jewish temple in the first verse of the Ode, he is certainly casting sidelong glances at it in the following stanzas. His reference to God's heart, as given to believers, is based upon God's promise to Solomon, at the Temple Dedication, that his 'eyes *and his heart* should be there continually' (2 Chron. vii. 17). And his

statement that 'one hour of thy Faith is more precious than all days and years', is an evident adaptation of the language of the 84th Psalm ('a day in thy courts'), a Psalm whose motive of deep affection is expressed in the very first verse, 'How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts: my soul longeth, yea even fainteth for the courts of the Lord'. Clearly we are entitled to say that the Temple at Jerusalem is not out of the field of view of the Odist. May we not go further and say that it is an object of intense affection, not only for its own sake, but because of a disaster that has befallen it? For the Odist who begins with the theme of the spiritually unchangeable Sanctuary, comes in the closing verses to the question whether God may have gone back on His promises to His people, and ends his song with the statement that whatever happened was not only in the Divine foreknowledge, but also that the thing which happened had actually been done by God Himself. We translated the last sentence of the Ode in the sense that

'Thou, O Lord, hast done it all.'

In this point of view, the outward temple has gone: its removal was God's own doing. The Temple was, indeed, Solomon's, but it was Solomon's in the sense indicated by the *Wisdom of Solomon* (ix. 8):

'Thou didst bid me build a temple in thy Holy Mountain:
. . . . . .
An imitation of the Holy Tabernacle,
Which thou didst prepare from the beginning.'

There is, then, no need to interpret the fourth Ode as anything but a Christian product; and it should have been composed at a later date than A.D. 70.

Turn now to the question of the supposed interpolations: here is Harnack's first list of Christian additions:

iii. 7.
vii. 3b–6, 12, 15.
viii. 22–fin.
ix. 3b.

x. 4–fin.
xvii. 10–fin.
xix.
xxiii. 18–fin.
xxiv. 1.
xxvii.
xxix. 6, 7a.
xxxi. 3–fin.
xxxvi. 3, 4.
xxxix. 11.
xli. 1–7, 11a, 11b–fin.
xlii. 1–2 (3–11 partially) 12–fin.

Notice that the 28th Ode is not classed as Christian; we have shown that it is in great part made up out of the 22nd Psalm, and used, as the Christian Fathers generally use it, in an anti-Judaic and Messianic manner. Here is a whole Ode that has been carried off from its proper owner. Try another Ode. Harnack sees that Wisdom occupies an important place in the theology of the Odes (and so does Diettrich); but when Wisdom speaks or is spoken of in the terms of Proverbs viii. 22 ('the Lord possessed me' or 'the Lord created me'), the reference is almost certainly to Christ as the Wisdom of God: all such passages when spoken of a particular person are Christian. Thus in Ode vii, while making liberal excisions, Harnack has left standing the words

'He who created Wisdom',

and

'He who created me'.

The Christology of the sentences may be awkward, but it is real Christology. Or take Ode xxv, in which Harnack finds no Christian insertions; notice the suggestion (it hardly amounted to proof) that we have given elsewhere, that the name of Christ is actually played upon in the closing sentences:

'I became the Lord's by the name of the Lord,' &c.

And in the same way we might continue with other passages and other Odes, and we should end with a feeling of uncertainty, not

with regard to the question whether there were any Christian interpolations in the body of the Jewish Odes, but whether we could find any Jewish elements at all in the body of a Christian Psalter. We are willing to reserve a small residual margin for actual Judaism and future examination. It is doubtful if it would be enough to make a historical antecedent out of for the book of Odes. In that sense, then, we put Harnack and Spitta and their colleagues on one side. The position is untenable.

A brilliant but unsuccessful attempt to find a middle ground between Harnack's view that the Odes were Jewish with Christian interpolations, and the view that they were Judaeo-Christian with some later additions, was made by the late Professor Menzies, who suggested that they might be 'Psalms of the Proselytes', i. e. of the Gentiles who were proselytes to Judaism. It is well known that all the great cities of the East had communities of God-Fearers, who had embraced Judaism in its more liberal forms of presentation; and such communities, often numbering amongst themselves persons of social distinction and good education, would easily give rise to literary developments, such as the Odes before us, in which there is a universalism which expresses itself in terms that are either those of a nascent Gentile Church outside Judaism, or an absorbed Gentile constituency within Judaism.

Professor Menzies thought that by an intermediate view that the Odes were the work of Jewish proselytes, it would be possible to explain the presence of Jewish traits in the Odes and the affirmed absence of Christian characteristics. At the same time the unity of the collection was emphasized and established.

It was a brief but suggestive statement of a theory which does not need to be refuted in detail. We do not think that any reader of the present volume is likely to conclude that there is an absence of Christian elements in the Odes, nor that the Christ who is referred to is simply the expectation of Judaism. There is too large a volume of Christology to be carried on the back of proselytes to Judaism.

CHAPTER XVIII

Gnosticism in the Odes.

As it has been affirmed in several quarters, and particularly by Gunkel, that the Odes are a Gnostic product, and as Preuschen has put forward a more definite charge than that of Gnosticism, and promises to show that they are due to the arch-Gnostic Valentinus, it may be as well to devote a little space to the consideration of this theme. In one respect the course of the argument that sustains the hypothesis is not unlike that of Dr. Bernard: one searches for parallels to the Odes in Gnostic writers, just as Dr. Bernard searches for them in liturgies, and then the conclusion is drawn that the Odes have a Gnostic origin in the one case, or a liturgical ancestry in the other. It is not difficult to find a certain amount of coincidence between such Gnostic writers as are known to us and the Odes. The very fact that such stress is laid on the place of Knowledge by the Odist as a factor in redemption invites the parallel with Gnosticism, and distinct and personal allusions may be traced—or imagined.

Valentinus, for example, was not so far from the Kingdom of God, or from St. John as its exponent, that he could not claim a share in the Johannine parallels which the Odes afford; and if the third Ode of the series is found to contain a sentence which re-echoes the Johannine doctrine that 'we love, because He first loved us', Valentinus also taught that 'God the Father was all love, but love is not love where there is no object of love. So the Father begat two emanations, *νοῦς* and *ἀλήθεια*.' And the claims made on behalf of Valentinus may be reinforced by the fact that the Bardesanian school, amongst whom we have found traces of the Odes, is known to have been under his influence. We suspect, however, that just as in the baptismal passages, where such may be established, there is a tendency to make the first last and the last first. As far as our inquiry has gone, the Odes

vindicate their antiquity against any Gnostic School of which we have clear knowledge. A good example is the *Coat of Skin*, which the Odist casts off when he becomes a believer. This shedding of the old Adam has a very distinct commentary supplied by the ritual and liturgies of baptism; but it also became a highly developed Gnostic product amongst Bardesanians and Manichees, as we know from Ephrem. Is it necessary to put a special label on the Odist, because he has supplied material to the Church ritual or the heretic speculations?

There is, in the Odes, what looks very like a *Virgin of Light*, such as might serve again for the speculative mind, in Edessa and farther East; and Ephrem takes his opportunity to rail at the lady: but she is orthodox enough in times when the Church was regarded either as a Virgin or as a Mother, or, perhaps, as both. And since she is really, as the poet Spenser says, 'Sapience, that sits in the bosom of the Deity', there is no need artificially to Gnosticize her.

If in any special cases we do find a good Gnostic parallel we must examine it carefully and see what it involves. The Gnostics have as good a right to use the Odes as they have to the rest of the Scriptures (Irenaeus will say they have none at all: then they have as little a right to the use of the Odes as to the rest of the Scriptures). Stölten's attempts to find such parallels are a great failure: even the *Pistis Sophia* is brought in to swell the tale, as if the *Pistis* were not itself quoting the Odes! There are, however, one or two cases where parallel is suggestive and might lead to a recognition of an actual acquaintance. For example, there is the case of Marcus the Gnostic, Irenaeus's *bête noire*, who harried the flock of Christ in Pothinus's day, and provoked the good man into iambic verse. He (Marcus) tells us that 'the dissolution of ignorance is the knowledge of the Father', which is very like a verse in the seventh Ode of Solomon (Ode vii. 21). If he quoted the Ode, we have one more early second-century authority for the existence of the collection, but no authority for

making a Gnostic out of the Odist. The same is true if it is an independent parallel. It may be readily conceded that Knowledge and Love have more place in the Odes than Penitence and Confession; but that does not make them Gnostic products: at the worst they are only suggestive of possible and later developments.

We do not think there is any case, at present, for pressing the claims of the Gnostics to the authorship of the Odes. Valentinus himself is not early enough; and we do not think any one is going to claim these lovely songs of the Spirit for Cerdo, or Cerinthus, or Simon Magus.

In passing we may say that Dr. Conybeare's suggestion that the Odes are Montanist is also out of court, on the ground both of date and locality; we do not wish to imply that Montanism is a heresy: if the Montanists knew the Odes they would have found them congenial and sung them in good faith, perhaps in contrasted choirs, Priscilla leading on one side, and Maximilla on the other: but they can hardly have composed them.

ODES OF SOLOMON

ODE I

1 The Lord is upon my head like a crown;
And I shall not be without Him.

Cf. *Sap. Sol.* and *Acta T.* p. ٥٥٤.

2 The crown of truth was woven for me;
And it caused thy branches to bud in me;

3 For it is not like a withered crown that buddeth not:

Ps. i. 3; cf. v. 4.

4 But thou livest upon my head;
And thou hast blossomed upon my head:

5 Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect;
They are full of thy salvation.
(Hallelujah.)

Expository Notes.

This Ode is not found in the Syriac MS. which is imperfect at the beginning: it has been recovered from the Coptic text, where it is introduced in the following manner:

> 'Mary, the mother of Jesus, answered and said: My Lord, these are the words in which your Power of Light prophesied aforetime through Solomon in his nineteenth Ode, and said: The Lord,' &c.

This must, then, be one of the two missing Odes at the beginning of the collection; and it is a natural suggestion that it was numbered as the nineteenth, because the collection of Psalms of Solomon, eighteen in number, preceded the Odes. This is, therefore, the missing first Ode.

We may call it, if we please, a Coronation Ode; it represents some great experience in the spiritual life of the writer, who has been crowned

or garlanded with God in the form of Truth. The same figure recurs in Ode v. 12 in very similar language:

'He (the Lord) is as a garland upon my head,
And I shall not be moved:
Even if everything should be moved,
I stand firm.'

We have it also in Ode ix. 8, 9:

'A crown eternal is the Truth,
Blessed are they who put it on their heads.
. . . . . .
There 's a battle to fight ere the crown be attained.'

Again, in Ode xvii. 1, 2:

'I was crowned by my God:
And my crown is living.
And I was justified by my Lord:
My salvation is incorruptible.'

Also in Ode xx. 7, 8:

'Put on the grace of the Lord without stint:
And come into His Paradise and make thee a garland from His tree,
And put it on thy head and be glad.'

It is reasonable to interpret all these passages in a similar way. Various lines of thought suggest themselves for the further elucidation of the crown: the first is that it is the same crown or wreath that is spoken of in the New Testament: here in two places we have an allusion to a lost saying of Jesus:

'The Crown of Life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him.'—James i. 12.

'Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee the Crown of Life.'—Apoc. ii. 10;

in both of which cases the crown is the victor's reward after trial; the victor being at the same time thought of as a lover. In the Epistle of James the matter is introduced by a reference to the man who endures trial (πειρασμόν), stands the test (δόκιμος γενόμενος), and accordingly receives the crown; in the Apocalypse, the Church at Smyrna is warned of the impending trial; the devil is going to cast some of them into prison, that they may be tested (πειρασθῆτε): so they must be faithful till death.

It is natural to interpret the crown in these cases as the Victor's Crown.

In 1 Peter v. 4, we have the 'unfading crown of glory' promised to the faithful pastors of the Church; the blessing is here particular and not general, as is indeed the case with the crowns or garlands of the faithful Smyrneans, but it may be regarded with the former instances as a crown or reward at the end of a faithful life or a prolonged struggle: in other words, the crown is prospective. The same thing is true in the Pastoral Epistles, where a man gets his crown by a properly fought conflict (he will not get it unless he fights fair and unless he wins through, 2 Tim. ii. 5), by finishing the course and by keeping the faith, in which case there is reserved for him the garland of righteousness (2 Tim. iv. 8). The New Testament doctrine of the Crown is, therefore, consistently prospective.

On the other hand, in the Odes, the experience is in the language and terms of the present (or even of the past) rather than the future. The crown appears to be the same as Peter's, one that does not fade away, and the same as in James and John, in that it is a living crown and a lover's crown; but the writer already has his amaranth on his head. It is the same crown of victory, but the Odist suggests that in some sense the battle is over: for instance, in the ninth Ode, to which we were referring just now, with the injunction to 'put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord', we are told that it is the believer's by right:

10 'Righteousness hath taken it, and hath given it to you:

11 All those who have conquered shall be booked in his book.'

Here the crown is again a crown of righteousness, a reward of victory, apparently regarded as an attainment in the present life. In one case, indeed, the Odist appears to regard his crown retrospectively, as in the 17th Ode, with its living crown that is parallel to the divine justification: ('I was crowned by my God, &c.'). The difference, then, between the crown in the Odes and the crown in the New Testament is a difference of time and attitude: otherwise the language shows that the crown spoken of is the same.

The New Testament parallels, then, suggest that the crown is a *Corona Militis*, a wreath of victory, present or prospective. The question,

however, arises whether there may not be other directions of explaining the symbolical language of the Odist, beside the military conception which prevails in the New Testament. Roughly speaking, there are four directions of coronation possible:

(i) The *Corona Militis* already referred to.

(ii) The garland of the person initiated into the Greek Mystery Religions.

(iii) The garland of the newly married.

(iv) The garland of the newly baptised.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish whether a crown referred to should be classified under the first or second head. For instance, in the rites of Mithras, the worshipper, when he is introduced to the degree of *miles* has a crown offered to him, which he repels, saying in language not unlike that of the Odes, that 'Mithras is my Crown'.[1] Is that any other than a soldier's wreath? In the mysteries of Isis, as Tondelli points out,[2] the initiate is decorated with a garland of palm, and clad in a robe of heaven; he stands with a burning torch in his hand, and is honoured as an apotheosis of the Sun-god.[3]

The description, as we shall see, has remarkable parallels with the Christian initiation, and we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the neophytes of one religion have borrowed from the customs of the other: the Christian religion has been coloured from the Greek Mysteries. We must examine whether the references to the Crown in our Odes are due to an imitation of the Greek mysteries. Is it a real crown that the writer is speaking of, used as a symbol of spiritual truth and experience, or is it, as in the New Testament, a mere figure of speech?

The two other directions in which coronation may be looked for are the marriage and baptismal rites. There is much to suggest marriage symbolism in the Odes. Some persons have not unnaturally found the crown in the Canticles ascribed to King Solomon:[4]

> 'The crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals'—Cant. iii. 11.

[1] Cumont, *Monuments*, i. 318.

[2] *Le Odi*, p. 137.

[3] Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, p. 29.

[4] So Batiffol in *Revue Biblique* for Jan. 1911, p. 36.

In that case, the speaker in the opening Ode (and wherever the crown is referred to), is Solomon himself or some one posing as Solomon: but this explanation is, at first sight, somewhat unnatural; moreover, some one may object that we do not even know for certain that the ascription of the Odes to Solomon is primitive. The crown, in the first Ode, if it is a nuptial crown, is the bride's crown. Any one who has taken part in a Greek or Oriental marriage ceremony, will know that an actual coronation is an essential part of it: for that reason, the hypothesis of the nuptial crown is not to be excluded. In the West Syrian rite the officiating priest says:

'A crown is in thy hands, O Lord:
And it descends from heaven . . . .
On the head of the married pair.'

It cannot be denied that the language of the Odes is amatory. Take, for example, the third Ode; here Christ is the Beloved, the believer is the Lover; they have been joined together and their natures mingled (as was said in the *editio princeps*), like water mingled with wine. When that sentence was written, it had not been noticed that the illustration was one of those that are employed by the Sufis: and indeed, it would be easy to describe the whole of the third Ode as a Sufi product. It is high mystic. Compare the following rendering by Hastings of one of the Songs of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmi:

'With thy sweet soul this soul of mine
Hath mixed as water doth with wine.
Who can the Wine and Water part
Or me and thee when we combine?
Thou art become my greater self;
Small bands no more can me confine,
Thou hast my being taken on,
And shall not I now take on thine?'

Whatever Jalāl-ud-Dīn may have meant by his dangerously pantheistic language, the Odes of Solomon go a long way towards him. We may compare further Ode vii. 4:

'He became like me that I might receive Him:
Like myself was He reckoned that I might put Him on.'

As we have said, this is genuine mysticism, the language of the Inward and Upward life. The Christianity involved is experimental and it is

ecstatic. It is not impossible, then, that the reference to the Crown might be borrowed from nuptial rites, interpreted mystically.

The objection to this point of view is that it does not cover all the passages referred to, and that it appears to take us further from the New Testament than any of the alternative explanations.

Fortunately, we are able to detect a remarkable confirmation of this view, which almost settles the question of interpretation for us. We have shown that this first Ode is imitated in the hymn which Judas Thomas sings at the royal wedding-feast, where he definitely sets the espousals of the Church over against the nuptials that were proceeding in the palace. There can be no doubt as to the origin or interpretation of a hymn which begins: (*Acts of Thomas*, p. ٥٥٤),

> 'My Church is the daughter of light,
> On her head dwelleth the King:
> Who feeds all His inhabitants below:
> Truth is placed on her head.'

It is clear, then, that the Ode was understood to be an epithalamium in the earliest days of the Christian Church in Syria.

The Syriac hymn quotes also from another famous epithalamium, the 45th Psalm, in which the nuptials of Solomon are supposed to be described, e. g.

> 'Her garments are like unto flowers:
> The smell whereof is fragrant and pleasant;'

which is an imitation of 'All thy garments smell of myrrh, and aloes and stacte'. We take it that he made his nuptial song out of existing epithalamia; we see that the crown is a bridal crown.

The fourth explanation is that of Diettrich and Bernard and others, who maintain that the reference is to the baptismal circlet, which is still in use in the East: indeed, according to Bernard, the whole of the Odes are Baptismal Hymns, and they are meant to cover the period of instruction of catechumens, who are preparing for the Easter Baptisms in the Early Church. We have said that these baptismal circlets are still in use: one of the editors of this volume has, in fact, baptized more than a hundred children in this way; and there is no doubt that it is a part of the ancient Syrian rule before the introduction of infant baptism, as well as among the Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians. So the question is raised whether

these baptismal customs can be referred to a sufficiently early date, or the time of the composition of the Odes to a sufficiently late date, to admit of an interpretation of the language of the Odes in terms of primitive Christian ritual.[1] The problems referred to have been discussed in the Introduction to this volume, and the arguments *pro* and *con* need not be repeated here. It seems clear that if any one of the garland-Odes is baptismal, the rest may properly be assigned to the same category: for in this regard, Odes i, v, ix, xvii, and xx belong together, and we find a common interpretation for their common language.

In Ode ix. 8, 9, the crown is taken from the 21st[2] Psalm, probably from the Greek Bible, as may be seen from a reference to our note at that point. The allusion is important for the question of the linguistic origin of the Odes, but it is also to be noted that it is the *royal* crown that is spoken of in the Psalm: ('The King shall rejoice in thy salvation, &c.'). Is this Psalm used baptismally? It is certainly a favourite with the Odist, who quotes it again (Ps. xxi. 11 = Ode v. 8) in the fifth Ode, where again we have reference to the crown in verse 12. This should naturally be taken as another loan from the same Psalm.

A remarkable series of parallels to this Ode are pointed out by Bernard in the *Procatechism* of Cyril of Jerusalem: e. g.

> 'Already ye (catechumens) are gathering the spiritual *blossoms* for the *weaving* of heavenly *crowns*, ... for there have now appeared *blossoms* on the trees; may the *fruit* also be *perfect*.'

Here is one which looks in the same direction from the Hymns of Ephrem for the Epiphany Festival:

> 'Beautiful are your garments:
> Splendid your crowns:
> Which the First-Born has *woven for you*:
> . . . . . .
> *Crowns which do not wither*
> Have been *set on your heads*.'—(ed. Lamy, i. p. 111.)

Does not Ephrem here also take over the language of the first Ode and

[1] Diettrich has shown that the oldest Nestorian Baptismal Liturgies knew nothing of the crowns, which do not come into the written rituals before the seventh century. See *Nest. Taufliturgie*, pp. 49, 87.

[2] Ps. xxi. 3 (= xx. 3 in the Greek version).

not merely illustrate it: the reference to the 'weaving for you' a crown is very like the language of the Odist.

In that case Ephrem has interpreted the language of the Ode baptismally, as he did with everything that he could lay his hands on in the Old Testament.

Two other points of interest come up in connexion with this first Ode. One is the question as to the origin of the expression about 'the full and perfect fruits of God' at the close of the hymn. The other is a suggestion that a line, or perhaps a couple of lines, has been dropped at the end of the Ode, and wrongly restored. We are in the region of speculation, but not, we hope, aberrant or wanton speculation.

First with regard to the full and perfect fruits. To explain these, we start from the position that the Odist has been imitating in some of his lines the first Psalm in the canonical Psalter. The unfading leaves of his crown are reminiscent of

'His leaf also shall not wither,
And whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.'

We suggested that he has understood the second line of the couplet to refer to the tree, and not to the man who is likened to a tree. That is to say, 'doeth' (עֹשֶׂה) means 'produceth'; (it is, in fact, the ordinary word for bringing forth fruit, and finds its equivalent in the New Testament as ποιῶν καρπούς). In what sense is the word to be understood that

'All the fruit it produces is prosperous.'

The answer is that the fruit is *full* and *perfect*.

Now turn to the Targum on the Psalms. We find that the Targumist takes this very view. For him, also, it is the tree that prospers, and not the man; and he explains that it means,

'Every seed-germ germinates and prospers.'

This is a striking and unexpected confirmation of our suggestion. Moreover, when we turn to the Peshiṭta version of the Psalms, we find a curious reminiscence of or parallel to the 'perfect' fruits of the Ode. Here we find

ܘܟܠ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܨܠܚ

'And all that he does (*or* makes) he perfects (*or* is perfected).'

Here again it is quite possible that the translator interpreted the prosperity to belong to the tree; but the vocalizers have referred it to the man.

This, then, is our tentative explanation of the closing sentences of the Ode. It is an interpretation of the first Psalm.

Now with regard to the stray verse. In Ode iv the sequence of the Hymn is broken by the insertion of the fourth verse:

3 'Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, *to thy faithful*:
4 [never wilt thou be barren (idle) nor be unfruitful]:
5 For a single hour of *thy faith*
Is better than all days and years.'

Suppose we remove the intrusive matter (so as to restore the sequence in the fourth Ode) and put it at the end of the first Ode.

'Thou livest upon my head,
And thou hast blossomed upon my head:
Never wilt thou be barren nor unfruitful:
Thy fruits are full and perfect:
Full of thy salvation.'

We suggest, then, that the verse has dropped out of the first Ode, and having been written on the margin has been wrongly restored to the fourth Ode.

ODE II

This Ode is missing.

ODE III

1 ..... I clothe (them) with:

2 And (His) members are with Him,
And on them do I hang; and He loves me.

3 For I should not have known how to love the Lord, Cf. 1 John iv. 19.
If He had not loved me.

4 For who is able to distinguish love,
Except one that is loved?

Cf. John xiv. 3.

5 I love the Beloved, and my soul loves Him.
And where His rest is, there also am I.

Cf. Eph. ii. 19.

6 And I shall be no stranger (there);
For with the Lord Most High and Merciful, there is no grudging.

7 I have been united (to Him), for the lover has found the Beloved:
In order that I may love Him that is the Son, I shall become a son.

Cf. 1 Cor. 6, 17 and John xiv. 19.

8 For he that is joined to Him that is immortal,
Will himself also become immortal.

9 And He that hath pleasure in the Living One,
Will become living.

Cf. Titus i. 2.

10 This is the Spirit of the Lord, which doth not lie,
Which teacheth the sons of men to know His ways.

11 Be wise and understanding and vigilant.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 2. Labourt proposes to change ܥܠܗܘܢ 'on them' into ܥܠܗ 'on him'.

v. 5. Labourt suggests unnecessarily ܫܘܡܗ 'his sign' for ܢܝܚܗ 'his rest'. See, however,

ܕܝܕܥ ܢܡܘܣܟ ܘܠܐ ܨܒ ܢܝܚܟ׃

'They knew thy law and they refused thy rest.'

Ephrem iii. 454, *R. E.*

v. 7. The word ܐܬܚܒܠ 'I was mixed up', and by extension possibly 'I was united', is of doubtful meaning.

The verb is used also in an absolute manner by Ephrem, without any complement, and its meaning cannot be clearly established:

ܘܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܚܒܪ ܢܬܚܫܒ ܠܟ ܐܝ ܕܡܪܡܐ ܐܢܬ

'And if thou joinest, they will count thee as a deceiver.'—ii. 468, *R. E.*

In this verse of the Odes there is reason to believe that it has the notion of mixture, union, and participation.

In the next line, the translation is given by eliminating the dālath before ܒܪܐ, as we have suggested to be probable. In maintaining the reading of the MS. we could translate 'Because I shall love that Son, in order that I may be son (myself)'.

v. 9. The MS. has the siamē-points over the word ܚܝ *living*, which implies that the word is to be understood in the sense of 'life'. The copyist's punctuation seems, however, not to be well adapted to parallelism with the preceding verse. To call the Christ 'the living one' is one of the characteristics of the Syrian Church, e. g. 'O Living One, who went down to the abode of the dead' (*Breviar. Chald.* ii. p. ܥܕ). Cf. *Acta Thomae*, p. 235, and see also Ephrem iii. pp. 33, 135, 149 (*R. E.*). On the other hand, in view of some other passages of the Odes (cf. xxviii. 6, &c.) it would be wiser not to take the above view as irrefragable, and it is even possible that the reading of the MS. may be right.

v. 10. The *dālath* before ܕܥܕܐ is quite correct (against Frankenberg).

Expository Notes.

The scope of this Ode as a genuine mystical product has been pointed out in the notes to the previous Ode. In verse 2, there is confusion in the MS. between 'my members' and 'His members'. As it is not easy to see how a person can hang on his own members, we have adopted the second reading. In that case, we have a Pauline reminiscence in 1 Cor. vi. 15, &c.

In verse 7 the translation proposed by Flemming, 'For the Lover has found the Beloved' has been accepted, although it interferes somewhat with the parallelism of the verses, which seem to require us to take ܚܒܝܒ in the same sense in successive stanzas. We have suggested as an alternative to read 'that I may be found a lover to the Beloved'. After the words 'I have been united (*or* 'mingled'), the necessary expletive ܕܗ

has been added in the translation. We may compare *Acta Thomae* (ed Wright, p. ﻟﻪ) 'that with thy humanity he might be mingled (or united)'.

In verse 9 the ancient name of Jesus, 'the Living One', has been restored as has been done in the Revised Version of Apoc. i. 17 ('The First and the Last and the Living One'). For another example we may take *Acta Thomae* (p. ﻫﻪ). '*Thou art the Living One, the Son of the Living One.*' Note that the expression can be traced again in Ode viii. 22. if we translate the verse

'Ye who are kept abide in *Him that liveth*,'

the Living One referred to being clearly Christ.

The strongly Johannine cast of the Ode will have been noted. The Ode is a hymn written on the theme, 'We love Him because He first loved us' (1 John iv. 19), with perhaps a reference also to the doctrine that 'he that is joined to the Lord is one Spirit' (1 Cor. vi. 17). Whether we are to recognize actual quotations or distinct references depends on the general decision as to the priority of the Odes to the Fourth Gospel and the Pauline Epistles, or the contrary. These questions are discussed in the Introduction.

The whole Ode, like the first Ode, is of the nature of an epithalamium. Bacon described it rightly (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* for 1916. p. 382) as 'a song in the vein of Canticles'.

ODE IV

1 No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place;
Nor is (one able) to change it, and put it in another place.

2ª Because he hath no power over it;
2ᵇ For thy sanctuary Thou designedst before thou didst make places:

3ª That which is the elder shall not be changed by those that are younger than itself:
Cf. 2 Chron. vii. 16. 3ᵇ Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers.

4 Thou wilt never fail,
Nor wilt Thou be without fruits:

5 For one hour of thy Faith — Cf. Ps. lxxxiv. 10.
Is more precious than all days and years.

6 For who is there that shall put on thy grace, and be injured?

7 For thy seal is known:
And thy creatures are known to it.

8 And the hosts possess it:
And the elect archangels are clad with it.

9 Thou hast given us thy fellowship:
It was not that thou wast in need of us;
But that we are in need of thee.

10 Distil[1] thy dews upon us;
And open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey.

11 For there is no repentance with thee: — Cf. Rom. xi. 29 and Num. xxiii. 19.
That thou shouldest repent of anything that thou hast promised.

12 And the end was known[2] to thee:

13 For what thou gavest, thou gavest freely:
So that thou mayest not draw back and take them again.

14 For all was known to thee as God;
And set in order from the beginning before thee:

15 And thou, O Lord, hast made[3] all things.
Hallelujah.

[1] *Lit.* bedew. [2] *Lit.* revealed. [3] *Or*, done.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. Grammatically, it is more natural that the Syriac sentence should mean 'No one changeth thy place, my holy God', which paralleled with the second member of verse 2 would give, 'Because Thou designedst thy holiness before Thou madest places'.

The linguistic construction of the second member of this verse as compared with the first seems somewhat strange. This syntactic anomaly is sometimes found in Syriac, e. g.

ܡܚܒ ܠܡܫܡ ܘܠܡܫܒܚ ܘܠܡܡܠܠ ܫܪܪܐ ܘܒܥܐ ܠܗ

'He can love, bless, speak the truth, and pray well.'

Spic. Syr. 5 (Cureton).

To make the sentence run more fluently we have suggested ܡܚܒ ܘܒܫܠܡ in the first member; even the simple addition of ܠܐ or ܡܚܒ will suffice.

v. 3. Barth proposes ܩܕܝܫܐ 'the holy' for ܩܕܡܝܐ 'the old'. On this hypothesis the note on verse 1 to the effect that the Syriac sentence means also 'my holy God' would be confirmed. In adopting this interpretation the adjective ܙܥܘܪ which we have translated by 'younger' would have the natural meaning of 'lower, inferior, less perfect', because, linguistically, it seldom has the meaning of 'younger'. In Ephrem the word ܩܕܝܫܐ is frequently used as a title for God, and as a substitute for 'the Lord'. Here is a sentence in which both the 'Sanctuary' and the 'Holy One' are involved:

ܚܙܘ ܚܫܠܐ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܠܡܩܕܫܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ

'The shamefulness which they exhibited towards the temple of the Holy.'

Ephrem (ed. Mitchell, p. 128).

The Syriac of the Ode may also be rendered, 'He who is the elder shall not be changed by those who are inferior to himself'. And instead of the future tense, the optative form may be adopted: 'Let that which (*or*, the one who) is elder not be changed by those who are inferior to Himself (*or*, itself).

In the next line Gressmann's suggestion of ܠܓܒܝ 'thy side' for ܠܒܝ 'thy heart' is not necessary.

v. 4. The language is nearly the same as that used to describe Paradise in Ode xi. 23. We might, therefore, translate

'Never wilt thou be idle (*or* inoperative).'

v. 6. Grimme's suggestion of ܒܥܝܢ for ܡܥܬ is possible but not necessary.

v. 7. The MS. has ܡܬܝܕܥ 'are known to' for which we have suggested ܝܕܥ '(thy creatures) know'. This is, perhaps, a daring emendation, since the translation of the text as it stands, 'And thy creatures are known to it', i. e. 'and it knows thy creatures', is sufficiently clear.

v. 8. The MS. does not warrant ܘܣܟܠܘ 'and thy hosts' printed in the text; it is more probably ܘܣܟܠ 'and the hosts'. Cf. Ode xvi. 14. In the second member of the verse the word ܐܐܐ which the text gives between parentheses is unwarranted by the MS., and is useless. Instead of ܠܒܫܝܗ 'are clad with it', Connolly suggests ܠܒܫܝܡ 'hold it', which is plausible.

v. 13. ܐܠܠ of the MS. probably stands for ܐܠܠ. Frankenberg's derivation of the word from ܢܐ is improbable. Barth unnecessarily suggests the eliminating of the *waw* before ܐܫܬ. The objective pronoun ܐܝܡ is used by Synesis for ܐܫܬܚܕܘܗܝ, the subject being ܐܝܡ.

Expository Notes.

This Ode is the most important in the whole collection on account of the historical detail with which it appears to commence. The natural explanation would be that there had been some attempt to deny the sanctity of the Temple at Jerusalem, or to transfer that sanctuary to some other spot. The writer resists any such attempts as impious, and is quite sure that they are outside the sphere of human power: for God cannot contradict or withdraw His promises. His promises are His predestination. The Sanctuary was designed from the beginning and known to the Lord from the first. Whatever may have happened in apparent contradiction of God's promises regarding His continual dwelling in the Sanctuary, is itself to be regarded as a part of God's design, and the writer concludes His song by saying that 'God has done it all'.

The sanctuary itself has right of prescription against all other sanctuaries.

It is a pre-existent creation. The proof of this is on the Jewish side in *Pirqe Aboth*, vi. 10:

> 'Five possessions possessed the Holy One, blessed is He, in this world; and these are they: Thorah, one possession; Heaven and earth, one possession; Abraham, one possession; Israel, one possession; *the Sanctuary, one possession* . . . the Sanctuary, whence is it proved? Because it is written, *The place*, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in; *the Sanctuary*, O Lord, which thy hands have established (Exod. xv. 17); and it saith, and He brought them to the border of His sanctuary, and even to this mountain which His right hand *has possessed*.'—Ps. lxxviii. 54.

To these proofs, which the Rabbinical writers give, might be added a reference to Psalm lxxiii. (lxxiv.) 2, 'Remember thy congregation which thou hast purchased of old . . . . This is Mount Zion, wherein thou hast dwelt' (cf. LXX ἧς ἐκτήσω ἀπ' ἀρχῆς)

The situation in this Psalm is exactly similar to that which occurred at the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The sanctuary is in ruins and burned by fire; and the similarity of the former and the latter desolations (which the Jews recognized to be even a similarity of date) provoked a similarity of prayer and complaint. Hence the earliest Psalmist entreats the Lord 'not to withdraw His hand' (Ps. lxxiii. 11) and to 'have respect unto His covenant' (v. 20). The later writer says, 'Do not withdraw thy gifts nor repent of thy promises'. Thus the Temple as the outward dwelling-place of God and the symbol of His covenant, is before the mind of the Odist, as it was before the Psalmist.

It is clear that the Temple in the Ode is a real temple, with which the Odist is in a sympathetic relation. Neither here, nor in the language of the sixth Ode, where the Temple is spoken of, have we any right to explain it away. The actual Temple is necessary in the explanation of the fifth verse:

> 'Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers,'

where a reference to God's message and promise to *Solomon* that

> 'My eyes and heart shall be there continually.' (2 Chron. vii. 16.)

removes the apparent discontinuity of the Ode, and relieves us of the resort to interpolation which Harnack suggests.

In the fifth verse one could not miss the reference to Psalm lxxxiv. 10,

where 'A day in thy courts' is imitated by the Odist into 'An hour of thy faith superior to all days and years'. The reference ought not to be made without observing that the Psalm imitated (the 84th Psalm) is from the beginning a Temple Psalm; and that the opening sentence, 'How amiable are thy tabernacles' would acquire a sorrowful and a poignant meaning in the time of a national disaster. We shall probably, then, be safe in placing the writer within sight of Jerusalem, and of Jerusalem in ruins. The Scriptural references which lie behind our Odes are references to the actual temple at Jerusalem, the *Salomonic* temple. Just as in Ode vi, where the mighty stream that overflows everything has for its goal the actual Temple, we cannot start with allegory: the actual Temple must be there in the first instance, and it was natural enough that the Salomonic Odes should contain reference to the Salomonic building, especially in the time when the foremost thought in many religious minds was the question, what has become of the Temple, or what is going to become of it.

This state of mind which, in our view, has a chronological element in it, is quite consistent with a spiritual interpretation, either on the part of a pious Jew, that the real Temple is the ideal, heavenly structure, or the interpretation of the Christian that it is the Church.[1]

Returning to our Ode, we see that a series of fresh questions is raised in verses 6–10: what is meant by the grace, the seal, the fellowship, the dew, the milk and honey? We seem here to be in another region of thought quite away from the question of the mutability of the Temple service. Two solutions have been offered for the apparent discontinuity: one is Harnack's, that the Ode is a Jewish one interpolated by a Christian hand; the other is that of Bernard that the Ode must be interpreted in the light of the ritual of baptism. We have discussed these views in our Introduction, and the trend of our investigation is in favour of the belief that the Odes are Christian throughout and have not been interpolated. Whether they are baptismal to the extent that has been suggested appears to us to be, at least, doubtful. For instance, in the verses to which we were referring, it is difficult to see the sense in which an early Christian writer could speak of the heavenly hosts as possessing the baptismal sign,

[1] To take a single reference, Zahn says (p. 753): 'Dadurch wird klar, dass er nicht an ein von Menschenhänden bereitetes Gotteshaus mit Vorhöfen und Altären denkt, wie der alte Psalmist, sondern an ein geistliches Haus.'

or the angels as being clad with baptismal grace. There is, however, some slight evidence for such a belief, and Dr. Bernard has underestimated it. Not only have we the testimony of Clement of Alexandria that Theodotus the Gnostic taught that 'the angels were baptized at the beginning into the redemption of the name of Him that came down in the Dove upon Jesus and redeemed Him'[1] (and this evidence of a gnostic interpretation does not exclude a correspondingly Christian thought), but we have the still more surprising belief in Jewish circles that the angels were circumcised, and every Patristic student knows, and our Odes themselves may be in evidence upon the point, how keen the early Christians were to carry over the ideas attaching to circumcision and re-translate them into the language of the New Faith. It is not, then, impossible, that a Christian writer should have restated the Jewish belief concerning angels in a Christian form.

The Jewish belief is found in the *Book of Jubilees*, c. 15, as follows:

> 'And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the Covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction: nor is there, moreover, *any sign on him that he is the Lord's*, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from the earth, and to be rooted out of the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of the sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him *and with His holy angels*.'

Here, then, the angels are represented as circumcised. Dr. Charles does not suggest the reason for this belief, nor point out its polemical necessity; but in a foot-note he adds the important observation that 'our book knows nothing of the later traditions that the patriarchs such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Jacob, and six others were born circumcised'. The reference is important, because it takes us into the region of polemic. Every Patristic student knows that one of the points of attack of the early anti-Judaic writers was precisely this question of the uncircumcised righteous of the days before Abraham. And the obvious reply of the controversialist Jew on the opposite side was to say that the patriarchs were really

[1] Clem. Alex. *Exc. ex Theod.* 22.

circumcised. Why is it not mentioned? The answer is that they were born so. To which there is no further reply. *Cadit Quaestio.* It is natural to suppose further that the circumcised angels who were born so is an exaggeration of this very defence of the uncircumcised Just. They were as the angels in Heaven. But this opened up the further challenge, 'Quomodo circumcisi sunt, qui non habebant membrum virile?' If any one doubts whether this question was actually raised, let him turn to the Ethiopic *Book of the Secrets of Heaven and Earth*[1] where he will find the necessary detail as to the virility of the angels with Scripture proof and dimensional observation.

It is necessary to go into this in some detail, because the doctrine of the necessity of circumcision, which is emphasized so strongly in Jubilees, is of necessity a Jewish doctrine. And if an early Gnostic writer like Theodotus maintains that the angels were baptized, he is converting Judaic arguments to anti-Judaic uses.

If it had not been for this curious preservation of the fragment of Theodotus by Clement of Alexandria, we should have said without hesitation that the verses about the angels in the Ode before us were definitely Jewish, and, in that case, we should have established Harnack's position that we are not dealing with a genuine Christian product. That fragment of Theodotus (the importance of which Dr. Bernard did not sufficiently realize) calls for a stay of judgement on the points at issue.

The investigation, so far as it has gone, will at least serve to remind us of the importance of the right understanding of the primitive anti-Judaic polemic, especially on its fundamental points, Circumcision, the Sabbath, and the Sanctuary. The question of Circumcision was raised in Judaism long before Christianity appeared. It was one of the features of the Hellenistic movement before the rise of Pharisaism, when the Jews took such pains to get rid of the sign, and to assimilate themselves to Greek manners. It is, therefore, extremely likely that part of the Christian polemic against Circumcision, say the objection on the score of the uncircumcised patriarchs, is prae-Christian; and we need to keep this possibility in mind when discussing what is said on the subject by early

[1] *Patr. Or.*, vol. i, p. 12. The writer quotes from *Jubilees*, as an authority for the circumcision of the angels.

Christian writers or early Christian books of Testimony. The person who is not familiar with anti-Judaic propaganda may be reminded that anti-Circumcision is not only in the New Testament, but that it pervades the first deposit of the literature. We do not, indeed, find it argued in the way Theodotus suggests. Justin Martyr is content to say that Enoch and the rest of the Patriarchal Company had the *spiritual* circumcision like ourselves. He does not say that they were baptized; he seems to avoid the inference, for he says that it is we, who had been sinners, who receive the covenant of circumcision *through baptism*. The contrast should be noted as well as the concordance.

In the earliest known forms of the *Testimony Book* anti-circumcision is one of the prominent articles. In verse 3 we have something like an imitation in Theophilus, *ad Autolycum*, iii. 15:

τὰ γὰρ μεταγενέστερα οὐ δύναται ποιεῖν τὰ αὐτῶν προγενέστερα,

a reference which may help us to restore the lost Greek.

For the Baptismal parallels, we may take:

Baptism as grace (verse 6). Basil (*P. G.* col. 373):

χάριν λέγειν τὸ βάπτισμα ἔθος.

For baptism as seal; and as mark of ownership. Greg. Naz. (*P. G.* 36, 361–4):

σφραγὶς δέ, ὡς συντήρησις, καὶ τῆς δεσποτείας τοῦ Κυρίου σημεῖον.

For baptism as dew: Ephrem, *Hymn V in Epiph.*, verse 15:

ܥܡ ܠܚܘ ܢܣܘ ܡܥܛܝܢܝ

(from thy dew besprinkle my lowliness), &c.

We need not suppose that 'dew' acquires a merely baptismal connotation in the Syrian service books. Here are a few stray references from a volume of Jacobite prayers and sequences.

'Thy dew (ܠܚܘ) of grace and mercy
Bedew (ܢܣܘ) upon the faces of thy worshippers.'

This reference is important on account of the parallelism with the eleventh Ode v. 14 ('my face received the dew'), as well as with this fourth Ode:

and it is certainly not baptismal.

Again:

'Let thy dew (ܛܠܐ, O Lord the Saviour, descend to Sheol, and bedew (ܢܬܫܩ) upon the bones of the faithful departed.'

Here, again, there is no question of baptism, for the faithful dead are assumed to have been baptised. Apparently the ultimate origin of the expression as applied to the dead rests on Isa. xxvi. 19:

ἡ γὰρ δρόσος ἡ παρὰ σοῦ ἴαμα αὐτοῖς ἐστιν.

Note above the repetition of the idea: 'let thy dew bedew'. Here is another sentence to be used as a preface to the 35th Ode:

'Bedew, (ܐܬܪܘܐ) O Lord, the dew (ܛܠܐ) of thy grace upon the thirsty minds of our souls, that are dried up by sin.'

v. 9. The thought in verse 9 that God does not need us, but that we need God, is a common religious expression in Greek and early Christian literature. It occurs, for instance, in the *Apology of Aristides*, c. 1: 'There is no deficiency in Him, and He stands in need of nought, but everything stands in need of Him.'

In the fourth book of *Irenaeus against Heresies* the doctrine becomes a text upon which Irenaeus dilates for many pages, often in language suggesting the use of the Odes, and like the Odes, explaining that God gives us *His fellowship*, though He does not need us, nor our love, nor our gifts, nor our sacrifices. For example:

'Non quasi indigens Deus luminis, plasmavit Adam.'—Ed. Massuet, p. 243.

'In quantum enim Deus nullius indiget, in tantum homo indiget Dei communione.'—p. 244.

'et communionem habere cum Deo: ipse quidem nullius indigens; eis vero qui indigent eius, suam praebens communionem.'—p. 244.

'Ipse quidem nullius horum est indigens.'—p. 244.

'Nihil tamen indigente Deo ab homine.'—p. 247.

'Haec autem gloriosum quidem faciebant hominem, id quod deerat ei adimplentia, id est amicitiam Dei; Deo autem praestabant nihil; nec enim indigebat Deus dilectione hominis.'—p. 247.

'Non indigens Deus servitute eorum . . . . . non indiget Deus oblatione eorum.'

'Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti.'—p. 249.

'Offerrimus autem ei, non quasi indigenti. sed gratias agentes: . . . . . Deus non indiget eorum qui a nobis sunt, sic nos indigemus offerre aliquid Deo.'—p. 251.

The same formula recurs in Bardaisan:

'Everything that exists is in need of the Lord of all.'—*Patr. Syr.* ii. 548.

And in Ephrem (perhaps in criticism of Bardaisan), we find the statement:

'The Sons of Heresy strove to interpret (*or* proclaim) concerning Him, that He is in no need whatever.'—ed. Rom. ii. 522.

The formula turns up again in the (late) Hebrew *Testament of Naphtali*:

'It is not that He hath need of any creature, but that all the creatures in the world have need of Him.'—*Test. XII. Patr.*, ed. Charles, p. 237. 6.

v. 10. The reference in verse 10 to 'milk and honey' may be taken allegorically of the experience of souls who reach the spiritual Land of Promise, or symbolically by the sacramental use of milk and honey in the reception of newly-baptized persons, or in the Eucharist of certain non-Catholic bodies. There are certainly traces of a milk-and-honey sacrament in the early Church. For example, in the Epistle of Barnabas, we have a question raised as to the meaning of the milk and honey in the Old Testament. And after some preliminary allegorising to show that the believers in Jesus are themselves the good land, he asks 'Why milk and honey?' And the answer is that 'the young child is first quickened with honey and then with milk.'[1]

Probably this refers in the first instance to a folklore custom in connexion with newly-born children, but it seems to have very early developed into a Christian sacrament for new converts, who had been born again into the Kingdom of God.

[1] Besides Barnabas, we may refer to Tertullian, *De Corona*, c. 3 ('inde suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus'), *adv. Marc.* i. 14. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 128) and *Coptic Canons*, ii. 46.

The baptismal liturgy of the Ethiopic Church will furnish a good illustration of the reception of the neophyte with milk and honey:

> 'Discedentibus lac et mel datur et manu capiti imposita hac benedictione dimittuntur; ite in pace, filii baptismi.'[1]

It is not, however, by any means clear that the 'milk and honey' passages in the Odes will bear this interpretation. Ephrem attacks certain heretics (probably his favourite sport, the followers of Marcion and Bardaisan), who practice an actual Eucharist in milk and honey.

> 'Instead of bread, (figure of) the show-bread, they offer the sacrifice of honey and milk, but although these are pure, they had no right to disturb by these (the order of the Church). For honey was not sufficient for a sacrifice, nor milk for aspersion and libation.'—Ephrem., *R. E.* ii. 543.

ODE V

1 I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord;
Because I love thee:

2 O Most High, do not thou forsake me,
For thou art my hope.

3 Freely I have received thy grace; Cf. Matt. x. 8.
I shall live[2] thereby. *or*, May I live.

4 My persecutors will come but let them not see me. Cf. Jer. xx. 11.

5 Let a cloud of darkness fall on their eyes, Cf. Ps. lix. 13 and lxix. 23.
And let an air of thick gloom darken them.

6 And let them have no light to see,
That they may take hold upon me.

7 Let their counsel become thick darkness: Cf. Ps. vii. 16, 17.
And what they have cunningly devised, let it return upon their own heads.

[1] See Trumpff, *Taufliturgie der Aeth. Kirche* in *Abhandl. der I. Klasse der K. Akad. d. Wiss.* (1878, München), Bd. XIV, Abth. iii, S. 153.

[2] *Or*, may I live.

Cf. Ps. xxi. 12.

8 For they have devised a counsel,
And it has come to nought.

Cf. Copt.

(Powerful as they were, they were overcome).

9 They have prepared themselves maliciously,
And were found to be ineffective.

10 For my hope is upon the Lord;
And I will not fear:

Cf. Ps. xxvii. 1.

11 And because the Lord is my salvation,
I will not fear.

12 And He is as a garland on my head,
And I shall not be moved;

Cf. Ps. xxx. 7.

13 Even if everything should be shaken,
I stand firm:

14 And if (all) things visible should perish,
I shall not die;

15 Because the Lord is with me,
And I am with Him.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. In comparing the Coptic and Syriac texts of this Ode, we are struck at once by the Coptic opening; the natural translation of the Coptic verb is 'manifestabo tibi'; and we should at first sight conclude that this is a misunderstanding of the Syriac text by the substitution of ܐܚܘܝ for ܐܘܕܝ; i. e. 'I will make known' for 'I will give thanks'. It should, however, be noted that if the Coptic is a translation from the Greek, it is certain that we have here the rendering of the Greek ἐξομολογήσομαι exactly as in Gen xxix. 35 and elsewhere. There is, therefore, no difference between the Coptic and the Syriac.

v. 5. In the Syriac known to us, we cannot see a good meaning for the plural word ܚܕܚܬܐ which we have translated from the context by 'thick darkness'. This rendering is suggested by the root ܚܕܚ, when used of 'darkness' or 'tumour'. If it is not a word completely mutilated by copyists, it must be registered in any future Syriac dictionary. It seems to refer to a kind of mirage, hallucination, or to a defect in perception, which notion is generally expressed in Syriac with a plural noun, cf. ܡܓܓܘܫܐ, ܣܥܬܐ, ܒܗܬܐ. One might also suggest a substitute ܠܐܒܕܐ 'to perdition, to nothing', which would answer to the Coptic 'inefficax', but it is rather a violent change. If one is allowed to substitute a word, ܚܕܘܬܐ, which is used in verse 5, would be the best.

In verse 8 the Coptic has the equivalent of

'nec factum est illis',

which is suspiciously like good Syriac.

Expository Notes.

The interest of this Ode lies in the fact that at this point we begin to strike the coincidences with the *Pistis Sophia*. The latter part of the Ode from the twelfth verse was similar in its language to the first Ode of the collection, and led to a misunderstanding on the part of the Gnostic Commentator, who mistook one Ode for the other, and so, providentially, preserved for us in his comments the missing first Ode in the collection. Whether this fifth Ode is Christian or not did not appear decisively at the first reading. It contains a somewhat Jewish section in verses 4–9, with prayer for the discomfiture of one's enemies. If there is a definite Christian feature, it is, perhaps, the garland upon the singer's head, which occurs in several Odes, sometimes in a definitely Christian context. The close of the Ode is a noble expression of trust in the Lord, amidst adverse circumstances, which one instinctively compares with the close of the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. We do not doubt, therefore, that it is a Christian composition.

The writer is dependent upon the Davidic Psalter, either directly or through the medium of a book of extracts. The prayers for the confusion of one's enemies are taken ultimately from Psalm lxviii. (lxix.) 22, &c., from which Psalm loans are made in Romans xi. 9, 10 (the anti-Judaic section of the Epistle, chiefly made up out of *Testimonia*). In verse 10 the model is in Psalm xxvii. 1: 'The Lord is my light and my salvation,

whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?'

The Syriac is a little nearer to the Hebrew ('my *salvation*'); the Coptic and the Greek, ('thou art my *Saviour*').

In verse 2 the Coptic has 'O Lord' for the Syriac, 'O Most High'; The Gnostic Targum has in a neighbouring clause, 'O light (i. e. God) of the height'; it has been suggested that this is a reflexion from the Syriac 'Most High'; it is not clear, however, that the clauses are parallel.

In verse 4 the relation between the Sahidic and Syriac texts is again obscure: the Sahidic has 'fall' for the Syriac 'come', and the Gnostic Targum appears to know both readings: for it has 'Let them *fall* . . . . . let them *come* and not see me'. But the Syriac also has 'fall' in verse 5 for the Coptic 'cover'. It is not safe, under such confusions in the text to draw any conclusions as to the relations between the Gnostic Targum and the Text.

ODE VI

1 As (the hand) moves over the harp, and the strings speak;

2 So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord,
And I speak by His love.

3 For He destroys what is foreign,
And everything is of the Lord.

4 For thus He was from the beginning,
And (shall be) to the end.

5 That nothing should be His adversary,
And nothing should stand up against Him.

1 Cor. ii 12. 6 The Lord has multiplied His knowledge;
And was zealous that those things should be known which by His grace have been given to us.

7 And the praise of His name He gave us:[1]
Our spirits praise His holy Spirit.

[1] *Lit.* And His praise He gave us for His name.

8 For there went forth a stream, Cf. *Sap. Sol.* vii. 25.
And became a river great and broad: Cf. Ezek. xlvii.
It swept away everything, and broke up and carried away the Temple.

9 And the restraints (made) by men were not able to restrain it,
Nor the arts of those whose (business it is to) restrain water.

10 For it spread over the face of the whole earth, Cf. Hab. ii. 14.
And it filled everything.

11 All the thirsty upon earth were given to drink (of it):
And thirst was done away and quenched:

12 For from the Most High the draught was given.

13 Blessed then are the ministers of that draught,
Who have been entrusted with that water of His:[1]

14 They have assuaged the dry lips,
And the will that had fainted they have raised up:

15 And souls that were near departing
They have held back from death:

16 And limbs that had fallen Cf. Isa. xxxv. 3; Heb. xii. 12.
They have straightened and set up:

17 They gave strength to their coming
And light to their eyes.

18 For everyone knew them in the Lord, Cf. Isa. lxi. 9; John iv. 14.
And they lived by the water an eternal life.

Hallelujah.

[1] *Or*, its water.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. ܐܝܕܐ 'hand' is not found in the manuscript, where a small erasure has caused a word to disappear, leaving only the final *alaph*. This *alaph* seems to have a certain stroke joining it with the preceding letter; in this case the word could not have been ܐܝܕܐ but perhaps ܪܘܚܐ 'spirit' (so Barnes), or another short vocable; cf. the following:

ܗܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܩܠܡܐ ܒܐܝܕܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ ܕܟܝܪܐ ܐܝܬ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܒܝ ܡܫܪܪ ܘܡܡܠܠ ܒܝ

Bar Penkāyé, p. 147; MS. in John Rylands Library.

'Behold I am like a pen in the hand of the writer: that is to say, a harp, and the Holy Spirit sings in me.'

We have a possible reminiscence of the Odes in this sentence of John of Phenek.

v. 3. In view of the rules dealing with the attributive adjective Schulthess has suggested a *dālath* to be added to ܕܥܬܝ of the MS. In poetry, one meets occasionally with a word before which this *dālath* has been omitted. This same *dālath* is eliminated frequently after ܥܡܝ as in

ܥܡܝ ܕܥܬܝ ܫܪܝ (Bar Penkāyé, p. 70.)

'Something strange happened to thee.'

In the next line, Gressmann's reading ܕܡܬܪܒܐ 'recalcitrant' instead of ܕܡܪܝܐ 'of the Lord', and Grimme's suggestion of ܡܪܝܪܐ 'bitter', are not necessary.

v. 6. Grimme's emendation of ܢܫܬܘܢ for ܢܫܬܘ of the MS. is grammatically erroneous. The addition of a *yōdh* to the third pers. fem. plur. also frequently used by copyists is not warranted by the Syriac Grammar (cf. Ode vii. 20).

v. 8. The translation which would make ܠܥܡܐ the object of the three verbs ܫܕܐ, ܥܣܣ, ܐܫܠܡ, and which would take the *lāmadh* of ܠܗܝܟܠܐ as dative as if 'it swept everything, broke up (everything) and brought (everything) to the temple' is the less probable, because (1) it would have been more natural in Syriac to put ܠܥܡܐ at the end of the verbs, (2) the verb would be logically in the wrong place; what would 'break up everything to the temple' mean in Syriac? That the verb ܐܫܠܡ is used in the Odes with the sense of '(waters) carried' is evident

from Ode xxxix. 1. The Coptic text is perplexed over this verb, and omits the translation; and, wrongly taking the *lāmadh* as a sign of dative and reading ܠܗ for ܠܐ, exhibits: 'Attraxit eos omnes (?) et conversa est super templum.' Bacon, quoting Torrey, suggests for the last words an Aramaic original which would have been misunderstood by the translators; the theory is that the original was a Biblical Aramaic, ולא איתי להכלא 'and there was nobody to impede'. The negative לא would have disappeared by loss or by neglect, and the translators would have taken the איתי as a verb 'to carry', whereas it simply meant 'there was nobody to restrain'. This makes an excellent introduction to the following verses about the *restrainers*.

v. 18. This is the only meaning the Syriac sentence can have. In adding a ܒ before ܡܝܐ we obtain the sense of the Coptic 'the water of the eternal life'.

Expository Notes.

This is the second of the 'Temple' Odes, if we do not get rid of the reference to the Temple in the text: by means of the ingenious suggestion made by Professor Torrey that the words 'and it carried away the Temple' might be a perversion of an original Aramaic expression 'and there was none to restrain'. We do not propose, however, to alter the text at this point; it is intelligible as it stands.

The Ode appears, at first sight, to exhibit a change of subject at the eighth verse, where the stream of living water is introduced. The discontinuity disappears on a closer study of the preceding verses, in which the writer shows, by way of preface, that it is impossible to resist God, and that the diffusion of His knowledge is certain, in fact, it is already accomplished. He has in mind Habakkuk ii. 14, 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God as the waters cover the sea'; and Psalm lxxii. 19, 'Blessed be his glorious name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled with his glory'.[1] The first of these passages is the key to verse 6, 'The Lord has multiplied his knowledge', and to verse 10, 'It spread over the face of the whole earth and it filled everything'. The tenth verse is anticipated in the sixth.

The passage in the Psalm is the reason for the reference to the praise

[1] Perhaps also we should refer to *Sap. Sol.* i. 7: 'The Spirit of the Lord has filled the earth.'

of His glorious name in verse 6. We can see the mind of the writer at work. He then proceeds to describe the flowing out of the waters and their destination. The Greek term employed in the Coptic Ode (out of which the writer of *Pistis Sophia* makes such extraordinary Gnostic developments) describes the flood as ἀπόρροια. This takes us to the language of the Wisdom of Solomon, vii. 25, where wisdom is described as 'an effluence of the glory of the Creator'. Here again we have the idea of the diffusion of the knowledge of the glory of God.

Further, the restrainers who build dykes to stop the flow of the stream are anticipated in verse 5 ('Nothing shall stand up against Him').

In this Psalm we are again fortunate in having a large part of the Coptic text preserved to us; and as is common in Coptic texts, Greek words are exhibited in it. It was the occurrence of the Greek word ἀπόρροια, and the use of it by the Gnostic writer *Pistis Sophia*, which led Ryle and James to suggest, with some hesitation, that the Odes are Gnostic, in which supposition they were followed for a time by Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, i. 207, note). Ryle and James were, however, careful to say that 'We cannot see that there is anything unmistakably Gnostic in the doctrine'; and Harnack has also, since the publication of the complete Odes, withdrawn the suggestion.

The comparison of the Syriac and Coptic texts in this Ode is very instructive. In verse 9 the Coptic has a text which involves a Syriac ܒܢܝܢܐ ('buildings') in place of ܟܫܝܠܐ ('restraints'). Clearly the latter is the right form, and corresponds to the presence of ܡܫܚܠ̈ܐ and ܟܫܝܠ.

In verse 14 the Coptic has *converterunt*, which suggests a Syriac text ܐܦܢܘ or ܐܬܢܘ instead of ܐܫܬ, which is clearly the right reading. In the latter half of the verse the translation of the Coptic text is in error and there are two letters missing in the text itself: 'accipiebant gaudium cordis qui soluti erant', should be corrected to 'propositum cordis', which would answer to the Syriac; and instead of *accipiebant* the addition of the letters ⲥⲉ[1] to the verb give us *elevabant* which answers to the Syriac ܢܫܩܘ.

More difficult is the variation in verse 17, where we have apparently παρουσία underlying the Syriac, and παρρησία underlying the Coptic. The parallelism between the second clauses of the 14th and 16th verses

[1] ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲓⲥⲉ for ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲓ.

should be noted (ܡܫܬܚ), and it is natural to infer that to the *paralysed* will we should affirm *paralysed* limbs. But this takes us, as suggested in the margin, into Isaiah xxxv (τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα), and makes it increasingly likely that for παρουσία we should read some word expressing 'paralysis'.

We cannot, however, regard the question of the reading as satisfactorily settled. There is something to be said for the Coptic παρρησία. It is a word which had almost an esoteric meaning in early Christian circles, and in the New Testament it describes the Christian attitude before the judges of earth and the Judge of Heaven. It may turn out to be the right word; in that case the Syriac is simply a misreading of an original or transliterated Greek from παρρησία to παρουσία. No other satisfactory suggestions have been made. Gressmann[1] suggests ἀρρωστία, which is a long way off either the Syriac or the Sahidic. It would make excellent sense, and a perfect parallel.

The last verse of the Ode is obscure. What does it mean that 'every one knew them in the Lord'? Is it any clearer if we translate 'They all recognized one another in the Lord'?

Perhaps the Odist is drawing upon Isaiah lxi. 9: 'all that see them shall acknowledge them', but then an additional clause is required. We may imagine a sentence

> 'Every one acknowledged them
> (That they are the Israel of God)';

and the concluding half-verse might then be an imitation of

'Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation':

for 'to live an eternal life' is, in Syriac, a good translation for 'to be saved with an eternal salvation' (Isa. xlv. 17). We leave it as an unsolved problem.

This Ode is one of those that furnish the strongest ground for the belief in a Greek original. The ἀπόρροια of which the Ode speaks has been shown to be a characteristic term, of the Wisdom-Christology; and it has also been pointed out that the Odes are strongly marked in other places by the doctrine of the Divine Wisdom which the Christians identified with Jesus Christ.

As, however, there is a good deal of evidence in favour of the belief

[1] *Deutsche LZ.*, 1911, No. 46.

that the Odes were originally written in Aramaic and not in Greek, it becomes proper to inquire what re-statement or alternative interpretation ought in that case to be made of the Ode before us.

It will still be true that the flowing stream is the stream of the Divine Knowledge which covers the whole earth as the waters cover the sea, and which is identified by the sequence of the Ode with the Holy Spirit: but ought we any longer to lay stress on the term ἀπόρροια if that term only comes in by way of a translation? Is there any alternative origin for the river?

In this connexion we may observe that amongst the titles given to Christ in the *Testimony Books*, we not only find that Christ is identified with Sophia, but we find traces of the description of Him under the title of River.

Eusebius in his treatise against Marcellus enumerates a number of titles of Christ with appropriate proof-texts, nearly all of which are traditional *Testimonia*. Amongst them we find

> 'And he was called River by the one who said, The rushings of the river make glad the City of God: (Ps. xlvi. 4).'—Euseb. *c. Marcel.* i, p. 97.

So the suggestion arises whether this passage in the Psalm may be the theme of our Odist. The passage turns up again in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius, in sequence with the 25th chapter of Isaiah, and Eusebius, having quoted the Psalm, proceeds to say that 'this passage indicates the unremittent flow (ἐπιρροήν) *of the Divine Spirit*, which has its source from above and waters the City of God'. We notice how near Eusebius came to calling the river in the Psalm an ἀπόρροια. Augustine, too, in commenting upon the Psalm, asks the question:

> 'Qui sunt isti impetus fluminis?'

and replies,

> 'Inundatio illa *Spiritus sancti*, de quo Dominus dicebat,' &c.

Now let us see whether, on the hypothesis that the 46th Psalm has been used by the Odist, we can find any linguistic agreement between the Ode and the Psalm in Syriac or in the Aramaic of the Targum.

The verse which we have to discuss is translated in English, following the Hebrew, as follows:

> 'There is a river, the streams whereof make glad the City of God, the holy place of the Tabernacles of the Most High.'

The Syriac, however, and the Targum do not translate like this; they begin with 'Streams of rivers', and we notice that the word for 'stream' is precisely the word ܐܘܠܐ in the Ode. Here, then, we may, perhaps find the origin of the 'brook' or 'stream' that became a 'river'.

In the next place we notice that the river is to irrigate the City of God, and *in particular the sanctuary*. Here, then, we have the suggestion that the river which sweeps everything away and *brings to the Temple* (ܐܝܬܝ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ) does precisely what the Psalm says it ought to do: there is, perhaps, no need to alter the text at all, even by the insertion of an object. If, however, we like to make a free emendation, it would be possible to read ܫܒܩ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ 'it made glad the Temple'; but this is not quite fair to the existing text. Why should it not simply come to the Temple?

The Targum on the Psalm has a curious interpretation of the streams and the City; it says:

> 'The peoples are like *rivers* and their *fountains*: they *come* and make glad the City of God; and they pray *in the Holy House* of God, *in the tabernacle* of the Most High.'

This brings out again the connexion between the streams and the Temple: *they are streams of proselytes*, according to the Targum. There is, however, not much linguistic parallel between the Targum and the Ode. On the whole, it appears to be possible that the Odist has the 46th Psalm in mind, especially since we have reason to believe that the 'river' in that Psalm was an ancient Christian testimony.

A further alternative interpretation may be offered. The question arises whether this stream, which we have identified with the Knowledge of the Lord, which is to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea, is not immediately derived from the 24th chapter of Sirach, where Wisdom enunciates her own praises. In v. 30 she says '*I came out as a stream* from a river', and in v. 31 with a change in the metaphor,

> '*My stream became a river*, and my river became a sea!'

The parallel with the Ode is very close and suggestive. We may also compare v. 25

> [The Most High] maketh wisdom abundant as Phison and as Tigris,

with the language of the Ode,

> The Lord has multiplied the knowledge of himself.

Unfortunately the Syriac version of Sirach does not help us here.

ODE VII

1 As is the motion of anger over evil,
So is the motion of joy over the Beloved,
And brings in of its fruits without restraint.

2 My joy is the Lord, and my motion is towards Him:
This path of mine is excellent.

3 For I have a Helper, to the Lord.
He hath shown Himself to me without grudging in His simplicity;
Euseb. *D. E.* vi. 9. Because His kindness has minished His greatness.

Cf. John i. 12. 4 He became like me that I might receive Him.
In similitude was He reckoned like me, that I might put Him on.

5 And I trembled not when I saw Him;
Because He was gracious to me.

6 Like my nature He became, that I might learn Him.
And like my form, that I might not turn back from Him.

7 The Father of Knowledge
Cf. John i. 1. Is the Word of Knowledge:

Cf. Prov. viii. 22 (LXX). 8 He who created Wisdom
Is wiser than His works:

9 And He who created me when yet I was not
Knew[1] what I should do when I came into being:

[1] MS. 'knows'.

10 Wherefore He pitied me in His abundant grace
And granted me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice;

11 For He it is that is incorrupt;
The perfection of the worlds and the Father of them. Cf. Isa. ix. 6 (Heb.).

12 He hath given Him to appear to them that are His; Cf. John i. 11.
That they may recognize Him that made them;
And that they might not suppose that they came of themselves. Cf. Ps. c. 3.

13 For it is to Knowledge He hath appointed His way; Cf. Prov. viii. 22.
He hath widened it and extended it and brought it to all perfection.

14 And He set over it the traces of His light;
And it proceeded therein even from the beginning to the end. Cf. Sap. Sol. viii. 1.

15 For by Him He was served,
And He was pleased with the Son; Cf. Mark i. 11, &c.

16 And because of His salvation He will take possession of Cf. Matt. xi. 27.
everything;
And the Most High shall be known in His saints:

17 To announce to those that have songs of the coming of the Lord
That they may go forth to meet Him and may sing to Him, Cf. Matt. xxv. 6.
With joy and with the harp of many tones.

18 The Seers shall go before Him,
And they shall be seen before Him;

19 And they shall praise the Lord in His love;
Because He is near and seëth;

20 And hatred shall be taken from the earth;
And along with jealousy it shall be drowned:

21 For ignorance hath been destroyed;
Because the knowledge of the Lord hath arrived.

22 Let the Singers sing the grace of the Lord Most High;
And let them bring their songs;

23[a] And let their heart be like the day,
And like the excellent beauty of the Lord, their harmonies;

Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 7, 10. 23[b] And let there be nothing without life,
Nor without knowledge, nor dumb.

24 For (the Lord) hath given a mouth to His creation,
To open the voice of the mouth towards Him; and to praise Him;

25 Confess[1] ye His power;
And show forth His grace.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. We could take the verb ܐܥܕ in both meanings (*a*) 'He causes to enter, introduces' from ܥܕܐ; (*b*) 'He gives, yields fruits' (Ar. اغلّ) from ܥܕܝ. The second meaning is more appropriate.

v. 3. We have suggested in the text that this sentence might be regarded as an attempt to translate *βοηθὸν γὰρ ἔχω τὸν Κύριον*, but in taking the *lāmadh* of ܠܘܬ as meaning direction to, we should have the good literal meaning 'Because I have a helper to the Lord', as Labourt rightly suggests. In the preceding verse, there is a mention of the way of the

[1] *Perhaps* 'Manifest'.

Odist to his Lord; his way is easy and good, and he is joyful in walking in it towards God because he has the Christ as a companion and helper who, in his own words, 'showed Himself (or His soul) to me, 'without grudging in His simplicity'. That this is probably the meaning of the sentence is also attested by the fact that it is the Odist who is speaking here, and not the Lord Christ who showed Himself to him. The Father of the Lord comes in verses 12, 15, 16, where, especially in this last verse, He is called ܥܠܝܐ 'The Most High'. It is worth noticing that in Ode viii, verses 6, 8 where the word ܡܣܥܪܢܐ 'helper' occurs, there is also the same occurrence of both ܥܠܝܐ and ܥܠܝܐ; in Ode xxi. 2, this 'helper' who is the Lord is again assisting the Odist. In Ode xxv. 2, God is again the 'helper' of the Odist.

The expression ܠܐ ܚܣܝܪܐ equivalent to *ἀφθόνως* is frequently used in Syriac literature, e. g.

ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܥܡܗ ܥܡܐ ܡܫܬܘܫܐ ܠܐ ܚܣܝܪ

'In this propitious month Thy bounty overflowed abundantly upon all.'—Ephr. ed. Lamy, II, 773.

Cf. also in the Roman edition II, 453; III, 72, 88 and in *Spic. Syr.*, p. ٥٠. Cf. also

ܡܫܝܚ ܠܐ ܚܣܝܪ ܗܘ ܘܐܠܝܗ ܗܘܐ

Bar Penkāyé, p. 99 (MS. in John Rylands Library), ibid., p. 2.

'They give without grudging as it was given to them.'

The use of the expression does not necessarily imply translation.

In the next line, Connolly has argued that ܦܫܝܛܘܬܗ might be a translation of *ἁπλότης*, 'liberality' and 'simplicity'. If this surmise is considered as possible, it holds good in Syriac also, where the word has the more appropriate meaning of 'kindness', 'gentleness', 'meekness'; see *Vocabulaire chaldéen-arabe*, and *Dictionnaire de la langue chaldéenne*. One might also compare the sense of the word in Odes xxvii. 3; xlii. 2, in the sense of 'outstretching [of hands]', 'extension', and possibly 'crucifixion'

In the third line the opinion expressed by Labourt that instead of ܚܣܝܪܘܬܗ we might read ܕܚܣܝܪܘܬ is improbable without changing the verb ܐܬܝ as well.

v. 6. Frankenberg unnecessarily suggests that for the meaningless (!) ܐܬܕܥܝܬ we should read ܐܬܕܥܝܬ. The Syriac word is the aorist of the verb ܝܕܥ and is lexicographically and grammatically correct.

v. 7. In this verse, the word Knowledge is used as an equivalent of Truth and Wisdom, as appears from the next verse which is a reflection of the great Wisdom passage in Proverbs (viii. 22):

'The Lord created me (Wisdom) the beginning of His ways,'

to which verse the writer returns in verse 13:

'He hath appointed Knowledge as His way.'

That the writer has the Wisdom passages in his mind appears again from verse 14, where Knowledge is said to 'proceed from the beginning to the end', which appears to be *Sap. Sol.* viii. 1:

'She (Wisdom) extendeth from end unto end mightily.'

v. 10. Nestle has suggested that the original was the Greek *οὐσία* which the Syriac translator read *θυσία*. This is a possible but somewhat daring hypothesis. For a right understanding of the Syriac word which means also 'favour', 'gift', the following sentence of Ephrem may be quoted:

ܚܝܠ ܘܠܐ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܘܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܦ ܘܚܫܐ ܠܗ

'He [Christ] was not ashamed of sleeping and of soliciting benefactions.'
II, 514 (*R. E.*)

Connolly suggests that the word might have been ܐܬܘܬܗ 'His greatness', or ܐܬܘܬܗ 'His likeness'. With less probability Bruston substitutes ܐܬܚܫܗ, Grimme ܒܝܕ ܒܪܟܬܗ, and Brockelmann ܐܬܚܫܗ. Taking the word in the sense of 'gift', 'munificence', 'favour', which, as we have seen, it possesses in Syriac, the sentence would read 'And granted me to ask from Him and to receive from His largesse'.

v. 12. Wellhausen, followed by Kittel, considers ܠܗ as a reflexive pronoun and translates 'Er lässt sich schauen von den Seinen'. We consider this to be improbable in Syriac; further, in verse 10 of the Ode, and in many other verses, the verb ܝܗܒ is always used with the pronouns in the sense of 'to give to'.

v. 13. It is possible to translate as above 'For knowledge He hath

set as His way' (so also Connolly). The Syriac wording, however, would be somewhat weak. Ode xviii. 7, contains a similar phrase, and in view of the uncertainty of the real meaning of the sentence, we have left in the translation a rendering which is more in harmony with the ordinary course of a Syriac way of expression.

Frankenberg suggests the elimination of the fem. *Hé* from ܗܘܝܬ. This is good but not necessary. When emphasis is intended in a sentence the suffixes may be used redundantly.

v. 14. One could also translate ܘܗܠܟܬ 'and I walked'. We have retained the reading of the MS. which, by exhibiting a dot over the *taw*, induces us to translate 'it proceeded', referring by it to 'way'. Gressmann proposes to read ܘܗܠܟ̈ܬ 'steps', and Frankenberg ܘܗܠܟ.

The expression 'the traces of the light' (ἴχνη τοῦ φωτός) is obscure; it occurs again in Ode xv. 6, and evidently has a special meaning: the ἴχνη are *footprints* which one follows: the context suggests walking.

v. 15. Instead of ܦܠܚ 'He was served' or 'wrought' of the MS., we have suggested the slight emendation of ܫܠܚ 'He was sent'.

We cannot say 'By it (knowledge) He was served', on account of the feminine suffix required in that case; so we render 'By Him' and refer back to verse 12.

In the last clause of the verse a similar difficulty arises: we have rendered it as 'the Father pleased in the Son' rather than 'Wisdom (the Mother)'.

It is possible that we have here an allusion to God's delight in Wisdom as his chief workman (Prov. viii. 30), the 'Son' having displaced the original Wisdom-idea. In that case we should have read ܚܕܝܬ for ܚܝܬ (the mere addition of a single dot).

v. 17. Frankenberg's suggestion that we should eliminate the *dālath* of ܘܥܠܠܗ and consider the word as a direct complement to ܟܪܗܘܗ is not necessary, in spite of the plausible meaning which the sentence would have: *To announce the coming of the Lord to . . .*

Bruston proposes to read ܟܡ ܫܦܪ 'announce well'. This emendation is, however, improbable, inasmuch as an expletive particle is commonly placed after the verb; further, it is obviously erroneous to use here the particle ܟܡ in the sense of 'well'.

v. 18. The suggestion made by Gressmann and followed by Kittel

that ܫܰܪ̈ܝ̈ܐ can be taken as a past participle ܫܪ̈ܝ̈ܐ, is not very good as far as the Syriac is concerned. The paronomasia in the text should be noted.

v. 19. Gressmann unnecessarily proposes ܘܬܫܪ 'and He is seen' for ܘܫܪ̈ܐ 'and He sees' of the MS.

v. 20. Cod H has ܠܐܝܬ. A *yodh* is frequently added by the copyist at the end of the 3rd pers. fem. sing. of the aorist. Its insertion is more frequent in modern than in ancient manuscripts, and in the case of the two MSS. of the Odes, it is much less used by B than by H. Grammatically this *yodh* is erroneous. See Mingana, *Syr. Gram.*, No. 204.

v. 23. Gressmann proposes unnecessarily ܒܥܕܗܘܢ 'their breath' for ܒܚܕܗܘܢ 'their harmonies'. Grimme, favoured by Kittel, considers ܘܪܥܐ to be a mistake for ܘܪܥܐ 'etwas Widerstrebendes'. This emendation does not seem, however, to be in harmony with the verse. Probably a ܘܠܐ which appears twice in the following member of the verse, has by inadvertence been omitted by the scribe. The meaning it gives is obvious and appropriate. Connolly's suggestion ܘܐܠܗ becomes unnecessary.

v. 24. Gressmann unnecessarily proposes ܩܠܐ ܕܦܘܡܐ 'voice and mouth' instead of ܩܠܐ ܕܦܘܡܐ 'the voice of the mouth' of the MS.

v. 25. In the text we have printed ܫܟܝܡܐ and added the following note, 'Perhaps ܫܟܝܡܐ'. As it happens, this is actually the reading of the MS.!

Expository Notes.

There are a number of obscurities in this Ode, both in the text and in the translation. We have not succeeded in resolving them all. It is clear that the Odist is occupied in the first instance with the Incarnation, considered as a diminution of Deity for the sake of the human race, who are thus made capable of an elevation that should correspond with the Divine descent. Salvation consists in the right understanding of this mystery; it is a case of Salvation by Knowledge, so that on the surface it might seem as if the Hymn were Gnostic: but not all that affects Gnosis is Gnostic.

The word which we have translated 'impulse' in verse 1 is literally 'running'. The suggestion arises as to whether the language may not be based upon Cant. i. 3, 'Draw me, *we will run* after thee', where the person addressed is the Beloved. Thus the identification of the Beloved leads to the identification of Canticles as the source of the 'running'. It is a 'chase of joy', because the text in Canticles goes on with 'we will

rejoice and exult in thee'. The 'helper' in v. 3 of the Ode may, perhaps, be involved in '*draw* me, we will run'.

If the foregoing identification of the sources of the Odist is correct, we need have no doubt that the title *Odes of Solomon* is primitive, and that the Odes have been attached to the group of Salomonic writings.

Dr. Abbott has made a similar suggestion of dependence upon Canticles (see 139 ff.).

We had the advantage for the interpretation of this Ode in the discovery of quotations made from it by certain early Fathers. The most important was a passage in Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* (vi. 9, p. 267), to which we have drawn attention in a previous chapter. We showed that Eusebius, commenting on the 144th Psalm, explains that the Word of God, out of His kindness to men and His knowledge of them, minished Himself of His proper greatness, in order to make the human race worthy of His own knowledge. The coincidence in the language and in the thought with the expressions and ideas of the Ode enabled us to say that Eusebius had the Ode in his mind and was using it. We were able to show that the Ode had also been used in Syriac by the *Acts of Thomas*, (ed. Wright, p. ٩٠), a reference which was valuable, in view of the known antiquity of these Acts and their Gnostic character.

The argument of the Odist that the Word became like us in order that we might become like him, may be illustrated from Ephrem's *Carmina Nisibena* (No. 3, p. 79):

> 'He Himself in His *goodness put on the human form*, that He might gather us together and make us *like to Himself*. . . . . These things were done to our advantage, because that nature (*lit.* substance) became like to us, in order that we *might become like to it*.'

It is quite possible that Ephrem is working from our Ode as a base.

The same thing is true of the fourth of the *Epiphany Hymns*, where the language is used of the putting on of Christ in the act of baptism, by those who have previously put off the old man symbolically by a change of raiment. Thus we are told:

> iv. 11. 'How did the great one, who in His love was minished (ܐܬܡܟ ܒܚܘܒܗ) become persecuted by those who denied Him, and was adored by the watching (angels)'!
>
> 12. 'Let us become like Him who made Himself less than all and who being thus minished made all men great.'

(See also Ephrem. *R. E.* iii. 55, 58, 132).

The Incarnation is regarded as the Incarnation of the pre-existent Logos, who is here spoken of under the term Wisdom, in harmony with the language of Prov. viii. 22 ('the Lord created me'). It is important to note that the verse of Proverbs is here used in the language of the LXX: Κύριος ἔκτισέ με· Elsewhere the Odist uses the same passage in the Hebrew form, 'the Lord possessed me'; see Ode xli. Thus, if the unity of the Odes be conceded, the author was acquainted with both forms of the text, which is more than can be said of the Christian teachers for the next two centuries, who systematically bombard the Jew with the text of the LXX.

As the Incarnation is the incarnation of the Divine Wisdom, it was natural that salvation should consist in the knowledge of the Lord, and that we should have an article in the creed on the Abolition of Ignorance corresponding to the conventional one on the Forgiveness of Sins. The writer says so positively, verse 13:

'To Knowledge He hath appointed His way:'[1]

(which is a variation on Prov. viii. 22, 'The Lord created me His way'); and verse 27:

'Ignorance hath been destroyed because the Knowledge of the Lord has arrived.'

We have shown in a previous chapter that traces of this formula are to be found in the letters of Ignatius:

ἠφανίζετο κακίας ἄγνοια· καθηρεῖτο παλαιὰ βασιλεία.

the *new* Kingdom is inferred to be the Knowledge of the Lord. We see now that our position in regard to the ἀπόρροια (of Wisdom) in Ode vi, that it represents the Knowledge of the Lord which covers the earth, was a correct one.

Ignatius continues his reference to the abolition of ignorance with the words 'When God was manifested as man for the renewal of eternal life'; the abolition was the result of the incarnation, exactly as in the Odes. And we have shown in a previous chapter that Marcus the Gnostic also taught that the 'abolition of ignorance became the knowledge of Jesus'.

[1] Batiffol suggests a slight emendation:

'Il a dirigé ma voie vers la science.'

We can now see why the Odist says at the close of his song that 'there shall be nothing without life or without knowledge', for from his point of view eternal life consists in the knowledge of the Lord. We have something to the same effect in the Gospel of John (xvii. 3):

> 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee . . . . . and Jesus Christ.'

There is nothing necessarily Gnostic about it in a heretical sense; but it might easily become a point of departure for Gnostic teaching.

The term ܠܐ ܝܕܥܐ should be the exact equivalent of ἄγνοια; but it is good Syriac and not merely a translation. Cf. Ephrem (ed. Mitchell, p. 173):

ܝܕܥܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܕܥ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ

Stölten has pointed out that Marcus the Gnostic, of whom Irenaeus has so much to say, has an expression very like that in the Odes. Amongst other silly sports, in some of which early orthodox people also joined, he amused himself with Gematria over the name of Christ and the name of Jesus. The knowledge of the Lord, according to Marcus, was the knowledge of His name, and the letters and numbers thereof. When the name of Jesus with its six sacred letters was disclosed, then 'those who knew him ceased from ignorance, and mounted from death to life; the Name itself became to them the Way to the Father of Truth. For the Father of the universe willed the abolition of ignorance and the destruction of death. *But the abolition of ignorance became the knowledge of Him*'. (Iren. ed. Mass. 76.)

This is very close to the language of the Ode. It is capable of an orthodox interpretation, and it is possible that Marcus was only stupid and not exactly heretical at this point. He was proving an orthodox truth in a foolish manner: the truth itself was in the Ode. We may, perhaps, take this as an instance of the ill-luck that the Odes had in falling into the hands of the Valentinian Gnostics, of whom Marcus appears to have been one. We cannot with Stölten call it a case of Gnostic parallel. It is a quotation, a Biblical text.

The expression about the singers and seers who are to come before Him and to appear before Him, is obscure as to the seers: but the sentence itself imitates, in a Targumist manner, the language of Psalm xlii. 2:

> 'When shall I come and appear before God?'

The Peshitta says, 'When shall I come to see thy face?' The Targum has a circumlocution, and talks of 'seeing the Majesty': evidently the Syriac Psalter came too near to saying that God could be seen, and various ways were found of avoiding such an expression. The repetition of 'before Him' and the introduction of the passive 'shall be seen' instead of 'see' is in the manner of the Targums. In order to understand the situation more clearly we need to recall to our minds the offensiveness to the monotheistic thinker of such expressions as imply an actual vision of God. For instance, Philo has to explain away the passage in Exodus (xxiv. 10) where the elders of Israel

'Ate and drank and saw God also.'

His solution is:

'They saw the place of God.'—*De Somniis*, i. 11.

A severer theology would even have taken exception to such an expression as the 'place of God'.

Another instance, which shows how carefully the thought of an actual vision of God was avoided, will be found in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, where it is a capital charge against the prophet that he said he had seen the Lord. We remember how this is softened in the Fourth Gospel, after the manner of the Targumist, by saying that 'Isaiah said these things when he saw His glory'. Here the 'Glory' is one of the Divine Attributes substituted for God.

This then is the religious atmosphere in which the Odist finds himself. His answer to the question of the Syriac Psalter,

'When shall I come and see God?'

is that the seers will, indeed, come, they will come *before God* (as the Targumist speech constantly puts it), and they will not see God, but they will *be seen before Him*. The Authorized Version has drifted into something of the same circumlocutory speech.

In tracing the Biblical affinities of this Ode, special attention should be paid to the passage (v. 12) that is in dependence upon the 100th Psalm:

'He hath given Him (*or* Himself) to be seen of them that are His:
In order that they might recognize Him that made them,
And that they might not suppose that they came of themselves.'

It was evident at a glance that the passage was under the influence of the 100th Psalm:

'It is He that made us,
Not we ourselves.'

The late Professor Menzies remarked acutely on this identification, that the influence of the Psalm went further: for the Revisers of the Old Testament have altered the conventional 'not we ourselves' to 'and we are His'. And this emended reading is reflected in the Ode in the form

'to be seen of *them that are His.*'

At the same time, it is clear that the displaced reading is also in the Ode, in the words,

'that they might not suppose *that they came* (*or* were) *of themselves.*'

What then is the origin of this new rendering which turns up so unexpectedly? It is in the Hebrew Bible itself, which advises us to read for

ולא אנחנו ('and not we')
ולו אנחנו ('and to Him are we').

The Ḳeri, as it is called, which the reader is advised to substitute for the written text, is also found in the Targum, or popular exposition of the text. The Targum says very clearly:

עבד יתנא ודיליה אנחנא
'He made us, *and His we are.*'

The Peshiṭta text takes the other reading.

From the fact that the Odist knows and uses both readings, we are again confirmed in our opinion of his close and careful scholarship. Remembering, too, his habit of picking up the sequence of his thoughts from the text on which he is working, we see that we must go back to the words

'*Know* that the Lord, He is God,'

for the motive of the Odist's remark about

'*Recognizing Him that* made them,'

and the consequent statement that

'It is to *knowledge* that He hath appointed His way.'

The continuity of the Ode is not on the surface, but it is not so far underground that it cannot be traced. The Odist often turns back to strike over again the note of a previous verse: thus in the passage which we have been discussing,

'He hath given Him to be seen of them that are His,'

he has turned back to the previous verse, 'I trembled not when I saw Him', *sc.* the Christ who has assumed human nature.

We have not yet exhausted the influence of the 100th Psalm; for the Odist has worked in the opening sentence of the Psalm:

'Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all ye lands:
Serve the Lord with gladness,
Come before His presence with singing.'

Here we have the clue to the introduction of

'Those that have songs of the coming of the Lord;
That they may go forth to meet Him and may sing to Him with joy,'

and to the reference to the question, which we have already discussed, in the 42nd Psalm,

'When shall I come and appear before God?'

The transition from the Knowledge of God to the Song of God, which at first sight is discontinuous, finds its explanation in the closer study of the 100th Psalm. We shall probably be justified in maintaining that the Odist, whom we know to have been acquainted with the Targum, has taken from thence the reading, which was suggested above by the Ḳeri of the Hebrew text.

Professor Menzies, to whom we have referred, thought that the use of the 100th Psalm with its obvious Gentile leanings was an indication that the Odes were what he calls 'Psalms of the Proselytes', viz. of proselytes to Judaism in the first century. We have referred to this theory in our Introduction.

In this Ode and in Ode x there is an expression that occurs twice over, which we have translated by

'The traces of the Light'.

The expression is a curious one, and by its recurrence suggests that it has been introduced into the Odes *ab extra*. But where shall we find any

such expression? Is it Biblical or Mystical or Gnostic? In Ode vii we are told that 'to Knowledge He has appointed His way . . . and set over it the *traces of His light,* and *I walked* (*or* it proceeded) therein from the beginning to the end'. The language suggests that 'traces' are really 'footprints'. In Ode x, the Odist says of the redeemed Gentiles that 'they confessed me in high places; and *the traces of the light* were *set upon their hearts; and they walked* in my life', where again there is a connexion between the 'footprints' and the 'walk'.

The nearest Biblical passage that shows any parallelism with the expression in the Odes is Sirach l. 29:

μακάριος ὃς ἐν τούτοις ἀναστραφήσεται,
καὶ θεὶς αὐτὰ ἐπὶ καρδίαν αὐτοῦ σοφισθήσεται·
ἐὰν γὰρ αὐτὰ ποιήσῃ, πρὸς πάντα ἰσχύσει,
ὅτι φῶς Κυρίου τὸ ἴχνος αὐτοῦ.

This is not very easy to translate; the English revisers present us with

Blessed is he that shall be exercised in these things;
And he that layeth them up in his heart shall become wise;
For if he do them, he shall be strong for all things,
For the light of the Lord is his guide:
(marg. footstep.)

The connexion in Sirach between the underlined words and the language of the Odes should be noted. Further illumination seems necessary.

ODE VIII

1 Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord:
And let your love abound from the heart, and even to the lips: Cf. Hos. xiv. 2, Heb. xiii. 15.

2 To bring forth fruits to the Lord, a holy life,
And to talk watchfully in His light.

3 Rise up and stand erect,
Ye who were sometimes brought low;

4 Ye who were in silence, speak out,
(Now) that your mouth hath been opened.

5 Ye who were despised, be lifted up;
Now that your righteousness has been lifted up;

6 For the right hand of the Lord is with you;
And He will be your helper.

7 And peace hath been prepared for you,
Before ever your war happened.

(Christ speaks.)

8 Hear the word of truth,
And receive the knowledge of the Most High

9 Your flesh does not know what I am saying to you;
Nor your raiment[1] what I am showing to you;

Cf. Clem. Hom. xix. 20.

10 Keep my secret, ye who are kept by it;

11 Keep my faith, ye who are kept by it.

12 And understand my knowledge,
Ye who know me in truth:

13 Love me with affection,
Ye who love:

14 For I do not turn away my face from them that are mine;
For I know them.

15 Before they came into being,
I took knowledge of them,
And on their faces I set my seal.

16 I fashioned their members;
My own breasts I prepared for them;
That they might drink my holy milk and live thereby.

[1] So MS.

17 I took pleasure in them,
And I am not ashamed of them.

18 For my workmanship are they,
And the strength of my thoughts:

19 Who then shall stand up against my handywork?
Or who is there that is not subject to them?

20 I willed, and fashioned mind and heart;
And they are mine. Cf. Ode xlii. *fin.*
And by my own right hand I set my elect ones.

21 And my righteousness goeth before them; Cf. Isa. lviii. 8.
And they shall not be detached from my name:
For it is with them.

(The Odist.)

22 Pray and abide continually in the love of the Lord;
Ye beloved ones, in the Beloved;
And ye who are kept, in Him that lived (again);
And ye that are saved, in Him that was saved.

23 And ye shall be found incorrupt in all ages,
To the name of your Father.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. Gressmann suggests the possible ܐܒܥܗ 'let it gush forth' instead of ܐܬܪܒܝ 'let it be multiplied'. Cf. Odes xvi. 2, xxxvi. 7, xl. 2 (*bis*). Although ܒܥܐ is generally used transitively, it is sometimes also used intransitively.

v. 2. Schulthess has suggested a *dālath* before ܚܝܐ 'of the life'. This, however, is not probable; the 'holy life' is a permutative term (ܒܕܠ)

to 'fruits'; and Barth's hypothesis that we must read ܫܠܝܐ ܘܩܕܝܫܐ 'the Living and the Holy' is inadmissible in Syriac. Flemming's reading ܚܙܝܪܘܬܐ 'savagery', 'rudeness', instead of 'with watchfulness', 'with diligence', 'with fervency', is not good. Likewise in the case of ܠܡܡܠܠܗ 'to speak' which Schulthess proposes to change into ܠܡܗܠܟ 'to walk'. In verses 1 and 4 mention is made of speech and not of walk. To change the text so as to give meaning of 'Pour apporter des fruits au Seigneur, vivants, saints, et pour remplir la stupidité de sa lumière' (Bruston) is impossible in Syriac.

v. 9. The MS. has ܠܚܘܡܗܘܢ 'your raiment'. We have suggested in the text ܠܚܘܠܡܗܘܢ 'your hearts'. This is possibly a daring suggestion in view of the mention of 'your body' in the preceding line, and of the emphasis laid on the 'coats of skin' in Ode xxv. 8.

v. 12. Influenced by verse 14, Gressmann proposes the possible emendation ܡܬܝܕܥ ܠܝ 'are known to me' to ܝܕܥ ܠܝ 'know me' of the MS.

v. 20. Barth's suggestion that for ܠܝܚܕ we should read ܠܝܚܫ is useless; both forms are equally used in Syriac. His hypothesis that we should, perhaps, read ܠܝܚܬܟ or ܠܝܚܕܝ (my fashioned ones) in accordance with the verb previously used, is unnecessary.

v. 21. Instead of ܢܚܕܣܘ it would be better Syriac to read ܢܚܕܣܢ without the slightest change to the meaning.

v. 22. In the text we have placed the erroneous note 'Cod. ܐܗܝܗ'. The MS. actually bears the reading of the printed text. We translate 'pray and abide continually' rather than 'pray continually and abide'. A parallel for the existence of the ܘ between ܐܗܝܗ and ܕܕ may be seen in Philoxenus, *Discourses*, i, p. 215:

ܘܥܡ ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܢܗܝܐ ܘܒܫܠܐ

and Aphrahat (vol. ii, p. 140):

ܐܗܝܗ ܘܥܡܕ ܚܕ ܙܒܢ.

Bruston believes that ܚܕ is to be regarded as a substantive, *quaestio*: (écartez l'investigation). This is quite improbable.

Expository Notes.

This is the first of the Odes that is clearly marked with a dual personality, the Odist becoming at a certain point in the song the Lord

Himself. A number of Odes show the same peculiarity, which is common in the canonical Psalter: cf. for example, the change in the second Psalm, where the Psalmist makes way for the Father in verse 8 and for the Son in verse 9. The difficulty will lie in the delimitation of the speakers. In the present Ode the change occurs at the eighth verse; it has been prepared for by an oracular appeal to 'hear the Word of Truth'. Perhaps the poet re-appears in verse 22: all the intervening verses are *ex ore Christi*.

This is the Ode in which Dr. Bernard suspected allusion to the *disciplina arcani*, in the words, 'Keep my secret, ye who are kept by it'; and we have shown that there is a striking parallel in the baptismal lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem. But here again we have the difficulty to meet that the formula is an ancient one, and is probably taken from a saying of Jesus in an uncanonical Gospel, and goes back ultimately to the prophet Isaiah (see Isa. xxiv. 16 in the Hexapla). The saying of Jesus will be found in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 10:

> οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν, φησί, παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κύριος ἔν τινι εὐαγγελίῳ, Μυστήριον ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου.

and in Clem. *Hom.* xix. 20:

> Μεμνήμεθα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκάλου, ὡς ἐντελλόμενος ἡμῖν εἶπεν· Τὰ μυστήρια ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς μου φυλάξατε.

Such a saying cannot have had a baptismal reference in the first instance, however much it may have lent itself to such use in later days.

We may also compare Lactantius, *Instit.* vii. 26, which has much similarity with the language of the Ode:

> 'Nos defendere hanc (doctrinam) publice atque asserere non solemus, Deo iubente, ut quieti ac silentes arcanum eius in abdito atque intra nostram conscientiam teneamus, ... abscondi enim tegique mysterium quam fidelissime oportet, maxime a nobis, qui nomen fidei gerimus.'

Wensinck, in his recent translation of the *Dove* of Bar Hebraeus, has some excellent remarks upon mystical reticence, but does not see that in the following passage Bar Hebraeus is quoting from Isaiah:

> 'The Holy Scripture says concerning them; there is a secrecy between me and my house-mates; and it warns them not to publish

these things, but to conceal them, and it does not allow the housemates to scrutinize them, save only in oral discussion.'[1]

An acquaintance with mystical language and esoteric teaching makes it clear that the injunction in the Odes has nothing to do with baptismal ritual.

It is to be noted, however, that in *Pistis Sophia* 377 the rule is applied to baptism: e.g.

'Occulite hoc μυστήριον, ne date id homini cuivis, εἰ μήτι facturo res omnes, quas dixi vobis in meis ἐντολαῖς. Hoc οὖν est μυστήριον ἀληθείας βαπτίσματος horum qui remittent eorum peccata.'

Here the actual reference, and the allusion to Matt. xxviii, show that baptism is the mystery that is to be concealed.

In this Ode and in the next there is an allusion to a state of War from which the saints either have been delivered or may expect to be. We put the two passages side by side for comparison:

Ode viii. 7.	Ode ix. 6.
Peace hath been prepared for you, Before ever your war happened.	For I announce peace to you His saints; That none of those who hear may fall in war.

It is hard to say what the war and the peace are to which the Odist refers. It is very difficult to limit the language to purely spiritual conflicts, or to assume that it only means that the saints shall get the victory: but at the end of the ninth Ode he seems to say that 'Victory is yours', and that this victory is due to the inscription of the names of the faithful in a book of life.

In the eighth Ode the saints have gone through a variety of conflicts: they have been brought low, put to silence, despised. Some struggle has evidently gone on, which is not covered by the individual conflict for inward illumination and liberty. But what the battle is we have no means of determining, nor with whom.

As the Odist goes on in verse 9 to describe a crown of precious stones about which wars have arisen, we must probably refer these wars to the one mentioned in verse 7. The crown, however, is the Truth, just as it is in Ode i, where no wars are mentioned. This suggests that after all the reference is to spiritual conflicts. The statement that 'righteousness has

[1] Wensinck, *l.c.*, p. xxviii.

taken it and given it to you', would mean, 'the crown is yours as the Victor's right'. There is, however, still much that is obscure in the Odist's language.

Reviewing the whole Ode we see very definite traces of Syriac influence. The assonances in verse 12 ('understand my knowledge', &c.) should be noted, also the reference in verse 21 to Isa. lviii. 8, which is quoted again in Ode xx, where see the argument that the prophet is being quoted from the Syriac. The sentence

> 'They shall not be deprived of my Name,
> For it is with them,'

is to be understood as a Targum substitution of the Name for the Person, so that it really means,

> 'They shall not be without me,
> For I am with them.'

This is the Odist's way of working over Isa. lviii. 9:

> 'Thou shalt cry,
> And He shall say, Here I am.'

ODE IX

1 Open your ears;
And I will speak to you.

2 Give me your souls;
That I may also give you my soul.

3 The Word of the Lord and His good pleasures,
The holy thought that He has thought concerning His Messiah.

4 For in the will of the Lord is your life;
And His intention is (your) everlasting life;
And your end[1] is incorruptible.

[1] *Or*, your perfection.

5[a] Be enriched in God the Father,
And receive the intention of the Most High;
5[b] Be strong and be redeemed by His grace.

6 For I announce peace, to you His saints;
That none of those who hear may fall in war.

Cf. John iii. 16. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 16.

7 And that those who have known Him may not perish,
And that those who receive (Him) may not be ashamed.

Ps. xx. (xxi.) 4.

8 An everlasting crown is Truth;
Blessed are they who set it on their heads:

Ps. xx. (xxi.) 4 (LXX).

9 A stone of great price (it is);
And the wars were on account of the crown.

10 And righteousness hath taken it,
And hath given it to you.

11 Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord;
And all those who have conquered shall be inscribed[1] in His book.

12 For their inscription[2] is the victory, which is yours;
And she (Victory) sees you before her, and wills that you shall be saved.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 7. Gressmann suggests ܢܫܚܡ for ܢܫܚܐ. The meaning of both is identical and the change is possible but not necessary. The case would be similar if we proposed to substitute for it the verb ܢܫܚܬ as Wellhausen has done. Cf. Ode xix. 5, &c.

[1] *Lit.* booked. [2] *Lit.* book.

v. 11. Flemming's suggestion of ܫܪܪܐ 'truth' for ܫܪܝܪ 'true', 'firm', the adjective referring to covenant, is not sound.

v. 12. It is possible to read with Frankenberg ܥܠܟܝ 'your' for ܥܠܟܘܢ 'to you'.

The important verses in this Ode from a critical point of view are verses 8–11, in which Truth is spoken of as an everlasting crown and a crown of victory to be placed on the head of the believer. The Odist makes an apparent discontinuity of expression by saying (1) that Truth is a crown; (2) that this crown is a stone of great price. The discontinuity disappears when we observe the source from which the writer is working: it is the LXX rendering of Ps. xx. (xxi.) 4:

ἔθηκας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἐκ λίθου τιμίου.

Here the 'precious stone' is an attempt to translate the perplexing פז of the Hebrew, which in the English Bible appears as 'pure gold'. Our Odist has in his presentation of the Hebrew treated 'the precious stone' as an apposition to the 'crown'. In his translation by 'precious stone' he follows the LXX very closely, and it is to be observed that this is *not* the reading of the Peshiṭta, which says 'a glorious crown'. This is the more curious, because the Peshiṭta when it translates מן זהב וממפז רב in Psalm xviii. (xix.) 10 renders by ܡܢ ܕܗܒ ܘܡܢ ܐܒܢ ܝܩܪܐ ('of gold and precious stones'). We cannot, therefore, be sure that there is no influence from the Peshiṭta on the Ode.

Expository Notes.

We referred in the previous Ode to the prevalence or possibility of a state of war that may affect the saints, and which occurs in this Ode also. The Ode is spoken by the poet as prophet or orator. The reference to 'those who hear' (i. e. 'you who hear') depends on verse 1, 'open your ears'.

This Ode is one of the group of coronation Odes mentioned under the first Ode. It is a royal crown in one point of view, for the language is borrowed from Ps. xx. (xxi.), in which it is said in the opening verse: 'the King shall joy in thy strength, O God'. The crown is, then, the King's, and apparently the Odist regards the Psalm as Messianic, with

Christ for King; it can thus be described as 'the holy thought which God has thought concerning his Christ'. The Odist also describes the Crown as a Victor's crown, so that this Ode does not come under the description of epithalamium. It certainly is not the baptismal circlet which is described in these terms.

The reference to the 20th Psalm will help us to explain not only the 'crown' and the 'King Messiah', but the apparently irrelevant verse 4:

> 'The Lord's intention is everlasting life,
> Your end is incorruption.'

For this Psalm was in very early times taken as predictive of immortality, not only of the King, who asks life and gets it, but also of the believer. Irenaeus has a special section, in which he discusses the question how souls, which admittedly have a beginning, can become incorruptible:

quomodo animae cum sint generabiles in futurum incorruptibiles perseverant.

Amongst the considerations which he adduces are the following:

> Ps. xx. (xxi.) 4. Et iterum de salvando homine sic ait; *Vitam petit a te et tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum in saeculum saeculi.*— Iren. (ed. Mass. 169).

Here then the Psalm in question is applied to man generally; and to establish the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. But this is not all that we learn from Irenaeus. He not only proves immortality of the soul from the Scripture, but he argues it as follows. Immortality is not natural: it is the gift of the Father and the gift of grace:

> 'Tanquam *Patre* omnium *donante* et in saeculum saeculi perseverantiam *his qui salvi fiunt*: non enim in nobis, neque ex nostra natura vita est; sed secundum Dei gratiam datur.'

This is exactly what the Odist has been saying; the obscurity of whose sentences and sequences disappears when we put the passage of Irenaeus alongside with them. Both of them are trying to say on the basis of the 20th (21st) Psalm that the gift of God is eternal life: the immortality of the soul is in the will of the Father by His grace.

It appears, then, that the ninth Ode of Solomon is based on the 20th Psalm of David. From this Psalm comes the Christ, the gift of immortality, and the crown of precious stones. The discovery is an

important one, for we had already shown that the first Ode was a pendant to the first Psalm; now we say that the ninth Ode is a pendant to the 21st Psalm. We shall come across more cases presently of the dependence of the Odist upon the Psalter: the 28th Ode, for example, will require the 22nd Psalm for its key; and so, no doubt, in other cases. We may not be able to generalize the dependence into a formula: but it is at least conceivable that just as Bardaisan made a Psalter of 150 Psalms in imitation of the Davidic collection, so we have a similar practice on the part of the Odist, though we may not know how far the imitation goes.

The identification of the underlying Psalm may help us to a conjectural solution of the wars that issue in peace to which we alluded above. Is it not possible that the writer is simply affirming the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, who will attain peace after the wars of this life? This would explain the sequence:

> 'that none of those who hear may fall in the war:
> And that those who have known Him may not perish,
> And that those who receive Him may not be ashamed.'

ODE X

1 The Lord hath directed my mouth by His Word;
And He hath opened my heart by His Light.

2 And He hath caused to dwell in me His deathless life;
And gave me to speak the fruit of His peace:

3 To convert the souls of those who are willing to come to Him; Cf. Ps. lxvii. (lxviii.) 18.
And to lead captive a good captivity for freedom.

(Christ speaks.)

4 I was strengthened and made mighty and took the world captive;
And (the captivity) became to me for the praise of the Most High and of God my Father.

5 And the Gentiles were gathered together who had been scattered abroad:
And I was unpolluted by my love (for them),
Because they confessed[1] me in high places.

6 And the traces of the light were set upon their hearts;
And they walked in my life and were saved,
And they became my people for ever and ever.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. Instead of 'hath directed' we may also translate 'hath rectified'. The verb ܐܬܬܩܢ has always more the meaning of 'rectification' than of 'direction'.

v. 5. The MS. has the two dots of the plural on ܒܚܘܒܗ 'by my love', and this gives 'by my sins', which may be found in harmony with the preceding verb, 'I was un-polluted'. The application of this meaning to Christ does not seem to be very suitable, and consequently we have suggested the elimination of the siamē points, and translated 'by my love'. We might, in accordance with Ode viii. 22, read ܒܚܒܝܒܬ 'in my beloved ones', but this is a violent emendation. Barnes suggests ܒܚܘܒܗܘܢ 'by their sins'. In the following line, Gunkel proposes without necessity ܘܥܡܡܝ ܗܘܘ for ܘܥܡܡܝ ܗܘ.

v. 6. The word ܥܡܐ might be translated 'my people' from ܥܡܐ, and might also be taken as the preposition ܥܡ and be translated 'with me', 'and they became with me for ever and ever'.

Expository Notes.

In this Ode again the writer, after a short preface in which he declares himself an evangelist of the new faith, begins to speak in the Person of Christ and so continues to the end of the Ode.

The chief point to be noticed in this little Ode is the allusion to the conversion of the Gentiles. The language is apologetic. Their presence in the Church has not polluted the Christ, whose love had won them. The sympathy with the Gentiles is touched with irony of a delicate kind

[1] *Or*, gave thanks to.

towards those who thought them a pollution. The Gentiles are still somewhat on sufferance, shall we say at Antioch? The language does not seem to belong to a late period of ecclesiastical growth; the Scriptures, too, which underlie the statements of the Odist are either Old Testament passages which are already in use in the New, or, which is much the same thing, extracted from early collections of *Testimonia*. The 'leading captive captivity' is Ps. lxvii. (lxviii.) 18, and is in use in Eph. iv. 8. The Gentiles who *confess* Christ should be understood in the sense of ἐξομολογοῦνται (as in Ode v. 1); and the underlying Scripture is Ps. xvii. (xviii.) 50, where the Psalmist, speaking in his own person at the end of the Psalm says

ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν, Κύριε·

The testimony is known to us from Rom. xv. 9, where it is introduced as follows:

> 'And that *the Gentiles* should glorify God for His mercy, as it is written, I will give thanks to thee among the Gentiles and will sing Psalms in thy name.'

Here St. Paul treats the ancient Psalmist as a representative Gentile. That the Gentiles should become 'my people' is from Hosea (ii. 23):

καλέσω τὸν οὐ-λαόν-μου λαόν-μου· καὶ τὴν οὐκ-ἠγαπημένην ἠγαπημένην.

a testimony which appears in Rom. ix. 25 and in 1 Pet. ii. 10, and in *Testimonies against the Jews* (e. g. Cyp. *Test.* i. 19).

For the 'traces' or 'footprints' of the Light, see Ode vii.

ODE XI

1 My heart was cloven and its flower appeared;
And grace sprang up in it;
And it brought forth fruit to the Lord.

2 For the Most High clave (my heart) by His Holy Spirit,
And exposed towards Him my affection.[1]
And filled me with His love.

[1] *Lit.* reins.

3 And His cleaving of (my heart) became my salvation,
And I ran in the way, in His peace,
In the way of truth.

4 From the beginning and even to the end
I received His knowledge.

Cf. Aphrahat i. 416. 5 And I was established upon the rock of truth,
Where He had set me up.

6 And speaking waters drew near my lips
From the fountain of the Lord plenteously.

7 And I drank and was inebriated
With the living water that doth not die;

Cf. Ephes. v. 17, 18. 8[a] And my inebriation was not one without knowledge,

8[b] But I forsook vanity:

9 And I turned to the Most High my God,
And I was enriched by His bounty;

10 And I forsook the folly cast away over the earth;
And I stripped it off and cast it from me.

Cf. Ps. civ. (ciii.) 2. 11 And the Lord renewed me in His raiment,
And possessed me by His light;

12 And from above He gave me rest without corruption;
And I became like the land which blossoms and rejoices in its fruits:

13 And the Lord (was) like the sun (shining) upon the face of the land;

14 My eyes were enlightened,
And my face received the dew:

15 And my nostrils had the pleasure
Of the pleasant odour of the Lord.

16 And He carried me into His Paradise,
Where is the abundance of the pleasure of the Lord;

17 And I worshipped the Lord on account of His glory;

18 And I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they
That are planted in thy land,
And that have a place in thy Paradise,

19 And that grow in the growth of thy trees; Cf. Ps. Sol xiv. 2.
And have changed from darkness to light.

20 Behold! all thy servants are fair,
They who do good works,
And turn away from wickedness to thy pleasantness.

21 And they have turned away from themselves the bitterness of the trees, Cf. Ephr. (*R.E.* iii. 588).
When they were planted in thy land.

22 And everything became like a remembrance of thyself,
And a memorial for ever of thy faithful servants.

23 For there is abundant room in thy Paradise;
And nothing is useless therein: Ephr. (*R.E.* iii. 584).
But everything is filled with fruit; Cf. 2 Pet. i. 8.

24 Glory be to thee, O Lord, the delight of Paradise for ever.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

vv. 1–2. The verb which we have translated by 'to cleave' is used generally by Syrian writers in the sense of 'to circumcise'. Perhaps this 'double entente' was in the writer's or translator's mind. It would lower the Ode to try to reproduce such a nuance in English. The circumcision of heart, spoken of in the Old Testament is found even in the Ḳur'ān, ii. 82, iv. 154, and is frequent in Syriac literature in general: (e.g. Ephr. *R.E.* iii. 188).

v. 2. Tondelli's suggestion that instead of the primitive form ܫܠܛ we should read ܫܠܚ is possible but not necessary.

v. 6. Bruston's hypothesis that instead of ܡܬܚܠܐ we should resort to an adjective formed of the verb ܡܠܐ 'to fill' is not probable.

v. 11. Frankenberg proposes to read ܘܣܬܢ 'and He pitied me' for ܘܥܒܕܢ.

v. 14. The verb ܐܢܗܪ may be taken transitively, i.e. (God) 'illuminated my eyes', or intransitively, 'my eyes were enlightened, illuminated'. (Cf. iv. 4.)

v. 16. Grimme unnecessarily suggests that the word ܕܚܝܠܐ of this verse and the word ܚܝܠܐ of verse 3 are a dittographical error of the copyist.

v. 23. The passage, as has been pointed out in the Introduction, has been quoted by Ephrem (*Opp.*, ed. Rom. iii. 584) as follows:

ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܬܡ ܒܛܠ ܕܡܬܬܡܪ ܐܠܐ

'for there is nothing there that is vain (*or* useless)';

he was speaking of Paradise, and the quotation is unmistakable.

As it stands we must translate:

'Glory to thee, O God, the delight of Paradise for ever.'

If, however, we imagine ܥܡܟ to have dropped after ܐܠܗܐ we have:

'Glory to thee, O God; *with thee* is the delight of Paradise for ever.'

This is very near to the Targum of Psalm xvi. 11:

בסימתא בימינך לעלמין

'In thy right hand is delight for ever.'

The Targum is like the Odist in his fondness for introducing the delight of Paradise. In the 90th Psalm, at the end, he paraphrases the expression

'Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us',

and says:

'Let the delight of the Garden of Eden be upon us before the Lord.'

Expository Notes.

This lovely Psalm was known to Ephrem, as we have shown in one of our introductory chapters, and perhaps also to Ignatius and Barnabas. For the inebriation which is caused by the living water we may compare Cyril of Jerusalem:

> 'They are drunken, yet sober . . . a drunkenness contrary to that of the body; for this last even causes forgetfulness of what was known.'—Cyril, *Cat.* xvii. 19.

Cyril is speaking of the gift of the Spirit, from the day of Pentecost onwards, but he discloses the origin of his own language as to the God-intoxicated folk, and incidentally the origin of the language of the Odist; for he refers to Psalm xxxv (xxxvi):

> μεθυσθήσονται ἀπὸ πιότητος τοῦ οἴκου σου·
> καὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τῆς τρυφῆς σου ποτιεῖς αὐτούς·
> ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς. (Targ. 'drops of living water'.)
> Ps. xxxv. (xxxvi.) 9, 10.

Here we have clearly the key to the Odist's expressions; here is the fountain of the Lord of which the believer drinks plenteously, and here is the divine intoxication.

We should compare the Odist's treatment of the Psalm with a similar passage in the 28th Ode. Here we have as follows:

> 'I have been set on his immortal pinions;
> And deathless life embraced me
> And gave me to drink;
> And from that life is the spirit within me,
> And it cannot die, for it lives.'

Here again we are in dependence on the Psalm, and the previous verse has been imitated,

> οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου ἐλπιοῦσιν.

We have restored in the comparison the reading of the *editio princeps*; 'gave me to drink' corresponds to ποτιεῖς αὐτούς of the Psalm. Both of the Odes in question then go back to the same Psalm.

In verses 4, 5 the Odist has been imitating *Sap. Sol.* vi. 22:

> 'I will trace her [sc. Wisdom] *from the beginning* of Creation,
> And bring *the Knowledge of her* into clear light;
> And I will not pass by *the truth*.'

v. 13. The comparison of the Lord to the Sun and its shining, although altogether Biblical, appears to have been resented by Ephrem, who attacked Bardaisan for comparing God the Father to the Sun, e. g.

ܕܡܕܡܐ ܐܒܐ ܠܫܡܫܐ

('He compared the Father to the Sun').—Eph. *R.Æ.* ii. 558.

This eleventh Ode has in it elements that lend some support to Dr. Bernard. Here are traces of the garment of light, of the dew of the Lord, and the delight of Paradise, as well as, perhaps, an allusion to the new circumcision. It is difficult, however, to bring a spiritual Ode like this within the terms of ritual. Even if some of the terms are baptismal, the Odist is not detained by them. The language is ecstatic, and the writer confesses to spiritual intoxication. At the close he finds God everywhere, and exults in the discovery. Here we may add a couple of modern statements that come near to the thought of the Odist: the first is from Charles Kingsley:

> 'Everything seems to be full of God's reflex, if we could but see it. Oh! how I have prayed to have the mystery unfolded at least hereafter: to see, if but for a moment, the whole harmony of the great system.'—*Letters*, p. 28.

The other is from a little-known Quaker Journal, the writing of Thomas Story:

> 'Come sing with me, O ye Valleys, and Flowers of the Plain, let us clap our hands with Joy: for the King of the East hath visited us, and smiled on our Beauty: for He sees His Holy Name on every Flower, and glorious Image on every lovely Plain.'—Story, *Journal*, p. 18.

It will be convenient to add at this point the references to the 'talking water' of Daphne, which Lightfoot depreciated, in his desire to find a quotation from the Fourth Gospel in the Ignatian Epistles. Lightfoot quotes from Jortin (*Eccl. Hist.* i. 356) the reference to Anacreon 11 (13):

δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου λάλον πίοντες ὕδωρ·

for the expression 'talking water', and for the prophetic inspiration that

was supposed to be produced by drinking it: but objects to Jortin's inference that, as there was one of these 'speaking' fountains at Daphne, the famous suburb of Antioch, Ignatius may have borrowed his image from thence. Lightfoot thinks the reference doubtful, even if the text of Ignatius *ad Rom.* 7 ὕδωρ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν were correct. Lightfoot was quoting Jortin by way of Jacobson. A reference to Jortin himself shows that Lightfoot has not done justice to Jortin, whose statement of the case for λαλοῦν and against ἀλλόμενον is admirable.

Jortin says:

'The expression ὕδωρ λαλοῦν resembles the *vocales undae* which inspired the poets and prophets, e. g.

Et de Pieriis vocalem fontibus undam.—Statius, *Silv.* i. 2. 6.

An oracle of Apollo Delphicus given to Julian, and preserved in Cedrenus,

Εἴπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ, χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά·
οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μαντίδα δάφνην,
οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσαν, ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ
. . . . . .

In these verses, which, to do them justice, are elegant, Apollo, to raise Julian's compassion, deplores the silence of his oracles and *speaking streams*. In the first line read βασιλῆι.

Anacreon xiii.

Οἱ δὲ Κλάρου παρ' ὄχθαις
δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου
λάλον πιόντες ὕδωρ
μεμηνότες βοῶσιν.'

Jortin then proceeds to discuss the passage in Ignatius and its variant readings; he shows that the Greek Menaeum had both readings, and goes on to say against Le Clerc that 'the λαλοῦν ὕδωρ must not be altered; it is sufficiently confirmed by the quotations of Cotelier in this very note where he is inclined to reject it, and it is more elegant and proper than Le Clerc imagined'. References to Antioch and Daphne follow.

It is important, both for the criticism of the Ignatian Epistles and of the Odes, that the misleading argument of Lightfoot should be set on one side. When this is done, we have an important clue for locating the Odes as well as the Ignatian Epistles in contact or connexion with Antioch.

ODE XII

1 He hath filled me with words of truth,
That I may speak the same.

2 And like the flow of waters, flows truth from my mouth,
And my lips showed forth its fruits.

Cf. Sir. xxiv. 3.

3 And it has caused its knowledge to abound in me,
Because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word,
And the door of His light;

4 And the Most High hath given Him to His Worlds.
(Worlds) which are the interpreters of His own beauty.
And the repeaters of His praise,
And the confessors of His thought,
And the heralds of His mind,
And the instructors of His works.

Cf. Sap. Sol. vii. 24.
Cf. Heb. iv. 12.

5 For the swiftness of the Word is inexpressible (?)
And like His expression (?) is His swiftness and His sharpness:
And His course has no limit.

6 Never (doth the Word) fall, but ever it standeth;
Cf. Isa. liii. 8. His descent and His way are incomprehensible.

7 For as His work is, so is His limit;
Cf. John i. 9. For He is the light and the dawn of thought.

Cf. Ps. xviii. (xix) 3, 4.

8 And by Him the worlds spake one to the other:
And those that were silent acquired speech.

9 And from Him came love and concord;
And they spake one to the other what they had (to tell).

10 And they were stimulated by the Word,
And they knew Him that made them,
Because they came into concord.

11 For the mouth of the Most High spake to them;
And the interpretation of Himself had its course by Him. Cf. John i. 18.

12 For the dwelling-place of the Word is man, Cf. John i. 14.
And His truth is love.

13 Blessed are they who by it have comprehended everything,
And who have known the Lord by His truth.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. Newbold suggests the elimination of the siamē points from ܡܠܝܐ and that we translate, 'The Word of Truth hath filled me that I may proclaim Him (*or* it)'. This is grammatically more correct, because it provides a subject for the first sentence, and for the second member of verse 2 (ܦܐܪܝܗܝ *His* [*or* its] fruits). Cf. also v. 3. Further, all the Ode deals with 'the Word'. The copyist was possibly puzzled, as every other Syrian Christian would be, with the fact that λόγος was expressed by the inadequate vocable ܡܠܝܐ, and put the plural dots over it, signifying that it meant 'words' *in concreto*.

v. 2. The MS. has the present tense, 'flows'; instead of ܢܓܪ of the MS. we have punctuated ܢܓܪ; both punctuations are used, although that of the MS. is more frequent, in the sense of 'flow', and the other is more generally said of a 'river', 'stream'.

v. 4. We have punctuated the text ܥܒܕܘܗܝ 'of His servants'. The MS. by putting three dots over the word instead of two, has ܥܒܕܘܗܝ 'of His works', which, joined with the preceding ܕܥܒܕܘ gives a better sense.

Frankenberg unnecessarily suggests to read ܡܠܝܐ in singular with

reference to λόγος. In the first line Bruston proposes to read ܠܥܠܡܝܗ 'to His young men' for ܠܥܠܡܗ. This, however, is not probable.

v. 5. Barth and Connolly have rightly pointed out that the translation of ܠܐ ܐܬܝܠ by 'inexpressible' or 'indescribable' was not warranted in Syriac, but that it meant, according to the first scholar, 'ohne Erzählung' (Ps. xix. 4). If 'inexpressible' or 'indescribable' was intended, we should have had ܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܢܐ or simply ܠܐ ܡܚܫܒܢܐ. The text of this verse is certainly corrupt, because (1) it is said that the 'swiftness' of the Word is *without* ܐܬܝܠ, and, immediately after, 'swiftness' is compared with that ܐܬܝܠ: because (2) the term of comparison, which is the word ܡܚܫܒܗ 'His swiftness' is repeated again in the enumeration of the two things with which it is compared, which are 'swiftness' and 'sharpness'. The copyist himself was so bewildered with an incomprehensible text that he puts the dots of the feminine over the suffixes of all the words, and as we shall see in the note to verse 7, he was even undecided between ܗܘܬܗ and ܗܘܬܐ. Our resort to a Greek ἀνεκδιήγητος as an original of ܠܐ ܐܬܝܠ cannot (any more than the Syriac text) account for these difficulties.

The only way of escape would, perhaps, be to resort to the probable hypothesis that a dittographical error from the copyists has crept into the text of the second line; on this hypothesis the text and the translation would run:

ܡܚܫܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܗ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܠ ܠܡܐ ܕܝܢ : ܐܡܪ
ܡܚܫܒܗ ܗܘܬ ܐܦ ܣܥܪܗ : ܘܠܐ ܗܘܬ ܠܡܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܗܘ ܡܚܫܒܗ.

'The swiftness of the Word is without record;
And like His swiftness so also is His sharpness,
And His walk (course) is without limit.'

To establish the parallelism the words ܠܐ ܐܬܝܠ might be changed into the natural ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ 'without circumscription', so that the verse should be: 'The swiftness of the Word is without circumscription'.

In the second line Gressmann suggests that we should read ܐܬܝܠ ܗܘ for ܐܬܝܠ ܐܡܪ, as rendering the ἀτμίς of *Sap. Sol.* vii. 25. The term ἀτμίς is not infrequently used of the Logos in the early patristic writings, which is identified with the Sophia of the seventh chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon. The influence of the chapter in question upon our Ode appears to be very decided: here we find the epithet ὀξύ for the 'sharpness of the Word', while its 'swiftness' and its 'illimitable course' are a

reflection from the Wisdom that 'moves more rapidly than any motion, and passes and penetrates through all things' (*Sap. Sol.* vii. 24), so that an allusion to the ἀτμίς in verse 25 would be quite appropriate.

v. 6. We have suggested in a note to read ܒܪܝܫܗ ('His breadth'); but there is no need to make the change: ܢܚ is used of the Logos in Incarnation several times in the Odes; so we read 'His descent'.

For similar reasons there is no need to emend ܐܘܪܟܗ ('His length') for ܐܘܪܚܗ ('His way').

v. 7. The MS. seems to have ܣܒܪܗ. Possibly the copyist was perplexed between ܣܒܪܗ 'His expectation' and ܣܘܡܪܗ 'His limit'; or possibly he was writing ܣܒܪܗ and under the influence of the above ܣܘܡܪ another *yodh* slipped in before the *waw*.

v. 8. Our rendering is the only meaning the Syriac sentence can have.

v. 10. We have suggested in the text ܐܬܙܝܥܘ for ܐܬܙܥܘ; 'and they were justified' for 'and they were stimulated', 'goaded'; this is possibly a daring emendation in view of the fact that in the previous lines mention is made of the 'sharpness' of the word. Labourt's opinion that ܐܬܙܥܘ 'est une observation marginale qui se rapportait primitivement à l'état du ms.' is improbable.

v. 11. 'its course (*lit.* it proceeded) by Him'; perhaps we have here the translation of the Greek ἐν ἐκείνῳ, *sc.* τῷ λόγῳ.

Expository Notes.

This Ode is a Hymn concerning the Divine Logos, or the Divine Wisdom which becomes the Logos. It is not an easy Ode to translate nor to understand. It comes very close in one sentence to the Gospel of John, 'the dwelling-place of the Word is Man'. This is very near to the statement that the 'Logos dwelt among us', but does not involve the personal incarnation nor the assumption of flesh. It may be related to the doctrine in the Wisdom of Sirach that the Divine Wisdom found her dwelling place in Jacob and at Jerusalem. This same chapter (Sap. Sirach, xxiv) helps to explain the opening sentences about the 'Mouth of the Lord, the true Word', for here Wisdom is made to say that she 'came forth from the mouth of the Most High'.

The writer appears also to be drawing on a number of Sapiential terms which occur in the seventh chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon,

where the sharpness, force, and swiftness of the Word are described. Certainly the Ode must be grouped with the rest of the Wisdom Odes; when taken together they will do much to furnish us with the theology of the writer.

In verse 6 there is some obscurity in the statement that 'His descent and His way are incomprehensible'. If the writer means to describe in these words the appearance of the Logos among men, we have probably a reaction from the verse in Isaiah liii, 'Who shall declare His generation?' a passage commonly used by the early Fathers to show that the Birth of Christ is ἀνεκδιήγητος.

In verses 3, 11 we have allusions to Wisdom as being the *Mouth of the Lord*, or the *Mouth of the Most High*, which are parallel to the language of Sirach xxiv. 3 sqq. We compare Ode xii. 3:

ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܢܦܩ ܥܠ ܐܦܝ

and Ode xii. 11:

ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܢ ܦܘܡ ܥܠܝܐ ܢܦܩ

with Sirach xxiv. 3:

ἐγὼ ἀπὸ στόματος Ὑψίστου ἐξῆλθον·

The Peshiṭta of Sirach has ܥܠܝܐ, where again we see the Odist to be independent of the Peshiṭta. The whole of Ode XII is a Wisdom composition, showing striking parallelism with the *Praises of Wisdom* in Sirach xxiv.

ODE XIII

Cf. Sap. Sol. vii. 26.
Cf. Ephr. *Hymn. in Fest. Epiph.* i. 93 also *R.E.* ii. 511–13.

1 Behold! the Lord is our mirror:
Open your eyes and see them in Him.

2 And learn the manner of your face;
And tell forth praises to His Spirit:

Cf. Ephr. *Hymn. in Ecclesiam* iv. 602.
Cf. Sap. Sol. vii. 26.

3 And wipe off the filth from your face;
And love His holiness and clothe yourselves therewith:

4 And you will be without stain at all times with Him.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. Frankenberg and Preuschen have made the suggestion that we should translate 'see yourselves in Him', on the supposition that a primitive Greek ἑαυτούς or αὐτούς has been misunderstood by the translator, who took the word to refer to the 'eyes' and not to the persons who were using the eyes. The point deserves a careful consideration; in Ode xv. 3 special importance is attached to eyes.

v. 2. Gressmann unnecessarily changes ܒܪܘܚܗ 'to His Spirit' into ܒܪܘܡܗ 'to His Herrlichkeit'.

v. 3. The MS. seems to have the meaningless ܐܬܒܠ. Its correction into ܐܬܟܠ is almost certain. The root being ܐܟܠ with a guttural *hamza*, phonetically it is more correct to read ܐܬܐܟܠ, but it is a well-known fact that the sound *hamza* is frequently softened into a weak letter.

Expository Notes.

This little Ode, like the preceding one, is Sapiential in character: the 'mirror' which the Lord is declared to be, is the 'unspotted mirror of the operation of God' in the seventh chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon. We have shown in the introductory chapters how familiar Ephrem was with this Ode, and how he manipulated it into liturgical language. If we keep the Sapiential language before our mind, we shall see the meaning of the close of the Ode as well as its opening: the believer, who clothes himself with the Divine Holiness, becomes also a spotless person (ἀκηλίδωτος), and is enjoined to be 'without stain' at all time before Him.

In the *Acts of John* there is a curious hymn sung by the Apostle to his disciples before his apprehension; at the close of the hymn, which seems to belong to Christ speaking in him, we read

> 'I am a Lamp to him that sees me:
> I am a Mirror to him that considers me:
> I am a Door to him that knocks to me:
> I am a Way to thee the passer by.'

Here the 'Mirror' is accepted as one of the titles of Jesus; so it seems that this Ode also passed into Gnostic hands, in the form in which we

know it. It would be a great mistake to call the Ode itself Gnostic: it is a clear and beautiful call to a redeemed and Christ-like life.[1]

Another parallel to the Lord being our mirror is *I. Ep. Clem.* c. 36: 'Through Him let us look intently on the Heavenly Heights; through Him we behold as in a mirror that unblemished and most lofty visage of His; through Him the eyes of our heart were opened.' Here the parallelism is very pronounced with Ode xiii; 'the Lord is *the mirror*; by Him the *eyes are opened*; an *unblemished* form is perceived.

ODE XIV

Cf. Ps. cxxiii. 2.

1 As the eyes of a son to his father,
So are my eyes at all time towards thee, O Lord.

2 For with thee are my consolations[2] and my delights.

3 Turn not away thy mercy from me, O Lord:
And take not thy kindness from me.

Cf. Ps. xlviii. 15.
Cf. Ps. xxx. (xxxi.) 4.

4 Stretch out to me, my Lord, at all times, thy right hand;
And be my guide even to the end, according to thy good pleasure.

Matt. vi. 13.

5 Let me be well-pleasing before thee, because of thy glory:
And because of thy name let me be saved from the Evil One.

6 And let thy gentleness, O Lord, abide with me,
And the fruits of thy love.

7 Teach me the Odes of thy truth
That I may bring forth fruit in thee.

8 And open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit,
That with all (its) notes I may praise thee, O Lord.

[1] The passage in the Acts of John will be found in Bonnet's ed., p. 198. We owe the reference to Stölten.

[2] *lit.* my breasts.

9 And according to the multitude of thy mercies
So shalt thou give to me:
And hasten to grant our petitions.

10 And thou art able for all our needs. Cf. Phil. iv. 19.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 5. The Syriac word ܒܝܫܐ in the text is commonly used in Syriac literature to render 'the Evil One'; 'evil' being, on the other hand, expressed by the neutral (fem.) ܒܝܫܬܐ. See also Ode xxxiii. 4.

v. 6. Frankenberg proposes to eliminate the *waw* of ܘܫܒܘܩ.

v. 10. Labourt suggests ܕܐܢܬ 'because thou' instead of ܘܐܢܬ 'and thou'. It is a possible but quite unnecessary hypothesis.

Expository Notes.

This Ode and the two which follow are grouped together by the similarity of their opening verses, which are in each case of the nature of a similitude. In the Ode before us, the motive is found in an imitation of the 122nd (123rd) Psalm in the canonical Psalter:

'as the eyes of servants . . .
as the eyes of a maid . . .'

The writer has also borrowed in verse 4 the language of another Psalm, Ps. xlvii. (xlviii.):

'Our God for ever and ever,
He will be our guide even unto death.'

This is one of the Odes in which the similitude of the harp is introduced: e. g. in Ode vi, the Odist is the harp, and the Spirit of the Lord speaks in his members: in Ode vii the singers go forth to welcome the Lord at His coming with the harp of many tones (κιθάρα πολύφωνος), &c. The figure is one that was used by Syriac writers both orthodox and heretical. Ephrem says of the teaching of Bardaisan and Mani that 'they saw that there is in the heart an instrument for the impulses of the soul, and that there is in the tongue a harp (ܟܢܪܐ) of speech' (ed. Mitchell, p. xc).

Cf. also (p. ciii):

> 'By the mouth of the body the soul preaches truth in the world; and it is a pure harp for it, by means of which it sounds forth truth in creation.'

In verses 4, 5 we have distinct traces of the influence of Ps. xlvii. (xlviii.) 15 and Ps. xxx. (xxxi.) 4. The Odist prays that the Lord may be his guide even to the end; he has substituted 'the end' for 'death', but agrees with the Hebrew and its dependent Peshiṭta in the use of the verb נהג ('to guide'), while the LXX has the more remote ποιμανεῖ. After the manner of the Odist, we have in the next verse the influence of Ps. xxx. (xxxi.), '*For thy name's sake lead* me and guide me', where the Peshiṭta does not mention the idea of guidance, which is involved in the Hebrew and the LXX. Here again the Odist shows independence of the Peshiṭta tradition.

In verse 10 the Odist concludes with the sentiment that 'God is able for all our needs', which is nearly parallel to Phil. iv. 20, 'My God shall supply every need of yours'. 'Need' (χρεία) is in the Ode سعسلا, in the Peshiṭta هنسعصلا. Further, the Peshiṭta follows the Greek in rendering πληρώσει ('shall fulfil') literally, which the Odist explains in the sense of Divine ability (صدر).

ODE XV

1 As the sun is the joy to them that seek for its daybreak
So is my joy the Lord:

2 Because He is my Sun, and His rays have lifted me up;
And His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face.

3 In Him I have acquired eyes,
And have seen His holy day:

4 Ears I have acquired,
And I have heard His truth.

5 The thought of knowledge I have acquired,
And I have been delighted by Him.

6 The way of error I have left and I went towards Him,
And I have received Salvation from Him abundantly.

7 And according to His bounty He hath given to me:
And according to His excellent beauty He hath made me.

8 I have put on incorruption through His name, 1 Cor. xv. 54.
And I have put off corruption by His grace.

9 Death hath been destroyed before my face;
And Sheol hath been abolished by my word. 1 Cor. xv. 55.

10 And there hath gone up deathless life in the Lord's land;
And it hath been made known to His faithful ones;
And hath been given without stint to all those that trust in Him.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 5. The MS. has ܘܐܬܗܕܝܬ 'I was delighted'. In view of the next verse where mention is made of salvation we have suggested the probable ܘܐܬܦܪܩܬ 'and I was saved'. The opinion of Labourt who thinks that ܒܝܕܗ 'by His hand' is to be attached to the following verse, becomes unnecessary.

v. 10. Schulthess suggests ܫܒܚܐ (pl.); this is very good, but not necessary; we have maintained the reading of the MS. (cf. xxxv. 3).

Expository Notes.

It was suggested in the *editio princeps* that the Odist in his opening sentences strikes the note of Psalm cxxix. (cxxx.) 6, and this is probably the case: but if so, he is not using the LXX text, which says, 'from the morning watch till night my soul hopes in the Lord'. Moreover, he has given the Psalm quite a different turn, changing the painful and prolonged sense of waiting for the dawn into a song after sunrise, out of which all sadness has disappeared.

Kleinert[1] suggested that the Ode was composed for the Sunday, as being the day of the Sun, and remarked that the Mandaeans reported the Sunday as holier (because older) than the Sabbath. He need not have gone so far as the Mandaeans, for Ignatius advises the Christians of his day not any longer to Sabbatize, but to live according to the Lord's day. Probably Kleinert was trying to explain the term 'His holy day' in verse 3. It may be doubted whether any explanation is really necessary.

It is probable that the acquaintance of Syriac writers with the Odes of Solomon can be traced through many centuries. Here, for example, is a passage which is suggestive of dependence upon the Odes in the Preface to the Marganitha or 'Pearl' of 'Abdisho'. The writer prays '*That we may be lifted up to* the Holy of Holies, the dwelling-place of the Divine mysteries, and may be transformed into that likeness which is above all likeness; and that *through the rays of thy essential light* we may shine forth for ever, *and be rejuvenated*, and may become *the companions of those who are near to thy greatness* in theory and in practice: and that we should be seen by the illustrious and blessed here and there, and amongst those who are *of the right hand*.'

It will be recognized that this passage is in close dependence upon the thoughts and expressions in the Odes. The coincidence is striking with those passages where the Odist speaks of being lifted up into Divine light (Ode xv, and Ode xxi) and becoming one of the neighbours of God (Ode xxi, and Ode xxxvi); and the allusion to believers as those who are on the right hand, is also remarkable. The language does not show the same coincidence as the thought. Instead of ܩܕܡ we have the equivalent ܠܥܠ, and instead of ܩܪܒ for neighbours we have the equivalent ܡܛܠ. But these variations do not invalidate the dependence of 'Abdisho' upon the thought of the Odist.

ODE XVI

1 As the work of the husbandman is the ploughshare;
And the work of the steersman is the guidance of the ship:
So also my work is the Psalm of the Lord in His praises;

[1] *Th. Stud. u. Krit.*, p. 610.

2 My craft and my occupation are in His praises;
Because His love hath nourished my heart,
And even to my lips His fruits He poured out.

3 For my love is the Lord
And therefore I will sing unto Him.

4 For I am made strong in His praise,
And I have faith in Him.

5 I will open my mouth,
And His spirit will utter in me
The glory of the Lord and His beauty;

6 The work of His hands
And the fabric of His fingers;

7 For the multitude of His mercies,
And the strength of His Word.

8 For the Word of the Lord searches out the unseen thing, Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10.
And scrutinizes His thought.

9 For the eye sees His works,
And the ear hears His thought.

10 It is He who spread out the earth,
And settled the waters in the sea:

11 He expanded the heavens,
And fixed the stars;

12 And He fixed the creation and set it up:
And He rested from His works.

13 And created things run in their courses,
And work their works:
And they know not how to stand (still) and to be idle.

14 And the hosts are subject to His Word.

15 The treasury of the light is the sun,
And the treasury of the darkness is the night.

16 And He made the sun for the day that it might be bright;
But night brings darkness over the face of the earth:

Cf. Ps. xix. 1.

17 And (by) their reception one from the other
They speak the beauty of God.

18 And there is nothing that is without the Lord;
Cf. Col. i. 17. For He was before anything came into being.

Cf. Heb. i. 2.

19 And the Worlds were made by His Word,
And by the thought of His heart.

(Doxology.)

20 Glory and Honour to His name.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. Schulthess suggests ܚܘܢܐ 'the mast' for ܫܘܬܐ 'the steering'. This, however, is not sound. The verb ܫܬ is very frequently used to express 'the steering' of a ship, e. g.

ܟܕܫܒܝܠ ܫܦ ܣܦܝܢܐ (Ephr. *R.E.* i. 314).

'He steers ships to the harbour.'

Further, ܚܘܠ is generally used in the plural and refers to tools whose function is to strengthen the construction of a ship.

v. 2. Frankenberg unnecessarily proposes to eliminate the *beth* of ܒܚܫܘܟܐ.

v. 8. The verb ܫܦ is not duly catalogued in the *Thesaurus*, and this has given rise to many inadmissible theories about this sentence. It is, however, an obvious Syriac triliteral root with the meaning of 'to fathom, to scrutinize'. See *Dictionnaire de la langue chaldéenne*, and *Vocabulaire*

chaldéen-arabe (*sub voce*). The following quotation from Gregory of Cyprus, a fourth-century writer, is sufficient:

ܘܗܐ ܗܫܐ ܥܝܢܝ ܡܛܝܢ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܬܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܚܙܝܢ
ܒܓܠܝܐ ܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܬܚܬܝܬ ܐܦ ܒܥܡܩܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒܙܘ

'And now behold my eyes fly over the countries of the luminaries, and see clearly all that is found in the bottom and in the depths of the abysses.'—MS. of the Rylands Library, p. 117.

The meaning of the word had been divined by Tondelli, who refers to Brun's *Lexicon*.

In a recent paper by Dr. P. Haupt in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (xxxvii, 1918, pp. 229–232) the Assyrian root *Dagālu*, 'to see, to look for', is discussed, and it is shown that it existed in Hebrew, and that it can be restored in Cant. v. 10 and Ps. xx. 6. It is curious that Dr. Haupt does not seem to have noticed its occurrence in the *Odes of Solomon*.

v. 9. Barth unnecessarily proposes to read ܕܕܟܝܢ to make it conform with ܕܡܣܥܕܢ.

v. 15. The printed text has ܡܣܥܕܢ; but the MS. reads ܐܡܣܥܕܢ, and we should correct accordingly.

v. 17. It is more grammatical to read ܒܡܫܡܕܢ.

In the next line we have adopted in the translation ܡܫܠܡܢ for ܡܫܠܡ of the MS. The elimination of the letter *lāmadh* when reduplicated is frequent in the old manuscripts. Those who prefer the reading of the MS. will translate 'complete' or 'fulfil'.

For the understanding of the somewhat mysterious inter-reception of the sun and moon, who borrow light from one another, we must turn to the teaching of the Manichaeans and Bardaisan. In the Bardesanian tradition we certainly have an alternate reception of light between the sun and the moon: it must be admitted, however, that the Ode does not exactly say this. It says that the sun and the night receive from one another. Probably the night has displaced the moon in the sentence, 'the treasury of the darkness is the night'. If this should be contested we shall have to resort to emendation in another direction, and instead of 'and their reception' (ܒܡܫܡܕܢ) we would read (ܒܬܫܡܫܬܐ) 'and by their succession', for which we can find abundant illustrations.

Expository Notes.

This Ode again belongs to the group of Wisdom-Odes; it is occupied with the praises of the Logos as the creative and providential instrument of God. All things were made by the Logos, and He was pre-existent before creation. The language is parallel to that of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, but it also shows coincidence with Colossians, and with Hebrews: thus verse 19 'the worlds were made by His word' is almost exactly Heb. i. 2, 'by whom also He made the worlds'; verse 18, 'He was before anything came into being' is very nearly Col. i. 17, 'He is before everything'; and verse 18, 'There is nothing that is without the Lord' (he clearly means the Logos), has its analogue in John i. 3, 'Without Him was not anything made that was made'. Evidently in this Ode we see the Logos-theology in its making. Some persons will, perhaps, object and say that we see it already made. But that raises the question as to what it was made out of, and takes us back to Prov. viii. 22 ff.

In verse 17 we showed in our Introduction that the language had possibly been borrowed by Bardaisan to illustrate a curious astronomical belief that the sun and moon exchanged illumination, the sun giving light to the moon when the latter is waxing and taking it back again when it is waning. There is a possibility, therefore, of literary dependence of Bardaisan on the Odes at this point. What is curious about the use of the passage is that the Ode does not say that the sun and moon receive one from the other, but something quite different, viz., that the day and night influence one another alternately, like a pair of closely matched powers, of which now one and now the other prevails. But he has the sun to rule the day without introducing the moon to rule the night. This is not in accordance with the book of Genesis. There is, then, room for a suspicion that the moon has been got rid of by the Odist or lost from his text. If we please, we may imagine that the text originally stood:

> 'The treasury of the Light is the Sun;
> And the treasury of the darkness is the Moon;
> And He made the Sun for the day that it might be bright,
> But the night brings darkness over the face of the earth:
> And their reception one from the other,' &c.

Agreeably, that is, at once with the book of Genesis and with Bardaisan.

We have interpreted the expression about 'reception one from the other' in accordance with the sense put upon the words by Ephrem and Bardaisan.

In the *editio princeps* the translation was offered, that

'their alternations one to the other speak the beauty of God.'

There is evidence for such a statement by way of parallel, if the translation itself could have been justified. For instance, Eusebius, arguing the evidence for design in the universe, and the consequent necessity for a pervading Logos, says that the world cannot be a chance product to the eyes of him who *observes the alternate motions of day and night* (ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἀμοιβαίας ὁρῶντι κινήσεις). Probably the argument was something of a commonplace. In Victorinus's tract *De fabrica mundi* the work of the Creator in forming the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night was in order that day might bring on night (*superduceret*) as a place of rest for the labours of men, aud then that day might again prevail, and thus by alternation (*alterna vice*) labour might be comforted by the rest of night, and rest again regulated by the exercise of the day'. It is natural that there should have been a stress laid upon the alternation of day and night. There is some parallelism between the language of Victorinus (based originally on Papias?) and the language of our Ode with regard to 'night bringing darkness over the face of the earth'.

In verse 17 we have made a slight emendation so as to bring out the dependence of the Odist on Ps. xviii. (xix.). 'The heavens *are telling* the glory of God'. The Odist is repeating what he said in verse 5:

'His spirit *will utter* in me
The glory of the Lord and *His beauty*.'

Here 'His beauty' is an alternative term for 'His glory'. The Odist was contemplating the 'spacious firmament' on high when he said that; for in the next verse he is imitating Ps. viii.:

'Thou hast set thy glory upon thy heavens,
When I consider thy heavens the work of thy fingers.'

Or as the Odist says (verse 6):

'The work of His hands
And the fabric *of His fingers*.'

Thus the Odist is working from these two Psalms and from the first chapter of Genesis. From this quarter also (the book of Genesis) comes the reference to God's resting from His works: the 12th verse is a reflex of Gen. ii. 8: 'He rested from all His work which God had created in the making'; notice the omission of the reference to the seventh day, and what follows as to the activity of the heavenly bodies on that day as well as on other days of the week.

In the *editio princeps* the case was stated as follows:

> 'On examining the Ode more closely we detect an unmistakable case of anti-Judaic polemic. The writer, after describing the beauty of creation, and the Lord's rest from His works, goes on to say something which shows that he does not mean to deduce the Jewish Sabbath from the statements in Genesis. "Created things *run in their courses and do their works and know not how to stand or to be idle.*" Suppose we turn to Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 22, where Justin is arguing with Trypho for the non-necessity of circumcision and the Sabbath; "I will declare to you, and to those who wish to become proselytes", says Justin, "a divine word, which I heard from the old man to whom I owe my conversion. He said, 'You observe that the heavenly bodies do not idle nor keep Sabbath. Remain, therefore, as you were born; do not keep Sabbath, nor practice circumcision'".
>
> 'It is clear, then, that the 16th Ode means to say that the Sabbath is not kept by the Heavenly bodies; and as it goes on to say, "and the (Heavenly) Hosts are subject to His word" it follows that God is regulating the motions of the world on the Sabbath days as well as on the week-days: a point which Justin expressly makes in c. 29, "God undertakes the regulation of the world on this day exactly as on other days".'

To this reasoning exception was taken by Harnack, on the ground that the Odist does not say with Justin οὐκ ἀργεῖ οὐδὲ σαββατίζει, consequently we are not to think of anti-Judaic polemic in the Ode, which is like the rest of the collection, Jewish in character.

Suppose we ask the question how an early Christian of the type of Justin Martyr would present his case against the Jew who pointed him to the law, and emphasized its unchangeability. We naturally turn to the early collections of *Testimonies against the Jews*, to pick up the counter-quotations and the rebutting arguments. Here is an instructive passage from the section which the *Testimonies*, ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa, devote to the Sabbath.

The writer enumerates a number of cases in which the Sabbath was broken historically, or cannot be literally kept in ordinary life; and then he asks this question: 'How is it that the Sun and Moon and Stars fulfil their appointed course even on the Sabbath?'

πῶς δὲ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἄστρα τὸν ὡρισμένον δρόμον ἐκτελεῖ καὶ τῷ σαββάτῳ;

One might almost say that the Odist and the Testimony-collector had been in collusion, so close is their agreement; it is, therefore, useless to maintain that the Sabbath was not intended by the idleness or standing still of the creation.

The argument that the Ode is Jewish and therefore could not have been spoken in an anti-Sabbatic manner, or that the Ode, not having an anti-Sabbatic sentence, must be Jewish, hardly needs further consideration.

ODE XVII

1 I was crowned by my God;
And my crown is living:

2 And I was justified by my Lord;
And my salvation is incorruptible.

3 I was loosed from vanities,
And I am not condemned.
The choking bonds were cut off by His hand[1];

4 I received the face and the fashion of a new person;
And I walked in Him and was redeemed.

5 And the thought of truth led me;
And I walked after it[2] and did not wander.

[1] *Cod.*: her hands. [2] i. e. the thought.

(Christ speaks.)

6 And all that have seen me were amazed;
And I was supposed by them to be a strange person.

7[a] And He who knew and brought me up,
Is the Most High in all His perfection:

7[b] And He glorified me by His kindness,
And raised my thought to the height of Truth.

8 And from thence He gave me the way of His steps;
And I opened the doors that were closed:

Cf. Ps. cvi. (cvii.) 16; Isa. xlv. 2.

9 And I broke in pieces the bars of iron:
But my own iron (bonds) melted and dissolved before me.

10 And nothing appeared closed to me;
Because I was the opening of everything.

11 And I went towards all the[1] bondsmen to loose them;
That I might not leave any man bound and[2] binding;

12 And I imparted my knowledge without grudging;
And their request to me[3] with my love.

13 And I sowed my fruits in hearts,
And transformed them through myself:

14 And they received my blessing and lived;
And they were gathered to me and were saved.

Cf. Ephr. *Epiph. Hymn* ix. 1.

15 Because they became to me as my own members;
And I was their head.

(Doxology.)

16 Glory to thee our Head, the Lord Messiah.
Hallelujah.

[1] H, my. [2] H, and. [3] *lit.* my request

Critical Notes.

v. 4. It seems clear that we must alter ܒܐܝܕܗ ('by her hands') to ܒܐܝܕܗ ('by his hand'). The writer seems to have thought that he was emancipated 'by the thought of Truth' (fem.) which follows in the next verse, and so added the feminine suffix.

v. 7. The Syriac sentence ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܕܝܕܥ ܘܐܬܪܡ ܗܘ ܥܠܝܐ ܒܟܠ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܘܒܛܝܒܘܬܗ is difficult to understand, and in the text we have suggested that some words might have been lost after ܕܝܕܥ. In following H and in adding a *yodh* to ܘܐܬܪ̈ܡ we shall have the meaning 'But He who knew and brought me up is the Most High in all His perfection'. We could not safely take ܡܪܝܡ as an adjective and translate 'is high'; because, as is demonstrated by ܘܐܫܒܚ of the following line, it would have had the contracted form. Instead of ܘܐܫܒܚ 'and He is glorified', B has ܘܐܫܒܚܢܝ 'and He glorified me', forming possibly a parallel with ܘܐܬܪܡ above suggested. 'He brought me up and glorified me'. The parallelism would even be better preserved if, instead of ܘܐܬܪܡ we were to read ܘܐܘܐܬܪܡ 'and He exalted me', with the simple addition of an *alaph*. The sense of the whole verse would be:

> 'But He who knew and exalted me, is the Most High in all His perfection; and He glorified me by His kindness,' &c.

v. 8. There is no need to change ܘܐܬܟܠܝ into ܘܐܬܟܠܝ as Gunkel has done, and we do not understand the un-Syriac verb ܘܐܬܟܠܫ which Grimme substitutes for the natural ܡܛܐ ܠܝ 'He gave me'.

v. 9. Frankenberg proposes to change the particle ܒܠܫ into a form of verb derived from the verb ܒܠܫ, but Grimme substitutes for it the dative ܠܝ 'to me', and considers the first ܕܐ as a dittographical error on the part of the copyist.

v. 12. The sense is very doubtful. The MS. has 'and my prayer', 'request', 'intercession'. In Syriac one may consider this as the beginning of a new sentence, and in adding the attributive verb which can be omitted we would translate 'And my prayer (for them?) (is *or* was) in my love', which is not a good parallelism. We may also consider the word as a complement of ܘܐܬܟܠ 'and I gave', and translate 'And I gave them my knowledge without grudging and my prayer (*or* intercession) (for them?) in my love'. In this last meaning 'in my love'

refers to both members of parallelism, and the whole phrase means: In my love I gave them without grudging my knowledge and my intercession (*or* prayer). This last sense would be greatly improved, and all linguistic difficulty would vanish if ܚܘܠܡܐ were translated by 'consolation, comfort', as in the Lewis text of Luke ii. 25, ܘܗܘܐ ܡܣܟܝܢ ܒܚܘܠܡܐ ܕܐܝܣܪܝܠ ('and he was waiting for the consolation of Israel'). The meaning of the sentence would in that case be 'In my love I gave them abundantly my knowledge and my comfort'.

v. 13. This sense is by no means certain. The indirect complement of the verb ܡܣܟ is always expressed with ܠ like the English 'to, into', and the particle ܒ used here offers some difficulty. It is this difficulty which has no doubt caused Barth to translate 'und verwandelte sie durch mich'. It is not easy, however, to realize how the Odist would change 'through himself'. With the verb ܡܣܟ the ܒ is used to express the change of one thing *for* another, or an 'exchange', and such a meaning would not suit the context very well. Possibly, therefore, we might read the verbs ܘܐܦܟ and ܘܡܣܟ in the third person, and in eliminating the *waw* before ܐܦܟ we should have the following text and translation:

ܘܒܚܘܠܡܗ ܚܨܕ ܘܒܟ ܦܪܝ̈ܗ ܒܠܒ̈ܐ ܐܦܟ ܘܡܣܟ ܒܝ ܐܢ.

'And my prayer, by my love, sowed my fruits in hearts, and transformed them through me.'

This is grammatically and lexicographically correct, and explains also the difficulties of the preceding note.

Expository Notes.

In this Ode we have again the coronation of the Odist spoken of, with a crown that does not wither, just as in the first Ode. Also there is some confession of a personal salvation. The latter part of the Ode, however, is certainly *ex ore Christi*; we can see this from the closing doxology to 'our head, the Lord Christ', and the reference which precedes to the headship of Christ with regard to His members. Christ also is the speaker who describes himself as the 'door of everything' and the universal

liberator, and the opener of closed doors. This takes us back to the beginning of verse 9. After this we are in difficulties over the delimitation of the speakers in verses 6–8. Comparison with similar situations in Ode xxviii. 8 and Ode xli. 8 makes it probable that the person who causes amazement and appears to be of another race is Christ Himself. On this account we have put the change of speakers between verses 5 and 6. The transition, however, is very awkward.

At first sight it might seem as if the reference to the 'breaking of bars of iron' in verse 9 had to do with the descent into Hades, but it is much more probable that the language is taken from the 107th Psalm:

μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συνέκλασεν

the Peshiṭta version corresponding to which is

ܕܚܕܠܐ ܕܦܬܚ ܠܐ

and agrees exactly with the Odes; the use of μοχλοί (ܚܕܠܐ) shows that the Ode and the Peshiṭta transliterate the Greek of the Psalms.

If we have correctly defined the passage of Scripture which was in the Odist's mind, we can now go back to verse 4 with its obscure allusion to the cutting off of choking bonds: this is taken from verse 14 of the same Psalm, which runs in the Greek,

καὶ τοὺς δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν διέρρηξεν·

We may compare the Syriac of the Ode at this point with the Peshiṭta:

Ode xvii. 4: ܣܢܩ ܚܒܝܫܐ ܕܐܬܒܪ

Ps. cvi. (cvii.) 14: ܘܣܢܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܬܪܐ

The coincidence in the rendering of δεσμούς and διέρρηξεν is very striking, and raises once more the question of possible connexion between the Odes and the Syriac Old Testament.

We may, at all events, be sure that the Odist is working from this Psalm as a base, just as we found him doing in the case of the 21st Psalm. We are entitled to explore for further coincidences.

In verse 5 the Odist says that

'the thought of Truth led me,
I walked after it and did not wander.'

This is imitated from the Psalm:

v. 4. 'They wandered in the wilderness
. . . . . .
v. 7. And he led them by a right way
To go to a city of Settlement.'

When the Odist says that he did not wander, he means that he did not wander again; a previous wandering is assumed as in the Psalm. And now let us compare the Ode again with the Peshiṭta version:

Ode xvii. 5: ܘܐܙܠܬ ܒܐܪܚܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܘܐܬܝܬ ܠܬܡ

Ps. cvi. (cvii.) 7: ܘܢܗܠܟ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܐܪܚܐ ܫܪܪܬܐ ܕܢܐܙܠܘܢ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܒ

Here we have a very curious coincidence: the 'right way' is reflected on the Ode as a 'thought' or 'counsel' of '*Truth*'; and in the Peshiṭta as a 'way of Truth', with different words to express the 'Truth'.

Whatever may be the explanation of this coincidence in thought, we may be sure we have one of the keys in our hand for the interpretation of the Ode. To the three striking coincidences already noted, we may, perhaps, add the reference to the 'loosing of all bondsmen' in verse 11, which answers to the 10th verse of the Psalm:

πεπεδημένους ἐν πτωχίᾳ καὶ ἐν σιδήρῳ·

Notice also the way in which the reference to spiritual fruits and blessing in verses 13 and 14 has been grafted on verses 37, 38 of the Psalm:

ἐποίησαν καρπὸν γενήματος
καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς.

Enough has been said to show the dependence of the Ode upon the Psalm.

In the introduction we pointed out that there were some striking parallels in this Ode to the Letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians. We may also note the parallel (no doubt one of many similar ones) with the *Epiphany Hymns* of Ephrem:

'Ye have become children of the Holy Spirit,
(*sc.* through baptism):
Christ has become your head;
Ye have become members to Him.'—*Hymn in Epiph.* 9. 1.

Ephrem is imitating the 24th Ode at this point, and may have actually imitated the 17th also. We may also refer for the 'loosing of the bondmen' to Ephrem, *R. E.* iii. 130.

ODE XVIII

1 My heart was lifted up and enriched in the love of the Most High;
That I might praise Him by my name.

2 My members were strengthened
That they might not fall from His power.

3 Sickness removed from my body,
And it stood for the Lord by His will;
For His Kingdom is firm.

4 O Lord, for the sake of them that are deficient,
Do not deprive me of[1] thy word:

5 Nor, for the sake of their works,
Do thou restrain from me thy perfection.

6 Let not the luminary be conquered by the darkness; Cf. Sap. Sol. vii. 29 and John i. 5.
Nor let truth flee away from falsehood.

7 Let thy right hand bring our salvation to victory,
And receive from all quarters,
And preserve whomsoever is affected by ills.

8 Falsehood and Death are not in thy mouth, my God;
But thy will is perfection.

[1] *Lit.* Cast off from me.

9 And vanity thou knowest not,
For neither doth it know thee.

10 And error thou knowest not,
For neither doth it know thee.

11 And ignorance appeared like dust,
And like the scum of the sea:

12 And vain people supposed that it was (something) great;
And they came to resemble it and became vain:

13 And the wise understood and meditated (thereon),
And were unpolluted in their meditations;
For such were in the mind of the Lord.

14 And they mocked at those who were walking in error:

15 And on their part they spake truth,
From the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them.

(Doxology.)

16 Praise and great comeliness to His name.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. The Syriac can also be taken intransitively, 'my heart rose up and abounded in the love of the Most High'. Schulthess has suggested ܫܡܗ 'His name' instead of 'my name'; this is possible but not necessary. Still more unnecessary is its change into ܫܡܟ or ܠܥܠ or ܕܫܡ as Bruston has suggested.

v. 3. Diettrich suggests ܡܠܟܘܬܗ 'His promise is firm'. The Syriac word is, however, very seldom used. Further, the idea of the Kingdom of God being firm is expressed in Ode xxii. 12.

v. 3. B has ܘܩܡܘ 'and they stood for', referring to ܚܘܫܐ 'sicknesses'. H exhibits ܘܩܡ 'and it stood for', the subject being 'my body', which seems to be more appropriate.

v. 4. H has 'do not loose (lit. dissolve)'.

v. 7. Both MSS. have ܥܡ ܠܐ ܚܠ which we have changed into ܠܐ ܚܠ ܥܡ. The note to the printed text must be changed accordingly. The meaning of the sentence is not affected by the change. If the manuscripts are right, ܥܡ is to be considered as having been used expletively, as meaning possibly, 'as if'. The reader is asked to remember that the sentence 'all affected by ills' is complement of both ܠܐ ܡܬܚܠܝ and ܡܠܝܢ. This disposes of some unnecessary theories about this verse. Literally ܒܝ ܚܬܥܠ means 'to cling to evils (or) sufferings, (or) tribulations'.

v. 10. Connolly suggests that ܠܐ ought to be superseded by ܐܠܗܝ 'my God'. This is good, but not necessary, inasmuch as the use or this particle here adds energy to the sentence, like the corresponding Arabic ألّا 'It is because thou knowest not error, that it does not know thee'. B omits it entirely; and for that reason it is perhaps better not to take any notice of it in the translation.

v. 12. The expression ܐܠ ܘܐܡܬ ܠܗ 'they came to its resemblance; they came to resemble it' simply means, 'they resembled it' in Syriac. This peculiarity of style should be noted.

Expository Notes.

This is a very difficult Ode to interpret: we have not succeeded in finding any Scripture coincidences that could be depended upon. There is a quasi-parallel to the passage in the first chapter of John ('the darkness overcame it not'). It is equally difficult to detect the Christian elements in the Ode. Perhaps the writer is speaking as a Christian in the first verse ('that I might praise Him by my name', i. e. by the name of a Christian). In that case he should be a Christian of a universal type, since he says that the Lord will 'receive men from all quarters', verse 7). We repeat what was said of this Ode in the first edition:

> 'The writer of this Psalm speaks as a prophet, who has known the Divine visitation, and has felt its effect both on mind and body, in the dispelling of error and the healing of disease. He prays for a continuance of the Heavenly gift for the sake of the needy people

to whom he gives his message. He has evidently been regarded by them as a light and foolish person, whose talk is like the foam of the sea. But there are others who are inspired like himself, and who mock at the unbelievers for their stupidity and ignorance. We catch the echo of some serious controversy upon religious matters, but the subject of the dispute is unknown.'

In verse 4 there appears to be a reflection of the 119th Psalm; we may compare:

'O Lord, for the sake of the deficient do not remove thy word from me.'
Ode xviii.

'Take not out of my mouth the word of truth utterly.'
Ps. cxix. 43.

Here the Ode says ܡܠܬܐ for 'word', and the Syriac says ܩܘܫܬܐ; but we notice that the Targum has פתגם.

In the same verse there is also a reference to Ps. li:

'Cast me not away from thy presence,
And take not thy Holy Spirit from me.'

The Nitrian MS. reads ܠܐ ܬܫܒܩ for ܠܐ ܬܣܒ, and this should be right; for the Syriac of Ps. li. 13 has

ܠܐ ܬܫܒܩܢܝ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܟ

where the Targum has a different word.

ODE XIX

1 A cup of milk was offered to me;
And I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord.

2 The Son is the cup,
And He who was milked is the Father;
And He who milked Him is the Holy Spirit.

3 Because His breasts were full;
And it was not desirable that His milk should be spilt to no purpose.

4 And the Holy Spirit opened His[1] bosom
And mingled the milk of the two breasts of the Father,

5 And gave the mixture to the world without their knowing:
And those who take (it) are in the fulness of the right hand.

6 The womb of the Virgin took (it)
And she received conception and brought forth:

7 And the Virgin became a mother with great mercy;

8[a] And she travailed and brought forth a Son without incurring pain:

8[b] For it did not happen without purpose;

9 And she had not required a midwife, Ps. xxii. 9; and Euseb. *D.E.* x. 8,10.
For He delivered her.

10 And she brought forth, as a man, by (God's)[2] will:
And she brought (Him) forth with demonstration
And acquired (Him) with great dignity;

11 And loved (Him) in redemption;
And guarded (Him) kindly;
And showed (Him) in majesty.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 4. Both MSS. read 'her (i.e. the Holy Spirit's) bosom' ܚܕܘܗ under the influence of the preceding and following feminine verbs. We can easily read the masculine ܚܕܗ 'His (i.e. the Father's) bosom'.

v. 5. Grimme and Gressmann want ܠܥܠܡܐ 'to the worlds', cf. Odes vii. 11; viii. 23; xii. 4, 8; xvi. 19. The plural form of the following

[1] *Lit.* Her bosom. [2] *Or*, of her own will.

verb gives weight to their view, although, strictly speaking, grammatically it may refer also to ܕܕܟܝܐ used in the singular.

v. 6. Much has been written about the Syriac verb ܫܚܠ which *prima facie* does not seem to yield good sense. Barnes has suggested ܚܫܠ, which would answer to the problematic *infirmatus est* of Lactantius. The Syriac verb, however, is mostly used in the sense of 'to faint', 'to be exhausted from fatigue' or 'hunger'; moreover, even in accepting it in the sense of *infirmatus est*, the meaning of the sentence remains obscure. We think that the following should be accepted as a plausible interpretation. Taking the verb ܫܚ as used in the MSS., we can find in it a reduplicated root ܫܚܚ with an intransitive meaning of 'to be closed, restricted', and a concave root ܫܝܚ with a transitive meaning of 'to gather', 'to take furtively', 'to attract', 'to catch' (this last meaning is mostly used of fish). Generally speaking it is a tendency of our author to use a transitive verb without complement. The preceding verse of this Ode contains two such verbs, ܒܥܝܡ and ܫܚܡ. Following the same rule, we may take the verb ܫܚ in its concave form and translate: 'And those who take [it] (the mixture) are in the perfection of the right hand; the womb of the virgin caught [it], and conceived and brought forth'. Schulthess proposes ܫܚ ܚܕ݂ܗ *tetigit uterum*. This, however, would require other changes to make the Syriac correct. Labourt would suggest ܫܚ ܚܠ *alas produxit*, but besides the changes which the text would have to undergo to be grammatical, the Syriac verb is used of a bird (mostly a hen) sitting on its eggs (and seldom of its nestlings). Newbold's suggestion of ܫܚܬ 'they formed' is improbable. The opinion above vindicated is rightly upheld by Connolly, and grammatically and lexicographically there is little doubt that his translation is the right one. There is also reason to believe that the very verb ܫܚܠ was before the translator of the text of which Lactantius was availing himself; hence the incomprehensible *infirmatus est* derived from ܚܫܠ.

It will be seen from what precedes that we incline to believe that the correct explanation of the peculiar language of Lactantius lies in the fact that the reference made by Lactantius has come from a misunderstood Syriac text. The balance of the evidence is that way, now that we have shown that Lactantius was really giving an extract from a book of *Testimonia*. Hence there is no need to emend the text of

Lactantius from '*infirmatus* est uterus Virginis' to '*insinuatus est* uterus Virginis', on the faith of the preceding sentence in which Lactantius says: 'Descendens itaque de caelo sanctus ille spiritus sanctam virginem cuius utero se *insinuaret* elegit.'

It is, however, not a little curious that in the *Altercation of Simon and Theophilus*, which is based throughout on the traditional *Testimonia*, the very same expression turns up in an introductory sentence on the Ascension of Christ:

> 'At illi qui nesciebant Christum verbo *in virginem insinuatum*, mirantes,' &c.—*Altercatio*, c. 25.

v. 8. In the text the number 8 ought to be placed before ܫܡܢܐ, if we take ܕܝܠܝ of the second member as only explicative, because in this case it has to be linked with something preceding it. Labourt's opinion that this particle has here the meaning of 'eo consilio ut' is inadmissible.

v. 9. The Syriac ܘܐܫܬ ܕܝܠܝ ܣܝܢܝ ܕܝܠܝ ܘܠܐ ܚܕܝ is curiously well worded, and the Odist seems almost to derive the verb ܐܫ 'to make live', to vivify, from ܣܝܢܝ 'midwife', called in Syriac 'the living one'. On this hypothesis, ܐܫ has certainly the meaning of 'to vivify' in the sense of to deliver a woman in travail; to facilitate her pains (cf. Exod. i. 16, 17). Generally the word is used in the Old Testament for the deliverance of children and not for that of their mother. The partisans of a Greek original might explain this happy sounding of words through a combination of *μαία* and *μαιεύομαι*, but if the Odist had in mind, when using the verb ܐܫ, any idea of deliverance in the sense of salvation, as implied by ܚܕܘܬܐ of verse 11, the Syriac sentence would involve a mental conception and a play upon words which could be accounted for exclusively through a Syriac channel. Otherwise we should imagine a Greek original something like the following poetical form:

> *καὶ οὐκ ἐμαίετο μαῖαν,*
> *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐμαιεύσατο αὐτήν.*

v. 10. It is not certain from the context whether the virgin brought forth a child 'by *her* own will' or 'by the will of God'. Strictly speaking, the Syriac 'by will' although frequently meaning 'by one's own will' leaves the question undecided. When the word is used without suffixes,

it is an exaggeration to say that it is the natural and usual expression for 'by one's own will'. There is no linguistic reason, however, impeding us from translating it here 'by her own will'. The substantives used in the following lines with the prefix ܕ seem to refer to the Virgin, and if this be so, it is grammatically more correct to refer ܚܝܠܗ also to the same Virgin.

The Syriac construction induces us to believe that ܐܝܟ ܓܒܪܐ is to be translated by 'as if', or 'as it were a man', a rendering adopted by Labourt-Batiffol, the particle ܐܝܟ being used to mean a comparison with the reality and not the reality itself. 'As a man', or 'like a man' in the sense of 'courageously', would account for the uselessness of the midwife; but in the next verse it is stated that her Son, or more probably God Himself, took the place of a midwife. Further, this interpretation would be untenable in verses 10–11 where the word ܓܒܪܐ is almost certainly the object of all the Syriac verbs.

In the next line, the sentence ܘܝܠܕܬ ܒܚܣܝܢܐ translated by 'and she brought forth with demonstration' is not sufficiently clear. Linguistically, we might translate it by 'ostensibly': in this case we should have the following meaning:

> 'She brought forth, as it were a man by (her own) will and she brought (him) forth ostensibly.'

The translation 'en exemple' adopted by Labourt is not probable; we should have had ܒܚܣܝܢܐ. His suggestion that the word might have been ܒܣܝܢܐ (*sic!*) 'hilarity' is impossible. If ܣܝܢܐ is meant, the change would be very violent.

Another explanation has been offered for the words 'as a man', which we shall refer to the Davidic Psalter as origin. It is suggested that instead of ܓܒܪܐ 'a man', we should read ܓܒܥܐ 'a giant': and there is something to be said for the suggestion.

Ephrem frequently speaks of the Virgin as bringing forth 'a giant', e.g. in the *Hymns on the Virgin*:

> 'Mary bowed down and brought forth the giant of the worlds, the giant of the powers.'
>
> ܓܒܥܐ ܘܚܩܦ ܓܒܥܐ ܝܠܕܬ:
>
> . . . . . .
>
> ܥܡܡ ܟܠܗ ܘܝܠܕܬ.
>
> Ed. Lamy, ii. 553.

'The womb carried thee; the manger sufficed thee;
Simeon carried thee, O giant God.'

ܒܛܢܐ ܫܩܠܬ ܠܟ ܘܐܘܪܝܐ ܐܣܬܟ ܠܟ.
ܫܡܥܘܢ ܫܩܠ ܠܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܓܒܪܐ.

Ed. Lamy, ii. 559.

'Like a child hast thou arisen from me:
And like a giant hast thou become strong.'

ܐܝܟ ܛܥܘܠ ܥܡܕ ܘܣܠܩ.
ܘܐܝܟ ܓܒܪܐ ܬܬܚܫܠ.

Ed. Lamy, ii. 623.

The ultimate origin of the figure, if the emendation be correct, is Ps. xix. 6: 'as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, exulting like a giant,' &c. (ܐܝܟ ܓܒܪܐ), or more probably Ps. lxxxvii. 5, which reads in the Peshiṭta Version: 'a giant man (ܓܒܪ ܓܒܪ) was born in her, and He established her'.

v. 11. Instead of ܒܚܘܢܐ 'with salvation', Gressmann proposes ܒܚܘܢܝܐ 'with administration', and (by extension) 'with care'. If an emendation is to be introduced into the text, a choice between ܒܚܘܫܒܐ or ܒܚܘܢܐ 'by (divine) decree' would be better Syriac.

For 'she guarded Him in kindness', we should by a slight correction, reading ܪܘܙ for ܢܛܪ, translate 'she crooned over Him affectionately'.

The confirmation comes from Ephrem:

'She loved Him and crooned over Him
. . . . . .
When He began to cry, she rose and suckled Him,
Loved Him tenderly, crooned over Him.'

ܐܬܚܒܒ ܠܗ ܐܬܪܘܙ ܠܗ:
. . . . . .
ܐܟܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܒܟ
ܩܡ ܠܡܥܠ
ܚܒܒ ܪܘܙ ܠܗ.

Ed. Lamy, ii. 553.

'She carried Him, she crooned over Him, she embraced Him.'

ܫܩܠ ܪܘܙ ܘ ܚܒܩ.

Ed. Lamy, ii. 621.

'Since thou art my Son I will croon over thee; since I have become thy mother, I will honour thee.'

ولمحلب حنب ابلا ابزنو
.ونصو ابلا ولحو ابعنو

Ed. Lamy, ii. (*ibid.*).

If this emendation be accepted, it is likely that Ephrem will take us a step further. For in the first of the passages quoted (and elsewhere), Ephrem refers to the 'swaddling clothes' and the 'manger'.

Expository Notes.

This Ode is, in modern eyes, altogether grotesque, and out of harmony with the generally lofty strain of the rest of the collection. It is not surprising that it was supposed on the first discovery of the Odes to be a later addition. Unfortunately for this hypothesis it happens to be one of the best attested; it was not only quoted by Lactantius through the medium of a primitive collection of *Testimonia*, but, as we have shown in the Introduction, it was known to Eusebius and elsewhere. So there is no ground, in our present state of knowledge, for detaching it from the rest of the collection. It stood as Ode xix in the early source to which we have traced it.

There is a further reason for not detaching it from the rest of the collection. The first half of the Ode is a parable or allegory of the milk from the breasts of God. We have already had an allusion to the divine breasts in the eighth Ode, where the Lord says 'My own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby'. Something to the same effect is implied in Ode xxxv:

'He gave me milk, the dew of the Lord.'

So that if the 19th Ode is to be ejected, the eighth and the 35th will have to be expelled at the same time. Moreover, if the figures employed seem harsh and unnatural to us, they do not appear to have been so to the early Christians. Clement of Alexandria, in his *Paedagogus* (lib. i, c. 8, p. 124) has a long discussion of the milk with which Christ's babes are nourished. Our nourishment, he says, is the Divine Word, it is '*the milk of the Father*, by which alone the babes are fed. Through the Word we have believed in God, *to whose care-allaying breasts* we have fled'. And again (p. 125) 'to the babes, who seek for the Word, the *breasts of the*

Father's kindness supply the milk'. Thus Clement employs the figurative language of the Ode, while avoiding its crudity.

The two parts of the Ode, the milk-section and the section on the Virgin Birth, appear to be two separate compositions on the first examination: closer study shows them to be in sequence; and the mysterious verb with which the second part of the Ode opens, being in the feminine, takes as subject the 'Spirit', the subject of the previous sentence. So the two parts were connected by the author himself.

The second part of the Ode is really more perplexing than the first: the first is grotesque, without an evolution of ideas: it might easily have been produced at a single sitting; but the second part appears to present the doctrine of the Virgin Birth in a highly evolved form; as, for instance, Virgin Birth, *plus* painlessness, *plus* non-necessity of a midwife; this is the sort of thing that we come across in the Apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy. Can we really refer this kind of speculation to the borders of the first century?

One thing has emerged clearly from the study of the Odes. We have shown in the Introduction that the Odist was not working without a Scriptural base: he was operating on the text of the 22nd Psalm, when he was talking so fantastically about the non-necessity for a midwife, and about the Father acting as midwife. This use of the 22nd Psalm is very important. In the 28th Ode the very same Psalm is applied as predictive of Christ, so that we have one more link between the 19th Ode and the rest of the collection. And it is not merely Eusebius who discloses to us the meaning of the text 'Thou art He who didst draw me out of my Mother's womb', and who uses obstetric language. The text had a place in controversy; for, as soon as the Virgin Birth was conceded, a dispute arose as to the nature of the flesh of Christ, and Valentinus enunciated the heresy that the Lord passed through the Virgin as water through a tube, without taking substance from the Virgin. So when Tertullian comes to deal with Valentinus in his treatise *De carne Christi*, he produces this very verse from the 22nd Psalm, and comments upon it with a wealth of anatomical knowledge and obstetrical detail! He uses the strongest translation possible for ἐκσπάω, and says:

> 'Avulsisti me ex utero. Quid avellitur, nisi quod inhaeret,' &c.—*De Carne Christi*, c. 20, p. 322, ed. Rigalt.

The text in the Psalm had acquired a polemical value in the Valentinian controversy, but it was a text which Valentinus himself was assumed to accept. So what seems to us to be late may turn out to be very much older than it looks. As to the painless delivery, one can find parallels to that in pagan literature; the idea, at all events, is not a Christian invention. We have discussed this obstetric matter sufficiently in the Introduction; it remains to elucidate one or two remaining points.

In verse 10 we have some obscure and allusive matter in the words:

'She brought forth, as a man, of the Will.'

We have referred the last words, with some probability, to the Will of God, considering that the thought involved is parallel to that in the Western text of John i. 14; ('who was born . . . not of the will of man, but of God').

For the words, 'as a man', we must probably go to Dan. vii. 13, where 'one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven'; for this passage was very early interpreted of the Incarnation. Thus Justin, *Dial.* 76 says:

τὸ γὰρ ὡς υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου εἰπεῖν, φαινόμενον μὲν καὶ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον μηνύει, οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνου σπέρματος ὑπάρχοντα δηλοῖ.

The language of Justin again recalls the terms of John i. 13.

The concluding sentences of the Ode are almost unintelligible, and without adequate motive. The conjecture in the *editio princeps* to read

'She loved him in his swaddling clothes'

was too violent a change to find acceptance; but there is something to be said for it. If we recall the natural hostility of the docetic mind to the Incarnation through a Virgin, and the objections of Marcionites and others to any natural birth at all as unworthy of the Son of God, we may, perhaps, be able to throw a ray of light on these concluding sentences. Thus Tertullian makes Marcion say:

'Indignum hoc Dei Filio.'

and he goes on to say:

> 'Dedigneris quod pannis dirigitur, quod unctionibus formatur, quod blanditiis desidetur.'—*De carne Christi*, c. 4.

Thus the last sentences of the Ode might be paraphrased:

> 'It was a great honour (not a dishonour) to have borne him:
> She loved him in his swaddling clothes,
> And watched over him with fondling,
> And exhibited him proudly.'

But this is not to be taken as criticism of the same order as the first part of this note. We concede the obscurity of the last clauses: but we have cleared up the difficulty of the Divine accoucheur. That is certainly from the 22nd Psalm.[1]

The statement that the Virgin brought forth her Son without assistance is an early article of the *Testimony Book*, where it is deduced from Daniel ii. 45, the stone in the vision of Nebuchadnezzar having been cut out *without hands* (which is a supplementary inference to the identification of Christ with the Stone of the Scriptures). The term 'without hands' (ἄνευ χειρῶν) appears to have been interpreted in two different ways, each of which was meant to emphasize the miracle of the birth: one way was to say that the Virgin had no consort, and so conceived without human co-operation; the other, that she had no woman's help at the time of the birth.

Thus in the Dialogue of *Athanasius and Zacchaeus*, c. 114, we have the matter introduced as follows:

> 'Zacchaeus said: From what mountain was the stone cut out? Athanasius: The mountain means the Virgin Mary. And that is why it says *without hands*, because she begat (γεννῆσαι) the Stone, i. e. the body (of Jesus), without human χειρουργία. For the prophet says: "Nebuchadnezzar dreamed a dream,"' &c.

Mr. Conybeare, writing in 1898, remarked on this passage[2] that 'one is tempted to render "without surgical aid of man"', but finally decides for the alternative meaning, 'without man's assistance' and refers to Justin, *Dial.* 76. The passage in *Athanasius and Zacchaeus* is based upon a primitive Testimony; and as soon as we have found the key-passage in Daniel, the whole matter becomes clearer, and we see the meaning of the language in the Ode and of the parallel passage in Justin.

When the Ode says of a Virgin that 'She brought forth a Son without

[1] We notice that Bernard had observed the underlying allusion to the Psalm.

[2] *Athanasius and Zacchaeus*, 112–14.

incurring pain, for it did not happen without purpose'; we may understand the words 'without purpose' (ܒܣܦܩܠܐ = κενῶς?) to mean, 'not without prediction on the part of the prophets', or 'independently of God's expressed will'. When it says:

> 'She had not required a midwife,
> For He delivered her',

that is in its ultimate origin a comment on *ἄνευ χειρῶν*. When it says, 'She brought forth, as a man, of (her own) will', we should understand 'as a man' to mean the 'one like a son of man' in Daniel, who comes on the clouds, and is presented to the Ancient of Days: and in that case the 'Will' is not the Virgin's, but the 'Will of God'.

Now turn to Justin, *Dial.* 76, where we find that the 'Stone cut out without hands' means that He is *no work of man*, but *of the will* of the *God* of the Universe who sends Him forth. The whole passage is interesting:

> *Ὅταν γὰρ ὡς υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου λέγῃ Δανιὴλ τὸν παραλαμβάνοντα τὴν αἰώνιον βασιλείαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦτο αἰνίσσεται; τὸ γὰρ ὡς υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου εἰπεῖν, φαινόμενον μὲν καὶ γενόμενον ἄνθρωπον μηνύει, οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνου σπέρματος ὑπάρχοντα δηλοῖ. καὶ τὸ λίθον τοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἄνευ χειρῶν τμηθέντα, ἐν μυστηρίῳ τὸ αὐτὸ κέκραγε. τὸ γὰρ ἄνευ χειρῶν εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκτετμῆσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπινον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς βουλῆς τοῦ προβάλλοντος αὐτὸν πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ.*

Both the Odist and Justin are operating on primitive *Testimonies*, which will be found also in the collections of Cyprian, Gregory Nyss., &c. In the case of Gregory Nyss. (c. 8) the explanation given is the same as in Justin:

> 'The Stone which is cut out *without hand* (*ἄνευ χειρός*) is the one who was begotten without human seed'.

In Cyprian, *Test.* ii. 17, the hands are explained as 'Manus concidentium', i. e. hands of stone-cutters, and there appears to be no immediate reference to the Virgin.

The reference to the Virgin is not, however, excluded: for when Irenaeus discusses the *Testimonies* which identify Christ with the Stone, he makes the same expansion as Cyprian, and then goes on to explain the *ἄνευ χειρῶν*, not of the absence of a midwife, but of the non-cooperation of

Joseph. The passage is very interesting, for the context shows that Irenaeus also is working from the *Testimony Book*:

> 'Propter hoc autem et Daniel praevidens eius adventum, lapidem sine manibus abscissum advenisse in hunc mundum. Hoc est enim quod *sine manibus* significabat, quod non operantibus humanis manibus, hoc est *virorum illorum qui solent lapides caedere*,[1] in hunc mundum eius adventus erat, id est, non operante in eum Ioseph, sed sola Maria co-operante dispositioni. Hic enim lapis a terra et ex virtute et arte constat dei. Propter hoc autem et Esaias ait: sic dicit Dominus: Ecce ergo immitto in fundamenta Zion lapidem pretiosum, electum, summum angularem, honorificum: uti *non ex voluntate viri*, sed *ex voluntate Dei*, adventum eius qui secundum hominem est intelligamus.'—Iren. *Haer.* (iii, p. 217, Mass.).

The whole chapter is headed, *Quid est apud Danielem lapis sine manibus excisus?* There can be no doubt of the use of the Testimony Book in this section; the reason for turning to Daniel at this point is clear from the close of the previous chapter, in which it was stated that the Incarnation was not the will of man, but the will and work of God. Compare the following sentences with what has been just quoted:

> 'Sed quoniam inopinata salus hominibus inciperet fieri, *Deo adiuvante*, inopinatus et partus Virginis fiebat, Deo dante signum hoc, sed *non homine operante* illud.'

Here we take the words 'Deo adiuvante' to refer to the 'birth from the Virgin', the sense being the same as in the Ode:

> 'She did not need a midwife
> For He brought her to bear.'

It will not have escaped notice that all these references to a birth, not from man but from the will of God, are strongly supported by the Western text in John i. 13, where the will of man and the will of God are contrasted in the birth of Christ, 'who was born not of the will of man but (of the will) of God'. The thought of the 19th Ode and the ἄνευ χειρῶν of Daniel are behind the language of the Fourth Gospel.

The fantastic opening of this Ode will, perhaps, appear less fantastic and more in harmony with the rest of the collection if we keep two points before our minds: the first is the proved use of Sapiential matter by the

[1] Cf. Cyp. ut supra: *Concidentium.*

Odist, for, as we have seen, Ode after Ode becomes intelligible as we examine the parallels in Proverbs and the other Sapiential books, as well as the proofs of the early Fathers that Jesus (*or* the Holy Spirit) was regarded as the Wisdom of God; the second point is the preference which the Odist shows for the symbol of 'milk' over that of 'wine', a preference so decided that it has sometimes led to the suspicion that the author was patronizing a milk-sacrament, like that of certain early heretics.

Let us then imagine that the Holy Spirit in this Ode is the Divine Wisdom, the Sophia of the Sapiential books. We shall hear her call clearly enough in the 33rd Ode, and find proofs there and elsewhere that the Odist is borrowing from the eighth and ninth chapters of Proverbs.

In this latter chapter, Wisdom sends out an invitation to a feast, and in particular to a cup which she has mingled,

'She hath mingled her wine.

. . . . . .

Come and drink of the wine which I have mingled.'

where the LXX has the curious expansion,

'She hath mingled her own wine into a cup,'
ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς οἶνον·

and the 'cup' appears again in the following verse,

'She calls with lofty announcement *to the cup*, saying,' &c.
συγκαλοῦσα μετὰ ὑψηλοῦ κηρύγματος ἐπὶ κρατῆρα λέγουσα.

What the Odist has done is to lay emphasis on this 'cup', and at the same time to explain that it is a 'cup of milk': hence he begins:

'A cup of milk was offered to me.'

Now he is in difficulties: for the Scripture calls it a 'mixed cup'; and how can a cup of milk be a mixed cup? The solution is that the milk has been taken from the two 'care-allaying breasts of the Father', as Clement of Alexandria would say.

If this is the right line on which we are to find the origin of the allegory of the cup of milk, we might be obliged to allow for this Ode a Greek origin, in view of the fact that it is the Septuagint that lays special emphasis on 'the cup'. We should also, in that case, hesitate to change the reading of the MS. from

'The Holy Spirit opened *her* bosom,'

for the LXX has an emphasis on the person of Wisdom who

'mingled into a cup *her own* wine',

where, if we read 'milk' for 'wine', we must also read 'her bosom' for 'his bosom'.

And why is the mixture given to the world without their knowing? We have the same difficulty in Ode xxx, again a Sapiential Ode, where the living water comes invisibly, and 'until it was set in the midst they did not know it'. The obvious parallel is John i. 10:

> 'He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not.'

That is not far from the expression that

> 'the Holy Spirit gave the mixed cup *to the world without their knowing*.'

There seems to be a missing link to connect all these passages together somewhere in the Old Testament. From the fact that the Fourth Gospel interjects the words 'and the world was made by him', which is the Sapiential definition of Christ, we should be disposed to look for the missing reference somewhere in the Sapiential books. We have not yet found it.

The emphasis on the *cup* which Wisdom mixes is due to the fact that the passage in Proverbs was a very early testimony, one of the proof-texts that Christ was the Wisdom of God. Thus in Cyp. *Test.* ii. 2 the passage is transcribed as in the LXX with

'miscuit *in cratere* . . . . .
convocans . . *ad craterem*.'

The heading of the section, which is evidently a translation from Greek, is:

> 'Quod Sapientia Dei Christus, et de sacramento concarnationis eius et passionis et *calicis* et altaris et apostolorum qui missi praedicaverunt:'

(*read* de calice et de altari et de apostolis: περὶ πάθους καὶ [περὶ] κρατῆρος κτέ.).

Thus the 'cup' is a part of the primitive proof that Christ is the Wisdom of God.

If we are right in our explanation that the Odist substituted 'milk' for 'wine' in the sentence

ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς οἶνον·

thus giving '*her own* milk' for '*her own* wine', we must recognize similar expressions in Ode viii:

> '*my own breasts* I prepared for them that they might drink *my own holy milk*.'

This would bring Ode viii also into still closer connexion with Prov. ix. 2, and, as before, it would be the text of the LXX that furnishes the explanation of the emphatic ἑαυτῆς or ἐμαυτοῦ, or the text of an early Testimony Book.

With regard to the painlessness of the Divine Birth, it may be of interest to observe that in one striking passage at least Ephrem contests the belief, e. g. *R. E.* iii. 6: 'The First Born entered the womb and the Pure One suffered not: He descended and came forth with pains; and the Fair One was agitated over Him.'

ODE XX

1 I am a priest of the Lord;
And to Him I do priestly service;

2 And to Him I offer the offering of His thought.

3 For His thought is not like (the thought of) the world,
Nor (like the thought of) the flesh;
Nor like them that serve carnally.

4 The offering of the Lord is righteousness;
And purity of heart and lips,

Cf. Ephr. *Epiph. Hymn.* iii. 12.

5 Offer your[1] reins (before Him) blamelessly;
And let not thy heart[2] do violence to heart;[2]
Nor thy soul do violence to soul.

6 Thou shalt not acquire a stranger . . .;

Cf. Exod. xxii. 24–26.

Neither shalt thou seek to deal guilefully with thy neighbour;

Cf. Isa. lviii. 7.

Neither shalt thou deprive him of the covering of his nakedness.

[1] B, my reins. [2] *lit.* pity.

7 But put on the grace of the Lord without stint;
And come into His Paradise[1] and make thee a garland from His tree; Cf. Gen. ii. 9 and Apoc. ii. 7.

8 And put it on thy head and be glad;
And recline on His rest;

9 And His glory shall go before thee; Cf. Isa. lviii. 8.
And thou shalt receive of His kindness and His grace[2]:
And thou shalt be fat in truth in the praise of His holiness.

(Doxology.)

10 Praise and honour to His name.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

vv. 1, 2. The Semitisms should be noted.

v. 6. This verse presents peculiar difficulties, and none of the proposals for its identification or interpretation appears to commend itself widely. We cannot, for instance, translate it as it stands:

'Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by the blood of thy soul.'

for this has no meaning: nor can we say that ܒܕܡܐ ܕܢܟܪܝ means 'in that he is what thou art'. We might possibly emend it to the form

ܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܢܣܢܐ ܕܒܕܡܐ ܕܢܟܪܝ

and translate:

'Thou shalt not hate the stranger who is in thy own likeness.'

The changes required are not violent; and the meaning might be that of Exod. xxiii. 9, 'Thou knowest the soul of a stranger, for thou wast a stranger.'

If we maintain the reading of the MS. the expression ܠܐ ܬܩܢܐ ܕ suggests acquisition for a price (ܟܣܦܐ), and the question then is as to the price to be paid for the stranger. The suggestion in the *editio princeps* to read

'Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by the price of thy silver,'

[1] the Paradise (H). [2] *Or*, goodness (B).

has been weakened by the discovery that the Nitrian MS. shows the very same text as Cod. H. This criticism applies, however, to most emendations that may be proposed. So we leave the matter with a margin of uncertainty. The verses which follow certainly find their parallel in the 22nd chapter of Exodus, where we meet with the prohibition of keeping a man's pledged garment after sundown.

Expository Notes.

This Ode has caused a good deal of difficulty both as to its text and as to its interpretation. In the fifth verse, both the extant MSS. read:

'Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by the blood of thy soul.'

The *editio princeps* suggested an emendation to this on the hypothesis that the word 'soul' had been accidentally repeated from the previous verse, and that we ought to read 'silver' instead of 'soul'; the sentence then runs with a microscopic change:

'Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by the price of thy silver.'

This would make excellent sense, and lead to the suggestion that the writer was an Essene, in harmony with the known prohibition of slave-holding amongst this austere sect.

The correction suggested was thought too violent by Flemming, who agreed, however, that 'by the blood of thy soul' should be corrected to 'by the price of thy soul', reading, that is, ܒܝܩܪܐ for ܒܢܦܫܐ.

To this Diettrich took further exception. There was, according to him, no need of change at all. It was merely a case of a wrongly divided word. The unintelligible ܒܕܡܐ was to be resolved into ܒ and ܕܡܐ, and translated: 'So that he is what thou thyself art,' or 'in that he is the same as thyself'; and Diettrich also endorsed the suggestion of an Essene prohibition of slavery. That was, we believe, the furthest point the discussion of the verse had reached textually, with any approach to probability.

Now let us see whether we can throw light upon this sentence in the Ode and upon the Ode generally from any other direction.

Recalling our observation of the way the Odist takes up a Scripture passage (say a Psalm), and works his own ideas into it and out of it, let us see if we can find his leading motive in the composition of the Ode.

Two directions suggest themselves to us; one was that of the first editor, who thought the Ode was inspired by the ethical prohibitions in Exod. xxii. 25, 26 against slavery, usury, and the retention of the pledged garment. The other we have marked on our margin that the inspiration comes from that very noble ethical outburst in the 58th chapter of Isaiah. The ninth verse of our Ode is, in fact, coloured by Isa. lviii. 8: we compare:

Ode xx. 9. '*His glory shall go before thee*
And thou shalt receive of His kindness and His grace.'

Isa. lviii. 8. '*Thy righteousness shall go before thee,*
The glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward.'

It is easy to see how the Odist has handled the text of the prophet.

The next question is whether he has made any further use of the text of his author, or if the reference is merely a casual reminiscence.

In the sixth verse the Odist says that one is not to deprive one's neighbour of the covering of his nakedness: this finds a good parallel in Isa. lviii. 7, as follows:

Ode xx. 6. 'Neither shalt thou deprive him of the covering of his nakedness.'

Isa. lviii. 7. 'When thou seest the naked that thou cover him.'

The previous sentence in the Ode says that we are not to *deal guilefully* with our neighbours. Now turn to Isa. lviii. 6, and we find the injunction to 'loose the bands of wickedness'; where the Peshiṭta version has

ܚܛܝܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܬܐ

bands of *guile*.

the same root that we have in the Ode. This passage, then, is the origin of the sentence we have in the Ode, and the suspicion arises that the Odist has been working from a Syriac text. We can go one step further, for we notice the same word ܥܘܠܬܐ in verse 9 of the Prophet, where it apparently answers to the Greek *ἀδικία*. It is the Peshiṭta version that invites the parallel. Now turn back again to the Peshiṭta text in verse 7. We find the injunction 'that thou hide not thyself from thy own flesh', in the form

ܘܠܐ ܬܐܬܥܠܡ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܒܣܪܟ

i. e. 'and do not neglect the son of thy flesh.'

The expression 'son of thy own flesh' attracts our attention; if we write

'soul' for flesh, we have an expression which is very nearly the same in sense as the Odist's expression, 'He is what thy soul is'. So we suggest again that the Odist has been imitating the Syriac text of Isaiah; Isaiah has certainly been imitated elsewhere, which makes our conjecture probable. We can now remove the discontinuity in the writer's thought in passing from the sixth verse to the seventh. This discontinuity was recognized in the first edition in the words: 'then he leaves morals and is away in search of the honey-dew and the milk of Paradise. There glory waits the soul that enters into the Divine rest'. Even this discontinuity may have its motive; as we read on in the great chapter of Isaiah, we are told that 'the Lord shall guide thee continually and satisfy thy soul in dry places, and make strong thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden'. For 'garden' the LXX reads κῆπος, but the Peshiṭta says *Paradise*, and gives the clue to the language of the Odist:

'Come into Paradise and make thee a garland from its tree.'

Now we see the reason for the discontinuity of the Ode; or rather, the apparent discontinuity has disappeared. The Odist concludes with the promise:

'Thou shalt be flourishing (*lit.* fat) in truth in the praise of His holiness.'

The word for 'fat' in the Ode (ܫܡܝ) is taken from the Peshiṭta rendering of Isaiah lviii. 11:

ܘܢܫܒܥ ܒܫܡܝ ܢܦܫܟ

'and he shall satisfy thy soul with *fatness*.'

The case is not quite so conclusive as previous cases for the use of the Syriac, for the LXX has in the next sentence

καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ σου πιανθήσεται,

'thy bones shall be made fat.'

On the whole, the argument appears to be decisive in favour of a Syriac original for this Ode. The structure of the Ode appears also to be disclosed.

This particular section of Isaiah was much used by primitive Christians in arguing against the Jews and their ritual: Barnabas, for instance, uses it in c. 3, where he is arguing for a new fast, having previously argued for a new sacrifice and a new law. And it is clear that Barnabas is working from a collection of written *Testimonies against the Jews*. It is

quite likely, since the Odist begins the 20th Ode with a statement of the kind of sacrifice that pleases God, that he also has been using *Testimonia*: in other words, the passage of Isaiah on which he worked need not have come immediately from the Peshiṭta. The doctrine of the 'new priesthood' is also in the Ode.

For a Syriac parallel which seems to be based directly upon this Ode we may take Ephrem, *Hymni in S. Epiphan.* iii. 12:

> 'The anointed *priests* used to offer the slaughtered bodies of beasts: you, resplendent anointed ones, your bodies are your offerings; the anointed Levites offered *the reins* of beasts, you are more resplendent than the Levites, and you have *consecrated your hearts*.'

We note, in conclusion, that the opening verse of the Ode contains two strong Aramaisms:

'a priest . . . . . I priest:'
'I sacrifice . . . . . the sacrifice.'

Such forms of speech are possible in Greek; they are at home in Syriac.

In the foregoing study of the influence upon the Odist of a famous passage in Isaiah, we note that the very same coincidences (or nearly the same) had been detected by Connolly in an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for July, 1913 (pp. 530–8). It is curious that the writer had used the coincidences to establish the exactly opposite conclusion to the one reached by ourselves, viz. that 'Greek is the original language of the Odes', a conclusion which was promptly challenged (though not very convincingly) by Dr. E. A. Abbott.

Connolly evades the force of the Odist's translation of 'garden' by 'Paradise' in harmony with the Peshiṭta rendering of Isaiah, and says 'that the Odist should put "Paradise" for "garden" is not surprising, for he devotes a whole Ode (xi) to Paradise'. We should have said that it was very striking that he should do so.

In dealing with the words 'thou shalt be fat', he takes the clause in the LXX for reference,

καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ σου πιανθήσεται,

when he should have taken the previous clause: but he omits to notice that the words used for 'fat' in the Odes is certainly the Peshiṭta word in the passage in question, when it might easily have been any one out of a group of three or four possible words: that is, he ignores linguistic

coincidence at the very point where coincidence counts. See also the further points to which we have referred. In passing from this point we may say that, while we quite agree with Connolly's criticism of Dr. Abbott's supposed Hebrew original for the Odes, we cannot agree with him that the Scriptural allusions of the Odes escape capture. He says (p. 535):

> 'It is unfortunate that—whether of set purpose or not we cannot say—the author has only too successfully disguised his Scriptural allusions. Sometimes the disguise is transparent enough, as when he says "as the eyes of a son to his father" (Ode xiv. 1): but though we can occasionally find the passage he is using, it is as a rule impossible to say whether he is working with any particular form of text.'

Exactly the opposite is the case, as we have shown by recovering a number of references to the Scripture (especially to the Psalms) and by indicating the particular version that is being followed.

The natural explanation of the Ode, as regards the priesthood which the author affirms in his opening sentence, is the spiritual explanation which is suggested in the first epistle of Peter, according to which the new race which follows Christ is also a new and royal priesthood. There is a residual possibility that the writer might have been a person of dignity in the church for which he composes his hymns, affirming his office towards God and against all other priesthoods, Jewish or pagan. As we have said, it may be doubted whether this is the simple and natural explanation; but in a theme so full of obscurities as the exegesis of the *Odes* one must fish all waters. It is something like the suggestion that the person who has the Lord on his head and has been thus crowned with a crown of truth, is the Apostle John, who, according to tradition, actually wore the high-priestly mitre and head-band with the Incommunicable Name. The question is raised whether such an explanation for St. John or some other one of the early Christian leaders, might not elucidate the interpretation of the Odes. For instance, the parallel with the passage in the Wisdom of Solomon, where Phinehas is said to bear the Divine magnificence 'upon the diadem of his head' (*Sap. Sol.* xviii. 24) would acquire fresh relevance. The reference for St. John similarly crowned is found in a fragment of Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, who, writing in the time of the Antonines, says that John 'became (*or* was) a priest wearing the πέταλον, and a martyr and a teacher'. It is noteworthy that Polycrates does not call him a *high* priest, though Jerome, in translating the words of Polycrates, makes him

say so. But Jerome may very well be correct in saying 'Pontifex *eius*', so far as the added pronoun is concerned. According to Eusebius, upon whose extract of Polycrates Jerome is working, the language of Polycrates is

> ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσών· ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορηκώς, καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος.

Is it possible that αὐτοῦ has dropped from the text of Eusebius after ἱερεύς? It would make an excellent parallel to the opening of this 20th Ode, where the Odist begins by saying 'I am a priest *of the Lord*'. But Jerome may have added the pronoun on his own account. In the Ode, the priesthood is expressly set in antithesis to the carnal priesthoods of the old law, and the affirmation that one was God's priest would be a negation of 'God's high priest' elsewhere.

The supposition that the early Christian teachers did actually wear visible emblems, comparable to those of the cult from which they had their origin, has been much discussed: see Routh, *Reliquiae*, ii. 27, for the evidence of Epiphanius that St. James also wore the πέταλον, and an anonymous statement to the same effect for St. Mark. It is within the bounds of credibility that some such custom prevailed. It would not follow, even if we accepted Polycrates and his Ephesian tradition, that St. John is himself the Odist, or the person of whom the Odist is thinking. Polycrates might have applied the language of the Odes about 'priesthood' and πέταλον to his great predecessor.

We are not, however, in a position yet to abandon the ordinary reference of the Odes to the Christian believers generally.

ODE XXI

1 My arms[1] I lifted up on high;
Even to the grace of the Lord:
2 Because He had cast off my bonds from me;
And my Helper had lifted me up to His grace and His salvation.
3 And I put off darkness,
And clothed myself with light:

Cf. Ephr. *Epiph. Hymn.* vii. 22.

[1] B, arm.

4 And my soul acquired members
Free from sorrow,
Or affliction or pain.

5 And increasingly helpful to me was the thought of the Lord;
And His incorruptible fellowship.

6 And I was lifted up in the light,
And I passed before Him;

Sap. Sol. vi. 19; cf. Ode xxxvi. 6; and Koran iii. 40.

7 And I became near to Him,
Praising and confessing[1] Him.

8 He made my heart overflow; and it was found in my mouth;
And it shone upon my lips.

9 And upon my face the exultation of the Lord increased,
And His praise likewise.[2]
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 8. Three hypotheses are possible in the translation of the sentence ܐܬܪܚܫ ܠܒܝ. It may either mean '*my heart* ran over, *or* came forth', or 'I *will* make my heart run over, *or* come forth', or 'He made my heart run over *or* come forth'. Against the first translation we have the linguistic fact that when this verb is used in the form *Aphel*, it has always a transitive meaning and never an intransitive sense of 'he ran over, *or* came forth, gushed forth'. It is so used in Ode xxvi. 1. Against the second translation militates the fact that the sequence of the verbs would be impaired, for its rendering would then be, 'I *will* make my heart run over (*or* gush forth) and it *was* found in my mouth'. The future tense joined in the same phrase with the past tense is not very alluring linguistically. So far as the linguistic elements of the sentence are concerned, the only alternative left is to adopt the third

[1] *Or*, giving thanks to. [2] *Cod. B*: in His praise.

rendering 'He *made* my heart run over (*or* come forth) and it *was* found in my mouth and it shone upon my lips'. However unnatural the idea of God making a heart come to the mouth and shine upon the lips may seem to be, it is the genuine meaning of the Syriac text. If we were allowed to suppose that a word has disappeared from the text and that 'my heart' is the subject of the verb 'he made to run over' the object would be a dropped word ܡܠܐ or ܦܘܡܐ as in Psalm xlv. 1. In this hypothesis we should have the following sense, 'my heart *eructavit* (*sc.* a word), and it was found in my mouth and it shone upon my lips'.

Expository Notes.

In determining the meaning of this Ode our best plan will be to follow the method which has been so successful in previous Odes. Let us see if we can find the writer's literary model.

In the first place we notice a certain assonance running through the Ode. Compare:

v. 1. 'My arms I lifted up:'
v. 2. 'My helper had lifted me up.'
v. 6. 'I was lifted up in His light.'

The repetition at once betrays the origin of the Psalm; it can be detected even in the English version:

'I will *extol* thee, O Lord,
For thou hast *lifted me up*.'

Thus the 30th Psalm should be the key to the 21st Ode. Let us now see whether this assonance in the Ode is derived from the Hebrew, the Greek, the Targum, or the Syriac of the Psalm. In Hebrew the language is:

אֲרוֹמִמְךָ יהוה כִּי דִלִּיתָנִי

i. e. 'I will exalt thee, O Lord, for thou hast drawn me up (out of Sheol).'

In the LXX, too, the words are different:

ὑψώσω σε, Κύριε, ὅτι ὑπέλαβές με.

'I will exalt thee, O Lord, for thou camest to my help.'

The Targum also shows two different words.

Now turn to the Syriac, and we find:

ܐܦܥܝܟ ܡܪܝ ܐܬܩܒܠܬ

where we find the very assonance that the Odist has imitated. He was working, then, on the Syriac Psalter.

In verse 3 the Odist says that 'he has put off darkness and clothed himself with light'; this is a paraphrase for verse 11 of the Psalm:

'thou hast loosed my sackcloth and girded me with gladness';

the Odist turns the 'sackcloth' to mean 'darkness'; ('as black as sackcloth of hair'): and 'gladness' naturally to be the 'body of light'. 'My Helper' (ܥܕܝܪ̈ܐ) in verse 2 is related to 'more exceedingly helpful' in verse 5 (ܥܕܝܪ̈ܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ). The motive for it is in verse 10 of the Psalm:

'Hear, O Lord, have mercy upon me.
O Lord, be thou *my helper* (ܥܕܝܪ̈ܐ).'

'Praising and confessing Him' (*or* giving thanks to Him), might be thought a merely conventional expression in verse 7; but we notice that the Psalm in the concluding verse of the Syriac version has:

'For this I will sing (ܐܫܒܚ) *praise* (ܫܒܚܬܐ) to Thee and not be silent:
O Lord God forever will I confess (*or* give thanks ܐܘܕܐ) to thee.'

Thus the condition of dependence of the Ode on the Psalm can be seen in its texture throughout.

There are still some obscure turns in the Ode. What does it mean that 'I passed before Him and became near to Him'? We shall find something like this in the 36th Ode, where Christ is said to be one of the Divine neighbours; but the present Ode can hardly be *ex ore Christi*? If the Ode expressed a baptismal experience, as Dr. Bernard would urge, we could compare the language of Cyril of Jerusalem:

ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι λαμβανόμεθα ἔνδυμα ἀθάνατον· ἀνακαινιζόμεθα παντὸς παραπτώματος, καὶ ἐγγὺς τῷ Θεῷ γιγνόμεθα.—(*P. G.* 31, 1033).

Perhaps Cyril is quoting from the Ode before us. But perhaps also it is merely a reproduction of the language of *Sap. Sol.* 6. 19:

ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ Θεοῦ.
'Incorruption [*sc.* immortality] makes one near to God.'

The reference which precedes in the Ode to 'fellowship in *incorruption*' (verse 5) or 'fellowship *incorruptible*' should be noted. We must leave the matter for further investigation.

For an exact baptismal parallel we may take Ephrem, *Hymns for*

Epiphany, vii. 22, 'Cast off the darkness that is upon you. The secret darkness ye have cast off; from the water ye have clothed yourself with light.' But as we have shown, Ephrem uses our Odes, and deliberately re-baptizes them.

The expression 'my heart ran over and was found in my mouth' (verse 8) requires some explanation. It is evidently based on the opening words of the 45th Psalm, either in the Targum or in the related Peshiṭta Version.

The Targum has the same root which we have translated by 'ran over', and so has the Syriac; we may set the sentence of the Ode side by side with the other two as follows:

Ode xxi. 8: ܐܚܘ ܟܚ ܘܐܫܬܟܚ ܚܦܫܟ

Targum (Ps. xlv. 2): בעא לבי ממלל טב

Peshiṭta (Ps. xlv. 2): ܐܚܘ ܟܚ ܦܠܚܐ ܠܒܝ

There can be no doubt, then, that the Odist is imitating the 45th Psalm; what has 'run over' is the 'good word', and this is what was 'found in the mouth'. The opening of the 45th Psalm, as is well known, is one of the proof passages for the doctrine of the Logos, and as such acquired great currency. The Odist, working from a Syriac original, indulges his fondness for paronomasia by contrasting the verb which is used in the Psalm (ܐܚܘ = *eructavit*) with a similar verb (ܒܥܐ = *quaesivit*); the word-play cannot be reproduced in any other language. It is clear that the Odist was working from the Syriac or Aramaic Psalter.

Looking more closely at the texts we see that the Targum has done something of the same kind. Instead of a root נבע it has substituted בעא which appears to require translation,

'My heart *sought after* a good word.'

It is in this direction, then, that we are to find the clue to the meaning of the Odist's words:

'My heart (ran over with) *sc.* a good word:
(sought after)
And it (the good word) was found in my mouth.'

Now that we have once again found out the canonical Psalm on which the Odist is working, we are in a position which is favourable for further

investigation. For example, the 45th Psalm will find us the motive for the next clause:

'And it dawned upon my lips';

this comes from:

'grace is poured into thy lips.'

Nor is it to be neglected that this great Psalm, which the Christian tradition has, from the first, interpreted Messianically, is an epithalamium for King Solomon, and therefore peculiarly likely to be the subject of an Ode. When we come to the 26th Ode, the knowledge which we have acquired with regard to the composition of the 21st Ode in its closing verses, will help us to catch the motive of the opening verse in that Ode also. For we may regard the Syriac expression ܚܫ ܠܒܝ 'My heart poured out' ('eructavit cor meum') as a recognizable formula, just as we should recognize 'eructavit cor' if we came across it in Latin.

A conjecture may be offered as to the reason why the Targum substituted for ܐܪܥ the form ܚܠܐ with which our Odist seems to have been acquainted. May it not be that ܐܪܥ, in the sense of *eructavit* was vulgar and unsuited to public reading or recitation, and that for that reason a change was made to a closely related word? One often feels the vulgarity of the language in reading the 45th Psalm in Greek or Latin, or the 78th Psalm, with its similar opening

ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς·

when quoted by the Gospel of Matthew (Mat. xiii. 35). The Targum does not, however, avoid the word where it occurs in Ps. lxxviii, and is certified by the Hebrew. On the other hand in this Psalm the Peshitta avoids the strong expression and says 'I will speak parables'. Evidently there was some trouble over ܐܪܥ.

Not only is the Psalm to which we refer a Salomonic Psalm, and on that account one that the Odist might naturally study, but it is also the Psalm from which the Early Church, or the early Messianic preachers, took one of the titles of the Messiah, the title of 'the Beloved'. And whoever first employed this title, it certainly acquired Christian connotation; it is employed in the New Testament and it occurs in the Odes. The Psalm is headed in the Septuagint

ᾠδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ,

a very striking headline, which brings 'Ode' and 'Solomon' very near together.

The Hebrew does not bring out 'the Beloved' quite as clearly; it says:

שִׁיר יְדִידֹת

which we may render 'a song of loves' or 'epithalamium'; but a very slight change would restore 'Song of the Beloved' as in the LXX.

That the early Christians interpreted 'the Beloved' to be one of the titles of Jesus is certain. For example, Eusebius, *c. Marcellum*, says:

> 'This very one (*sc.* Christ) was the Beloved of God, as the title of the 44th (45th) Psalm discloses by its contents, viz.: An Ode for the Beloved.'

So also Euseb. *D. E.* iv. 15:

> 'Consider the matter more closely and see how according to the preface of the Psalm (Ps. xliv (xlv) *ut sup.*) he makes his discourse to open with the words *concerning the Beloved.*'

And in the same strain Eusebius speaks elsewhere.

Now this is not fourth-century theology; the Psalm in question is constantly appealed to by early Patristic writers. They could not have ignored its conventional heading.

ODE XXII

(Christ speaks.)

1 He who brings me down from on high;
And brings me up from the regions below;

2 And who gathers the things that are betwixt,
And throws them to me;

3 He who scattered my enemies
And my adversaries;

4 He who gave me authority over bonds,
That I might loose them;

5 He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads,
And set me at his roots[1] that I might destroy his seed—

6 Thou wast there and didst help me;
And in every place Thy name was round about me.

7 Thy right hand destroyed his wicked venom;
And thy hand levelled the way for those who believe in thee;

8 And it chose them from the graves,
And separated them from the dead.

Cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 4-6. 9 It took dead bones,
And covered them with bodies;

10 And they were motionless,
And it gave (them) energy[2] for life.

11 Thy way was without corruption and thy face;
Thou didst bring thy world to corruption;
That everything might be dissolved and renewed,

12 And that the foundation for everything might be thy rock;
Cf. Matt. xvi. 18. And on it thou didst build thy Kingdom;
Cf. Ps. xc. 1. And thou becamest[3] the dwelling-place of the saints.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 5. The MSS. have ܘܐܣܬܟܠܬ 'Thou hast set me at his roots', which is possible but not very grammatical. The copyists might have added the *taw* under the influence of the following verse. We have, therefore, suggested as a probable emendation ܘܐܣܬܟܠ. On the other hand, note that the Coptic text is against the emendation.

v. 10. We do not see why we should eliminate the *waw* before ܘܗܘܬ as Grimme has done.

[1] B, root. [2] H, Help [3] And it became.

v. 6. Schulthess suggests, as in the Coptic, the addition of ܥܡܝ 'with me'. The text, however, can do without the particle.

v. 7. B, has 'destroyed the poison of evil'.

vv. 8–10. Instead of the third person fem. sing., we can very well use the second person singular in verses 8–10; these two persons are distinguished one from another in the verbs employed in these verses only by a diversity of punctuation. The Coptic has used the second person.

Expository Notes.

We now come to one of the Odes which has become incorporated in the *Pistis Sophia*. Whatever hesitation we might have had as to the speaker in the previous Ode, we are confident that Christ Himself is the speaker in this Ode, and apparently Christ ascending from Hades. The opening sentence suggests Him that descended and ascended again; and the account of dead men taken from their graves and clothed again with flesh can hardly be anything else than the emancipation of the souls that are imprisoned in Hades. The Odist has no knowledge of a general resurrection (and in this respect, Bardaisan appears to have held the same view); but he has a belief in the immortality of the soul and the gift of God which is eternal life: and he has a strong doctrine of the Descent into Hades (see Ode xlii, for example).

It does not appear as if the Odist is deliberately working over a Psalm, as in previous cases. Where shall we find in a Psalm of the Old Testament a dragon with seven heads? We can, indeed, find a good reference in Psalm lxxiv. 13 'Thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters', a passage which with the addition of the seven heads, and the expansion of the waters by the addition of Jordan or some equivalent term, is commonly referred by the Patristic writers to the waters of baptism, and the enemy who is exorcised therein. But can we find an early instance of this exegesis? Here are some late examples that we have noted: the Greek ritual for the Blessing of the Waters at the Festival of the Epiphany says: 'Thou didst sanctify the streams of Jordan by sending from Heaven thy Holy Spirit, and by breaking the heads of the dragons lurking there'.

In a Homily ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus (tr. by Conybeare in *Expositor* for 1896, pp. 161 ff.) we find:

> 'Not any more let the race of men fear the craftiness and deceit of the serpent, because the Lord hath bruised the head of the dragon in the water of baptism.'

In the Armenian ritual for baptism (ed. Conybeare, p. 101) some manuscripts have:

> 'Thou, Lord, didst bruise the head of the dragon upon the waters. We humbly pray thee, look down upon this water, and send the gift of thy grace, and the benediction of the Jordan,' &c.

But here is something of an earlier date which bears upon the destruction of the poison of the serpent: Cyprian, in one of his epistles (Ep. 68, ed. Hartel, p. 764):

> 'diaboli nequitiam pertinacem ad aquam salutarem valere, in baptismo vero omne nequitiae suae virus amittere; quod exemplum cernimus in rege Pharaone.'

Here Pharaoh and the devil divide the honour of posing as the dragon: it is certainly curious that Cyprian's language 'nequitiae virus' should come so near to the 'wicked poison' of the Ode. The reference to Pharaoh is taken from Ezek. xxix. 3, 'Pharaoh, King of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers'.

So much for the baptismal gnosis of the fathers and the rituals.

Turning to the Ode, we recognize in the story of the raising of the dead from Sheol the influence of Ezekiel, ch. xxxvii. Now we begin to strike linguistic parallels: the Ode says: verse 9 '(thy right hand) took dead bones and spread bodies upon them' (ܡܫܪܥ ܓܫܡ). The Peshiṭta says: 'and I will spread skin upon you' (ܘܐܫܪܥ ܥܠܝܟܘܢ ܓܝܚܐ). Here the Odist has used the same root as is employed in the Peshiṭta and the Hebrew (Gk. ἐκτείνω) to express the spreading of skin over a body, and he has used it for the bringing of flesh upon bones. It was not the right word to use, but he took it from his context, i. e. from the Hebrew or the Syriac. We take it that he was using a Syriac text of Ezekiel. The next sentence, 'and thou gavest them energy for life', represents the Syriac 'and I will give you spirit and you shall live': but the sentence has a Greek look, for ܐܢܪܓܝܐ stands for ἐνέργεια, and the word is actually preserved in the Coptic.

In verse 8 the sentence:

'Thou didst choose them from the graves,
And separate them from the dead.'

is under the influence of verse 62:

'I will open your graves,
And bring you up out of your graves';

but there is no preference for one version over the other.

The expression 'they were without motion' (ܠܐ ܡܫܬܥܐ) is obtained from the seventh verse of the prophecy, 'there was a moving' (ܐܫܬܥܝ). The Greek σεισμός would not furnish the required parallel. On the whole, we suspect Syriac origin for the Ode, but the case is not nearly so strong nor so convincing as some which we had from the Psalms.

If we are right in recognizing the influence of Ezekiel in the middle of the Ode, it would seem to be either on account of the liberation of souls from Hades or of the raising of the dead generally. The Syriac Bible heads the chapter 'Resurrection of the dead'. Ephrem used it to describe the escape from Hades. In the *Nisibene Hymns* (37, 5) he speaks as follows:

> 'I saw in the valley that Ezekiel who quickened the dead when he was questioned; and I saw the bones that were in heaps, and they moved; There was a tumult of bones in Sheol, bone seeking for his fellow, and joint for her mate; . . . Unquestioned, the voice of Jesus, the Master of all creatures, quickened them.'

The Ode itself suggests the release from Hades in the words:

'He gave me authority over bonds,
That I might loose them.'

We have not, however, been able to find the thread of the sequence of the Ode, either for the opening verses or its close.

The perplexity concerning the Dragon and his roots and his seed (verse 5) may perhaps be illuminated by a reference to the Greek Acts of John (ch. 98) where the Gnostic writer of the Acts refers to Σατανᾶς καὶ ἡ κατωτικὴ ῥίζα, which root he identifies with the nature of created things. There is no need to accept his Gnostic interpretation of the 'root'; the point for us is the existence of an expression like the 'root of Satan'; for Satan as the dragon compare Apocalypse xii. 9:

> ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς.

Suppose we identify the Dragon with Satan and the Serpent in Genesis, as the Apocalypse suggests. We find that the Apocalypse also knows that the Dragon has seven heads. It is natural, then, to infer that we are dealing in some respects with an interpretation of the third chapter of Genesis (Gen. iii. 15). This, then, is the place where the reference to the 'seed' comes from, that is to be destroyed; for,

'I will put enmity between . . . *thy seed and her seed*.'

The woman and her seed are to be at war with the devil and his brood.

The word ܫܣܩ which is used of the 'overthrow' of the Dragon answers on the one hand to the repeated ἐβλήθη of the Apocalypse, and to συντρίψει of Romans xvi. 20; (Pesh. ܫܣܩ). As to the 'root', it is probably a Syriac or Aramaic variation of ܫܪܫ (root) for ܥܩܒ 'heel' of Genesis iii. 15.

If this is the right direction for the explanation of the Conflict with the Dragon in Ode xxii, we need not refer to the baptismal gnosis on the dragon in the midst of the waters, or the Patristic allusions to a dragon in the Jordan. There are no 'waters' in the curse on the serpent in Genesis. The allusions to the dragon in the baptismal rituals will belong to a later date, and to subsequent reflection.

The objection may be made that the dragon with seven heads ought not to be equated with the relatively terrorless snake in Genesis. The answer to this objection is (1) that the two are expressly identified in Apocalypse xii, (2) that the same variation between 'snake' and 'dragon' is found in Exodus iv, where it is noted by John Lightfoot as follows: 'Moses' rod at Sinai is said to be turned into "Nahash", a common or ordinary snake or serpent; but when he casts it down before Pharaoh, it becometh "Tanin", a serpent of the greatest dimensions, belike a crocodile.' So, if more evidence is wanted than that of the Apocalypse, let Exodus be offered.

In the same connexion Lightfoot offered a weighty illustration of the truth that the bruising of the serpent's head belongs to the Messiah, for, as he says, 'It is worth the observing, that Moses is commanded to "take it by the tail", for to meddle with the serpent's head belonged not to Moses, but to Christ, that spake to him out of the bush"! No doubt Christ, as the seed of the Woman, is peculiarly set apart for the conflict with the head of the dragon. Does not the study of the Ode

show that Genesis iii was already interpreted Messianically in the days of the Odist?

To this there can hardly be any other than an affirmative answer, seeing that it is so interpreted in the Apocalypse. In the Odes, we have the seed of the Woman engaged in the destruction of the seed of the serpent; in the Apocalypse, we have the serpent plotting to destroy the residue of the seed of the Woman; the two interpretations are complementary. The seven heads of the dragon which are common to both of the interpretations belong to folklore rather than to Bible story: for this mythical creation ranges from Japan to the Scotch Highlands: its tale is told, as Professor Elliot Smith points out, in the 'Celtic Dragon Myth' of J. F. Campbell, as well as in the story of Herakles and the daughters of Hesperus: and it goes back to an original Octopus or devil-fish, which may well have been a terror to the inhabitants of the Levant or the Persian Gulf. That we have found the right meaning may be seen from Ephrem's *Hymns to the Virgin* (Lamy, ii. 606), where it is said that 'the boy trod on the cursed one and broke (the head of) the serpent, and cured Eve of the poison cast at her by the murderous dragon, who by his guile had overthrown her (ܫܫܝܐ) in Sheol'.

In reading this Ode we must pay careful attention to the periphrases which the Odist employs to describe the Divine Nature and the Divine Action. In the compass of this single Ode there is a rich harvest of Targumisms; we have the 'hand of God', the 'name of God', the 'right hand of God', the 'face of God'. The Odist will not even say that 'God is round about him'; he says that 'thy name was all round me everywhere'. He will not say that 'God is his rock'; he says 'Thy rock is the foundation of everything'. If we look at Psalm cxxv. 2, ('so the Lord is round about his people'), we shall find the origin of the Odist's language; the coincidence with the Syriac is very close:

ܘܐܬܐ ܕܝܗܘ ܟܕܘܪܗ

ܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܗܘ ܘܐܠ ܟܠ

The Targumic variation on the part of the Odist is very clear. It is not the official Targum that is here drawn on: that interpreter proceeds to get rid of the doubtful 'circumference' of God, by saying that 'the Majesty of the Lord is round about his people'. The same phenomenon appears in the closing verse of the Ode: the Odist will not say 'Lord,

thou hast been our dwelling place': he has, indeed, the expression حلا محصنا as in the Peshiṭta, but it is equated not with God, but with the Kingdom that is founded. The official Targum alters the language of the Psalm in another direction: 'O Lord' he says, 'thy dwelling is the place of thy Shekinah in the heavens'. The Odist is clearly an independent Targumist in his manner of glossing the text, but as regards the text itself, he appears to depend on the Peshiṭta.

Here is another curious point with regard to the circumlocution noted above, according to which the Odist does not speak of God as his Rock in the same way as the Psalter so commonly does, and in spite of his proved dependence upon the Psalter. *The Peshiṭta version is in the same case:* it never translates 'God my rock', or the 'Rock of my salvation'. It always either omits or paraphrases the reference to God as Rock. The natural explanation is furnished us by the Targum, which does the same thing in its own way, commonly substituting 'fortitude' or some non-material expression. It seems, then, that the Odist and the Peshiṭta version are both under Targumist influence; the Odist was not independent of the Peshiṭta, and was working, for the most part at all events, on that text as his base. He was evidently speaking in the name of Christ.

ODE XXIII

1 Joy is of the saints!
And who shall put it on but they alone?

Cf. Sap. Sol. iii. 9; iv. 15.

2 Grace is of the elect!
And who shall receive it but they who trust in it from the beginning?

3 Love is of the elect!
And who shall put it on, but those who have possessed it from the beginning?

4 Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High[1];
And ye shall know the grace of the Lord without grudging;
To His exultation and to the perfection of His knowledge.

5 And His thought was like a letter,
And His will descended from on high;

6 And it was sent like an arrow
Which is violently shot from the bow;

7 And many hands rushed to the letter,
To seize it and to take it and to read it.

8 And it escaped from their fingers,
And they were affrighted at it and at the seal that was on it.

9 For it was not permitted to them to loose the seal;
For the power that was over the seal was greater than they.

10 But those who saw it went after the letter,
That they might know where it would alight,
And who should read it,
And who should hear it.

11 But a wheel received it,
And (the letter) came over it;

12 And there was with it a sign
Of the kingdom and of the government.

13 And everything which was moving the wheel
It mowed and cut down;

[1] *Or*, of the Lord (B).

14 And it destroyed[1] many things that were adverse;
And it spanned[2] the rivers:

15 And crossed over and rooted up many forests,[3]
And made a broad path.

16 The head went down to the feet;
For down to the feet ran the wheel;
And that which had come upon it.

Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1. 17 The letter was one of recommendation[4];
For there were included in it[5] all districts:

18 And there was seen at its head, a head which was revealed
Even the Son of Truth from the Most High Father;

19 And he inherited and took possession of everything;
And the thought of the many was brought to naught,

20 And all the apostates[6] became bold and fled away,
And the persecutors became extinct and were blotted out.

21 And the letter became a great tablet,[7]
Which was wholly written by the finger of God;

22 And the name of the Father was upon it;
And of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,
To rule for ever and ever.

Hallelujah.

[1] Both MSS. it contained. [2] *Lit.* covered with earth. [3] *Or*, nations (B).
[4] *Or*, command; B, It was a letter and a command.
[5] *Lit.* were gathered together. [6] *Or*, seducers, leaders astray. [7] *Or*, volume.

Critical Notes.

v. 5. The idea that the 'will of God' descended from heaven is very common in Syrian Fathers and Syriac breviaries: 'His will descended and inhabited with its servants' (Ephr. iii. 248, *R. E.*); 'His will descended for men' (Ephr. *ibid.*, 249, &c.).

The expression that 'His Will descended from on High' is to be referred to the Incarnation, and the Lord is frequently referred to in the Nestorian rituals as the 'Invisible *or* Hidden Will'. Here are some extracts from Mar Abd 'Isho', which will illustrate the point.

> 'In a befitting way *His Will descended* towards men: He sent His Beloved, the Begotten of Himself, that is, His Express Image.'
>
> '*The Will of* the Creator *descended* and united itself to the will of the creature: the Divine nature clothed itself with the human nature.'
>
> 'The *Invisible Will came down*, took a *parsopa*, and appeared openly, and thereby renewed that which was broken up.'[1]

It is clear, then, that the Descent of the Will is another way of saying Incarnation. Probably the starting point for such a line of thought is Psalm xl. 5: 'Lo, I come: to do thy Will, O God.'

v. 13. The opinion of Bruston who suggests ܐܬܐ for ܐܬܝ is improbable.

v. 14. Both MSS. have ܫܡܫܐ; and the note to the text must therefore be changed accordingly. As far as the meaning is concerned, the word does not differ from ܫܡܫܐ, of which it is only the relative adjective.

v. 16. Gressmann's suggestion that the verb ܢܚ 'he came down' is the fem. sing. of ܢܚ 'he rested', is not good in the context.

In the next line we remark that H has the singular ܪܓܠ ('foot' *not* 'feet').

For the belief that the head which went down to the feet represents the descent of the Divinity upon the Humanity of Jesus, we may find some support in the following glosses:

> Melito, *Clavis*, 6. 1 'Caput Domini, ipsa Divinitas, eo quod principium et creator sit omnium rerum.'
>
> *In Daniele*, ii. 21 'Pedes Domini homo assumptus a verbo vel sancti apostoli.'

[1] The reference is to Badger, *Nestorians*, pp. 39, 41, 45.

In Deuteronomio: 'Qui appropinquant pedibus eius accipient de doctrina illius.'

Et in Psalmo. 'Adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes eius.'

Eucherius, *Liber Formularum* (*P. L.* 50. 733 B): 'Sicut per caput divinitas, ita per pedes humanitas eius exprimitur: de qua humanitate in Exodo scriptum erat.' (Exod. xxiv. 10.)

v. 18. H has ܕܝܬܗ, 'his (*or* its) head' as referring to the other head mentioned in verse 16. According to this MS., therefore, it would seem that another head had sprung forth upon the first head. For the second ܢܥܠ Barnes suggests ܠܥܠ, which, however, would render the sentence ungrammatical.

v. 20. The verb ܐܬܓܫ 'they dared', 'they became bold' has been changed by Barth into ܐܬܚܫ 'they were hurt', 'wounded', 'maimed', or 'they perished', and by Wellhausen into ܐܬܓܙ 'sie wurden zerstreut'; which verb is commonly used in Syriac in the sense of 'to squander possessions', 'to dilapidate'.

Expository Notes.

This Ode is the most difficult of all the hymns in the collection. It contains an account of a mysterious letter, shot from heaven like an arrow from a bow, sealed with a terrible seal, written with the finger of God, and inscribed with the name of the Trinity. No one, so far, has succeeded in breaking this seal; it is too strong for the critics.

The opening sentences of the Ode in which the Odist prepares for his special message are quite intelligible. They take us to the Wisdom of Solomon: in the third chapter we read as follows:

οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῷ συνήσουσιν ἀλήθειαν,
καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ ἐν ἀγάπῃ προσμενοῦσιν αὐτῷ,
ὅτι χάρις καὶ ἔλεος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ.

Sap. Sol. iii. 9.

And again:

ὅτι χάρις καὶ ἔλεος τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς αὐτοῦ.

Sap. Sol. iv 15.

This is the passage which has suggested to the Odist the refrain:

'Joy is of the saints:
Grace is of the elect:
Love is of the elect.'

and he goes on in the language of Wisdom

'Walk in the Knowledge of the Most High
. . . . . to the perfection of Knowledge.'

So far we might classify the Ode as one of the Wisdom Odes, and as half-Gnostic. Now comes the mystery, for the preface is ended. Various explanations have been offered of the letter, and the wheel that comes over it, or on to which it comes. Some have compared the flying roll in Zechariah, some the mysterious letter in the Hymn of the Soul, or the letter carried by an eagle in the Baruch story: but the obscurity is undispelled, and we can only give the best translation that seems possible and offer a tentative elucidation.

There is an explanation suggested by the Syrian Fathers, and especially by St. Ephrem, that the mysterious letter is the message which Gabriel brought to the Virgin. As we have shown abundantly the acquaintance of Ephrem with the Odes, which he quotes and misquotes, understands and obscures, it will be proper to examine what he has to say on the subject of a letter from Heaven. In the *Hymns on the Virgin*, Ephrem says expressly that Gabriel brought with him a letter:

'He brought *a letter which was sealed* with the mystery hidden from the ages; and its contents were peace to the maiden and good hope to all the ages.'

ܥܠ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܚܬܝܡ
ܓܒܪܐ ܘܥܡܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ
ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ
ܘܡܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܠܡܐ.

(Ed. Lamy, ii. 593.[1])

[1] See also col. 641 of the same volume:

'The Father had written a letter: by the hand of the Watcher (*sc.* Angel) He sent it to Nazareth: to the Virgin Mary whom He had chosen and had good pleasure in, that she should be the Mother of the Only-Begotten.'

For further references see Narsai quoted in *Brev. Chald.* i. 46; Jacob of Sarugh, *Liber perfectionis* (ed. Bedjan), p. 727, &c.

We get the same thought in the Oriental Breviary as follows:

'[God] sent a letter which He sealed with His essence, which has no beginning.'[1]

'[Gabriel] entrusted to her [Mary] the letter which had been entrusted to him by the Father.'[2]

'Gabriel was sent by the Father to Mary, he took a letter and descended. This letter contained a mystery hidden from the Ages.'[3]

The Letter appears, then, to be something of a documentary character; for the Odist reminds us in concluding his story that it was written by the finger of God, like the Ten Commandments. Where shall we find a missing document that answers to the conditions? And what is the meaning of all the strife that is provoked by the Letter and its attendant Wheel? The only clue that seems worth following, as we have just seen, is the Syriac reference to the Salutation of the Virgin by the angel Gabriel, as being in the form of a letter. In that case, the Ode is a dramatic representation of the Incarnation. Let us see if there is any light thrown upon the Ode in this direction.

According to the Odist, the Letter was a great volume or tablet; 'tablet' is the best explanation for the Syriac word that is employed, in view of the parallel with the tables inscribed by the finger of God. When we write down the word 'a great tablet' we are confronted with Isaiah viii. 1, the prologue to the story of the Birth of the Messiah:

'Take thee a great tablet.'

No doubt, then, we are on the right track. The Hebrew and Peshitta texts use a different word, the former of necessity (for ڦنڪلا is of Greek origin), the latter because it imitates the Hebrew: the Targum has also a different word, which also means 'tablet'. The LXX prefers 'a roll of paper'. The language of the Odist appears to be independent of these possible sources, but his meaning is the same.

Isaiah continues with an injunction of the Lord to write on the tablet 'with the pen of a man'. This is the starting-point for the next statement of the Odist, that the Letter was altogether written by the finger of God.

[1] Ed. Bedjan, i. 44. [2] Ibid., p. 45. [3] Ibid., p. 77.

He often works with antitheses of this kind, and appears to have thought that a human pen was not adequate to the mystery that he was unfolding. So far, we appear to be on the right track; it is the coming of Christ that is being described, and the Scripture is drawn upon that describes that coming.

Now we begin to see daylight in some other directions. The Will of God that descends from Heaven answers to another Scripture:

> 'Lo! I come,
> In the volume of the book it is written of me . . .
> To do thy will, O God.'—Ps. xl. 7, 8.

It may, then, be very properly said that 'His will descended from on High'.

Then, in the next place, it is probably from the fifth verse of the same Psalm:

> 'Thy thoughts which are to us-ward;'

that this Odist derives his expression:

> 'His thought was like a letter;'

the same word, ܣܡܣܟܐ, being used here by the Odist and the Peshiṭta version.

The third verse of the Psalm has also been drawn upon somewhat perversely, for the sentence really belongs to the previous verses:

> 'Many shall see it and shall fear.'

Accordingly the Odist has a rush of hands to seize the sealed letter, which escapes them, and they are frightened at the Letter and the terrible seal that was on it. (The Peshiṭta says, 'they shall see it and *rejoice*'.) The reason for the introduction of the seal takes us back to Isaiah viii. 16:

> 'Bind up the testimony,
> *Seal the law* among my disciples.'

The Odist goes on to explain that the reason why the many who saw the letter went after it was in order that they might know where it would alight and who should read it. Here we have probably an echo of a controversy as to the place where the Messiah was to be born.

We know the evangelical solution of the problem: but the Odist has his eye on the time when the problem was still unsolved.[1]

The references to the Kingdom and the Government are easily made from the tablet of Isaiah, e. g.

> Isa. ix. 7. 'The increase of His government, . . . the throne of David . . . and His Kingdom.'

So also the references to the Trinity, and to 'rule that is for ever and ever', are all deducible from the same section, for 'of the increase of His government there shall be no end . . . from henceforth even for ever'. No reference to the New Testament is necessary.[2]

There remains the mysterious 'wheel' and the conflicts that are associated with it. All the rest of the Ode appears to be cleared up. How does the Wheel and its warfare come into the story of the Nativity? And who are the persecutors and the apostates?

Is it possible that Wheel stands for Angelic Being? There is some ground for this in Syriac. See the Thesaurus under ܓܠܓܠ. Examples might be multiplied.

The expression 'there was seen at its head the head which was revealed', is an attempt to avoid saying something of an anthropomorphic character. Whenever we come across the expression ܩܕܡ ܐܝܟ with or without ܥܡ, we may expect to find traces of Targumism; for this is the way in which one avoids saying that God knows or that God sees. Say rather, it is revealed before Him, or it is seen before Him. The language of the Ode is then a periphrasis: it probably means that 'God was seen at the head of the letter, and the Son of Truth from the Father', but this is what the Odist does not like to say even parabolically; so he produces a sentence in the style of the Targums.

[1] Or it may be that there is a reference to the Cave of the Nativity, which was thought to be foretold in Isa. xxxiii. 16. 'His lodgement ܡܕܥܢܗ shall be in a lofty cavern'; cf. Justin, *Dial.* 78, and Luke ii. 7 (καταλῦσαι, καταλύματι).

[2] The Testimony writers prove the endless reign of Christ from the texts which establish the first Advent: e. g. Cyprian, ii. 29 'Quod ipse sit *rex in aeternum regnaturus*'. Proofs follow from Zach. ix. 9; Isa. xxxiii. 14 sq. (the 'cave'-passage, &c.).

ODE XXIV

1 The Dove flew over the head of our Lord the Messiah,[1]
Because He was her head;

Cf. Ephr. *Hymn. in Fest. Epiph.* i. 89.

2 And she sang over Him,
And her voice was heard:

3 And the inhabitants were afraid,
And the sojourners trembled;

4 The birds took to flight,
And all creeping things died in their holes.

5 And the abysses were opened and closed;
And they were seeking for the Lord, like (women) in travail:

6 And He was not given to them for food
Because He did not belong to them:

7 And the abysses were submerged in the submersion of the Lord:
And they perished in the thought which they had existed in from the beginning.

8 For they travailed from the beginning,
And the end of their travail was life.

9 And every one of them that was defective perished;
For it was not permitted to them to make a defence for themselves that they might remain:

10 And the Lord destroyed the imaginations
Of all them that had not the truth with them;

[1] H, over the Messiah.

11 For they were defective in wisdom,
They who were lifted up in their hearts.

12 And they were rejected,
Because the truth was not with them.

13 For the Lord disclosed His way,
And spread abroad His grace;

14 And those who understood it
Know His holiness.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 3. This verse appears to have been derived from the song of Moses at the Red Sea, e.g. Exodus xv. 29 (Syr.):

> 'The peoples heard it and trembled. Then the chieftains of Edom (ܐܕܘܡ) were afraid; and the strong men of Moab, shaking took hold of them; and the dwellers (ܝܬܒܝ) of Canaan were all defeated.'

If this is a correct identification of the language, the Ode is in part an Ode of deliverance at the Red Sea; and the abysses in verses 5, 7 which are submerged, are to be sought for in the same song. Cf. verse 8:

> 'the abysses sunk down in the heart of the sea.'[1]

v. 4. The expression ܡܚܡܝ ܠܥܦܝܗ means literally 'left its wings', and therefore can hardly be translated linguistically by 'dropped its wings'. The verb is used in Ode xxxiii. 3, and frequently by other writers, in the sense of 'to give freedom to an object in order to accomplish the function assigned to it with all its energy'. It is so used in the vulgar

[1] So we translate ܡܥܩ according to the Syriac lexicographers, who explain it by ܪܣܒ (*fundum petivit*), and this translation is in good agreement with ܠܝܡܩ of the Ode.

Syriac of our days. Following this sense the meaning of the sentence would be, 'Fowl flew swiftly'. This meaning is rendered necessary by B, which instead of ܦܪܚܐ has ܦܪܚ 'it (the dove) flew'. We could with difficulty evade this sense with the last reading, which seems preferable, corresponding as it does with ܦܪܚܐ of the first verse.

The opinion of Bruston, who regards the verb ܚܫܟ as a 'substantive': 'Un mal mortel le retenait', is very improbable.

v. 5. We think that the verb ܐܬܟܚܫ 'and they were closed', 'and they hid themselves', or 'they were hidden, covered' is good in the sentence, and we do not see why we should change it to ܐܬܚܙܐ 'and they looked', as Labourt has done.

Gressmann has suggested that instead of ܒܠܥ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܝ we might read ܒܠܥ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܝ 'and they swallowed the Lord like things belonging to them'. Such violent and unnecessary changes cannot commend themselves. The same may be said in the first line for Grimme's emendation of the existing phrase into ܐܬܟܚܫ ܒ and Frankenberg's reading ܐܬܟܚܫ ܒ. There is also no necessity to change ܒܠܥ into ܒܠܥ as Grimme has done in the second line.

v. 6. Cod. H omits ܠ before ܐܠܗܐ, which gives the sense, 'and no food was given to them'.

v. 7. This is the only meaning the Syriac sentence can have.

It is clear that the Odist wishes to say that when Christ was baptized something depressing happened in the lower world. The passage and its correct meaning was known to Ephrem Syrus, who in his *Carmina Nisibena* (35, p. 59) makes the devil say that 'when Christ was submerged in baptism, He broke away and swamped me'.

The Odist has the same thought in his mind in Ode xxxi, 2:

> '*The abysses* were dissolved before the Lord:
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Folly was *submerged* by the truth of the Lord.'

v. 9. Bruston erroneously reads ܐܓ for ܐܓ or ܓ and believes that the word stands for ܐܓ 'tablet'.

v. 12. The suggestion of Grimme, who regards all the second member of this verse as dittographical error, is not necessary.

Expository Notes.

Another Ode thick with obscurity. Its opening describes the descent of the Spirit upon Christ at His baptism, and describes it in unorthodox language, by making the Spirit subordinate to the Son. We have shown how Ephrem corrects the Odist for his lapse from correct theology. It was suggested in the first edition that there was uncanonical matter involved in the account of the fluttering and singing dove. However that may be, the baptismal incident is soon ended, and we are apparently plunged into Hades along with Christ whom the abysses are expecting to devour. As Cyril of Jerusalem says:

> 'His body was made to bait death withal, to the end that the dragon, lying in wait to devour Him, might cast forth those whom he had already devoured.'—*Catech.*, xii. 15.

This quaint belief, that Hades desired to devour and was compelled to disgorge, appears to have been a favourite conceit of the ancients. We shall find it again in Ode xlii. 11: 'Death cast me up and many along with me'; and it is dilated on at length by Ephrem in his *Carmina Nisibena*, e. g.

> 'I, Sheol, was fed upon the dead; yea, I feasted upon corpses: Elijah slew the prophets of Baal and gave them to me'; 'The righteous constrained me to devour, but Jesus has compelled me to disgorge.'

There seems to be some occult connexion of ideas between the baptism of Christ and the descent into Hades; what else does it mean when it says 'the abysses were submerged in the submersion of the Lord'?

Almost every sentence in this Ode is obscure, and we have failed to get completely into the Odist's world of ideas. Kleinert and Harris have suggested that there is some allusion to the Flood, especially in verse 4; but the arguments are not satisfactory nor conclusive.

v. 6. 'He was not given to them for food, because He did not belong to them.'

The meaning is brought out more clearly by a comment of Victorinus on Apocalypse xii. 4, where the seven-headed dragon tries to devour the

seed of the woman. Victorinus (is he here quoting Papias, as in so many other cases?) says that:

> 'He who was not born of seed, owed nothing to death, therefore He could not devour Him, that is, detain Him in death,—for on the third day He rose again.'

As this reference of Victorinus, with its possible dependence on Papias, and its certain allusion to the dragon that would devour the seed of the woman in the Apocalypse (xii. 4), is of critical importance, we transcribe the Latin of Victorinus:

> 'Sed qui de semine natus non erat, nihil morti debebat, propter quod devorare eum non potuit, id est in morte detinere, nam tertia die resurrexit.' (*P. L.* v. 336, D.)

If this is based on Papias, it throws the Odist into the same current of beliefs with the millenarians who first expounded the Apocalypse. We have, however, found nothing eschatological or millenarian in the Odes. This suggests that the Odist is not a commentator on the Apocalypse, but that he shares certain Messianic ideas with the author of that book, as, for example, the fight between the dragon and the woman, and between his seed and her seed.

Is it possible that Victorinus (or Papias) may have drawn on the Odes?

Certainly there is another Ode whose meaning is much clearer after reading Victorinus. In the 31st Ode (v. 8) Christ is made to say:

> 'They made me a debtor,
> (though I rose up):
> Me, who had not been a debtor.'

If we take this to mean that Christ was made to pay the debt to death, which he could not really pay, and that He rose from the dead, we have the very meaning in the passage from Victorinus.

We see a further link between the Odist and the author of the Apocalypse: for Victorinus says that the dragon could not devour the Messiah, i. e. he could not hold Him in death. Thus the *devouring* of the man-child in the Apocalypse means the death of Christ, and the Odist says the same thing. He also believes that Death could not devour Him; He was no food for that abyss.

ODE XXV

1 I was rescued from my bonds;
And unto thee, my God, I fled.

2 For thou wast the right hand of my salvation,
And my helper.

3 Thou hast restrained them that rise up against me,
And they were seen no more:

4 Because thy face was with me,
Which saved me by thy grace.

5 But I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many:
And I was in their eyes like lead;

Cf. Sap. Sol. iii. 16, and cf. Ode xxviii. 9.

6 And I acquired strength from thyself,
And help.

7 Thou didst set me a lamp at my right hand and at my left,
That in me there may be nothing that is not bright;

8 And I was covered with the covering of thy spirit;
And I removed from me the raiment of skins.

9 For thy right hand lifted me up,
And removed sickness from me.

10 And I became mighty in thy truth,
And holy by thy righteousness;

11 And all my adversaries were afraid of me:
And I became the Lord's by the name of the Lord:

12 And I was justified by His gentleness,
And His rest is for ever and ever.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 2. The opinion of Labourt, who thinks that instead of ܕܥܕܡܝ we should read ܕܠܐ ܥܕܡܝ, is unnecessary.

v. 5. ܐܝܟ ܐܢܘܢ 'like lead' is not a very happy image. Would it not be possible to suppose that it was the Biblical word ܐܝܟ ܐܒܕܐ 'like a lost, damned (man)' as in Ode xxviii. 9? Or does the Odist mean that Christ's enemies thought he had sunk like lead into the great abyss? Cf. Exodus xv. 10 'they sank like lead in the mighty waters'.

v. 8. The verb ܐܬܢܨܚ may very well be understood in the second person, 'Thou hast taken off'; the Coptic has the first person. So is the case with ܐܬܚܕܢ of the next verse, which may be taken as the third person feminine referring to 'thy right hand', or as the second person singular referring to God.

v. 10. Frankenberg proposes to read ܘܬܫܝܡ 'and strong' for ܘܫܡ, which is possible.

v. 11. The second line is wanting in the Coptic.

Expository Notes.

This Ode is of a much more intelligible structure than those which immediately precede. It appears to be a song of personal redemption and illumination. One or two verses have an appearance of being *ex ore Christi*. For example, in verse 5 one recognizes the refrain of 'despised and rejected'; and if we may make a slight correction in the Syriac and read ܐܝܟ ܐܒܕܐ instead of ܐܝܟ ܐܢܘܢ, we should have a parallel to 'I was in their eyes like a lost man', in the 28th Ode (verse 9), where Christ says

'I seemed to them as one of the lost.'

The objection would be that the Coptic, as well as the Syriac, has 'lead'. But this objection is not final, as the texts in question are closely related. Moreover, we get the same refrain again in the 42nd Ode (verse 10), where Christ is certainly the speaker:

'I was not rejected, though I was reckoned to be so:
I did not perish, though they thought it of me.'

Evidently these Odes are by the same author, and they must be early, for they convey an impression of surprise at the recovery and resurrection of

Jesus, which would not have been natural in times very long after the foundation of the Christian Church. It is not, however, easy to see how to refer this Ode generally to the mouth of Christ.

For the enemies who have been turned back, and who are seen no more, we have also parallels in the rest of the Odes. For instance, in Ode xlii. 5:

'all my persecutors are dead.'

Again in Ode xxiii. 20:

'The persecutors became extinct and were blotted out.'

Again in Ode xxii. 3:

'He scattered my enemies and my adversaries,'

followed as in Ode xlii by a descent into Hades.

If these sentences refer to Christ and his enemies and persecutors we may, perhaps, regard them as written during an interim peace of the early Church; but we are still in difficulty as to the division of the 25th Ode between the prophet and Christ.

In another direction, we are encompassed with interpreters' difficulties. The Ode appears to come from a Semitic hand; the writer is 'covered with the covering of thy Spirit'; and there is a Semitic play on words in verses 8, 9:

'I *removed* (ܐܬܫܠ) from me the raiment of skins:
Thy right hand *lifted me up* (ܐܬܫܠ).'

But, on the other hand, as we have shown in the Introduction, the writer concludes with a statement that he is a Christian justified by the kindness (χρηστότης) of God. This seems to require a Greek authorship.

The closing verse of the Ode has, in fact, been interpreted in the Introduction as covering a Greek play on the words χριστός and χρηστός, which is taken up in the reference to justification by the gentleness (χρηστότης) of the Lord. The argument is a very strong one, and thoroughly harmonious with an Antiochian origin for the Odes.

But there stands against it the strikingly Semitic language of the previous verses, such as

'*covered* with the *covering* of thy Spirit,'

and especially the play on words involved in

'Thou didst *remove* (ܐܦܪܫܬ) from me.'
'Thy right hand *lifted me up* (ܐܦܪܫܬ).'

It is not easy to reconcile the two points of view. If the Syriacisms are not to be got rid of, we must find some other method of dealing with the closing verse, or say that the writer was bilingual and thought in two languages. Perhaps there may be in the closing sentences a reference to Isaiah xliv. 5:

'One shall say, *I am the Lord's*,
And another shall call himself *by the name* of Jacob,' &c.

This would make a very good starting-point for the verse:

'I became the Lord's
By the Name of the Lord.'

v. 7. The key to this passage was suggested in the *editio princeps*, which adds a foot-note referring to Psalm cxxxii. 17. Apparently it was regarded as a case of the use of biblical language by an author who was familiar with the Psalms.

Now that we know more about the Odist's methods, we inquire whether he has the actual Psalm before him, and is making use of it.

The Odist goes on from the mention of the lamps to the right and to the left and discourses about the covering or enduement of the Spirit which he has received; when we turn to the Psalm we find two references to clothing adjacent to the verse which we are discussing: the previous verse says:

'I will clothe her priests with salvation;'

the following verse says:

'His enemies will I clothe with shame.'

Thus the Psalm furnished the suggestion for the 'covering' in the Ode.

In the ninth verse of the same Psalm we find again an allusion to the clothing of God's priests with righteousness. Suppose we now look for closer coincidences in language or ideas. Our guides are the Peshiṭta version and the related Targum.

The first thing we notice is that the Targum regards the Psalm as

a prayer made by David over *Solomon* as the anointed or Messiah: thus in verse 10:

'Turn not away the face *of Solomon thy Anointed*.'

The Peshiṭta has a trace of the same identification, for it ends the seventeenth verse of the Psalm with

'I will make bright a lamp for his (*sc.* David's) anointed.'

This is very remarkable; it seems that Solomon has been interpreted as the Messiah of the Psalm, and equated with the Christ of the New Testament Then we notice that the allusion to the Odist's adversaries,

'All my adversaries were afraid of me,'

is derived from the closing verse of the Psalm,

'His enemies will I clothe with shame.'

So much for the transference of ideas: we now look for linguistic imitations and parallelisms. The Odist speaks of being *covered with the covering* of the Spirit: three times over the Targumist changes the word 'clothe' of the Hebrew into *clothe with the clothings*, verses 9, 17, 18: and note that the Odist has the same duplication and has also imitated the plural לבושין in the 'clothings of skin' ܠܒܘܫ ܥܘܪܐ which follow.

About the 'coats of skin' we may compare the Manichaean tenets as exposed by Ephrem (Mitchell, p. xxx). According to them the 'sons of Darkness' had skins; the father 'Darkness' became intoxicated and perverted the pure souls (cf. Odes xxxviii. 9–15 and xxxiii. 5–13, and xxi. 3). The work of God consisted in taking off the garments of 'skin-darkness' and replacing them with 'soul-light'. From p. lxviii (ibid.) we learn that the Manichaeans and Bardesanites believed that 'This body with which we are clothed is of the same nature as the Darkness, and this soul which is in us is of the same nature as the Light'.

The Odist has the lamp of the Anointed *set*; but uses a different word from the Hebrew or Targum: the word which occurs in the Peshiṭta (ܢܗܘܐ = I will make to shine, I will kindle), is responsible for the clause:

'That in me there may be nothing that is not shining.'
(ولا يهون)

For the *lamp* that shines, both the Targum and the Peshiṭta coincide in the form ܡܢܝܐ with the Odist. It seems, then, that there is some interdependence between the Odist and the Targum and the Peshiṭta

Version. We need not be surprised at the prominence which this Psalm acquires in the Christian tradition. As a matter of fact, it is one of the first Messianic Psalms in the New Testament usage, and is quoted by St. Peter in the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles: it contained the promise to David that from his seed one should sit on his throne. This Salomonic prediction is repeated by the earliest Christian fathers, and is a part of the public preaching of the Church. It is easy to see how Odes which affect to relate to Solomon, but which really refer to Christ, should have incorporated matter from the Psalm in question.

If we are correct in this interpretation, we may have to abandon the idea of a Greek play upon the name of Christ in the closing verse of the Ode. We will not do so too hastily, for there is some suspicion that the Odist, though writing in Aramaic, was also acquainted with Greek, and if so, the popular play upon χριστός and χρηστός may very well have occurred to him in discussing a Psalm whose theme was recognized to be the Messiah of the house of David.

It may be asked why the Odist in borrowing the lamp of the anointed has duplicated it, 'a lamp at my right hand, and a lamp at my left'. Possibly he remembered that the Law was spoken of as a lamp, e. g. Proverbs vi. 23:

> 'The commandment is a lamp and the law a light;'

and it may have occurred to him that there were two laws, the Old and the New, the Law and the Gospel. Thus he makes a duplication something like that in the nineteenth Ode, where milk is taken from the *two* breasts of the Father. This is a speculation, it is true, but not altogether a wild surmise. In any case, we appear to have found the Biblical origin of the lamp in the twenty-fifth Ode; and we may be satisfied that it has nothing to do with the late baptismal ritual, which Dr. Bernard assigns as its origin.

That the lamp at the right hand is the Law may be seen from the Targum on Psalm xlv. 10; for

> 'At thy right hand stands the queen in gold of Ophir,'

we have

> 'The book of the law is ready at thy right hand and is written in the gold of Ophir.'

There seems to be a survival of this belief that the law stands at the right hand and the gospel at the left, in the custom which prevails in the

Roman Catholic Mass of placing the book of the Gospels successively at the right and left hand of the officiating priest. It may also be said that the language is mystical, and is parallel to a prayer for illumination in Abū Ṭālib. I. 6.[1]

'O God, give me light in my heart, . . . light in my flesh, light in my bones, light before me and light behind me, *light at my right hand, light at my left hand*, light above me, light beneath me. O God, augment my light and give me light and procure me light.'

It is permissible to punctuate the text so as to read 'I set to myself a lamp'.

ODE XXVI

Ps. xliv. (xlv.) 1.

1 I poured out praise to the Lord;
For I am His:

2 And I will speak His holy song,[2]
For my heart is with Him.

3 For His Harp is in my hands,
And the Odes of His Rest shall not be silent.

Cf. Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 145.

4 I will cry unto Him from my whole heart;
I will praise and exalt Him with[3] all my members.

Ps. cvi. (cvii.) 3.

5 For from the East and even to the West
Is His praise:[4]

6 And from the South and even to the North
Is His confession:[5]

Cf. Gen. xlix. 26.

7 And from the top of the hills to their utmost bound
Is His perfection.[6]

Ps. cvi. (cvii.) 8, &c.

8 Who can write the Odes of the Lord,
Or who read them!

[1] Quoted by Wensinck, *The Dove* of Bar Hebraeus, p. lxxxvii. [2] *Lit.* Ode. [3] *Lit.* from. [4] *Lit.* Praise is His. [5] *Lit.* Confession is His. We may also translate: Thanks are to Him. [6] *Or*, The perfectionment (the finish) is His.

9 Or who can train his soul for life,
That his soul may be saved?

10 Or who can rest on the Most High,
That from His mouth he may speak?

11 Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord? Cf. Ps. cv. (cvi.) 2.
For he who interprets would be dissolved,
And that which was interpreted will remain.

12 For it suffices to know and to rest;
For in the rest the singers stand;

13 Like a river which has an abundant fountain,
And flows to the help of them that seek it.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. The opening reflects Psalm xliv. (xlv.) 1 in the Syriac, not only in the use of the verb ܐܫܕ, but in the sequence of a future tense to a past; 'I poured out', 'I will speak'. There is therefore no need to change the tense of the opening verse as Charles suggests.

v. 7. Frankenberg unnecessarily proposes to eliminate the corroborative *Hé* of ܗܘܐܫܕ.

vv. 8–10. We may translate this construction as optative:

'Oh! that one could write the Odes!
Or read them!
Oh! that,' &c.

v. 11. If ܐܝܟܐ meaning 'because' is separated by a particle from the noun, verb, or pronoun, the letter ܐ can be omitted, although its retention is preferable. In the present verse H has no ܐ before ܕܝ but B has it. In the text the note 'B ܕܝܐ' must be changed accordingly to 'H ܕܝ'.

v. 13. The Ode here returns to its keynote ܐܫܕ ('I poured out'), with the reference to the 'abundant fountain' (ܡܥܝܢܐ).

Expository Notes.

This beautiful song of praise is founded on various passages in the canonical Psalter and elsewhere; in particular, the Odist has in his mind the 107th Psalm in which the writer calls upon men to praise (ἐξομολογεῖσθαι, give thanks to) the Lord for his goodness; especially the redeemed are exhorted who have been gathered from the East and West and North and South. Accordingly the Odist says:

'From the East and even to the West
Is His praise:
From the South even to the North
Is His thanksgiving' (ܬܘܕܝܬܐ = ἐξομολόγησις).

The refrain of the 107th Psalm is in the words,

'Oh! that men would praise the Lord for His goodness:
And for His wonderful works to the children of men.'

This provokes the question on the part of the Odist:

'Who is able to write the Odes of the Lord?[1]

. . . . . .

Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord?'

Gressmann has suggested that for ܬܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ('Psalms of the Lord') we should read ܬܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܬܡܗ̈ ('mirabilia domini'); we should thus have two slightly different translations of the 'wonderful works' of the Psalmist: so the Odist may have been working from the LXX (θαυμάσια) or translating the Hebrew text or its Targum. (The Peshiṭta appears to have omitted the word altogether.) In verse 24, however, where the word occurs again ('his wonders in the deep'), the Peshiṭta renders it by ܬܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ exactly as in verse 11 of the Ode.

In the concluding verses the Odist equates or couples together Knowledge and Rest; something of the same kind occurs in Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus*, i. 6, p. 115):

ἡ μὲν γνῶσις ἐν τῷ φωτίσματι· τὸ δὲ πέρας τῆς γνώσεως, ἡ ἀνάπαυσις.

[1] Or better still, in agreement with the grammatical suggestion of an optative,

'Oh! that one could write the Odes [? wonders] of the Lord!
Or [that one could] read [proclaim] them!'

This divine Rest is here described as a river with an abundant fountain by which the singers stand. It is the same as the *plenteous fountain of the Lord* in Ode xi, and we shall find it again in Ode xxx, where there is an invitation to '*rest by the fountain of the Lord*', and those who drink therefrom find *rest* thereby. Thus these Odes are internally connected and have the same author.

Eusebius in his *Theophania* (Bk. i, c. 23) uses the same figure of the Word of God, the Logos, which is

> 'as a river flowing from an unlimited fountain . . . to those who were perishing.'

This is taken from his *de laudibus Constantini* (c. xii, p. 462, ed. Heinechen):

> Ὡς ἐξ ἀενάου καὶ ἀπείρου πηγῆς ἀνομβρῶν λόγοις ἀρρήτοις, ποταμοῦ δίκην πρόεισιν, ὅλος πλημμυρῶν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς σωτηρίας.

If we assume as suggested in the critical note that the passage in verses 8–10 is to be translated by a series of optatives, we must find a more harmonious translation of the words, 'He that could interpret would be dissolved'. Now there is no doubt that the refrain of the 107th Psalm which the Odist is imitating is optative: all the great English interpreters, except the Geneva translators, render it, 'Oh that men would praise the Lord for His goodness, &c.'[1] and so did the Coptic translators of the LXX. Amongst modern translators Wellhausen (in the Polychrome Bible) renders it:

> 'May they give thanks to J H V H for His goodness and for the wonders which he does for men.'

No doubt this is the right line for the translator; and the coincidence with the Odes in optative expression is very clear. To be consistent with the thought of the Odist we should then translate the concluding part of the optation as follows:

> 'O that one were able to interpret the wonders of the Lord!
> For though he who could interpret were to be dissolved, yet that which is interpreted would remain.'

We have seen that this Ode is, to a large extent, based on the Syriac of Psalm cvii; but the opening clauses which constitute the Odist's own

[1] See Aldis Wright, *Hexaplar Psalter.*

prelude, are an imitation of the opening of the 45th Psalm, similar to what we came across in the 21st Ode.

The very first word ܐܬܪ betrays its origin: it is the equivalent of the Greek ἐξερεύξατο and its companion Latin *eructavit*. Only there is this variation from Ode xxi; the 'heart' is left to the next verse:

'I will speak His holy song,
For *my heart* is with Him.'

Here we have two verses in the Ode made out of a single clause in the Psalter. The link between the two is the Peshiṭta version.

The expression

'I will *speak* His holy song',

probably goes back to the Targum, where we find

'my heart pours out a good *speech* (ממלל)',

where the Peshiṭta has ܡܠܝܐ, which does not as readily give the meaning of 'discourse' though it is in the Odes one of the equivalents of the Greek 'Logos'.

ODE XXVII

1 I expanded my hands: and I sanctified (them) to my Lord[1]:
For the expansion of my hands is His sign.

2 And my expansion
Is the upright wood.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. Linguistically it is possible to translate 'and I sanctified (them) to the Lord', i.e. my hands; the pronoun in the case, ܠܝ, being frequently omitted by the writers of such sentences.

v. 3. In view of the unwarranted assertions of some scholars it is useful to remark (*a*) that the word ܨܠܒܐ 'wood' refers frequently in

[1] *Or*, I sanctified my Lord.

Syriac literature to *the Cross*, and (*b*) that this wood-cross is commonly compared with the wood-tree of Paradise, the one as being the source of death, and the other of life (see Ephrem, *R. E.* ii 13, &c.; *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, ii, p. ..., &c.).

Expository Notes.

There can be no doubt that this Psalm is based upon the early Christian attitude in prayer, which was cruciform, and upon the habit of the early Christians of finding the Cross everywhere in the outward world; e.g. in the handle of the labourer's plough and in the mast and yards of the seaman's ship. The figurative language employed is characteristic of the second century and not unknown in the first. Justin Martyr, for instance, and Barnabas, see the Cross in the outspread arms of Moses in the battle against Amalek; and it is possible that our Nitrian MS. had this in mind in reading

'the extension of my hands *is weary*;'

the reading of the other MS. would require correction to ..., for ... (extension) is masculine. We find the same figure in the *Teaching of the Apostles* as the sign of the Advent, perhaps the same as the sign of the Son of Man in Matthew.

Very nearly the same language as that of our little Ode is used to introduce the closing Ode of the collection, where it is not a mere repetition, but an integral part of the Ode, as we shall see. So we note again the interdependence and unity of the separate elements of the collection.

ODE XXVIII

1 As the wings of doves over their nestlings,
And the mouths of their nestlings towards their mouths;
So also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart.

2 My heart is delighted and leaps up,
Like the babe who leaps up in the womb of his mother: Cf. Luke i. 44.

Cf. Ps. cxv. (cxvi.) 10, and 2 Cor. iv. 13, Heb. iv. 3.

3 I believed; therefore I was at rest:
For faithful is He in whom I have believed.

Cf. Gen. xxii. 16.

4a He has richly blessed me;[1]
And my head is with Him.

Cf. Rom. viii. 35.

4b And the sword shall not divide me from Him,
Nor the scimitar.

5 For I was ready before destruction came;
And I have been set on His immortal[2] pinions;

6 And deathless life embraced me
And kissed me.

7 And from that (life) is the Spirit within me;
And it cannot die, for it lives.

(Christ speaks.)

8 They who saw me marvelled at me,
Because I was persecuted;

9 And they supposed that I was swallowed up;
For I seemed to them as one of the lost.

10 But my oppression
Became my salvation.

11 And I was their scorn,
Because there was no wrath[3] in me.

12 Because I did good to every man
I was hated;

[1] *Lit.* Blessing He has blessed me.
[2] *Or*, incorruptible.
[3] *Or*, zeal, envy.

13 And they came round me like mad dogs; Cf. Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 16.
Who ignorantly attack their masters. Euseb. *D. E.* x. (p. 505).

14 For their thought is corrupt
And their understanding perverted.

15 But I was carrying water in my right hand,
And their bitterness I endured[1] by my sweetness.

16 And I did not perish, for I was not their brother,
Nor was my birth like theirs.[2]

17 And they sought for my death and could not (accomplish it);
For I was older than the memorial of them;
And vainly did they cast lots against[3] me. Cf. Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 18.

18 And those who came after me
Sought without cause to destroy the memorial of him who was before them. Cf. Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 161.

19 For the thought of the Most High cannot be anticipated;
And His heart is superior to all wisdom.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. H has the singular ܘܦܘܡܐ ('and the mouth').

v. 15. Perhaps a half-verse has dropped and we should restore,

'I carried water in my right hand,
That I might put out their flame;
(ܘܐܝܟ ܡܪܝܪܘܬܗܘܢ)
And their bitterness I endured
By my sweetness.'

For the antithesis in the last lines, cf. Aphrahat, i. 423, 'Sweetness overcomes bitterness.'

[1] *Or*, I forgot (B). [2] *Or*, Nor did they acknowledge my birth (B).
[3] *Or*, threaten me (H).

The text of the MS. is much better than the unnecessary emendations by Frankenberg of ܚܬܐ (which he considers meaningless) into ܚܕܐ, and of ܚܒܒܬ into ܚܒܒܘ.

v. 17. If we follow the reading of B and the margin of H, there is perhaps a parallel to the casting of lots over the Saviour's raiment, but the contexts are not similar. In verse 18 we are near to the language of the 119th Psalm [Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 161], but there is no special coincidence with the Peshiṭta.

v. 19. The contracted form ܫܚܐ of the manuscripts is much more forceful in the sentence than the absolute proposed by Diettrich and Grimme.

Expository Notes.

This Ode, opening with a similitude, belongs in that regard with Odes xiv–xvi: but it may also be grouped with those Odes in which Christ becomes the chief speaker, for here the change of personality can clearly be made out. At the eighth verse, and until the end of the Ode, we are listening to the poet-prophet who speaks for Christ and as Christ. Perhaps the last verse of all may be detached for a choral refrain. The parallel between the 'wings of doves' and the 'wings of the Spirit' arises from the symbolism of the Spirit as a dove. We may compare Bar Hebraeus, *The Dove* (introd.): 'The Dove abides in the East but the West is full of her. Her food is fire, and he who is *crowned by her with wings* will breathe forth flames from his mouth.'

There may be a cross-reference here to Ps. liv. (lv.). 7: 'O that I had wings like a dove, then would I fly away and be at rest'; for the Odist goes on, 'I believed, therefore I was at rest'.

It is comparatively easy to detect the Old Testament passages which are in the mind of the Odist: we have shown in the Introduction the use that is made of the verse

'They came round me like mad dogs
Who ignorantly attack their Master:'

and how it is quoted, from the Ode, by Eusebius and others; but it was also clear that the origin of the passage was to be sought in the 22nd Psalm:

ἐκύκλωσάν με κύνες πολλοί.—Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 17.

We may correct the reading of the manuscripts from 'their masters' to 'their Master', in accordance with the Patristic evidence; but the meaning can be deduced without any alteration of the text. The change had already been divined by Flemming and Labourt.

This recognition of the use of the 22nd Psalm carried with it the justification of the reading of the Nitrian MS. and the margin of the Rylands MS.:

'they cast lots against me.'

We can also see now the reason why in verse 15 the Odist says:

'Their bitterness I endured by my sweetness.'

The 'bitterness' comes from the companion Psalm (lxix. 22) where

'They gave me gall for my meat
And for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.'

The Peshiṭta actually has 'bitterness' (ܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ) in this passage.

The statement that 'those who saw me marvelled at me' (verse 8) with which Christ's address begins, occurs again in Ode xvii (again as the opening words of Christ); and in Ode xli (a similar opening); it is derived from the 71st Psalm:

ὡσεὶ τέρας ἐγενήθην τοῖς πολλοῖς.—Ps. lxx. (lxxi.) 7.

Let us compare the language of the Ode with the Peshiṭta:

Ode xxviii. 8. ܠܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܝ ܐܢܬ ܘܐܬܬܡܗܘ ܒܝ

Ps. lxx. (lxxi.) 7. ܐܝܟ ܡܘܬܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܟܬܝܪܐ ܘܐܢܬ ܥܕܪܬܝ ܚܣܝܢܬܝ

The agreement in the use of ܐܬܬܡܗܘ shows the dependence of the Odist upon the Peshiṭta.

In Ode xli. 8 the coincidence is equally exact, for here we have:

ܠܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܡܝ ܐܢܬ ܒܥܘ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܠܗ

In Ode xvii another word is used.

The reference to the carrying of the water in one's right hand in verse 15 is explained above by the insertion of a conjectural clause,

'that I might put out their flame';

perhaps no explanation is necessary; the thing explains itself; the dogs were mad and would run away at the sight of water. *Hydrophoria*, if we may say so, was the natural cure for *hydrophobia*.

v. 4. This verse has been quoted to show the manner in which the Odist makes use of passages from the Scripture, notably from the Psalms: he takes what he wants and changes what he wishes. Thus the quotations are disguised, and are only recognized in the unaltered portions. Connolly uses this passage to prove a Greek original for the Odes; for in the LXX as well as in the quotation of the LXX in 2 Cor. iv. 13, we have

ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα.

Now this διό is wanting in the Peshiṭta of the Psalm that is being imitated: so it is suggested that the Odist depends directly on the Septuagint and not on the Syriac version. There is, however, another possibility: the connecting particle may come from the Targum. A reference shows as follows:

Ps. cxvi. 10. חימנית ארום אמלל

so it seems that we are not obliged to relate the Odist to the Septuagint.

This does not mean that the Odist was unacquainted with the Septuagint; that is another matter.

In verses 16, 17, we have strong theological statements that the Christ is the Only-begotten (Monogenēs) and that he was miraculously born. Illustrations of these points will be found in our Introduction.

ODE XXIX

Ps. xxx. (xxxi.) 1.

1 The Lord is my hope:
In Him I shall not be confounded.

2 For according to His praise He made me,
And according to His goodness[1] even so He gave unto me.

3 And according to His mercies He exalted me;
And according to His excellent beauty He set me on high.

4 And He brought me up out of the depths of Sheol;
And from the mouth of death He drew me.

[1] *Or*, grace (B).

5 And I laid my enemies low;
And He justified me by His grace.

6 For I believed in the Lord's Messiah;
And He appeared to me that He is the Lord.

7 And He showed me His sign,
And led me by His light;

8 And He gave me the rod of His power; Ps. cix. (cx.) 2.
That I might subdue the imaginations of the people: Cf. Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 10.
And to bring down the power of the men of might.

9 To make war by His Word;
And to take victory by His power.

10 And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His Word;
And he became like the stubble which the wind carries away. Ps. i. 4.

11 And I gave praise to the Most High;
Because He exalted His servant and the Son of His handmaid. Ps. cxv. (cxvi.) 16.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 5. Instead of ܐܬܬܚܬ 'and I have laid low', or 'Thou hast laid low', to put the verb in harmony with the context one might suggest ܐܬܬܚܬ 'And He laid low'.

v. 6. In the Syriac versions of the New Testament, and in Syriac literature in general, ܐܠܦ ܠܟ has been sometimes used in the sense of 'I saw', 'I noticed', instead of 'He was seen by me', 'He appeared to me' (John ix. 11). This applies also to Ode xvii. 10. We could therefore translate here, 'And I saw that He was the Lord'.

vv. 8, 10. In these two verses the language is certainly borrowed from the Psalter; but, strange to say, in neither case is the phraseology that of

the Peshiṭta: one would have supposed that at least the first Psalm would have had its language imitated. It is to be noted, however, that Aphrahat quotes Psalm i. 4 with ܗܠܐ as in our Ode (ii. 117).

v. 10. Grimme believes that the word ܕܡܫܟܚܗ is a dittographical error of the copyist.

Expository Notes.

This Ode is more like a cento from the Psalter than an interpretation of a single Psalm, such as we have had several cases of.

The first verse is imitated from the opening verse of the 31st Psalm:

Ἐπὶ σοί, Κύριε, ἤλπισα, μὴ καταισχυνθείην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
Ps. xxx. (xxxi.) 1.

The closeness of the agreement with the Peshiṭta may be noted:

Ode xxx. ܒܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܒܘܫ ܐܢܐ
Ps. xxx. (xxxi.). ܒܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܒܘܫ ܐܠܐ ܕܫܪܪ

In verses 3, 4, we may, perhaps, see the influence of the 85th Psalm:

ὅτι τὸ ἔλεός σου μέγα ἐπ' ἐμέ,
καὶ ἐρρύσω τὴν ψυχήν μου
ἐξ ᾅδου κατωτάτου.
Ps. lxxxv. (lxxxvi.) 13.

In that case we may take verse 7:

'He led me by His light.'

as dependent upon the 11th verse of the Psalm,

ὁδήγησόν με, Κύριε, τῇ ὁδῷ σου·

The eighth verse of the Ode is composite. The first clause:

'He gave me the rod of His power,'

is certainly based on Psalm cix. (cx.) 2, and Christ should be the speaker. For 'rod of power' the Ode has

ܡܫܟܚܗ ܚܠܐ

while the Peshiṭta has:

ܚܣܝܢ ܚܠܐ

The next clause is from the 33rd Psalm. We may compare the Ode and the Peshiṭta:

Ode xxix. 8: ܘܐܡܪ ܡܫܩܚܢ ܒܚܩܗ
Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 10. ܒܚܩܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܫܩܚܢ ܐܢܐ

We cannot be quite sure about the dependence of the Ode on the Syriac Psalm from the coincidences, which appear to be natural.

The closing verse of the Ode may be due to the 116th Psalm (v. 7), or perhaps to the 85th Psalm:

δὸς τὸ κράτος σου τῷ παιδί σου,
καὶ σῶσον τὸν υἱὸν τῆς παιδίσκης σου.
Ps. lxxxv (lxxxvi). 16.

The discrimination of the parts of the Ode in which Christ speaks is difficult. In some ways it looks more like a dialogue. Verses 6, 7 might be the poet's experience, verses 8–10 the Lord's, and the closing verse again the poet.

v. 7. The recognition of the fact that in this verse the Odist is under the influence of the 110th Psalm will help us to clear up some of the sentences which follow; twice we have a reference to the Word of God:

'To make war by His Word;'
'The Lord cast down my enemies by His Word.'

From these two clauses it is clear that the war at the instance of the Word has the consequence of victory by the one who orders the war to commence. But this is the opening verse of the Psalm, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit at my right hand until I make thy enemies the footstool of thy feet'.

Now turn to the Targum, and observe that in the opening verse the explanation is made, that the Lord said '*by His Word*'. This is very interesting and important; it shows that the Word in our Ode is to have a capital letter: in the Syriac it is *Melletha*, and not in this case *Pethgama*; that is the word which finally takes its place in Syriac to express the Logos.

This appears finally to rule out the idea that Christ is the speaker in this part of the Ode: for the speaker who gets the rod of power and takes the victory, gets it from the Word and therefore is not himself the Word. It appears, then, that the 110th Psalm could be used to express the experience of a believer in Christ as well as of Christ Himself.

In the Targum the Word is represented by *Memra*; this is the first instance we have found of the appearance of the *Memra* in the history of the doctrine of the Logos.

ODE XXX

1 Fill ye water for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord:
For it has been opened to you:

2 And come all ye thirsty and take a draught;
And rest by the fountain of the Lord.

3 For fair it is and pure;
And it gives rest to the soul.

Ps. xviii. (xix.) 11. Sir. xxiv. 20.

4 Much sweeter is its water than honey;
And the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it.

Sir. xxiv. 3.

5 For it flows from the lips of the Lord,
And from the heart of the Lord is its name.

6 And it came unlimited and invisible;
And until it was set in the midst they did not know it.

7 Blessed are they who have drunk therefrom;
And rested thereby.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. The language of this verse, 'Fill yourselves water', for 'draw water' or 'get water' is decidedly Aramaic; we may compare Isa. xii. 3, 'ye shall draw water out of the wells of salvation'; here the Hebrew and the Greek suggest 'draw' but the Peshitta agrees with the language of the Ode: 'ye shall fill water'; thus the Aramaism is indisputable. The parallel adduced shows, however, that it would arise in translation. The same thing occurs in John iv. 7, where ἀντλῆσαι is rendered by 'fill,' in the Syriac versions.

v. 4. Note that the writer, while using Biblical terms (Ps. xix. 11), does not follow the Peshiṭta, but may very well be interpreting the Hebrew מתוק (*pleasant* or *sweet*).

v. 5. 'Its name' does not seem to offer a satisfactory meaning; it may perhaps be ܥܘܕܗ 'its overflow'.

Frankenberg has suggested that 'name' (*ὄνομα*) is a misunderstanding of *nâma*, 'flow', 'stream': an excellent case for the defenders of the hypothesis of a Greek original.

v. 6. Connolly suggests that the Syriac word ܡܨܥܬܐ means simply 'the middle' without any meaning of 'in medio ponere', which is attached to *τιθέναι*, 'to publish, to bring forward openly'. If the phrase of the Odes seems to some critics to require such an interpretation, it is useful to remark that Syriac literature abounds in expressions such as ܣܡ ܡܨܥܬܐ or ܣܠܩ ܡܨܥܬܐ precisely in the sense of 'in medio ponere'; e.g. in Ephrem, ܣܠܩ ܠܐ ܡܨܥܬܐ (*R. E.* ii. 388, iii. 179, 192, &c.).

Expository Notes.

We have already alluded to this Ode as containing the same doctrine of the abundant fountain of the Lord as is found in other Odes (and, we may add, in the Epistle of Barnabas, *v. supra*). We also referred to the Ode as containing in itself a strong suggestion of a Greek original, if we were to accept Frankenberg's suggestion that in verse 5 *ὄνομα* has been misread for *nâma*. We might illustrate the language from Theodoret (*P. G.* 80, 869).

> Μιμεῖται γὰρ ὑδάτων ἀρδείαν τὰ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος νάματα . . . οὗ δὴ χάριν καὶ ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς ὕδωρ τὴν οἰκείαν διδασκαλίαν ὀνομάζει.

The reference to the honey and the honeycomb in verse 3 takes us naturally to the 19th Psalm; there is, however, another possible source: in the Wisdom of Sirach, we have in the chapter on the Praise of Wisdom as follows:

> τὸ γὰρ μνημόσυνόν μου ὑπὲρ μέλι γλυκύ,
> καὶ ἡ κληρονομία μου ὑπὲρ μέλιτος κηροῦ.
> Sirach, xxiv. 20.

And since the speech of Wisdom begins with the words:

> 'I came forth from the mouth of the Most High,'

we have a good parallel to:

'It comes forth from the lips of the Lord.'

This would mean that the water is the knowledge of the Lord, as it is in the sixth Ode, and that the Odist has been studying this chapter of Sirach.

We have noticed above the Syriacism which is involved in the words with which the Ode opens, '*Fill* ye water'; e.g. Isaiah xii. 3, 'and ye shall *fill* water with joy from the fountains of salvation'.

If the language of the Ode is that of a translator, it is good idiomatic translation.

It will be noticed that the coincidence between Ode xxx and Sirach xxiv is more clear when we translate literally, and instead of saying, as in the first rendering, 'It flows forth from the lips of the Lord', we say 'It comes forth' or 'it came forth'. This brings us very close to the language of Sirach. It may be noted in passing that the statement in Sirach, as in so many other cases, is an adaptation of the Hebrew in Prov. ii. 6:

'The Lord giveth Wisdom:
Out of His mouth (LXX ἐκ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ) cometh knowledge and understanding.'

This is what the Wisdom of Sirach meant by 'I came forth from the mouth of the Most High'; and this is what the Odist took from Sirach. It is abundantly clear that the flowing stream of which the Ode speaks is the Knowledge of the Lord, as it has been equally recognized in Ode vi.

We give special attention to Frankenberg's emendation (νᾶμα for ὄνομα) in verse 5, because the parallelism of the verses seems to require a correction; moreover, since we have no evidence for an early Syriac text of Sirach, the claim is very strong for a Greek original and a Greek emendation. On the other hand, a Syriac emendation might be ventured, as above, and one which would have support in the existing Peshitta text of Sirach which Frankenberg's emendation does not. Suppose that instead of ܫܡܗ ('His name') we read ܡܫܩܗ ('its outflow') this would answer to the Syriac

ܐܫܬܦܟ ܐܝܟ ܢܗܪܐ ܡܫܩܝ

'I *pour out* like the river (Jordan) my teaching.'

The corresponding Greek word is not *νᾶμα* but *διῶρυξ*. Evidently we must be on our guard against too rapid conclusions or generalizations. What we are certain of is the use by the Odist of the Sapiential books. We may, for instance, be as sure that he uses Sirach as we are certain that Sirach imitates Proverbs.

ODE XXXI

1 The abysses were dissolved before the Lord;
And darkness was destroyed by His appearance.

2a Error went astray
And disappeared from Him,
2b And (as for) Falsehood, I gave it no path,
And it was submerged by the truth of the Lord.

3 He opened His mouth and spake grace and joy;
And He spake a new (song of) praise to His name.

4 And He lifted up His voice to the Most High,
And offered to Him the sons that were in His hands.[1]

Cf. Isa. viii. 18; Heb. ii. 13.

5 And His face was justified;
For thus His Holy Father had given[2] to Him.

(Christ speaks.)

6 Come forth, ye that have been afflicted,
And receive joy.

7 And possess[3] your souls by grace;
And take to you immortal life,

[1] *Or*, those that had become children by His means (John i. 12); *or*, the sons given Him by God.

[2] *Or*, done.

[3] *Lit.* inherit.

8 And they condemned me when I rose up;[1]
Me who had not been condemned.[2]

9 And they divided my spoil,
Though nothing was due to them.

10 But I endured and held my peace and was silent,
That I might not be moved by them.

Cf. Aphr. i. 7.

11 But I stood unshaken like a firm rock,
That is beaten by the waves and endures.

12 And I bore their bitterness for humility's sake;
That I might redeem my people and inherit it.

Cf. Rom. xv. 8 and Barnab. 5.

13 And that I might not make void the promises to the patriarchs
To whom I was promised for the salvation of their seed.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 2. The second member of this verse is very difficult owing to a possible corruption of the text. As it stands in B it runs: 'Wickedness received immobility, and was submerged by the truth of the Lord'. The suffix ـه, however, makes the Syriac wording very harsh and ungrammatical. For لا ܐܬܚܫܠ we have suggested ܚܛ ܐܬܚܫܠ, and to make the metaphor more in harmony with the first member of the verse we have suggested ܠܚܝ for ܠܚܝ. 'Wickedness took for herself the power of motion and erred from the truth of the Lord.' This is grammatically correct and in accordance with the first part of the parallelism.

For ܫܦܠ which more generally means 'meanness', 'lowliness', we should, perhaps read ܫܓܠ as in Ode xi. 10. The 'run of error', 'evil', 'truth', &c., is a favourite metaphor of the Odist, see Odes xxxviii. 6, xviii. 6; but the change is, perhaps, somewhat violent.

[1] *Or*, I stood up. [2] *Or*, culprit.

However this may be, a good meaning is given in H if we translate: 'And wickedness gave to it (to error) no path, and it was submerged by the truth of the Lord,' or 'And vanity (or falsehood), I gave to it immobility, and it was submerged by the truth of the Lord.' This meaning is grammatically good, and we can adopt it in the absence of a better one. In our note to the text: 'H ܗܘܕܐ (*sic*!)' is erroneous. The reading of H is contained in the text itself.

v. 6. Labourt suggests that instead of ܒܘܬܐ 'joy' we might read ܫܘܒܐ 'liberty'; this, however, is not necessary; the beginning of the verse is speaking of people in pain.

v. 8. More generally the verb ܚܛ means 'to condemn' (as culprit); the sense of making somebody debtor to a creditor is usually expressed in Syriac by means of a periphrase. That in this sentence the meaning of the verb refers probably to 'a condemnation' is borne out by the participle ܚܛܝܐ which is seldom found in the sense of a debtor in money; ܚܛܐ is used in this last sense, and is also commonly used in both senses of 'debtor' and 'culprit'. Notice in the text of the next line the Syriacism ܕܗܘ instead of ܠܐ ('they condemned me, him who . . .').

v. 9. The verb ܫܠܡ with a ܠ is always used in the sense of something being due to somebody; about this there is no doubt. It seems, therefore, as if there was a play on the different meanings of the verb as used in the preceding verse. If there is no such paronomasia, we maintain parallelism by translating 'debt' and 'debtor' throughout.

v. 12. There is no need to read with Grimme ܚܛܝܢ for ܚܛܝܐ.

v. 13. The rules laid down by the grammarians from the 11th century onwards to the effect that in the passive form we should redouble the ܠ of the *Hamzed* or assimilated verbs in the form ܐܬܦܥܠ is not much followed in the manuscripts. It is possible, therefore, that ܐܬܚܘܝ is used here by the scribe for ܐܬܚܘܝܠ. This is even the case in the old manuscripts for any other verb; e.g. the Lewis text has in Luke i. 4 ܘܐܠܦܬ for ܘܐܠܦܠܬ; ibid., 16, 25, ܐܬܒܣ for ܐܬܒܣܠ, &c.

Expository Notes.

This Ode is somewhat like the 28th Ode in that it contains a selection of statements from the 22nd Psalm, for the most part expounded by

Christ in His own person. The writer opens with a couple of introductory verses on Truth and Error; then he approaches the 22nd Psalm in the verse:

'I will declare *thy name* unto my brethren;
In the midst of the Church I will *sing praise* unto thee;'
Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 22.

This he reproduces as:

'He spake a new *song of praise to His name.*'—Ode xxxi. 4.

He follows this with a reference to the 'children that God had given Him'; this is exactly the sequence which we find (awkwardly introduced) in Hebrews ii. 13, where it comes as a quotation from Isaiah viii. 17, 18. The Odist is not quoting Hebrews, but the sources of Hebrews in a collection of *Testimonia*. The reference to God's gift of children is in the next verse:

'Thus His Holy Father had *given* Him.'

Very likely this is implied in the previous verse, if we follow the Nitrian MS., for here we have:

'The children who were by His hand,' i. e. the children given by God.

There is no doubt, then, that the Odist is working on the 22nd Psalm.

Christ now becomes the speaker, and his address is marked by further reference to the same Psalm; for instance, the words 'they *divided* my spoil', i. e. 'they despoiled me and divided the plunder', is an adaptation of the 18th verse of the Psalm:

'They divide my garments among them,
they cast lots upon my vesture.'

In verse 12 the Odist repeats very nearly what he had said in Ode xxviii about 'bearing their bitterness', but the word for 'bearing' is now ܣܒܠ instead of ܢܫܐ. Apparently the Odist has changed the word; the origin of the 'bitterness' is, as we have shown, to be sought in the Psalm. The word *endure* should be noticed, because the writer emphasizes it, and because it occurs in the quotation which Barnabas makes of the last verse of the Ode.

Probably there are more loans from the Canonical Psalter to be traced.

ODE XXXII

1 To the blessed the joy is from their hearts,
And light from Him that dwells in them;

2 And the Word from the Truth who is self-originate.

3 For He hath been strengthened by the Holy Power of the Most High,
And He is unperturbed for ever and ever.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 3. It is difficult to ascertain who is the 'unshakable' or 'unperturbed'. The pronoun ܗܘ can refer to ܡܠܬܐ 'the Word', or to ܚܝܠܗ ܕܥܠܝܐ 'the strength of the Most High', or to the 'Most High' Himself. The first meaning is, however, the more tempting. There is no necessity to read with Grimme ܒܚܝܠܐ in plural.

Expository Notes.

We have edited in the second verse ܡܠܬܐ in the singular, as expressing the Logos, for, as we have seen, the Odes use this term as well as ܟܠܡܐ to express it. The 'Word from the Truth' is possibly the equivalent for the 'True Word', and finds its parallel in Ode xii:

> 'The Mouth of the Lord is the *True Word*,
> And the door of *His light*.'

For, as the Odist explains, the saints have 'light from Him that dwells within'. This Ode belongs to the group of Wisdom-Odes or Logos-Odes, and so does the one that immediately follows.

ODE XXXIII

1 Grace again[1] ran and left the Corruptor
And came down upon him to bring him to naught:

2 And he[2] made utter destruction[3] from before him
And devastated all his array:

3 And he stood on a lofty summit and cried aloud
From one end of the earth to the other;

4 And drew to him all those who obeyed him:
And he did not appear as an evil person;[4]

Cf. Prov. i. 20–21 and viii. 1 sq.

5 But a perfect virgin stood
Who was proclaiming and crying and saying:

(Wisdom speaks.)

6 O ye sons of men, return ye;
And ye their daughters, come ye;

7 And leave the ways of that Corruptor,
And draw near unto me;

8 And I will enter into you
And bring you forth from destruction;
And I will make you wise in the ways of truth.

9 Be not destroyed;
Nor perish.

10 Hear ye me and be saved;
For the grace of God I am telling among you:

[1] *Lit.* but again. [2] *i.e.* the Corruptor.
[3] *Lit.* And He destroyed the destruction. [4] *Or*, as the Evil One.

11 And by my means you shall be redeemed and become blessed:
I am your judge;[1]

12 And they who have put me on shall not be injured: Cf. Eph. iv. 24.
But they shall possess incorruption in the new world.

13 My chosen ones have walked in me, Cf. Col. ii. 6.
And my ways I will make known to them that seek me;
And I will make them to trust in my name.

Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. The verb ܡܚܡܐ is difficult to understand if we read the word ܟܣܘܠܐ 'corruption' as we have punctuated it, and as it is in the manuscript. If we punctuate it ܟܣܘܠܐ we should have 'the corruptor' (cf. Ode xxxviii. 9) with a sense appropriate to the context. This disposes of many theories involving the change of the verb into ܡܚܐ, ܚܡܐ, and ܡܢܡܐ, &c.

v. 2. The Semitism of 'he made utter destruction' should be noted. The expression ܫܚܠ ܠܐܡܝܐ 'to devastate one's array, preparations, or possessions' is frequent in Ephrem, see Mitchell's edition, p. 5.

v. 4. Labourt's suggestion that the text should be ܠܐ ܐܫܬܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܦ ܕܢܥܐ 'and he did not appear to them as the head', is not necessary.

v. 5. It is unnecessary to change ܒܬܘܠܬܐ 'virgin' into ܒܕܘܪܐ 'in the generation', as Grimme has suggested.

That the perfect Virgin is Wisdom (or Christ speaking as Sophia) may be seen by comparing the language with Proverbs i. 20, 21, or Proverbs viii. 1 sqq.

v. 8. 'I will make you wise in the ways of truth'. That Wisdom is here considered as Light may be inferred from the expression 'those who put me on shall not be injured', where the language should be

[1] *Or*, judgement.

compared with Ode xxi. 3, 'I put off Darkness and clothed myself with Light'. We may also compare the 'Light of Truth' in Ode xxxviii. 1.

Bardaisan is credited with a belief in a similar Virgin of Light, or Light-Virgin (see Mitchell, *Discourses of Ephrem*, p. 67).

v. 11. We have punctuated the word ܕܝܢܟ 'your judgement'; the manuscript has ܕܝܢܟ 'your judge', which suits better the context. Connolly suggests ܙܝܢܟ 'your armour', which is appropriate. Less probable is the hypothesis of Barth, who reads ܕܝܠܟ (yours).

v. 12. Grimme unnecessarily suggests the change of the text of the manuscript into ܕܕܟܡܐ and ܠܐ.

Expository Notes.

This Ode seems to begin abruptly and unintelligibly; we suggest that something has been lost at the opening. Apparently it is Christ who appears as Grace, and then as Divine Wisdom, in whose person He speaks from the sixth verse onwards, confuting the Corruptor mentioned in the preceding verses.

The key to the Ode lies in the Proverbs of Solomon, and especially in the eighth chapter. We may compare:

Ode xxxiii. 3. 'He stood on a lofty summit and cried aloud:'

ܩܡ ܥܠ ܪܡܐ ܘܩܥ ܘܐܡܪ ܟܕ

Ode xxxiii. 5. 'A perfect Virgin stood proclaiming, and crying, and saying':

ܩܥܬ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܩܫܝܛܬܐ
ܘܩܪܝܬ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܐܢܫܐ

Prov. viii. 1–4. 'On this account Wisdom proclaimeth (?);
For on the lofty summits is Wisdom:
She standeth . . .
She saith . . .
Unto you, O men, I cry.'

. . . ܗܠ ܩܥܬ ܚܟܡܬܐ
ܥܠ ܪܫ ܬܪܥܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܩܥܬ ܚܟܡܬܐ
ܩܥܬ . . . . . .
ܘܐܡܪ . . . . . .
ܠܟܘܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܐܢܐ

Ode xxxiii. 6. 'O ye sons of men, return ye,
And ye, their daughters, come ye.'

حتب ابما ألاهنه
ەحتلەەم استم

Prov. viii. 4. 'My voice is to the Sons of Man':

ەەكب حلا حسنما

Ode xxxiii. 8. 'I will make you *wise* in the *ways* of truth.'

ەلسەحەم حاەتسلا ؛هنزا

v. 11. 'By my means you shall be redeemed and become *blessed*':

ەحلتب الاهنم ەلەەم ؛هحنا

Prov. viii. 32, 33. '*Blessed* are they that keep *my ways*;
Hear instruction and *be wise*.'

؛هحەەب حصم ؛بلخ ألاەتسلا
ەصحه صنؤلا ەلسەحه

Thus one principal motive of the Ode is the invitation of Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs, and with that Wisdom Christ is identified.

There are some unexplained allusions and unrecognized references, e. g. there is the 'Corruptor' who is twice referred to, who will turn up again in Ode xxxviii in just as perplexing a form.

Some further light on the obscurities that remain may probably be obtained by picking up the Sapiential clue. For example, in verse 7:

'Leave the ways of that corruptor and draw near unto me,'

we are very close to the language of Proverbs ix. 4:

'Whoso is simple, let him turn in hither,'

where the LXX says 'let him turn aside *to me*', but the Syriac has 'let him come *unto me*'.

Again, in the sixth verse of the same chapter of Proverbs we have:

'Leave off, ye foolish (or *leave off foolishness*) and live,
And walk in *the way of* understanding;'

where the LXX has for the first line

ἀπολείπετε ἀφροσύνην, ἵνα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα βασιλεύσητε.
('Leave off Folly, that ye may reign for ever'),

and the Syriac has

'Cause to rest from your folly, and live.'

Evidently the Odist has personified Folly as the Corruptor; clearly also he has found Everlasting Life in Proverbs.

ODE XXXIV

1 There is no hard way where there is a simple heart;
Ephr. *R.E.* ii. 486. Nor is there any barrier where the thoughts are upright:

2 Nor is there any storm in the depth of the illuminated thought

3 The one who is surrounded on every side by open country,[1]
Is freed from doubts.[2]

Moses Bar-Kepha (B.M. Add. 2121[a], f. 51 b). 4 The likeness of that which is below
Is that which is above;

5 For everything is above;
And below there is nothing, but it is believed to be by the ignorant.[3]

6 Grace has been revealed for your salvation:
Believe and live and be saved.

Hallelujah.

[1] *Lit.* by every beautiful place.
[2] *Lit.* there is nothing divided in him.
[3] *Lit.* those in whom there is no knowledge.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. About the word ܥܡܝܐ 'simple', &c., Connolly has argued that it was not the notion of simplicity which was meant by the Odist, but that of 'generosity' underlying the Greek ἁπλοῦς; cf., however, the following sentence of Ephrem:

ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ ܠܥܡܝܐ ii, 486 (*R. E.*)

'The way is plain to the simple.'

In the next line ܚܣܡܐ (with a *Zaḳāf* or a *Pathāh* on the *Mīm*) in the sense of 'fence, barrier, partition, obstacle to view', is catalogued in the *Thesaurus* on the authority of the Lexicographers, but unfortunately without any illustrations. The first illustration is this sentence of the Odes of Solomon. Gressmann has changed it, perhaps unnecessarily, into ܚܣܡܐ 'Sturz'.

v. 3. This meaning is given by a slight change of ܐܬܐ into ܐܬܝ, which would make the sentence grammatical and in harmony with the preceding verse, where it is spoken of hard ways, adversities, and tempests. In maintaining ܐܬܐ as Connolly does, we should be obliged to take the adjective ܫܦܝܪ as a substantive-subject, and the place which it occupies would then render the Syriac wording somewhat weak. The meaning, too, which it would give 'where the good is surrounded on all sides, there is in Him nothing divided', is not very clear. Labourt's suggestion that instead of ܫܦܝܪ we should read ܫܦܝܪܐ is not probable.

Expository Notes.

It is curious that this little Ode should have, as we have shown, Syrian attestation in two quarters, Ephrem and Moses Bar-Kepha.

It is quite unlike any other Ode and does not proceed from any Scriptural base. Only in the last verse the language of the New Testament appears, and the doctrine of salvation by faith and grace. For the rest, the writer asserts that it is possible to rise out of the apparent world into the real world, and that all hard things become easy when the soul itself is right.

ODE XXXV

1 The dew of the Lord distilled rest upon me,[1]
And a cloud of peace it caused to rise over my head;

2 That it might guard me continually;
And it became salvation[2] to me:

3 Everybody was shaken and affrighted;
And there came forth from them a smoke and a judgement:

4 But I was keeping quiet in the ranks[3] of the Lord;
More than shadow[4] was He to me, and more than support:[5]

5 And I was carried like a child by its mother;
Aud He gave me milk, the dew of the Lord.

6 And I grew great by His bounty:
And I rested in His perfection:

7 And I spread out my hands in the lifting up of my soul;
And I directed myself towards the Most High,
And I was redeemed with Him:
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. The verb ܨܠܠ is commonly derived from 'shadow' and means 'to overshadow'. The natural meaning of the sentence is therefore 'the dew of the Lord overshadowed me in quietness'. Here the Odist seems to derive it from ܛܠ 'dew', except if we suppose that he is purposely

[1] *Or*, overshadowed me in quietness. [2] H, in salvation.
[3] *Perhaps* by the Word. [4] dew (B). [5] *Lit.* foundation.

indulging in the uncommon theme of a dew giving shadow. On the one hand the word ܬܫܡܫܐ 'dew', of the first line requires a verb implying the sense of rain, on the other the word ܥܢܢܐ 'cloud' of the second line may combine both meanings of shadow and rain, unless in verse 2 we should understand the sentence 'that it might guard me' in the sense of warding off the heat of the sun from the Odist. The sense of 'dew' appears also in verse 5, 'And he gave me milk, the dew of the Lord': but verse 6, 'And I *rested* in his perfection' might possibly imply the sense of 'shadow'. In verse 4 the manuscripts are at variance, for whereas H gives 'More than shadow was He to me', B exhibits 'More than dew was He to me'. The Odist is possibly playing in all these verses on the two words ܛܠܠ and ܛܠܐ derived from a common root ܛܠ, perhaps related both to 'shadow' and to 'dew'. This assonance seems to have pleased him so much that he thought it expedient to enhance it by the use of ܛܠܝ 'child' in verse 5. On the whole, the natural sense of overshadowing is preferable in the first line.

v. 2. The expression 'it was to me for salvation' is good idiomatic Syriac, but the rendering 'It became my salvation' is preferable, for the expression is taken from Isaiah xii. 2, exactly as in the Targum, והוה לי לפריק. Note that the twelfth chapter of Isaiah is familiar to our Odist (how could it fail to be, since it is so entirely in his manner?), and the opening sentence in the 30th Ode is imitated from it ('Fill ye water for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord').

v. 3. Both manuscripts have ܠܝܬ ܥܘܫܢ 'smoke and judgement'. The meaning is very doubtful, and without violent change we are unable to find a better translation. Gunkel changes ܥܘܫܢ to ܢܘܫܩ 'and smell'.

v. 4. We might probably read ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ 'with the Word of the Lord', instead of ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ 'in the rank of the Lord'. The elimination of the letter ܟ is possibly due to a slip of the copyist.

Expository Notes.

This Ode appears to express in poetical language some peculiar spiritual experience. Some of the figures of previous Odes recur; there is the milk of God, and twice, if not three times, there is the dew of

the Lord. No adequate explanation has yet been found of the Divine dew. It is a Biblical expression used in the prophet Isaiah to represent the grace that raises the dead; but this is the text of the LXX:

ἡ δρόσος ἡ παρὰ σοῦ ἴαμα αὐτοῖς ἐστιν.—Isaiah xxvi. 19,

and this does not seem to apply to the present situation.

The solution of this Ode cannot be detached from that of the Ode which follows; for here also there is a 'cloud of dew'; here, too, some one speaks of becoming *great according to the greatness of the Lord*, and being anointed from *His perfection*. We shall see that the 36th Ode is probably spoken in the name of Christ; and if so, that should carry the 35th Ode to the same conclusion. But this does not seem to be likely, nor a very defensible position. Evidently there is something missing in the explanation.

We have seen that the Odist has been making word-play out of the assonance of ܨܦܝ 'to overshadow', ܨܠܐ 'shadow', ܛܠ 'dew', and ܛܠܝ 'child'. We can probably find a motive for his word-play; 'the cloud of peace' in verse 2 is parallel to the 'cloud of dew' in the next Ode; and the 'dew' is, in fact, alluded to in verse 1 of this Ode. But this 'cloud of dew' is taken from Isaiah xviii. 4:

'As a *cloud of dew* in the heat of harvest,'

where the Peshitta and the Targum supply us with the very expression which is in the Odes to which we refer. Thus the 'cloud of dew' is a *shelter*: now we understand why the Odist says, 'More than *shelter* he was to me'. But this is not all: there is a parallel passage of Isaiah which has been employed by the Odist. At the end of the fourth chapter of Isaiah we have the following statement:

> 'The Lord will create over the whole habitation of Mount Zion and over her assemblies, *a cloud and smoke* by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night; for over all the glory shall be spread as a canopy. And there shall be a pavilion for a shadow in the day-time from the heat, and for a refuge, and for a covert from storm and rain.'—Isaiah iv. 5, 6, R. V.

Here we pick up fresh references to the covering from the heat, and we also see the reason for the allusion to the 'smoke' that came forth in verse 3. Suppose, then, we look at this passage of Isaiah in the Syriac

version and in the Targum. We shall find the same assonance between the 'dew' and the 'shelter' which the Odist has been developing; and we shall also find the motive for the verse:

'More than shelter he was to me,
And more than foundations.'

ܡܛܠ ܥܠ ܠܝ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܘܝܬ
ܘܡܢ ܥܠ ܐܫܬܝ

For the Targum reads:

'The Lord shall create over every sanctuary of Mount Zion, and over every place of the House of His Shekinah, *a cloud* of glory (ענן יקר); and it shall be *shadowing* (מטיל) over him by day and thick darkness and glory as of a flame of fire by night; because *more than the glory* which (יתיר מן יקרא) He said He would bring upon Him, the Shekinah shall be *protecting* Him with (its) *protection*: and upon Jerusalem there shall be the *shelter* of clouds to *shelter* over her by day,' &c.

מטלת ענני לאטללא עלה בימם

It will be seen that the Odist has closely followed the language of Isaiah, imitating even such an expression as 'more than the glory', which is peculiar to the Targum. Here, then, we have a further key to the meaning of the Ode, and a further proof of the dependence of the Odist on the Targum.

ODE XXXVI

1 I rested on the Spirit of the Lord;
And (the Spirit) raised me on high:

2 And made me to stand on my feet in the high place of the Lord;
Before His perfection and His glory;
While I was praising (Him)[1] by the composition of His odes.

[1] *Or*, I was praised in the composition.

(Christ speaks)

Cf. John i. 9.

3 (The Spirit) brought me forth before the face of the Lord.
And although a Son of Man,
I was named the Luminary, the Son of God:

Cf. Prov. viii. 31 (Syriac).

4 While I was the most glorified among the glorious ones;[1]
And the greatest among the great ones.

5 For according to the greatness of the Most High, so she[2] made me;
And like His own newness He renewed me:

Koran iii. 40. Cf. Ode xxi. 7.

6 And He anointed me from His own perfection;
And I became one of those that are near to Him;

7 And my mouth was opened like a cloud of dew;
And my heart gushed out, as it were,[3] a gush of righteousness;

8 And my access (to Him) was in peace:
And I was established in the Spirit of Providence.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 3. In view of uncertainties it is safer to follow the reading of the manuscripts.

v. 5. It would be somewhat more grammatical to read with Grimme حجبت and refer the verb to the 'Lord' or 'God'. The manuscripts, however, in using the feminine form have referred it to the 'Spirit' of the Lord in verses 1, 2.

Expository Notes.

In this Ode we have assumed that after the usual preface of the poet who composes the Ode, the speaker is the Lord Christ. In that case, the Holy Spirit is the Mother of Jesus, and we actually find a

[1] H, glorifiers. [2] *Sc.* the Spirit. [3] B, *om.*

suggestion to that effect in an early heretical gospel attributed to the Ebionites. Equally doubtful, from an orthodox point of view, is the statement in verse 6 that Christ is one of the Divine neighbours; we have indicated on the margin the reference to the same title which has been preserved in the Ḳur'ān (مِنَ ٱلْمُقَرَّبِينَ), i. e. one of those who are near (to God).

A very slight change in verse 5 will rid us of the obscurity of such a phrase as the Divine newness; read:

'He (*or* she) made me glad with His own gladness';

ܡܠܝ ܒܚܕܘܬܗ ܐܚܕܢ

this not only relieves the obscure sentence, but makes sequence with the following line,

'He anointed me,' &c.;

for this is the famous early Christian testimony, 'God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness', which is quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews (i. 8) from Psalm xlv. 6, 7. Now this Psalm is an epithalamium composed for King Solomon; so that we have again in the Odes either Solomon himself or Christ as Solomon.

Justin Martyr, discussing this very Psalm, points out to Trypho that the Holy Spirit here calls Christ God as well as Christ, which agrees with what the Odist says in verse 3:

'Though a Son of Man, I was named Son of God.'

The proof was made (1) from the unction, (2) from the address to the anointed one as God. It is one of the oldest arguments from Scripture in the Christian theology.

If this should turn out to be a correct interpretation of the Ode, we shall have to admit that the name of Solomon attached to the Odes is something more than an outside, bookmaker's or bookseller's, label; it must be used in the internal interpretation of the Odes as Odes of Rest, for that is one of the root-meanings of Solomon's name, and he is supposed to have this name as being historically the man of peace. See what is said on this point in the following Ode.

v. 4. Special attention should be paid to this term ܢܝܚܐ (in vulgar Syriac ܢܝܚܡ), for it answers to the Targumic רברבין, which is the

translation of Elohim when that word is taken in the plural and does not mean God.

For instance, in Genesis iii. 5, the serpent assures the woman that, if they eat of the forbidden fruit, they will be like the Great Ones who know good and evil. Such a writer, for instance, as our Odist would never interpret this passage of God Himself, whom he affirms not to know evil; probably this explanation was widely current; and it underlies the substitution of 'the Great Ones' for Elohim. As we have said, the point is an important one, for if it carries the sense of Elohim, for the expression in the Ode it shows that the person who is speaking in the Ode is not an ordinary human being.

v. 6. It would be interesting to determine more exactly the origin of the peculiar expression, 'One of those that are near to Him'. Is it possible that it is the Odist's adaptation of the phrase in Daniel?

> 'One like unto the Son of Man came to the Ancient of Days and *they brought him near before Him.*'—Dan. vii. 13.

Here we may compare the language of the Ode:

ܘܩܪܒܘܗܝ ܩܕܡ ܩܕܝܫܐ

with וקדמוהי הקרבוהי

of the prophet, the Syriac version being almost identical with the Hebrew [Chaldee]. There is no reason why we should not recognize the Apocalyptic passage in Daniel as the origin of the language in the Ode; in each case it is the Son of Man who is referred to, for we have identified Christ as the Speaker in this Ode, and it is the Messiah that is the person who is brought near to the Highest in Daniel. Moreover, in this very Ode, the speaker has already denoted himself as

> '*The Son of Man*, the Luminary, the Son of God.'

In this point of view, any suspicion of unorthodox leanings in the expression 'one of those that are near' disappears; the Odist is no more unorthodox than the Book of Daniel which he borrows.

This suggestion throws further light on the language of the Ode as well as on the Book of Daniel and its text. To begin with, we recognize in the Aramaic text of Daniel, which is the only text we possess for the major part of the book, the traces of a true Targum. Here, again, we have the expression 'before God' used as a substitute for 'God'. Instead

of 'they brought him near to the Most High', the text says, 'they brought him near before the Most High'. This is genuine Targum which has been substituted for a missing Hebrew text of Daniel in the major part of the book. We may recognize the same tendency in the Ode in verse 3, where the Christ is brought forth ܩܕܡ ܥܠܝܐ ܐܬܩܪܒ ܘܩܕܡ ܥܠܝܐ, which is a kind of double Targumism and may be itself an imitation of Daniel.

Again we have to recall that it is to this very language of Daniel that we had already referred the expression in Ode xix, where the Virgin 'brought forth, as it were a man', which we interpreted as the equivalent of 'one like to a son of man'.

We have, then, two distinct cases of Apocalyptic in the Odes. It was one of the things we should naturally have expected to find, if the Odes had been rightly assigned to the Eastern Church and to the first century (or even to the beginning of the second century). Here is the elusive factor, almost as clearly recognized as if it had been the Apocalypse of John that we were studying. The Odist tells us plainly that 'Jesus is the Son of Man in the visions of Daniel'. His sources of information are clearly Aramaic or Syriac, and not Greek. There is no possibility of dependence upon a Greek text.

Incidentally we shall raise again the question as to the speaker in Ode xxi. 6, 7, who says:

'I passed before Him and became near unto Him.'

The expression has a Targumist evasion in the words 'before Him' ('from before His face'); but the expression 'became near unto him' may here be called non-Targumic. 'Passed before Him' may be the Odist's imitation of the passage in Daniel which says that the Son of Man

'came (ܐܬܐ) to the Ancient of Days.'

It may be admitted that the suggestion that Ode xxi as well as Ode xxxvi has traces of Daniel is not so convincing as in the case of the latter Ode. So we will leave the matter uncertain in the hope of further and future illumination.

The prophecy of the dominion given to the Son of Man in Daniel, ch. vii, was certainly in the original *Book of Testimonies*: Cyprian has it, and Gregory of Nyssa; and Justin quotes it frequently.

It may perhaps be asked what is the meaning of the title 'the

Luminary', interjected between the terms 'Son of Man' and 'Son of God'. We are far away by this time from Dr. Bernard's explanation that it is the baptized person's description of himself: but this does not relieve us of the duty to find a better solution.

We suggest that this also comes from Daniel. In chap. ii. 23 Daniel praises God because He is the revealer of secrets, and because 'He knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with Him'. A reference to the text shows that the rendering 'the light' (נהורא) has been derived from a reader's correction. No doubt it was a sound correction, but the text says 'the luminary' (נהירא). So does the Syriac version presenting the very same peculiar form that has turned up in our Ode. It is, then, not an unnatural inference that the Odist worked on an uncorrected text of Daniel, and interpreted the 'Luminary' to be the Christ.

ODE XXXVII

1 I stretched out my hands to the Lord;[1]
And to the Most High I lifted my voice;

Cf. Luke i. 44 (Syriac).

2 And I spake with the lips of my heart;
And He heard me when my voice reached Him.[2]

3 His Word came to me,
And[3] gave me the fruits of my labours:

4 And gave me rest by the grace of the Lord.

Hallelujah.

Critical Note.

v. 2. The verb ܐܦܩ of the manuscripts is much better than ܐܦܨ proposed by Bruston (see Luke i. 44).

[1] my Lord (H). [2] *Lit.* fell with him. [3] *Lit.* who.

Expository Notes.

At first sight this appears to be a Psalm of the simplest possible character, a brief story of prayer and of the answer to prayer. But there is more in it than appears on the first reading. The stretching out of the hands occurs in the 35th Ode, where we have

'I spread out my hands in the lifting up of my soul,'

and this must be connected in some way with

'I stretched out my hands to the Lord,
And to the Lord I lifted up my voice.'

The variation is in the manner of the Odist, when dealing with a Biblical theme, and may equally happen when he is repeating his own formulae. Then we notice that this Ode is also one of the Odes of Rest, and in the 35th Ode, the sentence before the one just quoted is 'I *rested* in His perfection'. Thus there must be some connexion between the 35th Ode and the 37th. Let us see whether this reference to a 'rest in God' may not give us a clue to the meaning. Imagine that the reference is to Solomon as a man of rest. Then this 37th Ode will refer to Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple. 'The King stood before the altar of God and *spread forth his hands* towards heaven and said' (2 Chron. vi. 12, 14). God's answer to Solomon is in the words, 'the Lord appeared to Solomon by night and said to him, I have heard thy prayer'. The Ode expresses this in the manner of a Targum:

'He heard me when my voice reached Him;
His word came to me.'

and the statement, 'I have chosen this place to myself for an house of sacrifice' would answer to the Odist's 'He gave me the fruit of my labours'.

Thus this Ode might be labelled an Ode of Solomon in a historical sense, without any need to introduce Christ as Solomon.

Supposing we accept this solution for Ode xxxvii, where it will apply very well, can we carry back a Solomonic interpretation into Ode xxxv or xxxvi? We will take the case of Ode xxxvi. Notice that there is a play on Solomon's name in the last verse:

'My access to Him was in peace;'

and the last half of the verse:

'I was *established* by the spirit of Providence.'

will correspond to 2 Chron. vii. 18:

'I will *establish* the throne of thy Kingdom as I covenanted with David thy father.'

There is another great Solomonic Psalm in the Psalter, the 72nd ('Give the king thy judgements, O God'). In this Psalm we are told that 'he shall come down like rain upon the mown grass, as *showers* that water the earth'. Perhaps it is these *showers* ('drops of dew' ܙܥܝܦ in the Syriac Bible) that are responsible for the frequent reference to the 'dew of the Lord' in the Odes.

That the origin of the description of Christ as 'the dew' may, perhaps, be in the Psalm which we have referred to, can be seen from Eusebius, *Theophania*, Bk. I, c. 25:

'This is the common Saviour of all (*sc.* the Logos), on whose account this universal essence is productive and rejoices that it ever drinks *from his dewdrops*.'

(ܥܡ ܠܟܬܘܗ ܕܟܠ ܐܝܡ ܡܠܐ).

ODE XXXVIII

Cf. Ps. xlii. (xliii.) 3.

1 I went up into the Light of Truth as into a chariot:
And the Truth led me and brought me:

2 And carried me across hollows and gulfs,
And from the cliffs and reefs it preserved me;

Cf. Ps. cvii. 30.

3 And became to me a Haven of Salvation;
And set me on the arms[1] of immortal life.

4 And it went with me and made me rest and suffered me not to err;
Because it was and is the Truth;

[1] B, step.

5 And I ran no risk because I walked with Him;[1]
And I made no error in anything, because I obeyed Him.

6 For Error fled away from Him:
And would not meet Him:

7 But Truth was proceeding in the right way;
And whatever I did not know He made clear to me:

8 All the drugs of Error and the plagues of death which are considered to be sweet (beverage).

9 And I saw the Destroyer of the Corruptor[2] when the Bride who was being corrupted was adorned,
Along with the Bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted.

10 And I asked the Truth, Who are these? and He said to me:
This is the Deceiver and the Error:

11 And they imitate the Beloved and His Bride:
And they lead astray and corrupt the world.

12 And they invite many to the Banquet,
And give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication;

13 And they make them vomit up their wisdom and intelligence;
And they deprive them of understanding;

14[a] And then they leave them;
And so these go about like madmen and corrupt;

14[b] Since they are without heart;
And do not seek after it.

[1] *Sc.* the truth. [2] *Or*, Corruption.

15 And I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of
the Deceiver;[1]
And I congratulated myself that the Truth had gone with
me;

16 And I was established and lived and was redeemed;
Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 10. And my foundations were laid by the Lord;[2]
Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 6. For He planted me.

17 For He set the root:
Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 6. And watered it and fixed it and blessed it:
And its fruits will be for ever.

18 It struck deep and sprang up and spread wide,
And it was full and was enlarged.

19 And the Lord alone was glorified,
Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 10. In His planting and His husbandry:[3]

20 In His care and in the blessing of His lips;
In the beautiful planting of His right hand.

21 And in the splendour[4] of His planting,
And in the thought of His mind.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. In the text we have punctuated the word ܒܪܝ̈ܐ 'waves', but it might be read as ܒܪ̈ܝ 'valleys', 'ridges', 'reefs', 'ledges', 'cliffs', which gives a sense more in harmony with the rest of the Ode in which land is intended.

As for the word ܚܨܐ, erroneously translated in the *editio princeps*, it is certain that it must be pointed and translated 'Haven'.

[1] B, Deceivers.
[2] *Lit.* On the hand of the Lord.
[3] *Or*, work.
[4] B and H discovery (*ex errore*).

v. 6. There is no need to change with Grimme ܟܗ into ܟܬ.

v. 8. Both manuscripts have ܐܠܡܘ̈ 'sweetness'. Not seeing how torments might be considered as sweetness of death we have changed in the text the word into ܐܠܡܘ̈ 'terror' and we have omitted to place in the foot-note the reading of the manuscripts. The former translations in following the order of words as found in the text were somewhat unintelligible: e. g.

> 'All the poisons of error and the plagues which are thought to be the sweetness of death.'

The translation which we have adopted above cannot do the slightest violence to the Syriac grammar, in which we are informed that the two terms of annexion are often separated (*Mingana's Gram.*, No. 420).

In view of the difficulty arising out of the former translations Barth suggested the change of ܐܠܝܢ̈ܐ ܕ into ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܕ. The change, apart from being too violent, cannot solve the problem of 'the torments of the sweetness of death'.

If we take ܐܠܡܘ̈ in the sense of 'juice of fruits, liquor', we may see in it an underlying Greek *οἰνόμελι* like the corresponding ܕܒܫܐ. This sense would be in harmony with the rest of the Ode which deals with intoxication.

'Plagues of death' may be considered as a Semitism for 'deadly plagues'.

v. 9. The first member of this verse ܕܡܚܒܠ ܠܫܚܬܐ ܕ offers some difficulty; it means evidently 'the destroyer of the corruption', because 'the corruptor of the corruption' has no meaning in itself. The author is, therefore, playing on the two different meanings of the verb 'to destroy' and 'to corrupt'. The idea of destroying corruption is expressed again in Ode xxxiii. 1.

Here also it would perhaps be better to punctuate ܠܫܚܠ 'of the corruptor' to make it conform with ܠܫܚܬ of the end of the verse, and with what we have suggested in our note to Ode xxxiii. 1. Consequently there is no need to change with Grimme the sentence of the manuscripts into ܕܡܚܒܠ ܠܫܚܬܐ ܕ.

v. 17. ܘܐܬܦܬܚ ܘ with *waw* of the manuscripts is better Syriac than ܐܬܦܬܚ ܘ suggested by Grimme.

Expository Notes.

This Ode from its first verse is full of difficulties and obscurities. The Odist ascends a chariot, called the Light of Truth, and the Truth guides him through various dangers, by land and by sea, to a haven of salvation. This Psalm of Truth now becomes a Psalm of Truth and Error; the contrary natures of the two are exhibited, and then, by a sudden personification, Truth and Error acquire human forms, and we have before us what looks like a pair of heretical teachers, whose wiles the Odist considers himself lucky to have escaped. Then the Ode ends with praise for the skilful culture of the great husbandman, whose plant the Odist confesses himself to be.

All of this is very difficult to explain; are we dealing with real experience, or is it allegory? Are they real heretics that are being denounced? One reason for thinking so lies in the fact that Ignatius of Antioch, in dealing with Antiochene and other contemporary heresy, uses language which is similar to that of the Odist: he says that these heretical teachers mingle error with truth, as poisoners or druggists put medicaments into honey-wine. See what has been said on this in the Introduction. Ignatius also calls these heretical teachers mad dogs who bite one unawares; and the Odist also says that they make men mad, and then the victims go about like mad ⌜men⌝ to hurt other people. Possibly the word 'dogs' has dropped from the text of the Ode at this point.

We have discussed elsewhere (see p. 148) the possibility that the chariot in verse 1 may really be a ship, perhaps a misunderstood ὄχημα of a Greek text. This would argue a Greek original for the Ode; but this evidence for Greek originals has been steadily growing less in the course of our study of the collection, and even ὄχημα might require an explanatory word. This particular Ode has a Greek word κίνδυνος transliterated in it, but the word occurs not uncommonly in Syriac writers. It is certainly curious that the word turns up again in the very next Ode!

The only clear references to the Scripture are the allusion to the 43rd Psalm in verse 1:

> 'Send out thy light and thy truth.
> Let them lead me and let them bring me;'

and the reference to the 107th Psalm:

'So he bringeth them to the haven where they would be.'

The suggestion was made by Professor Torrey of Yale that the words in the Ode

'*It became to me* a Haven of Salvation,'

were an Aramaic misunderstanding of 'brought me to the Haven'. If this could be established it would make the Scriptural parallel much closer.

If it were not for the fact that antiquity has been established for the Odes, both as regards individual compositions, and as a collection, we should have been tempted to regard this attack on the heretical teachers who make men mad, as a conventional Patristic attack on Mani and his followers the Manichaeans. Thus Eusebius (*Theophania*, Bk. IV, chap. 30) speaks of 'that *madman* of yesterday and of our own times, whose name became the titular badge of the Manichaean heresy'. And Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* vi. 19): 'Thou must hate all heretics, but especially him who even in name is a *maniac*, who arose lately under the emperor Probus.' Eusebius plays on the same note in his History.

However, it is clear from Ignatius that heretics had been classed with mad dogs from a very early time. Mani is only a belated illustration.

ODE XXXIX

1 Mighty rivers are[1] the power of the Lord; Cf. Amos v. 24 (Pesh.).
Which carry headlong
Those that despise Him:

2 And entangle their paths,
And sweep away their fords:[2]

3 And carry off their bodies
And destroy their souls.

[1] *Or*, (As) mighty rivers is.

[2] *Or*, ferries.

4 For they are more swift than lightning,[1]
And more rapid:

5 But those who cross them in faith
Shall not be moved;

6 And those who walk on them without blemish
Shall not be afraid.

7 For the sign in them is the Lord;
And the sign becomes the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord.

8 Put on, therefore, the name of the Most High and know Him:
And you shall cross without danger,
While the rivers shall be subject to you.

9 The Lord has bridged them by His word;
And He walked and crossed them on foot;

10 And His footsteps stand (firm) on the waters, and were not erased;
They are as a beam that is firmly fixed.[2]

11 And the waves were lifted up on this side and on that;
And the footsteps of our Lord Messiah stand (firm),

12 And are not obliterated,
And are not defaced.

13 And a way has been appointed for those who cross after Him,
And for those who agree to the course of His faith;
And who adore His name,

Hallelujah.

[1] B, lightnings.

[2] *Or*, fixed by Truth.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. By an oversight the text has been pointed ܡܚܠܡܝܢ ('They die headlong' or 'upside down'): but H has certainly pointed it ܡܚܠܡܝܢ 'they bring headlong'. We may compare the description of the torrent in Ode vi. 8 which 'carries ⌜away⌝ the temple'. So the meaning of the verse is according to the manuscript, as we have put in the translation 'they carry them (the despisers) headlong'.

Newbold reads ܣܢܝܠܐ for ܣܠܝܐ and translates 'mighty rivers are the powers of the Lord', which is possible.

Expository Notes.

In this Ode the writer speaks the experience of a traveller who is stopped on his way by the sudden rise of a rapid river, which becomes unfordable and is actually unbridged. The Lord, however, is as good as a ford or a bridge: his footprints are as secure to tread in, as if one had a firm beam on which to cross. The Ode is like a little sermon on the text, 'When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee' (Isa. xliii. 2). Or perhaps it is Psalm lxxvii. 19, 'thy way is in the sea and thy paths in deep waters and thy footprints are not known'.

The description of the Lord's walking on the waves reminds one of Galilee, but there are parallel expressions in the Old Testament.

We have suggested on the margin that the text of the Ode is under the influence of Amos v. 24 in the Syriac, the '*mighty* rivers' being parallel to the '*mighty* torrent of righteousness'.

ODE XL

1 As the honey distils from the comb of the bees,
And the milk flows from the woman that loves her children,
So also is my hope on thee, my God.

2 As the fountain gushes out its water,
So my heart gushes out the praise of the Lord,
And my lips utter praises to Him.

3 And my tongue is sweet in His intimate converse
And my limbs are made fat by the sweetness of His Odes.

4 And my face is glad with His exultation;
And my spirit exults in His love;
And my soul shines in Him;

5 And the fearful one shall confide in Him;
And redemption shall in Him stand assured;

6 And his gain is immortal life;
And those who participate in it are incorruptible.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 5. We have pointed ܐܸܫܠܳܐ ('fear confides in Him'), but the facsimile shows the vocalization ܐܳܫܠܳܐ 'the fearer', which gives the sense, 'the fearful one confides in Him', as we have translated. Bruston proposes to derive the verb ܫܪܠ from ܫܪܐ; this, however, is not very probable.

v. 6. ܘܡܫܘܬܗ 'and his gain' refers to ܐܳܫܠܳܐ of the preceding note. We may possibly read ܘܡܚܘܠܬܗ 'his inheritance'.

Expository Notes.

This beautiful Ode is altogether experimental: it is made up of milk and honey, of joy and gladness, of thanksgiving and the voice of melody. The writer admits that he is a shining soul; 'my soul shines in Him'.

It is not easy to find an underlying Biblical theme, if indeed one exists. In verse 3 (a missing verse recovered from the Nitrian Codex) is a sentence in which the Odist repeats, with variation, something he had said in the 20th Ode;

'Thou shalt be fat in the praise of His holiness.'

Here it is:

'My limbs are fat in the sweetness of His Odes.'

We showed above that in Ode xx there was a Biblical base in the 58th chapter of Isaiah. The same word for 'fat' is again used in the present Ode.

The Ode is also parallel in many of its expressions to the 21st Ode; here also we have the overflowing heart, the praising lips and heart, and the exultant face. The 21st and the 40th Odes might be hung up side by side.

ODE XLI

1 Let all[1] the Lord's bairns praise Him,
And let us[2] appropriate the truth of His faith.

2[a] And His children shall be acknowledged by Him;

2[b] Therefore let us sing in His love:

3 We live in the Lord by His grace;
And life we receive in His Messiah.

4 For a great day has shined upon us;
And marvellous is He who hath given us of His glory.

5 Let us, therefore, all of us unite together in the name of the Lord:
And let us honour Him in His goodness:

6 And let our faces shine in His light;
And let our hearts meditate in His love,
By night and by day.

7 Let us exult with the joy of the Lord.

[1] Let us (B). [2] Let them (H).

(Christ speaks.)

8 All those that see me will be astonished;
For from another race am I.

Prov. viii. 22 (Heb.). 9 For the Father of Truth remembered me;
He who possessed me from the beginning.

Cf. Prov. viii. 25 (LXX). 10 For his riches begat me,
And the thought of His heart:

(The Odist speaks.)

11 And His Word is with us in all our way,
The Saviour who makes alive and does not reject our souls:

Cf. Philip. ii. 8, 9. 12 The man who was humbled,
And was exalted by His own righteousness;

13 The Son of the Most High appeared
In the perfection of His Father;

14 And light dawned from the Word
Cf. John i. 1. That was beforetime in Him;

15 The Messiah is truly one;
Prov. viii. 23, 29. And He was known before the foundations of the world,
That He might save souls for ever by the truth of His name:

(Doxology.)

16 Let a new song arise to the Lord from them that love Him.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. We do not feel justified in adopting the readings ܢܫܚܢ or ܢܕܝܢ ('let them announce' or 'let them thank') suggested by Schulthess, for ܘܢܫܚܢ 'And let them receive'. In the following verse it is intimated that by receiving the truth of His faith the sons of God will be recognized by Him.

v. 4. Strictly speaking the verb ܐܬܝ means 'it shone' or '(He) made to shine'. In the first sense the subject would be 'a great day', and in the second 'the Lord'. Cf. xi. 14.

v. 15. Connolly has pointed out that the phrase ܥܡ ܡܝܡ ܠܐܥܒܕܐ ܕܚܕܬܐ is used in the New Testament Peshiṭta as a rendering of *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*. In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to know the precise epoch of the appearance of the Syriac word ܠܐܥܒܕܐ. Can we assert that the author of the Peshiṭta, an Edessenian, was the first writer who used it? From the fifth century onwards, possibly under the influence of the Peshiṭta, it is constantly found in genuine Syriac writings. We are also unable to say why it is used in the plural and why it is derived from the form *Af'el* of the verb. On the other hand, the expression ܐܐܥܒ ܥܠܐܫܐ 'he laid the foundations' of something, is of frequent use among Syrians, and appears to be original, although these same Syrians prefer the use of the verb ܣܡ to ܐܐܥܒ. The lexicographers explain the word as meaning the 'first stages', or 'strata' of the world; hence, they say, is the reason it is used in the plural. In the West Syrian breviary, and in some writers of lower date, ܠܐܥܒܕܐ is simply used to mean 'creation' and is almost synonymous with ܒܪܝܬܐ; the word has even given birth to the expression ܪܫ ܠܐܥܒܕܐ 'the beginning of the creation'. Whether it was the author of the Peshiṭta who derived this word from the author of the Odes, or the Odist from the Peshiṭta, it is difficult to decide, until the history of both is, through other channels, more fully established. It might even be a fortuitous encounter in a commonplace expression employed in Edessa from the first to the fifth century. (Cf. above, pp. 95 and 122.)

Expository Notes.

In this Ode, Christ is the speaker alternately with the poet. At the eighth verse we recognize the familiar strain, 'all that see me will be

astonished'. We must compare the words of Christ in Ode xvii and in Ode xxviii. The origin of the repeated expression is probably Psalm lxx. (lxxi.) 7:

ὡσεὶ τέρας ἐγενήθην τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Ode xvii helps us to understand the next clause; the sentences are parallel.

Ode xvii. 6.	Ode xli. 8.
'All that saw me were amazed: And I was regarded by them as a strange person.'	'All those that see me will be astonished; For from another race am I.'

Thus the stranger (ܕܚܫܝܠ) is the same as the person from another race (ܕܥܡ ܓܢܣܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ). It refers to Christ, and not to the Odist, conceived of as a proselyte of the gate who has joined the Jewish or Judaeo-Christian community. It is the same statement which Christ makes in Ode xxviii that 'I was not their brother, nor my birth like theirs'. It is an intimation of the Miraculous Birth and Origin.

That is the reason why the Odist (verses 9, 15) now reverts to the eighth chapter of Proverbs, and to the Birth of the Divine Wisdom, for Christ is the Wisdom of God.

At the eleventh verse the Odist takes up the reference to the Word of God, and explains that He was truly of one nature with the Father, unique in Himself and one with God, and that he pre-existed before the foundation of the world. The statement that 'the Christ is truly one', is quoted and dilated on by Ignatius in his epistle to the Magnesians, as we have shown in the Introduction.

In the same verse we have a Targumism for 'God is with us in all our way'. Cf. the Targum on Gen. xxxv. 3, where Jacob says: 'His Word . . . was with me for my help in the way that I went.'

There is a Semitic turn of speech in verse 6, 'Let our faces shine by His shining'. In the same verse there is an adaptation of a verse in the first Psalm:

'And in His law he will meditate day and night;'

for which the Odist suggests

'Let our hearts meditate in His love by night and by day.'

Cf. the Syriac of the two sentences:

Psalm i. 2. ܐܠܐ ܒܢܡܘܣܝ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܘܒܢܡܘܣܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܓܐ ܒܠܝܠܝ ܘܒܝܘܡܡܐ

Ode xli. 7. ܘܐܬܝ ܒܢܡܘܣܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܗܓܐ ܒܠܝܠܝ ܘܒܝܘܡܡܐ ܕܐܠܐ ܒܢܡܘܣܝ ܕܡܪܝܐ

The coincidence is striking between the two texts; and we may possibly be justified in inferring an actual dependence of the Ode upon the *Syriac* Psalm, though the translation is a natural one and the ideas are simple. But it is interesting to note the substitution of Love for Law by the Odist. We had already shown his acquaintance with the first Psalm in our notes on the first Ode. The 41st Ode now reinforces the conclusion.

The Odist never mentions the Law, and here we see that he substitutes for it as well as avoids it. This single consideration is of such weight that we may be sure *he is neither a Jew nor a Jewish proselyte.*

There is a coincidence in the second verse with the Psalter of Solomon, which, perhaps, is more than accidental. In Ps. Sol. xvii. 30 we have:

'For he knoweth them that they are all the children of God;'

and when we compare this with Ode xli: 'All the Lord's children will praise Him. . . . . *And His children shall be known to Him*', we have a close agreement which suggests that the Odist has been using the Psalter of Solomon as he uses the Psalter of David. Or it may be that both writers are working on some unrecognized Old Testament quotation.

ODE XLII

1 I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord;
For the stretching out of my hands is His sign;

2 And my expansion is the outspread wood[1]
That was set up on the way of the Righteous One.

(Christ speaks.)

3 And I became of no use to those who knew me:
For I shall hide myself from those who did not take hold of me:

[1] *Or*, tree.

4 But I will be with those
Who love me.

5 All my persecutors have died;
And they sought after me who proclaimed about me[1];
Because I am alive.

6 And I rose up and am with them;
And I will speak by their mouths.

7[a] For they have despised those who persecute them.

7[b] And I threw over them the yoke of my love:

8 Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride,
So is my yoke over those that know me.

9 And as the couch that is spread in the chambers of the bridegroom and the bride,
So is my love over those that believe in me.

10 I was not rejected, though I was reckoned to be so;
And I did not perish though they thought it of me.

11 Sheol saw me and was in distress;
Death cast me up and many along with me:

Isa. xiv. 9, and Euseb. *H. E.* (x.'8).

12 I have been gall and bitterness to it,
And I went down with it to the extreme of its depth.

13 And the feet and the head it let go,
For it was[2] not able to endure my face:

[1] *Or*, set their hope on me.

[2] they were (H).

14 And I made a congregation of living men amongst his dead men;
And I spake with them by living lips:
In order that my word may not be void.

15 And those who had died ran towards me;
And they cried and said, Son of God, have pity on us;

16 And do with us according to thy kindness;
And bring us out from the bonds of darkness:

17 And open to us the door
By which we shall come out to thee;
For we perceive that our death does not touch thee.

18 Let us also be saved with thee;
For thou art our Saviour.

19 And I heard their voice,
And I laid up their faith in my heart;

20 And I set my name upon their heads:
For they are free men and they are mine.
Hallelujah.

Critical Notes.

v. 1. For ܐܬܩܕܫ Gunkel proposes ܐܬܩܕܫ 'I was sanctified'. This change would not be in harmony with the particle ܕ which follows the verb: it is also a violent change which does not commend itself, although corroborated by a reference to Ode xxvii. 1. Labourt's opinion that ܐܬܩܕܫ means in Syriac 'j'ai sacrifié' is not probable.

v. 2. Gunkel proposes ܕܦܫܩܬܐ 'and the expansion of' instead of ܕܦܫܩܬܝ 'my expansion' of the manuscripts, and translates 'und das Ausstrecken des ausgestreckten Holzes, an dem der Aufgerichtete am

Wege hing'. Labourt accepts Gunkel's theory and would have us, therefore, change the text of the second line into what he calls 'corrections excellentes'. These corrections would give us a text

ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܕܐܬܠܐ ܥܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܫܘܛܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܝ ܕܬܐ ܘܐܬܠܐ ܥܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܫܘܛܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܝ ܕܬܐ

'l'extension du bois étendu, où (sic) a été pendu, sur la route, le Juste'. The Syriac so constituted is exceedingly weak, and even faulty. In the parallel Ode xxvii, the word occurs as 'my expansion', and we do not see any obvious reason to depart from the reading of the manuscripts. It is said in the first verse, 'I expanded my hands' (ܫܓܝܬ) and ܫܓܝܬܝ of the second verse is, therefore, a continuation of the same idea. This is common to both Odes. Both Odes also agree to the fact that this 'expansion of hands is the sign' (of the Lord); but instead of ܫܓܝ both use ܨܠܝܒ, which is almost synonymous with it. Both Odes harmonize in their statement that this 'expansion of hands' is a 'straight' or 'extended' wood; but the word used to express 'straight' or 'extended' is ܫܓܝܐ in Ode xlii, and ܙܕܝܩܐ in Ode xxvii. That in Ode xxvii we cannot take ܙܕܝܩܐ as a substantive and translate 'of the Just' is shown by its contracted masculine form, which cannot suffer a modification in its adjectival sense; there is little doubt, therefore, that ܫܓܝܐ of Ode xlii refers also to 'wood'. The utmost we could linguistically say is that 'my expansion' is a sign of the 'straight' or 'extended' wood; supposing that the word ܥܠ has been omitted, as its repetition may have been considered useless; the text then would have been:

ܐܡܬ ܕܨܠܝܒ ܐܝܕܝ ܕܫܓܝܬ ܐܝܕܝ ܗܝ ܕܬܐ
ܘܫܓܝܬܝ ܥܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܫܘܛܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܝ ܕܬܐ

'Because the expansion of my hands is His sign,
and my outstretching is (the sign of) the extended wood.'

Ode xxvii ends here; Ode xlii tells that this 'straight' or 'extended' wood has been 'erected', or 'hung up' in the way of the 'Righteous One'. Here the word is used in its emphatic and not contracted form.

We could, however, take ܙܕܝܩܐ as a contracted feminine adjective, referring to ܐܘܪܚܗ 'His way', i. e. the way of the Lord. On this hypothesis the sense would be: 'And my expansion is the extended (or straight) wood, which has been hung up on *His* straight way'. This is the utmost meaning that the Syriac wording can give.

The reading adopted by Grimme ܚܕܘܗܝ for ܚܕ is improbable.

v. 9. Labourt's suggestion that ܚܠܣܐ 'sleeping-room of a newly married couple' should be read ܚܠܣܐ 'the house of the bridegroom' is not necessary.

v. 12. Grimme proposes the plausible emendation of ܕܗ into ܕܐ, thus referring the pronoun to *Sheol* of verse 11.

Expository Notes.

This closing Ode of the collection describes the Descent of Christ into Hades, and the release of souls there bound and imprisoned. Prefixed to this is a short introduction coinciding closely with the 27th Ode, and this is followed by a meditation of the Risen Christ over His own triumph and a declaration of His love as the Bridegroom towards His bride. We need not suppose that the earlier sentences are an addition, nor remove them as a repetition. The Odist habitually repeats himself; and in the present case we can find the motive for the repetition. The writer is working on the 88th Psalm as a description of the descent into Hades, and in this very Psalm stand the sentences:

'I cried unto thee, O Lord, all day long,
I spread out my hands.'

We compare:

Ode xlii. 1. ܐܬܝ ܗܘ ܕܐܫܬܚܬ ܒܗ ܐܝܕܝ ܘܐܬܝ ܠܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܝ

Psalm lxxxvii. (lxxxviii.) 10. ܐܬܝ ܒܟ ܐܝܕܝ ܘܐܬܝ ܠܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܝ

After this preliminary explanation of his outspread hands, the Odist plunges at once into the Hades theme, in the words

'I became of no use to my acquaintance.'

He is working on the sixth verse of the Psalm, which appears in the LXX as:

ἐγενήθην ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀβοήθητος,

with a side-light from verse 9:

ἐμάκρυνας γνωστούς μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ.

The Syriac of the Psalm which answers to ἀβοήθητος is ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܕܪܐ, and the Syriac of the Ode is ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܥܕܪܐ. The Syriac of the Psalm is nearly a transliteration of the Hebrew: the sentiment is the same. Now we have

the key in the lock. The previous clause in the Psalm declares that 'I am reckoned with them that go down into the pit'; this is a theme that frequently recurs in the Odes, where Christ is speaking: it is in the tenth verse of this Ode in the form:

'I was not rejected though *I was reckoned to be so*:
I did not perish though *they thought it* of me.'

The verse in the Psalm (verse 6), which says:

'Thou hast laid me *in the lowest pit*,
In darkness, *in the deep*,'

is responsible for verse 12 of the Ode:

'I went down with him (Sheol) into the *extreme of its depth*.'

With this Psalm the Odist has also used a sentence from Isaiah, describing the descent of the Morning Star into Hades, which says in the English Version:

'Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming,

but which appears in the LXX and in the Syriac as:

'Hades is *embittered* at thy descent,' (πικραίνεται);

which leads the Odist to say:

'I have been *gall and bitterness to him*.'

In the Psalm again the Odist found the words 'Free among the dead', perplexing words which the Early Church interpreted of Christ, and these words are at the back of the Odist's statements:

'A congregation of living men *amongst his dead men*:
They are free men, they are mine.'

We have shown in the Introduction that this Ode is quoted by Eusebius and by Cyril of Jerusalem, and it is also responsible for some sentences in the *Acts of Thomas*. We translate the passage from the Greek and the Syriac for purposes of comparison. One sentence of the Greek *Acts of Thomas* was quoted in the second edition as a possible parallel, viz. the words

οὗ τὴν θέαν οὐκ ἤνεγκαν οἱ τοῦ θανάτου ἄρχοντες,

but the passage is of wider interest:

(Syr.) 'Thou didst descend into Sheol with mighty power, and the dead saw thee and became alive, and *the lord of death was not able*

to bear it; and thou didst ascend with great glory, and didst take up with thee all who sought refuge with Thee.' (ܥܡܗ.)

(Greek) 'Thou didst descend into Hades with mighty power, thou *whose sight the lords of death could not bear*, and gathering together (συναγαγών) all that fled to thee for refuge (τοὺς εἰς σὲ καταφυγόντας) thou didst prepare the way.'

The Syriac depends altogether on the Ode, and the Greek depends on the Syriac; there is one word in the Greek (συναγαγών) which may, perhaps, be claimed as an independent loan from the Odes, for in verse 15 Christ speaks of making a '*congregation* of living men among the dead'. Otherwise the Greek is a working over of the Syriac, as the Syriac Acts are of the Odes. 'Those who *sought refuge* with Thee' is derived from 'Those who had died *ran to me*'. Perhaps the Syriac Acts have dropped the word 'gather', and we should read 'Thou didst gather and take up', &c. Evidently the Acts of Thomas have used the 42nd Ode.

Ephrem also has used it freely in his descriptions of the *Descent into Hades* in the *Carmina Nisibena*. See especially for 'Sheol made sad':

'The Virgin in her bringing forth He made glad; but Sheol he grieved and made sad (ܐܚܕ ܫܐܘܠ) in His resurrection.

Sheol was made sorrowful (ܐܬܚܕ) when she saw them, even the sorrowful dead, made to rejoice'.—*Carm. Nisib.* 27. 4, 6.

In the *Breviarium Chaldaicum* (ii. p. ܥܘ) we find a similar strain to the language of the Odes:

'O Living One, who wentest down to the abode of the dead, and didst announce a good message to the souls who were bound (ܐܣܬܝ) in Sheol.'

Similar sentences are found in the *Missale Syr. Orient.* (Mosul, 1901), p. ܟܒ, &c.

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON

PSALM XLIII

Psalms of Solomon I.

(1) I cried unto the Lord when I was in affliction at my end; and to God when sinners set upon me: (2) for suddenly there was heard before me the sound of war: for He will hear me because I am filled with righteousness. (3) And I reckoned in my heart that I was filled with righteousness; in the day that I became rich and was with the multitude of (my) children. (4) Their wealth, however, has been given to the whole earth: and their glory as far as the ends of the earth. (5) And they were lifted high as the stars: and they said (6) that they will not fall, and they were insolent in their good things, and they spake without knowledge. (7) For their sins were in secret and I knew them not: (8) and their wickedness had exceeded that of the nations that had been before them: and they defiled the sanctuary of the Lord with pollution.

PSALM XLIV

Psalms of Solomon II.

(1) In the insolence of the sinful man, he cast down with battering rams[1] the strong walls, and thou didst not restrain him. (2) And the Gentile foreigners went up on thy altar, and were

[1] *Lit.* great beams.

trampling on it with their shoes in their insolence. (3) For the children of Jerusalem had polluted the Holy House of the Lord: and they were profaning the offerings to God[1] with wickedness.

(4) Wherefore He said, Remove them, cast them away from me. And He did not establish with them the beauty of His glory; (5) it was rejected before the Lord: and it was utterly torn in pieces. (6) Her sons and her daughters were in bitter captivity, and on their neck was put the sealed yoke of the Gentiles: (7) According to their sins so He dealt with them: for He suffered them to pass into the hand of him that was stronger than they. (8) For He turned away His face from His mercy: young men and old men and their children together; (9) because they also had worked evil together, that they might not hearken unto me. (10) And the heaven was mightily angered, and the earth rejected them: (11) because none in (the earth) had done therein like their doings; (12) and that the earth may know all thy righteous judgements, O God. (13) They set up the sons of Jerusalem for mockery within her, in the place of harlots; and every one that transgressed[2] was transgressing as if before the sun: while they made sport in their villainies as they were used to do. (14) In the face of the sun they made show of their villainies. And the daughters of Jerusalem were polluted according to thy judgements; (15) for they had polluted themselves in lustful intercourse. My belly and my bowels are in pain over these things. (16) But I will justify thee, O Lord, in the uprightness of my heart; because in thy judgements is thy righteousness, O God. (17) For thou dost reward sinful men according to their deeds: and according to their wicked and bitter sins. (18) Thou didst disclose

[1] *Lit.* of God. [2] *Or*, passed by.

their sins, in order that thy judgement might be known. (19) And Thou didst not blot out their remembrance from the earth. God is a judge and righteous, and accepteth no man's person. (20) For the Gentiles reproached Jerusalem in their wickedness, and her beauty was cut off from the throne of His[1] glory. (21) And she was covered with sackcloth instead of beauteous raiment: and there was a rope on her head instead of a crown. (22) She cast off from her the dazzling[2] glory which God had put upon her; (23) and in contempt her beauty was cast away on the ground. (24) And I beheld and I besought the face of the Lord, and I said, Enough! Thou hast made Thy hand heavy, O Lord, upon Israel, by the bringing in of the Gentiles; (25) for they have mocked and not pitied, in anger; (26) and in reproach they are consumed, unless thou, O Lord, shalt restrain them in thy wrath. (27) For it is not in zeal that they did (this), but in the lust of the soul: (28) That they might pour out their wrath upon us in plundering us. But thou, O Lord, delay not to recompense them upon their own heads; (29) to cast[3] down the pride of the dragon to contempt. (30) And I delayed not until the Lord showed me his insolence smitten on the mountains of Egypt: and despised more than him that is least (honoured) on land and sea: (31) and his body coming on the waves in much contempt, and none to bury (him). (32) Because he had rejected Him with scorn, for he did not consider that he is a man. And the end he did not regard. (33) For he said, I will be the Lord of land and sea: and he knew not that the Lord is God, great, mighty, and powerful, (34) and He is King over Heaven and over Earth: and He judges

[1] Greek, her. [2] Greek, 'her diadem of glory'.
[3] Cod. B, 'to speak', in agreement with the corrupt Greek.

kingdoms and princes, (35) He who raiseth me up in glory and layeth low[1] the proud for destruction, not for a time but for ever, in contempt; because they knew Him not.

(36) And now behold, ye great ones of the earth, the judgement of the Lord, for He is a righteous King, and judges what is under the whole Heaven. (37) Bless ye the Lord, ye who fear the Lord reverently; for the mercies of the Lord are on them that fear Him with judgement, (38) to separate between the righteous and the sinful, and to reward the sinful for ever according to their deeds— (39) and to be gracious to the righteous after their oppression by sinners: and to reward the sinful for what he has done to the righteous: (40) because the Lord is kind to those that call upon Him in patience, to do according to His mercy to His saints: so as to stand before Him at all times in strength. (41) Blessed is the Lord for ever by His servants.

PSALM XLV

Psalms of Solomon III.

(1) Why sleepest thou, my soul, and dost not bless the Lord? (2) Sing a new song to God and keep vigil in His watch. For a Psalm is good (to sing) to God out of a good heart. (3) The righteous will ever make mention of the Lord: in confession and in righteousness are the judgements of the Lord. (4) The righteous will never neglect[2] when he is chastened by the Lord: because his will is always before the Lord. (5) The righteous stumbles and justifies God: he falls and I wait[3] what the Lord will do to him.

[1] Greek *κοιμίζων* and so Syriac.
[2] Greek *ὀλιγωρήσει*: cf. Prov. iii. 11, Heb. xii. 5.
[3] Read, 'and he waits'.

(6) And he looks to see from whence his salvation comes. (7) The stability of the righteous is from God their Saviour: for in the house of the righteous there does not lodge sin upon sin; (8) because he always visits the house of the righteous to remove the sins of his transgressions. (9) And he delivers his soul, in whatever he has sinned without knowledge, by fasting and humiliation; (10) and the Lord purifies every holy man and his house. (11) But the sinner stumbleth and curseth his own life, and the day in which he was born: and the birth-pangs of his mother; (12) and he adds sin upon sin to his life: (13) he falls, and because his fall is grievous, he rises not again: for the destruction of the sinner is for ever. (14) And he will not remember Him when He visits the righteous. (15) This is the portion of sinners for ever. (16) But those who fear the Lord shall rise to eternal life: and their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and (their life) shall not fail any more. (Hallelujah).[1]

PSALM XLVI (XLVII)

Psalms of Solomon IV.

(1) Why sittest thou, O wicked man, in the congregation of the righteous, and thy heart is far removed from God; and by thy wickedness thou provokest to anger the God of Israel, (2) exceedingly by thy words and exceedingly by thy outward signs more than all men? He who is severe in his words in his condemnation of sinners in judgement, (3) and his hand is the first to be on him, as though (he acted) in zeal: and he is guilty himself of all kinds

[1] This is an addition by the scribe under the influence of the Odes of Solomon which he has been copying.

of sinful crimes. (4) His eyes are on every woman immodestly and his tongue lies when he answers with oaths. (5) In the night and in the darkness as if he were not seen; by his eyes he talketh with every woman in the cunning of wickedness: (6) and he is quick to go into every house with joy as if he had no wickedness. (7) God shall move those who judge with respect of persons: but He lives with the upright, in the corruption of his body and in the poverty of his life. (8) God will disclose the deeds of those who are men-pleasers: in scorn and derision are his works. (9) And let the saints justify the judgement of their God, when the wicked shall be removed from before the righteous. (10) The accepter of persons who talks law with guile, (11) and his eyes are on a house, quietly like a serpent, to dispel the wisdom of each one by words of villainy: (12) his words are with an evil intent, with a view to the working of the lust of wickedness: (13) and he does not remove until he has scattered in bereavement, and has desolated the house because of his sinful lust: (14) and he supposes in his words that there is none that sees and judges: (15) and he is filled with this sinfulness; and his eyes are on another house to devastate it with words of prodigality; and his soul is, like Sheol, never satisfied. (16) For all these things, let ' his portion ' O Lord, be before thee in dishonour; let his going out be with groans and his coming in with curses: (17) in pains, and in poverty, and in destitution, O Lord, let his life be: let his sleep be in anguish, and his waking in vexation: (18) let sleep be removed from his eyelids by night: let him fall from every work of his hands in dishonour, (19) and let him enter his house empty-handed, and let his house be destitute of everything that can satisfy his soul: (20) and from his offspring let not one draw near unto

him: (21) let the flesh of the hypocrites be scattered by wild beasts: and the bones of the wicked (lie) before the sun in dishonour: (22) let the raven pick out the eyes of those who are men-pleasers. (23) Because they have laid waste many houses of men in dishonour: and have scattered them in lust: (24) and they remembered not God; nor feared God in all these things; (25) and they provoked God, and He was angered to destroy them from the earth: because with crafty intent they had played the hypocrite with innocent souls. (26) Blessed are they that fear the Lord in their innocency: (27) and the Lord will save them from all the cunning and wicked men; and he will redeem us from every stumbling-block of the wicked. (28) God has destroyed all them that work fraud with pride,[1] for a strong judge is the Lord our God in righteousness. (29) Let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all them that love thee.

PSALM XLVII (XLVIII)

Psalms of Solomon V.

(1) O Lord my God, I will praise thy name with exultation, amongst those that know thy righteous judgements. (2) For thou art gracious and merciful, and the place of refuge of the poor. (3) When I cry unto thee, be not thou silent unto me. (4) For one does not take spoil from the strong man. (5) Or who will take aught from what thou hast made unless thou give it to him? (6) Because he is man, and his portion is before thee in the balance: and he shall not add aught to better it apart from thy judgement, O God. (7) In our afflictions, we call thee to our help: and thou hast not turned away our petition: for thou art our

[1] *Lit.* excess.

God. (8) Delay not thou thy hand from us lest we be strengthened to sin: (9) and turn not away thy face from us, lest we remove away from thee: and to thee we will come: (10) for if I should be hungry, O Lord, unto thee will I cry, O God: and thou wilt bestow. (11) For the fowl and the fish thou dost feed. When thou givest rain in the desert to cause the grass to spring up, (12) to prepare food in the wilderness for every living thing, and if they shall be hungry, unto thee will they lift up their faces: (13) kings and rulers and peoples thou dost provide for, O God: and the hope of the poor and the miserable, who is it except thyself, O Lord? (14) And thou wilt answer him because thou art kind and gentle: and his soul shall be satisfied when thou openest thy hand in mercy: (15) for the kindness of a man is with parsimony, to-day and to-morrow; and if it should be that he repeats his gift and does not grumble, he is wonderful. (16) But thy bounty is plenteous in kindness and in wealth; and there is no expectation towards thee that He will be sparing in gifts.[1] (17) For over all the earth is thy mercy, O Lord, in kindness. (18) Blessed is the man whom the Lord shall remember in poverty: for that a man should exceed his measure (means that) he will sin. (19) Sufficient is a low estate with righteousness[2] (20) For those that fear the Lord are pleased with good things: and thy grace is on Israel in thy kingdom. (21) Blessed be the glory of the Lord, for He is our King.

[1] The Greek has been misread.

[2] The Syriac has omitted a sentence of the Greek by a common transcriptional error. Add: 'And herein is the blessing of the Lord, that a man be satisfied in righteousness'.

PSALM XLVIII (XLIX)

Psalms of Solomon VI.

(1) Blessed is the man whose heart is prepared to call upon the name of the Lord: (2) and when he shall remember the name of the Lord, he will be saved. (3) His ways are directed from before the Lord: and the works of his hands are preserved by his God. (4) And 'in' the evil vision of the night his soul shall not be moved: because he is His: (5) and his soul shall not be affrighted in the passing through the rivers and in the tumult of the seas. (6) For he rose from his sleep and praised the name of the Lord: (7) and in the quietness of his heart he praised the name of the Lord and he made request from the face of the Lord concerning all his house. (8) And the Lord hears the prayer of every one that is in His fear, and every petition of the soul that trusts in Him; and the Lord fulfils it. (9) Blessed is He who doeth mercy upon them that love Him in truth.

PSALM XLIX (L)

Psalms of Solomon VII.

(1) Remove not thy tabernacle from us, O God, lest those rise up against us who hated us without a cause: (2) for thou hast put them away, O God, that their foot may not tread the inheritance of thy sanctuary. (3) Thou in thy good pleasure chasten me, and deliver us not over to the Gentiles. (4) For if thou shouldest send death, it is thou who givest it command against us: (5) for thou art the merciful one, and wilt not be angry so as to consume us utterly. (6) For because of thy name that encamps amongst us, mercies shall be upon us: and the Gentiles shall not be able to prevail against us. (7) For thou art our strength: we will call upon thee and thou wilt answer us: (8) for thou wilt be gracious

to the seed of Israel for ever, and thou wilt not forget him.[1] (9) Establish us in the time of thy help to show favour to the house of Jacob in the day that is prepared for them.

PSALM L (LI)

Psalms of Solomon VIII.

(1) Distress and the sound of war mine ears have heard, the sound of the trumpet and the noise of slaughter and destruction: (2) the sound of much people like a mighty and frequent wind: like the tempest of fire which comes[2] over the wilderness. (3) And I said to my heart: Where will [God] judge him? (4) And I heard a sound in Jerusalem the Holy City. (5) The bonds of my loins were loosed at the report[3] (6) and my knees trembled and my bones were moved like flax. (7) And I said, they will make straight paths in righteousness, and I remembered the judgements of the Lord, from the creation of the heaven and the earth: and I justified God in all his judgements from the beginning.[4] (8) But God lay bare their sins before the sun: and to all the earth were known the righteous judgements of the Lord. (9) For in the secret places of the earth were they doing evil; (10) the son had connexion with the mother and the father with the daughters: (11) and all of them committed adultery with their neighbours' wives: and they made them solemn covenants among themselves concerning these things: (12) they were plundering the Holy House of God, as if there were none to inherit and to deliver. (13) And they were treading His sanctuary in all their pollutions,

[1] The Syriac has dropped the sentence: 'And we are under thy yoke for ever, and under the scourge of thy chastening'.

[2] The second *Alaph* in the text should be *Taw*.

[3] Greek adds: 'and my heart was afraid'.

[4] *Lit.* from eternity.

and in the time[1] of their separation they polluted the sacrifices, as common meat: (14) and they left no sins which they did not commit, and even worse than the Gentiles. (15) For this cause God mingled for them a spirit of error, and caused them to drink an unmixed cup[2] of drunkenness: (16) He brought him from the other side of the world, the one that afflicts grievously: (17) and he decrees war against Jerusalem and against her land: (18) and the judges of the land met him with joy: and they said to him: Thy path shall be ordered, come, enter in peace. (19) They levelled the rough paths[3] for his entering: they opened the doors against Jerusalem: and they crowned her walls. (20) And he entered like a father into the house of his children in peace: and he set his feet 'there' in great firmness: (21) and they took possession of the towers and walls of Jerusalem. (22) For God brought him in assurance against their error. (23) And they destroyed their princes, because he was cunning in counsel: and they poured out the blood of the dwellers in Jerusalem like the water of uncleanness: (24) and he carried off their sons and their daughters, who had been (born) in pollution, (25) and had wrought their pollution even as also their fathers had done. (26) And Jerusalem defiled even those things that were consecrated to the name of God: (27) and God was justified in his judgements upon the nations of the earth, (28) and the saints of God were as innocent lambs in their midst. (29) God is to be praised who judges all the earth in His righteousness. (30) Behold, O God, thou hast shown us 'thy judgement'[4] in thy righteousness, (31) and our eyes have seen thy judgements, O God; and we have justified thy name that is honoured for ever.[5]

[1] *Lit.* blood. [2] *Lit.* a living cup (i.e. a cup of strong wine).
[3] *Lit.* paths of salvation. [4] Cod. *om.*
[5] Correct the punctuation of the first word.

(32) For thou art a God of righteousness: who judgest Israel with chastening. (33) Turn thy mercy towards us and be gracious to us: (34) and gather the dispersion of Israel, in mercy and in kindness: (35) for thy faithfulness is with us: and we are stiff-necked and thou art our chastener: (36) do not desert us, O our God! lest the Gentiles should swallow us up, as though there were none to deliver: (37) and thou art our God from the beginning, and upon thee is our hope, O Lord: (38) and we will not depart from thee, for thy judgements are good; (39) and upon us and upon our children is thy good will for ever, O Lord God, Our Saviour, and we will not be shaken again for ever. (40) The Lord is to be praised for His judgements by the mouth of His saints: (41) and blessed is Israel from the Lord for evermore.

PSALM LI (LII)

Psalms of Solomon IX.

(1) When Israel went forth into captivity to a strange land, because they departed from the Lord their Saviour: (2) then were they cast out from the inheritance that God gave them: amongst all the Gentiles was the dispersion of Israel according to the word of God, (3) that thou mightest be justified, O God, in thy righteousness over our wickedness: (4) for thou art a just judge over all the peoples of the earth. (5) For there will not be hidden from thy knowledge any one who doeth wickedness: (6) and the righteousness of thy upright ones, O Lord, is before thee. And where shall a man be hidden from thy knowledge, O God? (7) For we work by freewill and the choice of our own souls to do either

good or evil by the work of our hands: (8) and in thy righteousness thou dost visit the children of men. (9) For he who does righteousness lays up a treasure of life with the Lord: and he who does wickedness incurs judgement upon his soul in perdition.

(10) For His judgements are in righteousness upon every man and his house. (11) For with whom will the Lord deal graciously unless with them that call upon the Lord? (12) For he purifies the sins of the soul by confession, (13) because shame is on us and our faces because of all these things. (14) For to whom will He remit sins except to those that have sinned? (15) For the righteous thou dost bless, and dost not reprove them for any of their sins; for thy grace is on those that have sinned when they have repented. (16) And now, thou art our God, and we are thy people whom thou hast loved: behold, and have mercy, O God of Israel; for thine we are: remove not thy compassions from us, lest the Gentiles should set upon us; (17) for thou hast chosen the seed of Abraham rather than all the Gentiles, (18) and thou hast put on us thy Name, O Lord: and thou wilt not remove for ever. (19) Thou didst surely covenant with our Fathers concerning us; and we hope in thee in the repentance of our souls. (20) The mercies over the house of Israel are of the Lord now and evermore.

PSALM LII (LIII)

Psalms of Solomon X.

(1) Blessed is the man whom God remembered with reproof: and He has restrained from him the way of evil by stripes: so as to be purified from his sin, that it may not abound. (2) For he who prepares his loins for beating shall also be purified:

for He is good to those that receive chastening. (3) For the way of the righteous is straight, and chastisement does not turn it aside. (4) For the face[1] of the Lord is upon them that love Him in truth, and the Lord will remember His servants in mercy. (5) For the testimony is in the law of the everlasting covenant; the testimony of the Lord is in the ways of the children of men, by 'His' visitations. (6) Righteous and upright is our God in all His judgements, and Israel will praise the Name of the Lord with joy. (7) And the saints shall give thanks in the congregation of the People: and on the poor the Lord will have mercy in the gladness of Israel. (8) For the Lord is kind and merciful for ever: and the congregations of Israel shall praise the Name of the Lord. (9) For of the Lord is the salvation upon the house of Israel, unto the everlasting kingdom.[2]

PSALM LIII (LIV)

Psalms of Solomon XI.

(1) Blow ye 'the trumpet' in Zion, the well-known trumpet of the saints: (2) proclaim in Jerusalem the voice of the heralds, because God is merciful to Israel in His visitation. (3) Stand up on high[3] Jerusalem, and behold thy children, who are all being gathered from the east and the west by the Lord: (4) and from the north they come to the joy of their God: and from the far-away islands God gathered them. (5) Lofty mountains has He humbled and made plain before them: and the hills fled away before their entrance: (6) the cedars[4] He caused to shelter them as they passed

[1] Greek, mercy.
[2] Greek, everlasting gladness (εὐφροσύνη).
[3] Baruch v. 5–8.
[4] Greek, the groves.

by: and every tree of sweet odour God made to breathe[1] upon them: (7) in order that Israel might pass by in the visitation of the glory of their God. (8) O Jerusalem, put on the garments of thy glory; and make ready thy robe of holiness. For God has spoken good things to Israel now and ever. (9) May the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel: and concerning Jerusalem: may the Lord raise up Israel in the name of His glory. May the mercies of the Lord be upon Israel now and evermore.

PSALM LIV (LV)

Psalms of Solomon XII.

(1) O Lord, save my soul from the perverse and wicked man, and from the whispering and transgressing tongue, that spake lies and deceit. (2) For in the (cunning) response of his words is the tongue of the transgressor[2] of the law: for he shows like one whose deeds are fair, and kindles fire among the people. (3) For his sojourning is to fill[3] (set fire to) houses by his lying talk: cutting down the trees of his delight with the flame of his tongue[4] that does lawlessly. (4) He has destroyed the houses of the transgressors by war: and the slandering[5] lips God has removed from the innocent, the lips of the transgressors: and the bones of the slanderer shall be scattered far from those who fear the Lord. (5) By flaming fire will be destroyed the slanderous tongue from

[1] Greek 'caused to rise'. Corr. the *Yodh* of the Syriac note to *Vun*.
[2] The Greek of this passage is obscure.
[3] The translator reads ἐμπλῆσαι for ἐμπρῆσαι.
[4] Cod. *om.* [5] *Lit.* whispering.

among the upright, and their houses. (6) And the Lord shall preserve[1] the soul of the righteous which hateth them that are evil; and the Lord shall establish the man that makes peace in the house of the Lord. (7) Of the Lord is salvation upon Israel his servant for ever: (8) and the sinners shall perish together from before the face of the Lord: and the saints of the Lord shall inherit the promises of the Lord.

PSALM LV (LVI)

Psalms of Solomon XIII.

(1) The right hand of the Lord has covered us: the right hand of the Lord has spared us: (2) and the arm of the Lord has saved me from the spear that goes through and through, and from famine, and the pestilence of sinners. (3) Evil beasts ran upon them: and with their teeth were tearing their flesh; and with their jaw-teeth[2] were breaking their bones. But us the Lord has delivered from all these things. (4) But the wicked man was troubled on account of his transgressions: lest he should be broken along with the evil men. (5) Because dread is the fall of the wicked: but the righteous not one of these things shall touch. (6) For one cannot compare the chastening of the righteous who have (sinned) ignorantly with the overthrow of evil men who (sin) knowingly. (7) For the righteous is chastened[3] so that the sinner will not exult over him. (8) For the Righteous One will admonish him as His beloved son;

[1] Better 'and may the Lord preserve', as in Greek, and so in the following verses.

[2] *Or*, molars: rendering the Greek μύλαις literally.

[3] Or perhaps: 'for the righteous is chastened secretly' (*see* Ryle and James, *ad loc.*).

and his chastening is like that of the first-born: (9) for the Righteous One will spare His saints, and their transgressions He will blot out by (His) chastisements. For the life of the righteous is for ever. (10) But sinners shall be cast into perdition: and their memorial shall no more be found. (11) But upon the saints shall be the mercy of the Lord. He will cherish all them that fear Him.

PSALM LVI (LVII)

Psalms of Solomon XIV.

(1) The Lord is faithful to them that love Him in truth: even to them that abide His chastening: to them who walk in righteousness in His commandments: He has given us the law for our life: (2) and the saints of the Lord shall live thereby for ever. The Paradise of the Lord are the trees of life which are His saints: (3) and the planting of them is sure for ever; nor shall they be rooted up all the days of the heaven. For the portion of the Lord and His inheritance is Israel. (4) Not so are the sinners and evil men, those who have loved a day in the participation of sin: for in the brevity of wickedness is their lust; (5) and they did not remember God; that the ways of the children of men are open before Him continually: and the secrets[1] of the heart He knoweth before they come to pass: (6) therefore their inheritance is Sheol and Perdition and Darkness: and in the day of mercy upon the righteous they shall not be found. (7) For the saints of the Lord shall inherit life in delight.

[1] *Lit.* secret places.

PSALM LVII (LVIII)

Psalms of Solomon XV.

(1) In my affliction I called on the name of the Lord, and for my help I called on the God of Jacob: and I was delivered. (2) Because thou, O God, art the hope and refuge of the poor. (3) For who that is strong will praise thee in truth? (4) And what is the strength of a man except that he should praise thy name? (5) A new song with the voice in the delight of the heart: the fruit of the lips with the instrument attuned to the tongue: the firstfruits of the lips from a heart that is holy and just. (6) No one that doeth these things shall ever be moved by evil: the flame of fire and the anger of sinners shall not touch them, (7) when it goeth forth against the sinners from before the Most High to root up all the roots of sinners: (8) because the sign of the Lord is upon the righteous for their salvation: death and the spear and famine shall remove from the righteous; (9) for they shall flee from them as death flees from life: but they shall pursue after the wicked and catch them: and those who do evil shall not escape from the judgement of the Lord: for they will get before them like skilled warriors: (10) for the sign of destruction is upon their faces, (11) and the inheritance of sinners is Perdition and Darkness: and their iniquity shall pursue them down to the lower hell. (12) And their inheritance shall not be found by their children: (13) for their sins shall lay waste the houses of sinners: and sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the Lord's judgement, (14) When God shall visit the earth in His judgement. (15) And upon those who fear the Lord there shall be mercy therein; and they shall live in the compassion of our God: and sinners shall perish unto eternity.[1]

[1] *Lit.* the time of eternity.

PSALM LVIII (LIX)

Psalms of Solomon XVI.

(1) When my soul declined a little from the Lord, I had almost been in the lapses of the sleep of destruction; and when I was far away from the Lord, (2) my soul had almost been poured out to death, hard by the gates of Sheol along with the sinners: (3) and when my soul separated from the God of Israel, unless the Lord had helped me by His mercy which is for ever! (4) He pricked me, like the spur of the horse, according to His watchfulness: my Saviour and Helper at all times is He: He saved me. (5) I will praise thee, O God, because thou hast helped me with thy salvation: and hast not reckoned me with sinners for destruction. (6) Withdraw not thy mercy from me, O God: and let not the remembrance of thee remove from my heart until I die: (7) save me, O God, from the wicked and sinful woman [1] and from every wicked woman who sets traps for the simple: (8) and let not the beauty of a wicked woman cause me to slip, nor any sin that is, (9) and establish the work of my hands before thee: and preserve my walk in the remembrance of thee. (10) My tongue and my lips in words of truth do thou establish; anger and unreasonable passion, (11) grumbling and little-mindedness in affliction do thou remove from me: for if I shall sin when thou hast chastened me, it is for repentance: (12) but by the good will of joy establish my soul: and when thou shalt strengthen my soul whatever has been given shall be sufficient for me: (13) for if thou strengthenest me not, who can endure thy chastening in poverty? (14) For

[1] Cod. from wicked sin (as in Greek).

a soul shall be reproved[1] in his flesh and by the affliction of his poverty: (15) and when a righteous man shall endure these things, mercy shall be upon him from the Lord.

PSALM LIX (LX)

Psalms of Solomon XVII.

(1) O Lord, thou art our King, now and for ever: for in thee, O God, our soul shall glory. (2) And what is the life of man upon earth? For according to his time, so also is his hope. (3) But we hope on God our Saviour: for the empire of our God is for ever according to mercy: (4) and the kingdom of our God is over the Gentiles for ever with judgement. (5) Thou, O Lord, didst choose David for king over Israel: and thou didst swear to him concerning his seed, that their kingdom should not be removed from before thee. (6) But for our sins sinners rose up against us: and they set upon us and removed me far away: those to whom thou gavest no command have taken by violence, (7) and have not glorified thy honourable Name with praises: and they have set up a kingdom instead of that which was their pride. (8) They laid waste the throne of David in the exultation of their change.[2] But thou wilt overthrow them and wilt remove their seed from the earth: (9) even when there shall rise up against them a man that was a stranger to our race. (10) According to their sins thou wilt reward them, O God: and it shall befall them according to their works. (11) And thou wilt not have mercy upon them, O God. Uproot their seed, and do not leave a single one of them. (12) The Lord is faithful in all His judgements which He has

[1] *Or* (*see note to text*), thou wilt reprove.

[2] *Reading* ἀλλάγματος.

done upon the earth. (13) The wicked man has devastated our land, so that there is none to dwell therein. They have destroyed both young and old and their children together. (14) In the splendour of his wrath he sent them away to the West, and the princes of the land to mockery without sparing. (15) In his foreign way the enemy exults, and his heart is alien from our God. (16) And Jerusalem did all things according as the Gentiles did in their cities to their gods. (17) And the children of the Covenant took hold of them in the midst of the mingled Gentiles: and there was none amongst them that did mercy and truth in Jerusalem. (18) They that love the assemblies of the saints fled away from them: and they fled like sparrows who fly from their nests: (19) and they were wandering in the wilderness, in order to save their souls from evil: and precious in their eyes was the sojourning with them of any soul that was saved from them. (20) Over all the earth they were scattered by the wicked. Therefore were the heavens restrained that they should not send down rain upon the earth, (21) and the everlasting fountains were restrained, both (from) the abysses, and from the lofty mountains: because there was none among them who did righteousness and judgement: from their ruler to the lowest of them they were in every sin. (22) The king was in transgression and the judge in provocation of wrath, and the people in sin. (23) Behold, O Lord, and raise up to them their King, the Son of David, according to the time which thou seest, O God: and let Him reign over Israel thy servant, (24) and strengthen him with power that He may humble the sinful rulers: (25) and may purify Jerusalem from the Gentiles who trample her down to destruction, (26) so as to destroy the wicked from thy inheritance: and to break their pride like the potter's vessel: to break with

a rod of iron all their firmness: (27) to destroy the sinful Gentiles with the word of His mouth: at His rebuke the Gentiles shall flee from before His face: and to reprimand sinners by the word of their heart: (28) that He may gather together a holy people who shall exult in righteousness: and may judge the tribes of the people whom the Lord His God sanctifies: (29) and He shall not any more suffer sin to lodge among them; and no more shall dwell amongst them the man that knoweth evil. (30) For He knoweth them that they are all the children of God, and He shall divide them according to their tribes upon the earth: (31) and the sojourner and the foreigner shall not dwell with them: for He will judge the Gentiles and the peoples in the wisdom of His righteousness: (32) and He shall possess a people from among the Gentiles: that it may serve Him under His yoke: and may praise the Lord openly over all the earth: (33) and He shall purify Jerusalem in holiness, as it was of old time: (34) that the Gentiles may come from the ends of the earth to behold His glory: bringing gifts to her sons who were scattered from her, (35) and to see the glory of the Lord, wherewith He hath glorified her: and He, the righteous King, taught of God, is over them: (36) and there is no wicked person in His days amongst them, because they are all righteous and their King is the Lord Messiah: (37) for He will not trust on horse nor on his rider; nor on the bow: nor shall He multiply to himself gold and silver for war: nor shall He rely on a multitude in the day of war: (38) for the Lord is His King: His hope and His strength are in the hope of God, and He will have compassion (over all . . .) (39) for He will smite the earth with the word of His mouth for ever: (40) and He will bless the people of the Lord in . . . and delight (41) and

He is pure . . . the head of a great people, to (confute) the rulers and to destroy sinners by His word: (42) and He shall not be weakened in His days from His God: because (God hath made Him powerful by His Holy Spirit) and wise in the counsel of the prudent with strength and righteousness. (43) and with the blessing of the Lord in Him, and (He shall not be weak). (His hope) is on his Lord and who shall stand against Him? (44) For He is strengthened in His deeds, and is mighty in the fear of His God: (45) feeding the flock of the Lord in righteousness and in faith; and He will not suffer that any one . . . in His pasturage: (46) He will gather them with equality: and pride shall not be found in them that it should rule over them. (47) This is the beauty of the King of Israel . . . to raise him up over the house of Israel, to chasten him. (48) His words are more choice than gold, and they are precious in the synagogues to distinguish . . . from a holy people. (49) His words are like the words of the saints among a holy people: (50) blessed are they who are in those days to see the good men of Israel in the congregation of the people (which God will make), (51) to hasten His mercies upon Israel, and to redeem us from the pollutions of the filthy Gentiles: for the Lord is our King for ever.

PSALM LX

Psalms of Solomon XVIII.

(1) O Lord, thy mercy is upon the work of thy hands for ever: (2) and thy grace with a rich gift upon Israel. (3) Thine eyes behold everything and there is nothing hid from them. And thine ears hear the hope of .... Thy judgements are upon all the earth in mercy: and thy love is upon the seed of Israel the son of Abraham. (Thy chastisement is) upon us as upon an only first-born son: to turn away the soul .... which is not instructed and not .... (May God purify) Israel for the day in blessing for His mercy ....

Caetera desunt.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON IN SYRIAC

The first six verses of the third Psalm are quoted on the margin of a manuscript of the *Hymns of Severus*, and it has been suggested that they represent a different translation of the Psalm from that which occurs in our two manuscripts. The quotation is as follows (see *Hymns of Severus*, ed. Brooks, *Patr. Or.* vii. 726, 727):

[ܘܫܒܚܠ]. ܚܣܝܐ ܘܚܣܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܝܕܝܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܥܠ
ܥܕܬܐ ܕܝ ܒܗ ܣܓܝ ܐܬܪ. ܥܝܢܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܙܝܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܠܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܟܣܝܐ
ܠܗܘܢ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ : ܘܚܣܝܟ ܥܠ ..ܝ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܕܟܕ ..ܝ ܠ
ܘܬܒ ܘܒܟ. ܠܐ ܬܫܒ ܥܠ ܥܡ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܡ ܕܠܐ ܙܟܝ ܠܝܘܡ ܒܪܟܬܐ ܥܠ ܚܣܝܟ

ܗܢܐ ܗܘ. ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. ܠܐ ܡܫܬ .. ܐ ܒܚܕ ܟܘ ܠܟܠ
ܘܐ ܥܡ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܫܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘ

Here then we have, as the variations from our text show, either a revision of that text, or, more probably, as Prof. Nau suggests, an independent rendering of the Greek. As the next quotation is from the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and is introduced by the formula 'Again from the same' (fem.), it is probable that the extract from the Psalms of Solomon was incorrectly referred to the Wisdom of Solomon.

CONCORDANCE TO THE ODES OF SOLOMON[1]

ܐܐ 5, 5.

ܐܚ 7, 7, 11; 8, 23; 9, 5; 10, 4; 14, 1; 19, 2, 4; 23, 18, 22; 31, 5; 41, 9, 13.

ܐܚܡܐ (ܩܡܥ) 31, 13.

ܐܚܒ 5, 14; 9, 7; 24, 7, 9; 28, 16; 31, 2; 33, 9; 42, 10.

ܐܗܒ 6, 3; 22, 5; 24, 10; 28, 18; 33, 2.

ܐܚܬܐ 28, 9.

ܐܚܒܐ 28, 5; 33, 2, 8.

ܐܚܕ 25, 5.

ܐܟܣܐ 23, 5, 7, 10, 17, 21.

ܐܘܐ 16, 9.

ܐܘܬܐ 9, 1; 15, 4.

ܐ 8, 19; 26, 8, 9, 10.

ܐܠ 7, 18; 8, 21; 15, 6; 17, 5, 11; 23, 10; 28, 13; 38, 4, 7, 15.

ܐܡ 28, 16.

ܐܡܒ 4, 8; 5, 6; 6, 15; 7, 16; 17, 8, 10; 18, 7; 28, 15; 42, 3.

ܐܚܕܗܡܒ 8, 21.

ܐܡܬܐ 17, 11.

ܐܡܣܟܠ 6, 4; 11, 4.

ܐܡܙܠ 4, 1; 41, 8.

ܐܢ 4, 14; 5, 12; 6, 1; 7, 1, 6 (bis), 23 (bis); 11, 12, 13, 22; 12, 2, 5, 7; 14, 1, 9; 15, 7 (bis); 17, 6; 18, 11 (bis), 12; 19, 10; 20, 3 (thrice); 23, 5, 6; 24, 5; 25, 5; 26, 13; 28, 1, 9, 13; 29, 2 (bis), 3 (bis), 10; 31, 11; 33, 4; 35, 5; 36, 5 (bis), 7 (bis in H); 38, 1; 39, 10; 40, 1, 2; 42, 8, 9, 16.

ܐܢܗ (causative) 18, 2; 22, 4; 24, 9; 31, 10; 33, 1.

ܐܦܐ 23, 10.

ܐܦܗ 3, 5; 11, 5, 16; 34, 1, 3.

ܐܦܠܐ 13, 2.

ܐܦܠܐ 20, 7.

ܐܦܬܐ 11, 19, 21.

ܐܦܝ (34 times).

ܐܩ 7, 3, 11, 17; 8, 18, 20; 9, 4 (bis), 8; 11, 18; 12, 5, 7, 9; 13, 2; 14, 1; 16, 4; 17, 10; 18, 8; 19, 2; 20, 1; 21, 4 (H); 26, 13; 28, 7; 33, 11; 36, 3; 39, 10; 40, 6; 42, 6, 20.

[1] We have taken no account of suffixes with substantives and transitive verbs, but the plural form of substantives and the primitive and derived forms of verbs have been noted. The pronouns ܗܝ, ܗܒ, ܗܘ, ܗܢ, in their singular form, the relative ܕ, and the auxiliary verb ܗܘ have been omitted. Present and past participles when declined are frequently included in the root of the verb when that root is expressed.

ܠܐ or ܠܝ 3, 6; 4, 2, 11; 11, 23; 16, 18; 17, 3; 18, 8; 21, 4 (B); 24, 9; 34, 1, 3, 5 (bis); 38, 14[b].

ܐܦܐ ܠܐ 12, 9; 16, 18; 17, 10; 23, 9, 12; 24, 7, 8; 31, 8; 38, 4; 42, 12.

ܐܦ 7, 4 (bis); 28, 16 (H).

ܐܦܠ 15, 1; 16, 1.

ܐܦܫ 10, 5; 23, 17; 41, 5.

ܐܦܬܐ 24, 6.

ܐܦܫ 17, 6.

ܐܬ 16, 1.

ܒ 3, 4; 4, 9; 11, 8; 12, 6; 18, 8, 10 (H); 31, 11; 33, 5, 12; 34, 5; 39, 10.

ܒ ܠܐ 23, 1, 2, 3.

ܒܐ 3, 3.

ܒܐ 4, 14; 9, 5; 10, 4; 11, 24; 16, 17; 23, 21; 33, 10; 36, 3; 42, 15.

ܒܐ 4, 1; 11, 9; 17, 1; 18, 8; 25, 1; 40, 1.

ܒܐ 16, 1.

ܒ 20, 5 (bis).

ܒ ܠ 31, 6.

ܒ 21, 4.

ܒ 19, 7; 28, 2; 35, 5.

ܒ 29, 11.

ܒ 16, 2.

ܒ 6, 9.

ܒ 8, 9; 11, 18; 33, 5; 38, 10; 42, 15.

ܒ 5, 13, 14; 23, 1, 2, 3.

ܒ (43 times).

ܒ 3, 2; 5, 5; 6, 18; 7, 12 (bis); 8, 15 (bis); 12, 10; 14, 1; 17, 11, 13; 19, 5; 22, 4, 8 (bis); 33, 13; 38, 10; 39, 4, 9 (bis); 42, 20.

ܒ 4, 13; 6, 15; 13, 1; 16, 2; 39, 11.

ܒ 4, 1; 17, 11.

ܒ (9 times).

ܒ 40, 1.

ܒ 17, 11 (bis).

ܒ 17, 11 (H).

ܒ 21, 2; 22, 4; 25, 1; 42, 16.

ܒ 3, 5, 8; 9, 2; 12, 5; 16, 1; 18, 12; 28, 3 (B); 29, 2; 40, 1, 4 (B); 42, 15.

ܒ ܠ 6, 9; 8, 9; 12, 6; 18, 5, 6, 9, 10; 20, 3 (bis), 6 (bis); 21, 4 (bis); 28, 4[b], 16; 33, 9; 34, 1, 2; 38, 14; 39, 12.

ܒ 42, 10 (bis).

ܒ 6, 10; 8, 14; 11, 13; 13, 2, 3; 15, 2; 16, 16; 17, 4; 21, 6, 9; 36, 3; 40, 4 (H); 41, 6.

ܒ 8, 10.

ܒ 7, 2, 13; 11, 3 (bis); 12, 6; 17, 8; 22, 7, 11; 23, 15; 24, 13; 34, 1; 38, 7; 39, 7, 13; 41, 11; 42, 2.

ܒ 3, 10; 33, 7, 8, 13.

ܒ 7, 13.

ܒ 6, 10, 11; 7, 20; 11, 12, 13, 18, 21; 15, 10; 16, 10, 16; 33, 3.

ܒ 38, 6.

ܐܠܗܐ 7, 17.
ܐܠܗ݂ 23, 12; 27, 2 (H); 29, 7; 39, 7 (bis); 42, 1.
ܐܠܗ݁ 5, 4; 6, 10; 7, 21; 10, 3; 18, 12; 20, 7; 23, 11, 16; 30, 2, 6; 33, 6; 37, 3.
ܐܠܗ݂ܝ 6, 8; 7, 13; 8, 2; 16, 16; 22, 11; 38, 1; 39, 1.
ܐܠܗܐ 6, 17; 7, 17.
ܐܠܐ 4, 1 (bis); 11, 18, 23; 18, 7; 22, 6; 34, 2.
ܐܠܘܗܝ 4, 2; 23, 17.

ܒܗ (20 times).
ܒܟ 8, 11.
ܒܟܘ 8, 22 (bis).
ܒܟܢ 24, 7.
ܒܟ݂ (9 times).
ܒܢ (9 times).
ܒܘ 14, 7; 22, 7.
ܒܟ݂ 33, 8, 10.
ܒܥܐ 14, 5; 22, 7; 33, 4.
ܒܥܐܡ 5, 9.
ܒܥܗ 11, 21.
ܒܩܐ 18, 7.
ܒ̈ 12, 10.
ܒ̈ܘ 10, 5; 22, 3.
ܒܗ 8, 17; 9, 7; 29, 1.
ܒܗܐ 31, 9.
ܒܠ 4, 4; 16, 13; 23, 19 (B); 42, 14.
ܒܠ݂ 15, 9; 23, 19 (H).
ܒܠܐ 11, 23.
ܒܠܐ 19, 6.
ܒܡ 22, 12; 42, 8.
ܒܡ݂ 28, 9.
ܒܢ 22, 12.
ܒܢ݂ 11, 14; 20, 8; 28, 2.
ܒܥܥ 11, 15; 30, 4.
ܒܥܥܐ 7, 3; 11, 21; 14, 3; 17, 7; 19, 1, 11; 20, 9; 25, 12; 42, 16.
ܒܥܗ 11, 16, 24.
ܒ̈ 39, 1.
ܒܗ 8, 9; 20, 3.
ܒܗܡ 20, 3.
ܒܟ 7, 10; 8, 22; 15, 1; 19, 9; 20, 6; 24, 5; 26, 13; 28, 17, 18; 33, 13; 38, 14; 42, 5.
ܒܟ݂ 19, 3.
ܒܟܐ 17, 12.
ܒܟ̈ 29, 10.
ܒܟ̈ 22, 3; 29, 5.
ܒܟ̈ (B) 22, 3.
ܒ 16, 8.
ܒ̈ 4, 3.
ܒ̈ 16, 18.
ܓ (s.) 3, 7 (bis); 7, 15; 14, 1; 19, 2, 7; 23, 18, 22; 29, 11; 36, 3; 41, 13; 42, 15.
ܓ 31, 4; 40, 1; 41, 2; 42, 20.
ܓ ܐ 12, 12; 36, 3.
ܓ ܐ 3, 10: 6, 9; 33, 6.
ܓ 33, 6.
ܓ (v.) 7, 8, 9.
ܓ 7, 24; 16, 12.
ܓ 4, 7; 16, 13.
ܓ 22, 6 (H); 28, 4 (bis); 38, 17.
ܓ 17, 14; 38, 20.
ܓ 39, 4.
ܓ 19, 6, 7; 33, 5.

ܚܠܦ 17, 5; 23, 10; 28, 18; 39, 13.
ܚܠܦ ܕܡܐ 39, 1.

ܚܐ 22, 8.
ܚܬܐ 4, 8; 8, 20; 23, 2, 3; 33, 13.
ܚܒܐ 8, 20.
ܚܙܐ 19, 10; 41, 12.
ܚܬܬܐ 29, 8.
ܚܝܠܐ 23, 11, 13, 16.
ܚܪ 17, 9.
ܚ 19, 6.
ܚܡ 28, 17 (H).
ܚܦ 11, 2.
ܚܦܐ 11, 1.
ܚܦܝܐ 11, 3.
ܚܣ 18, 14.
ܚ (64 times).
ܚܠܐ 31, 11; 39, 11.
ܚܠܐ 38, 2.
ܚܠ 4, 12, 14; 11, 2.
ܚܠܐ 23, 17; 34, 6.
ܚܡܙ 33, 5.
ܚܡܒ 42, 9.
ܚܡܗ 41, 8.
ܚܗ 16, 2; 36, 7; 40, 2 (bis).
ܚܗܐ 36, 7.
ܚܥ 26, 4.
ܚܩ 24, 4; 28, 1 (bis).
ܚܪ 16, 1.
ܚܙ 23, 6.
ܚܙܚ 26, 6.
ܚܙܥ 22, 9.
ܚܫ 6, 8.
ܚܫ 39, 9.
ܚܫܐ 7, 10.
ܚܬ 17, 5; 29, 7; 38, 1.
ܚܬܚܬܒ 14, 4.
ܚܬܚܬܒܐ 23, 12; 36, 8.
ܚܬܘܫܐ 30, 4; 40, 1.
ܚܬ 4, 10; 30, 4; 40, 1.
ܚ 16, 18.
ܚܟܐ 3, 10; 18, 6, 8.
ܚ 20, 9; 40, 30 (B).
ܚܘܐ 42, 11.
ܚ or ܚ 33, 11; 35, 3.
ܚ 28, 2 (bis); 40, 4; 41, 7.
ܚ 8, 1; 21, 9; 23, 4; 40, 4; 41, 7.
ܚ 5, 10, 11; 23, 8; 24, 3; 25, 11.
ܚ 40, 5.
ܚ 7, 12; 12, 4; 26, 1, 2, 5, 6, 7.
ܚ 24, 6.
ܚ 8, 14, 16 (bis), 18, 20 (bis); 17, 9, 12, 14; 25, 2; 28, 10; 42, 20.
ܚ 11, 21 (bis), 22.
ܚ (23 times).
ܚܐ 20, 4.
ܚ 41, 9.
ܚ 11, 22; 28, 17, 18.
ܚ 39, 6.
ܚ (s.) 20, 6.
ܚ 9, 9.
ܚ 38, 11.
ܚܐ 7, 4; 17, 4; 18, 12; 34, 4.
ܚ 28, 8; 41, 8.
ܚ 26, 11.
ܚ 21, 8; 41, 14.
ܚ 12, 7.

ܥܒܝܣܐ 26, 5.
ܥܒܘ 6, 11; 23, 20.
ܥܒܝ 38, 3 (B).
ܥܒܚ 42, 8.
ܥܒܚܐ 21, 1; 38, 3 (H)

ܥܕ 11, 20; 13, 1.
ܥܕܡܐ 41, 6.
ܥܕܐ 3, 10; 7, 2.
ܥܕܬܐ 3, 2; 6, 2, 16; 8, 16; 17, 15; 18, 2; 21, 4; 26, 4; 40, 3 (B).
ܥܡܝܡ 38, 14.
ܥܡܠ 6, 8.
ܥܡܥ 22, 7; 28, 3; 29, 6; 34, 6; 42, 9.
ܥܡܥܐ 6, 13.
ܥܡܥܬܐ 28, 3.
ܥܡܥܬܬܐ 4, 3; 11, 22; 15, 10.
ܥܡܥܬܐ 4, 5; 8, 11; 16, 4; 39, 5, 13; 41, 1; 42, 19 (B).
ܥܨܠ 6, 13; 8, 19; 39, 8; 41, 5.
ܥܨܐ 6, 2, 4; 7, 1; 12, 5, 7; 14, 1, 9; 16, 1; 28, 1; 29, 2; 31, 5; 36, 5; 40, 1, 2; 42, 8, 9.
ܥܩܒܐ at the end of every Ode.
ܥܩܡ 6, 6; 38, 10.
ܥܪ 6, 1; 7, 14; 10, 6; 17, 4; 18, 14; 20, 9; 23, 4; 33, 13; 38, 5; 39, 6, 9.
ܥܪܒܐ 12, 5; 31, 2.
ܥܪܩܐ 17, 8; 39, 2.
ܥܬ 7, 10; 12, 13; 16, 3; 28, 3; 33, 7; 41, 2.
ܥܬܘ 38, 10.
ܦܬܚ 4, 3; 6, 9, 13; 8, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 22; 9, 7; 11, 18; 12, 8; 19, 5; 20, 3; 23, 10; 24, 11; 14; 28, 13; 31, 4, 6, 13; 33, 12, 13; 38, 8; 39, 5, 6, 7, 13; 42, 3 (bis; B thrice), 5, 15.
ܦܬܚܐ 18, 12, 15; 23, 1, 2, 3; 38, 14.
ܦܨܚ 24, 5.
ܦܩܕ 5, 7; 7, 6; 11, 21.
ܦܩܕܐ 8, 14; 11, 21.

ܚܕܡ 8, 3; see ܚܕܐ ܕ.
ܐܘ 29, 5.
ܐܘܘܐ 17, 2; 25, 12; 31, 5.
ܐܬܥܒܕܐ 8, 5, 21; 9, 10; 20, 4; 25, 10; 36, 7; 41, 12.
ܐ 7, 5.
ܐܐ 23, 13.
ܐܒܐ 5, 12; 22, 10; 24, 3; 31, 10; 35, 3; 39, 5.
ܐܕܐ 31, 11.
ܐܕܐ 32, 3.
ܐ 9, 11.
ܐܘܨ 18, 6.
ܐܡܐ 9, 12; 18, 7; 29, 9.
ܐܩ 15, 2.
ܐ 7, 17; 16, 3; 24, 1; 41, 2.
ܐ 7, 22 (bis).
ܐܬܐ 26, 2.
ܐܬܬܐ 14, 7; 26, 3, 8; 36, 2; 40, 3.
ܐܪܥܘ 16, 1.
ܐܪܥܘ 7, 17, 22.
ܐܪܥܬ 26, 12.
ܐ 7, 3.
ܐܘܥ 12, 10.

ܐܦܩ 17, 13.
ܐܦܚܐ 22, 5; 31, 13.

ܐܬ 3, 2, 5; 19, 11; 41, 16; 42, 4.
ܐܬܝܗ 8, 22; 31, 11.
ܐܬܬܚ 8, 22.
ܒܥܐ 6, 2; 7, 19; 8, 1, 13; 11, 2; 12, 12; 14, 6; 16, 2, 3; 17, 12; 18, 1; 23, 3; 40, 4; 41, 2, 6; 42, 7, 9.
ܒܥܝ 19, 7; 22, 7; 24, 8; 28, 14; 33, 2; 38, 9 (B bis), 11, 14; 39, 3.
ܒܥܝܠ 7, 21; 15, 9; 31, 1; 33, 9; 38, 9 (H bis); 39, 10, 12.
ܒܬܠ 15, 8; 22, 11; 33, 1, 7; 38, 9.
ܒܬܠ Cf. 33, 1, 7; 38, 9.
ܒܠ or ܠܐ 7, 11; 8, 23; 9, 4; 11, 12; 15, 8; 17, 2; 21, 5; 22, 11; 28, 5; 33, 12; 40, 6.
ܓܣܓܕ 38, 9.
ܓܣܒܠ 24, 8.
ܓܒ 12, 8 (bis), 9 (bis); 16, 17; 28, 9; 36, 6; 41, 14.
ܓܠ 4, 5.
ܓܠܣܐ 23, 1; 38, 19.
ܓܒ 41, 3 (B).
ܓܒ 38, 15.
ܓܠܐ 7, 1, 2, 17; 15, 1 (bis); 23, 1; 31, 3, 6; 32, 1.
ܓܐ 28, 13.
ܓܒ 11, 11; 36, 5.
ܓܒܝܠ 22, 11.
ܓܒܐ 17, 4; 33, 12.
ܓܒ 31, 3; 41, 16.
ܓܐܠ 36, 5.
ܓܐ 7, 25; 8, 9; 12, 2; 19, 11; 24, 13; 29, 7; 38, 7.
ܓܐܓܐ 19, 10.
ܓܐ 5, 4, 6; 7, 5, 19; 9, 12; 13, 1; 15, 3; 16, 9; 17, 6; 23, 10; 25, 3 (H); 28, 8; 38, 9; 41, 8; 42, 11, 17.
ܓܐܠ 5, 14; 7, 12, 18; 11, 1; 16, 8; 17, 10; 18, 11; 23, 18; 25, 3 (B); 28, 9; 29, 6; 30, 6; 33, 4; 41, 13.
ܓܐ 31, 1.
ܓܒ 7, 18.
ܓܣܓܐ 13, 1.
ܓܒ 23, 7; 39, 3.
ܓܐ 29, 8.
ܓ (v.) 5, 3; 6, 18; 8, 16, 22; 17, 14; 34, 6; 38, 16; cf. 41, 3 (H).
ܓ (a.) 3, 9; 11, 7; 17, 1; 28, 7 (H); 30, 1; 41, 3 (H); 42, 5, 14.
ܓ (s.) 3, 9; 6, 18; 8, 2; 9, 4 (bis); 10, 2, 6; 15, 10; 22, 10; 24, 8; 26, 9; 28, 6, 7 (B); 31, 7; 38, 3; 40, 6; 41, 3; 42, 14.
ܓܬ 31, 8.
ܓܬܠ 31, 9.
ܓܣܓ 7, 3; 31, 8.
ܓܒ 16, 4.
ܓܒܝܠ 9, 5; 10, 4.
ܓܠ 6, 17; 8, 18; 18, 2; 23, 9; 29, 9; 32, 3; 39, 1.
ܓܬܓ 4, 8; 16, 14.
ܓܣܓ 25, 10.

ܐܠܗܘܬܐ 7, 25; 29, 8.
ܐܡܝܢ 33, 8.
ܐܡܝܢܐ 3, 11; 5, 7; 38, 15.
ܐܡܬ 7, 8.
ܐܡܬܐ 7, 8; 24, 11; 28, 19.
ܐܡܬܩ 38, 13.
ܐܢ 42, 13.
ܐܣܟ 19, 2.
ܐܣܟܐ 19, 2.
ܐܣܟܬ 4, 10; 8, 16; 19, 1, 3, 4; 35, 5; 40, 1.
ܐܣܟܝܢ 19, 5.
ܐܣܬ 40, 3 (B).
ܐܣܟܬ 19, 1; 28, 15; 38, 8. (Cf. translation.)
ܐܣܬ 24, 4.
ܐܣܟ 4, 1 (bis); 17, 13; 28, 14.
ܐܠܐܣܟ 4, 3.
ܐܬ 7, 1.
ܐܬ 23, 14.
ܐܬ 38, 12.
ܒ 7, 5, 10; 42, 15.
ܒܐ 7, 10; 21, 1, 2.
ܒܥ (pr.) 4, 9; 24, 18.
ܒܩ 17, 4.
ܒܗ 25, 10.
ܒܛ 9, 6.
ܒܝܬ 20, 9; 24, 14.
ܒܟ 3, 6; 7, 3; 11, 6; 15, 6; 17, 12; 20, 7; 23, 4.
ܒܟ 24, 11.
ܒܟܐ 20, 6.
ܒܟ 4, 9 (bis); 18, 4; 24, 9.
ܒܟܬ 15, 10.
ܓ 23, 13.
ܓܐ 42, 20.
ܓܘܐ 10, 3.
ܓܢ 4, 12; 7, 14; 14, 4; 26, 7.
ܓܕ 28, 4b.
ܓܗ 39, 4.
ܓܘܢ 12, 5.
ܓܢ 7, 23.
ܓܩ 21, 4.
ܓܥܐ 5, 8; 9, 3; 18, 13.
ܓܥܓܥ 9, 3; 12, 4, 7; 15, 5; 16, 8, 9, 19; 17, 5; 20, 2, 3; 21, 5; 23, 5, 19; 24, 7; 34, 2; 41, 10.
ܓܩܓ 8, 18; 18, 13; 24, 10; 29, 8; 34, 1.
ܓܡ 42, 3.
ܓܣ 14, 10.
ܓܥ 5, 5.
ܓܓ 11, 19; 15, 2; 16, 15, 16; 18, 6; 21, 3; 31, 1; 42, 16.
ܓܗ 4, 7; 23, 8, 9.
ܓܕ 38, 9; 42, 8.
ܓܕ ܫܕ 42, 9.

ܕ 8, 15; 24, 7; 31, 2.
ܕܐ 7, 20.
ܕܕ 24, 7.
ܕܟ 8, 16.
ܕܟܐ 8, 7.
ܕ 10, 3; 11, 20.
ܕ 28, 12.
ܕ 20, 9 (B); 25, 4 (B); 29, 2 (H); 41, 5.
ܕ 4, 6; 5, 3; 6, 6; 7, 22, 25; 9, 5; 11, 1; 15, 8; 20, 7, 9 (H); 23, 2, 4; 24, 13; 25,

4 (H); 29, 2 (B), 5; 31, 3, 7; 33, 1, 10; 34, 6; 37, 4; 41, 3.
ܦܘܪܩܢ 6, 13; 9, 8; 11, 18; 12, 13; 30, 7.
ܦܬܚ 32, 1; 33, 11.
ܠܐ 11, 14; 35, 4 (H?), 5; 36, 7.
ܠܐ 35, 4 (H?).
ܠܐ 35, 5.
ܠܐܡ 4, 6; 33, 12.
ܠܐܡܐ 28, 10.
ܠܐܡܐ 10, 5.
ܠܐ 23, 14.
ܡ 6, 6.
ܡܐ 7, 20; 28, 11.
ܡܐ 18, 13.
ܡܐ 17, 5; 28, 15 (B); 31, 2; 38, 4, 5.
ܡܐ 38, 11.
ܡܐ 38, 10, 15.
ܡܐ 15, 6; 18, 10, 14; 31, 2; 38, 6, 8, 10.
ܡܐ 28, 15 (H).
ܡܐ 35, 5.
ܡܐ 42, 3 (B).

ܡܐ 38, 20.
ܡܐ 7, 23; 12, 4; 15, 7; 16, 5, 17; 18, 16; 29, 3.
ܡܐ 11, 16.
ܡܐ 6, 14.
ܡܐ 6, 1 (?); 22, 7; 38, 16.
ܡܐ 16, 6; 23, 7; 27, 1, 2; 35, 7; 37, 1; 42, 1 (bis).
ܡܐ 12, 11; 15, 5.
ܡܐ 17, 4; 22, 5; 26, 3; 31, 4; 33, 11; 38, 15.
ܡܐ 12, 13; 15, 8; 18, 1; 31, 7.
ܡܐ 5, 1; 7, 25; 10, 5; 21, 7.
ܡܐ 4, 11; 31, 13.
ܡܐ 12, 4.
ܡܐ 26, 6.
ܡܐ 31, 13.
ܡ 3, 3, 10, 11; 4, 7 (bis); 7, 9; 8, 9, 12 (bis), 14; 9, 7; 12, 6, 10, 13; 16, 13; 17, 7; 18, 9 (bis), 10 (bis), 13 (bis); 19, 5; 23, 4 (B), 10; 24, 14; 26, 12; 30, 6; 38, 7; 39, 8; 42, 3 (B), 8.
ܡ 7, 3; 33, 13.
ܡ 6, 6; 7, 16; 15, 10; 41, 2, 15.
ܡ 6, 18; 7, 12; 12, 13; 24, 14; 28, 16 (B).
ܡ 6, 6; 7, 7 (bis), 13, 21; 8, 8, 12; 11, 4; 12, 3; 15, 5; 17, 12; 23, 4 (bis); 34, 5.
ܠ or ܠ 7, 21, 23; 11, 8; 18, 11; 28, 13.
ܡ 8, 20; 17, 7; 38, 21.
ܡ 38, 13.
ܡ 4, 3, 9, 13 (bis); 6, 7, 17; 7, 10, 12, 24; 9, 2, 10; 10, 2; 15, 7; 17, 8, 12; 19, 5; 22, 4, 10; 29, 2, 8; 31, 2 (H), 5; 35, 5; 37, 3, 4; 38, 12; 41, 4.
ܠ 9, 2; 14, 9.
ܠ 14, 9; 24, 9.
ܡ 6, 6, 12; 15, 10; 24, 6; 30, 6.
ܡ 11, 9; 15, 7; 35, 6.

ܗܘܐ 7, 23; 15, 1, 3; 16, 16; 41, 4.
ܗܘܬܐ 4, 5.
ܗܘܬ 24, 1.
ܗܘܬ 28, 1.
ܗܘܝ 19, 6, 7, 10 (bis), ; 24, 5; 36, 3; 41, 10.
ܗܘܝܗ 28, 16.
ܗܘܕ 41, 1.
ܗܟ 7, 6; 13, 2.
ܗܟ 3, 10; 14, 7.
ܗܠ 16, 10; 18, 11.
ܗܢܗ 41, 6b.
ܗܢ 8, 6, 20; 14, 4; 18, 7; 19, 5; 22, 7; 25, 2, 7, 9; 28, 15; 38, 20.
ܗܢ 26, 6.
ܗܒ 11, 1, 19.
ܗܒ 11, 19.
ܗܒ 38, 20.
ܗ 41, 5.
ܗ 16, 20; 20, 10.
ܗ 9, 9.
ܗ 21, 9.
ܗ 29, 11.
ܗ 23, 19; 31, 7, 12.
ܗ 14, 4.
ܗ 16, 10.
ܗ 24, 3.
ܗ 18, 1.
ܗ 40, 6.
ܗ 35, 4 (bis).
ܗ 21, 5.
ܗ 4, 5; 23, 9; 28, 19.
ܗ 19, 7.
ܗ 21, 4.
ܗ 9, 9; 22, 12; 31, 11.
ܗ 5, 9; 7, 5, 9; 17, 10, 11; 19, 5; 21, 4, 7; 30, 6; 31, 8, 9; 36, 2, 3, 4; 37, 2; 38, 9, 14 (bis); 39, 8.
ܗ 20, 1.
ܗ 20, 1.
ܗ 16, 11.
ܗ 7, 6.
ܗ 30, 4; 40, 1.
ܗ 4, 5, 15; 6, 10, 11; 7, 13; 11, 20; 14, 8, 10; 15, 2, 10; 16, 18; 17, 6, 7, 11; 18, 7 (bis); 22, 6; 23, 13, 17; 24, 4; 26, 4 (bis); 28, 19; 30, 2; 33, 2, 4; 34, 3; 35, 3; 38, 8; 41, 1, 5, 11.
ܗ ܐ 6, 18; 28, 12.
ܗ ܐ 13, 4; 14, 1, 4; 35, 2.
ܗ ܗ 4, 14; 5, 13; 6, 3, 8, 10; 7, 16; 11, 22, 23; 12, 13; 17, 10; 22, 11, 12; 23, 13, 19; 34, 5; 38, 7.
ܗ 38, 9, 11; 42, 8.
ܗ 17, 1.
ܗ 5, 12; 9, 8, 9, 11; 17, 1; 20, 7.
ܗ (v.) 6, 9 (bis); 18, 5; 25, 3.
ܗ 7, 1.
ܗ 6, 9.
ܗ 28, 13.
ܗ 11, 2; 20, 5.
ܗ 42, 12.

ܚܬܚ 28, 5.
ܚܒ 22, 2.
ܐܚܒ 10, 5; 17, 14; 23, 17.
ܚܒܚܐ 42, 14.
ܚܗ 19, 1, 2.
ܐܚܗ 24, 5; 25, 8.
ܐܚܗܐ 20, 6; 25, 8.
ܚܘܝ 25, 9.
ܚܘܝ 18, 3.
ܐܚ 33, 5.
ܐܚܢ 38, 14.
ܚܢ 22, 6 (B); 34, 3.
ܚܢܗ 19, 6; 28, 2.
ܚܕ 23, 21; 26, 8.
ܐܚܕ 9, 11.
ܚܕܐ 9, 11, 12.

ܚ (31 times).
ܚ݂ (20 times).
ܚ̈ (6 times).
ܚ̈ (once in H, thrice in B).
ܚ̈ (5 times).
ܚ (55 times in H and 57 in B).
ܚ (7 times).
ܚ (10 times).
ܚ݂ (14 times).
ܠ (118 times).
ܠ݂ (with a substantive, i. e. '*without*') 4, 4; 7, 1, 23; 8, 23; 9, 4; 10, 2; 11, 12; 12, 5 (bis); 13, 4; 15, 6, 10 (bis); 17, 2, 12; 20, 5, 7; 21, 5; 22, 11; 23, 4; 25, 7; 28, 5, 6; 31, 7; 38, 3, 13; 39, 6, 8; 40, 6 (bis).
ܠܐ ܚܠܩܐ (ܕ) 4, 8.

ܚܐ 4, 3; 7, 23; 8, 1, 20; 10, 1, 6; 11, 1; 16, 2, 13; 18, 1; 20, 4; 21, 8; 24, 11, 26, 2, 4; 28, 1, 2, 19; 30, 5; 32, 1; 34, 1; 36, 7; 37, 2; 38, 14; 41, 10; 42, 19.
ܚܚܐ 8, 1; 17, 13; 41, 6.
ܚܚ 4, 6, 8; 7, 4; 13, 3; 15, 8; 20, 7; 21, 3; 23, 1, 3; 33, 12; 39, 8.
ܐܚܚ 3, 1.
ܚܚܗ 8, 9; 11, 11,
ܚܚܩ 25, 8.
ܚܐ 3, 2, 6; 4, 11; 7, 2, 24; 10, 3; 11, 2, 9; 12, 9; 13, 4; 14, 1, 2, 6; 15, 6; 17, 14; 21, 4; 23, 16; 25, 1, 6; 26, 2, 4; 28, 1, 4; 31, 4, 13; 33, 4; 35, 7 (bis); 37, 1 (bis), 2, 3; 41, 2; 42, 1, 4, 14 (B), 15, 17.
ܚܚܐ 16, 15, 16; 41, 7.
ܚ see ܐ ܠ.
ܚ ܩ̈ 24, 9, 12; 28, 11.
ܚܗ 40, 3 (B).
ܚܐ 38, 3.

ܚ ; 11, 21.
ܐܚ; 18, 4.
ܚ̈ 4, 13; 5, 3; 28, 18.
ܚ̈ 4, 11, 13; 5, 7, 14; 6, 3, 5 (bis); 7, 9, 23; 8, 9 (bis); 11, 23; 12, 9; 16, 8, 18; 17, 10; 23, 16; 25, 7; 31, 9; 34, 3, 5; 38, 5. See also ܚ ܠ ̈.
ܚ̈ (ܠ) 13, 4; 20, 5; 39, 6.

ܐܝܟ 3, 8; 5, 14; 11, 7; 24, 4; 28, 7; 42, 5, 15.
ܐܝܟܢ 22, 8 (bis); 42, 14.
ܐܠܗ 6, 15; 15, 9; 18, 8; 28, 17; 29, 4; 38, 8; 42, 11, 17.
ܐܠܗ ܘ 3, 8; 10, 2; 15, 10; 28, 6; 31, 7; 38, 3; 40, 6.
ܐܠ 19, 4.
ܐܠܐ 3, 7.
ܐܡܬ 34, 1.
ܐܢ 7, 16; 9, 9; 11, 17; 14, 5 (bis); 18, 4, 5; 26, 11 (H); 31, 12.
ܘ ܐܢ 3, 6, 7 (bis); 4, 2, 7; 5, 1, 2, 11, 15; 6, 18; 7, 4 (bis), 5, 6 (bis), 11, 12, 19, 21; 8, 14, 21; 10, 5; 12, 1, 3, 11; 14, 2; 15, 2; 16, 2, 18; 17, 10, 15; 18, 3, 9, 10, 14; 19, 3, 8, 9; 21, 2; 23, 9, 16, 17; 24, 1, 6, 9, 12, 13; 25, 2, 4, 9; 26, 1, 2, 11 (B); 27, 2; 28, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19; 29, 11; 30, 1, 3, 5; 31, 5, 12; 32, 3; 38, 4, 5, 15, 16; 39, 7; 41, 8; 42, 1, 3 (B), 5, 13, 14, 18, 20.
ܐܢ ܗܘ 7, 10; 16, 3; 28, 3; 41, 2.
ܐܢܐ 6, 9, 13, 18; 11, 6, 7; 12, 2; 16, 10; 28, 15; 30, 1, 4; 40, 2.
ܐܢܘ 29, 5, 8.
ܐܢܘܢ 8, 3; 41, 12.
ܐܢܫܐ 31, 12.
ܐܢ 39, 11 (bis).
ܐܦ 4, 13; 8, 5.
ܐܦܠ 17, 9.
ܐܪܥ 6, 1, 2 (bis); 8, 2, 4; 9, 1; 10, 2; 12, 1, 8, 9, 11; 16, 5; 18, 15; 26, 2, 10; 31, 3 (bis); 33, 10; 37, 2; 42, 6, 14.
ܐܬ 11, 6.
ܐܬܐ 10, 1; 12, 8; 15, 9; 16, 7, 8, 14, 19; 29, 9, 10; 39, 9; 41, 11, 14.
ܐܬܐ 6, 10; 11, 2, 23; 12, 1; 30, 1; 38, 18.
ܒ 16, 17.
ܒܐ 19, 3.
ܒܐܫ 36, 6.
ܒܐܫܝ 23, 21.
ܒܐ 7, 11, 13; 9, 4; 17, 7; 18, 5, 8; 19, 5; 23, 4; 26, 7; 35, 6; 36, 2; 41, 13.
ܒܐ 23, 22.
ܒܐ 18, 3; 22, 12; 23, 12.
ܒ (140 times).
ܒ 38, 10; (cf. 18, 7).
ܒ cf. 18, 7.
ܒ 3, 4; 4, 6; 8, 19; 23, 1, 2, 3, 10 (bis); 26, 8, 9, 10, 11.
ܒܬ 6, 1.
ܓܠ 14, 10.
ܓܪܓܬܐ 22, 2.
ܓܪܓܐ 30, 6.
ܓܢ 22, 7.
ܓܢܙ 11, 21; 42, 12 (H).
ܓܢܙ 42, 12 (B).
ܓܢܙܐ 28, 15; 31, 12.

ܐܡܪ 3, 3, 6, 10; 4, 3, 15; 5, 1, 10, 11, 15; 6, 2, 3, 6, 18; 7, 2, 3, 17, 19, 21, 22, 23; 8, 1, 2, 6, 22; 9, 3, 4, 11; 10, 1; 11, 1, 6, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18; 12, 3, 13; 13, 1; 14, 1, 3, 6, 8; 15, 1, 10; 16, 1, 3, 5, 8, 18; 17, 16; 18, 3, 4; 19, 1; 20, 1, 4, 7; 21, 1, 5, 9; 23, 4 (B bis); 24, 5, 7, 10, 13; 25, 11 (bis); 26, 1, 8, 11; 29, 1, 6 (bis), 10; 30, 1, 2, 5 (bis); 31, 1, 2; 35, 1, 4, 5; 36, 1, 2, 3; 37, 1 (B), 4; 38, 16, 19; 39, 1, 7 (bis), 9; 40, 2; 41, 1, 3, 5, 7, 16.

ܐܡܪܢ 14, 4; 17, 2; 27, 1; 37, 1 (H); 42, 1.

ܐܡܪ 24, 1 (B); 39, 11.

ܐܡܪܐ 28, 13.

ܐܢܫ 23, 20.

ܐܣܐ 36, 6.

ܐܣܝܐ 9, 3; 17, 16; 24, 1; 29, 6; 39, 11; 41, 3, 15.

ܐܩܛܐ 25, 8 (B ܐܡܛܐ).

ܒܗܡ 4, 4; 12, 6.

ܒܠܫ 16, 11; 42, 9.

ܒܠܫܐ 27, 2; 42, 1.

ܒܪ 21, 8; 26, 1.

ܒܪܟܐ 11, 6; 26, 13; 30, 1, 2; 40, 2.

ܒܪܟܬܐ 4, 10.

ܓ 33, 4.

ܓܒܐ 31, 11.

ܓܐ 38, 8.

ܕܐ 6, 8; 26, 13.

ܕܐܘܬ 23, 14; 39, 1, 8.

ܕܒ 40, 4; 41, 6.

ܕܒܐ 11, 14; 41, 4.

ܕܡ 16, 16; 18, 6; 34, 2; 36, 3.

ܕܡܐ 5, 6; 6, 17; 7, 14; 8, 2; 10, 1, 6; 11, 11, 19; 12, 3, 7; 15, 2; 16, 15; 21, 3, 6; 25, 7; 29, 7; 32, 1; 38, 1; 41, 6, 14.

ܕܢ 6, 14; 7, 15; 11, 12; 30, 3; 38, 4.

ܕܢܢ 16, 12; 26, 10, 12; 28, 3; 30, 2, 7; 35, 6; 36, 1.

ܕܣ 3, 5; 25, 12; 26, 3; 37, 4.

ܕܣܐ 14, 6; 20, 8; 26, 12; 35, 1 (B).

ܕܣܕ 35, 1 (H).

ܕܣܕܐ 12, 6.

ܕܩ 40, 1.

ܕܪ 8, 10, 11, 22.

ܕܪܟ 18, 7; 19, 11; 35, 2.

ܕܪܟܐ 8, 10, 11.

ܕܫ 42, 7, 8.

ܗ 20, 6.

ܗܒܩܦܐ 12, 4.

ܗܕܝ 3, 6; 6, 3; 20, 6.

ܗܘ 4, 13; 5, 3; 7, 4; 9, 7, 10; 11, 4; 14, 3; 15, 6; 17, 4; 19, 5, 6; 22, 9; 23, 2, 7, 19; 29, 9; 30, 2; 31, 2 (B), 7; 41, 1.

ܗܟܠܐ 7, 23.

ܗܠ 18, 15.

ܗܠܐ 18, 15.

ܗܐ 5, 5; 6, 16; 9, 6; 12, 6; 18, 2; 37, 2; 38, 15.

ܢܥܫ 28, 17 (B and H on margin).
ܢܥ 6, 8, 15; 7, 17; 28, 6 (H); 30, 5; 31, 6; 35, 3; 42, 17.
ܐܥ 33, 8; 40, 2; 42, 16.
ܢܥܡ 3, 5; 7, 3, 12, 23; 9, 2 (bis); 20, 5 (bis), 6; 21, 4; 26, 9 (bis); 30, 3; 31, 7; 32, 2; 35, 7; 38, 15; 40, 4.
ܢܩܡ 6, 15; 10, 3; 39, 3; 41, 11, 16.
ܪܚ 11, 18; 38, 16.
ܪܚܐ 11, 21.
ܐܪܚ 38, 19, 20, 21.
ܢܒ 30, 3.
ܐܒܥ 3, 8.
ܢܥܐ 11, 15.
ܢܥ 28, 6.

ܗܠ 31, 12.
ܗ 7, 12; 18, 12; 28, 9; 38, 8; cf. 42, 5.
ܗܠܗ 7, 4; 17, 6; 34, 5; 42, 10.
ܗܳ 7, 17; 9, 6; 13, 2; 42, 5.
ܗܳܐ 5, 2, 10; 29, 1; 40, 1.
ܗܗܬܐ 12, 4.
ܗ 31, 10, 11; 42, 13.
ܗܝ (v.) 8, 1.
ܗܝ 6, 6; cf. 8, 22; 12, 3.
ܗܳܝ 11, 23; 30, 4.
ܗܝܐ (s. and pl.) 7, 10, 17; 19, 7, 10; 23, 7, 15, 19; 25, 5; 38, 12; 42, 11.
ܗܝܐ 14, 9; 16, 7; 23, 14.
ܗ 11, 17; 39, 13.
ܗ 38, 2.
ܗܳ 22, 5.
ܗܝ 14, 3.
ܗܗܬܐ 23, 20.
ܗܝ (sic) 8, 22.
ܗܠ 30, 6.
ܗܗ 12, 5.
ܗ 4, 1; 7, 13, 14; 8, 20; 9, 8, 10, 11; 18, 7; 20, 8; 25, 7; 38, 3, 17; 42, 19, 20 (B).
ܗܡ 10, 6; 28, 5; 38, 16; 39, 13.
ܗܗ 16, 15 (bis).
ܗ 33, 3 (bis).
ܗ (?) 12, 7.
ܗܠ 8, 15.
ܗ 41, 11; 42, 7.
ܗܠ 24, 11; 25, 5; 42, 10.
ܗ 28, 11.
ܗ 15, 10; 38, 1, 18 (B).
ܗ 22, 1; 29, 4; 38, 18 (H).
ܗ 35, 7.
ܗ 38, 8.
ܗ 20, 8.
ܗ 25, 7.
ܗ 28, 12.
ܗ 7, 20.
ܗ 6, 14; 8, 1; 11, 6; 12, 2; 16, 2; 20, 4; 21, 8; 30, 5; 37, 2; 38, 20; 40, 2; 42, 14.
ܗ 28, 4.
ܗ 26, 12.
ܗ 19, 3, 8.
ܗ 18, 11.
ܗ 39, 2.
ܗ 31, 13; 33, 1.

ܗܠܝܢ 18, 12.
ܗܡܐ (s. and pl.) 5, 9; 18, 12; 38, 2 (B).
ܗܡܗ 11, 8; 17, 3.
ܗܡܗܡ 28, 17.
ܗܡܗܢ 18, 9.

ܚܕ 19, 4.
ܚܕ 4, 2, 15; 7, 9, 12; 11, 1, 20; 12, 10; 14, 7; 15, 7; 16, 13, 16; 20, 7; 23, 15; 28, 12; 29, 2, 9; 36, 5; 38, 13; 42, 14, 16.
ܚܕ 29, 8.
ܚܕ 16, 14.
ܚܕ 29, 11.
ܚܕ 11, 22; 12, 4.
ܚܕ 8, 18, 19; 12, 7; 16, 1 (thrice), 6.
ܚܕ 7, 8; 11, 20; 16, 12, 13; 18, 5.
ܚܕ 22, 10 (B).
ܚܕ 5, 7.
ܚܕ 23, 15; 39, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13.
ܚܕ 25, 9; 38, 2.
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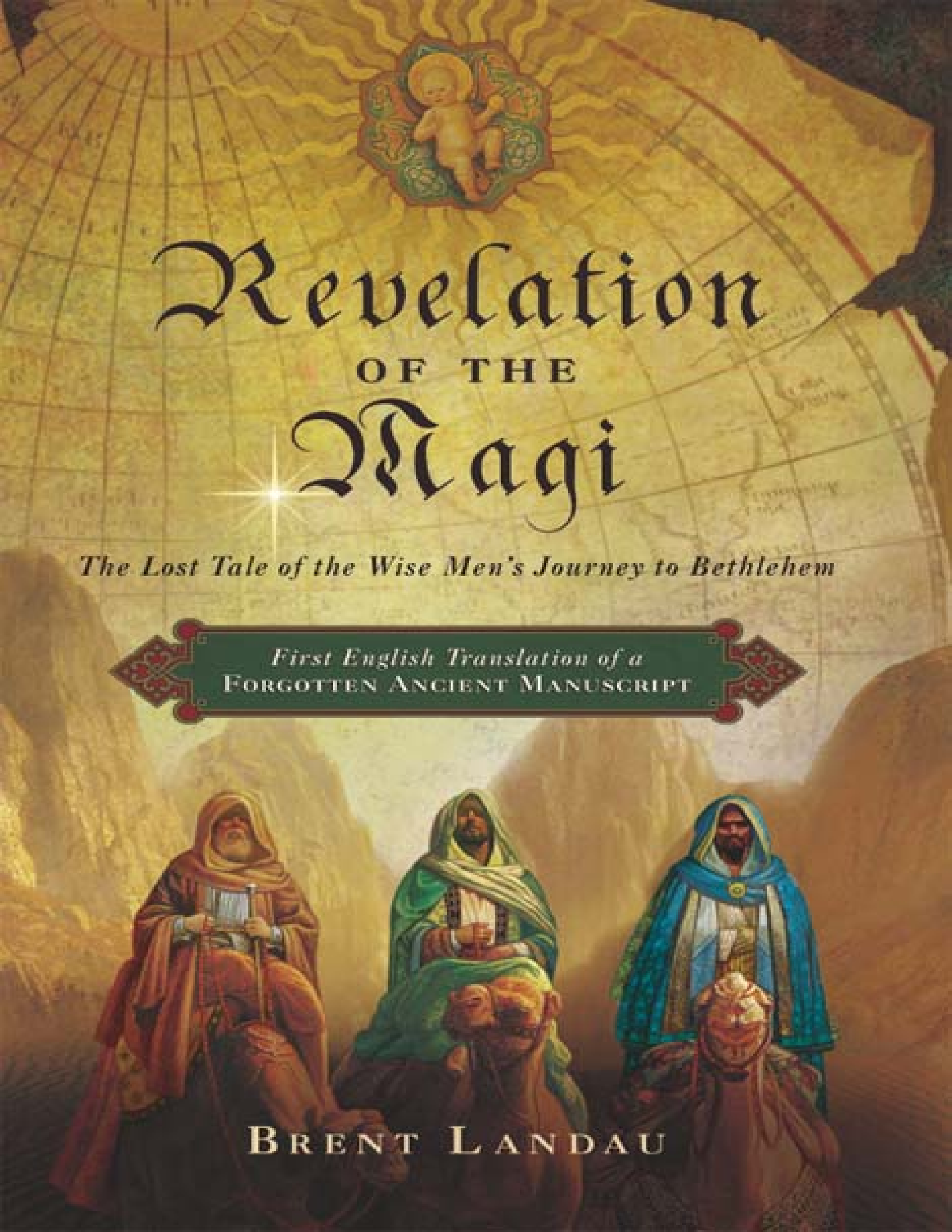
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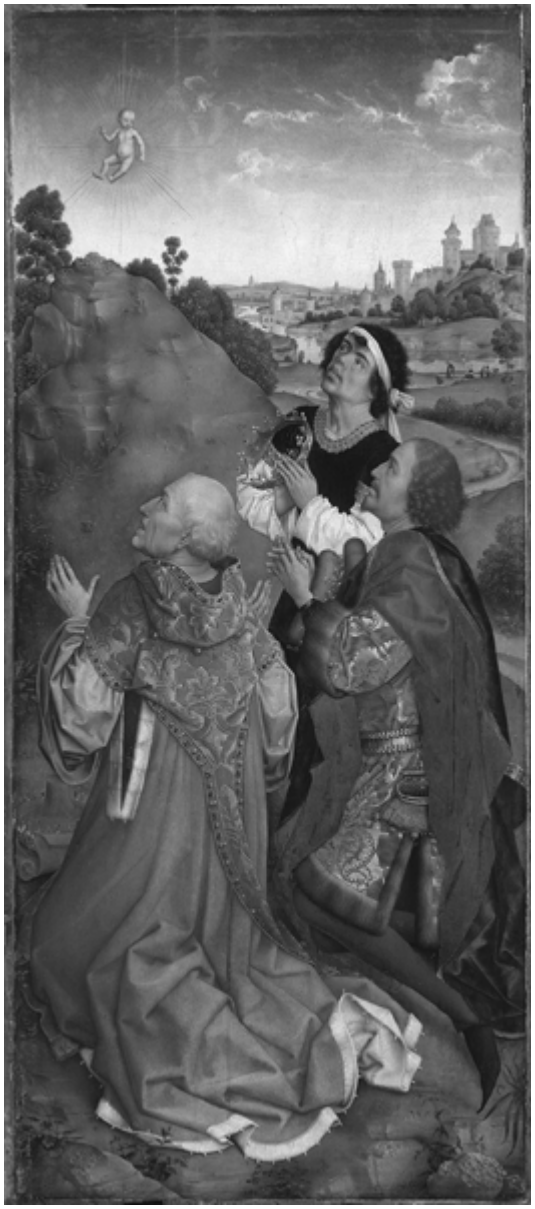

Revelation of the Magi

THE LOST TALE OF
THE WISE MEN'S JOURNEY
TO BETHLEHEM

Brent Landau

HarperCollins e-books

Co *three wise* women …
my grandmother,
Helen Mason,
who inspired me to study religion;
my mother,
Deborah Landau,
who inspired my love of reading;
and my wife,
Elizabeth Bangs,
who inspires me every day.

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INTRODUCTION

The Sages and the Star-Child

The Magi—usually known as the “Three Wise Men” or “Three Kings"—are easily the most famous of the visitors who appear at Jesus’s birth in the Gospel accounts of the Christmas story. Whether or not one is a churchgoer, practically everyone has heard of them. Their bringing of gifts to the Christ child began a tradition that has linked them forever with the rite of holiday gift giving. Despite their great fame, however, there is only one short passage in the New Testament that tells of the Magi, and this account is remarkably vague about these figures. Found in the Gospel of Matthew, chapter 2, verses 1 through 12, it says this:

> Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king, behold, wise men from the East came to Jerusalem, saying, “Where is he who has been born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and have come to worship him.” When Herod the king heard this, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him; and assembling all the chief priests and scribes of the people, he inquired of them where the Christ was to be born. They told him, “In Bethlehem of Judea; for so it is written by the prophet:
>
> ‘And you, O Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are by no means least among the rulers of Judah;
>
> for from you shall come a ruler
>
> who will govern my people Israel."’

> Then Herod summoned the wise men secretly and ascertained from them what time the star appeared; and he sent them to Bethlehem, saying, "Go and search diligently for the child, and when you have found him bring me word, that I too may come and worship him." When they had heard the king they went their way; and lo, the star which they had seen in the East went before them, till it came to rest over the place where the child was. When they saw the star, they rejoiced exceedingly with great joy; and going into the house they saw the child with Mary his mother, and they fell down and worshiped him. Then, opening their treasures, they offered him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh. And being warned in a dream not to return to Herod, they departed to their own country by another way.

Notice the enormous gaps in this story, gaps that a thoughtful reader must attempt to fill in. The wise men have no specific country of origin. No number or names are given for the wise men, though three was destined to become the most common number because of the three gifts (See *The Three Kings [Wise Men]* on pages 4 and 5).[1]

In fact, "wise men" itself is a rather poor translation of the Greek word *magoi*,[2] which elsewhere in the New Testament means "magicians" in a clearly negative sense.[3] Equally problematic—if not altogether disturbing—is the puzzling nature of this "star" that the Magi have followed to Judea. The Gospel of Matthew never explains how the Magi came to know that this star revealed the birth of the King of the Jews. Moreover, the star itself behaves very strangely, reappearing to the Magi on their way to Bethlehem[4] and then coming to rest directly over the place where the child Jesus was. All in all, the story of the Magi from Matthew's Gospel is a very bizarre one, and many early Christians struggled to make sense of it.

The Three Kings (Wise Men). Early Christian mosaic. 6th century C.E. S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Italy. Photo Credit : Scala/Art Resource, NY

Sixth-century mosaic of the Magi from Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Italy. This mosaic demonstrates some of the key features of the early Christian interpretation of the Magi story: the number of the Magi as three, their names, and even their range of ages.

Amid a wide range of early Christian speculation on the Magi—apocryphal Gospels, hymns, sermons, mosaics, wood carvings, and sculptures on sarcophagi—one composition is particularly impressive and yet surprisingly unknown. Called the *Revelation of the Magi,* it is a lengthy narrative that claims to be the personal testimony of the Magi themselves on the events of Christ's coming. Though versions of this legend were well known in Christian Europe throughout the Middle Ages, this book presents the first-ever complete English translation of the *Revelation of the Magi.*

I confess that I have had a lifelong fascination with the Christmas holiday, with the traditions of Jesus's birth and childhood, and with the story of the Magi and their star in particular. As a young child, I was captivated when my church in Flagstaff, Arizona, brought in an astronomer from the nearby Lowell Observatory one Advent season to discuss the range of possible scientific explanations for the Star of Bethlehem. Then, during my high school education at a Jesuit school in Phoenix, I first learned about the existence of writings outside the New Testament that purported to fill in gaps in the Gospel accounts of Jesus's upbringing. Finally, as a doctoral

student studying early Christianity at Harvard University, I was deeply impressed during a study trip to Italy when I saw how popular a subject the Magi were in paintings, altarpieces, and sculptures. Upon my returnto Cambridge, I resolved to learn as much as I could about early Christian legends of the Magi. In this search, I happened upon an article that mentioned the *Revelation of the Magi.* I asked around and was surprised to find that none of my colleagues had even heard of it. Did such a document really exist? It sounded like such a remarkable text that almost immediately I decided to investigate further.

Later in this introduction, I will discuss where this text came from, why it is so little known today, and why it may be a writing of great importance. But I'll start with the contents of the story itself, which I eventually discovered hidden away in the Vatican Library.

THE STORY

The *Revelation of the Magi,* mostly narrated by the Magi in the first person, is a sweeping and imaginative work that begins in the Garden of Eden and ends with the Magi being baptized at the hands of the Apostle Thomas. These Magi are members of an ancient mystical order and reside in a semimythical land called Shir, located in the extreme east of the world, at the shore of the Great Ocean. The *Revelation of the Magi* says these individuals are called "Magi" in the language of their country because they pray in silence. The story implies that the name "Magi" is thus a play on the words *silence* and/or*prayer,* but that implication does not make sense in any of the most common languages spoken by early Christians. Despite this unsolved mystery, however, this description sharply distinguishes the Magi of this story from any of the most common ancient usages of the term *magoi:* these Magi are not magicians, astrologers, or even priests of the Iranian religion of Zoroastrianism.[5]

These mystics, who live in a mysterious, far-off land, as the *Revelation of the Magi* depicts its Magi, are the descendants of Seth, the third son of Adam and Eve. Seth was believed by many early Jews and Christians to be extremely pious and virtuous, so it is very fitting for the *Revelation of the Magi* to trace the ancestry of the Magi back to such an illustrious founder. The Magi inherited from Seth a prophecy of supreme importance for the world: *a star of indescribable brightness will someday appear, heralding*

the birth of God in human form. Seth himself had learned about this prophecy from his father, Adam, since the star originally had hovered over the Tree of Life, illumining all of Eden, before Adam's sin caused the star to vanish.

Every month of every year, for thousands of years, the order of the Magi has carried out its ancient rituals in expectation of this star's arrival. They ascend their country's most sacred mountain, the Mountain of Victories, and pray in silence at the mouth of the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, where Seth's own prophetic booksare housed and read by the Magi. Whenever one of the Magi dies, his son or one of his close relatives takes his place, and their order continues through the ages.

All of this lore about the origins of the Magi and their prophecy has been narrated, we are told, by the generation of the Magi that was alive to witness the coming of the star. They have gathered together to ascend the Mountain of Victories, as was their ancient custom, but suddenly the foretold star appears in the heavens. As promised, the star is indescribably bright, so bright that the sun becomes as faint as the daytime moon; yet because the Magi alone are worthy of guarding this prophecy, the star can be seen by no one but them. The star descends to the peak of the mountain and enters the Cave of Treasures, bidding the Magi to come inside. The Magi enter the cave and bow before the star, whose incredible light gradually dissipates to reveal *a small, luminous human!* This "star-child" reveals to the Magi that he is the Son of God, but—and this is of crucial importance—never calls himself by the familiar names *Jesus* or *Christ.* Nor do the Magi themselves ever call him by these names, and the absence of these designations will provide us with a critical clue about the central message of the *Revelation of the Magi.*

The star-child instructs the Magi to follow it to Jerusalem so that they may witness its birth and participate in the salvation God has planned for the entire world.

The Magi descend from the mountain, discussing excitedly what they have just seen. In the course of their conversation, however, they learn that *each of them saw the star-child in a different form, with each vision representing a different time in the life of Christ!* They prepare a caravan and supplies for the lengthy trek, but thanks to the overwhelming power of the star, their journey proves to be truly extraordinary. The star removes any and all obstacles from their path, leveling valleys and mountains, making

rivers passable on foot, and protecting the Magi from wild animals. The star's light also relieves the Magi of their fatigue and continuously refills their food supplies. For the Magi, this vast journey from the eastern edge of the world to the land of Judea seems to have transpired in the mere blink of an eye.

The star leads the Magi into Jerusalem, where the city's inhabitants puzzle at these exotic foreigners. Because the star is invisible to the inhabitants, they presume these visitors to be astrologers of some kind, since the Magi keep looking up at the heavens. The Magi's encounter with Herod and the Jewish religious leaders in Jerusalem unfolds almost identically to the narrative of Matthew's Gospel—one of the rare times that the *Revelation of the Magi* closely follows the story line of Matthew.

Immediately after the Magi hear the Jewish prophecy about the birth of the Messiah at Bethlehem, the starreappears to the them[6] and leads them to a cave in the environs of the village. Just as upon the Mountain of Victories, the star enters the cave and beckons the Magi inside. Here the star transforms into a luminous, talking infant, whose "birth" is accompanied by unseen angels singing his praises. In a lengthy speech, the infant tells the Magi that their ancient mysteries have at last been fulfilled and commissions them to become witnesses to him and his Gospel for the people of their homeland.

As the Magi exit the Bethlehem cave, rejoicing at the fulfillment of their ancient prophecy, they are met by Mary and Joseph, who have suddenly appeared on the scene. In a very odd exchange, Mary accuses them of trying to steal her newborn infant, but the Magi assuage her concern by explaining that the child is actually the savior of the world and can be in many places simultaneously.

The Magi then begin their journey back to Shir, a trip that, through the awesome power of the star, transpires for them as quickly as did their travel to Bethlehem. The star's light refills their food supplies even more abundantly than before, and when the Magi eat of these provisions, they again see their guide in a multitude of different forms. When they reach the borders of their homeland, crowds of their family members and kinspeople come out to meet them, marveling at the appearance and health of the travelers. The Magi relate thestory of their miraculous encounter with the star and subsequent journey to the people of Shir. They conclude their story by revealing to the people that they, too, can come to experience the

presence of the star-child, whom the Magi claim is still with them—since he is, in fact, present throughout the entire world. The Magi present the people with the overflowing bags of food that the star has produced for them and invite them to partake. Those people who eat immediately see visions of the heavenly and earthly Christ, and thus many in the land of Shir accept the faith proclaimed by the Magi.

Thus far, the Magi's age-old prophecy has been fulfilled: they have journeyed with the star, witnessed the birth of Christ, preached his Gospel to their kinspeople, and now remain in the light of Christ's eternal presence. This would seem like a most fitting and fulfilling way for this story to conclude, yet the only copy of the *Revelation of the Magi* that we possess does not end here. In a concluding episode that may not have been part of the original story (more on the reasons for this later), the Apostle Thomas comes to the homeland of the Magi on a missionary journey—presumably after many years have passed. The Magi hear of his arrival and come to meet him, telling him of their experience of Christ's coming. Thomas recognizes that they have indeed had contact with Christ, and he relates to them his own memories of the ministry of Jesus. The Magi rejoice atwhat Thomas has said, and they ask him to initiate them into the Christian fellowship. When Thomas baptizes them early on Sunday morning, the heavenly Christ descends and administers the Eucharist, first to the apostle and then to the Magi. Thomas then commissions the Magi to proclaim the Gospel throughout the world, and the *Revelation of the Magi* ends with the Magi performing miracles and preaching.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Not only does the *Revelation of the Magi* have the distinction of being the most substantial early Christian composition about the Magi; its narrative complexity matches almost *any* early Christian writing. Thus, the first thing that one notices about the *Revelation of the Magi* is that whoever wrote it devoted a great deal of time and thought to crafting a rich and intricate story line. As a scholar of early Christian writings, I noticed several other surprising features immediately. Its location of the Magi in the far-eastern land of Shir was highly unusual, since most early Christians

thought that the Magi came from Persia, Babylon, or Arabia (see *Adoration of the Magi* on page 14).

Also surprising was its identification of the Star of Bethlehem with Christ himself, an interpretation found nowhere else in the diverse array of early Christian

Adoration of the Magi. 5th century C.E. Early Christian. Cypress wood carving from the door. S. Sabina, Rome, Italy. Photo Credit : Alinari /Art Resource, NY

A wooden door carving of the adoration of the Magi from the Basilica of Santa Sabina in Rome. Like the mosaic from Ravenna, this carving portrays the Magi wearing distinctive "Phrygian caps," reflecting a belief that the Magi are Zoroastrians from the land of Persia.

speculation about this mysterious celestial portent. The late entry of the Apostle Thomas into the action of narrative was quite unexpected, and raised a new series of questions for me about the relationship between the *Revelation of the Magi* and other texts that discuss the Apostle Thomas. I was also captivated by the very strange incident of the food that produced visions of Christ for the Magi and the people of Shir, given its parallels to the use of hallucinogenic substances in other religious traditions.

But finally and most importantly, I was surprised that neither I nor any of my colleagues knew of this impressive text's existence before I stumbled across a mention of it in an article. There are certainly a significant number of early Christian apocryphal writings that are familiar only to scholars specializing in apocryphal literature, but the *Revelation of the Magi* was completely unknown to me and to other specialists in this field that I

consulted. For me as a doctoral student, such a poorly known text represented a wonderful opportunity to bring an important document into the mainstream of early Christian scholarship. Yet it would also prove to be a serious challenge to my skills as a researcher, since even basic questions about when and under what circumstances it was written were unresolved.

WHERE DID THE "REVELATION OF THE MAGI" COME FROM?

As I mentioned earlier, the *Revelation of the Magi* has never before been translated into English, and very few specialists in early Christian apocryphal literature even know of its existence. How did this remarkable text come to be so neglected? Part of the problem is that the only known copy of the text is preserved in Syriac, a language used by ancient Christians throughout the Middle East and Asia, but one in which only a relatively small number of early Christian scholars are fluent. By comparison, many more scholars know Coptic, an Egyptian language in which such important texts as the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Mary, and the Gospel of Judas have been preserved.

Another important reason for this text's neglect, however, is that it belongs to two categories of material that historically have been scorned in the study of early Christianity. First, it is an apocryphal writing, and scholars have long privileged the canonical writings of the New Testament to the exclusion of writings outside of the canon. There are, of course, a few exceptions, such as the writings just mentioned, but beyond these, most apocryphal writings remain sorely neglected.

Second, the *Revelation of the Magi* is one of a handful of canonical and apocryphal texts that focus on eventssurrounding the birth of Jesus. Although the Christmas story has fascinated believers throughout the centuries, there are only two accounts of Jesus's birth among the four canonical Gospels, suggesting that the birth of Jesus was not nearly as important for the first Christians as the death, Resurrection, and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. Furthermore, Matthew and Luke tell markedly different stories about Jesus's birth, and the differences cannot be easily harmonized.[7] As a result, the great majority of scholars today believe that

this material has very little claim to historicity and have therefore ignored it. The study of the historical Jesus has mostly focused on his sayings and his final days in Jerusalem; only a few recent scholars have found any reliable historical details in the infancy narratives—and the story of the Magi is not one of them.[8]

Even if it is poorly known today, the manuscript that contains the *Revelation of the Magi* was never truly lost—certainly not in the way that, say, the Dead Sea Scrolls were. After the existing manuscript was copied down at the Zuqnin monastery in southeastern Turkey by an anonymous monk at the end of the eighth century, it changed hands at some point and was kept in a monastery in the Egyptian desert. There it stayed until the eighteenth century, when G. S. Assemani, collecting manuscripts on behalf of the Vatican Library, brought it to Rome, where it resides today.

Though this manuscript had been known by European scholars for several hundred years, it was not until rather recently that scholars first began to look closely at the legend of the Magi that it contained. An Italian translation of the *Revelation of the Magi* was made in the 1950s, and a few scholars in the decades since have discussed the text in journal articles, often peripherally. Quite serendipitously, when I first learned of the existence of the *Revelation of the Magi,* I had just finished my first year of studying the Syriac language. I was therefore well prepared to begin translating the text with the help of J. F. Coakley, Professor of Syriac at Harvard.

After nearly a year of biweekly meetings with Professor Coakley to check my work, I had managed to produce a rough but complete translation of the *Revelation of the Magi.* Despite the many hours of work that this had required, my task as a scholar of early Christian writings was only beginning. Unlike a scholar working on a New Testament text or even a well-known apocryphal writing, there was virtually no preexisting "conversation" about the *Revelation of the Magi* into which I was entering. Very few scholars knew that the text existed at all, so there were only some tentative suggestions about how old the *Revelation of the Magi* might be, who might have written it, and where it was composed.[9]

To figure out the most likely date of composition, my first step was to start with the *latest* possible time the text could have been written and then work backward as far as possible. As mentioned earlier, there is only one copy of the *Revelation of the Magi* in existence, and that manuscript is

securely dated to the late eighth century. Is it possible that the anonymous scribe who wrote this manuscript was actually the author of the *Revelation of the Magi?* Not likely, for several reasons. First, as a general matter, scholars of early Christianity know that the date of a manuscript is very rarely the date of the text it contains.[10] Second, the manuscript itself—known as the *Chronicle of Zuqnin,* for the monastery in which it was written—contains a number of writings that are known to have existed much earlier than the eighth century. Third, a Christian writer named Theodore bar Konai, who lived on the Arabian Peninsula at almost the same time that the chronicle was written, seems to have known about the *Revelation of the Magi*.[11] There is no reason to suspect that the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* would have traveled from southeastern Turkey to the Arabian Desert in the span of only a few years. It seems far more likely that the *Revelation of the Magi* was written—and circulated rather widely—earlier than the eighth century.

But how much earlier? Fortunately, even though we possess only one full copy of the *Revelation of the Magi,* there is another very important witness to this text. This other witness is a Latin commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, usually thought to have been written in thefifth century and known by scholars as the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum.* The anonymous writer of this commentary, when he comes to Matthew's story of the Magi, relates a legend about these mysterious figures. Even though he summarizes this legend in only a few short paragraphs, it is clearly the same story as that found in the *Revelation of the Magi*.[12] Moreover, it is very likely that he had actually seen a written copy of the *Revelation of the Magi,* since there are several parts of his summary that agree, practically verbatim, with the copy of the *Revelation of the Magi* that has survived for us.[13]

So it seems certain that a version of the *Revelation of the Magi* existed when the *Opus Imperfectum* was written in the fifth century. But how do we know that the Syriac text of the *Revelation of the Magi* that we have was written earlier than the fifth century? After all, it *could* be a later form of the legend that had been expanded significantly. There is one small, seemingly insignificant detail in the Syriac text that tells us when it was written. In the Syriac language, nouns can be either masculine or feminine, and in the *Revelation of the Magi*, "the Holy Spirit" is a feminine noun. Although it might surprise us today to think of the Holy Spirit as a female entity, this is exactly what Syriac writers of the second, third, and fourth centuries

considered it/her. Starting in the fifth century, however, Syriac writersbegan to treat “the Holy Spirit” as a masculine noun, under influence from Greek Christian thought. What this means, therefore, is that *the Syriac language itself* confirms that the form of the *Revelation of the Magi* that we possess must have been written earlier than the fifth century.

But this quirk of the Syriac language tells us only that the text must have been written earlier than the fifth century. To determine how much earlier it was written, we need to look for other clues in the Syriac form of the *Revelation of the Magi.* Recall that in the summary of the *Revelation of the Magi* presented earlier, I suggested that the story of the Apostle Thomas’s conversion of the Magi was probably not originally part of the *Revelation of the Magi.* Not only does it seem superfluous from a narrative point of view, but it also has a number of literary features that do not fit very well with what has come before. First, the Thomas episode is narrated in the third person, whereas the rest of the *Revelation of the Magi* is narrated by the Magi themselves, in the first person. Although such shifts in the perspective of the narrator are not unheard of in ancient Christian writings, this shift is especially abrupt and unexplained within the narrative. Second, the Thomas episode contains a striking change in terminology as compared with the first-person section of the *Revelation of the Magi.* One of the most distinctive features of the first-person section is its complete avoidance of the proper name “Jesus Christ” to refer to the divine being whom the Magi encounter. Yet as careful as the author is to forgo this name and other obviously Christian terminology, the Thomas section is not at all concerned to avoid the name “Jesus Christ,” using it almost twenty times!

Because of these reasons, I believe that the Thomas episode was a later addition to the *Revelation of the Magi.* I will say more shortly about the reasons that someone might have wanted to tamper with a text that purported to be the authentic testimony of the Magi about the coming of Christ. But for now, let us use the Thomas episode to help find out more about when the *Revelation of the Magi* was written—or at least when it was tampered with. As it happens, stories about the Apostle Thomas were especially popular among ancient Christians living in Syria. The most famous collection of these stories is known as the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Thomas, and it includes accounts of his miracles, his preaching, and his eventual martyrdom in India. Even though the Acts of Thomas and the Thomas episode from the *Revelation of the Magi* do not tell the same

story, they share numerous connections in their language and theology.[14] These similarities suggest that the Thomas episode was probably composed and added to the *Revelation of the Magi* around the same time and place as other Thomas legends were being written down—that is, around thelate third or early fourth century in Syria. Therefore, the first-person form of the *Revelation of the Magi* must have been composed by this time *at the latest,*[15] and perhaps earlier if it came from someplace outside of Syria.

But how much earlier might the original form of the *Revelation of the Magi* have been written? Might it be, as it claims, the authentic testimony of the Magi themselves? As tantalizing a possibility as this might be, it is highly unlikely. First of all, there is the basic problem of historicity with the whole Magi story found in Matthew's Gospel. As mentioned earlier, scholars have by and large concluded that there is virtually nothing of historical value in the infancy narratives of the New Testament. This judgment has been applied with particular vigor to the Magi story.[16] Even the Star of Bethlehem, the most impressive feature of the story, has never been incontrovertibly identified, arguments to the contrary notwithstanding.[17] And the fact that no trace of the Magi story is found in Luke's infancy narrative, which has the humble shepherds as the first outside witnesses to the child Jesus, or in any other of the earliest Christian writings does not enhance its credibility.

But even if we were to grant that Matthew's story of the Magi was based on an actual historical event, the *Revelation of the Magi* would not be a very strong candidate to have been written by the Magi themselves. True, the author of the *Revelation of the Magi* has carefullycrafted this story and added levels of detail such that one might *believe* it to be the work of the Magi themselves. Once we closely inspect the story, however, it becomes clear that the author has used written sources—such as the letters of the Apostle Paul, the Gospel of John, and the Book of Revelation, to name a few—that were written years after the "historical Magi" almost certainly would have died.[18]

In fact, the author not only used many of the earliest Christian writings in the New Testament. He seems to have used a rather obscure apocryphal Infancy Gospel that was likely written in the mid- to late-second century, a Gospel so obscure that it lacks an agreed-upon name![19] For the sake of (some) clarity, let us call it *Infancy Gospel X*.[20] In *Infancy Gospel X*, the

Magi come to visit the child Jesus at a small house outside the village of Bethlehem. Joseph—the main actor in *Infancy Gospel X,* as opposed to the narratives in Matthew and Luke, where he never says a word—proceeds to question these strange visitors about how they knew of the child's birth.

During the ensuing dialogue with Joseph, the Magi mention a number of details corroborated by the *Revelation of the Magi.* These include learning of the star's coming through their own very ancient writings, the Magi's lack of fatigue after a lengthy journey, and the indescribably bright star being visible to the Magi alone. Joseph even presumes the Magi to be astrologers because they keep looking up at the sky, apparently watching their invisible celestial guide. A very similar scene takes place in the *Revelation of the Magi,* but there it is the leaders in Jerusalem, not Joseph, who cannot see the star. Finally, *Infancy Gospel X* envisions the Magi not as three in number, but as a much larger group—an interpretation hinted at in the *Revelation of the Magi* (see *The Adoration of the Magi* on page 27).[21]

These parallels are very striking, but in *Infancy Gospel X* all these details are tightly concentrated in the Magi's brief appearance at the Bethlehem cave, not spread throughout the narrative as in the *Revelation of the Magi.* It seems quite probable that there is some sort of literary relationship between these two works, but who has borrowed from whom? It is very difficult to tell, and it is even possible that the authors of these two works used a third source (whether oral or written) independently of each other. I myself have gone back and forth many times about which writing was older. More research on *Infancy Gospel X* would be necessary before a decisive judgment could be made.

Even so, if we assume that the *Revelation of the Magi* came into being sometime after *Infancy Gospel X,* then it was probably written in the late second or early third century. It was then "corrected" in the late third or early fourth century by adding the concluding narrative about the Apostle Thomas's visit to the Magi.

If the *Revelation of the Magi* was not, as it claims, written by the Magi themselves, then who might have written this strange story? Although it is possible to give, with a reasonable degree of confidence, a window of time during which it was composed, we have almost nothing to go on regarding the author's identity or location. Only a small number of early Christian writings are written by the person put forth as the author anyway, so the *Revelation of the Magi* is not much different from them in this respect.[22]

The place of authorship is similarly unknowable: presumably the author's sophisticated theology—which we will address momentarily—suggests an urban location, perhaps Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, or another major urban center of the Roman world. All we know is that the *Revelation of the Magi* was known in Constantinople (where the author of the *Opus Imperfectum* found it) in the fifth century, and in southeastern Turkey (where an anonymous monk at the Zuqnin monastery copied it) and the Arabian Peninsula (where Theodore bar Konai lived) by the end of the eighth century.

Yet even if we cannot say much of anything substantial about the identity of the author or his whereabouts, we can actually say quite a bit about his understanding of the Christian message, and about why his understanding might have been viewed as theologically dangerous enough to warrant a new ending for the *Revelation of the Magi*.[23]

Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–1497) *The Adoration of the Magi* (with Gozzoli's self-portrait—with red cap). Lorenzo il Magnifico as the youngest of the three Magi. Fresco, 1459. Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence, Italy. Photo Credit : Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

The Adoration of the Magi, by Benozzo Gozzoli, 1459, Florence, Italy. Gozzoli has not depicted the familiar three Magi traveling alone, but instead accompanied by a great cavalcade. Both *Infancy*

Gospel X and an early form of the *Revelation of the Magi* likewise believed that the Magi constituted a large group.

WHY WAS THE "REVELATION OF THE MAGI" WRITTEN?

As mentioned earlier, one of the most noticeable features of the *Revelation of the Magi* is its careful avoidance of the name "Jesus Christ" to designate the Magi's celestial guide. This consistent omission is one of the reasons that the Apostle Thomas episode's free use of the name seems so jarring. Why has the author refused to use the name "Jesus Christ?" If the Magi in the first-person narrative come to the end of the story without ever using the name, this implies that they have had an experience of Christ without ever knowing this savior figure *as* Christ. The case of the Magi, then, raises the possibility that Christ has appeared to many people and yet not revealed himself *as* Jesus Christ.

The idea of Christ remaining unidentified in manifestations to the peoples of the world is, in fact, affirmed by statements that the celestial Christ makes to the Magi. He tells them that he has appeared not only to them in a manner congruent with their religion. Indeed, this is only one of many instances of Christ's revelation to humanity, since he has been sent "to fulfill everything that was spoken about me in the entire world and in every land" (13:10). Having heard this revelation from Christ, the Magi themselves then affirm it before others. To the inhabitants of Jerusalem, they explainthat they have come to worship Christ "because he has worshipers in every land" (17:5). Even to the child's mother, Mary, they insist on the universality and omnipresence of the Christ event: "[T]he forms with him are seen in every land, because he has been sent by his majesty for the salvation and redemption of every human being" (23:4).

According to the author of the *Revelation of the Magi,* the fundamental Christian message is not simply that Christ has been sent in order to save all humanity. That is a common enough belief among early Christians that its presence in this text would be unremarkable. The *Revelation of the Magi* goes much further than this, claiming that *the revelation of Christ is*

actually the foundation of all *humanity's religious beliefs and practices.* What the Magi have experienced in the fulfillment of their age-old prophecy, while obviously of great significance for them, is but "one drop of salvation from the house of majesty" (15:1)—one limited instance of Christ's salvific activity in the world.

What are the practical consequences of this belief that all forms of religious experience are revelations of Christ? Two especially come to mind. First, this belief means that the *Revelation of the Magi* has a far more positive view of non-Christian religious traditions than any other early Christian writing. There were a handful of early Christian thinkers who held that glimpses of Christ were had in the past by the greatest of the pagan philosophers—Socrates, to name one example. But these thinkers also maintained that such glimpses were woefully incomplete when compared with the definitive revelation of Christ in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. And such an opinion, it must be remembered, is quite charitable when compared with most early Christian beliefs about non-Christian religions. The vast majority of early Christians, like their Israelite forebears, tended to regard the gods of other peoples as illusory at best, demonic at worst.

A second consequence of the *Revelation of the Magi's* opinion about Christ's all-encompassing revelation is that it renders the traditional model of Christian expansion completely pointless. Throughout much of Christian history, and particularly since the beginning of the Age of Exploration in the fifteenth century, one dominant means by which Christianity has spread among non-Christian populations is through the work of dedicated missionaries. The general assumption is that the work of missionaries has been absolutely necessary because Jesus Christ delegated this task to the most devoted of his followers.[24]

But why could not Christ *himself* have been the principal agent of Christian expansion? If Christ existed before Jesus of Nazareth did (as the first verses of the Gospel of John claim) and could even visit people after his ascension (as Acts of the Apostles claims that he didto the Apostle Paul), then what would prevent Christ from appearing to *anyone,* in any place, at any time? This appears to have been a question asked by the author of the *Revelation of the Magi,* and his answer was, "Nothing." Christ appeared to the Magi before he assumed human flesh, and what is more, he apparently felt no need to identify himself to the Magi as Christ. The author, to be sure, is very concerned that the Christian revelation be spread to all the people of

the world, but in his estimation, human missionaries are in no way essential for this task.

If we see this view of Christ as central to the author of the *Revelation of the Magi,* then it becomes much clearer why someone else would have felt compelled to change the original ending of the story. As the *Revelation of the Magi* originally ended, the Magi and the people of Shir have all come to experience the presence of Christ, though they have done so completely without any of the trappings that we might associate with institutional Christianity. They are, in the words of the great twentieth-century Catholic theologian Karl Rahner, “anonymous Christians.” The Apostle Thomas episode solves this “problem” by having the Magi baptized and commissioned by an apostolic emissary to go preach the Gospel throughout the entire world.

A helpful analogy for what has happened to the *Revelation of the Magi* would be the difference between the"abrupt ending” and the “longer ending” of the Gospel of Mark, most likely the first of the canonical Gospels to be written. The vast majority of scholars today believe that the original ending of Mark’s Gospel was at 16:8. This would mean that Mark ended with the women running terrified from the angel’s appearance at the empty tomb of Jesus—that is, without any appearances of the resurrected Jesus. Mark would therefore have ended with the words “they said nothing to anyone, for they were afraid.” Although the precise reasons for the “abrupt ending” will likely never be completely clear, some scholars believe that by it Mark intended to convey a powerful theological message to his audience—possibly that Christian faith grows and perseveres *in spite of* the frailty and often failure of its would-be messengers.

A powerful theological message, and arguably a brilliant ending to this Gospel. But also one that could be misunderstood or seem rather inadequate, particularly given the presence of Resurrection appearances in later Gospels. So someone, probably in the second century, attached a “longer ending” to Mark’s Gospel (16:9–20) that contained several appearances of the risen Jesus, along with Jesus’s missionary charge to his disciples. In other words, this individual changed the ending of Mark’s Gospel to reflect much more clearly and explicitly how Christians in his time and place expected a Gospel to end. Something much like that seems to have happenedto the *Revelation of the Magi.* It was simply not good enough for the Magi to have had a revelation of Christ that did not “make

them Christians" in a straightforward and unambiguous way,[25] just as it was not good enough for the women of Mark's Gospel to hear that Jesus had been raised without *seeing* any definitive evidence of it or telling anyone about what they saw at the tomb. Hence, the endings of both Mark's Gospel and the *Revelation of the Magi* were rewritten and expanded to make them more palatable to the typical expectations of later Christians.

So, the *Revelation of the Magi* has a view of other religious traditions that is highly unusual among early Christian writings. That feature, along with its status as the longest and most developed apocryphal narrative about the Magi, should make it of considerable interest for scholars of Christian origins. But the present book would not have been written were *Revelation of the Magi* of interest for only a limited number of academic specialists. Over the past several years I have shared my work on this writing, with members of several church communities and with a number of friends and relatives, some of whom do not consider themselves especially religious. Their enthusiastic response, I believe, has much to do with the way in which the Magi have embedded themselves in popular culture to a degree surpassing many other figures from the Bible. Fewer and fewer people may have much understanding of such a monumental personality as, say, the Apostle Paul, but it seems as if *everyone* knows the wise men!

The *Revelation of the Magi* is indeed a fascinating and imaginative story about some of the Bible's most intriguing figures. But the emphasis of the *Revelation of the Magi* on the universality of Christ's revelation may also captivate many readers. The questions this writing poses are of potential importance for anyone who considers herself or himself religious, spiritual, or simply interested in theological questions. Could Christ actually be the source of multiple revelations throughout human history? Would there be any way of knowing this? What would the implications of this be for Christian attitudes toward non-Christian religions? What would this mean for the practice of evangelism? Would it even be correct to regard such a divine being as "Christ" if the Christian revelation is but a single isolated example of this being's salvific activity? Does any revelation take precedence over others? The answers to these questions will probably differ depending on one's basic religious convictions. But whether one is a born-again Christian, a Latter-day Saint, a "religious seeker," or a Buddhist, the *Revelation of the Magi* raises challenging questions about divine revelation,

religious pluralism, and the uniqueness of religions—questions that merit deep, sustained reflection.

The English Translation of the *“Revelation of the Magi”*[26]

1. INTRODUCTION [27]

1:1About the revelation of the Magi, and about their coming to Jerusalem, and about the gifts that they brought to Christ.[28] 1:2An account of the revelations and the visions, which the kings,[29] [sons of kings,[30]] of the great East[31] spoke,[32] who were called Magi in the language of that land because in silence, without a sound, they glorified and they prayed.[33] 1:3And in silence and in the mind they glorified and prayed to the exalted and holy majesty of the Lord of life,[34] to the holy and glorious Father, who is hidden by the great brightness of himself and is more lofty and holy than all reasoning. 1:4And the language of human beings is not able to speak about him as he is, except as he has wished, and when he has wished, and by means of whom he wishes. 1:5And neither his heavenly worlds nor the lower ones are able to speak about his majesty, except as it is fitting for the will of his majestyto reveal to the worlds so that they are able to partake from the gift[35] of his majesty, because (his majesty) is great and they are not able to speak of it.

2. THE MAGI—THEIR NAMES AND LINEAGE

2:1And so, there were those wise men,[36] who were called Magi in the language of the land because in silence, without a sound, they praised the God of all, that one who, by his word and will, has come to be all that is, all that exists and arises, and all that is going to be. 2:2And there is nothing that exists outside of his will,[37] and furthermore, there is no one who will stand against the will of the Father of all. 2:3The names of the wise men and kings were called as follows:[38] Zaharwandad son of Artaban; Hôrmizd son of Sanatruq; Auštazp son of Gudaphar;[39] Aršak son of Mihruq; Zarwand son of Wadwad; Arîhô son of Kosrau; Artahšišat son of Hawîlat; Aštanbôzan son of Šîîšrawan; Mihruq son of Humam; Ahširaš son of Sahban; Nasardîh son of Baladan; Merôdak son of Bîl. 2:4 These are kings, sons of Eastern kings, in the land of Shir,[40] which is the outer part of the entire East of the world inhabited by human beings, at the Ocean,[41] the great sea beyond the world, east[42] of the land of Nod,[43] that place in which dwelt Adam, head and chief of all the families of the world. 2:5And these sons of kings received commandments, laws, and even books from their fathers.

The English Translation

2:6And generation from generation, one by one, they received (them,) from the time of Seth, the son of our father Adam, because Adam revealed (them) to his son Seth when he had him.[44] 2:7And Adam taught Seth about his prior greatness, before he transgressed against the commandment, and about his expulsion from Paradise.[45] And he warned his son Seth not to transgress also against the (divine) justice as Adam (did).

3. THE TRANSMISSION OF THE MYSTERIES

3:1And Seth received the commandment of his father with a pure heart,[46] and he took care of the agreement and the gift of the exalted Lord of majesty. 3:2And it was given to Seth to set down in a book and to make known the wisdom, and to call upon the name of the LORD,[47] the Lord of every soul who seeks after life. 3:3And from him a book appeared in the world for the first time,[48] which was set down in the name of the Exalted One. 3:4And Seth entrusted to his descendants the book that was set down, and it was transmitted up to Noah, that one who was found just and was delivered from the waters.[49] 3:5And [in the time of the Deluge,] Noah [took] the books of commandments with him [in the Ark. And when] he came out of the Ark, Noah also commanded the generations after him, who recounted his great deeds and the hidden mysteries[50] that are written in the books of Seth about the majesty of the Father and all the mysteries. 3:6And the [books,] and the mysteries, and the speech were handed down in succession by tradition even until our [51] fathers. 3:7And they learned and received with joy, and handed them down to us ourselves, and we also kept with love and fear their mysteries of the books and the secrets and the words. 3:8And we prayed in silence and gave thanks and glorified, bowing our knees and lifting our hands to the height of heaven,[52] to the Lord of that majesty that is hidden from the eyes of everything that lives.

4. THE PROPHECY OF THE STAR

4:1And those books of hidden mysteries were placed on the Mountain of Victories[53] in the east of Shir, our country, in a cave, the Cave of Treasures of the Mysteries of the Life of Silence.[54] 4:2And our fathers commanded us as they also received from their fathers, and they said to us:[55] “Wait for the light that shines forth to you from the exalted East[56] of the majesty of the Father, the light that shines forth from on high in the form of a star[57] over the Mountain of Victories and comes to rest upon a pillar of light[58] within the Cave of Treasures [of] Hidden Mysteries. 4:3And also command your sons, and your sons their sons, until the mystery of the star that shines forth from the exalted majesty appears to your generations, a light like a star, and giving light to the entire creation and obscuring the light of the sun, moon, and stars, and not one of them is seen or is able to stand in the presence of its light.[59] 4:4For it is the great mystery of the Son of the exalted majesty, who is the voice of the Father; the offspring of his hidden thought; the light of the ray of his glory; the will and image of his hiddenness;[60] 4:5the allengendering word of his thought; source of life never-failing from his spring;[61] the all-governing word according to the will of the one who sent it;[62] an image that has no form or likeness among any things that exist. 4:6This one, by whose power and word all the worlds were set in order and established, is the Son of perfect mercy, is the ray of light of the glory of the Father of ineffable majesty. 4:7Therefore, know that when this light from that majesty that has no end shines forth for you and will appear like a star to you so that you are able to see him: eagerly, with joy and love, and completely, with care, taking with you his own pure gifts,[63] which were put in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries on the Mountain of Victories by your fathers, go to where his light, the star, leads you. 4:8And you will see a great and amazing sign, God appearing in the bodily form of a human being, unsightly,[64] poor, imperfect, frail, lowly, even the sign of the cross

appearing upon him [see *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* on pages 40 and 41]. And you will go before him with love and joy, taking with you your gifts, and you will worship in the presence of the child, despised, poor, and killed.[65] 4:9And you will offer him your gifts, and you shall receive from him the blessing of salvation and shall partake with him in the joy, which, when he comes with his hidden glory, with his perfect divinity, with his perfect riches that do not pass away, with his new world, with his light that *[text missing]*, with perfect salvation, which he will give to all [text *missing]*. 4:10Also, take care and command your sons. And if the coming of the light of the star does not happen in your days, also have your sons tell it to their sons, until the mysteries and revelations shall come to pass that are written about his coming."

The Three Magi. Speculum Humanae Salvationis, by Ludolfus de Saxonia. Ms.15, f.10r. Vellum. Germany, ca. 1410. Spencer Collection. Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Photo Credit : New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY

An illuminated manuscript of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis,* Germany, ca. 1410. The illustrator demonstrates an awareness of the *Revelation of the Magi*, depicting Christ in the form of a star hovering over the Magi. Notice especially the detail of Christ carrying the cross (cf. *Revelation of the Magi* 4:8).

5. THE RITUAL OF THE MAGI

5:1And we received the laws and commandments from our fathers, and we taught all the mysteries, and we reminded our sons: “Perhaps in your days the coming of the light of this star will happen, as we received and learned from our fathers.” 5:2And we went up to the Mountain of Victories, and when we were all assembled at the foothills of the mountain from each one’s dwelling place, we remained in one place for purification on the twenty-fifth day[66] of every month. 5:3And we bathed in acertain spring that was on the foothills of the mountain, and it is called “The Spring of Purification.” 5:4And seven trees stood over it: an olive, a vine, a myrtle, [a cypress,] an orange, a cedar, and a juniper.[67] 5:5And that mountain was altogether incomparably more beautiful and desirable than all the mountains in our land, and the smell of all sweet spices effused from it, and the dew that was sprinkled was a sweet smell.[68] 5:6And when it became the first of the month,[69] we ascended and went to the top of the mountain and stood before the mouth of the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries. 5:7And we knelt on our knees and stretched forth our hands to heaven, and we prayed and worshiped in silence, without a sound, to the Father of that heavenly majesty that is ineffable and infinite forever.[70] 5:8On the third of the month we entered the cave up to the treasures, the treasures that were prepared as the star’s own [gifts] and for the adoration of that light that we awaited. 5:9And what we read and heard from the revelation, when we returned, descending in joy, we said to and instructed our sons, our families, and everyone who gave themselves with love to learn. 5:10And if it should chance that one of us should pass away, we would raise up his son or one of the sons of his family [in his place,] as when we succeeded our fathers, until the time of the coming of the star has been fulfilled. 5:11We also taught the people of that country,those who gave themselves to the love of revelation to learn with joy. And those who did not wish to learn and distanced

themselves from help because they saw our quiet way of life, that we prayed in silence, [we] said our mysteries to them with honor.[71]

6. AN EXCERPT FROM

SETH'S BOOKS OF REVELATION

6:1Again,[72] from the books that were in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries: every word that our father Adam, the beginning of our great lineage, spoke with his son Seth, whom he had after the death of Abel, whom his brother Cain killed[73] and over whom his father Adam mourned. 6:2And Adam instructed Seth his son about *[text missing]*, [and about the revelation] of the light of the star and about its glory, because he [saw] it in the Garden of Eden when it descended and came to rest over the Tree of Life; and it illuminated the entire (garden) before Adam transgressed against the commandment of the Father of heavenly majesty. 6:3And when he transgressed against the commandment that (the Father) ordained for him, the sight[74] of the star was taken away from him, and (it was also taken away from him) because of his expulsion from Paradise. And Adam our father mourned over (his) foolishness, that he was humbled from his greatness. 6:4And he strongly warned his son Seth, and he taught him to walk in righteousness so that he might find mercy before the Father of majesty.

7. THE FALL OF ADAM

7:1And he said to him: “My son, there will be generations and ages from me and from my offspring, and they will be recounting my foolishness and speaking figuratively with figures of speech to one another. 7:2They are fulfilled about me, and they will say: ‘Every kingdom that will be divided against itself shall not stand.’[75] This is fulfilled about me, because I doubted about my kingdom in which I stood, and I, by my hands, destroyed it myself. 7:3My son, the rib that was removed from me[76] became a thorn, and it blinded my eye. 7:4I even prophesied when I saw her, and I said: ‘This time is bone and flesh from me.’[77] And rightly did I call her ‘time,’ because she became a stumbling block for me.[78] 7:5My son, guard from her the words of your mouth and do not reveal to her all the mysteries of your heart.[79] 7:6For my compassionate master made her a helper for me,[80] for honor and glory, because he loved me like a beloved son.[81] 7:7And I made her an injury for me and a destroyer of my footprints so that she cast me out of Paradise, my kingdom. 7:8And I did not understand my honor, but I was puffed up in my heart by the advice of treachery that she gave to me, a cup of sound filled with poison by the lie of the serpent.

8. ADAM’S IGNORANCE OF GOD’S MERCY

8:1“And I did not understand my priority when I did not (yet) exist, and when I did exist, in what sort of honor I was, nor my authority over the entire world, nor my love among the holy watchers,[82] nor my entire life inside Paradise, nor, more than everything, the mercy and kindness of my holy master who loved me and was merciful to me like a kind father. 8:2And when I transgressed against his commandment in my boldness, he did not judge me as a Lord who holds a grudge, but as a kind father whose mercy is mixed with discipline. 8:3For if he had judged me according to my foolishness, he would have destroyed me as vanity and made me as if I never existed. And who would stand up against him and say: ‘What are you doing?’[83] 8:4But he disciplined me with mercy and did not judge me according to my foolishness, since, behold, my son, I saw the entire creation, which is under my authority as before. 8:5And my deceiver, the Evil One, wanted to humiliate me with his fraud and be liberated from under my authority. On the contrary, my kind master, in his mercy, put him under my feet that I would trample him,[84] having put fear upon me so that I would not obey his advice again. 8:6And like a judge (in) his justice, he shut his lying mouth and filled it with dust, and he tore off his feet so that he could not walk upon them, (and) heseparated him from every animal created like him.[85] 8:7And all these things happened to me, my son, and I was brought low from my majesty. The cause of all these evil things, Eve your mother, was a stumbling block for me. 8:8But you, my son, guard yourself from her advice and do not obey her as I (did,) but love and honor the Lord of life, my kind master, and he will save you and have mercy upon you.

9. ‘ADAM’S PREDICTION OF THE END TIMES

9:1“For there will be from my family and my children glorious and honorable people, (the reciters) of the mysteries of the majesty. And they will find great mercy and will pray, ask, and be heard. 9:2And *[text missing]* of the majesty, but at the end times of that generation they will again be [rebelling,] and they will not be afraid of my foolishness and of the judgment that I have.[86] Instead, they shall be headstrong and shall speak blasphemy unto the heavenly majesty. 9:3And they will say many things,[87] and shall also make painted idols and graven images, and shall even serve the sun and the moon,[88] and they shall speak words of blasphemy. 9:4And all these things that are among them from the deceits of my treacherous deceiver, because he will offer the love of his fraud and his deceit filled with poison to each of the generations that will be after me. 9:5And he will [show] andmake them desire the empty praise of great riches, pride, clothes, property, fornication, boastfulness, injustice, greed, and various possessions. 9:6And he will appear to them like a lover or a friend and entice them. And again, with reveling, drunkenness, impure and defiled feasts, which are an illusion [of his] empty [apparitions,] and again, with possessions of assorted excesses, he will take hold of them with fraudulent affection, which is not virtuous,[89] just as also to me through Eve.

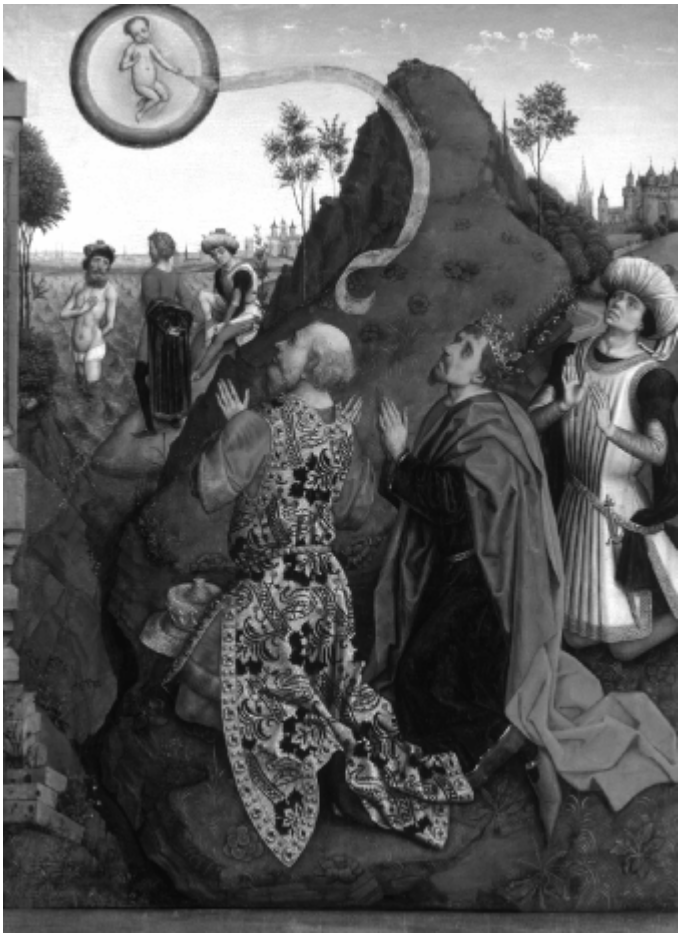
10. ADAM'S FINAL EXHORTATION TO SETH

10:1"He led me astray by his fraudulent word like an innocent person concerned for my welfare: 'See, I promise you something right and suitable for you, (namely) that, when you have eaten from the tree, from which you were commanded not to eat, you will become like your God,'[90] my merciful master. 10:2I, wretch (that I was), did not understand my honor, that his fraudulent promise could not come true, nor could the clay be like its potter,[91] nor the servant like his master.[92] But I know the great mercy of the majesty of my kind master, which is to be revealed for me at the end of days. 10:3And at the end he will save me from destruction and raise me from the dust as he raised me up when I did not exist.[93] And my enemy rejoiced and exulted over me since I had fallen by his deceit. 10:4My kind savior and merciful master is going tosustain me and have pity upon me with his mercy, and [descending] to the darkness,[94] he will strengthen me by his light and illuminate my eyes as he did before, (when) he breathed the spirit into my nostrils and I lived.[95] 10:5But you, my son, and your generations after you, it has pleased my maker and my savior that you should find mercy before him; for he does not reckon against you my own sins because of his kindness. 10:6For if he had requited me according to my foolishness, I would not have begotten forth fruits,[96] nor would he have accepted the offering from your brother Abel,[97] nor would he have exacted retribution for his blood from the hands of his brother who killed him.[98] 10:7For he does not neglect in his great mercy anyone who loves him and walks in justice before him. Even to those who offend him, he gives opportunity for repentance, and is gracious to them if they repent and seek (it) from him, because his mercy upon his world is great." 10:8And Seth heard everything that his father Adam commanded him, commandments more numerous than these, and wrote them down with diligence, and we found them in the books that were placed in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries. 10:9He also commanded and added to them. And Seth purified his heart so that he

would not obey the deceitful Evil One, and he praised and called upon the name of the Father of heavenly majesty.[99] 10:10And Seth also commanded these mysteries to his sons. And we were reading (them) everymonth that we went up the mountain, and with love we entered the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries. And we also learned them and taught our sons and families.

11. THE APPEARANCE OF THE STAR TO THE MAGI

11:1Then, when the time and fulfillment of what was written in the books happened, concerning the revelation of the light of the hidden star, we were indeed thought worthy for it to come in our days and to receive it with joy, as we were commanded by our fathers and as we ourselves read in the books. 11:2And each of us saw wondrous and diverse visions that were never before seen by us, but their mysteries were in these books that we were reading.[100] 11: 3And each one came from his dwelling place according to our ancient custom to ascend the Mountain of Victories *[text missing]* to wash in the Spring of Purification, as we were accustomed. 11:4And we saw [*text missing*] in the form of an ineffable pillar of light descending, and it came to rest above the water. 11:5And we were afraid and shook when we saw it. And we cannot speak about the brilliance of the star of light, since its radiance was many times greater than the sun, and the sun could not stand out before the light of its rays.[101] 11:6And just like the moon looks in the daytime in the days of Nisan,[102] when the sun rises and it is absorbed in its light,[103] so also did the sun seem to us when the star rose over us. 11:7And the light of the star, which surpassed the sun, appeared to us ourselves and the sons of our mysteries,[104] but it did not appear to anyone else,[105] because they were removed from its mysteries and its coming. And we rejoiced, and glorified, and gave unmeasured thanks to the Father of heavenly majesty that it appeared in our days and we were thought worthy to see it.



Rogier van der Weyden, Follower of. Polyptych. Mid-15th century. Tempera and oil. Main Panel: 33 3/16 x 55 1/8 in. (84.3 x 140 cm); Upper Wings: 17 15/16 x 7 7/8 in. (45.6 x 20 cm); Lower Wings: 33 5/8 x 16 5/8 in. (85.4 x 42.2 cm). South Lowlands, Brabant, Brussels. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, 1949 (49.109). Photo credit: Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY

Panel of polyptych from the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, mid-fifteenth century, the Cloisters Collection, New York. A similar work to the frontispiece of this book, this painting depicts several details from the *Revelation of the Magi.* Note the infant Christ in the form of a star, the holy mountain of the Magi, and the Magi bathing in their sacred spring.

12. THE STAR DESCENDS TO THE MOUNTAIN OF VICTORIES

12:1And when we bathed in the Spring of Purification with joy, and we ascended the Mountain of Victories as we were accustomed, and we went up and found that pillar of light in front of the cave, again a great fear came upon us [see detail of polyptych by Rogier van der Weyden on page 51]. 12:2And [we knelt] upon our knees, and we stretched out our hands according to our ancient custom, and we praised in silence the vision of its wonders. 12:3And again, we saw that heaven had been opened[106] like a great gate and men of glory carrying the star of light upon their hands. And they descended and stood upon the pillar of light,[107] and the entire mountain was filled by its light, which cannot be uttered by the mouth of humanity. 12:4And (something) like the hand of a smallperson drew near in our eyes from the pillar and the star, at which we could not look, and it comforted us. And we saw the star enter the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, and the cave shone beyond measure.[108] 12:5And a humble and kind voice made itself heard by us, which called out and said to us: “Enter inside without doubt, in love, and see a great and amazing vision.” And we were encouraged and comforted by the message of the voice. 12:6And we entered, being afraid, and we bowed our knees at the mouth of the cave because of the very abundance of the light. 12:7And when we rose at its command, we lifted our eyes and saw that light, which is unspeakable by the mouth of human beings.

13. EPIPHANY IN THE CAVE OF TREASURES

13:1And when it had concentrated itself, it appeared to us in the bodily form of a small and humble human,[109] and he said to us: “Peace to you,[110] sons of my hidden mysteries.”[111] And again, we were astonished by the vision, and he said to us: “Do not doubt the vision that you have seen, that there has appeared to you that ineffable light of the voice of the hidden Father of heavenly majesty. 13:2And again, (do not doubt that) it appeared to you to concentrate its light in its rays, or that it appeared to you in the form of a small, humble, and unworthy human,because indeed, the inhabitants of the world cannot bear to see the glory of the only Son of the Father of majesty,[112] unless it appeared for them in the form of their world. 13:3And again, other signs shall appear in it, which are hidden and (would be) shameful for the heavenly majesty, for the sake of the redemption of the lives of human beings, because my Father has loved them that they should not perish[113] by the error in which they have persisted. 13:4And again, I will perfect[114] the love of the Father, even unto the death of a cross.[115] For the sake of their salvation I will descend to raise them up with me in love and indivisible peace if they shall believe in me without doubt, and give thanks, and glorify through me the Father of that glorious majesty who sent me for their salvation. 13:5And I have loved them that they may not perish by the error in which they have persisted. And therefore, since I have appeared to them in the fullness of all the times,[116] they have no excuse[117] for their offenses unless they repent and believe in me. 13:6And also you, everything that you were commanded by your fathers, and everything that you learned from the mysteries of the books that you have read, do, since behold, the hidden mysteries of the light of the star that you have been waiting to see, behold, he himself has (now) told you about himself as you are able to hear. 13:7And you will believe without doubt, seeing in me signs of many forms. 13:8Andagain, take with you the treasure that was deposited in this cave by your fathers and [continue in joy] and worship the *[text missing]* I will be

born like a human being. 13:9And again, worship me there [text *missing]:* even now, as I am speaking with you I am also there. Because my Gospel has been proclaimed by angels, I am both there and with the majesty of my Father.[118] 13:10And I am everywhere,[119] because I am a ray of light whose light has shone in this world from the majesty of my Father, who has sent me to fulfill everything that was spoken about me in the entire world and in every land by unspeakable mysteries,[120] and to accomplish the commandment of my glorious Father, who by the prophets preached about me to the contentious house,[121] in the same way as for you, as befits your faith, it was revealed to you about me.[122] 13:11And I am going up with you and am a guide for you on the entire journey that you are traveling, seeing signs, glorious wonders, and great victories upon the entire earth. And you will see the completion of all the mysteries in Jerusalem, and everything that was spoken with you will come true for you. 13:12And again, you will see signs of humility, even a lowly and weak form, such that people will act boldly against me, and they will desire to do that which they plotted in deceit against me, and they will not be able to have [their goal] take place. 13:13But all that they do will be for their killing and their destruction,[123] and the will of the Father shall be fulfilled for the sake of the salvation of the life of the whole world."

14. THE MAGI REALIZE CHRIST'S POLYMORPHISM

14:1And when he spoke all these things with us, along with a great many that we cannot say because of the great riches of their majesty, all of us went out of the cave, exulting and rejoicing that we were thought worthy for all these mysteries of that unspeakable majesty to be revealed around us and spoken with us. 14:2And we took that entire treasure that was deposited in the cave, letters having been sealed in which it was placed.[124] And we descended from the mountain, glorifying the mysteries of the revelations of the light of the star that appeared to us. 14:3And each of us was speaking about the revelations and visions that had appeared to him in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, but our visions did not resemble each other, and all the wonders of many forms that appeared to us.[125] 14:4There is one of us saying, "I saw a light in which there were many images that were amazing." And there is one saying, "I saw an infant who had unspeakable forms." 14:5And there is one saying, "I saw a youth who did not have a form in this world." And there is one saying, "I saw a human being who was humble, unsightly in appearance,[126] and poor." 14:6And there is one saying, "I saw a cross and a person of light who hungupon it, taking away the sins of the entire world."[127] And there is one saying, "I saw that he went down to Sheol with force and all the dead rose and worshiped him."[128] 14:7And there is one saying, "I saw that he ascended in glory, and he opened the graves, and he raised up the dead, while they are crying out and saying: 'Holy is our king and holy is his descent to us! Because of our sins he humbled himself to save us.'" 14:8And there is one saying, "I saw him ascending to the heavenly height, and angels opening the gates[129] of heaven before him. And clouds of seraphs and angels are taking him upon the palms of their hands,[130] and the Paraclete Spirit[131] taking a diadem and a crown and making victory shine before him, and all the hosts praising and singing the honor of his humility, which prevailed in the whole struggle of error and death." 14:9And when all these things and others like them, of

which there were many, (happened,) while descending the Mountain of Victories, we gave praise and repeated to each other everything that we saw and heard there. 14:10And we were in great rejoicing and great exultation that we were thought worthy to see this complete gift of salvation for which all the kings, and righteous ones, and prophets, and powerful ones prayed, and hoped, and waited, that they might see this sight. But they did not see it[132] because it was not then the time of the coming of the star of light, giving perfect salvation to its believers.

15. THE FATHER SPEAKS To THE MAGI

15:1And while we were praising these things, suddenly a voice with much light[133] and with unspeakable kindness came to our ears from the heavenly height of majesty, saying to us: “Everything that you have seen, and heard, and discussed, and had spoken to you, and (at which) behold, you are amazed, is (only) one drop of salvation from the house of [majesty.] 15:2For there is no one who can know all the mysteries of singleness except the one who is issued from the thought of the hiddenness of the Father. And no one knows the Father except[134] the voice bringing forth the word of salvation, revealing the depth of hiddenness of the thought of the Father, in whom he is forever.[135] 15:3And by the (same) voice and word the heavenly worlds and the lower ones of the Father of majesty came into being and were ordered:[136] the angels, and powers, and princes, and authorities, even this world in which you exist, and the height, and depth, and length, and width.[137] 15:4And there is otherwise nothing that exists outside the will of the Father of majesty[138] or that has come to be without the voice of life. For this is my beloved Son,[139] being sent of perfect love. This is the revealer of the secrets of the Father for his beloved ones, as it is fitting for them and as they can receive by his gift[140] of the Son. 15:5This is he who has told of new and perfect worlds forthose who are persuaded and believe in him. This is the interpreter of wisdom and hidden mysteries. This is he who is the image and form of the Father of majesty,[141] by whom he is always heard. 15:6This is the only begotten Son,[142] perfecting all the will of his Father. This is the one who is not loved and honored as he deserves, because that world loves the darkness and its desires more than him.[143] 15:7This is the one who was humbled and became a human being for the salvation of human beings so that they would not perish. He put on, by his will, a body,[144] a humble form, that with it he might slay death and take away the dominion of death, to give eternal life to those who love him and believe in him. 15:8This is the

one in whose name signs and portents take place through his believers.[145] This is the perfect Son, doing the will of he who sent him. This one is the way[146] and the gate[147] of light for those who enter by it. 15:9This is the one who is in everything and is named and spoken of above all.[148] This is the bread of life that comes down from me[149] for believers; he is the sower of the word of life,[150] and he is the shepherd of truth who gives himself as ransom for his flock.[151] He is the great priest[152] who by his blood absolves the worlds; he is a drink[153] of the vine[154] of life. 15:10This is the one that you saw who is in many forms that appeared to you, but is not deprived of either my love or the person of his glory. And no one exists over him or over his majesty to speak of how he is, except me, and I and he, we are one in unspeakable glory.”

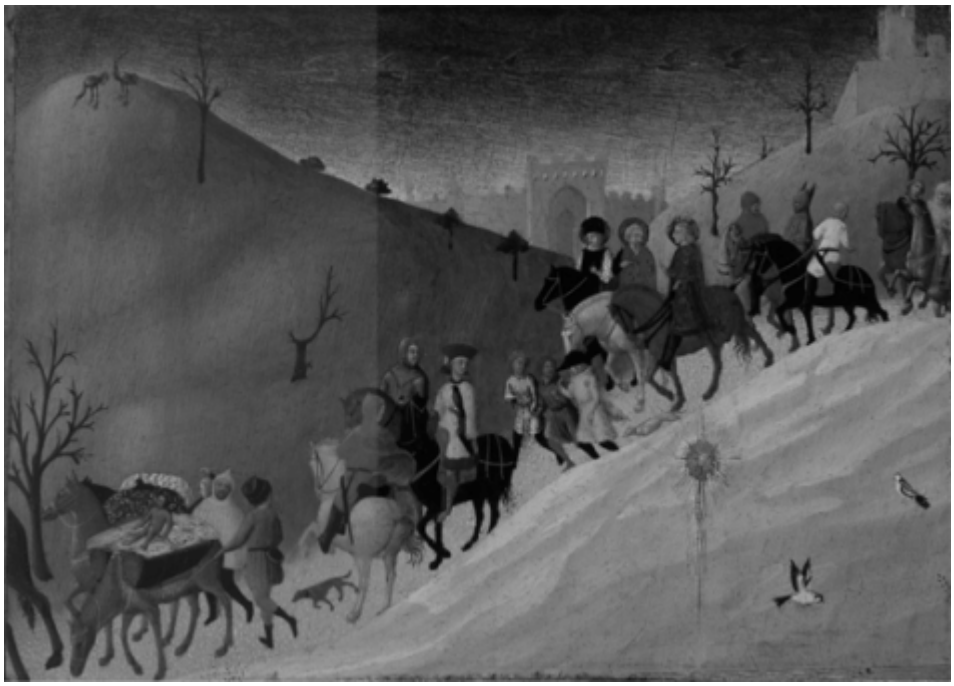
16. THE MIRACULOUS JOURNEY

16:1And when all these things and many others were spoken about the revelation that appeared to us, the star was with us in all (its) excellent forms so we could see it. And we spoke about it like frail human beings, not being able to say anything that we saw. 16:2And we got ready with our whole encampment,[155] and with our provisions, and with the pure and holy gifts, those that we brought out of the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, in which they were [deposited] previously by our fathers, and we went forth in great joy, our hearts exulting to come to the place that was commanded to us, to worship the vision of the star of infinite light. 16:3And the star, our guide, our good messenger, our perfect light, our glorious leader, again appeared for us, going before us and upholding[156] our whole caravan from all sides, and enlightening us by its hidden light. [see *The Journey of the Magi* on pages 62 and 63]. 16:4And we had no need of the light of the sun or of the moon,[157] because their light became diminished in its sight, and by night and by day we walked in its light, exulting and rejoicing without distress or weariness.[158] 16:5And it prepared before us a blessed dwelling place in which to reside while we rested and exulted. Even our provisions were abundant in our eyes and did not decrease, but rather from one day to another they increasedwhen it[159] came to rest over us with its light.[160] 16:6And it gave rest to us from all our fatigue as if we were not journeying on the road, and it made mountains, and hills, and rugged places level before us.[161] Even the rivers before us we crossed by foot without fear, because of the light of our good guide that went along with us for our encampment. And again, when we crossed into the places [of beasts and vicious snakes,] we trampled them with our feet.[162] 16:7And our leader and our guide, in his glory, appeared to each one of us in all forms and appearances in every (stage). And he filled our hearts with great joy, and all the (stages) in which we journeyed were short and swift in our eyes,

because our victorious sign and our powerful light, which is beyond every human mouth to speak, guided us with its victorious strength.

17. THE MAGI IN JERUSALEM

17:1And when we arrived in the region of Jerusalem, in the month of flowers,[163] our good emissary led and brought us inside Jerusalem. 17:2And its nobles and rulers were disturbed and troubled,[164] and they asked us: “On account of what cause have you come here? Perhaps because of the mysteries of your Magianism?” because they saw us looking up at heaven, and worshiping our sign, and praying to our guide, because they did not understand our mysteries, and they reckoned us as Magi.[165]



Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni) (ca. 1400–1450) *The Journey of the Magi.* Ca. 1435. Tempera and gold on wood, 8 1/2 x 11 3/4 in. (21.6 x 29.8 cm). Maitland F. Griggs Collection, Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, 1943 (43.98.1). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo Credit: Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY

The Journey of the Magi by Sassetta, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, ca. 1435. Similar to the description found in chapter 16 of the *Revelation of the Magi*, this painting depicts the Star of Bethlehem as being in close proximity to the traveling Magi.

17:3And we said to them: “We saw a sign of heavenly majesty in our land, as we were instructed by our fathers, that a king, and a messiah, and a life giver, and a savior who gives himself to death for the sake of the entire world has been born here. 17:4And we have come because we saw all his signs and the forms of his hidden divinity in the appearance of a human clothed with a body.[166] And we came, rejoicing with our pure gifts, which were deposited by our fathers in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries on the Mountain of Victories. 17:5And he commanded us in a great vision to come to this land to worship him in reverence, because he has worshipers in every country.[167] He becomes for them a life giver, and a savior, and a forgiver of sins, and through him the Lord of all is pleased with his creation and makes atonement with his people.” 17:6And Herod, the governor of the region, called and sent for the honorable elders of the city, and asked them: “Where is it written that the king messiah, and savior, and life giver of the worlds is to be born?”[168] And all of them said to him (as) from one mouth: “The village Bethlehem, as was said by the heavenly majesty to our father David, the ancient prophet who lived a long time ago.” 17:7And when we heard from them what they said, again we rejoiced greatly. And while we were exulting, we saw our leader and our guide; again we abounded in joy all the more.[169] 17:8And while we spoke mysteries, and all manner of revelations,and praises, we went in joy to Bethlehem as the blind scribes had read, not believing what they read from their books,[170] nor Herod, the blind governor, [unseeing] of the love of the light that was born in their land, which (was) the light before (all) worlds.[171] And they are dwelling in darkness in the world in their days.[172] 17:9But Herod said to us in his deceit: “When you have seen the messiah, come and tell me, that I also may go to worship him.”[173] And because he was not worthy for the worship of the light that was born, because he was a dwelling of error, it was said to us by our guide and our light that we should not return to him,[174] because he was not [worthy] to see the great light of the world,[175] because he was totally deaf and blind to its worship.

18. ARRIVAL IN BETHLEHEM

18:1And we went and entered Bethlehem in joy, which was worthy to be called the village for the holy birth and for the great light that appeared in it (to kill) and destroy all error and to bring death to an end. 18:2And all of us went to the homestead[176] in which our guide was born, and we saw a cave[177] like the form and appearance of the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries,[178] which is in our country, from which we had learned the hidden mysteries that were preached about him, which were deposited in it by our ancient fathers, and they were allaccomplished today in our coming here.[179] 18:3And we saw the pillar of light, which descended as we had seen it before,[180] and it stood in front of the cave, and that star of light descended and stood above the pillar, angels on its right side and on its left side.[181] 18:4And when we saw it, again we rejoiced, though being afraid. And the pillar, and the star, and the angels entered and went before us into that cave,[182] in which the mystery and light of salvation was born. 18:5And a compassionate voice instructed us, “Enter inside,”[183] and we went in after it, and we took our crowns,[184] and we put them under his feet, because the everlasting kingdom is his.[185] 18:6And we knelt and worshiped before him upon the earth, because every knee that is in heaven and on earth bows to him and worships him.[186] 18:7And we opened our hidden treasures, and they being sealed, we took them and came near the treasure of salvation, who is sealed with heavenly majesty. 18:8And we brought forth our treasures before him, who is the treasure of salvation, that we might receive them from him in the kingdom by many-fold before his own judgment seat of salvation.[187]

19. Epiphany in the bethlehem cave

19:1And the glorious infant and the ancient light perfecting the will of the Father of majesty opened his mouth, and he said to us with a love of abundant and sweetmercy: “Peace to you, sons of my hidden mysteries,[188] sons of the East, of the heavenly light, because you have been found worthy to see the ancient everlasting light, you and also your fathers.[189] 19:2And as you were worthy, behold, you have received him in perfect love without doubt. And again, you will be worthy to see him in his great light before which there will no longer be any mysteries, because they all are fulfilled in him. 19:3And he alone from this time onward rules over all, and all are subject to him. 19:4For it was I who was revealed to you in your land, and I spoke with you by mysteries. And again, I became for you a guide and leader to this place until you came in peace before me. 19:5And again, I shall be with you even until the end,[190] and I am not separated from you nor from all those who believe in me with perfect love. 19:6And again, you will be witnesses for me in the land of the East together with my disciples,[191] those who are chosen by me to preach my Gospel. 19:7And when I have completed the will of my Father regarding everything that he commanded me, (I will go up) in the glory in which I was with him.[192] Yet even now, while I am speaking with you, I am with him and have not become separated from the majesty of the Father.[193] 19:8Now I shall give to you another sign at which you will be astonished: in the hour that you see the sun darkened in the daytime like the night,[194] and there is a great earthquake upon the earth, and the voice of the dead is heard fromtheir graves giving praise,[195] then at that time know that all the times and seasons have come to an end in my coming to you. 19:9And lift your eyes to the (heavens), and see them opened in glory before me, and I am ascending in praise fitting for me and sitting at the right hand of the Father of majesty,[196] from whom I have been sent to save the world.”

20. ANGELS PRAISE CHRIST

20:1And while the savior was speaking all these things with us, that entire cave shone,[197] and it became in our eyes like another world, since [in this world] there was no light like it. 20:2And many voices of [seraphs] were speaking and *[text missing]* which are innumerable: “Yea and Amen![198] 20:3O first-born opener of the secret womb, O holy infant, O completer of the will of the heavenly majesty who is the perfect ‘Yes,’ and through whom everything came into being,[199] and ‘Amen,’[200] by your light and by your word they were made perfect, and all the worlds seen and unseen were brought to completion.[201] 20:4And all the angels and the powers worship you. And yours is the place of salvation, which you will give to your chosen ones. And yours is the ancient light, because you are the beloved fruit of the thought of the Father. 20:5And you are the image and will of the one who upholds all, the revealer of hidden things, because by the word that is spoken all thatis in the thought is made known. And you are all, and all is in you, and there is nothing outside of your will.”[202]

21. THE COMMISSIONING OF THE MAGI

21:1And when all these praises were spoken and we heard, we were afraid and trembled, and we fell upon the ground like dead men. 21:2And the child, the offspring of light, stretched out his right hand mightily and put it upon us.[203] And he comforted us and said to us: “Sons of my mysteries,[204] do not be afraid. For all these things that you have seen and heard from the first day until today, and at which you are amazed: even those ones that [you hear] are not greater than I am, but for you they are mighty because you are clothed in weak flesh, yet for me they are very small things. 21:3For because of your frailty, you are not able to see or hear a single one of the wonderful things that belong to me with the Father who sent me. But since you have been found worthy to see and hear these things at this time—and behold, you are amazed as wonderful things are in your sight!—again you shall be deemed worthy by my love, which is with you forever, to see and hear these great things that cannot be spoken now. And neither watchers nor angels are able to speak of them, because these things are very great even for them.[205] 21:4Therefore, rise and go in peace to your light-receiving land,[206] because you have been deemed worthyto receive the perfect light of the heavenly majesty, and to come and worship it with your gifts in joy. Behold, you have completed everything that you were commanded by your fathers, and you have also been deemed worthy to know and learn the ancient hidden mysteries, which were written for you from the first generations. Now, behold, you have seen the completion of your mysteries, and you have completed everything that you have been commanded for my love and for my witness. 21:5And again, you have been deemed worthy to be witnesses for me in the East with my disciples, who were chosen by me before the world came to be. And when I have completed the will of my Father regarding everything that he commanded me and have ascended to him in glory, I shall send to you some of my chosen ones who have been chosen by me for your land. And they shall speak and witness the truth with

you that it may be your seal[207] with one accord. 21:6Therefore, rise and go in peace. Again, I am with you in all visions and signs,[208] just as I am with you from the first day. For just as I am in sight and in all forms here—and behold, you are amazed by all the visions and forms in which you see me—I am also with the Father of majesty whose will I am since the world began, and I am never separated from you, nor from the presence of the Father, because I am a ray of his light, and I was sent to you to enlighten you. 21:7And behold, you are amazed as frail human beings—how much morewhen I have come to you in the majesty of my Father. As for you not being able to stand before me, neither (could) the angels and powers that are above you when I descended upon them, and they saw a vision of wonders and stood in fear and trembling. Even as it was fitting for them I appeared to them, and for you I appeared as you were able to see. 21:8For the Father of majesty does not have an image and form in this world,[209] except I who am an epiphany from him, since I am his will, and his power, and his wisdom,[210] since I am in my Father and my Father is in me.[211] And I am—as it is fitting for God to be seen and for the world to know him, and again, as the sons of wisdom can receive and hear with love—the majesty of the Father who sent me. And now I have appeared to you in the form of humanity to fulfill everything that is written about me.[212] 21:9Because of the reason and the foolishness of your ancient father Adam's sin, which became your downfall to Sheol, death has had authority over you, and error has reigned in deceit over your generations and has supposed in its rashness that it was lord over you and that you had become its property forever. And again, I have made known to you, your fathers, and even to that ancient race of yours, your freedom, because you are from the race of light.[213] And it was not in vain that you were created in the world, and heaven, and earth, and all the worlds came into being for your sake.[214] 21:10And also, the Father of majesty, becauseof this love, sent me, and I clothed myself in your form, that by it I might bring to an end and destroy all those who afflict you and your captors. And I shall offer you to the Father, before him as a pure and perfect offering, since there are no blemishes of error on you. And I shall set you free with love, and with truth, with pure water, and the birth of the Holy Spirit,[215] and you shall be for me by love brothers and believers, like infants in whom there are no blemishes of evil,[216] from now until forever. 21:11Therefore, joy, and praise, and thanksgiving he[217] will cause to

go up from you in the heavenly heights from you through me, since I am his will. And joy, and redemption, and the fellowship of the Spirit, and eternal life shall be given to you through me, since everything is in agreement without division. As from the beginning under the wings[218] of the Father will it be, his power, and his wisdom, and his righteous will sanctifying and having mercy upon you forever and ever." 21:12And again, a voice from on high, and from every direction, and from inside the earth was heard, which answered and said, "Amen! The will of complete salvation, joy and peace to all the worlds!"[219]

22. THE MAGI MEET MARY AND JOSEPH

22:1And when we received from him the commandments of salvation, we went forth from his presence in great joy,and much exultation, and with praise, our hearts being filled with great hope, to come to our land. 22:2And Joseph and Mary, honored and blessed people, went out with us,[220] they who were deemed worthy and entrusted to be called by the name parents and to be upbringers for the offspring of the voice of virgin hearing[221] and upbringers for the perfect will of complete mercy. Mary became the gate for the great light that entered the world in grace to banish the darkness. 22:3And she became the way of salvation for God giving birth to himself,[222] who appeared in the bodily form of a human being.[223] And there will be for her a name, and a memory, and a blessing forever and ever.[224] 22:4And they lifted up their eyes and they saw the light that was born by his mercy in their house,[225] which is with us and accompanies us. 22:5And they said to us: “We were not pleased by your coming to us. You have led away the light and the great hope of the whole world, and you have gone away [with him] and [have deprived us] of him. We were deemed worthy by great grace to be trusted to be attendants for it, for the upbringing of the body that appeared in our house,[226] and now, behold, we have seen him going away with you.”

23. THE MAGI'S REVELATION TO MARY

23:1We said to her: "O woman blessed among women,[227] O blessed Mary, who was deemed worthy by mercy toreceive the conception of the Spirit by your pure obedience and to bring forth the child of salvation of the eternal word, you were trusted and deemed worthy to be called mother for him. 23:2And now, behold, your glorious child is inside of you,[228] and behold, he awaits you in the house, even while he is not separated from us, as he said to us, because he is the great gift of salvation that by your child was given to all the worlds. 23:3And the mystery that was hidden from the beginning in the Father of all has been revealed to us in your child. And the treasure of salvation has appeared which had been kept for all generations. This great gift and light of salvation is not yours alone, but is (for) all the heavenly and lower worlds. 23:4And lift up your eyes and see that he is in the entire creation and enlightens it all, and it is full of his glorious mysteries. And now he has appeared in the world in a body, and the forms with him are seen in every land, because he has been sent by his[229] majesty for the salvation and redemption of every human being."[230]

24. MARY SPEAKS TO CHRIST

24:1And when Joseph and Mary turned back, rejoicing about all these things that they had heard about the holy child, they went away to their house.[231] 24:2And Mary entered and found the child of light laughing[232] about and glorifying all his great and amazing mysteries, proclaimed in the entire world from [ancient times,] and behold, all of them are fulfilled in his appearance today. And he glorified and gave thanks to his Father who sent him for the redemption of his worlds. 24:3And Mary and Joseph worshiped him, and she said to him: “I have rejoiced that I have seen the treasury of salvation, and my light, and the holy child, who is the obedience of my ears.[233] 24:4And O opener of my womb by [your] holy mercy, O Lord of my holy virginity, I have greatly rejoiced that I have found my great treasure in my house where I gave birth and my great light, which exists forever. I had thought, O my beloved, that the Easterners were taking you, with your great love for them, in exchange for the gifts they offered to you from your own, since I saw your holy form going along with them.”[234]

25. CHRIST BLESSES MARY

25:1And he answered in a sweet and humble voice and said to Mary: “Peace to you,[235] my mother and upbringer, since you were deemed worthy to be blessed among women,[236] since you were deemed worthy for the fruit of the voice of salvation. Since you accepted and conceived with love in your mind and with faith without doubt, you shall receive the reward of your service and shall have blessing and remembrance in all (the) generations,[237] and in the new world you shall receive a good reward. 25:2And because of you, Eve and her offspring will have hope and salvation, since by your person you have made her pass beyond the spear that fenced in the Tree of Life.[238] 25:3And by your person tranquillity and peace have happened for all the worlds from now on and forever, Amen! For I, who appeared in your house, have come to fulfill the will of the Father who sent me, and everyone who hears me and believes shall live. For behold, you have perfectly accomplished your own service without a flaw, for which you shall receive a good recompense. 25:4Therefore, I am turning to all my brethren who are in the entire world, that I may perfectly fulfill everything that the Father commanded me for my believers, so that they may bring forth the fruits of eternal salvation. And I shall also give to them all the promises of my Father, which through me are fulfilled, and are given, and are accomplished for my believers and everyone who believes in me.”

26. THE RETURN JOURNEY HOME

26:1And when we came to the first (stage), again the sign of light appeared to us in front of us, and we rejoiced and exulted greatly, and we knelt and worshiped upon the ground before it. 26:2And we glorified the vision, and we answered in our voice as one and said to it: “We worship and give thanks for your kindness and your light, whichaccompanies [our] encampment everywhere.” 26:3And he answered and said to us: “I am everywhere,[239] and there is no land in which I am not. I am also where you departed from me, for I am greater than the sun, and there is no place in the world that is deprived of it, even though it[240] is a single entity; yet if it departs from the world, all its inhabitants sit in darkness. How much more I, who am the Lord of the sun, and my light and word are more abundant [by many times] than the sun.” 26:4And we answered and said before him: “O our light and our savior, we know all these things, and they are true for us. And we believe that all these wonders that we saw with all your believers[241] are, for your majesty, small things. But for us they are powerful, and no mouth can speak of them or acknowledge any of them.” 26:5And when the time of supper came, we brought out some of our provisions to refresh ourselves, and we saw that our provisions were replenished beyond those provisions that came out of our country with us when we came.[242] And then, again, we were all the more afraid, glorifying the majesty that was with us, which did not hold back from our weakness. 26:6And when we ate our supper from the food in passing the night, each of us spoke joy and praise. As with a fountain that spouts forth much water, so the visions and wonders did not resemble each other.[243] 26:7And we spoke to and glorified our guide, and our leader, and the light of our encampment, and the manyforms, and his glorious vestments, and his beautiful images, and his perfect likenesses, which were with us.

27. THE MAGI ADDRESS THE PEOPLE OF SHIR

27:1And we journeyed on all (our stages) with his glorious signs until we came to our borders, and all our families, children, and a multitude of the people of our land came out to meet us. 27:2And when they heard that we had come, they met us with great joy and received us, rejoicing, and exulting, and glorifying. And they marveled at our appearance and the health of our entire encampment.[244] 27:3And when we went to them, they assembled and came before us. And we began to speak and narrate for them about[245] how our ascent took place, and about the astounding visions that accompanied us, and about our entrance into Jerusalem, and about everything that was spoken with us, and about our journeying to Bethlehem, and about the glorious visions and revelations of the Father of heavenly majesty, which appeared to us in the cave: a great light and wondrous appearances in the bodily form of a humble human being, and about his light of the star, which went before us as a glorious guide. 27:4And when, again, we entered and saw before us the unspeakable glory, and we fell and worshiped the divine child of great light, two angels were standing by and a pillar of cloud[246] was standing by, like all the visions that we saw previously on the Mountain of Victories in the Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries, which is in our land. Also, in that cave everything was accomplished in truth, even about the forms and vestments of the glorious and divine child who appeared to us in the cave of Bethlehem.[247] 27:5And he spoke to us and taught us, “Behold, all the mysteries, and parables, and forms, and revelations are fulfilled, and everything that has been spoken about me by the prophets and in the whole world from the first day until today.[248] From now on let the will of he who sent me be accomplished in me regarding everything that he sent me to fulfill.” 27:6And we offered him gifts that we took from the Cave of Treasures, which were deposited by our fathers from his own.[249] And we worshiped him, the Lord of worship, and he opened his splendid and glorious mouth and spoke [salvation] with us as

we were able and sufficient to hear it,[250] and in this way he planted the word of salvation in us. 27:7And he spoke and revealed to us concerning the place of salvation and concerning the heavenly kingdom of the Father of majesty, the Lord of all, who sent him for the healing of the worlds, to cure their sickness, because they could not be healed by one of the ancient prophets,[251] but only through the will of the Son of perfect mercy. 27:8And he dismissed us to come to our land in peace, and when we came to the first stage, rejoicing and exulting the entire way, again we found our guide and our light with all the forms that we saw before us.[252] And we trembled and were greatly afraid, worshiping and glorifying his majesty, which accompanied our encampment. 27:9And also, our provisions were filling our vessels, overflowing from his blessings, and were even more than the provisions that we had taken with us when we set out to go.[253] And behold, they are sitting filled before your[254] eyes, our vessels overflowing from them, because of the power of his blessings, which settled upon us, and so that they might be proved true for you and you might believe everything—the visions and wonders that we saw—and that you also might be deemed worthy to become believers and chosen ones for him. 27:10And his great power and his revelations will indeed stay with you, because he is also here [with us] in truth, as he spoke to us,[255] and we believe that his light is not removed from our encampment. Indeed, again, he is in the entire world, for he is the light that is all-sufficient and all-enlightening[256] by his perfect love.[257] 27:11Everyone who wishes, receive without doubt, with a whole heart and true faith, and eat from these provisions, which have come with us. And be deemed worthy, and you, too, join in his blessing, which accompanies us and is with us forever.

28. THE PEOPLE EAT THE MAGI’S FOOD

28:1And some of the people,[258] rejoicing in love, took of those provisions and ate. And they began rejoicing andleaping for joy, while glorifying and saying to each other everything that appeared to them.[259] There was one of them saying, “At the moment I ate of these provisions, I saw a great light that has no likeness in the world.” 28:2And there is one saying, “I saw God bearing himself[260] in the world as he wished.” And there is one saying, “I saw a star of light that darkened the sun by its light.”[261] And there is one saying, “I saw a human being whose appearance is more unsightly than a man,[262] and he is saving and purifying the world by his blood and by his humble appearance.” 28:3And there is one saying, “I saw something like a lamb[263] hanging upon a tree of life,[264] and by him and his blood redemption takes place for all the creatures of the world.” And there is one saying, “I saw a pillar of light diving down inside the bowels of the earth, and the dead rise to meet it, and they worship and glorify it with great joy.” 28:4And those who ate from those provisions were speaking to each other many other things beyond these, and their minds brought forth much glory day by day. And there was great joy in the entire land of the East, and the nobles, and the poor, and women, and children from the entire land were gathered together[265] in the love of our Lord[266] before those nobles who were called Magi.[267] 28:5And they[268] came and heard from them[269] the new and glorious teaching,[270] and the mysteries, and the revelations, and everything that was spoken with them from thatfirst day that they went out from their land until they came back in joy. And again, day by day, revelations, and visions, and all kinds of powerful manifestations were increased for them. 28:6And the faith increased with the love of the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ,[271] by the mighty works which he did through them, that offspring of light who appeared to them until he accomplished the will of the one who sent him in everything and

was taken up with glory to that heavenly height, his first abode. And the faith of salvation increased in the land of the East in those who heard.[272]

29. JUDAS THOMAS ARRIVES IN SHIR

29:1When, again, Judas Thomas[273] went down there by the will of our Lord when he sent him, again the faith increased all the more in those who heard, through the many mighty works and signs that Judas Thomas, the apostle of our Lord, was doing there. 29:2And when the nobles had heard that Judas had gone there, as the light that appeared to them had said,[274] they gathered together and went to him to meet with him in prayer and faith. And they saluted Judas with complete love, rejoicing in our Lord. 29:3And Judas also greatly rejoiced with them, and while they were with him for (several) days,[275] they related to Judas how they were deemed worthy to receive fromthe first day this gift of the light of the world, and about[276] their ascent to him at Bethlehem and everything that was spoken with them, and about the revelations and visions that they saw there in the cave, and about their descent, how he, in his light, accompanied their entire encampment with many visions and revelations. 29:4And when Judas the Apostle recognized that the gift of our Lord had overflowed upon them, he also related to them about our savior while all the brethren were gathered together as one, and about the mighty works, and healings, and wonders, which he did in the very sight of his apostles, and about the forms of his images, and about his astounding appearances, about which we are not able to narrate, since he was always appearing to us so that we were amazed[277] by him, and we stood in the outpouring and in the doubt of mind,[278] since no one had ever appeared in such a way in the days of the world. 29:5And when all the brethren heard what Judas related to them, they all glorified with one voice the Lord of heavenly majesty through his Son, the will of perfect salvation. And they sought from Judas, the apostle of our Lord, to make them partakers with him in the seal[279] of our Lord. 29:6And Judas said: “My brothers, I also rejoice, because it is for this gift that I was sent in salvation, since everyone who believes in salvation and with love receives the seal of my Lord Jesus Christ in truth, the Enemy does not rule over.”

30. THE HYMN OF JUDAS THOMAS

30:1Then at night, before Sunday, Judas also led those brethren who, rejoicing, had asked him to receive the seal of our Lord also. And he went out to a spring of water, and he took oil[280] and gave praise over it, and he said:[281]

30:2*"We praise you, O mystery of salvation,*

which was given to us in oil by grace for anointing.

30:3*Glory to you, O hidden mystery,*

which was given to us in oil by grace for salvation, for anointing.

Glory to you, O hidden mystery,

which was given to us in oil for salvation and

absolution.

30:4*And by it[282] (you) enlighten us and drive away darkness and error from us.*

And again, by its mystery the athletes of the contest defeat their enemies.

30:5 *Glory to you, O mystery of the oil,*

since you became worthy to be in fellowship with Christ.

With you the victorious are crowned in the contest, and you are twinned with the Spirit.

30:6*And you fly over the water like your (twin,) the Holy Spirit, you mix the soul with mind,*

and you renew the body with the birth of salvation.

30:7*Come, O partner of the firstborn;*

Come, O renewer of humanity by the birth to eternal life;

30:8*and rest upon these believers, the beloved ones of our Lord Jesus Christ, and purify them and sanctify them from all the stains of their bodies,*

30:9*and may they become for you temples for your dwelling*

and rest for the Son of perfect mercy.

And may you perfectly sanctify them with the birth of salvation."

31. THE MAGI RECEIVE THE EUCHARIST

AND COMMISSION TO PREACH

31:1And he baptized them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit,[283] and when they all came up from the water, a certain child of heavenly light appeared to them, who descended from heaven and said to them: “Peace be with you, sons of all my mysteries.[284] And behold, now all the visions and revelations that you saw from the first day have been accomplished in your birth.” 31:2And they were afraid and fell upon the ground,[285] and when they stood up he appeared to them in the form of a glorious and divine young man. And taking a whole loaf of bread, he gave praise, broke, and gave first to the Apostle Judas, and also to each one of them, and he said to them, “Behold the consummation and sealing of your birth of salvation. From now and forever, be confirmed in my promise.” 31:3And when he was separated from their sight, again they saw him going up to heaven in glory that has no end. 31:4And Judas said: “We glorify your sweet majesty, your singularity in many personifications, your glorious images that you have shown us, and the clothes that you have put on for our sake, that we may be clothed in your powerful majesty. 31:5And by as many names as you have been called, you are not in any one of them, for you alone have known your great name[286] and your majesty, and your exalted Father, and no one else. 31:6And all these forms in which you were clothed and appeared for our sake, that we might know you, were because you loved us with your great mercy that was for us, and everything that the crucifiers brought upon you, you endured for our sake, being exalted above all sufferings and being a kinsperson of that one who does not suffer,[287] in order that we should have redemption by your grace. 31:7And on our behalf you endured everything and you suffered everything, foryou are our advocate, and our guide, and our light, and our savior, and because we have believed in you, we have everything in you. And you have completely given

it to us by the trust of your love toward us, you who endured everything for our sake.” 31:8And all the new disciples of the word of salvation answered and said with great joy: “We glorify, and we worship, and we give thanks for your majesty, which is unspeakable by the mouth of human beings because we are too weak for it, and for your great light, you caused to shine upon our weakness, by which you made us worthy in your mercy for your fellowship of everlasting life.” 31:9And while they were delighting greatly in thanksgiving, and prayer, and visions of our Lord, a multitude of brethren were added to the faith day by day.[288] 31:10And Judas said to them: “Therefore, my brethren, let us fulfill the commandment of our Lord, who said to us: ‘Go out into the entire world and preach my Gospel.’[289] So, my brethren, be you also preachers of the Word like us, because you have also received the gift of our Lord. Also go out to every place and preach the gift of our light and of our savior generously to everyone.”

32. THE preaching of the magi

32:1And they[290] went forth from there to every place and preached in perfect love about the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Lord of all, even doing mighty works and healings in the name of our Lord, which are unspeakable by the mouth of human beings, through the Holy Spirit that was poured out upon them by the gift of our Lord. 32:2And they preached the faith of truth, saying and teaching to everyone: “Flee from the darkness and come to the light that does not pass away, so that you may live and have refuge under the wings[291] of our Lord Jesus, our savior and our great refuge on the last day, from the fearsome judgment of fire that will come suddenly to purify the entire earth from error,[292] which has ruled over it in its deceit. 32:3And you shall be delivered by faith from the heat of the fire and shall enter that rest that is prepared for all the chosen and the believers who have believed in the child of perfect light, and in eternal life, in the kingdom of my[293] Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Lord of all, in his heavenly majesty, in his new world, and in his heavenly and great and never-passing-away light, and in his glorious rest. And you shall rest forever and ever, amen and amen.” 32:4The story about the Magi and their gifts has finished.[294]

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CONCLUSION

The Meanings of the "Revelation of the Magi"

What are the most important things we learn from the *Revelation of the Magi?* Is it merely a colorful and captivating piece of fiction? Or does it tell us anything about the Magi and the Christmas story that we wouldn't otherwise know? What might be the broader significance of this ancient tale—not just for scholars who specialize in early Christianity, but for a wide range of lay readers as well?

Two points especially come to mind. First, the *Revelation of the Magi* is an outstanding example of how much influence writings *outside of* the Bible can have on our conceptions of biblical texts, people, and events. Of course, some readers may deny that their understandings of the Bible are determined by anything other than the Bible itself. But to illustrate how apocryphal writingscan shape our views of biblical stories, I'd like you to ask yourself this question: in the Christmas story, how do Mary and Joseph get to Bethlehem?

I would imagine that many of you said that they used a donkey. Indeed, some of you may have been more specific: that Mary rode the donkey while Joseph walked. But take a look at Luke 2:1–7, the most famous account of the Christmas story and of the census that brought Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem.

> In those days a decree went out from Emperor Augustus that all the world should be registered. This was the first registration and was

> taken while Quirinius was governor of Syria. All went to their own towns to be registered. Joseph also went from the town of Nazareth in Galilee to Judea, to the city of David called Bethlehem, because he was descended from the house and family of David. He went to be registered with Mary, to whom he was engaged and who was expecting a child. While they were there, the time came for her to deliver her child. And she gave birth to her firstborn son and wrapped him in bands of cloth, and laid him in a manger, because there was no place for them in the inn.

Do you see the familiar donkey mentioned anywhere? Why isn't it mentioned? The reality is that although it has become common knowledge that Mary and Joseph used a donkey to get to Bethlehem, this information isn't found anywhere in Luke or, in fact, in the rest of the Bible.

The famous donkey first appears in the *Protevangelium of James*, a second-century apocryphal Infancy Gospel. Here is what that writing says:

> He [i.e., Joseph] saddled the donkey and seated her [i.e., Mary] on it; and his son led it along, while Joseph followed behind. (*Protevangelium of James* 17:2)

From its debut in the *Protevangelium*, the donkey appeared in other ancient retellings of the Christmas story, and from there to Christmas pageants, greeting cards, carols, and so forth—despite its never being mentioned at all in the Bible! Might the *Revelation of the Magi*, like the *Protevangelium*, also have elements that have influenced our understanding of the Christmas story?

To my knowledge, there is nothing in the *Revelation of the Magi* that has filtered into the version of the Christmas story that we know *today*, certainly not like the donkey has. Yet the *Revelation of the Magi* has not always been as invisible as it is now. In fact, for European Christians in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, this story had an immense influence.

How did the *Revelation of the Magi*, an ancient Syriac writing, become such a powerful influence in medieval and Renaissance Europe? Recall that in the introduction, I mentioned a summary of the *Revelation of the Magi* found in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*, a fifth-century Latin commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. When I discussed it before, its

significance was as a key witness to the *Revelation of the Magi,* helping us to learn how old the text actually might be. But my very brief mention of the *Opus Imperfectum* does not do justice to how influential this text became in the centuries after which it was composed.

We don't know who wrote the *Opus Imperfectum;* all we can infer is that it was written in the fifth century and that the author lived somewhere close to the great city of Constantinople. But for reasons unknown, it became incorrectly attributed to Saint John Chrysostom, a major Christian thinker and bishop in fourth-century Antioch. Because it was believed to have been penned by Chrysostom, the *Opus Imperfectum* continued to be copied and read throughout medieval Europe.

And this meant that its legend about the Magi also entered the world of medieval Christianity. Several pieces of artwork are reproduced in this book that show unquestionable influence from the *Revelation of the Magi.* Consider the two paintings associated with Rogier van der Weyden and his school, which today reside in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin and the Cloisters Museum in New York, respectively (see frontispiece and page 51). In each of these, the three Magi stand in awe of the Christ child, who prominently hovers above them in the form of a star! As I said in the introduction, the *Revelation of the Magi* is the only ancient Christian text to identify the Star of Bethlehem with the celestial Christ himself, which makes it virtually certain that this legend is the source of these paintings. Further details confirm this. Behind the Magi stands their sacred mountain, the Mountain of Victories. And in the Cloisters painting, the Magi again appear in the background, immersing themselves in their Spring of Purification. The influence of the *Revelation of the Magi* is also evident in the depictions of the Magi found in manuscripts and printed books of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Mirror of Human Salvation), an immensely popular devotional writing of the fourteenth century (see *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* on pages 40 and 41).

Apart from inspiring artistic representations of the Magi, this legend also captivated Christian thinkers as distinguished as Saint Thomas Aquinas. In the *Summa Theologica,* his greatest work, Aquinas uses the *Revelation of the Magi* as evidence that the Star of Bethlehem was a clear and unmistakable way for God to tell human beings about the birth of Christ. Even if the meaning of the star wasn't obvious to everyone, it certainly was

to the Magi, who knew about its coming through Seth's books of revelation and were waiting attentively for it.[295]

The *Revelation of the Magi* even influenced the way explorers of the New World understood the indigenous cultures they encountered (see *Adoration of the Magi* on page 95). Two examples will suffice. First, there is the seventeenth-century Augustinian monk Antonio de la Calancha, who studied the Incan culture of Peru. He was impressed by the similarities between Andean traditional religion and Christianity, and he believed that the Apostle Thomas and the Magi must have missionized the region together, just as the *Opus Imperfectum* indicated.[296] Second, the Franciscan missionary and historian Juan de Torquemada described the belief among some of the Aztecs that the conquistador Cortés was the god Quetzalcoatl with recourse to this legend. Just as the Magi had stood atop the Mountain of Victories awaiting the fulfillment of their prophecy, Torquemada notes, so, too, did the Aztecs anxiously await the foretold return of Quetzalcoatl, and were all too willing to accept Cortés as the returned Quetzalcoatl when Spanish ships appeared off the Mexican coast.

Vasco Fernandes (ca. 1480–ca. 1543) *Adoration of the Magi.* Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Portugal. Photo Credit : Scala/White Images/Art Resource, NYT8829

Adoration of the Magi, attributed to Vasco Fernandes, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Portugal. This early-sixteenth-century painting represents one of the three Magi as a Native American. Both the biblical story of the Magi and the *Revelation of the Magi* influenced the ways in which explorers of the New World interpreted indigenous cultures of the Americas.

So the legend found in the *Revelation of the Magi* was demonstrably important for Christians in Europe half a millennium ago. And it is a powerful example of the way that an apocryphal writing can strongly influence understandings of biblical events, even if it does not figure into the portrayal of the “Wise Men” in the Christmas story as we know it today.

But as my second and final remark, I want to suggest a different reason that the *Revelation of the Magi* may be especially relevant for today’s world. Speaking for a moment as a theologian rather than a historian, I

think that the most important thing about the *Revelation of the Magi* may not be what it says about the Magi, but what it says about *Christ.*

Recall that in the introduction I asked the question of why the *Revelation of the Magi* has been so neglected by modern scholars of early Christianity that it has only now been translated into English. The answer I gave there was that it had the misfortune of being preserved in a language few scholars knew, and of being part of not one but *two* neglected spheres of early Christian literature— stories about Jesus's birth, and writings that were not included in the New Testament.

But one might as willingly believe, if so inclined, that the introduction of the *Revelation of the Magi* to a wide audience at this precise moment in time is hardly a matter of chance. As already discussed, the *Revelation of the Magi* has a very unusual understanding of the origins of the world's religious traditions. Instead of seeing non-Christian religions as products of human vanity or demonic inspiration, as most ancient Christians did, the *Revelation of the Magi* sees potentially all revelation as coming from Christ himself. Moreover, because the star-child never reveals himself to the Magi as Christ, the *Revelation of the Magi* apparently believes that having *an experience of Christ's presence* is much more important than *being a Christian.*

Taking this radical viewpoint, the *Revelation of the Magi* practically stands alone among early Christian writings in its positive appraisal of religious pluralism. So, another way of answering the question of why the *Revelation of the Magi* is now beginning to be studied more closely is that such a text could be fully appreciated *only* in a moment such as today. Now more than ever before, religious diversity is a fact of life in many parts of the world. And this religious diversity has given birth, in recent decades, to a great deal of theological reflection onthe place of Christianity among the world's religious traditions. It has become more intellectually challenging to insist on the obvious and exclusive truth of one's religion when one lives and works in close proximity to other people who cherish their own religious tradition just as much. Are those who do not share our religious beliefs foolishly misguided? According to the *Revelation of the Magi,* the answer of Christ to the Magi appears to be no:

> And I am everywhere, because I am a ray of light whose light has shone in this world from the majesty of my Father, who has sent me to

fulfill everything that was spoken about me in the entire world and in every land by unspeakable mysteries, and to accomplish the commandment of my glorious Father, who by the prophets preached about me to the contentious house,[297] in the same way as for you, as befits your faith, it was revealed to you about me. (13:10)

APPENDIX

The Magi Legend from the "Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum"

[The Latin text of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* is taken from Migne's *Patrologia Graeca,* volume 56, columns 637–638. It can also be found, with translation and commentary, in chapter 2 of my dissertation, available online at http://ou.academia.edu/BrentLandau/Papers.]

Apocryphal Book Under the Name of Seth. Victorious Mountain.—I have heard some referring to such a writing, even if it is not beyond dispute, nevertheless not ruining the faith, but charming (it), seeing that there was a certain race situated at the very beginning of the East near the Ocean, who had possession of a certain writing having been inscribed with the name of Seth, concerning this star which was going to appear, and (concerning) what sort of gifts to offer it, which was carried outthrough generations of studious people, with the fathers handing down to their sons. And so they selected from themselves twelve more learned ones and lovers of the celestial mysteries, and they set before them the expectation of that star. And if someone from them died, his son or one of his relatives who was found of the same inclination was set up in place of the dead one. And they were called Magi in their language, because in silence and with a silent voice they glorified God. Therefore, during every year, after the threshing harvest, they went up a certain mountain placed there, which was called in

their language the Victorious Mountain, having in it a certain cave in the rock, most pleasant, with fountains and choice trees, going up into which, and washing themselves, they were praying and glorifying God in silence for three days. And they did thus for each generation, always waiting, that by chance in their generation that star of blessing might appear, until it appeared to them coming down above that Victorious Mountain, having in itself a form like a little boy and above it (or him?) the likeness of a cross. And it was speaking to them, and it taught them and instructed them to set out for Judaea. And while they journeyed for two years, the star went ahead, and neither food nor drink ran out from their pouches. And otherwise the deeds that were rendered by them were expressed in the compendious Gospel. However, when they had returned,they continued worshiping and glorifying God even more attentively than before, and they preached to all in their race, and they instructed many. Finally, after the Resurrection of the Lord, when the Apostle Thomas went into that province, they joined him, and having been baptized by him, they were made assistants of his preaching.

ART CREDITS

Frontispiece: Rogier (Roger) van der Weyden (ca. 1399–1464) (workshop of): The star in the form of a Child appears to the three Magi. Right wing of the Middleburg (Bladelin) Altarpiece. Ca. 1445. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. Oil on oak panel. Detail. 91 x 40 cm. Inv.: 535. Photo: Joerg P. Anders. Photo Credit : Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, NY

(Pages 4 and 5) *The Three Kings (Wise Men).* Early Christian mosaic. 6th century C.E. S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Italy. Photo Credit : Scala/Art Resource, NY

(Page 14) *Adoration of the Magi.* 5th century c.e. Early Christian. Cypress wood carving from the door. S. Sabina, Rome, Italy. Photo Credit : Alinari /Art Resource, NY

(Page 27) Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–1497) *The Adoration of the Magi* (with Gozzoli's self-portrait—with red cap). Lorenzo il Magnifico as the youngest of the three Magi. Fresco, 1459. Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence, Italy. Photo Credit : Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

(Pages 40 and 41) *The Three Magi. Speculum Humanae Salvationis,* by Ludolfus de Saxonia. Ms.15, f.10r. Vellum. Germany, ca. 1410. Spencer Collection. Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Photo Credit : New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY

(Page 51) Rogier van der Weyden, Follower of. Polyptych. Mid-15th century. Tempera and oil. Main Panel: 33 3/16 x 55 1/8 in. (84.3 x 140 cm); Upper Wings: 17 15/16 x 7 7/8 in. (45.6 x 20 cm); Lower Wings: 33 5/8 x 16 5/8 in. (85.4 x 42.2 cm). South Lowlands, Brabant, Brussels. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, 1949 (49.109). Photo

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(Pages 62 and 63) Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni) (ca. 1400–1450) *The Journey of the Magi.* Ca. 1435. Tempera and gold on wood, 8 1/2 x 11 3/4 in. (21.6 x 29.8 cm). Maitland F. Griggs Collection, Bequest of Maitland F. Griggs, 1943 (43.98.1). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo Credit: Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY

(Page 95) Vasco Fernandes (ca. 1480–ca. 1543) *Adoration of the Magi.* Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Portugal. Photo Credit : Scala/White Images/Art Resource, NYT8829

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NOTES

1. The names Balthazar, Caspar, and Melchior are most familiar to Westerners, but these names appear in written sources from only the sixth century onward. Several other lists of names survive from ancient Christian writings.

2. Going forward, I will prefer the term *Magi* to *wise men.* First of all, it respects what Matthew calls them, since it is simply a transliteration of the Greek *magoi.* Second, it leaves unresolved the question of precisely *who* these individuals are, since it is not at all clear who Matthew believed them to be. Leaving the question of their identity open-ended is important, since early Christians had a range of theories about their identity; the story addressed in this book has its own very distinct understanding of who the Magi were.

3. For other uses of the noun and its cognate verb, see Acts 8:9, 13:6, 8.

4. Matthew’s Gospel never specifies whether the star had led them to Jerusalem and then disappeared when they entered the city, or whether the Magi had seen it only initially in “the East.” In either case, Mt 2:9–10 seems to imply that the star had disappeared from the Magi for some period of time.

5. All three of these beliefs appear in early Christian literature. One story relates that the Magi were in the midst oftheir magical spells at the time of the star's appearance; when the spells ceased to work, they consulted their ancient prophecies and learned about the star (see Origen *Against Celsus* 1.60). Some members of John Chrysostom's congregation in fourth-century Antioch regarded the Magi as astrologers and believed (to his great frustration) that the Magi story showed that astrology really worked *(Homilies on Matthew* 6.1). Lastly, an ancient Infancy Gospel preserved in Arabic says that the Magi came to Jerusalem because of a prophecy of Zoroaster, the founder of their religion *(Arabic Infancy Gospel* 7).

6. Precisely when the star disappeared is unclear, just as in Matthew’s Gospel.

7. In their book on the infancy narratives, Marcus Borg and John Dominic Crossan demonstrate these differences quite well by showing what a Christmas pageant based on only Matthew or only Luke would look like. See Borg and Crossan, *The First Christmas: What the Gospels Really Teach About Jesus's Birth* (San Francisco: HarperOne, 2007), 3–24.

8. Two recent scholars have argued for the historicity of some aspects of the infancy narratives. Jane Schaberg, in her *Illegitimacy of Jesus: A Feminist Theological Interpretation of the Infancy Narratives* (Revised edition, Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Phoenix, 2006), asserts that the detail that Jesus was conceived outside of wedlock is historical, though she does not specify who she believes his father was. Not surprisingly, Schaberg's claim is quite controversial and has not been accepted by many scholars. Andries van Aarde, in his *Fatherless in Galilee: Jesus as Child of God* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2001), suggests that the presence of Joseph in the infancy narratives and his corresponding absence during Jesus's adulthood indicates that Joseph died when Jesus was quite young, leaving Jesus to grow up without a father figure.

9. The small number of scholars who investigated the *Revelation of the Magi* in the twentieth century mainly regarded the text as the product of Zoroastrian converts to Christianity in Iran, written with the goal of reconciling their ancestral religious tradition with their new Christian identity. Although this theory is quite intriguing, I have not found it to be at all persuasive. It is not possible to treat this issue in the very limited space of an introduction; however, the basic fact that these Magi live in the mythical land of Shir—not Persia—is one powerful indication that the *Revelation of the Magi* has nothing to do with Zoroastrianism.

10. For example, no original copies of any of the writings of the New Testament exist. The earliest copy of a New Testament writing is a tiny papyrus fragment of the Gospel of John, usually dated to 125–150 c.e. (The Gospel itself was most likely written in 90–100 c.e.) Apart from this fragment, the earliest copies of New Testament writings are from the late second and early third centuries or later.

11. Theodore bar Konai tells us that the Magi arrived in Jerusalem during the month of April—a rather odd claim, given that practically all ancient Christians celebrated the arrival of the Magi (Epiphany) in early January. The only other ancient Christian writing that claims that the Magi came to Jerusalem in April is none other than the *Revelation of the Magi.*

12. A translation of the *Opus Imperfectum's* summary of the *Revelation of the Magi* is found in the appendix.

13. The author knows that the Magi’s name in their language refers to their practice of silent prayer, that the sacred mountain of the Magi is called the “Victorious Mountain” (as opposed to “Mountain of Victories” in the Syriac text), and that this mountain has a cave, a fountain, and trees (though the placement of these features differs slightly in the two witnesses).

14. Most notably, the Apostle Thomas section of the *Revelation of the Magi* contains a baptismal hymn sung by Thomas that invokes the Holy Spirit; several similar hymns exist in the Acts of Thomas. The account of the Magi's baptism also shares a number of parallels with baptismal scenes in the Acts of Thomas. But it is important to emphasize that these are parallels of *form*, not *content:* the *Revelation of the Magi* and the Acts of Thomas do not share any narrative elements.

15. This is because the Apostle Thomas section of the *Revelation of the Magi* appears to have been written in direct response to what is said in the first-person section of the *Revelation of the Magi* and would not have circulated separately.

16. In fact, as Raymond E. Brown has noted in *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (2nd ed.; New York: Doubleday, 1993), belief in the historicity of the Magi story has, in the recent past, been used as an indicator of whether a scholar was inside or outside of the mainstream of biblical studies.

17. Of course, there have been numerous attempts to link the Star of Bethlehem to a supernova, comet, or other celestial phenomenon. But these attempts almost always fail to recognize that the behavior that Matthew attributes to the star—especially its ability to mark the direct spot of the child Jesus in Mt 2:9—cannot occur in any natural fashion.

18. If we assume that that Jesus was born in approximately 4 B.C.E. (the most common date estimated by scholars) and that the Magi visited Jesus shortly thereafter, more than fifty years would pass before Paul wrote his earliest letters, which are the earliest Christian writings we possess.

19. The most famous of the apocryphal Infancy Gospels are the *Protevangelium of James,* which focuses more on the upbringing of Mary than Jesus, and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas, famous for its depiction of Jesus as a vindictive child possessing frequently deadly miraculous powers. The Infancy Gospel that the Revelation of the Magi has used is preserved in medieval Latin and Irish manuscripts and is a lengthy expansion and harmonization of the materials found in the canonical infancy narratives, plus a number of traditions not found elsewhere.*

20. This name is on the analogy of “Planet X,” a designation coined by the astronomer Percival Lowell (the namesake of Flagstaff’s Lowell Observatory) for an unknown planet beyond the orbit of Neptune—a hypothesis that, although flawed in some respects, ultimately led to the discovery of the planet Pluto. Although the name *“Infancy Gospel* X” is by no means ideal, unfortunately so little work has been done on this text that no more descriptive name presents itself.

21. For more discussion of the number of the Magi, see the note at 16:2 in the translation.

22. Pseudonymity, or the practice of writing under a false name, is acknowledged by most scholars to describe the authorship of many New Testament writings. This includes all four canonical Gospels (even if some scholars believe that the nucleus of one or more of the Gospels ultimately goes back to the name associated with the text) and roughly half of the letters attributed to Paul (even if some of the spurious letters perhaps contain authentic Pauline fragments).

23. I assume here that the author was male simply because of the much higher literacy rate of men as compared with women in the ancient world. But none of my arguments about the purpose of the *Revelation of the Magi* necessarily demand male authorship.

24. The most famous sending forth of the disciples to worldwide evangelism is the so-called Great Commission of Mt 28:18–20: “All authority in heaven and on earth has beengiven to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you. And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age.”

25. In fact, a number of early Christian writers were uncomfortable with Matthew's Magi story precisely because it did not indicate that their visit to Christ had altered their lives in any fashion. One commentator, Tertullian *(On Idolatry* 9), solved this problem by understanding Matthew's phrase "they departed to their own country by another way" (Mt 2:12) to mean that they had converted to faith in Christ.

26. These accompanying notes are intended to aid readers in understanding the basic meaning and significance of important passages in the *Revelation of the Magi.* For greater detail and analysis, please consult my dissertation (available online at http://ou.academia.edu/BrentLandau/Papers) and my forthcoming critical edition of the *Revelation of the Magi* for the Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum, published by Brepols.

27. The titles of the individual chapters are my own, and do not appear in the manuscript of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* (the Syriac world chronicle in which the *Revelation of the Magi* is preserved). Only two symbols in the text require comment. In places where the manuscript has suffered damage, square brackets [ ] contain what I consider to be the most likely original reading. In places where it is impossible to determine the original reading, square brackets simply contain the words *text missing*. In contrast, parentheses ( ) indicate places where a word or words have been added to clarify the meaning of the text beyond a literal translation of the Syriac.

28. The short descriptive statement contained in 1:1 is the work of the compiler of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*, not the author of the *Revelation of the Magi*. This is certain not only from the appearance of such statements elsewhere in the *Chronicle*, but also because this statement misrepresents the *Revelation of the Magi* in two important ways. First, the statement emphasizes the gifts that the Magi bring, but the *Revelation of the Magi* cares much less about these gifts than the canonical account of Mt 2:1–12 does. Second, the statement uses the proper name *Christ*, but this name is used only during the Apostle Thomas's appearance at the end of the *Revelation of the Magi*, an incident that is most likely a secondary addition to the *Revelation of the Magi*.

29. The association of the Magi with royalty began quite early in Christian exegesis, perhaps thanks to such suggestive passages as Ps 72:10–11 and Is 60. Tertullian *(Against Marcion* 3.13) remarks that in the East, the Magi are treated practically as kings. For Augustine in the fourth century, they are definitely kings, and their piety is contrasted against King Herod's impiousness *(Sermon* 200). However, in the first-person-plural section of the *Revelation of the Magi,* there is almost no mention of their royal status. The term *king* never appears in reference to the Magi; the only indication that the Magi are kings occurs at 18:5, where they remove their crowns and lay them at Christ's feet in recognition of his kingdom.

30. The phrase “kings, sons of kings” is how Syriac writers describe hereditary kingship, as compared with the inconsistent manner of succession found in the Roman Empire.

31. The residence of the Magi here derives, unsurprisingly, from Mt 2:1. Throughout the *Revelation of the Magi*, however, it appears that “East” is not simply directional, but has the status of a specific nation with a corresponding ethnic group (cf. “Easterners” in 24:4). There are nine such usages of “East” in the *Revelation of the Magi* (in addition to three

directional instances), though the name “Shir” (2:4 and corresponding note; 4:1) also appears in the *Revelation of the Magi* as the land of the Magi. It may be that the “great East” is understood in the *Revelation of the Magi* as a quite large country or region, of which Shir is the outermost district, as 2:4 seems to imply.

32. This statement reveals the *Revelation of the Magi* as a pseudepigraphon (i.e., a writing that makes false claims about the identity of its author), stating as it does that it was produced by the Magi themselves. No other Magi pseudepigrapha are known to exist from antiquity, and this is one of only a handful of cases where Christians produced writings purported to have been authored by non-Christians.

33. According to the *Revelation of the Magi*, the word *Magi* is related etymologically to their practice of praying in silence, which the text mentions on several other occasions (cf. 1:3, 2:1, 3:8, 5:7, 5:11, 12:2). Yet, a verbal similarity between the words *Magi* and *silence* is not easy to find in any of the obvious languages of transmission (Syriac, Greek, or Latin). It may simply be an exoticizing device and not an actual word derivation. Strikingly, the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* (the fifth-century Latin commentary on the Gospel of Matthew that contains a brief version of this same legend about the Magi) agrees with the *Revelation of the Magi* in almost verbatim fashion on this point: “And they were called Magi in their language, because in silence and with a silent voice they glorified God.” This close agreement suggests that the author of the *Opus Imperfectum* had not simply heard of this legend, but also had access to a written version of the *Revelation of the Magi*. In a number of Syriac monastic writings, silence is a means for inducing ecstasy. Unlike these monastic traditions, though, the *Revelation of the Magi* nowhere suggests that the silent praying of the Magi facilitates ecstatic experience. It has sometimes been thought that Zoroastrian priests prayed in silence, but other scholars have rejected this view. A hagiographic Syriac text, the *Life of John of Tella*, relates that the Magi frequently convey information to one another in silence by using hand gestures. However, this is not in the context of prayer, but rather the interrogation of a prisoner.

34. This title for God is used infrequently in Jewish and Christian literature (cf. 2 Mc 14:46). However, it does appear in Babylonian, Zoroastrian, and Hindu materials from antiquity. Though it is very difficult to prove that the author of *Revelation of the Magi* knew of its use in any of these written materials, the fact that it had a reasonably wide currency in non-Christian religious traditions may explain its use here. One of the major agendas of the author is the depiction of the Magi as a kind of quasi-pagan group that nevertheless distantly echoes Christian terminology and practice.

35. The “gift” is an important theological concept in the *Revelation of the Magi*, mentioned on multiple occasions throughout the text. In the abstract, it is the mechanism by which an unknowable God communicates with the inhabitants of the upper and lower worlds. In a concrete sense, it refers specifically to the revelatory activity of Christ. The Syriac term underlying this concept must be distinguished from the other term used for “gift” in the *Revelation of the Magi*, which refers to the offerings brought to Christ by the Magi (Mt 2:11; see note at 4:7). The New Testament, like the *Revelation of the Magi*, generally uses the abstract sense of the term, describing the “gift” of the Holy Spirit, Christ, or God (cf. Jn 4:10; Acts 2:38, 8:20, 10:45, 11:17; Rom 5:15–17; 2 Cor 9:15; Eph 3:7, 4:7; Heb 6:4; Jas 1:17).

36. The *Revelation of the Magi* is one of only a handful of ancient texts to refer to the Magi as “wise.” For the most part, the familiar description of the Magi as “wise men” appearsonly from the Renaissance onward.

37. Cf. Jn 1:3.

38. In the development of traditions about the Magi, the attribution of names to them is a relatively late exegetical development. The most familiar names in the West for the (three) Magi are Caspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, but these names appear only in the sixth century in the *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, a Latin translation of a Greek chronicle. As for the names found in the *Revelation of the Magi,* I have incorporated without changes the spelling of the names as found in the Latin translation accompanying the most recent critical edition of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin.* The names play no further role in the *Revelation of the Magi's* narrative beyond this single mention, and their presence in other Syriac sources strongly suggests that 2:3 is a later accretion to the *Revelation of the Magi.* In a peculiar case of interrelation, the *Revelation of the Magi* has a *list* of the Magi numbering twelve, but nowhere explicitly does it say that there are *twelve* Magi, whereas the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* does state that there were twelve Magi, *without* giving a list of names. The information of the *Opus Imperfectum* is perhaps more archaic, and specific names may have been given to the twelve Magi only at a later time (but cf. 16:2 and accompanying note for a possibly even earlier tradition of a larger, numerically unspecified membership for the ranks of the Magi).

39. The name “Gudaphar” is almost identical to “Gûdnaphar” (Gundaphorus), an Indian king baptized by the Apostle Thomas in the Acts of Thomas. The Acts of Thomas is the earliest written source that narrates Thomas’s missionary activities in India. Although King Gûdnaphar appears to have been a historical figure, it is unclear whether he was indeed ruling at the time that the Apostle Thomas is supposed to have been in India—a very contentious debate in and of itself.

40. In contrast to the “land of the East,” the name “Shir” is less common in the *Revelation of the Magi*, used only twice. However, it appears in a number of other ancient texts as a mysterious and faraway land, sometimes identified with China. In one of the Gnostic Christian texts discovered at Nag Hammadi, “Mount Shir” is the place where Noah’s ark comes to rest; more remotely, “Mount Nisir” is where the ark of Utnapishtim lands in the *Epic of Gilgamesh.* The *Revelation of the Magi* is the only ancient Christian text that identifies the homeland of the Magi as Shir. The majority opinion of ancient commentators was that the Magi came from Persia, understanding the term *Magus* in its technical sense of a Zoroastrian priest; cf. Clement of Alexandria (*Miscellanies* 1.15); Origen *(Against Celsus* 1.58–60); John Chrysostom *(Homilies on Matthew* 6.2). Most early Christian artistic representations of the Magi also imply this, depicting them in the typical Persian dress of a pointed “Phrygian cap,” belted tunic, and leggings; cf. especially the mosaic of Sant’Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (pages 4 and 5) and the wooden door detail of Santa Sabina in Rome (page 14). A notable and early minority opinion regarding the homeland of the Magi is Arabia; cf. Justin Martyr *(Dialogue with Trypho* 78, 106); Tertullian *(Against Marcion* 3.13, *Against the Jews* 9).

41. The concept of a great world ocean outside of the inhabited world had existed in antiquity at least as early as Homer. The location of the Magi's homeland in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum* is described in almost identical language: "situated at the very beginning of the East near the Ocean."

42. The precise geographical layout envisioned here is ambiguous; it is unclear whether the Ocean or Shir is east of the land of Nod. The most logical solution seems to be that thatthe Ocean is directly east of Shir, which is east of Nod.

43. Cf. Gn 4:16, though there it is the place of Cain’s exile. Nod is mentioned very little in extrabiblical literature, and in no other cases does it appear to be the dwelling place of Adam.

44. I.e., “when Adam had Seth.” The idea that Adam had received foreknowledge of the future and transmitted it to later generations through Seth or some other means occurs in numerous Jewish and Christian noncanonical writings. This understanding most likely derives from the incident of Adam eating from the Tree of Knowledge, which would have provided him with some sort of predictive ability.

45. Cf. Gn 3:23–24.

46. Mention of Seth’s purity also appears in several other Jewish and Christian sources, and has implications for the character of his progeny. See Josephus *Antiquities* 1.68–69.

47. Cf. Gn 4:26 for the tradition that during the time of Seth and his son Enosh “people began to invoke the name of the LORD.”

48. In claiming that Seth produced a written revelation, the *Revelation of the Magi* also has some general similarities with writings preserved in the Nag Hammadi corpus.

49. Cf. Gn 7:1.

50. This is the first instance of a phrase, “hidden mysteries,” that occurs on twenty-one separate occasions in the *Revelation of the Magi.* Roughly half of these times it appears in the title “Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries” (4:1); in this title and elsewhere it generally functions as the primary designation for the knowledge handed from Seth through the generations of Magi (but cf. 30:3, where it apparently refers to Christ).

51. Here it becomes clear that the narrators of the story are the Magi themselves (or more precisely, the generation of Magi living at the time of Christ's coming). This first-person narration continues uninterrupted until 28:4, just prior to the arrival of the Apostle Thomas, where the text abruptly switches into third-person narration.

52. The praying posture of the Magi has analogues in ancient Jewish and Christian literature, even if it is not as well known as the *orans* position or other postures. It is most commonly mentioned in the Hebrew Bible; cf. 1 Kgs 8:54; 2 Chr 6:13; Ezr 9:5; Ps 68:31; Lam 3:41; 1 Tm 2:8.

53. The “Mountain of Victories” is paralleled in the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*, where it goes by a very similar name, “Victorious Mountain.” The meaning of the name “Mountain of Victories/Victorious Mountain” is difficult to interpret, and several scholars have sought to connect it with one of several mountains associated with Zoroaster. However, these theories have little to commend to them. Holy mountains where theophanies take place are hardly a phenomenon exclusive to Zoroastrianism, and parallels to Jewish and Christian texts, such as Ex 24 and Mk 9:1–8, are perhaps more appropriate.

54. The “Cave of Treasures” also appears in a Syriac writing of the same name. The *Cave of Treasures* is a retelling of biblical history from the creation of the world through the coming of Christ, usually thought to have been written sometime between the fourth and sixth century c.e. In this work, the “Cave of Treasures” appears as the place of Adam’s burial and as the repository of gifts that are brought by the Magi to Christ *(Cave of Treasures* 5.17, 6.22, 45.12). In the *Revelation of the Magi*, however, the primary importance of this cave is its housing of Seth’s books of revelation, though the gifts are also mentioned, albeit briefly. Its usual title in the *Revelation of the Magi* is the “Cave of Treasures of Hidden Mysteries,#x201C;but variants occur both here and in 4:2. The meaning of the phrase “the Mysteries of the Life of Silence” is not at all clear. It would seem to relate to the Magi’s practice of silent prayer, yet the term “life of silence” is not found elsewhere in the *Revelation of the Magi.*

55. What follows is the prophecy of central importance for the descendants of Seth: the appearance of a star, and thus the manifestation of the Father's Son. The prophecy, like the rest of the *Revelation of the Magi* prior to 28:6, never mentions the name "Jesus" or "Christ," though allusions to Christian texts are frequent. This feature is part of the author's agenda to refer to Christian names and terminology only in an opaque manner. The idea that the Magi expect the star because of a prophecy going back to Seth is unparalleled in ancient Christian literature. According to Origen *(Against Celsus* 1.60; cf. also *Homilies on Numbers* 13.7, 18.4), the Magi were in the midst of magical practice when a luminous new star appeared and caused their spells to lose their efficacy, prompting them to consult the prophecy of their forefather Balaam from Nm 24:17. In *On the Star,* a composition falsely attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea, the Magi have been closely following the prophecies of Balaam, since they have proven true in the past, and hence they immediately recognize the appearance of the star as the fulfillment of another of Balaam's prophecies. Another pagan prophet who was thought to have predicted the events surrounding the star was Zoroaster. The *Arabic Infancy Gospel* 7:1 states that the Magi arrived in Jerusalem, "just as Zeradusht had predicted." Zoroaster also predicts the birth of Christ in a narrative preserved by the Syriac writer Theodore bar Konai.

56. Cf. Mt 2:2.

57. The information that the Magi are to expect a “light … inthe form of a star,” rather than simply a star, is significant, since the star is actually the preexistent Christ.

58. The precise role and symbolism of this “pillar of light” in the narrative is unclear. Although the *Revelation of the Magi* mentions the pillar upon which the star sits ten times, these mentions are always during the sequence when the star appears, descends from heaven, and stands before the mouth of a cave (either in Shir or in Bethlehem). Thus, the pillar has no explicit role as a guide for the Magi during their journey; only the star is named at this point in the story. But it is difficult to understand the significance of this pillar without recourse to the Exodus narrative; indeed, the scribe responsible for the text wrote “pillar of cloud” instead of “pillar of light” at a point late in the narrative (27:4). This is the only time this phrase appears in the *Revelation of the Magi* (elsewhere it is “pillar of light”), so it may be no more than a transmission error, but at the very least, it demonstrates a possible (if unintentional) reference to Exodus.

59. Cf. 11:5–7 (and accompanying note at 11:5), 16:4.

60. Cf. Col 1:15.

61. Cf. Jn 4:14.

62. The phrase “who sent” (usually followed by “me”) appears twelve times in the *Revelation of the Magi*. This terminology is strongly connected with the language and theology of John’s Gospel, where it appears more than twenty times.

63. Cf. Mt 2:11. This is the first of several instances where “his” accompanies the gifts that the Magi are to bring to Christ. The translation “his own” presupposes that the gifts in some way have always belonged to Christ, but why this should be so is not made explicit in the text. It is remarkable that the *Revelation of the Magi* nowhere clarifies precisely what thesegifts are, even if it might be expected that they are none other than the familiar gold, frankincense, and myrrh. This lack of interest in the gifts is rather odd and represents one of several departures of the *Revelation of the Magi* from common trends in ancient Christian exegesis of the Magi story. Other non-canonical traditions have the Magi giving the child a wide array of gifts; cf. the Irish *Leabhar Breac* infancy narrative 92.3 (an important witness to *Infancy Gospel* X), where they give a purple stone, a pearl, a garland, a linen sheet, a royal staff, and “other gifts, the like or equal of which has not been found on earth.” In some traditions the Magi even receive a gift from Christ in turn: in the *Arabic Infancy Gospel* 8:1–6, Christ gives them a band of cloth that does not burn in fire; in the *Legend of Aphroditianus*, the Magi take back to Persia a picture of the child and mother painted by a servant; in a tale narrated to Marco Polo in Iran, a stone that produces holy fire.

64. The *Revelation of the Magi* also mentions the unsightliness of Christ's physical appearance at 14:5 and 28:2. Cf. the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostle Peter 20, which describes Christ as "beautiful and ugly, young and old." The *Revelation of the Magi* and the Acts of Peter share an emphasis on the ability of Christ to shift his form between that of luminous divine being and an unsightly and humble human being. It is possible that these passages refer back to Is 53:2.

65. Sic. It is unclear whether the passive participle of the verb “to kill” by itself is intended to have the valence of “mortal,” if it foreshadows Christ’s later death (cf. the “sign of the cross” in 4:8), or if some other meaning is intended for this difficult reading.

66. The commencing of the ritual on this date could suggest an allusion to the celebration of Christmas on December 25, the date established by the Roman church in 337. Some Eastern Christian communities—in particular, the

Jerusalem church—were resistant to this date until the fifth and sixth centuries, preferring the date of January 6. Yet the ritual's occurrence every month complicates this supposition, even if it is difficult to understand the significance of the twenty-fifth apart from the date of Christmas. Furthermore, the *Revelation of the Magi* has the Magi arrive in Jerusalem during the month of April, "the month of flowers" (17:1), and since they go to Bethlehem very soon after and witness the birth of Jesus in a cave, this would suggest the date of his birth sometime in April (though *birth* is not necessarily the best terminology for a transformation from star into a luminous child). In any case, the mention of the twenty-fifth of the month cannot be reliably used to argue for a post-Constantinian dating of the first-person section of the *Revelation of the Magi.*

67. This combination of trees occurring naturally within a single habitat is, from an ecological perspective, impossible, and thus is part of an idealized cultic landscape. The combination of a mountain, cave, spring, and sacred grove brings together some of the most characteristic features of sacred geography.

68. In ancient Jewish and Christian writings, especially pleasing smells often signify divinity and/or moral goodness. Syriac Christian writings are particularly noteworthy for their emphasis on this sometimes overlooked sense.

69. The *Revelation of the Magi* does not specify how much time has elapsed between the Magi's purification on the twenty-fifth of the month and their ascent of the mountain on the first day of the next month. If it follows a Roman calendar, the number of days in a given month would vary. Since this narrative is set in a semimythical country, however, it is very difficult to give precise durations for the different stages of the ritual.

70. Cf. 3:8.

71. This passage, which seems to indicate that some people rejected the teaching of the Magi, is very difficult to understand. The *Revelation of the Magi* never again discusses these dissenters (but cf. 28:1) and here indicates only that their rejection has to do with the practice of silent prayer espoused by the Magi (cf. note at 1:2). Silent prayer was rather uncommon in ancient religions and often viewed with some suspicion, but this is the only mention of it in the *Revelation of the Magi* that has a negative connotation.

72. The next four chapters are presented as an excerpt from the books of revelation produced by Seth and entrusted to the Magi. Though this extended flashback might appear to derail the progression of the plot by breaking away from the Magi, it explains the ultimate origins of the Magi's knowledge and details the first appearance of the star. In addition, since it occurs immediately after the description of the Magi's monthly ritual and immediately prior to the appearance of the star during their ritual, it provides the impression of the passage of some time between the initiation of the present generation of Magi by their fathers and the fulfillment of the ancient prophecy.

73. Cf. Gn 4:25.

74. Cf. 11:7 and 17:2, which indicate that the star was visible only to those who were deemed worthy to see it.

75. Cf. Mk 3:24.

76. Cf. Gn 2:21–22.

77. Cf. Gn 2:23.

78. Similar to 1:2 and 2:1 above, the phrasing of this sentence seems to imply a play on words between *time* and *stumbling block.* However, as with the apparent connection between *Magi* and *silence,* it is not at all clear what similarity exists between these two words.

79. Though the term *mysteries* is frequently used with reference to the central ritual of the Magi, it is not clear whether this statement is a directive only to Seth and only with reference to Eve, or whether it is understood to prohibit more broadly women's participation in the Magi's activities. While those who constitute the Magi's ranks are almost always gendered with masculine terms like *father* and *son*, the Magi also instruct their "families," of which women are certainly a part. Still, the handing down of tradition through the lineage of the Magi is predicated on transmission from father to son, with the son taking the father's place at his death, so the role of women is rather limited.

80. Cf. Gn 2:18.

81. Cf. Mk 1:11.

82. It is not clear precisely from where the ideas about Adam having priority before he was created and about the watchers loving him derive. This may be a distant echo of the tradition, found in the *Life of Adam and Eve* 14:1–3, that God instructed the angels to worship Adam.

83. Cf. Gn 4:10; Dn 4:35; Rom 9:20.

84. Cf. Gn 3:15.

85. Cf. Gn 3:14; Is 65:25; Mi 7:17; Rom 16:20.

86. It is not clear whether these individuals whose decline in the last days Adam predicts in 9:2–6 are the human race generally, the lineage of the Magi specifically, or perhaps some other group. But if the text means to imply that the Magi have fallen into apostasy, this is not suggested anywhere other than here.

87. The mention of blaspheming and “saying many things” stands in sharp contrast to the emphasis placed by the *Revelation of the Magi* on both the silent prayer of the Magi and the ineffability of the Father.

88. These criticisms of the veneration of heavenly bodies areespecially interesting to find in a text so devoted to the Magi, since a chief concern of a number of ancient Christian exegetes regarding Mt 2:1–12 was the potential of this text to be read as demonstrating the efficacy of astrology. Beyond this passing comment, the overall depiction of the Magi in the *Revelation of the Magi* as less like a band of astrologers and more like a doomsday cult (i.e., waiting for one pivotal otherworldly event, not continually interpreting the sky to discern the present and foretell the future) may very well address from a different angle some of these same concerns. For examples of this uneasiness, see: Tertullian *(On Idolatry* 9), in which he asserts that the Magi left behind the magical practice of astrology after their visit to Bethlehem, deducing this from the information that they returned to their homeland “by another way"; John Chrysostom, *(Homilies on Matthew* 6.1), where he laments that some Christians infer the acceptability of astrological practices from Matthew’s story.

89. Criticism of these sorts of acts of profligate living is quite widespread in ancient texts, so it is impossible to know whether these are directed at specific problems in a community or are simply stock phrases of moral exhortation. However, it is noteworthy that the *Revelation of the Magi,* unlike much early Syriac literature, does not have a strong ascetical agenda. The Magi do not engage in celibacy or other world-denying practices, nor is such a lifestyle advocated by Judas Thomas at the end of the *Revelation of the Magi,* unlike his counterpart in Acts of Thomas.

90. Cf. Gn 3:5. The speaker of these words is, of course, the serpent.

91. Cf. Is 29:16, 45:9, 64:8; Jer 18:4–6.

92. Cf. Jn 13:16.

93. Cf. Gn 2:7.

94. This statement refers to the tradition of Christ descending into Hell in the time between his death and Resurrection, often called the "harrowing of Hell." The specific intention in the *Revelation of the Magi*, to redeem Adam, is also referenced in a number of ancient Christian texts, but other incidents (such as the binding of the devil) find mention as well. The tradition has its canonical origins in Eph 4:9 and 1 Pt 3:19–20, 4:6.

95. Cf. Gn 2:7.

96. Cf. Gn 4:1–2.

97. Cf. Gn 4:4.

98. Cf. Gn 4:10–12.

99. Cf. Gn 4:26; also 3:2 above.

100. It seems that 11:1–2 should not be read as a “real-time” description of the star’s appearance, the account of which begins in 11:3. Instead, these two verses likely function as summary statements to indicate that the star appeared during this generation of Magi’s time, and that the visions that they saw at the time of the star’s coming were predicted by the books of revelation.

101. Several other early Christian texts describe the Magi's star as inordinately bright. The earliest such description is Ignatius of Antioch's *Epistle to the Ephesians* 19:2, where the star is brighter than all other stars, which form a circle around it. Somewhat later in the second century, in the *Protevangelium of James* 21:8, the Magi describe the star as being so bright that it makes all other stars disappear. There is no indication, however, in either of these texts that this celestial phenomenon is invisible to everyone except the Magi.

102. The month of Nisan is equivalent to April, though it isstrange to have such a culturally specific reference in a text situated, for the most part, in a locale that is almost otherworldly. However, the phrase “in the days of Nisan” can also be translated idiomatically as “in springtime.” In either case, see the note directly below.

103. I.e., “the moon is absorbed in the light of the sun.” This statement is odd because it places the phenomenon of a faint daytime moon at a specific time of the year—namely, Nisan/April (or possibly springtime). However, as is well known, the daytime moon is visible throughout the entire year, and not simply in April. The analogy itself—that the star is so bright that it makes the sun appear as faint as the daytime moon normally does—is quite clear, creative, and vivid, even if the reference to April is difficult to understand.

104. The phrase “the sons of our mysteries” (as opposed to “our sons” at 5:1) seems to indicate, along with 5:9 and 5:11, that the order of the Magi does not perpetuate strictly through biological succession (as 5:10 might imply) but is open to “converts.”

105. The tradition that the star of the Magi was visible only to them is a definite minority position in ancient Christian exegesis. It is, however, one of several striking agreements between the *Revelation of the Magi* and *Infancy Gospel X*. Because these two texts agree on what is such an unusual interpretation of the Star of Bethlehem, it is very likely that there is some sort of literary relationship between them.

106. Cf. Jn 1:51; Gn 28:12.

107. Cf. 4:2 and corresponding note.

108. Cf. 20:1.

109. Cf. 4:8. Latin and Irish witnesses to *Infancy Gospel X* also describe the birth of Christ as a mass of light that gradually dissipates until it assumes the form of an infant.

110. Cf. Lk 24:36; Jn 20:19, 21, 26.

111. Cf. 19:1, 21:2, 25:1, 31:1.

112. Cf. Jn 1:14.

113. Cf. Jn 3:16.

114. Cf. Jn 19:30.

115. Cf. Phil 2:8.

116. Cf. Gal 4:4.

117. Cf. Rom 1:20, 2:1.

118. This idea that Christ can be both in the presence of the Father and on earth at the same time may be related to a variant reading in Jn 3:13, which states that the Son of Man, who has ascended into and descended from heaven, is (currently) in heaven. Regardless of the origin of the idea, however, the *Revelation of the Magi* is evidently very invested in the ability of Christ to appear in multiple locations and forms simultaneously.

119. Cf. Col 3:11; Gospel of Thomas 77.

120. This sentence contains an intriguing theological concept: that Christ is the underlying reality of all systems of religious belief in the world. Although other early Christian writings admit the possibility of revelation through non-Christian channels (e.g., Acts 14:15–17, 17:22–31), the *Revelation of the Magi* demonstrates a novel "theology of world religions," the precise form of which is found nowhere else, to my knowledge, in ancient Christian sources.

121. Cf. Ez 3:9.

122. Cf. Gospel of Philip 57:28–58:10.

123. The idea that those involved in the killing of Christ have come to an evil end appears in numerous early Christian writings (e.g., 1 Thes 2:15; Mt 27:25).

124. The final phrase of this sentence is rather difficult to understand. It may mean that there were letters that the Magi were to open only at the time of the star’s coming, giving specific instructions for the gifts to be brought. However, the more likely sense is that the gifts, whatever they were, were housed in some kind of sealed container(s), here called “letters.” This is the probable meaning, based upon the statement in 18:7 that the Magi had brought their treasures to Bethlehem “sealed.”

125. The series of statements that follow demonstrate Christ's polymorphous ability, a tradition that appears in a number of other ancient Christian texts. This concept seems to derive from the account of Jesus's transfiguration (Mk 9:2–8) and from the Resurrection appearance stories, but it undergoes considerable development in the second and third centuries, where it appears in the Acts of John 88–94, the Acts of Thomas 143, and the Acts of Peter 20–21. In some traditions about the Magi, including the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* and a legend told to Marco Polo in Iran in the twelfth century, Jesus appeared to each of the three Magi in correspondence to their ages: as young, middle-aged, and old. In another impressive parallel to the *Revelation of the Magi*, the best Latin witness of *Infancy Gospel X* has the infant Jesus change his form as the shepherds are viewing. A unique aspect of the polymorphic vision in the *Revelation of the Magi*, not seen in other texts, is that its individual pieces in sequence tell the story of Christ's birth, growth, and death, culminating with his descent into Sheol and his heavenly ascent. A polymorphic appearance of Christ also occurs later in the *Revelation of the Magi*, this time for the inhabitants of Shir after they have eaten of the food brought back by the Magi (28:1–3).

126. Regarding Christ’s ugliness, see note at 4:8.

127. Cf. Jn 1:29.

128. Cf. 10:4 and corresponding note.

129. Cf. 12:3; Ps 24:7.

130. Cf. Ps 91:12.

131. Cf. Jn 14:16, 14:26, 15:26, 16:7; 1 Jn 2:1.

132. Cf. Mt 13:17; Lk 10:24.

133. Cf. Acts 9:3, 22:6, 26:13.

134. Cf. Mt 11:27; Lk 10:22.

135. Cf. Jn 1:18, 10:38. This verse of the *Revelation of the Magi* uses several terms—*singleness, thought, voice*—that are relatively rare in early Christian literature and have their closest parallels in the Gnostic Christian writings from Nag Hammadi (see also the frequent references to “error” at 13:3, 13:5, 14:8, 17:9, 18:1, 21:9, 21:10, 30:4, 32:2). Some scholars have considered the *Revelation of the Magi* to be a “Gnostic” text; however, despite this strange terminology, the *Revelation of the Magi* lacks any traces of the most common doctrines found in the Nag Hammadi literature, such as a negative evaluation of the material world or an evil creator (cf. 21:9).

136. Cf. Jn 1:3.

137. Cf. Rom 8:38–39; Col 1:16.

138. Cf. 2:2.

139. Cf. Mk 1:11, 9:7.

140. Cf. 1:5.

141. Cf. Col 1:15.

142. Cf. Jn 1:14, 1:18, 3:16, 3:18; 1 Jn 4:9.

143. Cf. Jn 3:19.

144. In the Syriac tradition, the terminology of “putting on a body” is a very typical description of the Incarnation.

145. Cf. Mk 16:17.

146. Cf. Jn 14:6.

147. Cf. Jn 10:9.

148. Cf. Phil 2:9.

149. Cf. Jn 6:35, 48, 51. Also note that the pronoun *me* provides the first indication of who is speaking this discourse: the Father himself, as will become completely clear with the final words of the passage in 15:10.

150. Cf. Mk 4:14.

151. Cf. Jn 10:11.

152. Cf. Heb 4:14.

153. Cf. Jn 6:55.

154. Cf. Jn 15:1, 5.

155. The use of *encampment* here and at several places in the rest of the narrative is peculiar, since it does not suggest a relatively small group of travelers. It is a word used in the New Testament almost exclusively for large assemblies of people (e.g., Acts 21:34; Heb 11:34, 13:11). Because of this typical usage, this terminology in the *Revelation of the Magi* may reflect a more archaic belief that the group of the Magi numbered more than twelve (cf. the list of names in 2:3, which is possibly an independent accretion grafted onto the *Revelation of the Magi).* If this is indeed the case, then this would be another similarity between the *Revelation of the Magi* and *Infancy Gospel X*, whose witnesses all portray the Magi as a large group of people.

156. The ambiguity of this verb does not specify whether the group of the Magi is being upheld in the sense of “being sustained” or actually “carried” off the ground. Evidence for both interpretations appears in 16:6, as the Magi are relieved of their fatigue and cross rivers by foot.

157. Cf. Is 60:19; Rv 21:23, 22:5.

158. A reference to the lack of fatigue experienced by the Magialso occurs in an Irish witness to *Infancy Gospel X*. It is also possible that this passage from the *Revelation of the Magi* alludes to Is 40:31.

159. I.e., the star.

160. Cf. 26:5, 27:9. This food that is generated by the star will later figure prominently in the conversion of the people of Shir, since it produces visions of Christ for those who eat it (28:1–4). While the multiplication of food has some parallels in early Christian literature (cf. Mk 6:32–44, 8:10; Jn 6:5–13; *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* 12), the ability of food to facilitate visionary experience is far more unusual. Several similar concepts are the eating of a scroll as a sign of prophetic commission in Ez 2:8–3:3 and Rv 10:8–10 and the eating of a heavenly honeycomb by Aseneth as a kind of proto-Eucharist in *Joseph and Aseneth* 16; but even in these cases, there is no indication that what is ingested produces a visionary experience.

161. Cf. Is 40:4.

162. Cf. Gn 3:15; Ps 91:13; Lk 10:19; Rom 16:20.

163. I.e., in April (Nisan; cf. 11:6). Clement of Alexandria also knows of Christians who state that Jesus was born in April (24–25 Pharmuti, equivalent to April 20–21); see *Miscellanies* 1.21. The information that the Magi arrived in “the month of flowers” also appears in Theodore bar Konai *(Mimra* 7.17). Because of such similar language, it is very likely that Theodore was acquainted with the *Revelation of the Magi.* Moreover, Theodore was writing in central Arabia at roughly the same time that the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* was produced, which indicates that the *Revelation of the Magi* was in fairly wide circulation at the end of the eighth century.

164. Cf. Mt 2:3.

165. This statement by the inhabitants of Jerusalem and theexplanatory comments of the Magi that follow are noteworthy on several levels. First of all, there is again a remarkable parallel with *Infancy Gospel X*, where *Joseph* (not the inhabitants of Jerusalem) regards the Magi as astrologers because they are constantly looking up at the sky. More precisely, in both texts the Magi are watching their guiding star, which neither the inhabitants of Jerusalem nor Joseph is able to see (cf. 11:7). Beyond this, however, there is a more problematic issue. The use of the term *Magianism* occurs only here in the *Revelation of the Magi;* their religious system is elsewhere called *mysteries, custom*, or *faith.* Moreover, this is also the only instance of the word *Magi* within the first-person-plural narration that makes up the bulk of the document, and its connotation is apparently negative. Because the inhabitants of Jerusalem refer to the actions of the visitors as "Magianism," do not understand the mysteries of these visitors, and reckon these visitors to be "Magi," the entire implication of this passage is that these visitors are not who the inhabitants of Jerusalem think they are, and are *not* Magi—a difficult conclusion given that the central figures of the narrative are obviously the Magi. Perhaps a solution lies in the earlier statements that the Magi are called by this name because of their silent prayer (1:2, 2:1), which may be intended in part to differentiate these figures from the more common connotation of Magi as astrologers.

166. Cf. 15:7 and accompanying note.

167. Cf. 13:10 and corresponding note.

168. Cf. Mt 2:4.

169. Cf. Mt 2:10.

170. The statement that the scribes did not believe that which was written in their sacred writings, when coupled with the Magi's reliance on their own books of prophecy, sharply contrasts the two groups and goes beyond the implicit critique already present in Matthew.

171. Perhaps this is an allusion to Gn 1:3.

172. It is possible to understand this sentence as an indictment of the Jewish people since the time of Herod: “They are (still) dwelling in darkness (as they have done) from the days of Herod. …”

173. Cf. Mt 2:8.

174. Cf. Mt 2:12.

175. Cf. Jn 8:12, 9:5.

176. The Syriac term used here can also mean a court, a space enclosed by a fence, or a sheepfold. I have chosen the translation “homestead” because of the immediate appearance of Mary and Joseph as the Magi are leaving the cave (22:2), an indication that they do not live far away from the cave.

177. Although in Mt 2:11 the Magi visit the infant Jesus in his parents' house, here the *Revelation of the Magi* places the birth in a cave, a locale mentioned in several other ancient sources. While Lk 2:7 has Jesus laid in a "manger" because there was no room in the "inn," many scholars believe that this verse is describing a very rudimentary shelter for travelers, not the sort of inn found, for example, in Luke's parable of the Good Samaritan (cf. Lk 10:34, which uses a different Greek word for "inn"). It is therefore possible that the primitive structure that Luke describes evolved into the belief that Jesus was born in a cave. The cave tradition also appears in the *Protevangelium of James* 18.1; the Syriac *Testament of Adam* 3:6; Justin Martyr *Dialogue with Trypho* 78; and a number of other early Christian writers.

178. The sequence of events in 18:3–5 is practically identical to the initial manifestation of the star to the Magi atop the Mountain of Victories.

179. This is the first of several statements, which occur at various places in the narrative, indicating that the mysteries of the Magi have been accomplished or fulfilled (cf. 19:2, 21:4, 24:2, 31:1).

180. Cf. 11:4.

181. Cf. 12:3.

182. Cf. 12:4.

183. Cf. 12:5.

184. This is the only reference in the first-person-plural section of the *Revelation of the Magi* that implies that the Magi are kings. Cf. 1:2, 2:3–5.

185. Cf. Mt 6:13, though this part of the Lord's Prayer does not appear in the earliest Greek manuscripts.

186. Cf. Rom 14:11; Phil 2:10.

187. Cf. Mt 19:28–29; Mk 10:30; Lk 18:29–30.

188. Cf. 13:1, 21:1, 25:1, 31:1.

189. How the fathers of the Magi are able to see the light of the star is not clear, since 5:10 implies that their sons would be initiated into the Magi's mysteries only when their fathers had died; perhaps the text means only that they were *worthy* to see it, even if it did not appear in their lifetimes.

190. Cf. Mt 28:20.

191. Cf. the appearance of Judas Thomas in 29:1, but there is never any indication in the final portion of the *Revelation of the Magi* that more than one disciple preaches in the homeland of the Magi.

192. Cf. Jn 17:5.

193. Cf. 13:9.

194. Cf. Mk 15:33.

195. Cf. Mt 27:51–52. This prediction of events, which in the New Testament occurs in conjunction with the death of Jesus, is problematic in that it is never again mentioned in the *Revelation of the Magi.* If the Judas Thomas episode is judged to be an interpolation, then it is possible that its insertion may have obliterated the fulfillment of this prophecy.

196. Cf. Mk 14:62, 16:19; Acts 7:55–56.

197. Cf. 12:4.

198. The Latin and Irish witnesses to *Infancy Gospel X* also state that the Christ child received praise from invisible heavenly beings at the moment of his birth.

199. Cf. Jn 1:3.

200. Cf. 2 Cor 1:20.

201. Cf. Col 1:16.

202. Cf. 2:2.

203. The Magi falling on the ground like dead men in 21:1 and the child putting his right hand on them in 21:2 very strongly resemble Rv 1:17.

204. Cf. 13:1, 19:1, 25:1, 31:1.

205. It is not clear what these “great things” to come are. It is possible that this refers back to the prophecy spoken by the child in 19:7–9 regarding the events at his death and his ascension to heaven.

206. I.e., Shir, where the light of the star first appeared.

207. Cf. 29:5.

208. Cf. 27:10.

209. Cf. Col 1:15.

210. Cf. 1 Cor 1:24.

211. Cf. Jn 10:38; 14:11.

212. Cf. 13:10; Jn 5:46.

213. Cf. Gospel of Thomas 50.

214. Cf. Gospel of Thomas 12.

215. Cf. 30:5–6, 31:1. It is important to note that the Holy Spirit is feminine in gender here, as evidenced by the feminine form of the adjective *holy.* This usage, found in the second-century *Odes of Solomon* and the fourth-century writings of Ephrem and Aphrahat, indicates a probable date earlier than the fifth century for the *Revelation of the Magi*, since Syriac writers after this time generally understand the Holy Spirit as a masculine entity.

216. This statement about infants lacking any blemishes of sin is intriguing, since it disagrees markedly with the Augustinian conception of original sin, wherein infants, like all of humanity, share Adam's guilt *(On Merit and the Forgiveness of Sin, and the Baptism of Infants* 1.9.24). The assertion that infants lack sin occurs in a number of Greek Christian writers (cf. Aristides *Apology* 15, Syriac recension; Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies* 4.25.160; Gregory of Nyssa *On Infants' Early Deaths,* passim).

217. I.e., the Father of majesty.

218. Cf. 32:2.

219. Cf. Rv 5:13.

220. The appearance of Mary and Joseph at this point in the narrative is quite abrupt, as the *Revelation of the Magi* does not mention them earlier. It is not clear whether they "went out" of the cave or the village of Bethlehem with the Magi. This episode is also remarkable for the way in which it uses the misunderstanding of Mary and Joseph as the first occasion for the Magi to act as witnesses for Christ by proclaiming his true omnipresent nature. In *Infancy Gospel X*, it is also the Magi who convey to Joseph and his son Simeon the significance of Christ's birth.

221. The statement “the offspring of the voice of virgin hearing” (cf. also 24:3) seems to demonstrate a familiarity with the ancient Christian doctrine that Mary’s conception happened through auditory channels—i.e., through her ear. Although the doctrine becomes especially popular in the mid-fifth century and beyond, traces of it appear as early as the second-century *Protevangelium of James*. In its annunciation narrative, Gabriel tells Mary that she will conceive from God’s word *(Protevangelium of James* 11:5).

222. Cf. 28:2.

223. Cf. 4:8, 13:1.

224. Cf. Mk 14:9.

225. Cf. Mt 2:11.

226. Cf. Ascension of Isaiah 11:8–9.

227. Cf. Lk 1:42.

228. The beginning section of this sentence is problematic, since it would be expected that the child is no longer in Mary's womb. This statement may suggest that Christ is always with Mary, as he is always with the Magi—an indication of Christ's omnipresence.

229. I.e., “by the majesty of the Father of all.”

230. This statement of the Magi to Mary strongly reflects the interest in universal salvation through the polymorphismand omnipresence of Christ (cf. 13:10 and corresponding note).

231. It is unclear whether the Magi have accompanied Mary and Joseph to their house, since they are not mentioned again until 26:1. If they have not, then chapters 24 and 25 would be a rather jarring departure from the first-person narration that pervades the majority of the *Revelation of the Magi.* Since the location of the Bethlehem cave is described as a “homestead” (cf. 18:2 and corresponding note), this may indicate that there is very little space between the cave and the house of Mary and Joseph.

232. Instances of Jesus laughing in ancient Christian texts are quite rare; however, the recently published *Gospel of Judas* has Jesus laugh on several occasions at the misunderstandings of his disciples. *Infancy Gospel X* also depicts the newborn Jesus as laughing.

233. Cf. 22:2 and corresponding note.

234. Mary’s misunderstanding here is intriguing: she apparently thought that the gifts brought by the Magi were a sort of bribe that they offered to the divine child so that he would accompany them.

235. Cf. 13:1, 19:1, 21:2, 31:1.

236. Cf. 23:1; Lk 1:42.

237. Cf. Lk 1:48

238. Cf. Gn 3:24; Lk 2:35. In linking the instrument that guarded the Garden of Eden with that which is said to pierce Mary's heart, the *Revelation of the Magi* resembles to a certain degree an interpretation found in several Syriac texts, wherein the spear that pierces Christ's side in Jn 19:34 reverses the sword in Genesis.

239. Cf. Col 3:11; Gospel of Thomas 77.

240. I.e., the sun.

241. It is not clear who “all your believers” are, with whom the Magi have been witnesses to the star. The only other people who have seen the star are Mary and Joseph; however, it may refer to the statements made by Christ and the Magi that he has adherents in every land (13:10; 17:5).

242. Cf. 16:5, 27:9.

243. Cf. 14:3.

244. Cf. 16:4 and accompanying note.

245. This is the first instance in the *Revelation of the Magi* of indirect discourse being used to summarize a speech, as opposed to the regular pattern of directly quoting lengthy speeches. The only other such occurrences of this are in 29:3–4, where the Magi tell the Apostle Thomas about their journey and Thomas in turn relates to them his experiences with the earthly Jesus. Note also that by 27:9, the indirect discourse has evidently switched to direct speech, as indicated by the presence of "you." Because of this shift back and forth between indirect and direct speech and also the parallels of this section with the Thomas material, it is likely that this section reveals editorial tampering designed to integrate the first-person testimony of the Magi with the new third-person ending featuring the Apostle Thomas.

246. Sic. Cf. note at 12:3.

247. It is unclear precisely what the meaning of this sentence is.

248. Cf. 13:10.

249. Cf. note at 4:7.

250. Cf. 13:10.

251. This phrase may be meant as a critique of Judaism, since “the prophets” are also mentioned in 13:10.

252. Cf. 26:1.

253. Cf. 16:5, 26:5.

254. Cf. note at 27:3.

255. Cf. 21:6.

256. Cf. Jn 1:9.

257. Cf. 23:4.

258. Cf. 5:11 for the only other indication that not all the people of Shir choose to participate in the mysteries of the Magi.

259. The visions of the people of Shir in 28:1–3 are related in the same basic form as those experienced by the Magi in 14:4–8. However, two features distinguish these visions from those of the Magi. First, these visions are facilitated simply by the eating of food, while those of the Magi resulted from the epiphany of Christ in the Cave of Treasures. Second, the visions of the Magi followed in sequence the order of events in Christ's life, whereas here the order is less secure and the account of Christ's life less complete.

260. Cf. 22:3.

261. Cf. 11:6.

262. Cf. 4:8 and accompanying note.

263. Cf. Jn 1:29, 36; Rv 5:6.

264. Although the phrase “tree of life” appears in 6:2, here another Syriac word is used for “tree” instead. While this Syriac word can also designate Eden’s Tree of Life (as in Rv 22:2), in a number of New Testament texts it refers to the cross (cf. Acts 5:30; Gal 3:13).

265. Cf. Acts 2:1.

266. Cf. note at 28:6.

267. Cf. 1:2. It is at this point that, for the first time since 2:6 or 3:6 (unless chapters 24 and 25 are an exception; see the note at 24:1), the narration is no longer in the first-person plural, but in the third person. This transition may have happened earlier, at 28:1, but the description of the Magi in the third person demonstrates unambiguously that they are no longer the narrators of the *Revelation of the Magi.*

268. I.e., the nobles, the poor, the women, and the children of Shir.

269. I.e., the Magi.

270. Cf. Acts 17:19.

271. This is the first use in the *Revelation of the Magi* of the title "Our Lord Jesus Christ," a very widespread designation in Christian piety; its presence strongly suggests that a later Syriac writer tampered with the text. The portion of the text narrated by the Magi themselves (the overwhelming bulk of the *Revelation of the Magi)* never uses the name "Jesus" or "Christ" to describe the being whom the Magi encounter. In contrast, this terminology is used very frequently in the short Apostle Thomas section, where some combination of these designations occurs eighteen times. The sudden preference for this familiar Christian terminology is one of the strongest arguments (cf. also the switch from first-person to third-person narration in 28:4) in favor of the theory that the Apostle Thomas section is a later addition to the *Revelation of the Magi.* It is possible that whoever added the Apostle Thomas material was troubled by the fact that the first-person Magi narrative never explicitly integrates the Magi into the wider Christian Church.

272. Cf. Acts 2:47.

273. Judas Thomas is the same as the apostle known simply as “Thomas” in the Synoptic Gospels (cf. Mk 3:18; Mt 10:3; Lk6:15; also Acts 1:13) and as “Thomas who was called Didymus” in John’s Gospel (11:16, 20:24, 21:2). The Greek nickname “Didymus” means “twin,” and the Syriac name “Thomas” is also related to the Aramaic word for “twin.” The name “Judas Thomas” is found in two texts from Nag Hammadi (the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Book of Thomas the Contender),* as well as in the Acts of Thomas. It appears that Judas Thomas was the chief apostolic figure in ancient Syriac-speaking Christianity, particularly in the environs of Edessa. In the Acts of Thomas, Judas Thomas is commissioned to preach the gospel in India, where he is eventually martyred, but the *Revelation of the Magi* either ignores or is not aware of this tradition in favor of placing him in the farthest reaches of the East. There are some later references to a mission of the Apostle Thomas in China, and it is possible that these traditions ultimately go back to the *Revelation of the Magi.*

274. Cf. 21:5.

275. Cf. Acts 9:19.

276. Cf. 27:3 and accompanying note.

277. Though the text changed to narration in the third person at 28:4, here it curiously breaks into the first-person plural yet again with “we are not able to narrate,” “appearing to us,” and “we were amazed.” However, the “we” in this case is certainly not the Magi, but instead the disciples of Christ, whose experience with the polymorphic Christ the Apostle Thomas is describing.

278. The mention of doubt in connection with Thomas may allude to Jn 20:24–29.

279. Cf. 21:5. Although in the earlier passage it was unclear precisely what the “seal” was, here it is obviously Christian baptism—terminology perhaps derived from Eph 1:13, 4:30.

280. The order represented here of anointing with oil first, baptism second (cf. 31:1), is a practice particular to Syriac Christianity and is attested in other ancient sources.

281. The prayer/hymn spoken here by the Apostle Thomas is unattested in any other ancient sources, but it appears to be quite archaic because of vocabulary not seen elsewhere in the *Revelation of the Magi* (“athletes,” “contest,” “partner of the firstborn,” etc.). These elements suggest that the prayer had an origin separate from the other sections of the *Revelation of the Magi,* most likely in a liturgical context. This hymn, particularly its invocations to “come” (cf. 30:7), finds its closest parallel in the prayers scattered throughout the Acts of Thomas. The similarity of this prayer to those of the Acts of Thomas and the failure to mention the Apostle Thomas’s well-known journey to India suggest that the Apostle Thomas section originated quite early in Syriac Christianity, even if it is only a secondary addition to the original *Revelation of the Magi.*

282. I.e., the oil.

283. Cf. Mt 28:19.

284. Cf. 13:1,19:1, 21:2, 25:1.

285. Cf. 21:1.

286. Cf. Phil 2:19.

287. I.e., God the Father. This speech of the Apostle Thomas is ambiguous in whether or not it believes that Christ suffered. 31:6 states that Christ “endured” everything that the crucifiers did to him, but also that he was “exalted above all sufferings” and “a kinsperson of that one who does not suffer.” However, 31:7 again states that Christ “endured everything and … suffered everything,” which seems, on its face, to be a clear belief in the suffering of Christ.

288. Cf. Acts 2:47.

289. Cf. Mt 28:19.

290. It is unclear whether the Apostle Thomas joins the Magi in their preaching, since 32:1–2 never states specifically who “they” are. For the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum,* it seems that the Magi follow Thomas in a subservient role. The reference to the Holy Spirit being poured out could suggest that it is the Magi alone who preach, since they have just received it in their baptism, but this statement in no way definitively excludes Thomas.

291. Cf. 21:11.

292. This is the first and only reference to a final judgment of fire that appears in the *Revelation of the Magi*, and it is not clear from whom the Magi received this information. The concept of a fiery end of the world exists in a number of ancient sources (cf. 2 Pt 3:7, 10). One related text is the reference of Josephus *(Antiquities* 1.68–69) to the descendants of Seth who live in the land of Seiris and transmitted a revelation from Adam that two catastrophes, one of water and one of fire, would overtake the earth.

293. The use of *my* here is strange, if it is assumed that the Magi (and the Apostle Thomas?) are preaching together. It may indicate that the preachers are working separately in different parts of the land of Shir, but this is never stated explicitly.

294. Cf. 1:1 and corresponding note. This final verse almost certainly derives from the eighth-century composer of the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* and not from the copy of the *Revelation of the Magi* that he used.

295. Thomas Aquinas's remarks on the Magi legend of the *Opus Imperfectum* appear in the third part of his *Summa*, question 36, article 5.

296. It is not clear to me whether Calancha supposed, like Columbus, that the American continent was part of Asia, or whether he correctly recognized that it was a separate landmass. Explorers of the New World were remarkably adept at making their discoveries “fit” the biblical descriptions of the world.

297. The “contentious house” is the house of Israel, as described in Ez 3:9.

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SCHÄFER'S *GENIZA-FRAGMENTE ZUR HEKHALOT-LITERATUR**

Modern research of the hekhalot literature has tended to focus upon the hekhalot traditions which were preserved in medieval manuscripts, especially those copied and edited in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Germany, within the circles of Ḥaside Ashkenaz.[1] These manuscripts comprise the major hekhalot and merkavah traditions as based upon the principal textual rendition available in twelfth-century Europe. This rendition, which reflects the nondefinitive and flexible form of the hekhalot tradition, was transcribed, with slight variations and small changes in order, through the course of the centuries.[2]

The textual tradition of the medieval manuscripts was the foundation for most of the later publications of the different parts of the hekhalot literature, even until modern times.[3] While the medieval manuscripts include the essential hekhalot traditions, it has been argued that they do not comprise all the once extant merkavah texts. The existence of different compositions and other traditions is suggested in two groups of sources which retain fragments of this anonymous literature: 1) bits and fragments scattered in the extensive tenth-century gaonic responsa, in the Karaite polemic literature of the same period, in the later compilations of twelfth-century Ḥaside Ashkenaz, and in specific insinuations in the Kabbalistic literature; and 2) the Cairo genizah fragments, some dated as early as the ninth century, although most are from the eleventh.

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* Peter Schäfer. *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1984. Pp. 191.

[1] For hekhalot literature, merkabah mysticism, and information on the pertinent manuscripts see G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1954), pp. 40-79, 355-369; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York, 1965); I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden and Köln, 1980), pp. 98-234; P. Schäfer, "Handschriften zur Hekhalot Literatur," *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 11 (1983): 113-193.

[2] On the problem of the redaction of hekhalot tradition see P. Schäfer, "Tradition and Redaction in Hekhalot Literature," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 14 (1983): 172-181.

[3] *Hekhalot rabbati*, edited by A. Jellinek, was based upon a fourteenth-century German manuscript, Oxford 1531 (cf. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* [Wien, 1855], 3:83-108). Scholem's "Maʿaśeh Merkabah" (appendix to *Jewish Gnosticism* [note 1 above]) pp. 101-117) is based upon MSS Oxford 1531 and JTS (New York) 828. Both manuscripts came from the circles of Ḥaside Ashkenaz. R. Elior, *Hekhalot zuṭarti* (Jerusalem, 1982 [Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought, Supplement 1]) is based upon MS JTS 8128.

While the major hekhalot manuscripts are known and have been studied, the other two sources have not yet been subjected to systematic scholarly investigation. The bits and fragments within the more extensive writings are not easily accessible, since they are concealed within many manuscripts and books integrating various traditions from several periods. This material still awaits methodological scrutiny and investigation. The merkavah traditions found in the genizah had to be gathered out of thousands of fragments now located in the several genizah collections in Cambridge, Oxford, and Leningrad.

Peter Schäfer's book presents 23 texts from these collections, the great majority of them published here for the first time.[4] These texts are accurately reproduced in photographs and are faced by a full transcription, enabling the reader to compare both the original text and its transcription. The separate verses are compared for similarities and repetitions within the larger hekhalot manuscripts as found in Schäfer's previous volume, *Synopsis zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen, 1981).

In his previous book Schäfer had assembled a synoptic edition of the seven major hekhalot manuscripts, presented concurrently in their entirety, while disregarding earlier textual divisions and nomenclature.[5] The transcribed manuscript texts were divided into 985 numbered units. The present genizah fragments are compared with the relevant numbered sections in the synoptic edition.[6]

The texts offered are introduced with detailed information about the place and origin of the particular fragment, its material, and the paleographic background, including suggestions of the dates as offered by M. Beit-Arieh. The reader is provided with a short description of the fragments and their relation to other known and relevant hekhalot texts. An annotated bibliography is offered for texts previously published. One third of the texts are supplied with a commentary by the author, since they have not been published before and some of them have no known parallels in the other hekhalot traditions. This suggests that not all once extant merkavah texts have been preserved, and that some have been lost and remain only in fragments.

Geniza-Fragmente amplifies and corroborates the textual evidence previously available and discussed in the modern research of hekhalot literature. The fragments offer previously known traditions in slightly different versions as well as new narratives and accounts reflecting traditions as yet undiscovered.

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[4] Fragments number 8 and 22 were published by I. Gruenwald, "New Fragments from Hekhalot Literature," *Tarbiẓ* 38 (1968/69): 354–372; some parts of *Shiʿur qomah* have been published by M. S. Cohen, *The Shiʿur Qomah, Texts and Recensions* (Tübingen, 1985); M. Margoliot, *Sefer ha-razim* (Tel Aviv, 1966), includes important hekhalot material from the genizah.

[5] See my review of Schäfer's *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, *JQR* 77 (1986/87): 213–217.

[6] Two comparable recensions, MS Florence 44/13 and MS Leiden 4730, appearing in the present volume, were added to the seven published in Schäfer's *Synopse*.

The fragments include six texts from *Greater Hekhalot* (frag. 1–6); five from *Shiʿur qomah* (frag. 4, 8–11); two from *Lesser Hekhalot* (frag. 7, 18); two concerning Metatron (frag. 9, 19); one from the *Book of Hekhalot* (*3 Enoch*) (frag. 12); seven are magical adjurations and incantations (frag. 13–17, 20, 21); one refers to the *Ascension of Moses* (frag. 21), and another to *Pereq shirah* (frag. 23); and two include unique merkavah texts (frag. 8, 22), probably the most important texts offered in this collection.

Parallels with the synoptic manuscripts can be found in fragments 1–7, part of 8–10, 12, 18. Fragments 11, 13–17, 19–23 and the remainder of 8 have no parallels.

A perusal of the texts which have parallels will reveal interesting changes in the hitherto accepted structure and order of their composition. These differences between similar hekhalot manuscripts and genizah fragments suggest that this literature was not assembled in one consecutive order or in an accepted codex, and never had one definitive literary form or permanent redaction. Rather, the hekhalot tradition was largely an unredacted assemblage of fragmented pieces, collected into a random order.

The medieval manuscripts have indicated a relatively structured and consistent basic order for the separate verses, while freely intermixing the order of chapters and units. However, the genizah fragments present an alternative perception, in which verses seem to have been less structured; indeed their order may even have been quite incidental. In a number of instances the traditional hekhalot narratives have been integrated with incantations and adjurations in the genizah fragments.

Another point deserving attention is that the genizah recension often retains a more intriguing version than the one in the medieval texts. Medieval redactors seem to have modified the more sensitive or controversial expressions concerning the mystical ascent, theurgy, and angelology. Examples of this, involving descriptions of the heavenly chariot, may be found in the following verses:

Syn. 213—ועומדים כל הגיבורים, while we find in gnz. f.6–2a/6 ועומדים מלאכים גיבורים.

An obvious difference in version may be found in this change of verbs:

Syn. 337—זה השם שנגלה לר׳ עקיבא שהיה מסתכל במעשה מרכבה, while gnz. f.7–2a/3 has בשעה שנישתמש במעשה המרכבה; Syn. 344—ואני נכנסתי לשלום ויצאתי בשלום, while gnz. f.7–2a/9 has אני עליתי בשלום וירדתי בשלום.

A different change may be seen in the shift from first person to third:

Syn. 348—בשעה שעליתי למרכבה יצתה בת קול מתחת כסא הכבוד, gnz. f.7–2a 15/16 has בשעה שעליתי למרום שמעתי בת קול שיצתא מתחת כסא הכבוד.

Another type of modification concerns a description of the mystical ascent: Syn. 673—וכשהגעתי לפרגוד, gnz. f.7–2a/13 has וכשהגעתי לאחורי הפרגוד.

A more detailed account has been modified: Syn. 673—יצאו מלאכי חבלה לחבלני, gnz. 7–2a/13 באו מלאכי חבלה וביקשו עלי לדוחפני.

A remarkable part of the new material is directly concerned with angels: genizah fragment 8 has preserved an angelic revelation concerning the mystical *yeridah la-merkavah* that has no similar account in other hekhalot texts. Genizah fragment 12 presents a slightly altered version from the *Book of Hekhalot* (3 Enoch) and offers a different account of the angelic revelation: Syn. 62—ותפשני בידו והראני, gnz. f.12-2b/11-12, ותפסני בידו והעליני בכנפיו. Genizah fragments 8, 9, 11, and 19 are concerned with the angel Metatron, some in an unprecedented manner; fragment 22 offers a detailed angelology.

Schäfer's reading of the genizah fragments is generally accurate, although a few mistakes have occurred and some alternative readings can be suggested. One obvious misreading occurs in fragment 7, line 8 (p. 89): the manuscript clearly reads ובגפיהן, while Schäfer's transcription has ובקפיהן. In fragment 19 (p. 166) the manuscript reads אין אמרין אתו אלא מעומד, while the transcription has אין אמרין אתו אלא משמר. In fragment 8 (p. 101), line 14/15 the manuscript reads אמר לי מטטרון, while the transcription has אמר לו מטטרון. In fragment 20 (p. 170), line 12, the manuscript reads חק שתי חיטים מן הפח ותן אחת בפיך, while Schäfer's transcription has חק שתי חיטים מן הפ ??? ן אחת בפיך. In Fragment 20, line 14 the manuscript reads clearly קח זנב של שרץ, while the transcription has קח זנב של שרף. These are minor errors considering the number of lines transcribed and the condition of the texts.

The present edition is arranged in an exemplary manner, offering the texts in their original form, without imposing a final or binding recension, while supplying the relevant context and comparable material presently available. The reader is provided with a new textual perspective by which he can place, study, and compare the hekhalot corpus in a richer context. The convergence of the genizah material with the wider merkavah traditions make this volume a valuable contribution to the study of hekhalot literature and to the better understanding of the early stages of Jewish mysticism.

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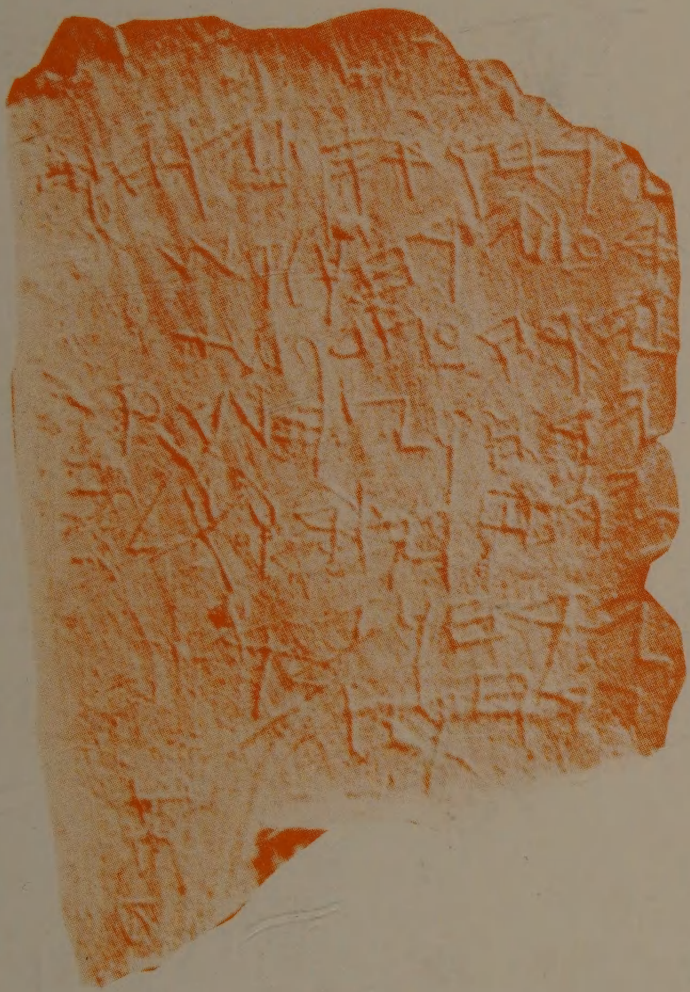

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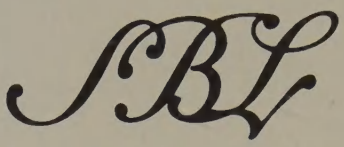

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PREFACE TO THE SERIES

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS is a project of the Committee on Research and Publications of the Society of Biblical Literature and is under the general direction of Kent H. Richards (Iliff School of Theology), Executive Secretary, and Leander Keck (Yale Divinity School), Chairman of the Committee. The purpose of the project is to make available in convenient and inexpensive format ancient texts which are not easily accessible but are of importance to scholars and students of "biblical literature" as broadly defined by the Society. Reliable modern English translations will accompany the texts. The following subseries have been established thus far:

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For the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA SERIES the choice of texts is governed in part by the research interests of the SBL Pseudepigrapha Group, of which John J. Collins (De Paul University) is currently Chairman, and James H. Charlesworth (Duke University) is Secretary. This series will focus on Jewish materials from the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman periods and will regularly include the fragmentary evidence of works attributed to biblical personalities, culled from

a wide range of Jewish and Christian sources. The volumes are selected, prepared, and edited in consultation with the following editorial committee of the Pseudepigrapha Group: Sebastian P. Brock (Cambridge University, England), Robert A. Kraft (University of Pennsylvania), George W. MacRae (Harvard Divinity School), George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr. (University of Iowa), Michael E. Stone (Hebrew University, Israel), and John Strugnell (Harvard Divinity School).

In the current volume the series presents only an English translation of an ancient text. This divergence from the usual practice is due to the fact that the Hebrew text of the Sepher Ha-Razim is readily available in a recent edition, while no English translation exists. It is hoped that the current volume will make more widely known this important work of Jewish magical literature.

Harold W. Attridge, Editor

FOREWORD

I wish to express my appreciation to the University of Alberta for the research grant which made the work on this text possible and to Joan Paton, Rhoda Zuk, and Gerane West who assisted in the preparation of the manuscript. Helpful suggestions concerning translation and understanding were received from Harold W. Attridge, Theodore H. Gaster and Roy David Kotansky. Their ideas and suggestions have been incorporated into the text. Most of all I would like to thank Morton Smith, who undertook a detailed review of the translation and whose knowledge and insight made it possible.

Michael A. Morgan

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INTRODUCTION

In 1963, while studying Kabbalistic texts at Oxford, Mordecai Margalioth happened upon a Genizah fragment which gave a magical praxis to assist one in winning at the racetrack. Recalling similar formulas from the Genizah collection and elsewhere, he began a detailed study of the preserved fragments of magical literature. He postulated that these fragments may have all come from a common source which could be reconstructed. His research led to the publication of Sepher Ha-Razim in 1966.

The published text is eclectic. No single document available to Margalioth contained all of the material which was to appear in the final text. Enough was available, however, that he felt confident that he had successfully reconstructed a magical handbook from the early Talmudic period. Since its publication, SHR has proven a valuable source of information for studies pertaining to magic in antiquity and for studies relating to Jewish life in the first centuries CE.

Margalioth was an excellent textual scholar. Even though additional texts have come to light since the publication of SHR, his original work is an exceptional piece of scholarship which demands wider circulation and use among scholars interested in the Judaisms of the Hellenistic age. No doubt a re-editing of SHR is needed in the future. For the present, I hope the scholarly community will find this annotated translation of the Margalioth text a valuable tool for further study.

A. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Codices

There were seven major codices available to Margalioth for the preparation of his text. Each of them contained significant portions of what was to become SHR.

1. פ - The Kaufman manuscript in the Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy in Budapest. No. 224, pp. 41-63.

2. מ - Jewish Theological Seminary Manuscript Library, JTSL no. 163, p. 15A to p. 48B.

3. ב - Jewish Theological Seminary Manuscript Library, JTSL no. N.014, p. 8B to p. 28B.

4. פ - The Florence Manuscript in the Library Medicea Laurenziana, no. Plut. 44.13, p. 107B to p. 118A.

5. A manuscript in the National Library, Jerusalem, Heb. 8° 476, p. 69B to p. 81B.

6. Schocken Manuscript, Schocken Library, Jerusalem, Kabbalah Manuscript 3. This is a copy of the Florence manuscript.

7. ם - Jewish Theological Seminary Manuscript Library, JTSL no. N.012, pp. 1-24.

Of these seven manuscripts Margalioth used only the five marked with Hebrew letter designations. All of the first six are arranged similarly and are bound together with Maseket Hekhaloth, Maaseh Bereshit, and Shiur Komah. They all contain similar omissions, both accidental and deliberate, by the scribes. Ms. 1 (פ) seems to be the superior version, often completing words and sentences which are omitted in the other versions. It is the most precise and appears to contain the fewest distortions. Mss. 5 and 6 contained no material of special significance and were not used. Ms. 7 (ם) is an expanded and elaborated version. Its editor states that it was produced from two documents, a shorter Hebrew text and an expanded

Latin translation. The lists of angelic names in this version are more extensive than in the others. The text alternates languages and gives both versions in places. In addition, Margalioth (Sepher, 50-51) lists four manuscripts which were not available to him.

Hebrew Genizah Fragments

The following fragments are designated ג.

1. Oxford MS. Heb. C. 18/30:
One parchment page containing nineteen lines on each side. The beginning letters of each line on side one and the concluding letters of each line on side two--from the middle of the page to the bottom--are mutilated. Content: The beginning of SHR to 1:6.

4. Cambridge T-S K 1/97:
One small paper page containing twenty lines on both sides. Content: 1:13-54.

10. Cambridge T-S K 1/145:
Two large paper pages which are mutilated on all four sides, partially illegible, and torn. The remainder has thirty-six/thirty-seven lines per side. Content: 2:100-4:47.

14. Cambridge T-S K 21/95, fragment 2:
One small paper page containing twenty lines on side one only. Content: 7:1-9.

The following fragments are designated 1ג.

2. Adler JTSL ENA 2750, pp. 4-5.
Two small pages containing seventeen lines on each side--torn and often illegible. Content: P:1-1:1.

6. Cambridge T-S N.S. 135:
One page containing twenty-one lines on each side--torn and often illegible. Content: 1:47-71.

11. Cambridge T-S K 1/102:
One page containing twenty-one lines on each side. Content: 3:15-46.

12. Cambridge T-S K 1/13:
One page containing twenty lines on side one and seventeen lines on side two. Content: 4:8-30.

The following fragments are designated 2ל.

3. Cambridge T-S K 21/95:
One parchment page containing twenty-two lines on side one and twenty-four lines on side two. Content: P:10-1:18. Similar to 1ל #1.

13. Cambridge T-S N.S. 246/26:
One page containing sixteen-seventeen lines per side but some lines are missing from the top of the page. Content: 4:29-52.

The following fragments are designated ב.

5. Cambridge T-S K 1/98:
One parchment page containing twenty-six lines on each side. The beginning lines on side one and the concluding lines on side two are mutilated. Content: 1:17/65.

7. Oxford MS. Heb. D. 62/50:
One page mutilated diagonally from the top of the page through line 5. Side two is illegible. Content: 2:30-76.

9. Leningrad Antonine Collection No. 238:
One parchment page. Content: 2:30-76.

The following fragment received no designation:

8. Adler JTSL ENA 2673/23.
One paper page, badly mutilated. Content: 1:237-2:25.

The Arabic Fragments

There are ten arabic fragments which were found by Margalioth in the Genizah material. They are designated ע or 1ע where they are duplicates.

1. Oxford MS. Heb. f.45:
Eighteen parchment pages and by far the most important of the Arabic Fragments. Content: 1:6-2:8.

2. Oxford MS. Heb. e. 67/32-33:
Two pages. Content: 1:1-18.

3. Cambridge T-S Arabic 31/183:
One page. Content: 1:1-100.

4. Cambridge T-S Arabic 43/260.

5. Cambridge T-S N.S. 298/72:
   Two pages torn at the top and missing some sections in the middle. Begins with 2:204.

6. Cambridge T-S Arabic 43/84:
   Two pages. Page one begins with 2:130 and page two begins with 4:10.

7. Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Genizah Collection no. 437.
   One very torn parchment page. Begins with 4:10.

8. Cambridge T-S Arabic 45/12:
   One page beginning at 3:51, and then omitting the fourth firmament and continuing with the fifth firmament.

9. Cambridge T-S Arabic 33/9:
   One parchment page beginning with the last line of the third firmament (3:58) and continuing with the fifth firmament.

10. Cambridge T-S Arabic 43/223:
    One page beginning with 4:38.

Latin Translation

The Latin translation is titled Liber Razielis Angeli and is found in the Senate Library in Leipzig, Codex Latinus No. 745. Margalioth did not receive a copy of this manuscript until after the type had been set for the Hebrew edition. Consequently he refers to only a few places in it. Unlike the Arabic, the Latin is a free translation and adaptation which has been greatly expanded. Of the Hebrew codices, it is closest to ס, whose editor claims to have used a Latin version.

Other Sources

Margalioth drew heavily upon many medieval collections of magical spells and formulas which he felt were descended from his postulated original. The most important of these are:

1. Sepher Raziel, Amsterdam 1701. Siglum: ר.

2. Sepher Raziel, manuscripts and fragments. cf. Margalioth, Sepher, 44f.

3. Sepher Kamay ᶜot, JTSL 2272. Siglum: ה.

4. Sepher Kamay ᶜot, fragments. cf. Margalioth, Sepher, 51.

5. Mafteach Shlomo, Facsimile Oxford 1914. Siglum: ה.

6. Sepher Ha-Malbush, Kaufman 245. Siglum: ל.

A visual representation of the eclectic nature of the text can be found on the chart produced by Niggemeyer, Beschwörungsformeln, between pages 18 and 19.

B. STRUCTURE

The text of SHR is divided into seven unequal sections preceeded by a preface which contains a description of the book's transmission and functions. Before the flood, it was presented by the angel Raziel to Noah who used it as a guide. After the flood it was passed down through the Biblical generations to Solomon.

The structure of the seven heavens reflects the fairly common cosmology known from Jewish circles during the Hellenistic age. It has close parallels to Talmudic passages, the Enoch literature, and the Hekhaloth literature. The heavens are divided as follows:

1. The first firmament has seven separate encampments. Each encampment is ruled by an angelic overseer who has numerous angels listed as serving him.

2. The second firmament is divided into twelve steps or levels. Each has between nine and twenty angels who can be called upon.

3. The third firmament is ruled by three angels. Each has a troop of angels which serve him.

4. The fourth firmament is divided between thirty-one angelic princes and their encampments who lead the sun during the day and thirty-one angelic princes and their encampments who lead the sun during the night.

5. The fifth firmament is ruled by twelve princes of glory who represent the twelve months of the year.

6. The sixth firmament is divided between an eastern overlord who rules twenty-eight angelic leaders and their encampments and a western overlord who rules thirty-one angelic leaders and their encampments.

7. The seventh firmament is a description of the divine throne followed by a long doxology.

Each firmament, except the seventh, and each subdivision is described as to its nature and function. For each subdivision there is a magical praxis described which can be initiated by calling upon the angels listed in that subdivision and by following the prescribed rites. With few exceptions, the magical praxis will reflect the descriptions of either the angels or the heaven itself. The rules of sympathy and contagion are clearly in evidence.

With minor exceptions, this is an outline of the over all structure of any given subdivision.

I. A description of the firmament followed by

A. A description of the subdivision and its usage organized thus:

1. Names of the angels of the subdivision

2. Description of the angels and their function

3. The purpose these angels can be made to serve

4. The procedures to be followed in preparation

5. The invocation to be spoken to initiate the praxis (in some cases this has been lost)

6. In some cases, additional actions and/or invocations to assist, alter, or reverse the magical praxis

A fine analysis of the form and style of these incantations and invocations has been done by Niggemeyer, Beschwörungsformeln, 63-118.

C. DATE

Dating an eclectic text is difficult at best. The consensus of those scholars who have worked with the text is to support Margalioth's dating of SHR to the early fourth or late third century CE.[1] The reasons generally listed for this are:

1. The reference to the Roman indictions in 1:27-28 (cf. Margalioth, Sepher, 24) gives a clear terminus a quo of 297 CE.
2. The majority of the text is written in a pure midrashic Hebrew which reflects the period.
3. Many of the Greek words found in the text are technical terms used in the magical praxeis of that period.
4. The spells and incantations of SHR closely parallel the magical material preserved in the Greek magical papyri and in the Aramaic incantation bowls.
5. The forms of the adjurations are similar to material we know from the early Rabbinic literature.
6. The cosmological framework of the text reflects the Enoch and Hekhaloth literature of that period.

Although Margalioth's basic assumptions have gained the support of the majority of scholars, we must understand exactly what it is we are dating.

There are two different types of document here. The first is a cosmological framework which shows a marked similarity with the hekhaloth literature. The second is a collection of unrelated magical praxeis which show a marked similarity to the materials preserved in PGM. Chen Merchavya (JE 13, 1594-95) implies that the praxeis were woven into the descriptions of the angels and the

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[1] A notable exception to the consensus is Ithamar Gruenwald, (Apocalyptic, 226), who dates the work to sixth or seventh century.

heavens. This would make the cosmological framework the primary document. Surely the reverse is true. Gruenwald points out the SHR should not be classed as hekhalot literature despite its similarity. The magical praxeis are the primary source.

It seems to me more likely that the magical praxeis have been provided with a cosmological framework intended to make them appear as legitimate Jewish practices. Thus the formulas, spells, and incantations presumably existed prior to their present form. The use of Greek and Aramaic words is limited to the actual praxeis. The language of those sections is simple and straightforward. It lacks the flowery descriptive wording and the Biblical quotations of the cosmological framework. The only exception to this lies in the long adjurations of the latter firmaments and these hardly seem part of the original praxeis themselves. SHR has a cosmology which concerns itself in great detail with Jewish ritual purity, but praxeis which demand we eat cakes made from blood and flour. We have a framework which speaks of the glory of YHWH, but praxeis which offer prayers to Helios, and invoke Hermes and Aphrodite. We should indeed date SHR to the early fourth century CE but it is crucial to recognize that what fascinates us most about this text, the magic, is part of a folk tradition which dates from an earlier time. For example, the idol used to quell a rising river in 2:115ff. is clearly one which the Rabbis in Avodah Zarah 3:1 forbid Jews to make or possess. Since the Rabbis found it necessary to ban the image, one must assume that it was in popular use prior to the Mishnah's compilation. In dating SHR we are not dating the antiquity of the praxeis themselves.

Just as we cannot date an eclectic text by reference to any one section, so we cannot determine its origin by any one section. Even a number of references will afford no more than a list of possibilities. It is far too easy to be led to a conclusion, for example, that SHR is of Egyptian-Jewish origin. The oldest fragments were preserved there. The passage of the sun to the East via the North reflects Egyptian mythology. The use of hieratic papyrus was a sign of the Egyptian priesthood's magical rites. The listing of the descent through the mother was a common Egyptian practice and of course the Roman indictions point to a possible Alexandrian origin. Most compelling, however, is the close similarity between the material preserved in SHR and that of PGM.

Such a listing is persuasive until objectively analyzed. That an Egyptian Jewish scribal community preserved the text is no argument for its authorship. The sun's passage is part of other folklores and was surely a common theme in the ancient world. Hieratic papyrus was known as a magical tool outside of Egypt. Descent through the mother was a popular aphorism of the Greco-Roman world as well as a basis for Jewish legal definitions and serves in SHR to insure the effectiveness of the praxis. The indictions were used throughout the Roman world and could easily have been part of a document written in Constantinople. That there are close similarities between SHR and PGM is surely of interest but close similarities also exist between SHR and the incantation bowls of Syria. Furthermore, that PGM was found only in Egypt merely points out how fortunate we are that Egypt's climate is so well suited for preserving such material.

Magic was the common property of the people of the Greco-Roman world. The praxeis could have arisen in any part of that world and have been initially preserved in any part of that world. To attempt to locate a single place of origin would be futile.

Furthermore, we should not attempt to place the magical praxeis of SHR within any specific group. The praxeis are part of the popular religion of the age. Jews who could place a mosaic of Helios on their synagogue floors certainly could not have found it strange to offer invocations to that same god. On the other hand, SHR has clearly undergone editing at the hands of more "traditionally" or rabbinically oriented scribes. We can sense the tensions between a developing orthodoxy and a popular religion here. SHR is a fine example of the syncretistic nature of the Hellenistic world.

D. THE TRANSLATION

A translation either can be literal, to render the exact words of the Hebrew, or can be paraphrastic to catch the meaning. This translation contains elements of both sorts. Its purpose is to convey the meaning in each case as clearly as possible. Parentheses have been used to set off words and phrases which are not found in the Hebrew text, but are either implied, understood, or needed to create a readable translation.

I have attempted to follow the Margalioth text as closely as possible. When a different reading is offered it is so footnoted. The technical Greek terms and prayers have been translated in the text and footnoted.

The angelic lists presented a special problem. There was so much conjecture involved in creating these lists in transliterated form that I opted, for the sake of consistency and accuracy, to produce the lists without the speculative vocalization. For those who find this an unsatisfactory solution, I have provided the Hebrew lists in Appendix I.

Hebrew/English equivalents for the text are as follows:

' = א	L = ל
B = ב	M = מ
G = ג	N = נ
D = ד	S = ס
H = ה	ᶜ = ע
W = ו	P = פ
Z = ז	Ṣ = צ
Ḥ = ח	Q = ק
Ṭ = ט	R = ר
Y = י	Ś = ש
K = כ	T = ת

E. ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

DMP	Francis L. Grifith, The Demotic Magical Papyrus, London: H. Grevel & Co., 1904.
Ginzberg, Legends	Louis Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1937.
Goodenough, Symbols	Erwin R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, New York: Pantheon Books, 1953-1968.
Gruenwald, Apocalyptic	Ithamar Gruenwald, Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980.
Jastrow, Dictionary	Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature, New York: The Judaica Press, 1971.
JE	Jewish Encyclopaedia, Jerusalem: Keter Publishing Ltd., 1972.
Margalioth, Sepher	Mordecai Margalioth, Sepher Ha-Razim, Jerusalem: Yediot Achronot, 1966.
Niggemeyer, Beschwörungsformeln	J. H. Niggemeyer, Beschwörungsformeln aus dem Buch der Geheimnisse, Hildersheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975.
PGM	Karl Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, vol. I 1928, vol. II 1931. Quoted by papyrus and line number.
SHR	Sepher Ha-Razim

SIGLA

א JTSL no. 163. See p. 2.

ב JTSL no. N. 014. See p. 2.

ג Geniza fragments. See pp. 3-4.

ד Sepher Raziel. See p. 5.

ה Sepher Kamay^{c}ot. See p. 6.

ח Mafteach Shlomo. See p. 6.

ל Sepher Ha-Malbush. See p. 6.

נ Geniza fragments. See p. 4.

ס JTSL no. N. 012. See p. 2.

ע Arabic fragments. See p. 4.

פ Florence MS Laurenziana, no Plut. 44.13. See p. 2.

ק Kaufman. MS. See p.2.

SEPHER HA-RAZIM

TRANSLATION

(PREFACE)

This is a book, from the Books of the Mysteries, which was given to Noah, the son of Lamech, the son of Methuselah, the son of Enoch, the son of Jared, the son of Mehallalel, the son of Kenan, the son of Enosh, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, by Raziel the angel in the year[1] when he came into the ark (but) before his entrance.

And (Noah) inscribed it upon a sapphire stone[2] very distinctly.[3] And he learned from it how to do wondrous deeds, and (he learned) secrets of knowledge, and categories of understanding and thoughts of humility and concepts of counsel, (how) to master the investigation of the strata of the heavens, to go about in all that is in their seven abodes, to observe all the astrological signs, to examine the course of the sun, to explain the observations of the moon, and to know the paths of the Great Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades,[4] to declare the names of the overseers of each and every firmament and the realms of their authority, and by what means they (can be made to) cause success in each thing (asked of them), and what are the names of their attendants and what (oblations) are to be

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[1]Ms. א reads בשעה but "hour" is probably incorrect, as "hour" could be taken to imply the exact moment and to contradict the sense of לפני .

[2]Cf. Ginzberg, Legends, 1.157, 5.179.

[3]Cf. Deut 27:8

[4]Cf. Job 9:9; Amos 5:8.

poured out to them, and what is the proper time (at which they will hear prayer,[5] so as) to perform every wish of anyone (who comes) near them in purity. (Noah learned) from it rituals (that cause) death and rituals (that preserve) life, to understand the evil and the good, to search out (the right) seasons and moments (for magical rites), to know the time to give birth and the time to die, the time to strike and the time to heal,[6] to interpret dreams and visions, to arouse combat, and to quiet wars, and to rule over spirits and over demons, to send them (wherever you wish) so they will go out like slaves,[7] to watch the four winds of the earth, to be learned in the speech of thunderclaps, to tell the significance of lightning flashes, to foretell what will happen in each and every month, and to know the affairs of each and every year, whether for plenty or for hunger, whether for harvest or for draught, whether for peace or for war, to be as one of the awesome ones and to comprehend the songs of heaven.

And from the wisdom of the secrets of this book, Noah learned and understood how to make gopher wood (into) an ark and to hide from the torrent of the flood waters, to bring (the animals) with him two by two and seven by seven, to take in some of every kind of food and every kind of provender. And he placed (the book) in a golden cabinet and brought it first into

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[5] Literally "it (prayer) will be heard by them."

[6] Cf. Eccl 3:2,3.

[7] Cf. Job 38:35.

the ark, to learn from it the times of the day and to investigate from it the times of the night, and in which period he should arise to pour out entreaties. And when he came forth from the ark, he used (the book) all the days of his life, and at the time of his death he handed it down to Abraham,[8] and Abraham to Isaac, and Isaac to Jacob, and Jacob to Levi, and Levi to Kohath, and Kohath to Amram, and Amram to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the sages,[9] and thus generation by generation until Solomon the King arose. And the Books of the Mysteries were disclosed to him and he became very learned in books of understanding, and (so) ruled over everything he desired, over all the spirits and the demons that wander in the world, and from the wisdom of this book he imprisoned and released, and sent out and brought in, and built and prospered.[10] For many books were handed down to him, but this one was found more precious and more honorable and more difficult than any of them. Happy the eye that will behold

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[8] Mss. ס and ד insert Shem into the chronology.

[9] Cf. Pirke Avoth 1:1. This genealogy is similar to the Avot tradition but it puts Solomon the King after the prophets and the sages. Since they should follow Solomon, it seems that an original genealogy ending with Solomon (probably after "elders") has been interpolated by an editor who wanted to claim knowledge of these secrets for the rabbis. Evidence for such an insertion is important because it casts some doubt on other Rabbinic elements in the text, and because of the fact that a Rabbinic editor left the pagan elements stand, illustrates an unfamiliar side of Rabbinic Judaism.

[10] Cf. Ginzberg, Legends, 4.149-154, 165-169; Josephus, Antiquities, 8.2.5, #45-49.

it. Happy the ear that listens attentively to its wisdom. For in it are the seven firmaments and all that is in them. From their encampments we shall learn to comprehend all things, and to have success in every deed, to think and to act from the wisdom of this book.

(THE FIRST FIRMAMENT)

The name of the first firmament is called *Shamayim*.[1] Within it are encampments filled with wrath. And seven thrones are prepared there and upon them are seated overseers, and around them on all sides encampments (of angels) are stationed and are obedient to men at the time when they practice (magic), to everyone who has learned to stand and pour (libations) to their names and cite them by their signs[2] at the period when (prayer) is heard (so as) to make a magical rite succeed. (Over) all these encampments of angels these seven overseers rule, to dispatch (them) for every (sort of) business so that they will hasten and bring success.

These are the names of the seven overseers who sit upon (the) seven thrones: the name of the first is 'WRPNY'L, and the name of the second is TYGRH, and the name of the third is DNHL, and the name of the fourth is KLMYY', the name of the fifth is 'SYMWR, the name of the sixth is PSKR, the name of the seventh is BW'L. And all of them were created from fire and their appearance is like fire, and their fire is blazing, for from fire they emerged.

And without permission, (the angels who serve them)[3] do not go out to engage in magical actions. (They wait) until a command comes to them from (one of) the seven overseers, the

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[1] *Shamayim* is the common Hebrew word for heaven or sky.

[2] Or perhaps "by their letters (of their names)."

[3] Inserted by Ms. ד (Sefer Raziel) and aids the translation.

occupants of the thrones, who rule over them. 'For they are subject to the will (of the overseers) and go about (only) with their permission. And each and every one of them goes to his work determined to act quickly in any affair on which he may be sent, whether for good or for evil, whether for superfluity or for shortage, whether for war or for peace. And all of them
15 are to be called by the names (given them) from the day they were created.

And these are the names of the seven encampments which serve the seven overseers (for each encampment serves one of the overseers).

And these are the names of the angels of the first encampment who serve 'WRPNY'L:

BWMDY	DMN'	'NWK	'LPY
'MWK	QṬYBY'	PṬRWPY	GMTY
P''WR	NRNTQ	RQHTY	'WRNH
M'WT	PRWKH	'QYL'H	TRQWYH
BRWQ	SḤRWR'	'TNNY	GYL'N
TKT	'RNWB	'ṠMY	YWṢṠ
KPWN	KRBY	GYRṠWM	PRY'N
ṠṠM^{c}	'BB'	NTN'L	'R'L
'NYP	TRW'WR	^{c}BDY'L	YWWN
'LWN	MW'L	LLP	YḤSPT
RḤGL	RWM'PY	YKTY	'RNY'L
PWBWN	KDY'L	ZKRY'L	'GDLN
MYG'L	G'WPR	KRTH	KYLDH
DYGL	'LNW	TYRLY	SBLH
'BY'L	'L	KSYL	SYQMH
'ṠBH	YWTNH	R'LKH	HLY'N
'PTY'L	TY'MY'L	'L'L	NTY'L
'PYKH	TLGY'L	N^{c}NH	'STY'L

These are the angels who are obedient in every matter during the first and second year of the fifteen year cycle of the reckoning of the Greek kings.[4] If you wish to perform an

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[4] Probably a reference to the Roman indictions. See Margalioth, Sepher 24. If we suppose that this reference to the use of indictions is by the government in Constantinople, then the terminus a quo for the cosmological framework is 312 C.E. The Egyptian dating would give us a terminus a quo of 297 C.E.

act of healing, arise in the first or second hour of the night
30 and take with you[5] myrrh and frankincense. This (is to be) put[6] on burning coals (while saying) the name of the angel who rules over the first encampment, who is called 'WRPNY'L, and say there, seven times, (the names of the) seventy-two[7] angels who serve before him, and say as follows:

I, N the son of N beseech you that you will give me success in healing N the son of N.

And anyone for whom you ask, whether in writing or verbally, will be healed. Purify yourself from all impurity and cleanse your flesh from all carnality and then you will succeed.

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[5]Literally, "in your hand."

[6]Margalioth suggests reading והוא נתון for והוא נתון. Possibly והוא ניתן.

[7]Ms. ג refers to a list of only seventy names.

These are the names of the angels of the second encampment who serve TYGRH:

'KSTR	MRSWM	BRKYB	KMṠW
'ṠṬYB	KRYT'L	'DYR	GB'
'QRB'	'NBWR	KBYR	TYLH
BRYTWR	TRṬM	NṬPY'L	PRY'L
TRWHWN	ṠLHBYN	'ṠLB'	MṠTWB
GRḤT'	ḤGR'	'YṬMY'L	ḤGL
LGḤ	MNYTY'L	TNYMY'L	'YKRYT
'BRYT'	RKYL'L	ḤṠṬK	PPṬṠ
'STYRWP	'WDY'L	'ṠBYR	MLKY'L
'RWṠ	DṠWW'	HMK	TRGḤ
ZMBWT	HSNYPLPT	ṠWW'	'ṠPWR
'RQ	QNWMY'L	NHY'L	GDY'L
'DQ	YMWMY'L	PRWG	DḤGY'L
DGRY'L	'GRY'L	'RWNWR	DWNRNY'
DLKT	TBL	TLY'L	'LY'L
MWT'R	'LPY'L	PYTPR'	LPWM
'WR	TMR	'DLY'L	'ṠṬWRYN
'ZWTY	'YṠṬWRṬY	D'WBYT	BRGMY
DMWMY'L	DYGR'	'BYB'L	PRWṬY'L
QWMY'L	DGWGR'	DLGY'L	PDWTY'L

These are the angels who are full of anger and wrath[8] and who have been put in charge of every matter of combat and war and are prepared to torment and torture a man to death. There

[8]Reading חמה instead of חימה.

is no mercy in them but they (wish) only to take revenge and to punish him who is delivered into their hands. And if you wish to send them against your enemy, or against your creditor, or to capsize a ship, or to fell a fortified wall,[9] or against any business of your enemies, to damage and destroy, whether you desire to exile him, or to make him bedridden, or to blind him or to lame him,[10] or to grieve him in any thing (do as follows): Take[11] water from seven springs on the seventh day of the month, in the seventh hour of the day, in seven unfired pottery vessels,[12] and do not mix them[13] with one another. Expose them beneath the stars for seven nights; and on the seventh night take a glass vial,[14] (and say over it) the name of your adversary, and pour the water (from the seven unfired pottery vessels) into it, then break the pottery vessels and throw (the pieces) to the east, north, west, and south,[15] and say thus to the four directions:[16]

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[9]Probably a walled house as found in the later Roman empire. That it is the wall of a house which is meant is clear from 1:77.

[10]Literally,"to smite the light of his eyes...to bind his feet."

[11]Literally,"take in your hand."

[12]Cf. PGM IV:3210f.

[13]I.e., the waters from the different springs.

[14]Cf. PGM IV:222; IV:3210 φιάλη.

[15]Literally,"to the four winds of the heavens."

[16]Literally,"winds."

HHGRYT who dwell in the east,[17] *SRWKYT who dwell in the north, ᶜWLPH who dwell in the west, KRDY who dwell in the south, accept from my hand at this time that which I throw to you, to affect*[18] *N son of N, to break his bones, to crush all his limbs, and to shatter his conceited power, as these pottery vessels are broken. And may there be no recovery for him*[19] *just as there is no repair for these pottery vessels.*

Then take the vial of water[20] and repeat over it the names of these angels and the name of the overseer, who is TYGRH and say thus:

I deliver to you, angels of anger and wrath, N son of N, that you will strangle him and destroy him and his appearance,[21] *make him bedridden, diminish his wealth, annul the intentions of his heart, blow away his thought and his knowledge and cause him to waste away continually until he approaches death.*

If you wish to exile him conclude the formula thus:

That you will exile him and banish him from his children and his home and he will have nothing left.

If he is one to whom you are in debt, conclude (the formula) thus:

That you will plug his mouth and make his planning vain and he will not think of me, nor speak of me; and when I pass in front of him, he will not see me.

If (the rite is) for a ship[22] say thus:

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[17]Literally,"in the east wind," et. al.

[18]Literally,"for the name of."

[19]Margalioth has "for them" and records no variant but the context requires "for him."

[20]Reading של מים instead of שלמים .

[21]I. e., so that the body will no longer be recognizable.

[22]Either your enemy's ship or one on which he is.

I adjure you angels of wrath and destruction, that you will rise up against the ship of N son of N and that you not permit it to sail from any place. But if[23] *wind (sufficient) for sailing*[24] *come to it, then let (the wind) carry it out to sea and shake it (so it sinks) in the midst of the sea and let neither man nor cargo be saved from it.*

If you wish to fell a fortified wall say thus:

I adjure you, angels of fury, wrath, and anger, that you will go with the force of your power and fell the wall of N son of N. Smite it to dust and let it be overturned like the ruins of Sodom and Gemorah, and let no man place stone upon stone on the place[25] *(where the wall was); if it be built during the day, let it be overturned at night.*

Then pour out (the water) upon the four corners of the house. (In a like manner) if you wish to make your enemy bedridden, or to destroy his appearance, or to (do) any grievous thing, pour the water upon his doorstep. If (you wish) to exile him, pour out the water to the four directions. If (you wish) to bind your creditor, throw the water on his garments. And if (you wish) to sink a ship, cast the vial and its water in the midst of the ship (while saying) the name of the ship and its master. And if you wish to overturn a wall, dig at the four corners of the wall and divide the water among (the four corners). (Use the water) thus in each case. Do it in (a state of) purity and then you will succeed.

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[23] Reading ואלו for ולא.

[24] Possibly read מנהיג with Ms. ק , a leading wind."

[25] Reading במקומה with Ms. ם for בקומה . Possibly בחומה, "on the wall."

These are the names of the angels who serve DNHL[26] in the third encampment:

'WGRBBW	'WBṠ'L	BRTWBY'L	KLWBY'L
RHBY'L	'WHY'L	KRBTWN	KRB'
D'YNWṬ	'YNYK	'BYRM	'TGL'
'WTWT	'ṠTNW'L	'ṠPR	TGRY'L
'MYK'L	'TDṠW	'WRY'L	'RMWD
'STWN	'K'L	'N'WR	'SKYR'
LBY'L	'LᶜṠH	HSNY'L	LMWṠY
'DWT	TYRWM	'LPY	'YMYK
'RGL'	MYG'L	'LY'L	MDNY'L

These angels tell everyone who, in purity, gains power over them, what will happen on the earth in each and every year, whether for plenty or for famine, whether rains will be abundant or sparse, and whether there will be a dearth and whether there will be produce, and whether locusts will come and whether there will be strife among kings, and whether a sword will come among the great men of the kingdom,[27] and whether death or suffering will befall mankind.

If you wish to know and understand what will be in each and every year, take a hieratic papyrus[28] and cut it into

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[26] Probably a variant of Daniel or Danel, both of which are found as divine angelic names.

[27] This seems to imply either strife or execution.

[28] ירטיקון , i.e., ἱερατικόν - a hieretic sheet of papyrus. "Hieratic" (priestly) here refers especially to the Egyptian priests who were famed for their magic and from whence came the types of writing and paper that they used and were thought suitable for magical operations.

slips) and write in hieratic with a mixture of ink and myrrh[29] each and every possibility separately.[30] Then take a new flask and put in it spikenard oil[31] and throw in the written slips[32] (as well); then stand facing the sun[33] when he comes forth from his bridal chamber[34] and say:

I adjure you O sun that shines on the earth, in
100 *the name of the angels who make men of knowledge understand and comprehend wisdom and secrets, that you will do what I ask and make known to me what will be in this year--do not conceal a thing from me.*

And you will adjure (the sun with) this adjuration for three days, three times[35] and the third time you will scrutinize the oil. Notice everything brought up upon the face of the oil, that is what will happen in that year. If two

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[29] בזמירנה מלנון for σμορνό-μέλαν(ον) - a special ink used for magical purposes.

[30] I.e., one possibility on each slip.

[31] Cf. PGM I:278.

[32] Literally, "things."

[33] Cf. PGM II:87; III:325; IV:260; V:237.

[34] Here the text has צאתה מחופתה . If the final ה's were taken as feminine terminations (which they usually are) this would mean "when she comes forth from her bridal chamber." However, the sun is most often masculine. The verb forms and pronouns referring to the sun in this context are all masculine. Therefore, it is more plausable to explain these endings as Aramaizing spellings for the masculine termination ו.

[35] Literally, "3 days 3 times." Possibly once a day or three times each day.

possibilities come up, then there will be (these) two and if three come up, there will be three. Afterwards, take
105 the oil and burn it while saying the names of the angels that serve in this encampment. And (as for) the rest of all the written (slips), hide them[36] in a wall or in a window. And so, (as in) every operation, act in purity, and you will succeed.

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[36]Reading גניזם for יגביזם, implying a ritual burial or storage both here and elsewhere in the text.

These are the names of the angels who serve KLMYYH[37] in the fourth encampment:

'BRYH	'YMRHY	DMN'Y	'MNHR
Y'MNWK	PTKY'	TWBY'L	GWLY'L
'WPRY	GMTY	'WRNY'L	PRYKYHW
Y'RN	LTMY'L	'WRYT	TYMWGW
'NMRY	'LMYNY'L	YKMTW	STRTW
SBᶜQNY	BWRTY'S	RSPWT	KRSWN
'M'P	WP'TN'	'H'L	S'BY'L
BLQYR	PKHWR	HSTR	STRY'L
'LYSS	HLSY'L	TRSPW	QRSTWS
MLKY'L	'RDQ	HSDY'L	'HSP
'MY'L	PRNWS	GDY'L	SBYB'L

These are the angels[38] who bring around[39] the opinion of the king and the good will of the nobles, chiefs, and leaders of the kingdom, directing and bestowing favor and mercy upon all who arise in purity to request anything from them. Perform this rite zealously and you will succeed.

If you wish to turn the king's opinion to your favor, or (that of) the chief of the army, or a rich man, or a ruler, or a judge of a city, or all the citizens of the state, or

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[37] Here spelled with a ה instead of a א as in 1:8. The manuscripts show other variations, BLMY', GDYMYY'.

[38] Perhaps the 36th angel comes from Χριστός. Cf. 1:130.

[39] משובבים is possibly from שבב . Margalioth suggests amending to משרתים or שתסובבו. Possibly amend to מסבבים. Cf. 1:127 שתסובבו.

(if you wish to change) the heart of a great or wealthy woman, or the heart of a beautiful[40] woman, (do this). Take a lion cub and slaughter it with a bronze knife and catch its blood and tear out its heart[41] and put its blood in the midst (of the heart) and write the names of these (above mentioned) angels in blood upon the skin between its eyes; then wash it out with wine three years old and mix (the wine) with the blood.

Then take three of the chief spices, istorgon[42] and myrrh and musk,[43] and stand clean and pure, facing the brilliant star[44] and put the spices on the fire; then take in your hand the cup in which are the wine and the blood and say (this spell over it while burning the incense) and call on the name of the overseer and the names of the angels of this encampment. (Do this) twenty-one times over the blood and over the wine and say to the brilliant star, the name (of the star) which is that of Aphrodite, three hundred (times)[45] and (the name of the) angel ḤSDY'L (and then say):

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[40] Reading יופיה for ביופיה.

[41] Cf. PGM III:425 and DMP 25:27, p. 155.

[42] איסטרקון is probably στύραξ (styrax), a fragrant gum.

[43] ושורה דמושך. If Margalioth is correct in assuming that מושך is a transliteration of the Persian *musk* and the Greek *moschos*, then the ד implies an Aramaic form making שורה the Aramaic "chain" or "chord." Margalioth points out the similarity between the Arabic targum of SḤR which reads WSWRT 'LMSK and the Arabic targum of the Song of Songs 1:13 which reads SRH 'LMSK. Thus the targum renders "bag of myrrh" as "bag of musk."

[44] I.e., Aphrodite-Venus. Cf. 1:126.

[45] אפרודיטי ש Cf. PGM IV:2891. Margalioth suggests deletion of the ש.

I adjure you in the name of the angels of the fourth encampment who serve KLMY' that you bring around for me King N so that the heart of his army and the heart of his ministers (will be) in my hand, I, N son of N, and I will find favor and mercy before him and he will do what I want and ask, whenever I ask (anything) from him.

When you finish repeating the adjuration twenty-one times, look up and you will see (something) like a coal of fire descending into the blood and wine.[46]

If you wish to enter the presence of the king or any (great) man, or a judge, wash yourself with "living" water[47] and take some of the blood and some of the wine and anoint your body, and place the lion's heart over your heart. If (you wish) to bring around the citizens of the city[48] take the lion's heart and hide it in the midst of the city, and write on a (piece of) gold foil[49] the (name of) the overseer and (the names of the angels of) his encampment and say thus:

You angels who go around and circulate in the world, bring around (to me) all the citizens of this city, great and small, old and young, lowly and distinguished. Let the fear and terror of me be over them as the terror of the lion is over all the animals. And as this heart is mute while I am speaking, so let all of them listen to me, and let none of the children of Adam and Eve be able to speak against me.

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[46] Cf. the notion of the descent of the holy spirit, body and blood of Christ into the bread and wine of the Eucharist. Note the use of QRSTWS in the angelic list of this encampment. Cf. 4 Ezra 14:39.

[47] מים חיים, "living water," i.e., water from a stream or spring, not from a cistern.

[48] מדינה is here translated as "city" as it fits the sense better than "state" which was used in 1:118.

[49] ציץ, gold plate, metal disc, or *lamella*, often used for making amulets.

Hide the heart in the middle of the city and go into seclusion[50] for three days and after three days appear in the city. (For this occasion) put some of the lion's blood under the soles of your feet.

If you wish to bind yourself to the heart of a great or wealthy woman[51] take some perspiration from your face (and put it) in a new glass vessel; then write on it, (i.e.) on a tin *lamella*,[52] the name of the overseer and the names of the angels, and throw (the tin *lamella*) in the midst (of the flask) and say thus over the perspiration of your face:

> *I adjure you angels of favor and knowledge, that you will turn (to me) the heart of N daughter of N and let her do nothing without me, and let her heart be (joined) with my heart in love.*

Take the new flask and bury it under her doorstep[53] and say:

> *Just as a woman will return to the infant of her womb, so this N will return to me to love me from this day and forever.*

This should be written[54] at the full moon.

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[50]Literally "hide your face."

[51]This love potion is independent of the previous use of the lion's blood.

[52]Either the phrase "on it" or "on a tin *lamella*" seems to be a repetitive addition.

[53]Literally "the place of her coming in and going out."

[54]Reading יכתב for יכתוב .

These are the angels who serve 'SYMWR in the fifth encampment:

BTW'R	ŚKYNTTK	'DWM'	TQW
MQP'	LHB'	^{c}LY	^{c}ZY
ŚKNY'L	KNWR	BNŚ	QRB'
SRK	HLŚY'L	HRMN^{c}	^{c}BR
HWD	MLKYH	PR^{c}TWP	'D^{c}T
QWP	MNMLK	DYNMWR	'LPNṬWS
DYDRYWK	KLNH	NYNḤY'	DṢNḤY'
MLGDM	DYMHN	LYBRNK	TTQHH
'PNY'L	ZBYṬWR	DKNSWR	RMGDL
LHTQWP	^{c}LY	GDGDL	PRWṢ
MSRWṢ	KDYR	MWS	DYQN'
NŚR	TWB	DRWMY'L	DYR'Z
DMWL'	DYDY'L	Ṭ^{c}Y	KRM
'TR	^{c}QB	HWNMWR'	'NQYW
GZRY'L	ṢBY'L	ṢBYWD^{c}	YYQR
'DWT	RGBY'L		

These are the angels who obey (you) during the night (if you wish) to speak with the moon or the stars or to question a ghost or to speak with the spirits.

If you wish to speak with the moon or with the stars about any matter, take a white cock and fine flour, then slaughter the cock[55] (so that its blood is caught) in "living water."[56] Knead the flour with the water and blood and make three cakes

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[55]Reading שכו for טכו.

[56]Cf. above, note 47.

and place them in the sun, and write on them with the blood the name(s) of (the angels of) the fifth encampment and the name of its overseer and put the three of them on a table of myrtle wood, stand[57] facing the moon or facing the stars and say:

> *I adjure you to bring the planet of N and his star near to the star and planet of N, so his love will be tied with the heart of N son of N.*[58]

Or say:

> *Place fire from your fire in the heart of this N* (masc.) *or that N* (fem.) *so she will abandon her father's and mother's house*[59] *because of love for this N* (masc.) *son of N* (fem.).[60]

Then take two of the cakes and place them with the cock in a new flask; then seal its mouth with wax and hide the flask in a place not exposed to the sun.[61]

If you wish acts of kindness (to be done to you); take the

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[57]Reading עומד for אימר.

[58]The grammar here is most confusing. It would seem that the first clause (1:165,166) is a homosexual love formula and that the second (1:166,167) is bi-sexual. Another possibility is that the first clause uses a common masculine to imply that the formula could be used by any party. The fact that the second clause specifically provides for attraction of either a male or a female to a man seems, however, to imply that the first clause is indeed homosexual. The question is influenced by our rendering of ואמור . Does it imply a new formula or a continuation of the former? Cf. its usage in the first firmament, second encampment (p.27). Also compare DMP 22:40 p.143; and PGM IV:345f. and 1480f.

[59]Literally "her father's house and her mother." This is probably a colloquial construction.

[60]Note the definition of an individual by specification of his mother. This is common in Egyptian magic texts and used often in SHR. A common saying was, "the mother is certainly known, the father uncertain."

[61]See also 2:173. Cf. PGM VII:915. καὶ ἥλιῳ μὴ δείξῃς

remaining cake, crumble it, and place it in aged wine in a glass cup, and say the name(s) of the angels in the presence of the moon and the stars and continue thus:

I adjure you that you will give favor, kindness, and affection, to N, from the favor, kindness, and affection that radiate from your countenance. (Give them to) me, N son of N, so that I will find favor, kindness, affection, and honor in the eyes of every man.

Then blow into the wind and wash your face each dawn, for nine days, with the wine and the cake crumbled in it.

If you wish to question a ghost; stand facing a tomb and repeat the names of the angels of the fifth encampment (while holding) in your hand a new flask (containing) oil and honey mixed together and say thus:

I adjure you O spirit of the ram bearer[62] *who dwell among the graves upon the bones of the dead, that you will accept from my hand this offering and do my will and bring me (the spirit of) N son of N who is dead. Raise him up so that he will speak to me without fear and tell me true things without concealment.*[63] *Let me not be afraid of him and let him tell me (for) my question, (the answer) I need from him.*

He should appear immediately. But if he does not, repeat the adjuration a second time (and) up to three times. When he appears set the flask before him and after this speak your words while holding a twig of myrtle in your hand.[64] If you wish to release him, strike him three times with the myrtle and pour out the oil and honey, and break the cup, and throw the myrtle from your hand, and return home by a different route.

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[62] קריפוריא , i.e., Κρισφόρος or Hermes.

[63] Cf. PGM IV:1034. Spirits do not always tell the truth.

[64] The flask and myrtle are to protect the person reciting the incantation. Cf. Goodenough, Symbols 2.174.

If you wish to speak with the spirits, go out to "the place of the killed"[65] and call out there in a singsong, whimpering way:

I adjure you in the name of the angels who serve in the fifth encampment, and in the name of the overseer who is over them, who is 'SYMWR, that you will hear me at this time and send me the spirit of ḤGRGYRWT.[66] *She shall go according to my will for whatever I send her and shall obey me in everything until such and such a time.*

If you see opposite you a column of smoke, speak your words and send (her) for whatever purpose you wish.

These are the names of the angels who serve PSKR in the sixth encampment:

'ZY'L	'RBY'L	TRYPWN	PWKBWS
PSTMR	LYNNY'L	QRWNYDN	ŚWKDWN
SLBYDM	ᶜMY'L	ᶜWZY'L	PNY'L
TRMY'L	ḤMMY'L	SRMY'L	NYMMWS
NWDNYY'	B'RYB'	ZWNNWM	ḤSṬW'L
SDRY'L	HWPNY'WN	QDMY'L	KPNYY'
'RMY'L	ᶜDMWN	HRMWR	ṢPLY'L
SPRY'L	QḤNY'L	ṢBKYRY'	'RMWNYS
ṬWPWMWS	PṢṢY'L	ḤTPY'L	PRSWMWN
NḤLY'L			

These are the angels of might who gird on power and strength to run from place to place and to fly in all corners

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[65] Possibly the place of public executions or the place where executed criminals were buried, or a place where multiple murders had been committed.

[66] חגרגירות . The reference is unknown. Possibly from "Hagar the Proselyte," הגר גירות.

of the earth to return a man, a fugitive, either a slave who fled or a thief who fled. (If you wish to catch a fugitive) take four copper *lamellae* and write upon each and every one of them the name of the man and the name of his mother,[67] the name of the overseer, PSKR, and the names of the angels who serve him, and say:

> *I charge you, angels of might, to seize N son of N, wherever he goes and wherever he dwells, whether in a city or in a country, whether at sea or on land, whether eating or drinking. You shall make him fly like a flying bird and bring him against his will, and not let him linger one moment, whether by day or by night.*

Then take (the) four copper *lamellae* and hide them in the four directions[68] whether in the city or in the country.

These are the names of the angels who serve BW'L in the seventh encampment:

NWHRY'L	DBB'L	DYMTMR	DB'L
MḤṠYN	''WR	DY'M	BBYT'L
SRWR'	'HGYYH	PRWPY'L	MKSY'L
ᶜLZY'L	TKWRKS	QRWMY'L	RMY'L
LḤSWN	SLḤY'L	'HY'L	'KR
'WBR	SRWGY'L	YDW'L	ṠMṠY'L
ṠPṬY'L	RḤBY'	'HMWD'	MRMRYN
'NWK	'LPRṬ	'WMYGR'	QRWKNS
SRPY'L	GDRY'L	'RDWD'	PWRṬNY'L
'GMY'L	RHTY'L	DYTRWN	ḤZ'L
PTW'L	GLGL'	DMNṢR	ZZY'L

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[67] On descent through the mother, cf. First Firmament, note 60 (p. 37).

[68] I.e., towards the north, south, east, and west.

These are the names of the angels in charge of dreaming, to make anyone who approaches them in purity know what the dream (was) and what its interpretation is.

If the king, or the head of the city, or governor, or your friend summons you and you want to give him an answer from your wisdom, say to him, "I will make known to you what is in your heart concerning me." (or "what you thought about me," or "what you want to do," or "what is the interpretation of your dream.")[69] "Give me a period of three days and I will make known to you all that is in your heart." Then go out on Sunday to the sea shore or to a river bank during the third hour of the night. Wear a new cloak[70] and do not eat (the meat of) any animal,[71] nor anything which yields blood (when slaughtered), and do not drink wine. Take myrrh and pure frankincense and place them on burning coals in a new earthen vessel, and turn your face toward the water and repeat three times the name of the overseer with the name(s) of the angels of the encampment. When you see a pillar of fire between heaven and earth say thus:

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[69] The magician is to choose the appropriate phrase. Cf. PGM I:175.

[70] אסטולי i.e., στολή. Semetic pronounciation often avoids double consonants by the introduction of vowels.

[71] Hebrew דקה . Margalioth reads דגה , fish, which might be possible in sympathy with "the river." But see 2:8 and notes. Furthermore the next phrase, "anything which issues blood" would not classically apply to "fish." In 5:35 we read "both small animals and all that yields blood *even* fish." Thus it seems that SHR would go out of its way to make the distinction if it was appropriate.

I adjure you by the One who measured the waters in the palm of His hand and rebuked the waters so that they fled from Him, and made winds flying in the air his personal servants, as a fiery flame, who rebuked the sea and dried it up, and made rivers a desert,[72] *by His name and by its letters, I adjure you, and by the names of the angels*[73] *of the seventh encampment who serve BW'L, that you make known to me what is in the heart of N son of N and what is his desire, and what is the interpretation of his dream and what is his thought.*

Do likewise on the second and third nights and you will see that a pillar of fire will appear to you with a cloud on it like the image of a man.[74] Question him and he will tell you whatever you ask. And if you wish to release him throw some of the water, from the sea or the river by which you are standing, toward heaven three times and say under your breath:[75]

Invisible Lord BW'L, sufficient to our need, the perfect shield bearer,[76] *I free you, I free you, subside and return to your (heavenly) course.*

Say this seven times. Perform the entire rite in purity and you will succeed.

These are the names of the seven spirits who serve in the firmament called *Shamayim*.

PEACE.

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[72]The adjuration is a combination of Isa 40:12; Ps 104:4; 107:33; and Nah 1:4.

[73]Reading שמות for בשם ז ,i.e.,"the names of" for "the name of seven" angels, since there are 44 angels in this encampment.

[74]Cf. Ezek 1:4.

[75]Cf. PGM III:108.

[76]With Margalioth, Sepher 80, following the transcription of Morton Smith. אורודי גרי/באל פוט/מוס סרגרי טליגוס אספדיפורוס ἀόρατε κύριε Βουήλ, ποτ' ἡμᾶς ἄρκιε, τελικὸς ἀσπιδηφόρος.

(THE SECOND FIRMAMENT)

The second firmament is called "heaven of heavens."[1] In it are frost and fog[2] and treasuries of snow and treasuries of hail, angels of fire and angels of moisture[3] and spirits of terror and spirits of dread. The firmament is full of fear, for within it are innumerable angels constituting armies upon armies and over them are officers and overseers. Within the firmament are twelve steps[4] and on each and every step stand angels in their splendor, and over them is one high official over another. Nevertheless, for human affairs, they are obedient to everyone who approaches them in purity.

If you wish to ask something of any who stand on the steps of the second firmament, cleanse yourself for three weeks from all fruit of the palm,[5] from all kinds of animals, small and large,[6] from wine, from (all) types of fish and from all (animals) that yield blood (when slaughtered); and do not approach a woman in her impurity,[7] and do not touch anything

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[1] שמי שמים, a common designation in mystical literature for the second heaven.

[2] כפור וקטור. קטור = "smoke." Here it seems to imply mist or fog in parallel to frost, snow, hail, etc.

[3] Reading זיעה, i.e., "moisture" with Mss. ה and א instead of זיע, i.e., "trembling."

[4] מעלות, i.e., steps, levels, divisions.

[5] Reading דקל for דקה with Margalioth.

[6] דקה וגסה, i.e., small and large animals. This is a common distinction found in Rabbinic literature between sheep and goats as opposed to cattle.

[7] Cf. Ezek 18:6.

which has died,[8] and do not come near a leper or one afflicted by venereal discharge, even accidental, and guard your mouth from every evil word and from every sin; and sanctify yourself from every sin.

Upon the first step stand these:

'ḤMRY'L HDRY'L RṢY'L HSᶜY'L

DMYMY'L ZBDY'L RNZY'L ᶜNṠ'L

KṬBR'L

These, their station is on the first step. They stand in terror, cloaked in wrath, girded with dread, surrounded by trembling, their raiment like an image of fire, their faces like the appearance of lightning, and their mouths never cease (to utter) mighty words. Nevertheless, their voice is not heard, for their task is to silence, to frighten, and to terrify anyone who opposes the man who calls on them in purity.

If you wish to silence a great and powerful people, or a governor, or a judge, or the citizens of a city, or of a state, take a handful of ashes from beneath the bread offering[9] of an idol and say over it backwards[10] seven times the names of the angels written above (as standing) on the first step, and say:

> *I ask from you, angels of silence, that in this place, you silence every mouth and every heart of the children of Adam and Eve who arise against me to (say) anything evil. Let their mouths utter good things about*

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[8] Cf. Lev 21:11.

[9] Cf. Testament of Job 7. Here reading פת for פאת

[10] מפרע, possibly "out of order" or "irregularly," but most likely "backwards" the normal meaning. Saying things backwards is a well-known magical practice.

me and let me be exonerated in my lawsuit; do not permit any mouth to speak evil about me.[11]

Then sprinkle the ashes, either in the city or in the state, either before the governor or before the judge, and you will be exonerated.

Upon the second step stand these:

ᶜZZY'L	HNN'L	PSSY'L	YṠᶜY'L
DLQY'L	'RPD'	MR'WT	RYPYPYS
'MNY'L	NHMY'L	PRZYRWM	ᶜNB'L

These, their station is on the second step. They stand with strength, filled with might, surrounded with love, and in their presence fire burns, and they hasten to bring the (ruling) planets of the sons of man into conjunction for love.

If you wish to put the love of a man into the heart of a woman, or to arrange for a poor man to wed a rich woman, take two copper *lamellae* and write upon them, on both sides, the names of these angels, and the name of the man and the name of the woman and say thus:

I ask of you, angels who rule the fates of the children of Adam and Eve, that you do my will and bring in conjunction the planet of N son of N into conjunction with (the planet of) the woman N daughter of N. Let him find favor and affection in her eyes and do not let her belong to any man except him.

Place one (*lamella*) in a fiery furnace and the other in her ritual bath.[12] Do this on the twenty-ninth of the month

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[11] In this formula note that two angelic names, חסעיאל and דמימיאל which are derived from verbs meaning "to silence" (חס, דממה).

[12] By Rabbinic law, if the woman uses a ritual bath, *mikvah*, she is either about to be married or married, thus limiting the formula's usefulness to bridegrooms, husbands and

when the moon has waned completely. Take care to keep yourself from intercourse, from wine, and from all (kinds of) meat for three days.[13]

Upon the third step stand these:

YHW'L	D^{C}YHW	'LY'L	BRKY'L
^{C}LY	SPWM	PNYMWR	'L^{C}ZR
GBLY'L	KMŚY'L	'WDH'L	Y^{C}Ś'L
RPPY'L	PSPY'L		

[14]

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adulterers. Since we do not know in what circles this document circulated, it is of course impossible to draw a definite conclusion about its intended use.

[13]Since the introduction to the Second Firmament gives general rules of abstinence to follow before using the formulas of the Second Firmament, we must assume that these rules are to be followed after the spell has been cast in order to insure effectiveness.

[14]These characters appear here in Ms. ה . Such symbols, which were used to enhance the power of amulets and spells, were common both in the Greek and Jewish worlds. Cf. Margalioth, Sepher 4; PGM IV:2706; VII:810, 816, 860, 922. These characters are also reproduced in the sixth step of the Second Firmament and in the Third Firmament. Full magical alphabets coalesce at a later date. Cf. Robert Ambelain, La Kabbale Pratique (Paris: Edition Niclaus, 1951), or the chart reproduced in Gustav Davidson, A Dictionary of Angels (London: Macmillan, 1967) 335. The use of ringed symbols may derive from the punch writing on Greek allotment plates which were worn in a similar fashion to amulets. Cf. John H. Kroll, Athenian Bronze Allotment Plates (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972).

These, their station is on the third step, for their function is to shake and agitate the hearts of men and to make void their intentions and nullify their thoughts. Dread is theirs and fear where they walk, and their appearance is (full) of wrath, and they are exceedingly harsh and mighty men of war, and fear goes before them and trembling after them,[15] and they roar and cause trembling as they go shaking[16] (the world), and their voice is like the voice of thunder and in their hands are rods of fire and their faces are like sparks of fire and fire comes forth from their eyes, and all of them are ready to nullify and make void (whatever they are asked to).

If you wish to nullify a great man's intentions towards you, or the thoughts of an army officer, or the intentions of military men, or any other evil intentions or thoughts (directed against you); go out at midnight when the moon is full, barefoot,[17] and pure, and wrapped in a new cloak.[18] Stand under the moon and say twenty-one times the names of the angels written above, (those) who stand on the third step of the "heaven of heavens," and say:

> *Moon, Moon, O Moon, bring my words before the angels who stand upon the third step: nullify the thought concerning me of N son of N and the intention of his heart and his plot. Let his mouth be unable to speak*

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[15] This calls to mind the figure of Ares and his attendants.

[16] רעש , commonly associated with earthquakes.

[17] The text reads יחיד, i.e., "alone." Margalioth reads יחף "barefoot." This is justified by other magical texts of a similar nature.

[18] אסטולי , i.e., στολή. Cf. First Firmament, note 70 (p.41).

against me, destroy his knowledge, and thwart his intentions, and let his purpose[19] *be devastated, so that every time he sees me he will be filled with love for me, and let him be changed so that he becomes my friend, and let him not remember any hatred of me, and let me find favor and affection in his eyes.*

55 Then write (the names of) the angels and these (following) characters[20] upon a silver *lamella*; put them on a tablet over your heart,[21] and during all the days you wear it[22] you shall succeed.

Upon the fourth step stand these:

SGRY'L	MLKY'L	'WNBYB	PGRY'L
ᶜNNY'L	KLNMYY'	'WMY'L	MPNWR
KWZZYB'	'LPY'L	PRYBY'L	SᶜQMYH
KDWMY'L	'ṠMDᶜ	HWDYH	YHZY'L

These, their station is on the fourth step.[23] They are girded 60 with storm and the sound of their steps is like the sound of bronze. They fly from the east and turn from the west towards the gate.[24] They are swift as lightning and fire is around

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[19] Literally "heart."

[20] והכרקטורים for χαραϰτῆρες. Cf. note 14 (p.46).

[21] Reading על לוח על לבבך . This is a recipe for an amulet. The idea is that you put the silver foil on a stronger tablet and wear it suspended over your heart (chest).

[22] Literally, "it is upon you."

[23] Note the ninth angel, KWZZYB', and the thirteenth, 'ṠMDᶜ . KWZZYB' is most probably Bar Kochba. This would clearly date the angelology as post 135 CE. 'ṠMDᶜ is most probably Asmodeus. Cf. Tob 3:7,17.

[24] פֵּילוֹן for πυλῶν.

them. They withhold[25] sleep from men, and they can do good or do evil.

If you wish to give your enemy trouble in sleeping,[26] take the head of a black dog that never saw light during its days and take a *lamella* from a strip of (lead) pipe from an aqueduct,[27] and write upon it (the names of) these angels and say thus:

> *I hand over to you, angels of disquiet who stand upon the fourth step, the life and the soul and the spirit of N son of N so that you may tie him in chains of iron and bind him to a bronze yoke. Do not give sleep, nor slumber, nor drowsiness to his eyelids; let him weep and cry like a woman at childbirth, and do not permit any (other) man to release him (from this spell).*

Write thus (as above) and put (the inscribed lead *lamella*) in the mouth of the dog's head[28] and put wax on its mouth, and seal (it) with a ring which has a lion (engraved) upon it. Then go and conceal it behind his house or in a place he frequents.[29]

If you wish to release him (take the dog's head) away from where it is concealed and remove its seal and withdraw the text and throw it into a fire, and he will fall asleep at once. Do this with humility and you will succeed.

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[25]Literally "separate."

[26]Cf. PGM IV:2943.

[27]פסוכרופורון for ψυχροφόρον . Cf. PGM VII:397.

[28]Cf. PGM XXXVI:232,370.

[29]Literally "a place in which he goes and comes." His doorstep is most likely, as this was a popular and effective place for magic deposits. Cf. First Firmament, note 53 (p.35).

Upon the fifth step stand these:

QWN'QRY'L	PTWNY'L	NQRY'L	'Y'L
Y'BWTY'W	BBSB'W	BKPY	MBWM
SKTB'Q	'MRY'L	Y'L'L	MKS'BW

These are they who stand on the fifth step. They grasp shield and spear, and brass helmets are on their heads, and their garments are coats of mail. To their right and left are (storms) as of hailstones. Trembling (accompanies) their running and they stride upon rivers of fire, grasping torches, and hurrying to return an answer, and their mouths never silent from roaring, and their breath[30] is like flaming fire, and their fire is blazing (so that) the breath of their mouths kindles fire, for all their actions concern the treasuries of fire, for from fire they emerged and they are stationed in fire.

If you wish to light an oven in the cold, take a lump of sulphur (that weighs) about seven shekels[31] and divide it into the number of compartments in the oven. Then upon each and every (lump of sulphur) write with a bronze stylus[32] the names of the angels who stand upon the fifth step and say:

> *I adjure you, angels of fire and angels of flame, by the King who is a consuming fire, that you shall stand with me and kindle the oven which is in such a place, and it shall be that anyone who approaches it will be amazed at its heat.*

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[30]Perhaps "their spirit," but "breath" is more likely here.

[31]Or possibly 27 shekels exactly. Reading כ"ז.

[32]Reading בעת של נחושת with Mss. ס and ח instead of בעשש נחושת.

Do this in the proven manner[33] and you will succeed. Then take the sulphur and cast it into each and every burner of it (the oven) and it (the sulphur) will blaze up strongly. Every day that you wish to light (the oven) write (as directed) and cast (the sulphur) into the midst (of the oven).

Upon the sixth step stand these:

'BYHWD	QYTR	ZLQY'L	STRY'L
90 'DRK	GHLY'L	TMKY'L	SMKYH
RBᶜY'L	YWQMY'L	SMYHWD	MHRY'L
DWMY'L	KRKWS	QNZ	QNY'L
KNTWN			

These are they who stand on the sixth step. They behave with humility, but their faces are full of glory. Their garments are garments white as light. They stand like giants, awesome as the scholars of a court,[34] seated in thrones of glory, trusted to give true (judgments), and in charge of healing.

95 If you wish to heal a man who has had a stroke and half of him is dried up, either by an (evil) spirit or by witchcraft, take spikenard oil and three measures of honey and stand facing the sun as it rises, repeating three times each day for seven days the name of the man and the name of his mother and the names of the angels who stand upon the sixth step. And on the seventh day take him and stand him naked before the sun, and smear oil all over his flesh, while burning myrrh, frankincense, and chosen spices in the sunlight. Then again write upon a

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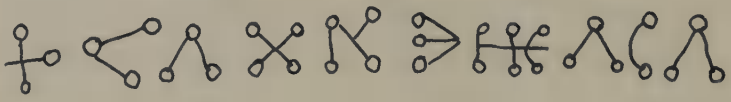
[33] דוקמא for δοκιμή, or possibly δόλμα.

[34] Literally, "of a yeshivah" or academy.

silver *lamella* (the names of) these angels of glory with these characters:[35]



(Write these on the *lamella*) as an amulet and put it on his neck with a (cord of) asbestos[36] and incense of spices. Write it thus on the twentieth of the month and you will succeed.

Upon the seventh step stand these:

PTHYH	RZY'L	'GRY'L	HGDY'B
'DRWN	KRQT'	QTYPWR	'BRY'L
ṠTQY'L	ᶜMY'L	SYKBRDWM	

105 These are they who stand on the seventh step, girt with strength, their might like a lion. Half of them are like fire and half of them cold as water. They stand in their place (and are weakened from their fear).[37] They are wondrous because of their deeds and no one can comprehend their image,

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[35] See note 14 above (p.46). The characters given in the text are from Ms. ח . Ms. ס reads:

[36] אמינטון for ἀμίαντος i.e. "asbestos." Properly an adjective meaning "undefiled." Asbestos was used to fashion magical chains. Cf. PGM XIII:300; and the Fifth Firmament, line 40 and note 11 (p.76).

[37] The text appears to be corrupt. Compare with lines 157-160 below.

for they come great in stature with sparks of light upon their eyelids. Those who stand below are unable to look at their appearance and those, too, who stand above are frightened by their appearance; for they turn to every side and above, and they move in all four directions.[38]

If you wish to expel from the city every dangerous wild animal, whether lion, or wolf, or bear, or leopard, or (if you wish to quell) a river or sea which is rising and washing against buildings, (do the following). (For the wild animals) make a bronze image in the likeness of the one (which you desire to expel) and then make an iron *lamella* and write upon it, on the obverse and reverse, the names of the angels (of the seventh step) and bind it upon (the image) and bury it at the entrance of the city and let its face be facing north. If it is a river or a sea you wish to bind so that it will not come and flood (the city), make a stone image (of a man), write (the names of) these angels on two copper *lamellae* and place them beneath his heels, and make a marble staff and place it on his shoulder, his right hand grasping the staff and his left hand open and his face towards the water.[39]

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[38]This implies that the angels can look in all directions at once.

[39]This image seems to be forbidden by Rabbinic texts. Cf. Mishnah Avodah Zarah 3:1; Maimonides, Mishnah Torah on A.Z. 7:6. Note that there are no spells, rituals, or sacrifices mentioned to be used when employing this figure. Perhaps a later hand has deleted them.

Upon the eighth step stand these:

'BRH	BRQY'L	'DWNY'L	ᶜZRY'L
BRKY'L	ᶜMY'L	QDŠY'L	MRGY'L
PRW'L	PNY'L	MRBNY'L	MRNYS'L
ŚMY'L	ᶜMNY'L	MṬN'L	HWD HWD

These are they who stand upon the eighth step.[40] Their appearance is as shining amber, they speak by their deeds, trembling and fire are in their dwelling place, (their presence) is filled with fear.[41] They rule the spirits that wander in the earth, and in a place where their name is invoked an evil spirit cannot appear.

If you wish to drive off an evil spirit so it will not come to a woman when she is in childbirth and so it will not kill her child, before the woman's pregnancy write (the names of) these angels on a golden *lamella* and place it in a silver tubular case and let her wear it, and at the time of childbirth take four silver *lamellae* and write upon them (the names of) the angels and place them in the four sides of the house[42] and no (evil) spirit will come in.[43]

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[40]The sixteenth, הוד הוד, is not an angelic name. It is rather a description of their magnificence. Possibly amend to read הוד והוד both here and in 2:121.

[41]The text says, "they are filled with fear," but the meaning is clearly that they frighten those they encounter.

[42]Probably the center of the four walls and not the corners.

[43]Literally "come up," but the meaning is come up into (the house)."

Upon the ninth step stand these:

GDWDY'L	SKSY'L	TRSWNY'L	NSHY'L
'SDD'	RBNY'	HLYL'L	TWQPY'L
SMKY'L	PDH'L	QRB'	SY'L
PR'L	PTHY'L		

These are they who stand on the ninth step. Quick and mighty, flying through the air, their strength is a breastplate and they appear to have swords in their hands; prepared for war, grasping bows and holding javelins, they leap forth from the fire. And they have horses of fire, and the harness of their chariots is of fire, and terror goes with them wherever they turn.

If you wish that a man going forth to war be protected from arrow, sword, or any blow, take seven leaves of a bay tree[44] and write these names on them, two on each and every one of them, and put them in spikenard oil, and on the day he goes forth to war, let him smear (the oil) upon his flesh and upon his sword and his bow and arrows. Again write (the names of the angels) on a silver *lamella*, put them in a bronze tubular case, and let him tie it over his heart, then no blow will touch him.

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[44] Reading ערא for ער. Cf. Jastrow, Dictionary 1109; PGM XXIV:15; I:264.

Upon the tenth step stand these:

DKRY'L	HRY'L	ṢBQY'L	'TKY'L
SMYK'L	MRMW'L	QN'L	ṢPTP
YH'L	'LSDQ	'KPP	ʿZM'L
MKMYK'L	TRKY'L	TBGY'L	

These are they who stand on the tenth step.[45] They have been commanded (to reward) truth. Before them are myriads upon myriads (of angels) holding reed (pens) for fire and writing scrolls uninterruptedly, and recording acquittal for all those who call upon their names, (so that they) will be rescued and saved from forced tribute, the law of the land, and from every death penalty.

If you wish to rescue your friend from a bad judgment, or from any difficulty, purify yourself from all impurity, and do not cohabit with a woman for three days; then stand before the sun at the dawn and repeat these names (of these angels) and say:

> *I beseech thee O great angel who art called "sun," who ascend the steps of the firmament, who watch the children of men, that you will perform my request and will bring my words before the King of Kings of Kings, the (Holy One) Blessed be He, to whom I pray concerning the case of N son of N, who is in trouble and has a bad case; and that you will bring over for him, from (God's) presence, something good and a time of relief. Let those who sought to do him evil be ashamed and let him be rescued without injury.*

In addition, write (the names of) these angels on a copper *lamella* and conceal it in the east, so it will be exposed to the sun at sunrise.[46] Do everything in purity and you will succeed.

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[45] For the tenth angel read אל צדק as one word with Ms. ח.

[46] Literally, "at its arising."

Upon the eleventh step stand these:

RPDY'L	DMW'L	M'RYNWS	'MYN'L
ṢHY'L	ᶜQRY'L	'DNY'L	RDQY'L
ṢLMY'L	'STṬY'L	ST'L	'GLGLTWN
'RMWT	PRHG'L	NPPMYWT	

These, their position is upon the eleventh step. There is fear where they stand, a great multitude stationing (themselves) and establishing camps of ministering (angels) in the heaven, for on their command angels of fire run and return, causing (men) to descend from greatness and rise to splendor. They fly to and fro, resuming their places, glorifying their creator and extolling their maker.

If you wish to restore to office one who has fallen from his place, a king, or minister, or governor, or judge, take oil and honey and fine flour and place them in a new glass vial,[47] and purify yourself from all impurity, and do not eat *nevelah*[48] and do not touch a woman's bed,[49] for seven days. Then on the seventh day stand beneath the moon, in its fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth day,[50] and take the vial in your hand, and write on it (the names of the angels of) this encampment of the

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[47] פיאלי for φιάλη.

[48] That is meat from an animal which has died from natural causes.

[49] This expression should probably be understood as a metaphoric prohibition of cohabitation, though the literal meaning may be understood as a Rabbinic precaution against impurity.

[50] That is, "on the full moon." It seems to be implied by 2:163 that one may begin preparations on either the seventh, eighth, or ninth, but since 2:172 implies that the adjuration is to be recited on all three days of the full moon, one must begin preparations on the seventh.

(eleventh) step and recite over it seven times, while facing the moon, the names of the angels and say:

> *I bring my petition before you, O Moon, who travel by day and by night with chariots of light and angels of mercy before and behind you. I adjure you by the King who causes you to rise and set, as you are thin and become full and return to your place, so restore N son of N to his place and let him be (again) honored in the eyes of all who see him, and as you have glory in the world, so bestow glory upon him in the eyes of all the children of Adam and Eve, and restore him to his office, and let him rule as at the beginning and let him not move from his position (again).*

Do this for him for three days, and afterwards make them[51] into a cake and dry it at night so that the sun does not shine on it, and have him eat it for three days, before sunrise, and bury (the) vial, with the writing still on it,[52] in his house.

Upon the twelfth step stand these:

'STRYMY	BR'WT	BMR'WT	DRWDY'L
SDRLY'L	TLHBM	BRG'L	PY'L
PP'L	YKPTYNY	KLPTWN	BWBWKWK
'WMTWN	'RTMYKTWN	'SMYGDWN	SPNYG
PRNYG'L	PSYKSWK	T'GYSWN	'RTLYDY

These, their position is on the twelfth step. Surrounded by righteousness, rays of majesty on their heads, full of understanding, they understand how to praise (the Lord). They stand in two equal companies, half of them singing and the other half answering after them. Their language heals, their speech binds up (wounds), and anything they mention will be successful.

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[51] I.e., the oil, honey, and flour.

[52] Literally, "and vial bury written." One expects "and bury the inscribed vial" in order to parallel 2:165.

If you wish to cure a headache (affecting) half the head[53] or to bind or rebuke the spirit causing blindness, take fat that covers the brain of a black ox, and while in (a state of) purity, write on it the names of these angels and place it in a silver tubular case, then bind the tube with seven colors[54] and place it beside the pain. (In order to succeed) abstain
185 from meat, from wine, from (contact with) the dead, from menstruating women, and from every unclean thing.

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[53] Cf. PGM VII:199.

[54] Cf. PGM VII:271.

(THE THIRD FIRMAMENT)

The third firmament is filled with storerooms of mist from which the winds go forth, and inside it are encampments of thunder from which lightning emanates. Within, three princes sit on their thrones; they and their raiment have an appearance like fire and the appearance of their thrones is like fire, fire that gleams like gold, for they rule over all the angels of fire. They are like fire in their strength and their voices are like the roar of a peal of thunder. And their eyes are like sunbeams, and they rule over the wheels of flame and fire. Moreover, they have wings to fly. The whinnying of their mouths is as horses,[1] their appearance like torches; when they speak they cause trembling, when they shout they cause weakness. They soar in every direction and fly to every corner (of the world).

These are the names of the princes who rule in the habitation[2] which is the third firmament. The name of the first is YBNY'L, the name of the second is RHTY'L, and the name of the third is DLQY'L. YBNY'L is in charge of all things concerning the igniting and extinguishing of fire. RHTY'L is in charge of every chariot of fire[3] causing it to

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[1] Cf. Nah 2:5.

[2] מעון, i.e., habitation, temple, place.

[3] The chariots of fire are the heavenly fires over which these princes rule. The circling celestial bodies are viewed as the circling chariots of the hippodrome. Thus RHTY'L appears as the ruler of chariot races and his name (*RHT* = run) indicates that he was created for this function. The association of RHTY'L with the other angels of fire comes through Helios who drove a fiery chariot and team and was therefore the most conspicuous of charioteers and thus became the patron of their profession.

run (successfully) or to fail.[4] DLQY'L is in charge of flames of fire, to kindle or quench (them).

These are the names of the angels who serve YBNY'L:

ŠᶜYPY'L	'DRY'L	TDHDY'L	BᶜŠY'L
THPY'L	RLBY'L	BLNY'L	THZRY'L
'ᶜZY'L	'MNHY'L	MLTHY'L	DYBQY'L
BRŠS'L	SH'L	TTB'L	QSMY'L
TSY'L	QSTSDY'L	NMDY'L	

If you wish to extinguish (the fire which heats) a bathhouse so it will neither flare up nor burn, bring a salamander[5] and place it in a glass vessel with oil aged for three years. Do not set it upon the ground, but repeat backwards over it seven times during the third hour of the night the name of the overseer and the names of the angels who serve before him, and say:

> *I adjure you, O salamander, in the name of YBNY'L and in the name of the angels of fire who serve him, just as you were driven from fire, so drive away and extinguish the fire from the bathhouse[6] of N son of N. And you, angels of fire, all of whose deeds pertain to fire, do not permit fire to enter or warm this bathhouse, but stand on the gates of his (the owner's) house and enter it, and make it like cold snow[7] or cold water.*

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[4] Literally, "stumble." The author is writing of chariots but thinking of horses.

[5] סלאמנדרא for σαλαμάνδρα. The salamander is well known in the ancient world as being associated with fire. Cf. Ginzberg, Legends 5.52, n. 157f.

[6] Deleting מהלט, i.e., "blazing" since the purpose was to prevent ignition and the adjective implies the bathhouse is already ablaze.

[7] Cf. Prov 25:13.

Then take the flask of oil and put some of it on the four corners of each and every room. If you wish to undo the spell, take some of the remaining oil and stand facing the sun and repeat the name of YBNY'L and the names of the angels who serve him and say:

I adjure you, angel of fire and angel of conflagration, that you will undo what I have bound and will permit the angels standing at the gates of the bathhouse of N son of N to ignite and kindle its fire as before.

Then take the flask of oil and pour (some of it) in the four corners of each room and the fire will ignite and burn.

These are the names of the angels who serve RHTY'L:

'GR'	ZRGRY	GNTS	T^{c}ZM'
LTSRP'L	GDY'L	TMNY'L	^{c}QHY'L
GWHPNY'L	'RQNY	SPYQW'L	MWŚY'L
SWSY'L	HTNY'L	ZKRY'L	'KNSP
SDQY	'HSP	NKMR'	PRDY'L
QLYLY'L	DRWMY'L		

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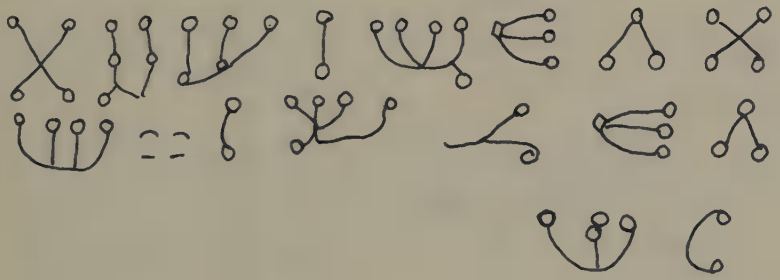

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[8] These characters are from Ms. ℸ . Cf. Second Firmament, note 14 (p.46).

If you wish to race horses, (even) when they are exhausted, so that they will not stumble in their running, that they will be swift as the wind, and the foot of no living thing will pass them, and they will win popularity in their running, take a silver *lamella* and write upon it the names of the horses and the names of the angels and the name of the prince[9] who is over them and say:

> *I adjure you angels of running, who run amid the stars, that you will gird with strength and courage the horses that N is racing and his charioteer*[10] *who is racing them. Let them run and not become weary nor stumble. Let them run and be swift as an eagle. Let no animals stand before them,*[11] *and let no other magic or witchcraft affect them.*

Take the *lamella* and conceal it in the racing lane (of the one) you wish to win.

These are the names of the angels who serve DLQY'L:

NWRY'L	'ZLYBN	'YLY'L	MLKYH
HYLY'L	HRH'L	ŠLQY'L	SGRY'L
PSKY'L	ᶜQRY'L	SMNY'L	SBBY'L
NHLY'L	TGMLY'L	'MYNW'L	TLBᶜP
QTHNY'L	'PRY'L	'NGY'L	MŠRY'L
'MNGN'N			

If you wish to give proof[12] (of your powers) to your

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[9] The texts read "princes," but the singular is necessary. Cf. Ms. ח

[10] הניוכוס for ἡνιόχος.

[11] Cf. Dan 8:4.

[12] דוקמי probably for δοκιμή - "proof" or "demonstration," but possibly δόγμα - i.e. "example." Cf. Second Firmament. note 33 (p.51).

beloved or to your friend, for example, to fill a house with fire which will not burn, take a root[13] of a wild plant[14] and put it on burning coals and as the smoke rises in the house, recite the names of the angels and the name of their overseer, who is DLQY'L. When the smoke rises seven times, and when the smoke will be....[15] all those who see it will see it as fire. When you recite the names of the angels say:

> *I adjure you, O angels cloaked in fire, by Him who is all fire, who sits upon a throne of fire, and whose ministers are a flaming fire,*[16] *and encampments of fire serve before Him. By His great name I adjure you, that you show me this great miracle and fill this house with your fire. Let me and all with me see this great miracle and not be afraid.*

When you finish your words, you will see the house filled with fire. If you wish to cause (the fire) to subside speak the adjuration backwards and say:

> *Angels of fire, extinguish, extinguish at once, hurry, make haste.*[17]

How great are your works O Lord, you have made all of them in wisdom.[18]

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[13] Reading עקד for עגר.

[14] אגריאנפורים for ἀγριόφορος.

[15] The text seems corrupt. We seem led to understand, "and when the smoke will be (all that can be seen) all those who see it will see it as fire."

[16] Cf. Ps 104:4

[17] Cf. 1 Sam 20:38

[18] Cf. Ps 104:24. This is the end of the Third Firmament and not part of the adjuration.

(THE FOURTH FIRMAMENT)

The fourth firmament is pitched[1] upon a storm wind, and stands on pillars of fire, and is held up by crowns of flame,[2] and full of treasuries of strength, also storehouses of dew. As each of its corners are swift angels running with each other, prancing, prancing.[3]

Within are seven rivers of fire and water, and along them, on both sides, stand innumerable angels. On one side stand angels of fire that burn with an incandescent flame and on the other side angels of cold wrapped in hailstones. Neither do the (angels of cold) quench (the angels of fire) nor do (the angels of fire) ignite the (angels of cold). These immerse themselves in the rivers of fire and those immerse themselves in the rivers of water,[4] and they all recite and chant[5] songs and praises to the Life of the World for He created them to glorify His power.

Within the (fourth) firmament is the lovely bridal chamber of the sun, filled with light and all aflame. The angels of fire, girded with strength, surround him (the sun) and lead him during the day. Then the angels of water, their bodies like

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[1] That is, it is pitched like a tent upon its posts.

[2] Greek capitals on columns seem implied.

[3] Cf. Judg 5:22 .

[4] The immersion is for ritual purification. Presumably they immerse themselves in the river of their own substance, rather than the opposite, but the text leaves the question open.

[5] They thus alternate like a choir. The singing thus seems to be antiphonal.

the sea and their voices like the voice of waters[6] strengthen themselves with an adornment of might and lead him at night.

These are the names of the angels that lead him during the day:

'BR'SKS	MRMR'WT	MWKTY'L	M'RYT
SDQY'L	YHSY	HSY'L	RB'L
Y'BWK	MY'L	KRYMK'	MRM'N
PW'L	GBRY'L	'ŠTWN	TWQPY'L
'LY'L	NPLY	'W'L	QWDŠY'L
HWDY'L	NRWMY'L	YRŠY'L	MLKY'L
'GRYT'L	LHGY'L	MNWRY'L	PL'W'L
NWRY'L	HRM'Y'L	NSBRY'L	

These are the princes of the encampments who lead the sun during the day.[7]

And these are the names of the angels who lead him at night:

PRSY'L	SRSY'L	ᶜGY'L	NBYM'L
ᶜMY'L	YSRY'L	'SMᶜW'L	ŠPTY'L
S'W'L	RDRY'L	ŠᶜSY'L	LYBB'L
BNRY'L	SGRY'L	MNH'L	LMY'L
PRY'L	PDH'L	LYBR'L	RBS'L
HMQY'L	BGHY'L	NBRY'L	QSPY'L
RᶜDNY'L	HTNY'L	'SPPY'L	HLW'L
ŠM'Y'L	ZHZH'L	NKBRY'L	PS'L
QMNY'L	ZH'L	HDY'L	

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[6]Perhaps read כקול מים רבים, "like the voice of many waters." Cf. Ps 93:4.

[7]Apparently each of the thirty-one named here and below is a leader of others. Note the first angel, ἄβρασαξ, is a transliteration of the correct spelling.

These are the princes of the encampments who lead him at night.

If you wish to view the sun during the day, seated in his chariot and ascending; guard yourself, take care, and keep pure for seven days from all (impure) food, from all (impure) drink, and from every unclean thing.[8] Then on the seventh day stand facing (the sun) when he rises and burn incense of spices weighing three shekels before him, and invoke seven times the names of the angels that lead him during the day. Then if you are not answered after these seven times, go and invoke them in reverse order seven times, and say:

> *I adjure you, angels that lead the sun in the power of your strength on the heavenly paths to illuminate the world, by the One whose voice shakes the earth, who moves mountains in His anger, who calms the sea with His power, who shakes the pillars of the world with His glance, who sustains everything with His arm, who is hidden form the eyes of all the living, who sits upon the throne of greatness of the kingdom of the glory of His holiness, and who moves through the entire world; I repeat (your names) and adjure you by His great, fearful, powerful, majestic, forceful, mighty, holy, strong, wondrous, secret, exalted, and glorious name;*[9] *that you will do my will and desire at this time and season, and will remove the radiance of the sun*[10] *so I may see him face to face as he is in his bridal chamber. Let me not catch fire from your fire and give me*[11] *permission to do my will.*

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[8]Abstinence from impure food and drink seems implied rather than a fast. This creates a parallel to "unclean things" and follows the same pattern as previous commands of abstinence found in SHR.

[9]For an example of this type of listing see BT Berakhot 33b.

[10]The rays of the sun obscure the sun angel.

[11]Reading לי for לו with Ms. ל .

At the completion of your adjuration, you will see him in his bridal chamber and you can ask him (to foretell questions) of death or life, good or evil. And if you wish to release him, repeat the adjuration and say:

> *I adjure you that you return the radiance of the sun to its place as in the beginning.*

Then the sun will go on his way.

If you wish to see the sun during the night, proceeding (on his course) in the north,[12] purify (yourself) for three weeks of days from all (impure) food and drink, and from every unclean thing. Then stand during the third hour[13] in the night watches, wrapped in white garments, and say twenty-one times[14] the name of the sun and the names of the angels that lead him at night, and then say:

> *I adjure you, angels that fly through the air of the firmament, by the One who sees but is not seen, by the King who uncovers all hidden things and sees all secret things, by the God who knows what is in darkness, and who transforms the shadows into morning,[15] and who illumines the night as the day, before whom all secrets are as clear as the sun, for whom there is nothing too difficult.[16] In the name of the Holy King who walks upon the wings of the wind,[17] by the letters of the complete name that was revealed to Adam in the Garden of Eden, (by)[18] the Ruler of the planets,[19] and the*

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[12]Cf. 1 Enoch 72:5.

[13]Cf. PGM XXXVI:136.

[14]This adjuration is triple the previous one in both number of days and times the adjuration is spoken.

[15]Cf. Amos 5:8.

[16]Cf. Jer 32:17.

[17]Cf. Ps 104:3.

[18]Reading במושל for המושל .

[19]"By the ruler of the planets," stars or fate.

sun, and the moon, who[20] *bow down before Him as slaves before their masters, by the name of the wondrous God, I adjure you, that you will make known to me this great miracle that I desire, and that I may see the sun in his power in the (celestial) circle (traversed by) his chariot, and let no hidden thing be too difficult for me. Let me see him perfectly today, and let me ask him what I wish, and let him speak with me as a man speaks with his friend and tell me the secret of the depths, and make known to me hidden things, and let no evil thing happen to me.*

When you finish speaking, you will hear a peal of thunder from the north and you will see something like lightning come forth and light up the earth before you. And after you see him, you will assuredly bow down to the ground and fall upon your face to the earth and pray this prayer:

Holy Helios who rises in the east, good mariner, trustworthy leader of the sun's rays, reliable (witness), who of old didst establish the mighty wheel (of the heavens), holy orderer, ruler of the axis (of the heaven), Lord, Brilliant Leader, King, Soldier.[21] *I, N son of N, present my supplication before you, that you will appear to me without (causing me) fear, and you will be revealed to me without causing me terror, and you will conceal nothing from me and will tell me truthfully all that I desire.*

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[20] Reading המשתחוים for משתחוים .

[21] The prayer to Helios here is transliterated into Hebrew from Greek. Cf. Margalioth, Sepher 12 and 99f. The following transcription differs from Margalioth in the underlined words:
εὐσεβὴς ἀνατολικὸν Ἥλιος, ναύτης, ἀγαθὸς, πιστὸς ἀκτῶν κορυφαῖος,
εὔπιστος, ὃς πάλαι τροχὸν ὄβριμον καθίστης, κοσμητὴς ἅγιος.
πολοκράτωρ, κύριε, πομπός εὔφωτος, τύραννος, στρατιώτης.

Then stand up and you will see (the sun) in the north proceeding to the east.[22] After this, put your hands behind you, and bow your head low, and ask whatever you desire. And after you have questioned him, lift your eyes toward heaven and say:

'WRPLY'L, 'WRPLY'L,[23] I adjure you by the One who formed you, for His splendor and His glory, to illumi-
70 *nate His world, and who gave you rulership of the day, that you will not harm me,[24] and will not terrify me. I shall neither fear nor tremble, and you will return to your course in peace when I release you[25] and you will not pause in your course from now on forever.[26]*

AMEN SELAH.[27]

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[22] Cf. 1 Enoch 72:5.

[23] אורפליאל, this is apparently a name for the sun. Possibly אור פלי אל. The "marvelous" or "hidden" "light of God." Where פלאיה פלאו = פלו

[24] Cf. PGM I:346; IV:3122; V:41.

[25] Reading ואתירך for וחתירך.

[26] Cf. Ps 115:18.

[27] This is the conclusion of the Fourth Firmament and not part of the preceeding adjuration.

(THE FIFTH FIRMAMENT)

The fifth firmament is exceedingly exalted. It is magnificent in appearance, for within it are clouds of splendor. It is filled with angels of majesty, and within it (their knees) knock with fear. They are stationed in troop after troop, glorifying (the One) who carved them into flame. The sound of their running is like the crashing of the sea, and their walk is like wheels of thunder. Therein, moreover, are twelve princes of glory seated upon magnificent thrones, the appearance of their thrones is like that of fire. They quarter the heavens at the middle by facing the four directions of the world, three by three toward each direction.[1] And (the) angels run when they send them, and their roaring shakes the world. Lightnings issue from their breath and they have wings of fire and are wreathed with crowns of fire, and the (fifth) firmament shines from the lustre of their faces. They are in charge of the twelve months of the year and understand what will be in each and every month, and without them nothing can happen, for they were created for this. Each is stationed over his month[2] since they make known month by month that which will be in each and every year.

These are the names of the twelve princes of glory of the fifth firmament:

ṠᶜPY'L	DGHY'L	DYDN'WR	TᶜNBWN
TRWRGR	MWR'L	PḤDRWN	YLDNG
'NDGNWR	MPNY'L	ḤṠNDRNWS	'BRKY'L

[1] This seems slightly redundant. Perhaps one ל should be deleted, thus reading "three toward each direction.

[2] Cf. Isa 47:13.

These are they who are in charge of the twelve months of the year, from the month of Nisan to the month of Adar, each in his month, as they are written.[3]

If you wish to know in which month you will be taken from the world, or what will occur in each and every month, or in which month there will be rain, whether the grain will be plentiful, whether the olive tree will drop its fruit, or in which month kings will set forth for war, or in which month there will be pestilence among men and cattle, or in which month an epidemic will fall among men, or whatever you wish (to know); ask them and you will know.

If you wish to know in which month you will be taken from the world;[4] take refined gold *lamellae* and make from them twelve pieces of foil,[5] then write on each of them the name of an angel and the name of his month. Then take good oil that has aged for seven years and throw all the pieces of foil into it and recite this adjuration seven times over the oil, and say:

> *I adjure you, O angels of wisdom and understanding, by the One who spoke and the world came into being, by the name of the God of Truth, the majestic and glorious, The King high and exalted, strong and powerful, mighty and wondrous, God of all creatures, Refuge of Hosts, righteous, pure and upright and trustworthy, and by the name (of Him) who established you over all the months of the year, He who sits in hidden heights,*[6] *who*

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[3]This probably means "as they are written above," i.e., the preceeding list gives them in the order of their months from Nisan to Adar.

[4]Cf. PGM I:188; XIII:711.

[5]Literally, "hammered out pieces."

[6]Cf. Ps 91:1.

reveals secret mysteries, who rules over death and life, who is King forever and ever and ever, who is established for all eternity. By this adjuration, the great, powerful, strong, fearful, terrible, wondrous, pure, and holy, I adjure you that you will truthfully make known to me the month in which I will be taken, and tell me my fate,[7] *in accordance to my request.*

Then put the oil in a new glass vessel (and place it) under the stars for seven nights without exposing it to the sun. And on the seventh night, get up in the middle of the night, and look at the oil and see which month is written upon whichever piece of foil floats on the surface of the oil. In that month it is your fate to be taken. But before you perform this rite, purify yourself from all impurity for three weeks of days, and guard yourself from all (meat of) small animals[8] and from all that yields blood (when slaughtered) even fish, and do not drink wine, and do not come near a woman, and do not touch a grave, be wary of nocturnal pollution, and walk in humility and prayer, and make your prayers and supplications long, and devote your heart to the fear of heaven, and you will succeed.

After the rite, take the oil and be careful of it for it has great healing power. Make a ring of purified silver, with a large hollow space within.[9] Take all the pieces of foil and

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[7] Literally, "cast my lot for me."

[8] See 1:223; 2:8; and note 71, First Firmament (p.41); note 6, Second Firmament (p.43).

[9] מגלוקמוס perhaps for μεγαλοκοιλος i.e. "pot bellied." The equivalent is dubious, but the sense is clear: a ring with a large top containing a compartment for storage.

40 and put them in the ring with a white flower[10], and with asbestos,[11] and seal (it) and place it on your finger; then no evil eye and no evil spirit will come near you, and no evil thing will have dominion in (your) house. In the oil is a great (power of) healing to the sick.

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[10] פרח לבן is literally "white flower," and is possibly Greek in origin. Cf. PGM XII:356. Possibly an extract or wine made from the flower.

[11] אמיינטון for ἀμίαντος . Cf. 2:101 and note 36, Second Firmament (p.52).

(THE SIXTH FIRMAMENT)

As for the sixth firmament, its storehouses are full of honey.[1] Within is the place prepared for the spirits of the righteous. Light and fire encompass it and within are myriads, thousands upon thousands,[2] and armies and encampments (of angels) standing in awe and trembling. And on the head of each of them is (what) appears as a crown of fire, and their fire has the appearance of gold. The regiments of the army march within (the sixth firmament), and their strength is like an inextinguishable fire and they are in fear from dread of their rulers. For two officers rule over them, one in the west of the (sixth) firmament and one in the east. And before the armies of spirits are myriads of angels created from flame and burning like fire. Their bodies are like fiery coals and upon coals of fire is their station. And they tremble and shake to sing forth[3] songs and praises to the Exalted One of the Universe, who has prepared them to praise His honor and honor His praise.

These are the holy angels who rule over all the encampments of the sixth firmament. The name of the first is 'PRKSY[4] and the name of the second is TWQPYRS. And all the princes of the encampments serve before them.

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[1] נופת, or possibly "fine flour."

[2] Cf. Ps 68:18.

[3] Deleting עמהם, "with them," following Ms. ר.

[4] ἄβραξας ? The common ancient spelling was ἄβρασαξ. Cf. 4:14 and Fourth Firmament, note 7 (p.68).

These are the heads of the encampments which are in the west of the firmament:

WYWTN	DWKMS'L	KRH'L	'ṠRY'L
BYW'L	NRH'L	GṠQY'L	GRᶜYH
ṠRY'L	MSGY'L	ḤNY'L	'WRPNY'L
'QWDW	MWK'L	'LNYTK'L	DM'L
'KZ'N	ṠYR'YWM	NHRY'L	BHDRK
ṠWPRY'L	SDRKYN	DBWB'WR	'MLY'L
TMPNYH	BHḤML	PRNYN	'MṢTY'L
TYMNHRQ			

Over these 'PRKSY, who has his camp in the west, is ruler.

These are the heads of the encampments which are in the east of the firmament:

GWRY'L	SNY'L	ᶜZRY'L	ṠRY'L
'LY'L	MLKY'L	MLMY'L	ṠMY'L
RNḤY'L	'QRY'L	QṠTY'L	'BRKY'L
ṠDRY'L	SPYPY'L	'RM'T	DMW'L
MRY'L	ᶜNNY'L	NYPLY'L	DRMY'L
GᶜṠY'L	MNHR'L	BHNYRY'L	'PṠRY'L
QLᶜY'L	HDRNY'L	DLRY'L	ṠᶜPY'L
DLGLY'L	ᶜDNNY'L	ṮHRY'L	DBRY'L
HMNKY'L	HNY'L	ṮWBY'L	

Over these TWQPYRS, who has his camp in the east of the firmament is ruler.

If you wish to go on a journey (or) to war[5] and if you wish to return (safely) from the war or from the journey, or

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[5]Reading או למלחמה for למלחמה, to correspond to the clear separation following "to return from the war or from the journey."

(if you wish) to flee from the city and you want it to appear that a large and powerful company is with you, so that all who see you will be afraid of you, as of one who has with him a military escort armed[6] with swords and spears and all of the implements of battle, (then) before you depart from the city or from the place where you dwell, purify yourself from all impurity and cleanse your flesh from all sin and transgression, and make yourself an iron ring and a pure *lamella* of gold and write (on the *lamella*) during the third day of the month,[7] the names of the overseers and the names of the heads of the encampments (both east and west), and put (the *lamella*) in the ring, and engrave upon the ring, outside of the *lamella* the image of a man and a lion.[8] Then at the time you set out to go on your way[9] and you see that men are coming to seize you, take the ring and put it in your mouth, and lift your eyes to heaven with a pure and cleansed heart and repeat the names of the overseers[10] and the names of the heads of the sixth heaven who serve before them and say:

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[6]Reading והם חגורים for ויהיו חגורי with Ms. ל .

[7]Reading בשלושה בחודש with Mss. ח and ל, thus deleting ימים. Cf. PGM IV:170.

[8]The *lamella* is placed on the top of the ring and the engraving is done around it.

[9]Reading בדרך instead of מן במקום שתעא למלחמה with Mss. ת, ח, ת.

[10]'PRKSY and TWQPYRS.

I adjure you, O angels of strength and might,[11] *by the strong and the mighty right hand (of the Lord), by the force of His might and by the power of His rule, by the God revealed at Mt. Sinai, by the myriads of His chariots,*[12] *by the God whose ministers are a thousand thousands of ten thousands, by the Lord who saved Israel, all six hundred thousand, from Egypt, by the life of the worlds, who spoke to Moses face to face, by the Lord who brings princes to naught,*[13] *by the Rock whose hand is sufficient to save and to rescue, by the One who commanded and ignited the camp of Sennacharib,*[14] *by His name and by its letters; I repeat (your names)*[15] *and adjure you that you come and stand with me, to aid at this time in every place that I will go. Be seen with me as a great army, in all your might and with the strength of your spears, and let all who see me, from near or far, and all who come to fight me or to seize me, be shattered before me by their great fear of your terrible appearance.*[16] *And let them not be able to harm me or approach me, let fear and terror fall upon them*[17] *and let fear of me fall upon them and all the children of Adam and Eve and upon every dangerous animal, and let them (all) tremble and recoil from before me.*

When you finish speaking the adjuration, you will see something like fog and smoke before you. Then take the ring from your mouth and put it on your finger. And when you come to your house and wish to release (the angels), return the ring to your mouth and stand facing the sun and repeat (the names of the) angels in reverse order and thereafter say:

I release you, go on your way.

Then put the ring on your finger.

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[11] Cf. Ps 24:8.

[12] Ps 68:18.

[13] Cf. Isa 40:23.

[14] Cf. 2 Kgs 19:35; and Isa 37:36. Neither source mentions any fire.

[15] I.e., those of the ministering angels and their overseers.

[16] Cf. Matt 26:53.

[17] Cf. Exod 15:16.

(THE SEVENTH FIRMAMENT)

The seventh firmament, all of it is sevenfold light, and from its light all the (seven) heavens shine. Within it is the throne of glory, set on the four glorious *Ḥayot*.[1] Also within it are the storehouses of lives,[2] and the storehouses of souls. There is no calculation or limit to the great light within it, and the fullness of the light illumines all the earth. The angels are fixed in pillars of light, and their light is as the light of the brilliant star[3] and cannot be extinguished, for their eyes are like flashes of lightning, and they stand upon the margins of (the divine) light, and glorify in fear the One who sits upon the throne of glory. For He alone sits in the heaven of His holiness, seeking out judgment, evening the scales of justice; judging in truth and speaking in righteousness.

And before Him the books of fire are open
And from before Him flow rivers of fire.[4]
When He rises[5] the gods are afraid,
And when He roars the pillars shake,

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[1]The "living creatures" of Ezekiel's vision. Cf. Ezek 1:5ff. The *ḥayot* and *opanim* are part of or equivalent to the class of heavenly beings, like the *cherubim* in Ezek 10, who are the supports of the heavenly throne of the deity.

[2]"Lives" are here thought of as entities placed by the deity in all living things, and causing them to live. They are distinguished from "souls." Cf. Gen 2:7, "the breath of lives."

[3]This is certainly a reference to Aphrodite-Venus, who has been referred to previously. Cf. First Firmament, note 44 (p.33).

[4]Cf. Dan 7:10.

[5]Possibly "When He lifts (His voice)."

And from His voice the doorposts tremble.[6]
His soldiers stand before Him,
But they do not gaze upon His likeness.
For He is hidden from every eye,
And none can see Him and live.
His appearance is hidden from all,
But no appearance is hidden from Him.
He uncovers deep things from the darkness,[7]
And He knows the secrets of obscurity.
For light dwells with Him,[8]
And He puts on light as a garment.[9]
He sits on light as a throne,
And light is a wall around Him.[10]
The *Ḥayot* and *Opanim* bear Him up,
As they fly with their wings.
They have six wings each
And they cover their faces with their wings,
And they turn their faces downward.
Their faces are turned toward their fellows,[11]
And they do not lift their faces upwards,
Because of their fear and their terror.

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[6]Cf. Isa 6:4.

[7]Cf. Job 12:22.

[8]Cf. Dan 2:22.

[9]Cf. Ps 102:4.

[10]Literally, "closes off what surrounds Him."

[11]Literally, "to the four of them."

Troops upon troops stand one above another before Him,
And immerse themselves in rivers of purity.
And wrap themselves in garments of white fire,
And sing with humility in a strong voice:
"Holy Holy Holy is the Lord of Hosts,
The whole world is full of His glory,[12]
He is prior to all creatures;
He was when earth and heaven were not yet.
He is alone;
There is no stranger with Him.
By His strength He upholds the heaven(s),
And in all the heavens He is feared,
And by all the angels He is revered,
For by the breath of His mouth they were formed
And to glorify His power they were established.
He (acts) alone and who can turn Him back?[13]
And if He commands none can annul.
For He is the King of Kings of Kings,
Ruling over all of the kings of the earth,
And exalted among the angels of heaven.
He searches hearts before they are formed,
And He knows thoughts before they occur.
Blessed be His name
And blessed the greatness of His glory.

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[12]Cf. Isa 6:3.

[13]Cf. Job 23:13.

For ages and ages,

And for an eternity of eternities.

For there is no God apart from Him,[14]

And there is no God beside Him.

Blessed is His name in each generation

And blessed in the heavens on high.

Blessed is His name with its might,

And blessed its mention with the beauty of His power.

For as His name so is His praise as it has been said (in scripture): As is your name, O God, so is your praise to the ends of the earth; your right hand is full of righteousness.[15]

He brings the pure to reverence Him,[16]

And in His wrath drives away the impure.

He moves mountains by His might and strength,

They did not know when He overturned them in His wrath.[17]

He holds the world as a cluster of grapes,

Bearing all that was, is, and will be.[18]

He is the Ancient of Days,[19]

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[14]Cf. 2 Sam 22:32.

[15]This is a prose gloss which breaks the continuity of the hymn.

[16]Literally, "to His fear," i.e., to worship and magical practices.

[17]Cf. Job 9:5.

[18]Cf. Heb 1:3.

[19]Cf. Dan 7:9.

And with Him are enduring riches and righteousness.[20]

Blessed be His glory from His habitation,

And blessed (be He) in the beauty of His dignity.

The hearts of those who fear Him He fills with knowledge,

To search and to know the power of the fear of His name.

Blessed be His name in the dwelling place of His splendor,

And blessed in the beauty of His strength.

Blessed be His name in the storehouses of snow,

And blessed in the rivers of flames.

Blessed be His name in the mists of brilliance,

And blessed in the clouds of glory.

Blessed be His name in the myriads of chariots,[21]

And blessed in the thousands upon thousands (of His warriors).

Blessed be His name in the chains of fire,

And blessed in the ropes of flame.

Blessed be His name in the peals of thunder,

And blessed in the bolts of lightning.

Blessed be His name in the mouths of all on earth,

And blessed in the depths of the earth.

Blessed be His name amid all the deserts,

And blessed amid the waves of the sea.

Blessed be His name alone on His throne,

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[20]Cf. Prov 8:18.

[21]Cf. Ps 68:18.

And blessed in dwelling places of His majesty,

Blessed be His name in the mouth of all living,

And blessed in the song of every creature.

Blessed be the Lord forever,

AMEN, AMEN, HALLELUJAH.

APPENDIX: ANGELIC LISTS

THE FIRST FIRMAMENT

And these are the names of the angels of the first encampment who serve אורפניאל:

בומדי דמנא אנוך אלפי אמוך קטיביא פטרופי גמתי פאאור נרנתק
רקהזי אורנה מאות פרוכה אקילאה תרקויה ברוק סחרורא אתננ
גילאן תכת ארנוב אשמי יוצש כפון כרבי גירשום פריאן ששמע
אבבא נתנאל אראל אניף תרואור עבדיאל יוום אלון מואל ללף
יחספת רחגל רומאפי יכהי ארניאל פובזן כדיאל זכריאל אגדלן
מיגאל גאופר כרתה כילדה דיגל אלנו תירלי סבלה אביאל אל
כסיל סיקמה אשבה יותנה ראלכה חליאן אפתיאל תיאמיאל אלאל
נוגיאל אפיכה תלגיאל נענה אסתיאל.

These are the names of the angels of the second encampment who serve תיגרה:

אכסתר מרסום ברכיב כמשו אשטיב כריתאל אדיר גבא אקרבא
אנבור כביר תילה בריתור תרטם נטפיאל פריאל תרוחון שלהבין
אשלבא משתוב גרחתא חגרא איטמיאל חגל לגח מניתיאל תנימיאל
איכריית אבריתא רכילאל חשתך ספפש אסתירוף אודיאל אשביר
מלכיאל ארוש דשווא המך תרגח זמבות הצניפלפת שוא אשפור
ארק קנומיאל נהיאל גדיאל אדק ימומיאל פרוג דחגיאל דגריאל
אגריאל ארונור דונרניא דלכת תבל תליאל אליאל מותאר אלפיאל
פיתפרא לפום אור טמר אדליאל אסטורין אזותי איסטורטי דאובית
ברגמי דמומיאל דיגרא אביבאל פרוטיאל קומיאל דגוגרא דלגיאל
פדותיאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve דנהל in the third encampment:

אוגרבבו אובשאל ברתוביאל כלוביאל רחביאל אוהיאל כרבתון
כרבא דאינוט איניך אבירם אתגלא אותות אשתנואל אשפר תגריאל
אמיכאל אתדשו אוריאל ארמוד אסתון אכאל אנאור אסכירא
לביאל אלעשה חסניאל למושי אדות תירום אלפי אימיך ארגלא
מיגאל אליאל מדניאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve כלמיה in the fourth encampment:

אבריה אימרהי דמנאי אמנהר יאמנוך פטכיא טוביאל גוליאל אופרי
גמתי אורניאל פריכיהו יארן לטמיאל אוריט תימוגו אנמרי
אלמיניאל יכמטו סטרטו צבעקני בורתיאס רספות כרסון אמאף
ופאטנא אחאל סאביאל בלקיר פכהור הסתר סתריאל אליסס חלסיאל
טרספו קרסטוס מלכיאל ארדק חסדיאל אחסף אמיאל פרנוס
גדיאל סביבאל.

These are the angels who serve אסימור in the fifth encampment:

בתואר שכינתתך אדומא תקו מקפא להבא עלי עזי שכניאל כנור
בנש קרבא סרך חלשיאל הרמנע עבר הוד מלכיה פרעתוף אדעת
קוף מנמלך דינמור אלפנטוס דידריוך כלנה נינחיא דצנחיא מלגדם
דימהן ליברנך תתקהה אפניאל זביטור דכנסור רמגדל להתקוף

עלי גדגדל פרוץ מסרוץ כדיר מוס דיקנא נשר תוב דרומיאל
דיראז דמולא דידיאל טעי כרם אתר עקב הונמורא אנקיו גזריאל
צביאל צביודע ייקר אדות רגביאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve פסכר in the sixth encampment:
אזיאל ארביאל טריפון פוכבוס פסתמר ליננידאל קרונידן שוכדון
סלבידם עמיאל עוזיאל פניאל תרמיאל חממיאל צרמיאל ניממוס
נודנייא באריבא זוננום חסטואל סדריאל הופניאון קדמיאל כפנייא
ארמיאל עדמון הרמור צפליאל ספריאל קחניאל שבכיריא ארמוניס
טופומוס פצציאל חטפיאל פרסומון נחליאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve בואל in the seventh encampment:
נוהריאל דבבאל דימתמר דבאל מחשיו אאור דיאם בביתאל סרורא
אהגייה פרופיאל מכסיאל עלזיאל תכורכס קרומיאל רמיאל לחסון
סלחיאל אחיאל אכר אובר סרוגיאל ידואל שמשיאל שפטיאל
רחביא אחמודא מרמרין אנוך אלפרט אומיגרא קרוכנס סרפיאל
גדריאל ארדודא פורטניאל אגמיאל רהטיאל דיתרון חזאל פתואל
גלגלא דמנצר זזיאל.

THE SECOND FIRMAMENT

Upon the first step stand these:
אחמריאל הדריאל רציאל הסעיאל דמימיאל זבדיאל רנזיאל
ענשאל כטבראל.

Upon the second step stand these:
עזזיאל חננאל פצציאל ישעיאל דלקיאל ארפדא מראות ריפיפיס
אמניאל נחמיאל פזירום ענבאל.

Upon the third step stand these:
יהואל דעיהו אליאל ברכיאל עלי ספום פנימור אלעזר גבליאל
כמשיאל אודהאל יעצאל רפפיאל פספיאל.

Upon the fourth step stand these:
צגריאל מלכיאל אונביב פגריאל ענניאל כלנמייא אומיאל מפנור
כוזזיבא אלפאל פריביאל צעקמיה כדומיאל אשמדע הודיה יחזיאל.

Upon the fifth step stand these:
קונאקריאל פתוניאל נקריאל איאל יאבותיאו בבסבאו בכפי מבום
סכתבאו אמריאל יאלאל מכסאבו.

Upon the sixth step stand these:
אביהוד קיטר זלקיאל סתריאל אדרך גחליאל תמכיאל סמכיה רבעיאל
יוקמיאל שמיהוד מהריאל גומיאל כרכוס קנז קניאל כנטון.

Upon the seventh step stand these:
פתחיה רזיאל אגריאל הגדיאב אדרון כרקטא קטיפור אבריאל
שתקיאל עמיאל סיכברדום.

Upon the eighth step stand these:
אכרה ברקיאל אדוניאל עזריאל ברכיאל עמיאל קדשיאל מרגיאל
פרואל פניאל מרביאל מרניסאל שמיאל עמניאל מתנאל הוד הוד.

Upon the ninth step stand these:
גדודיאל סכסיאל תרסוניאל נצחיאל אצדא רבניא חלילאל תוקפיאל
סמכיאל פדהאל קרבא ציאל פראל פתחיאל.

Upon the tenth step stand these:
דכריאל חריאל שבקיאל אתכיאל סמיכאל מרמואל קנאל צפתף יהאך
אל צדק אכפף עזמאל מכמיכאל תרכיאל תבגיאל.

Upon the eleventh step stand these:
רפדיאל דמואל מארינוס אמינאל צחיאל עקריאל אדניאל רדקיאל
שלמיאל אסתטיאל סטאל אגלגלתון ארמות פרחגאל נפפמיות.

Upon the twelfth step stand these:
אסטרימי בראות במראות דרודיאל שדרליאל תלהבם ברגאל פיאל
פפאל יכפתיני כלפתון בובוכוך אומטון ארטמיכטון אשמיגדון
ספניג פרניגאל פסיכסוך תאגישון ארטלידי.

THE THIRD FIRMAMENT

These are the names of the angels who serve יבניאל:
שעיפיאל אדריאל תדהדיאל בעשיאל טהפיאל רלביאל בלניאל
תהזריאל אעזיאל אמנחאל מלתיחיאל דיבקיאל ברשסאל סחאל
תתבאל קסמיאל טסיאל קסטסדיאל נמדיאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve רהטיאל:
אגרא זרגרי גנטס תעזמא לתסרפאל גדיאל תמניאל עקהיאל
גוחפניאל ארקני צפיקואל מושיאל סוסיאל התניאל זכריאל
אכנסף צדקי אחסף נכמרא פרדיאל קליליאל דרומיאל.

These are the names of the angels who serve דלקיאל:
נוריאל אזליבן איליאל מלכיה חיליאל חרהאל שלקיאל צגריאל
פסכיאל עקריאל סמניאל צבביאל נחליאל תגמליאל אמינואל תלבעף
קטחניאל אפריאל אנגיאל משריאל אמנגנאן.

THE FOURTH FIRMAMENT

These are the names of the angels that lead (the sun) during the day:
אבראסכס מרמראות מוכתיאל מאריח צדקיאל יחסי חסיאל רבאל
יאבוך מיאל כרימכא מרמאן פואל גבריאל אשתון תוקפיאל אליאל
נפלי אואל קודשיאל הודיאל נרומיאל ירשיאל מלכיאל אגריתאל
להגיאל מנוריאל פלאואל נוריאל הרמאיאל נסבריאל.

And these are the names of the angels that lead (the sun) during the night:
פרסיאל צרציאל עגיאל נבימאל עמיאל ישריאל אשמעואל
שפטיאל שאואל רדריאל שעסיאל ליבבאל בנריאל צגריאל מנהאל
למיאל פריאל פדהאל ליבראל רבצאל חמקיאל בגהיאל נבריאל
קצפיאל רעדניאל חתניאל אספפיאל חלואל שמאיאל זחזחאל
נכבריאל פצאל קמניאל זהאל חדיאל.

THE FIFTH FIRMAMENT

These are the names of the twelve princes of glory of the fifth firmament:
שעפיאל דגהיאל דידנאור תענבון תרורגר מוראל
פחדרון ילדנג אנדגמור מפניאל חשנדרנוס אברכיאל.

THE SIXTH FIRMAMENT

These are the heads of the encampments which are in the west of the firmament:
ויותן דוכמסאל כרהאל אשריאל ביואל נרהאל גצקיאל גרעיה
שריאל מסגיאל חניאל אורפניאל אקודו מוכאל אלניתכאל דמאל
אכזאן שיראיום נהריאל בהדרך שופריאל סדרכין דבובאור אמליאל
תמפניה בהחמל פרנין אמצתיאל תימנהרק.

Over these אפרכס, who has his camp in the west, is ruler.

These are the heads of the encampments which are in the east of the firmament:
גוריאל סניאל עזריאל שריאל אליאל מלכיאל מלמיאל צמיאל
רנחיאל אקריאל קשתיאל אברכיאל שדריאל ספיפיאל ארמאת דמואל
מריאל ענניאל ניפליאל דרמיאל געשיאל מנהראל בהנירניאל אפשריאל
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Over these תוקפירס, who has his camp in the east of the firmament, is ruler.

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The Apocryphon of James

Translated by Ron Cameron

The **Apocryphon of James**, also known by the translation of its title - the **Secret Book of James**, is a pseudonymous text amongst the New Testament apocrypha. It describes the secret teachings of Jesus to Peter and James, given after the Resurrection but before the Ascension.

A major theme is that one must accept suffering as inevitable. The prominence of James and Peter suggest that the work originated in the Jewish Christian community. It shows no dependence on canonical texts, and was probably written in the mid-to-late 2nd century. It has Gnostic affinities but can't be attributed to any Gnostic sect, and some scholars rule that it's not Gnostic at all.

www.Scriptural-Truth.com

James writes to you. Peace be with you from Peace, love from Love, grace from Grace, faith from Faith, life from Holy Life!

Since you asked me to send you a secret book which was revealed to me and Peter by the Lord, I could neither refuse you nor speak directly to you, but I have written it in Hebrew letters and have sent it to you - and to you alone. But inasmuch as you are a minister of the salvation of the saints, endeavor earnestly and take care not to recount this book to many - this which the Savior did not desire to recount to all of us, his twelve disciples. But blessed are those who will be saved through faith in this discourse.

Now I sent you ten months ago another secret book with the Savior revealed to me. But that one you are to regard in this manner, as revealed to me, James.

Now the twelve disciples were sitting all together at the same time, and, remembering what the Savior had said to each one of them, whether secretly or openly, they were setting it down in books. And I was writing what was in my book - lo, the Savior appeared, after he had departed from us while we gazed at him. And five hundred and fifty days after he arose from the dead, we said to him: "Have you gone and departed from us?"

And Jesus said: "No, but I shall go to the place from which I have come. If you desire to come with me, come."

They all answered and said: "If you bid us, we'll come."

He said: "Truly I say to you, no one ever will enter the Kingdom of Heaven if I bid him, but rather because you yourselves are full. Let me have James and Peter, in order that I may fill them." And when he called these two, he took them aside, and commanded the rest to busy themselves with that with which they had been busy.

The Savior said; "You have received mercy.... (7 lines missing) Do you not desire, then, to be filled? And is your heart drunk? Do you not desire, then, to be sober? Therefore, be ashamed! And now, waking or sleeping, remember that you have seen the Son of Man, and with him you have spoken, and to him you have listened. Woe to those who have seen the Son of Man! Blessed are those who have not seen the Man, and who have not consorted with him, and who have not spoken with him, and who have not listened to anything from him. Yours is life! Know, therefore, that he healed you when you were ill, in order that you might reign. Woe to those who have rested from their illness, because they will relapse again into illness! Blessed are those who have not been ill, and have known rest before they became ill. Yours is the Kingdom of God! Therefore I say to you, become full and leave no place within you empty, since the

Coming One is able to mock you."Then Peter answered: "Lord, three times you have said to us 'Become full', but we are full."
The Lord answered and said: "Therefore I say unto you, become full, in order that you may not be diminished. Those who are diminished, however, will not be saved. For fullness is good and diminution is bad. Therefore, just as it is good for you to be diminished and, on the other hand, bad for you to be filled, so also the one who is full is diminished; and the one who is diminished is not filled as the one who is diminished is filled, and the one who is full, for his part, brings his sufficiency to completion. Therefore, it is fitting to be diminished while you can still be filled, and to be filled while it is still possible to be diminished, in order that you can fill yourselves the more. Therefore become full of the spirit but be diminished of reason. For reason is of the soul; and it is soul."
And I answered, and said to him: "Lord, we can obey you if you wish. For we have forsaken our forefathers and our mothers and our villages and have followed you. Grant us, therefore, not to be tempted by the wicked Devil."
The Lord answered and said: "What is your merit when you do the will of the Father if it is not given to you by him as a gift, while you are tempted by Satan? But if you are oppressed by Satan and are persecuted and you do the Father's will, I say that he will love you and will make you equal with me and will consider that you have become beloved through his providence according to your free choice. Will you not cease, then, being lovers of the flesh and being afraid of sufferings? Or do you not know that you have not yet been mistreated and have not yet been accused unjustly, nor have you yet been shut up in prison, nor have you yet been condemned lawlessly, nor have you yet been crucified without reason, nor have you yet been buried shamefully, as was I myself, by the evil one? Do you dare to spare the flesh, you for whom the spirit is an encircling wall? If you contemplate the world, how long it is before you and also how long it is after you, you will find that your life is one single day and your sufferings, one single hour. For the good will not enter the world. Scorn death, therefore, and take concern for life. Remember my cross and my death and you will live."
And I answered and said to him: "Lord, do not mention to us the cross and the death, for they are far from you."
The Lord answered and said: "Truly I say to you, none will be saved unless they believe in my cross. But those who have believed in my cross, theirs is the Kingdom of God. Therefore, become seekers for death, just as the dead who seek for life, for that which they seek is revealed to them. And what is there to concern them? When you turn yourselves towards death, it will make known to you election. In truth I say to you, none of those who are afraid of death will be saved. For the Kingdom of God belongs to those who have put themselves to death. Become better than I; make yourselves like the son of the Holy Spirit."
Then I questioned him: "Lord how may we prophesy to those who ask us to prophesy to them? For there are many who ask us and who look to us to hear an oracle from us."
The Lord answered and said: "Do you not know that the head of prophecy was cut off with John?"
And I said: "Lord, it is not possible to remove the head of prophecy, is it?"
The Lord said to me: "When you come to know what 'head' is, and that prophecy issues from the head, then understand what is the meaning of 'Its head was removed'. I first spoke with you in parables, and you did not understand. Now, in turn, I speak with you openly, and you do not perceive. But it is you who were to me a parable in parables and

what is apparent in what are open.
"Be zealous to be saved without being urged. Rather, be ready on your own and, if possible, go before me. For thus the Father will love you.
"Become haters of hypocrisy and evil thought. For it is thought which gives birth to hypocrisy, but hypocrisy is far from the truth.
"Let not the Kingdom of Heaven wither away. For it is like a date palm shoot whose fruits poured down around it. It put forth leaves and, when they budded, they caused the productivity of the date palm to dry up. Thus it is also with the fruit which came from this single root; when the fruit was picked, fruits were collected by many harvesters. It would indeed be good if it were possible to produce these new plants now; for then you would find the Kingdom.
"Since I have been glorified in this manner before this time, why do you all restrain me when I am eager to go? You have constrained me to remain with you eighteen more days for the sake of the parables. It sufficed for some persons to pay attention to the teaching and understand 'The Shepherds' and 'The Seed' and 'The Building' and 'The Lamps of the Virgins' and 'The Wage of the Workers' and 'The Double Drachma' and 'The Woman'.
"Become zealous about the Word. For the Word's first condition is faith; the second is love; the third is works. Now from these comes life. For the Word is like a grain of wheat. When someone sowed it, he believed in it; and when it sprouted, he loved it, because he looked forward to many grains in the place of one; and when he worked it, he was saved, because he prepared it for food. Again he left some grains to sow. Thus it is also possible for you all to receive the Kingdom of Heaven: unless you receive it through knowledge, you will not be able to find it. "Therefore I say to you, be sober. Do not go astray. And many times I have said to you
all together - and also to you alone, James, I have said - 'Be saved!' And I have commanded you to follow me, and I have taught you the response in the presence of the rulers. Observe that I have descended, and I have spoken, and I have troubled myself, and I have received my crown, when I saved you. For I have descended to dwell with you in order that you also may dwell with me. And when I found that your houses had no ceilings over them, I dwelt in houses which would be able to receive me when I descended.
"Therefore, obey me, my brothers. Understand what the great light is. The Father does not need me. For a father does not need a son, but it is the son who needs the father. To him I am going, for the Father of the Son is not in need of you.
"Pay attention to the Word. Understand Knowledge. Love Life. And no one will persecute you, nor will any one oppress you, other than you yourselves.
"O you wretched! O you unfortunates! O you dissemblers of the truth! O you falsifiers of knowledge! O you sinners against the spirit! Do you even now dare to listen, when it behooved you to speak from the beginning? Do you even now dare to sleep, when it behooved you to be awake from the beginning, in order that the Kingdom of Heaven might receive you? In truth I say to you, it is easier for a holy one to sink into defilement, and for a man of light to sink into darkness, than for you to reign - or even not to reign!
"I have remembered your tears and your grief and your sorrow. They are far from us. Now, then, you who are outside the inheritance of the Father, weep where it behooves you and grieve and proclaim that which is good, since the Son is ascending appropriately. In truth I say to you, had it been to those who would listen to me that I was sent, and had it been with them that I was to speak, I would have never descended

upon the earth. And now, then, be ashamed on account of them.
"Behold, I shall depart from you. I am going and I do not desire to remain with you any longer - just as you yourselves have not desired. Now, then, follow me quickly. Therefore I say to you, for your sake I have descended. You are the beloved; you are those who will become a cause of life for many. Beseech the Father. Implore God often, and he will give to you. Blessed is the one who has seen you with him when he is proclaimed among the angels and glorified among the saints. Yours is life! Rejoice and be glad as children of God. Keep his will in order that you may be saved. Take reproof from me and save yourselves. I intercede on your behalf with the Father, and he will forgive you much."
And when we heard these things, we became elated, for we had been depressed on account of what we had said earlier. Now when he saw our rejoicing, he said: "Woe to you who are in want of an advocate! Woe to you who are in need of grace! Blessed are those who have spoken freely and have produced grace for themselves. Make yourselves like strangers; of what sort are they in the estimation of your city? Why are you troubled when you oust yourselves of your own accord and depart from your city? Why do you abandon your dwelling place of your own accord, readying it for those who desire to dwell in it? O you exiles and fugitives! Woe to you, because you will be caught! Or perhaps you imagine that the Father is a lover of humanity? Or that he is persuaded by prayers? Or that he is gracious to one on behalf of another? Or that he bears with one who seeks? For he knows the desire and also that which the flesh needs. Because it is not the flesh which yearns for the soul. For without the soul the body does not sin, just as the soul is not saved without the Spirit. But if the soul is saved when it is without evil, and if the spirit also is saved, then the body becomes sinless. For it is the spirit which animates the soul, but it is the body which kills it - that is, it is the soul which kills itself. Truly I say to you, the Father will not forgive the sin of the soul at all, nor the guilt of the flesh. For none of those who have worn the flesh will be saved. For do you imagine that many have found the Kingdom of Heaven? Blessed is the one who has seen himself as a fourth one in Heaven."
When we heard these things, we became distressed. Now when he saw that we were distressed, he said: "This is why I say this to you, that you may know yourselves. For the Kingdom of Heaven is like an ear of grain which sprouted in a field. And when it ripened, it scattered its fruit and, in turn, filled the field with ears of grain for another year. You also: be zealous to reap for yourselves an ear of life, in order that you may be filled with the Kingdom.
"As long as I am with you, give heed to me and obey me. But when I am to depart from you, remember me. And remember me because I was with you without your knowing me. Blessed are those who have known me. Woe to those who have heard and have not believed! Blessed are those who have not seen but have had faith!
"And once again I persuade you. For I am revealed to you building a house which is very valuable to you, since you take shelter under it; in the same way it will be able to support the house of your neighbors when theirs is in danger of falling. In truth I say to you, woe to those on behalf of whom I was sent down to this place! Blessed are those who are to ascend to the Father. Again I reprove you. You who are, make yourselves like those who are not, in order that you may come to be with those who are not.
"Let not the Kingdom of Heaven become desolate among you. Do not become arrogant on account of the light which illumines. Rather, become to yourselves in this manner, as I am to you. For I have placed myself under the curse, in order that you may be saved"

And Peter answered to this and said: "Sometimes you urge us on to the Kingdom of Heaven, and other times you turn us away, Lord. Sometimes you persuade us and impel us to faith and promise us life, and other times you expel us from the Kingdom of Heaven."
And the Lord answered and said to us: "I have given you faith many times. Moreover, I have revealed myself to you, James, and you have not known me. Again, now I see you rejoicing many times. And when you are elated over the promise of life, are you nevertheless glum? And are you distressed when you are taught about the Kingdom? But you through faith and knowledge have received life. Therefore, scorn rejection when you hear it, but, when you hear the promise, be the more glad. In truth I say to you, the one who will receive life and believe in the Kingdom will never leave it - not even if the Father desires to banish him!
"These things I shall say to you for the present. But now I shall ascend to the place from which I have come. But you, when I was eager to go, have driven me out, and, instead of your accompanying me, you have pursued me. But give heed to the glory which awaits me, and, having opened your hearts, listen to the hymns which await me up in heaven. For today I am obliged to take (my place) at the right hand of my Father. Now I have said my last word to you. I shall part from you. For a chariot of wind has taken me up, and from now on I shall strip myself in order that I may clothe myself. But give heed: blessed are those who have preached the Son before he descended, in order that, when I have come, I may ascend. Thrice-blessed are those who were proclaimed by the Son before they came into being, in order that you may have a portion with them."
When he said these things, he went away. And we knelt down, I and Peter, and gave thanks, and sent our hearts up to heaven. We heard with our ears and saw with our eyes the sound of wars and a trumpet call and a great commotion.
And when we passed beyond that place, we sent out minds up further. And we saw with our eyes and heard with our ears hymns and angelic praises and angelic jubilation. And heavenly majesties were hymning, and we ourselves were jubilant.
After this, we also desired to send our spirits above to the Majesty. And when we ascended, we were permitted neither to see nor to hear anything. For the rest of the disciples called to us and questioned us: "What is it that you have heard from the Master?" And, "What has he said to you?" And, "Where has he gone?"
And we answered them: "He has ascended." And, "He has given us a pledge and has promised us all life and disclosed to us children who are to come after us, since he has bid us to love them, inasmuch as we will be saved for their sake."
And when they heard, they believed the revelation, but were angry about those who would be born. Then I, not desiring to entice them to scandal, sent each one to another place. But I myself went up to Jerusalem, praying that I may obtain a portion with the beloved who are to be revealed.
And I pray that the beginning may come from you, for thus I can be saved. Because they will be enlightened through me, through my faith and through another's which is better than mine, for I desire that mine become the lesser. Endeavor earnestly, therefore, to make yourself like them, and pray that you may obtain a portion with them. For apart from what I have recounted, the Savior did not disclose revelation to us. For their sake we proclaim, indeed, a portion with those for whom it was proclaimed, those whom the Lord has made his children.

END

The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch

A book that corresponds with the book of Ezekiel and the book of Enoch. Apparently modified slightly by Christians.

Prologue

3RD BARUCH 1-3

1.

[1 A narrative and revelation of Baruch, concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God.

Bless Thou, O Lord.

2.

2 A revelation of Baruch, who stood upon the river Gel weeping over the captivity of 3 Jerusalem, when also Abimelech was preserved by the hand of God, at the farm of Agrippa.

And he was sitting thus at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of holies lay.]

3RD BARUCH 1

3.

1 Verily I Baruch was weeping in my mind and sorrowing on account of the people,
and that 2 Nebuchadnezzar the king was permitted by God to destroy His city, saying,

4.

'Lord, why didst Thou set on fire Thy vineyard, and lay it waste?

Why didst Thou do this?

5.

And why, Lord, didst Thou not requite us with another chastisement,
but didst deliver us to nations such as these, so that they 3 reproach us and say,
'Where is their God?' '

6.

And behold as I was weeping and saying such things,
I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me,

7.

'Understand, O man, greatly beloved,
and trouble not thyself so greatly concerning the salvation of Jerusalem,
for thus saith the Lord God, 4 the Almighty,

8.

[For] He sent me before thee,
to make known and to show to thee all *the things* 5, 6 of God.

9.

For thy prayer was heard before Him, and entered into the ears of the Lord God.'

10.

And when he had said these things to me, I was silent.

11.

And the angel said to me:
'Cease to provoke 7 God,
and I will show thee other mysteries, greater than these.'

12.

And I Baruch said,
'[I swear that] As the Lord God liveth,
if thou wilt show me, and I hear a word of thine,
I will not continue to speak any longer.

13.
8 God shall add to my judgement in the day of judgement, if I speak hereafter.'

14.
And the angel of the powers said to me,
'Come, and I will show thee the mysteries of God.'

The First Heaven

15.
1 And he took me and led me where the firmament has been set fast, and where there was a river which no one can cross, nor any strange breeze- of all those which God created.

16.
And he took me and led me to the first heaven, and showed me a door of great size.

17.
And he said to me,
'Let us enter 3 through it'.
And we entered as though borne on wings, a distance of about thirty days' journey.

18.
And he showed me within the heaven a plain ;
and there were men dwelling thereon,
with the faces of 4 oxen, and the horns of stags and the feet of goats, and the haunches of lambs.

19.
And I Baruch asked the angel,
'Make known to me, I pray thee, what is the thickness of the heaven in which we journeyed,

20.
5 or what is the extent, or what is the plain,
in order that I may also tell the sons of men?'

21.
And the angel whose name is Phamael said to me: *[Phanuel?]*

'This door which thou seest is the door of heaven,
and as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness;

22.
and again as great as is the distance *from North to South,*
so great is the length of the plain which thou didst see.'

23.
And again the angel of the powers said to me,
'Come, and I will show thee greater mysteries.'

24.
But 6, 7 I said,
'I pray thee show me what are these men.'

25.
And he said to me,
'These are they who built the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them.'

The Second Heaven

26.

1 And the angel of the Lord took me and led me to a second heaven.

27.

And he showed me there 2 also a door like the first and said,
'Let us enter through it.'

28.

And we entered, being borne on wings 3 a distance of about sixty days' journey.

29.

And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of 4 men,
whose appearance was like that of dogs, and whose feet were like those of stags.

30.

And I asked 5 the angel:
'I pray thee, Lord, say to me who are these.'

31.

And he said,
'These are they who gave counsel to build the tower,

for they whom thou seest drove forth multitudes of both men and women, to make bricks;

32.

among whom, a woman making bricks was not allowed to be released in the hour of child-birth,
but brought forth while she was making bricks, and carried her child in her apron,
and 6 continued to make bricks.

33.

And the Lord appeared to them and confused their speech,
when they 7 had built the tower to the height of 463 cubits.

34.

And they took a gimlet *[drill]*, and sought to pierce the heaven, saying,
Let us see *whether* the heaven is made of clay, or of 8 brass, or of iron.

35.

When God saw this He did not permit them,
but smote them with blindness and confusion of speech, and rendered them as thou seest.'

The Third Heaven

36.

1 And I Baruch said,
'Behold, lord, Thou didst show me great and wonderful things;

and now 2 show me all things for the sake of the Lord.'

38.

And the angel said to me,
'Come, let us proceed.'

39.

And I proceeded with the angel from that place about 185 days' 3 journey *[6 months]*.

40.

And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which appeared to be 200 plethra in length.

41.

4 And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and abominable.

42.

And I said,
5 'Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him?'

43.

And the angel said,
'The dragon is he 6 who eats the bodies of those who spend their life wickedly,
and he is nourished by them.

44.

And this is Hades, which itself also closely resembles him,
in that it also drinks about a cubit from 7 the sea, which does not sink at all.'

45.

[And, I] Baruch said,
'And how *does this happen*?'

46.

And the angel said,
'Hearken, the Lord God made 360 rivers,
of which the chief of 8 all are Alphias, Abyrus, and the Gericus;
and because of these the sea does not sink.'

47.

And I said,
'I pray thee show me which is the tree which led Adam astray.'

48.

And the angel said to me,
'It is the vine, which the angel Sammael planted,
whereat the Lord God was angry, and He cursed him and his plant,

49.

while also on this account He did not permit Adam to touch it,
and therefore 9 the devil being envious deceived him through his vine.'

50.

And I Baruch said,
'Since also the vine has been the cause of such great evil,
and is under judgment of the curse of God, and was the 10 destruction of the first created,

how is it now so useful?'

51.

And the angel said, 'Thou askest aright.

52.

When God caused the deluge upon earth, and destroyed all flesh, and 409,000 giants,
and the water rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains,

53.

then the water entered into paradise and destroyed every flower;

but it removed wholly without the bounds the shoot 11 of the vine and cast it outside.

54.

And when the earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out 12 of the ark,
he began to plant of the plants which he found.

55.

But he found also the shoot of the vine;
and he took it, and was reasoning in himself,
'What then is it?'

56.

And I came and spake to 13 him the things concerning it.

57.

And he said, 'Shall I plant it, or what shall I do?'

58.

Since Adam was destroyed because of it,
let me not also meet with the anger of God because of it.

59.

And saying 14 these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do concerning it.

60.

And when *[Noah]* had completed the prayer which lasted forty days, and having besought many things and wept, 15 he said:

61.

'Lord, I entreat thee to reveal to me what I shall do concerning this plant.'

62.

But God sent his angel Sarasael, and said to him,
'Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot of the vine, for thus saith the Lord,

63.

'Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing,
and that which is produced from it shall become the blood of God;

64.

and as through it the human race obtained condemnation,
so again through Jesus Christ the Immanuel will they receive in Him the 16 upward calling,
and the entry into paradise].'

65.

Know therefore, O Baruch,
that as Adam through this very tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God,

66.

so also the men who now drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it,
transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the 17 glory of God,
and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire.

67.

For (no) good comes through it.

68.
For those who drink it to surfeit do these things:
neither does a brother pity his brother, nor a father his son, nor children their parents,

69.
but from the drinking of wine come all evils,
such as murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like.

70.
And nothing good is established by it.'

3RD BARUCH 5-6

71.
1 And I Baruch said to the angel,
2 'Let me ask thee one thing, Lord.

72.
Since thou didst say to me 3 that the dragon drinks one cubit out of the sea,
say to me also, how great is his belly?'

73.
And the angel said,
His belly is Hades;

74.
and as far as a plummet is thrown *by* 300 men, so great is his belly.

75.
Come, then, that I may show thee also greater works than these.'

3RD BARUCH 6

76.
1 And he took me and led me where the sun goes forth;

77.
2 and he showed me a chariot and four, under which burnt a fire, and in the chariot was sitting a man,
wearing a crown of fire, *and* the chariot *was* drawn by forty angels.

78.
And behold a bird circling before the sun, about nine 3 cubits away.

79.
And I said to the angel, 'What is this bird?'

80.
And he said to me,
'This is the 4, 5 guardian of the earth.'

81.
And I said, 'Lord, how is he the guardian of the earth?

Teach me.'

82.
And the angel said to me,
'This bird flies alongside of the sun, and expanding his wings receives its fiery 6 rays.

83.
For if he were not receiving them,
the human race would not be preserved, nor any other 7 living creature.

But God appointed this bird thereto.

84.
And he expanded his wings, and I saw on his right wing very large letters,
as large as the space of a threshing-floor, the size of about four 8 thousand modii;
and the letters were of gold.'

85.
And the angel said to me,
'Read them.'

86.
And I read 9 and they ran thus:

Neither earth nor heaven bring me forth,
yet wings of fire bring me forth.

87.
And I said,
'Lord, what is this bird, and what is his name?'

88.
And the angel said to me,
'His name is called 11 Phoenix.'

89.
And I said,
'And what does he eat?'

90.
And he said to me,
'The manna of heaven and 12 the dew of earth.'

91.
And I said,
'Does the bird excrete?'

92.
And he said to me,
'He excretes a worm,
and the excrement of the worm is cinnamon, which kings and princes use.

93.
Yet wait and thou shalt 13 see the glory of God.'

And while he was conversing with me, there was as a thunder-clap,
and the place was shaken on which we were standing.

94.
And I asked the angel,
'My Lord, what is this sound?'

95.
And the angel said to me,
'Even now the angels are opening the 365 gates 14 of heaven,
and the light is being separated from the darkness.'

96.
And a voice came which said,
'Light 15 giver, give to the world radiance.'

97.
And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said,
'Lord, what is this 16 noise?'

98.
And he said,
'This is the bird who awakens from slumber the *roosters* upon earth.

99.
For as men do through the *[human speech]*,
so also does the *rooster* signify to those in the world, in his own speech.

100.
For the sun is made ready by the angels,
and *[then]* the *rooster* crows.'

3RD BARUCH 7-9

101.
1 And I said,
'And where does the sun begin its labors, after the cock crows?'

102.
2 And the angel said to me,
'Listen, Baruch:

103.
All things whatsoever I showed thee are in the first and second heaven,

104.
and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives light to the world.

105.
But wait, and thou 3 shalt see the glory of God.'

106.
And while I was conversing with him, I saw the bird,
and he appeared 4 in front,
and grew less and less, and at length returned to his full size.

107.
And behind him I saw the shining sun, and the angels which draw it, and a crown upon its head,
the sight of which we were 5 not able to gaze upon, and behold.

108.
And as soon as the sun shone, the Phoenix also stretched out his wings.

109.
But I, when I beheld such great glory, was brought low with great fear,
and I fled and 6 hid in the wings of the angel.

110.
And the angel said to me,
'Fear not, Baruch, but wait and thou shalt also see their setting.'

3RD BARUCH 8

111.
1 And he took me and led me towards the west;
and when the time of the setting came, I saw again the bird coming before it,
and as soon as he came I saw the angels, and they lifted the crown 2, 3 from its head.

112.
But the bird stood exhausted and with wings contracted.

113.
And beholding these things, I said,
'Lord, wherefore did they lift the crown from the head of the sun,
and wherefore is 4 the bird so exhausted?'

114.

And the angel said to me,
'The crown of the sun, when it has run through the day,
four angels take it, and bear it up to heaven, and renew it,

because it and its rays have been defiled upon earth;
moreover it is so renewed each day.'

115.

And I Baruch said,
'Lord, and wherefore 5 are its beams defiled upon earth?'

116.

And the angel said to me,
'Because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men,

namely fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkenness,
murders, strife, jealousies, evil-speakings, murmurings, whisperings, divinations,

and such like, which are not well-pleasing to God.

117.

On account of these things is it defiled, and therefore is it renewed.

118.

6 But thou askest concerning the bird, how it is exhausted.

119.

Because by restraining the rays of the sun through the fire and burning heat of the whole day,
it is exhausted thereby.

120.

For, as we said before, unless his wings were screening the rays of the sun,
no living creature would be preserved.

3RD BARUCH 9

121.

1 And they having retired, the night also fell,
and at the same time came the chariot of the moon, along with the stars.

122.

2 And I Baruch said,
'Lord, show me it also, I beseech of thee,
how 3 it goes forth, where it departs, and in what form it moves along.'

123.

And the angel said,
'Wait and thou shalt see it also shortly.'

124.

And on the morrow I also saw it in the form of a woman,
and sitting on a wheeled chariot.

125.

And there were before it oxen and lambs in the chariot,
and a multitude of 4 angels in like manner.

126.

And I said,
'Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs?'

127.

And he said to me,
5 'They also are angels.'

128.

And again I asked,
'Why is it that it at one time increases, but at another 6 time decreases?'

129.
And *he said to me*, 'Listen, O Baruch:

130.
This which thou seest had been written 7 by God beautiful as no other.

131.
And at the transgression of the first Adam,
it was near to Sammael when he took the serpent as a garment.

132.
And it did not hide itself but increased,
and God was 8 angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days.'

133.
And I said,
'And how does it not also shine always, but only in the night?'

134.
And the angel said, 'Listen:
as in the presence of a king, the courtiers cannot speak freely,
so the moon and the stars cannot shine in the presence of the sun;

135.
for the stars are always suspended,
but they are screened by the sun,
and the moon, although it is uninjured, is consumed by the heat of the sun.'

CHAPTER FIVE
Divisions 136-175

3RD BARUCH 10-12

The Fourth Heaven

136.
1 And when I had learnt all these things from the archangel,
he took and led me into a fourth 2 3 heaven.

137.
And I saw a monotonous *[flat]* plain, and in the middle of it a pool of water.

138.
And there were in it multitudes of birds of all kinds,
but not like those here on earth.

139.
But I saw a crane as great as 4 great oxen;

140.
and all the birds were great beyond those in the world.

141.
And I asked the angel,
What 5 is the plain, and what *[is]* the pool,
and what *[are]* the multitudes of birds around it?

142.
And the angel said, Listen, Baruch.

143.
The plain which contains in it the pool and other wonders
is the place where the 6 souls of the righteous come,
when they hold converse, living together in choirs.

144.
But the water is 7 that which the clouds receive,
and rain upon the earth, and the fruits increase.

145.

And I said again to the angel of the Lord,
But *what* are these birds?

146.

And he said to me,
They are those which 8 continually sing praise to the Lord.

147.

And I said,
[Praise the] Lord,
and how do men say that the water which 9 descends in rain is from the sea?

148.

And the angel said,
The water which descends in rain
- this also is from the sea, and from the waters upon earth;

149.

but that which stimulates the fruits is *only* from 10 the latter source. *[fresh water]*

150.

Know therefore henceforth that from this source is what is called the dew of heaven.

The Fifth Heaven

151.

1 And the angel took me and led me thence to a fifth heaven.

And the gate was closed.

152.

And I said,
Lord, is not this gateway open that we may enter?

153.

And the angel said to me,
We cannot enter until Michael comes, who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven;

154.

but wait and thou shalt see 3 the glory of God.

155.

And there was a great sound, as thunder.

156.

And I said, Lord,
what is this sound?

157.

4 And he said to me,
Even now Michael, the commander of the angels, comes down to receive the 5 prayers of men.

158.

And behold a voice came,
Let the gates be opened.

159.

And they opened them, and 6 there was a roar as of thunder.

160.

And Michael came, and the angel who was with me came face to 7 face with him and said,
Hail, my commander, and that of all our order.

161.
And the commander Michael said,
Hail thou also, our brother,
and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life 8 virtuously.

And having saluted one another thus, they stood still.

162.
And I saw the commander Michael said,
Hail thou also, our brother,
and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life 8 virtuously.

And having saluted one another thus, they stood still.

163.
And I saw the commander Michael, holding an exceedingly great vessel;

its depth was as great as the distance from Heaven to 9 Earth,
and its breadth as great as the distance from North to South.

164.
And I said,
Lord, what is that which Michael the archangel is holding?

165.
And he said to me,
This is where the merits of the righteous enter, and such good works as they do,
which are escorted before the heavenly God.

3RD BARUCH 12

166.
1, And as I was conversing with them, behold angels came bearing baskets full of flowers.

167.
And 2 they gave them to Michael.

168.
And I asked the angel,
Lord, who are these, and what are the things 3 brought hither from beside them?

169.
And he said to me,
These are angels *who* are over the 4, 5 righteous.

170.
And the archangel took the baskets, and cast them into the vessel.

171.
And the angel 6 said to me,
These flowers are the merits of the righteous.

172.
And I saw other angels bearing baskets which were *neither* empty, nor full.

173.
And they began to lament, and did not venture to draw near,
7 because they had not the prizes complete.

174.
And Michael cried and said,
Come hither, also, ye 8 angels, bring what ye have brought.

175.
And Michael was exceedingly grieved, and the angel who was with me,
because they did not fill the vessel.

3RD BARUCH 13-17

176.

1 And then came in like manner other angels weeping and bewailing, and saying with fear,

Behold how we are overclouded, O Lord,
for we were delivered to evil men, and we wish to depart from 2 them.

177.

And Michael said,
Ye cannot depart from them, in order that the enemy may not prevail to 3 the end;
but say to me what ye ask.

178.

And they said,
We pray thee, Michael our commander, transfer us from them,
for we cannot abide with wicked and foolish men,
for there is nothing good 4 in them, but every kind of unrighteousness and greed.

179.

For we do not behold them entering*[into Church at all, nor among spiritual fathers,*
nor into any good work.

But where there is murder, there also are they in the midst,

180.

and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, jealousies, drunkenness, strife,
envy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like,

5 then are they workers of such works, and of others worse.

Wherefore we entreat that we may depart from them.

181.

And Michael said to the angels,
Wait till I learn from the Lord what shall come to pass.

3RD BARUCH 14

182.

1 And in that very hour Michael departed, and the doors were closed.

183.

And *[then after the doors were closed]* there was a sound as 2 thunder.

184.

And I asked the angel,
What is the sound?

185.

And he said to me,
Michael is even now presenting the merits of men to God.

3RD BARUCH 15

186.

1 And in that very hour Michael descended,
and the gate was opened; and he brought oil.

187.

2 And as for the angels which brought the baskets which were full, he filled them with oil, saying,

188.

Take it away,
reward our friends an hundredfold,
and those who have laboriously wrought good works.

189.
3 For those who sowed virtuously, also reap virtuously.

190.
And he said also to those bringing the half-empty baskets,

Come hither ye also; take away the reward according as ye brought,
and 4 deliver it to the sons of men.

191.
[Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those who brought the half-empty baskets:

191.
Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus saith the Lord,

193.
Ye are faithful over a few things, I will set you over many things;
enter into the joy of your Lord.]

3RD BARUCH 16

194.
1 And turning he said also to those who brought nothing:
Thus saith the Lord,

Be not sad of 2 countenance, and weep not, nor let the sons of men alone.

195.
But since they angered me in their works,
go and make them envious and angry and provoked against a people that is no people,
a 3 people that has no understanding.

196.
Further, besides these, send forth the caterpillar and the unwinged locust,
and the mildew, and the common locust, *and* hail with lightnings and anger,

and 4 punish them severely with the sword and with death, and their children with demons.

197.
For they did not hearken to my voice,
nor did they observe my commandments, nor do them,

198.
but were despisers of my commandments,
and insolent towards the priests who proclaimed my words to them.

3RD BARUCH 17

197.
1 And while he yet spake, the door was closed, and we withdrew.

198.
2 And the angel took me and 3 restored me to the p/ace where I was at the beginning.

199.
And having come to myself,
I gave glory 4 to God, who counted me worthy of such honor.

200.
Wherefore do ye also, brethren, who obtained such a revelation,

yourselves also glorify God,
so that He also may glorify you, now and ever, and to all eternity.

Amen.

The First Apocalypse of James:
A Public Domain Synoptic Translation

by Mark M. Mattison

This translation has been committed to the public domain. It may be freely copied and used, in whole or in part, changed or unchanged, for any purpose.

This ancient Apocalypse is currently known from three manuscripts. The first, titled "The Apocalypse of James," is commonly referred to as "The First Apocalypse of James" because it is the first of two fragmented tractates with the same name in Nag Hammadi Codex V, a fourth-century codex discovered in 1945. The second, titled simply "James," is the second tractate in the Codex Tchacos, a fourth-century codex discovered sometime in the 1970s and first published in 2006. The third is known from Greek fragments dating to the fourth or fifth century, discovered more recently and first published in 2021. Scholars generally agree that the Apocalypse was first written in Greek in the second century.

This synoptic translation would not have been possible without the prior work of many gifted scholars whose works are listed in the Bibliography. I'm particularly grateful for the help of two outstanding scholars: Lance Jenott, Director of Religious Studies at the Washington University in St. Louis, and Samuel Zinner, a scholar of ancient and modern history, literatures, and linguistics. Both have generously provided not only additional resources, but hours of personal conversation and insights on the more difficult passages. Though this translation has benefitted significantly from these conversations, nevertheless any flaws or mistakes are obviously my own.

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Sigla

.	Uncertain letter
[ ]	Gap in the text *or* reconstructed text
( )	Editorial insertion to clarify the text
< >	Editorial correction of a scribal error
{ }	Text erroneously added by the scribe

Bold numerals in the body of the text denote page numbers of the Coptic codices.

The First Apocalypse of James

Introduction: Jesus and James

Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) V, *3*

24 It was the Lord who said to me, "See now the fulfillment of my liberation. I've explained these things to you, my brother James. I haven't called you 'my brother' for nothing, even though you're not my brother physically; it's not like I don't know you, so when I explain it you, pay attention and listen.

Codex Tchacos (CT), *2*

10 "Since I see (the fulfillment) of my liberation, I'll tell you, my brother James. You're not called 'brother' for nothing, even though [you're] not a brother physically; but you don't know yourself, so I'll tell you who I am. Listen.

The One Who Exists

Nothing existed except the One Who Exists, who can't be named or described. I, who can't be named either, am from the One Who Exists, though [a] number of names have been [given] to me. <You and I> both come from the One Who Exists, but [I] am before you.

Nothing existed except the One Who Exists, who [can't be] named or described [among those who] exist or will exist. But as for me, I'm from the One Who Exists, who can't be named. And while I've been called [by a number of] names, they're not mine; they're [foreign] to me. But I'm [not first]. I'm second from the One Who Exists.

Achamoth (the "Lower Wisdom") Creates Powers and Gods

Since you've asked about the feminine, she existed, but she wasn't [first]. [She] prepared powers and gods for herself. But [she] didn't exist [when] I came out, **25** because I'm an image of the One Who Exists. But I've brought out the image of [the One Who Exists] so that the children (ⲛⲓϣϩⲣⲉ) of the One Who [Exists] may know what belongs to them and what's foreign. Look, I'll reveal (ϭⲱⲗⲡ) every part of this mystery to you, because they'll arrest (ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ) me (the day) after tomorrow, but my liberation will be near."

James said, "Rabbi, you've said 'They'll arrest (ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ) me.' But I, what can I do?"

Since you've asked about the feminine, listen. The feminine existed, but she didn't exist first. She created [powers] and gods for herself. So the One Who Exists, exists from the beginning. The feminine (creator) also exists, but not from the beginning. **11** But I'm the one who came from the image of the One Who Exists to tell you about the One Who Exists. But I also came to tell you about the image of the powers so that the children (ⲛ̄ϣϩⲣⲉ) of the One Who Exists will know what belongs to them and what doesn't belong to them. Look, I've revealed (ϭⲱⲗⲡ) the mystery to you. They'll [arrest (ⲁ̣[ⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ]) me after] 3 days and [will judge] me. [A crowd of elders will condemn] me and [curse] me, but my [liberation] is near."

[But] in response [James] said, "Rabbi, what are you saying? If they arrest (ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ) you, then what will I do?"

The Twelve Rulers

He said to me, "Don't be afraid, James. They'll arrest (ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ) you too. But leave Jerusalem, because it always gives the cup of bitterness to the children (ⲛ̄ϣϩⲣⲉ) of light. A number of rulers live there. But your liberation will be liberated from them. (And) so that you know may know (both) who they are [and] what kinds of things they are, you'll [leave]. And listen, not (about) [all of them], but […].

In response he said to him, "When they arrest (ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ) you and stone you, you'll be liberated. But don't return to Jerusalem, because it always gives the cup of bitterness **12** to the children (ⲛ̄ϣϩⲣⲉ) of light. A number of rulers live there. So your liberation [is] that you liberate yourself from them, and it's for you to know what they're like and how many of them there are – not all of them, but the first ones. Listen!

NHC V, *3*, 24 // CT *2*, 10: ... *my liberation,* i.e., Jesus' liberation from his physical body. Cf. **CT *2*, 11,** where Jesus tells James that "When they arrest you and stone you, you'll be liberated."

NHC V, *3*, 25 // CT *2*, 12: *A number of rulers live there.* Though the lines between "spiritual rulers" and "earthly rulers" is often blurred (cf. note below on **NHC V, *3*, 33 // CT *2*, 20**), these (twelve) rulers were created by *the feminine ... for herself* (cf. **NHC V, *3*, 24 // CT *2*, 10,** above; later in the text, it is revealed that this feminine creator is Achamoth, also known as the "lower wisdom.") According to **NHC V, *3*, 36 // CT *2*, 23,** the twelve rulers are "prototypes" of the twelve disciples and their seventy-two companions (for seventy or seventy-two disciples after the twelve, cf. Luke 10:1,17). Just prior to his false arrest and martyrdom, James disabuses the twelve disciples of their misconceptions in **NHC V, *3*, 42.**

"The twelve […] rulers […], each [one of them …] **26** over his own group of Seven."

James said, "Are there then, Rabbi, twelve groups of Seven and not seven, as there are in the Scriptures?"

The Lord said, "James, the one who spoke through this Scripture understood only up to a point. But I'll reveal (ϭⲱⲗⲡ) to you what has come from the One who can't be numbered. I'll show you concerning their number. As for what has come from the One who can't be measured, I'll show you concerning their measure."

"Those I've brought with me from […] down […] rulers, each one on his [group of Seven]."

In response [James] said, "Are there then, Rabbi, [12] groups of Seven and not seven, [as] we have it in the Scripture?"

Jesus said, "The one who spoke through this very Scripture reported only up to the point that he was able to understand. But I'll reveal (ϭⲱⲗⲡ) to you what has come from the One who can't be numbered and has made known his number, what has come from the One who can't be measured and has made known their **13** measure."

The Seventy-Two Companions

James said, "So then, Rabbi, look, I've received their number. There are seventy-two <companions. Who> are they?"

The Lord said, "These are the seventy-two lesser heavens that belong to them. These are the powers of all their might, and they were set up by them; and they're the ones that have been assigned over every place under the [authority] of the twelve rulers. The lesser power that's in them [brought forth] for herself angels [and] hosts that can't be numbered. But [the One Who Exists] was given […] because of […] the One Who Exists […] that can't be numbered. **27** If you want to number them now, you won't be able to (do it) until you cast out from yourself blind thought, this bond of flesh that surrounds you. And then you'll reach up to the One Who Exists, and you won't be James anymore, but you're the One Who Exists. And all those who aren't numbered will all have been named."

"If then, Rabbi, I'll withdraw from the number of the rulers, who are these seventy-two companions?"

He said, "<These> are the 72 lesser heavens which are among them. [But] those that are greater than they are the powers that are above, those through which the entire axis (of the universe) stands and [… can't be numbered …] but […] because of the […] that's in you. They're innumerable. But if you [want], you'll count them, but you can't do it now unless you cast out the blindness that's in your heart [and] this very bond that's in the flesh. Then you'll reach up to the One Who Exists, and you won't be James anymore, **14** but one who in every way is in the One Who Exists. Those who aren't numbered will be [counted] before you, and all that can't be measured [will be] measured for you."

The Opposition of the Powers

"Rabbi, how will I reach up to the One Who Exists, since all these powers and these hosts are armed against me?"

He said to me, "These powers aren't armed against just you, but they're armed against others. These powers are armed against me, and they're armed with other [powers]. But they're armed against me [in] judgment. [But] they don't [judge] me […] to me in it […] through them […] in this place […] sufferings (ⲙⲛⲟⲟϩ). I'll […] he'll […] **28** and I won't rebuke them, but there'll be a silence and a hidden mystery in me. But I'm afraid in the face of their wrath."

James said, "Rabbi, if they arm themselves against you, then there's no blame.

You've come with knowledge
to rebuke their forgetfulness;
you've come with memory
to rebuke their ignorance.

In response he said, "Rabbi, how will I reach up to the One Who Exists, since so many powers fight [against me?]"

"[…] but [a silence and a] hidden mystery is in me. But I'm afraid in the face of [their wrath]."

"If they've armed themselves against you like this, how much more (will they arm themselves against) me? Because, Rabbi,

You've come [with] knowledge
to rebuke their ignorance,
and you've come with memory
to rebuke their forgetfulness.

NHC V, *3*, 26: ... *seventy-two <companions. Who> are they?* Following Wolf-Peter Funk, "The Significance of the Tchacos Codex for Understanding the *First Apocalypse of James"* in April DeConick, ed., *The Codex Judas papers: proceedings of the International Congress on the Tchacos Codex held at Rice University, Housting, Texas, March 13-16, 2008* [Brill], 2009, 518-519. For similar cosmogonies featuring the numbers "12" and "72," see *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II, *5,* 105), *Eugnostos the Blessed* (NHC III, *3,* 83), and *The Gospel of Judas* (CT *4,* 49).

Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) V, *3*

But I'm <not> worried about you:
Because (although) you've come down into a great ignorance,
but you weren't corrupted by anything in it.
Because you've come down into thoughtlessness,
and your memory stayed with you.

You walked in mud,
and your clothes weren't corrupted,
nor were you buried in their filth,
nor did they lay hold of you (ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⲁⲛ).

And I wasn't like them, but I clothed myself with everything that's theirs.
There's forgetfulness in me,
and I remember things that aren't theirs.
[…] in […] and I in their […] I found knowledge.

Codex Tchacos (CT), *2*

15 But I'm not worried about you, because
(although) you've come to ignorance,
and you weren't corrupted by anything in it.
You came to forgetfulness,
and memory was within you.

You walked in the mud,
and you weren't corrupted.
They didn't receive your vengeance (ⲙ̄ⲡ̣ⲫ̣ⲩⲧⲁϩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲃⲁ).

Now, I'm not like this, but all the forgetfulness with which I've clothed [myself] is [from them, and] I don't remember.
Those who are mine don't know me, [but] I'm fully in the know.

James' Liberation

"I'm not [concerned] for their sufferings (ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ) […] but I've become afraid [of them because] they (have power to) conquer (ⲁⲙ[ⲁϩ]ⲧⲉ). Because what **29** will they do? What will I be able to say? What statement will I be able to make (ⲛ̄ⲥϧⲁⲭⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲭⲟⲟϥ) to escape them?"

The Lord said, "James, I praise your understanding (ⲇⲓⲁⲛⲟⲓⲁ) and your fear. If you continue devoting yourself (ⲫⲓⲗⲟⲡⲟⲛⲓ), don't be concerned about anything except your liberation. Because look, I'll complete this destiny on the earth as I have said from the heavens, and I'll reveal (ⲥⲱⲗⲡ) your liberation to you."

"And I'm not concerned for the torments that are in this place, [but] about their (power to) conquer (ⲉⲧ̣ⲃ̣ⲉ̣[ⲡ]ⲉ̣ⲅⲁⲙⲁϩ[ⲧⲉ]). What [will you do? What] will you say? By what statement (ⲛ̄ⲥϧⲁⲭⲉ) [will I] be saved?"

"James, I praise your understanding (ϩⲏⲧ), and fear is making you so devoted (ⲑⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲓϩⲓⲥⲉ). Don't be concerned about anything except your liberation. Look, I'll go and prepare this very destiny on the earth as it has been prepared in the heavens, **16** and after this I'll reveal (ⲥⲱⲗⲡ) your liberation to you."

Overcoming the Rulers

James said, "Rabbi, how? Will you appear (ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ) to us again after these things – after they arrest (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) you, and you complete this destiny, and you go up to the One Who Exists?"

The Lord said, "James, after these things, I'll reveal (ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ) everything to you – not just for you, but for the unbelief of people – so that [faith will] be among them. For many will [reach] faith [and] will increase [in it], until [they come]

"Rabbi, how? Will you appear (ⲟ̣ⲩϣⲛ̣ϩ) to me after these things – after you're judged, and the destiny is prepared, and you've reached the One Who Exists?"

"James, after these things, I'll appear (ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ) to you in this place not just <for you>, [but] for the [unbelief] of people, because how else would [faith] be among them? [But many] will turn to faith and grow in it, until they come

Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) V, *3*

[to] knowledge. **30** And after this, I'll appear (ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ) to refute (ⲥⲟϩⲉ) the rulers, and I'll reveal (ⲟⲩⲫ̣ⲛϩ) to them that this one can't be overcome (ⲁⲧⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ). If they overcome (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) him, then he'll overcome (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) them all. But now, I'll go. Remember what I've said, and let it sink in."

Codex Tchacos (CT), *2*

to knowledge. And for this, I'll [appear] ([ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ]) to rebuke (ϧⲡⲓⲟ) the rulers, [and I'll] reveal ([ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲛϩ) to them that there's one who can't be overcome (ⲁⲧⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ). When they overcome (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) him, then he overcomes (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ). So now, I'll go. Remember what I've said, and let it grow within you."

P.Oxy. LXXXVI 5533

"[…] to knowledge. Because of this, I'll appear (φανήσομαι) to refute (ἀπέλεγξιν) the rulers, to show (φ[α]νερῶσαι) them this: the one who can't be overcome (ἀκράτητος).

When he's overcome (κρατηθῇ), then he'll overcome (κεκράτηκεν) all. Now, I'm going. Remember what's been said and let [it] grow in you."

Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) V, *3*	Codex Tchacos (CT), *2*	P.Oxy. LXXXVI 5533
James said, "Lord, I'll hurry to do what you've said."	"I'll hurry, Rabbi, to do what you've said."	"I'll hurry […]"
	The Passion	
The Lord <left> and fulfilled what was fitting. When James heard of his sufferings (ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟⲩ) and he was deeply distressed (ⲁⲩⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲏⲧ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ), they were waiting for the sign (ⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ) of his coming.	And Jesus went and prepared what was fitting for him. But James heard about his sufferings (ⲛ̄ⲓⲥⲉ) and **17** was deeply grieved (ⲁⲩⲁⲩⲡⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲯⲁ), and he awaited his coming. The only thing he had to console himself with was waiting for his coming.	[But] James heard of his [sufferings] (τ[ὰ] π[ά]θ[η] αὐτοῦ) and was grieved ([λυπ]ή[θ]η), and he awaited his coming.
	Jesus Appears to James	
But he came after some days. And James was walking on the mountain called "Gaugelan" with his disciples, who listened to him [since they] were distressed ([ⲯ]ⲱⲯ ⲛ̄ⲩⲏⲧ). And they had him as a comforter. They said, "This is the second [teacher ([ⲣⲉⲩϯⲥⲃ]ⲱ)." Then the] crowd dispersed, but James stayed [by himself] praying [fervently] ([ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ]), as **31** he was accustomed to doing (ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲡ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ). And the Lord appeared to him. Then he stopped praying, hugged him (ⲙⲁⲗⲯ<ⲕ> ⲛ̄ⲩⲏⲧⲟ), and kissed him. He said, "Rabbi, I've found you! I heard about the sufferings (ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟⲩ) you endured, and my emotional suffering was great (ⲁⲓ̈ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲯ ⲛ̄ⲩⲏⲧ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ). You know how much I care about you. That's why, I think, I didn't want to see this (group of) people (ⲉⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲗⲁⲟⲥ) (anymore). They must be judged for the things they've done, because what they've done isn't right."	And it was two days, and look! James was ministering on the [mountain] called "Galgelam" […] there […] with his disciples [who] listened to him willingly (ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲯⲛ̄ⲁⲩ). And they had him as a comforter. They said, "This is the second teacher (ⲥⲁⲯ)." And look! They dispersed, and James stayed by himself and prayed fervently (ⲙ̄ⲡⲯⲁ), as he was accustomed to doing (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲯⲉ). But suddenly Jesus appeared to him, and he stopped praying and started to hug him (ⲭⲓⲧⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ). This is what he said: "Rabbi, I left you! I heard what you endured, and I was very grieved (ⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲩⲡⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲯⲁ). You know how much I care about you. That's why I didn't want to be with you, **18** so that I wouldn't see this very (group of) people (ⲉⲡⲉⲉⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ). It will be condemned, because what they've done is horrible to see."	[But] he was beside him (again) after [2] days, [and look! James] was going to the mountain called "Golgoul" with [his own] disciples who gladly (ἡδέως) heard him. [And] they had him for encouragement. They said, "[This] is the second teacher ([δ]ιδάσκαλως)." And look! The people (ὁ λ<α>ός) were scattered […] was left [by himself …] pray […] […] to him the [Lord … stopping] the prayer, he started to hug him ([λα]βε[ῖν] αὐτόν). He said, ["Rabbi], I have you! I heard what you [suffered (ἔπ[αθες]) and] I was grieved (ἐλυπήθην) […]"
	Jesus Encourages James	
Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) V, *3*		**Codex Tchacos (CT), *2***
The Lord said, "James, don't be concerned about me or about this people (ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲗⲁⲟⲥ). I'm the One who's within me. At no time did I suffer (ⲙ̄ⲕⲁⲯ)		"James, don't be concerned about the people (ⲡ̣ⲓ̣[ⲗ]ⲟ[ⲥ]) or about me, because I'm the One who's within myself from the beginning. For I didn't suffer (ⲯⲓⲥⲉ)

NHC V, *3*, 30: … *the Lord <left> ... Ibid.,* 519-520. *... fulfilled what was fitting* **// CT *2*, 16:** *... prepared what was fitting for him,* i.e., Jesus left James in order to be crucified so that his physical body would die.

NHC V, *3*, 30 // CT *2*, 17 // P.Oxy. LXXXVI 5533: *... the second teacher,* i.e., second after Jesus, or Jesus' successor.

NHC V, *3*, 31: ⲙⲁⲗⲯ<ⲕ>. Lance Jenott proposed this reconstruction based on ⲙⲟⲗⲯⲕ on page **32** in a conversation on June 28, 2023.

anything, nor was I harmed (ϩⲓⲥⲉ), and this (group of) people (ⲡⲉⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ) didn't do me any harm (ϩⲟⲟⲩ). But it was inflicted on an image (ⲟⲩⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ) of the rulers, and it was right that it should be [destroyed] by them. […] But the rulers […] he [came to his end]. But [you're concerned, because the] just [God] is angry with [you, since you've been] **32** a servant to him. That's why your name is 'James the Just.' You see how you'll sober up when you've seen me. And you stopped this prayer since you're a just man of God, and then you hugged (ⲙⲟⲗϩⲕ) and kissed me.

"Truly, I tell you that you've stirred up great anger and wrath against yourself, but (that's) so that these other things might happen."

in any way, nor did I die; and this very (group of) people (ⲡⲉⲉⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ) didn't do any harm (ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ). But it was inflicted on the image (ⲡⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ) of the rulers, for whom <it was right> to be prepared. It was the rulers who prepared him, then he came to his end. But watch out, because the just God is angry, for you've been a servant to him. That's why you received the name 'James the Just.' See, already you've been released, since you'll know me and you'll know yourself. And you yourself will stop the prayer that the just God prayed." **19** And as for me, he hugged (ϫⲓ) me and kissed me.

"Truly, I tell you that he's stirred up his anger and wrath against you, but that it's right that these things also happen."

But James was fainthearted. He wept, and his emotional suffering was great (ⲁϥⲙⲕⲁϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ). And they both sat down on a rock.

The Lord said to him, "James, that's how you'll come by your sufferings (ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ), but don't be sad, because the flesh is weak. It'll receive what's appointed for it. But you, don't be [faint]hearted or afraid." The Lord [stopped].

[But] when James heard these things, he wiped away his tears in [his eyes and] was greatly relieved (ϩⲁϥⲉⲥⲓ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) […] that was [in him].

But James was fainthearted. [He wept], and he was very grieved (ⲁϥϫⲩⲡⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲯⲩ). [And] they both sat down on the rock.

[Jesus] said to James, "James, it's right that these things will happen to you, but don't be grieved. The flesh is weak. It'll receive what's assigned to it. But you, don't be fainthearted, and don't fear anything."

When James heard these things, he wiped away his tears and was greatly relieved from the grief (ⲁϥⲉⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲯⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛⲧⲁⲩⲡⲏ) that was in him.

Jesus Tells James How to Escape the "Toll Collectors"

The Lord [said] to [him, "James], look, I'll **33** reveal your liberation to you. When they'll arrest (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) [you] and you come by these sufferings (ⲙ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ), a crowd will arm themselves against you so that <they> may arrest (<ⲁ>ⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) you. But three of them especially (ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲟ) will capture (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) you – those who sit as toll collectors. Not only do they demand toll, but they steal souls (too).

"Then when you fall into their hands, one of them who is a guard will say to you, 'Who or where are you from?'

"You're to say to him, 'I'm a son, and I'm from the Father.'

"He'll say to you, 'What son? And what kind of Father do you belong to?'

"You're to say to him, 'I'm from the Father Who [Exists] from the Beginning, but a Son who is in the One Who Exists from the Beginning.'

"[He'll say] to you, 'And [where have you come from]?'

"You're to [say to him, 'I came] from the One Who [Exists from the Beginning].'

But Jesus said to him, "Look, now I'll reveal your liberation to you. When they'll arrest (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) you, you'll face these things. Many will oppose you because of **20** the word of your arrest (ⲡⲯⲁϫⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ). But among them, there are three who sit there by themselves as toll collectors. Not only do they receive toll for sins, but they demand and take souls (too).

"[When] you fall by the hands of many (of them), one of them – because he's [a guard] – will ask you, 'Who or where are you from?'

"You'll say to him, 'I'm the Son, and I'm from the Father.'

"And he'll [say] to you, 'What Son? Or what Father?'

"You'll say to [him], 'The Father who exists from the [beginning], but the Son who is in the One Who Exists from the Beginning.'

"And he'll say to you, 'Where have you come from?'

"You'll say to him, 'From the One Who Exists from the Beginning.'

"And he'll ask <you>, 'Why have you come?'

NHC V, *3*, 31 // CT *2*, 18: ... *it was inflicted on an image* / *the image* (ⲟⲩⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ / ⲡⲧⲩⲡⲟⲥ) *of the rulers*. The essential person of Jesus did not suffer and die; rather his physical body, created in the image of the lower spiritual rulers, suffered and died.

NHC V, *3*, 33 // CT *2*, 20: ... *arrest* ... *three* ... *toll collectors*. The thin line between "earthly rulers" and "spiritual rulers" is most apparent here. What begins as an arrest by earthly authorities (cf. **CT *2*, 29, 30**) blends seamlessly into an encounter with three spiritual beings who are, as it were, hostile "gatekeepers" to be overcome in a heavenly ascent.

"[…] he'll say to you, 'Why **34** […] these strangers?'

"You're to say to him, 'They're not all strangers, [but] some are from Achamoth, who's the female (creator). And she created them when she brought down the generation existing from the beginning. So then, they're not strangers, but they're ours. On the one hand, they're ours, since she who lords over them is from the One Who Exists from the Beginning. On the other hand, they're strangers, since the One Who Exists from the Beginning didn't unite with her when she created them.'

"He'll also say to you, 'Where will you go?'

"You're to say to him, 'I'll return to the place from which I've come.'

"If you say these things, you'll escape their attacks.

"But when you fall into the hands of [these] three who capture (ⲁⲙⲁⲍⲧⲉ) (and) steal souls in that place […] these you […] a vessel [that's] more [precious] than [the female (creator) who's Achamoth …] **35** […] is your Mother. Because <if> your Mother is [ignorant] about her root, you won't [ever] become sober [either]. But I'll call [upon] the imperishable knowledge, who's Sophia, who's in the Father (and) who's the Mother of Achamoth. Achamoth has no father, nor (any) male [partner], but she's [a female] from a female. She created you without a male, since she was by herself. She's ignorant of who [lives through] her Mother, because she thought that she existed by herself. But [I] will cry out to her Mother.'

"And then they'll be troubled, blaming their root and the generation [of] their Mother. [But] you'll go up to [what] is yours [… cast off their fetters …]

"You'll say, 'I've come (both) to all those who are mine and to those who aren't mine.'

"He'll say, 'Then what have you come **21** after? Those who aren't yours?'

"And you'll say, 'They're not all strangers to me, but (to) Achamoth, that is, the female (creator), and she's created these for herself. But she brought down the generation that exists from the beginning. So then, they're [not] strangers to [me, but] they're mine. [On the one hand], they're mine, since [she who] lords over them is from the One Who Exists from the Beginning. On the other hand, they've become [strangers], since the One Who Exists from the Beginning didn't unite with her when she created them.'

"And he'll say, 'Now where will you go?'

"You'll say, 'I'll go up to those who are mine, to the place from which I've come.'

"If you say these things, you'll escape from all of them.

"But when you come to the three who take the soul, there's a great struggle in that place if you say to them, 'I'm a vessel more precious than Achamoth, the female (creator). She created you, **22** and if your Mother is ignorant of her own root, then when will you become sober? But I've called (upon) the undefiled Sophia, who's in the [Father], the Mother of Achamoth. But her (Achamoth's) partner [wasn't] upright [with the] female (creator). Without a male (partner), [she] created you by herself. [She] became ignorant of her mother {it is she, by herself, who's ignorant of her mother}. And she thought that she was by herself. But I've called her Mother.'

"And then they'll all be troubled, and they'll blame their own root and the generation of their Mother. But you'll go up to your roots <…>, the chains that are their chains.

The Transmission of Jesus' Revelation to James

36 "[…] One Who [Exists] from the Beginning, [and the] (proto)types of the twelve disciples, and the [seventy]-two companions, [and the female] (creator) Achamoth, which translates as 'Sophia,' and who I am, and the imperishable Sophia, through whom you'll be liberated with all the children (ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ) of the One Who Exists – these things they've known and have hidden [within] themselves. You're to hide <these things> within you, but keep quiet. But you're to reveal them to Addai when you [will leave],

"Look, James, I've revealed to you who I am, and the One Who Exists from the Beginning, and the **23** (proto)types of the twelve disciples, [and] the 72 companions, and Achamoth [the female] (creator), which translates as 'Sophia,' and who you are, and who the undefiled Sophia is, through whom you'll be liberated, [and] all the children (ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ) of the One Who Exists – they've known themselves [and] are hidden within themselves. [You must keep] these things I've said [hidden], and they'll be within you, and you'll keep quiet about them. But you'll reveal them to Addai when you leave the flesh, and immediately this very land will struggle (ⲙⲓⲱⲉ).

NHC V, *3*, 36 // CT *2*, 23: ... *Achamoth, which translates as 'Sophia.'* "Achamoth" is *Hokhma,* the Hebrew word for "wisdom," whereas *Sophia* is the Greek word for "wisdom." Though these two words mean the same thing, in this text Sophia designates the "higher wisdom," i.e., the Mother of Achamoth (**NHC V, *3*, 35 // CT *2*, 22**), who in turn is the "lower wisdom." Cf. Jas. 3:14-17 for the two wisdoms.

NHC V, *3*, 36: ... *when you [will leave]* ... **// CT *2*, 23:** ... *when you leave the flesh* .... According to Josephus, James was executed shortly after the death of Porcius Festus around 62 CE (*Jewish Antiquities,* 20.9.1). Here the text introduces a narrative of an alternative apostolic succession; not through the twelve disciples, but rather through James and *Addai,* legendary apostle to the East. ... *immediately they'll [make] war with this land* / ... *immediately this very land will struggle.* The Jewish-Roman war of 66-73 CE.

Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) V, *3*

and immediately they'll [make] war (ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲙ̄[ⲟ]ⲗⲉⲙⲓ) with this land. […], then, for the one who dwells in Jerusalem. But let Addai take these things to heart.In the tenth year, Addai is to sit down and write them out. And [when] he's written them out […] and they'll be given [to Manael]. He has [this name …]

Codex Tchacos (CT), *2*

And she'll drink her cup, because she angered the God who dwells in Jerusalem. But let Addai keep these words in his heart for ten years, and then he'll dare to sit down and write them out. And then, when he's written them out, they'll be taken from him and given to Manael. This is a holy name, but it means the same thing as **24** Masphel. Let this person keep this very book as an inheritance for the children (ⲛⲱⲏⲣⲉ).

Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) V, *3*

37 "[… when he … his] little [son] (ⲱ[ⲏⲣⲉ]), his [name] will be called 'Levi.' Then he's to bring out words […] from […] said earlier. […] a woman […] Jerusalem from her [generation, and] he'll have [two] sons with her (ⲉⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏ[ⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲁ]ⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̄). [They are] to inherit these things, [and] the understanding of the one who […] exalts. And they are to receive [these] through him from his mind. But the younger is the greater of them. And let these things be (given) to him and hidden within him until [he] reaches the age of seventeen years. […]

38 "[…] be delivered ([ⲛ]ⲟⲩϩⲙ̄) through [him]. He'll be severely (ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ) persecuted at the hands of his companions […] he'll be proclaimed [through them]. And as for this word,

Codex Tchacos (CT), *2*

"But a holy offspring (ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲉⲃ) will come out from him, and he's worthy to inherit these [things] I've said.

"But when his little son (ⲱⲏⲣⲉ) grows [up …], he'll be given the name Levi. Then the land will make war again (ⲟⲛ ⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲓ). But Levi will hide there as a little child (ⲱⲏⲣⲉ), and not a word that I've said will come from his lips. But he'll marry a woman from Jerusalem from his generation, and he'll have two sons with her (ⲛ̄ⲭⲡⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛϩⲏⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ), and the <second> will inherit these things. The heart of the older one will be closed, and they'll be taken from his heart, but the younger one will grow up with them and will keep them hidden until he reaches his seventeenth year. **25** And then the land will go to war (ⲡⲟⲗⲉⲙⲉⲓ), but since he's not there, he'll be guarded according to providence (ⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ).

"And he'll [grow] up and conquer (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) many provinces. Many will be delivered (ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ) through him, and he'll make this word become a rule (ⲇⲟⲅⲙⲁ) for many provinces. But he'll be severely (ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ[ⲁ]) persecuted by his [companions …]. And he'll be attacked by them, and they'll

P.Oxy. LXXXVI 5533

"[…] because a holy spirit from him, and he'll be deemed worthy to inherit these things said before.

"When his [younger son] ([υ(ió)]ς) inherits […] Levi, then the land itself will be at war (πολεμηθήσεται). [But] Levi will hide them wisely […]

[…] his [mind], but the younger will grow in them and keep [them] hidden [...] 17 years old. And [then] the [land itself] will be at war (while) he's not really (there), but [according to providence (πρόνοιαν) he'll be guarded …]

CT 2, 23: ... *the God who dwells in Jerusalem,* i.e., *Addonaios* / *Addon* ("Adonai"); cf. **NHC V, *3*, 39 // CT *2*, 26.**

NHC V, *3*, 37 // CT *2*, 24: ... *Levi.* Though Levi the disciple is featured in texts like the *The Gospel of Mary* (BG 8502, *1,* 18) and *The Gospel of Peter* (*P.Cair.* 10759), this Levi, son of Manael / Masphel, is probably not inspired by Levi son of Alphaeus (Mark 2:14,15; Luke 3:24; 5:27-29) but rather Levi the patriarch. The trope of the younger of two sons is inspired by the book of Genesis.

NHC V, *3*, 37 // CT *2*, 24 // P.Oxy. LXXXVI 5533: ... *the younger.* Unlike the other figures in this apostolic succession (James > Addai > Manael / Masphael > Levi), Levi's younger son isn't named, perhaps because he's a contemporary, or a near-contemporary, of the second-century author.

CT *2*, 24: *Then the land will make war again*. Most likely the Kitos War of 115 to 117 CE.

CT *2*, 25: *And then the land will go to war.* Most likely the Bar Kokhba revolt of 132 – 135 CE, seventeen years after the beginning of the Kitos War.

[they'll proclaim] it. [Then it'll become] an offspring (ϭⲣⲁϭ) of […]"

attack this very word, but these things will happen to overcome (ⲁ̣ⲙⲁⲭⲧⲉ) the rulers."

[…] and [this word will be scorned by them …]"

The Seven Women Disciples

James said, "[I'm] content […] and they are […] my soul. Yet I ask of you [another thing]: Who are the [seven] women who've [become] your disciples? And look, all women bless you. I'm also amazed at how some [powerless] vessels have become strong through a perception that's in them.

[The] Lord [said], "It's well that you're [amazed ... concerning …]

"Rabbi, I've come to believe all of these things, and all is well in my soul. Yet I'll ask you this: Who are the seven women who've become your disciples and whom all the generations bless? And I'm amazed that they're in weak vessels, and (yet) they've found powers and perceptions."

"James, it's well that you're amazed, but the Son of Humanity (ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ) has come and revealed **26** the secrets concerning the children (ⲛ̅ϣⲏⲣⲉ) of light, so that they may have the secrets when they're revealed. The seven women are seven spirits who are included in the Scripture:

"Rabbi […] and […]"

"[…] of the light [so that they may be in the] manifest [even if they] have these things [hidden. The 7] women [are] the 7 spirits […]"

Nag Hammadi Codex (NHC) V, 3

39 "[…] A spirit [of wisdom (ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ)],
a spirit of thought (ⲙⲉⲩ[ⲉ]),
a spirit of counsel (ϣⲟⲩ[ⲛⲉ]) and [power (ϭⲟⲙ)],
a spirit [of understanding (ⲛⲟⲩⲥ)],
a spirit of knowledge (ⲅⲛⲱ[ⲥⲓⲥ]),
a spirit of their fear (ⲭⲟⲧ[ⲉ]).

"[Then] when we passed through [the region] of the [great] ruler whose [name] is Addonaios, [I went in] by him. And [he] was ignorant. [And] when I left him, [he] thought I was [a] son of his. He was as gracious [to me] at that time as (to) a son of his. And then, before I appeared in this place, (the spirits) were cast out among [these] people ([ⲡⲉⲓ]ⲗⲁⲟⲥ). But from [this place] of heaven, the prophets […]."

40 [… Then James said], "Rabbi, [you've persuaded] me [about] these things. Among the seven who have been

Codex Tchacos (CT), 2

"A spirit of wisdom (ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ) and of thought (ⲥⲁⲃⲉ),

a spirit of counsel (ⲥⲟⲩⲛ̣[ⲉ]) [and power (ϭ̣[ⲟ]ⲙ)],
[a spirit of] understanding (ⲛⲟⲩⲥ) and knowledge (ⲥⲟ[ⲟⲩⲛⲉ]),
a spirit of fear (ⲭⲟⲧⲉ).

"When <I> passed through the land of the great ruler who's called Addon, I went in by him. And he was ignorant. But when I left him, he thought [I] was his son. And he was as gracious to me as to his own son. And before I appeared in these places, these (spirits already) were there among this very people (ⲡⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ), where no prophets spoke without the seven spirits. And these are the seven spirits who preached concerning me through the mouths of people (ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) **27** as they were able to speak out, because I hadn't yet spoken with all power. But I came and brought it to completion, and I'm not yet [completed]."

"You've also persuaded me about all of these things. So, Rabbi, because it (i.e., the people) has received the seven and left them together, do you have some who are

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NHC V, 3, 38 // CT 2, 25: *... the seven women who've become your disciples.* On seven women disciples, cf. the opening line of *The Sophia of Jesus Christ:* "After he rose from the dead, his twelve disciples and seven women continued to be his followers." Marvin Meyer, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures* (HarperOne), 2007, 287.

NHC V, 3, 39 // CT 2, 26: *A spirit of wisdom ...* A modified version of Isaiah 11:2.

CT 2, 27: *... it (the people).* Funk translates ϥ as "he," writing that this passage "is slightly obfuscated by the unwarranted introduction of a third person singular" (Wolf-Peter Funk, "The Significance of the Tchacos Codex for Understanding the *First Apocalypse of James,"* 513. Nagel translates ϥ as "es" and regards "das Volk" as the antecedent (Peter Nagel, *Codex apocryphus gnosticus Novi Testamenti* [Mohr Siebeck],

[presented] as a group, who is more [honored than the others]?"

The Lord said, "[James], I praise you […] about details […] words […] Truly, you're worthy […] because cast out from [yourself the] cup, which is bitterness (ⲥⲓⲱ[ϵ]). None of [the rulers will be able] to stand against you, because [you've begun] to recognize [those who] are [yours], from the beginning to the end. Cast out from yourself all lawlessness, and watch out (ⲙⲁ†ϩⲧⲏⲕ) lest they be jealous of you. When you [speak] these words of this [perception], persuade this […], Salome, Mary […, and] Arsinoe […]

41 "[…] Since the priest […] receives […] he [assigns] these burnt offerings and offerings ([ⲛ̄]ϩⲉⲛⲟⲗⲓⲁ ⲙⲛ̄[ϩⲉⲛⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫ]ⲟⲣⲁ). But I […] not in this way, but [I receive the] firstfruits of those [impure that I send them] up, so that the [true] power may be revealed ([ⲟⲩ]ⲱⲛ̄ϩ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ). The perishable has gone [up] to the imperishable, and the work of the feminine has reached the work of this masculine.

James said, "Rabbi, into these three, then, has their […] been cast, because they've been despised and persecuted by […]"

42 […] "[…] and Joanna […] Look […] everything […] from anyone […], because you've received the [beginning] of knowledge […] that what is the […] walk (ⲙⲟⲟⲩ[ϵ]) […] you will […]. But I'll go […] and I'll appear (ⲟⲩⲱ[ⲛϩ̄]) […] because they trust you [… be] content with their [blessing] and deliverance (ⲟⲩⲭⲁⲓ), and this revelation (ⲡⲉⲓⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) will come to pass (ⲯⲱⲡⲉ)."

more honored than others?"

"I praise you (even) more, O James, because you ask about details, and you won't say a single idle word. Truly, [you're] worthy of your own root, and you've cast out from yourself the cup of drunkenness (†[ϩ]ϵ). Not a single ruler can stand against you, because you've begun to recognize those who are yours. Cast far from yourself all ignorance, and watch out (ⲛⲁⲩ) lest they become jealous of you because you've received these words, that is, the knowledge that exalts. Also, be persuaded by this other (example), which is that of Salome, Mary, and Arsinoe, whom I'll **28** introduce to you, because they're worthy of the One Who Exists, and because they've become sober and have been healed from the blindness in their hearts, and they've recognized who I am.

"This (is) according to the providence of the Father, because he's sent me as a priest, and in every place imaginable (ⲥⲉⲏⲡ) gives to me the firstfruits and the firstborn. [The priest of] this [world] receives the firstfruits and assigns sacrifices and offerings (ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ϩⲓⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲟⲣ̣[ⲁ]). But I'm not like this. Rather, I receive the firstfruits of those who are defiled, that I may send them up [un]defiled, so that the true power will be revealed (ⲟⲩⲫⲛ̣ϩ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ); because the defiled has separated from what's undefiled, and the work of the <female> has reached the (work of the) male.

"Rabbi, the three, then, have been destroyed and haven't suffered, when they were worthy and (yet) persecuted by [others] and things were said that aren't (true)."

"James, it's completely unnecessary for anyone **29** to be destroyed. These very three are beyond a place of faith [because they've received ([ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲅ]ⲛ̣ⲣ̄) the] hidden knowledge. These are the names [of] the three: Sapphira and Susanna and Joanna. Look, I've revealed everything to you, and you're not a stranger to these very words, because you've received the beginning of knowledge […] from those who are mine. Now walk around (ⲙⲟⲟⲩϵ), and you [will find] the rest of them. [But] I [will] go to these and [appear] (ⲟⲩⲱⲛϩ̄) to them, because they […]"

2023, 111). ... *by this other (example).* Cf. Mikael C. Haxby, *The First Apocalypse of James: Martyrdom and Sexual Difference,* Doctoral dissertation (Harvard University), 2013, 128.

NHC V, *3*, 41 // CT *2*, 28: ... *firstfruits* ... The aforementioned women disciples / prophetesses.

CT *2*, 28, 29: ... *the three, then, have been destroyed and haven't suffered ... it's completely unnecessary for anyone to be destroyed.* At the top of page 29, these three women disciples / prophetesses are identified as Sapphira, Susanna, and Joanna. Like Jesus, they did not suffer and die, but rather their physical bodies suffered and died. Cf. the note on **NHC V, *3*, 31 // CT *2*, 18,** above.

CT *2*, 29: ... *beyond a place of faith.* Literally, "separated (ⲡⲟⲣ[ⲭ ϵ]ⲃⲟⲗ) from a place of faith." Cf. page **16:** "[But many] will turn to faith and grow in it, until they come to knowledge." This point is made by Antti Marjanen, "The Seven Women Disciples in the Two Versions of the *First Apocalypse of James*" in April DeConick, ed., *The Codex Judas papers: proceedings of the International Congress on the Tchacos Codex held at Rice University, Housting, Texas, March 13-16, 2008* (Brill), 2009, 543: "'...becoming separated from a ⲙⲁ of faith' and 'having received the hidden knowledge' describe the two phases of a progression of growth one is supposed to go through." ... *[because they've received* ([ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲅ]ⲛ̣ⲣ̄)] ... Cf. Marjanen, *ibid.,* 542, citing Johanna Brankaer and Hans-G. Bethge, *Codex Tchacos. Texte und Analysen.* Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristliche Literatur 161 (Walter de Gruyter), 2007, 124.

James Reproves the Twelve

And he went at that time [immediately] and reproved the twelve, and he cast assumptions (ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲧⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ) [out] of them [concerning] the way of knowledge.

[… the] twelve [… un]belief […] he said to them […] and a knowledge […] he persuaded them […] from them […] the rest they […].

Conclusion: The Arrest and Martyrdom of James

43 […] but most of [the judges], when they saw [that] nothing could be taken up [against him, left] him alone. [But the rest] and the people (ⲡⲗⲁ̣[ⲟ]ⲥ), they […], "Let us [take] this (one) from this earth, because [he's] not [worthy] to live." These (judges) were afraid. They arose and said, "We have no part in this blood, because a just man will be destroyed through injustice."

James left so that […]

44 […] My] Father, [who's in the heavens, forgive] them, because [they know] not […]."

It happened after […] they arrested (ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) James in the place of another man **30** against whom they had made accusations, because he had fled from […] but […] prison, rather it was another one named James who came out of the prison. They arrested (ⲁ̣ⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ) this (one) [instead] of him. They brought him before the judges. But most of the judges saw that he was without sin. They [left him] alone. And the others and [the people] (ⲡⲁ̣[ⲟⲥ]) all stood there and [said], "Take him from the earth. He's not [worthy to live]. But these (judges) were afraid. [They arose] and said, "We're not […]."

[…] he remembered […] he became […] for the people (ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ̣) […] him, but the […].

[But] when they were stoning [him], he said, "My Father, [who's in the] heavens, forgive them, because [they know] <not> what they're doing."

The Apocalypse of James James

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The First Apocalypse of James

NHC V, *3* // CT *2* // P. Oxy. 5533

The following translation has been committed to the public domain and may be freely copied and used, changed or unchanged, for any purpose. It is based on the Coptic text of Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3, Codex Tchacos 2, and Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 5533, hereafter abbreviated NHC, CT, and P. Oxy. 5533, respectively. The Nag Hammadi texts were written in the fourth century, subsequently buried, and then rediscovered in 1945. The Codex Tchacos was discovered in the 1970s in Egypt, and was first published in 2006 by National Geographic. Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 5533 was identified as a fragmentary Greek version in 2021.

The text narrates revelations passed along from Jesus to James and a series of subsequent successors through the early second century. This translation from the Coptic and Greek is by Samuel Zinner and was edited by Mark M. Mattison with the generous support of Other Gospels. Zinner's translation is based on the Coptic and Greek texts in:

The Nag Hammadi Library and Codex Tchacos:

Johanna Brankaer and Hans-Gebhard Bethge. *Codex Tchacos: Texte und Analysen*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 161; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007, 81–254.

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Images available at: https://portal.sds.ox.ac.uk/articles/online_resource/P_Oxy_LXXXVI_5533_First_Apocalypse_of_James/21186583

Symbols

[ ] Gap in the text (known as a "lacuna")
( ) Editorial insertion to clarify the text
< > Editorial correction of a scribal error
{ } Text erroneously added by the scribe
[**24**] Page number of the Coptic codex

Introduction: Jesus and James

[**24**] The Lord, however,[1] has spoken with me: "Behold now the fulfillment of my redemption. I have granted you a sign concerning these matters, James, my brother, because not in vain have I called you my brother, even though you are not my materialistic[2] brother, and I am not ignorant regarding you, in order that <you>, when I grant you a sign: know and hear!

[**10**] "Because I see (the completion) of my redemption, I will instruct you concerning these matters, James, my brother, because not in vain are you called 'brother,' though my materialistic brother [you are] not, but you lack recognition concerning yourself, so that [I] will instruct you concerning who I am.[3]

The Existent One

Nothing existed except the Existent One.[4] I myself, I cannot be named, being from the Existent One, so that I [have been given a] number of names, twofold[5] from the Existent One. I, however, I existed before you did.

Hear! Nothing existed except the Existent One.[6] He [cannot be named, and] he is [inexpressible among those who] exist or who will come into [existence]. I, however, am from the Existent One, and I cannot be named, although [I] have been named with [a number of] names, [because] they do not belong to me; they are [alien] to me. However, the [first] I am not, because second am I, from the Existent One.[7]

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[1] The use of "however" in the first sentence indicates the original opening has been lost.
[2] "Materialistic," Nagel, "nach irdischer Art," i.e., according to the earthly kind. The Coptic *t^{h}ulē*, from Greek *hulē*, "matter," does not imply that James and Jesus are not physical brothers. As Nagel, 75 explains, here Jesus "refers instead to the different spheres from which the revealer and the recipient of revelation originate." (My translation from the German, here and below). Additionally, Jesus could be asserting that he is not a "hylic," that is, one of those ruled by material impulses, but that he is a pneumatic, that is, one of those ruled by the divine Spirit. As part of its "gnostic" trajectory, *1 Apoc. Jas*. transmits several "Jewish-Christian" traditions, and is therefore unlikely to reflect any denial of Jesus' and James' relation as full siblings.
[3] The spiritual identity of James is bound together with that of Jesus, which in turn is bound together with God.
[4] An echo of the divine name that plays off the Tetragrammaton in LXX (and Coptic) Exod 3:14.
[5] "Twofold"; cf. CT: "However, the [first] I am not, because *second* am I, from the Existent One."
[6] An echo of the divine name that plays off the Tetragrammaton in LXX (and Coptic) Exod 3:14, but preceded by the introductory "Hear!" of Deut 6:4, which is directed to "Israel," the second name of the patriarch Jacob, i.e., the Greek and Hebrew form behind "James."
[7] This may hint at the two Tetragramatons of Deut 6:4, the first thought of as referring to the Father, the second to the Son.

Achamoth (the "Lower Wisdom") Creates Powers and Divinities

Because you have asked concerning femaleness:[8] Femaleness existed, but femaleness did not exist [at the beginning], and she prepared for herself powers and divinities, but [she] did not exist [when] I came forth, [**25**] given that I am an image of the Existent One, but I have brought the image of [him], so that the children of the [Existent One] could know who belong to them and who the aliens are.

Behold! I will reveal to you everything of this mystery, because I will be apprehended the day after tomorrow, but my redemption will be near."

Because you [have] asked concerning femaleness, hear! The female existed, but she did not exist from the beginning. She made (for) herself [powers] and divinities. While the Existent One exists from the beginning, the female also exists, but not from the beginning. [**11**] I, however, am come from the image of the Existent One, in order to instruct you concerning the Existent One, and also [to instruct] you concerning the image of the powers, so that the children of the Existent One will know those who belong to them, and those who do not belong to them.

Behold! I have revealed to you the mystery. [After] three [days I] will be [apprehended. Then they will abuse] me, [the multitude] of [priests] and the elders, and they will revile me, [and they will curse me], but my [redemption will be] near."

The Twelve Archons

James said: "Rabbi, you said, 'I will be apprehended,' but I, what will I be able to do (for you)?"

He said to me: "Do not be afraid, James. They will apprehend you as well, but turn yourself away from Jerusalem,[9] because this is she who always gives the cup of bitterness to the Sons of

[James, however], answered, he said: "Rabbi, what are you saying? If they apprehend you, then what am I to do (for you)?"

He answered him, saying: "When they apprehend you, and stone you, you will be redeemed, but do not return on the way to Jerusalem, because she is the one who always gives the cup of bitterness [**12**]

[8] "Femaleness," i.e., Achamoth-Sophia.
[9] A hint at the "flight to Pella" tradition relating to the First Jewish War that broke out in 66 CE.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
Light.[10] She is a dwelling-place of a number of archons, but you will preserve your redemption in their presence, so that you can recognize who they are [and] of what kind they are.	to the Sons of Light, as a dwelling-place of many archons. Now your redemption [is] that you save yourself from them, and your knowledge consists (in) recognizing of what kind they are and how many they [are]. Not all of these are archons, but [. . .] dominion.	
You will [convince yourself], and hear. They are not [existent ones],[11] but [archons are they, like] the twelve [powers that possess plenary authority] (here) below. [Behold! This is the way it is with all] archons, [and each] one [of them is seated] [**26**] over his own hebdomad."	Hear me! These, whom I have brought with me to [this place, they are placed onto these twelve archons, each one of them] for himself [stands on] his [hebdomad]."[12]	
James said: "So Rabbi, are there twelve hebdomads instead of the seven in the scriptures?"	James answered, he said: "[Rabbi], are there now therefore [twelve] hebdomads, [and] are there not seven, [as] we have it in the Scripture?"	
The Lord said: "James, he who has spoken about this Scripture has understood (it) only up to this point. I, however, will reveal to you what has come forth from what cannot be numbered. I shall grant (you) a sign concerning their number. Regarding what has come forth from the Immeasurable One, I shall grant (you) a sign concerning their measure."	Jesus said: "The one who has spoken about this Scripture, he announced (only) as far as he could understand. I, however, will reveal to you what has come from the Countless One. He has announced his number. That which has come from the Immeasurable One has announced their measure."	

[10] The use of "the Sons of Light" together with a hint at the First Jewish War brings to mind, *mutatis mutandis*, the Qumran War Scroll.

[11] "They are not [existent ones]." This may allude to the notion of evil as a privation of the good. That is, the evil archons have no real positive existence, but only a shadowy negative ontic state.

[12] "Hebdomad," i.e., a sevenfold period or group.

The Seventy-Two Pairs

James said: "Now what, Rabbi? Behold! I have discovered their number. There are seventy-two pairs."[13]

[**13**] "If now, Rabbi, I revise[14] the number of the archons, who then are the seventy-two pairs?"

The Lord said: "These are the seventy-two heavens, which are the small ones beneath them. These are the powers[15] of the might of all of them, and by them were they established, and these are the ones who were apportioned in every place, which are under the [authority] of the twelve archons. The diminutive power dwelling among them [has] brought [forth] angels for itself, and countless hosts. However, the Existent One was [. . .] given [. . .]. On account of [. . .] Existent One [...]; countless are they.

He said, "<These> are the seventy-two small heavens beneath them. [However], those that are larger than they, those are the powers in the height, on which rests the entire (heavenly) axis, and [. . .] on account of [. . .] inside you.

[**27**] If you want to count them now, you cannot before you throw off blind thought from yourself, this fetter of flesh surrounding you, and then will you attain to the Existent One, and you will no longer be James. You will instead be what exists, and all of the

They cannot be coun[ted by] you,[16] but if you want to count them, you cannot count them now without throwing off the blindness that dwells inside your mind[17] and the fetter that dwells inside the flesh. Then you will attain to the Existent One, and you will no longer be James, [18] [**14**] but one who in

[13] On the translation "pairs," see Nagel, 81, footnote 7.

[14] "Revise," or "change." This seems to be the sense of the literal reading, "move away from."

[15] On the trope of seventy-two powers in Nag Hammadi and Jewish kabbalistic texts, see Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1988), 122–125. Idel, 124,335 refers to Moshe de Leon's (?) *Sefer Gan ʿEden*'s description of *Sefer ha-Bahir*'s world tree as having seventy-two "roots." Idel fails to point out the prominence of "root" in the Nag Hammadi corpus, including *1 Apoc. Jas*. For a more profound treatment of *Sefer ha-Bahir*'s world tree, see Elliot R. Wolfson, "The Tree That Is All: Jewish-Christian Roots of a Kabbalistic Symbol in *Sefer ha-Bahir*," *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 3–1 (1994): 31–76.

[16] "By you," literally, "before you."

[17] "Mind," or "heart." The passage echoes *Gos. Thom*. 28.

[18] "You will no longer be James." This seems to be inspired by Jacob's change of name to "Israel" in Genesis 32 and 35. Both NH and CT versions stop short of divinizing James, in contrast to, e.g., the explicit promise of divinization in the Dead Sea Scrolls text 4Q Visions of Amram (4Q543) *Frag.* 3: "[. . .] you will be God (*ʾĒl*),

countless ones will all have been named."

every way is inside the Existent One. Those who cannot be counted will be [counted] by you,[19] and everything that cannot be measured by you,[20] [will be] measured."

The Opposition of the Powers

<James, however, said: "Now what>, Rabbi, how will I attain to the Existent One, given that all of these powers and these hosts stand armed against me?"

He said to me: "These powers are not armed against you alone, but against others as well. These powers are armed against me, and also with other [powers].

He answered, saying: "Rabbi, how will I be able to attain to the Existent One, when such a number of [the] powers fight [against me]?"

Instead, they are armed against me [with] a court of law. Then to them it was given [. . .] against me [. . .] by means of them [. . .] in this place [. . .] sufferings, [**28**] and I will not curse them, but inside me will be a silence and a concealed mystery,[21] yet I am fearful in the presence of their fury."

[. . .], rather against me[22] by means of them [. . .] curse,

but there is in me [… a concealed] silence, [but] I am afraid in the presence of [their fury]."

James said: "Rabbi, if they arm themselves against you, there will nevertheless be no (valid) accusation against you. You have come with knowledge, so that you could

"If they fight against you in this manner, how much more against me, Rabbi? Because you have come [in] knowledge in order to reprove their ignorance, and you have come

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and you will be cal[led] 'Angel of God.'" NH's "You will instead be what exists," *alla ntok pe pē etšoop*, stops short of saying "You will instead be the Existent One." However, CT's version does refer to the Existent One: "one who in every way is inside the Existent One." A comparison between the two versions suggests that the two Greek *Vorlagen* indeed read "you will be the Existent One," and that both scribes independently weakened in various ways the bold identification between James and the Existent One. Because the passage echoes *Gos. Thom*. 28, it may also hint at *Gos. Thom*. 30's theme of divinization.

[19] "By you," literally, "before you."

[20] "By you," literally, "for you."

[21] Cf. 1QH XIII,25–26, "the mystery you have concealed inside me . . . you have concealed the source of knowledge."

[22] "Against me," reading uncertain.

reprove their forgetfulness. You have come with remembrance, so that you might reprove their ignorance, but I am not concerned on your account, because you descended into a thick ignorance, but nothing of it has polluted you, because you descended into a thick oblivion, and your remembrance remained with you. You wandered around in mud, and your garments remained unsoiled, and you were not buried in their filth, and they never touched you. And I was not of their kind, though I clothed myself with everything that belonged to them. Oblivion dwells inside me, yet I [remember] things that do not belong to them, and I dwell in their [ignorance]. I have found a knowledge, [and] I [was] not concerned about their sufferings [which are exterior], but I was afraid [in] their [presence], when they apprehend.

in memory in order to reprove their oblivion, [**15**] but I am not worried over you, because you have entered into ignorance, and you were not at all soiled by it. You have come to oblivion, and memory dwells inside you. You wandered around in the mud, and you were not soiled. They did not awake your vengeance.

I am not of this kind, but all oblivion [from][23] you, that is what I have put on [me, and] I do not remember (it anymore). Those who belong to me are ignorant, [and] I am [not] completed [in] knowledge,[24]

and I am not worried [over] the agonies in this place, [but] on account of their apprehending.

James' Redemption

What [**29**] will they do? What will I be able to say, or what kind of message will I be able to speak in order that I can escape from them?"

The Lord said: "James, I praise your insight and your fear. If you continue to be lovingly disposed towards suffering, then do not be concerned with anything else than your redemption, for

"What [will you do? What] will you say, [and] by what kind of message [will you] be saved?"

"James, I praise your understanding, and fear makes you lovingly disposed towards suffering. Let nothing trouble you except your redemption. Behold! I will go and prepare this destiny on the earth as it

[23] "From," literally, "through."
[24] Reading uncertain.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
behold, I will fulfil this destiny on the earth, as I have spoken in heaven, and I will reveal to you your redemption."[25]	has been prepared already in heaven, [**16**] and after this I will reveal to you your redemption."	
	Overcoming the Archons	
James said: "Rabbi, how will you hereafter appear[26] to us again, after you have been taken into custody, and you have fulfilled the destiny, and you have ascended to the Existent One?	"Rabbi, how will you hereafter appear to me, after you have been judged, and your destiny is prepared, and you have attained to Existent One?"	
The Lord said: "James, after these things I will reveal everything to you, not only for your sake, but on account of the unfaithfulness of humans, so that [faithfulness] may exist among them, because a multitude will [come to] faithfulness, [and] they will increase [in it] until [they come to knowledge], [**30**] and after this I will appear to reprove the archons. I will reveal to them that he cannot be apprehended. If he is apprehended, then will he apprehend them all.	"James, hereafter I will appear to you in this place, not only <on your account>, [but] on account of the [unfaithfulness] of humans, that is, how [faithfulness] can arise among them. [Many, however], will turn to faithfulness and grow in it, [so that] they will come to knowledge, and for this reason I will [display] the humiliation of the archons, [and I will] reveal to them [that] he cannot be apprehended. When they apprehend him, then he has apprehended (them).	[**Leaf A**] "[…] to knowledge. For this reason, I will appear in order to reprove the archons, in order to reveal to them this, namely, the one who cannot be apprehended. When he has been apprehended, then will he apprehend all.
"Now, however, I will go. Think on what I have said,[27] and let it enter inside of you."[28]	"Now, however, I will go. Think on what I have said, and let it grow inside you."	"I am now going. Remember what has been said, and let [it] grow inside you."
James said: "Lord, I will hurry, as you have spoken."	"I will hurry, Rabbi, to do as you have spoken."	"I will hurry[29] [. . .]."

[25] "Reveal . . . redemption" would involve word punning in Syriac. This does not necessarily mean the text was composed in Syriac, but that it may have incorporated some Syriac traditions.
[26] "Appear," or "reveal."
[27] This is a standard sapiential exhortation; see, e.g., Prov 4:4–5.
[28] Cf. Prov 4:20–21.
[29] "Hurry," or "endeavor."

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3 **Codex Tchacos 2** **P.Oxy. 5533**

Jesus Departs and Returns to James

The Lord departed from him, and fulfilled what was necessary. When James had heard of his sufferings, he was very sorrowful. <He> was on the lookout for the appearance[30] of his coming, but he came after some days, and James was walking about on the mountain called

And Jesus went and prepared what was appropriate for him, but James heard of his sufferings, and [**17**] was very sorrowful, and expected his coming, and he had only this to comfort him, namely, the expectation of his coming, and it was two days, and behold! James conducted the service on

James, [however], heard of his [sufferings], and was [sorrowful], [31] and he awaited his coming, [but] he was next to him after [two] days, [and behold! James] came to the mountain called "Golgoul" [32] with [his

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[30] "Appearance," Coptic *typos*.

[31] "Sorrowful," or "troubled."

[32] NHC *Gaugēlan*, CT *Galgē[la]m*, P.Oxy 5533 *Golgoul*. With regard to NHC *Gaugēlan*, see Nagel, 91: "The N(ag)H(ammadi) version in the form *Gaugēlan* has retained the accusative (ending) of the Greek textual *Vorlage*: *ho onomazousi Gaugēlan*." Despite the fact that P.Oxy 5533 reads *to legomeno[n] golgoul*, Nagel's explanation remains convincing. This indicates either a variant reading or two different Greek recensions, neither of which is at all implausible. Another secondary feature of NHC *Gaugēlan* is the dropping out of the first *lambda*, whose presence is attested by both CT's *Galgē[la]m* and P.Oxy. 5533's *Golgoul*.

The CT version's *Galgēlam* can be explained as a mistaken reading that has accidentally incorporated the letter *mu* from the immediately following word *meta* (*to legomeno[n] golgoul meta*).

To explain P.Oxy 5533's *Golgoul* first requires a discussion of the identification of the mountain in question. Nagel refers the reader to Brankaer/Bethge, 205–206, which presents strong reasons for identifying the mountain as Gilgal in Joshua 4–5 (Hebrew *Gilgāl*; Greek *Galgala*; Syriac *Galgəlā*). Although Gilgal was not a mountain, it is famous for its Hill of the Foreskins, whose story is narrated in Joshua 5, immediately after passing over the Jordan:

> 2 At that time the LORD said to Joshua, "Make flint knives and circumcise the people of Israel again the second time."
> 3 So Joshua made flint knives, and circumcised the people of Israel at Gibeath-haaraloth [Hill of the Foreskins]. (RSV)

The immediate objection is that Gilgāl is not a mountain name. However, as Ed Noort explains: "Between [Josh] 5.3 *Bounos tōn akrobustiōn*, 'the Hill of the Foreskins', and 5.8f. [see Josh 5:9, 'And so the name of that place is called Gilgal to this day'] there is no change of location, so, in the eyes of the LXX translator, Gilgal and the Hill of the Foreskins must be the same place." See Ed Noort, "The Disgrace of Egypt: Joshua 5.9A and its Context," in Anthony Hilhorst and George H. van Kooten, eds., *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuizen* (Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 59; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2005), 1–19; here, 6.

Further, as Brankaer/Bethge, 205 points out: "One can assume that the name of the place [Gilgal/Galgala] has been transferred to that of the hill. That this hill is bound to the history of Israel and the Law can be of relevance for the interpretation of this passage in *1 Apoc. Jas.*" (My translation from the German, here and below).

Based on Brankaer/Bethge, 205–206 we can exclude any connection between *Gaugēlan* / *Galgē[la]m* / *Golgoul* and Golgotha. Therefore, instead of detecting a hint at *Gol*gotha in *Gol*goul, it is much more likely that in *Gol-* of *Gol*goul we have a partial assimilation to the following *-goul*.

Regarding "*Hill* of the Foreskins" in Josh 5:3, the Syriac version uses *Rāmt^{h}ā*, which (as is the case in Common Aramaic) means both "hill" and "mountain." Targum-Jonathan at Josh 5:3 uses *G^{h}ib^{h}ʿ^{h}āʾ*, which like the Hebrew *Gib^{h}aʿ^h*, means only "hill," not "mountain." This would explain why *1 Apoc. Jas.* calls Galgala a mountain rather than a hill, understanding the Hill (of Foreskins) in Joshua 5 and Galgala as identical, in common with the Septuagint/OG translator. This data would seem to hint at either a Syrian provenance, or at least the incorporation of Syriac traditions in *1 Apoc. Jas*.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
"Gaugela{n}," together with his disciples, who listened to him longingly, and <they> had him as a comforter, [and] said: "This is the Second [Teacher]." [33]	the [mountain] called "Galge[la]{m}," [the place] where [he stayed at another time] with his disciples, [who] eagerly listened to him, and they had him as comfort, and they said: "This is the Second Teacher."	own] disciples,[34] who gladly listened to him, [and] they had him for comfort. They said, "[This] is the Second Teacher."
[Then] the crowd dispersed itself, but James remained [behind alone at] prayer [by praying], in the way [**31**] he was accustomed, and the Lord appeared to him and he ceased praying, fell on his neck, and kissed him. He said: "Rabbi, I have found you. I had heard of the sufferings you endured, and I was very sorrowful, because my compassion you know. I wanted, for this reason, on reflection, that I would not be able to look on this people. They must be judged for the things they have done, because what they have done trespasses everything that is appropriate."	And behold! They dispersed themselves, and James remained behind alone and he prayed fervently, according to his custom, but during it Jesus appeared to him, and he desisted from his prayer, and began to embrace him, and said to him: "Rabbi, I had distanced myself from you. I had heard what you took onto yourself, and I was very sorrowful. You know my sympathy. For this reason I did not want to remain with you: [**18**] That I would not have to look on this people. They will be judged, because what they have done, it was wretched to see."	And behold! The people were scattered, [and James] was left [alone to] pray [. . .] to him, the Lord.[35] [Desisting from] the prayer, he began to embrace him. He said: ["Rabbi], I have you! I heard what you [suffered, and] I was sorrowful [. . .]."
	Jesus Encourages James	
The Lord said: "James, do not worry about me, nor about this people. I am he who existed inside himself. I have never suffered in any way, nor	"James, do not worry about the [people], nor about me, because from the beginning I am the Existent One inside of me alone, [because] I have not	

In the forms *Gaugēlan* and *Galgē[la]m*, the phonetic element /*ē*/ may echo the /*i*/ of Hebrew *Gilgāl*, while the /*o*/ and/or /*ou*/ of Greek *Golgoul* may distantly approximate the /ə/ of Syriac *Galgəlā*. However, /*o*/ and/or /*ou*/ could bring to mind the Hebrew cognate *gilgūl*, "a rolling." Cf. also the cognate name Galgūla, known from the Bar Kokhba letters.

Brankaer/Bethge in 2007 suspected that behind the Coptic *mooše* was the Greek verb *peripatein*, "wander." P. Oxy. 5533 uses *pare[genet]o*, "came to," "came up," "arrived at." We can see in James' arrival at the Hill/Mountain of Foreskins=Galgala an echo of the Israelites' arrival led by Joshua ("Jesus" in Greek) at the Jordan and Galgala's Hill of the Foreskins.

[33] Here James is a Paraclete-like figure who replaces Jesus as teacher. Cf. John 14:26, although it is very doubtful *1 Apoc. Jas.* here echoes this John passage.

[34] James has succeeded to Jesus' position, so that Jesus' former disciples are now James' disciples.

[35] "The Lord," i.e., the God of Israel, not Jesus.

have I been tortured, and this people has done me no harm, but an appearance of the archons was imposed on them, and it was worth it that it [was fulfilled] through them, [but each of] the archons [. . .] who [. . .]. [He is] furious over [you, the] 'Just [God,' because you used to be] [**32**] subservient to him, wherefore you bear this name: 'James the Just.' You will see how you become sober, because you have seen me. You desisted from this prayer, because you are 'a Just One of God,' and

now you have fallen on my neck, and you have kissed me.

"Truly I say to you: You have stirred up great fury and wrath against yourself, but for this cause, that something else would come to pass."

James, however, was fainthearted as he wept, and he was very sorrowful, and both of them seated themselves on a boulder.[38]

The Lord said to him: "James, this is why you will receive these sufferings, yet do not feel sorry for yourself, because the flesh is weak.[39] It will receive what is destined for it, but regarding yourself, be not be weak, nor be afraid."

suffered [from anything], nor did I die, and this people have done nothing harmful. Instead, this was imposed on the appearance[36] of the archons (corrupted text), in order to prepare (corrupted text). It was then fulfilled. Be on your guard, though, because the 'Just God' has fallen into fury, because you were subservient to him, and for this reason you have you obtained the name 'James the Just.' Behold! You have already been set free. You will recognize me, and you will recognize yourself, and you yourself have desisted from the prayer that the 'Just God' requested."

[**19**] And he embraced me, and kissed me. Amen.[37]

"I tell you: He has stirred up his anger against you, and his fury, but this, too, must come to pass."

James, however, was fainthearted, wept, and sorrowed much, and they both sat down on the boulder.

Jesus said to James: "James, it is appropriate for you to experience all this, but do not be sorrowful. The flesh, which is weak,[40] will receive what is inflicted on it, but you, be not fainthearted, and fear nothing."

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[36] "Appearance," Coptic *tupos*, which can mean "type" or "appearance."

[37] As Nagel points out, the CT version considers the word "amen" to be the affirming conclusion to the scene which concludes with James embracing and kissing Jesus. By contrast, the NH version, which interprets "amen" as "truly," considers the same word as an introductory asservation to Jesus' next saying to James.

[38] "Boulder," or "crag." Cf. the seated position during circumcision at the Hill of the Foreskins in Joshua 5:8.

[39] Unlike Mark 14:38 (cf. Rom 7:14–23), here "the flesh" is not contrasted with "the spirit." Cf. the flesh-spirit contrast in Rom 8:2 –7.

[40] Cf. the expressions concerning weak, sinful flesh throughout the Qumran Thanksgiving Scroll.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
The Lord [fell silent, and] when James had heard this, he wiped away [his] tears which were in [his eyes], and [the grief] which was [in his heart] became much lighter. The Lord [said] to [him: "James, behold, I will [**33**] reveal to you your redemption.	When James heard this, he wiped away his tears, and the sorrow in his heart became much lighter, but Jesus said to him: "Behold! Now I will reveal to you your redemption.	
	The Toll Collectors	
When they apprehend [you], and you accept this suffering, a crowd will arm itself against you, so that <they> can apprehend you, but three of them in particular will apprehend you, those who are seated as toll collectors. They demand not only toll, but they take away souls violently as well. When you fall into their hands, one of them who is a Watcher among them will say to you: 'Who are you, and where are you from?'[41]	When they apprehend you, you will find yourself (confronted) by these things. Many will stand against you on account of [**20**] the warrant for your arrest, but among them are three seated there in a single place; they are toll collectors. Not only do they [collect] toll for sins, but they (also) demand souls. When you find yourself among many, then one among them, because he is [a Watcher], will ask you: 'Of what kind are you, and where are you from?'	
You will say to him: 'I am a Son, and I am from the Father.' He will say to you: 'What kind of a son are you, and to which father do you belong?' You will say to him: 'I am from the Father who [existed] first, and a Son who [is] inside the First-Existent One.'	You will say to him: 'I am the Son, and I am from the Father.' And he will say to you: 'What kind of a son, and what kind of a father?' "You will say to [him]: 'The Father who from [the beginning] exists, but the Son who from the beginning exists inside the Existent One.'	
He [will say] to you: 'And [from where did you come]?' You will [say to him: 'From what existed at first], because I [. . .].	And he will say to you: 'From where have you come?' You will say to him: 'From the Existent One who is from the beginning.'	

[41] With this passage, compare *Gos. Thom*. 50.

[**34**] '[...] the aliens?'

You will say to him: 'They are not completely alien, but they are from Achamoth, that is, from the female, and she made these when she brought down the race from what existed at first. They are, therefore, not aliens, but they belong to us. On the one hand, they belong to us because she who is their Lady is from what existed at first. On the other hand, they are aliens in that the First-Existent One did not unite himself with her at the time when she thought of making them.'

Again he will say to you: 'Where are you going?'

You will say to him: 'To the place from which I have come, there will I return,' but when you say this, you will be away from their activities.

When you, however, come into the hands [of the] three minions [who] apprehend [the] souls violently in that place, [. . .]. You will [say] to them: 'I am a vessel[42] [more valuable] than [Achamoth, who made you.'] [**35**] [. . .] your [. . .], that is, [. . .] over her root, will you not sober up [yourself]?

And he will say: 'Why have you come?'

And you will say: 'I am come to all those who belong to me, also to those who are not.'

He will say: 'Why have you come? [**21**] [To] those who do not belong to you?'

Then you will say: 'They are not completely alien to me, rather they are offspring of Achamoth, who is the female, and she herself has made these. She has brought down the race that exists from the beginning. Therefore, they are [not] alien to [me]. Rather, they [belong to me]. They [belong to me] insofar [that she] was the Lady over them. They belong to the Existent One who is from the beginning. However, they have become alien, because the Existent One who is from the beginning did not unite himself with her when she had created them.'

And he will say: 'Where will you go?'

You will say: 'I go to those who belong to me, to the place from which I have come.' If [you] say that, you will be saved from all of these.

When, however, you come among the three who collect the soul, then there will be a great tumult in that place when you say to them: 'I am a vessel more valuable than Achamoth, the female who created you, [**22**] and when your mother is ignorant concerning her own root, then at what time will you become sober?

[42] "Vessel." This anticipates *1 Apoc. Jas*.' seven women who are "vessels," and the name Mānāēl, "vessel/mind of God."

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
‘I, however, will invoke the indestructible knowledge, [which] is Sophia, who dwells inside the Father, who is the mother of Achamoth. No father was apportioned for Achamoth, also [no] male [companion]. She is instead [a female] from a female. She made you without [a male], when she dwelt alone, because she was ignorant concerning those who [. . .] her mother, because she thought that she was the only one who existed. I, however, will shout up to her mother, and they will then fall into confusion. They will accuse their root and the race of their mother. You, however, will ascend to [those] who are yours [. . .].	‘I, however, have invoked the immaculate Sophia, who exists inside the [Father], the mother of Achamoth, but her[43] companion [was not] in agreement [with the] female. Without a male [she has] created you by herself. She grew ignorant of her mother,[44] and she thought that she was alone, but I have invoked her mother, and then all of them will be troubled, and they will accuse their own root, and the race of their mother. You, however, will go to your roots, the fetters that are their fetters as well.	
	The Transmission of the Revelation	
[**36**] [. . .] to the [First-Existent One and the] appearance of the twelve disciples and of [the seventy]-two pairs [and (?) the] female Achamoth, which is translated ‘Sophia,’ but (I have revealed)[45] who I am, and the indestructible Sophia through whom you will be saved[46] together with all the children of the Existent One, which they themselves have recognized, and have concealed [inside] themselves.	“Behold! James, I have revealed to you what I am, and the Existent One who is from the beginning, and the [**23**] appearance[47] of the twelve disciples, and the seventy-two pairs, and the female Achamoth, which is translated ‘Sophia,’ and what you are, and the immaculate Sophia,[48] through whom you will be saved, and all the children of the Existent One, who have recognized themselves, and (what is) concealed inside	

[43] “Her,” i.e., Achamoth’s.
[44] I have deleted the mistaken scribal repetition, “it is she, who is alone, who is ignorant of her mother.”
[45] Accepting Nagel’s gloss.
[46] An echo of Wis 9:18.
[47] “Appearance,” or “type.”
[48] “Immaculate Sophia.” Cf. Wis 7:24–26.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
You will conceal her [inside] of you, and you will be silent, but you will reveal it to Addaios when you depart (from the body),[50] and immediately [war will be waged] against this land.[51] [Weep], therefore, for him who remains in Jerusalem.	them. [You will keep secret] these things I have spoken, and they will be inside you,[49] and you will remain silent about them, but when you depart (from the body), you will disclose them to Addaios, and immediately this land will wage war, and she will once again drink her cup, because she has incensed the God who dwells in Jerusalem. Addaios,[52]	
Let Addeos,[53] however, bear these things in his mind.[54] In the tenth year[55] Addeos will sit down, and write them down, and [when] he has written them down [. . .], and they will be given [to Manael, because he] possesses this [holy name . . .].	however, will bring forth these words in his mind[56] for ten years, and then he will gather the courage to sit down and write them down, and then, when he has written them down, they will be taken from him and handed over to Manael.[57]	

[49] Cf. 1 QH XIII,11 –12: "Because you, O my God, hid me from the sons of man, concealing your Law inside me, until the time for revealing your salvation through me."
[50] Accepting Nagel's gloss.
[51] An allusion to the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 CE.
[52] A variant of "Addaios."
[53] A variant of "Addaios."
[54] As Nagel, 105 remarks, *fi nhētf*, "bear in his mind," is more or less semantically equivalent to the NH version's unusual idiom *čpo nef . . . nhētf*," which essentially means "to memorize." The use of *hēt*, "mind," is an anticipatory play off the name Mānāēl, which is based on Syriac/Armaic *mānā*, whose primary meanings include "vessel," "garment," "mind."
[55] "The tenth year," i.e., ten years after either the beginning (66 CE) or after the end of the First Jewish War. The author may have identified 70 CE (the year of the Temple's destruction) or 73/74 CE as the end of the war. The "tenth year" could therefore refer to ca. 76 CE or 80–83/84 CE. About three decades would pass until the Kitos War would begin in 116 CE.
[56] As Nagel, 105 remarks, "the unusual Coptic expression *čpo nef . . . nhētf*" essentially means "to memorize."
[57] The name Manaēl (i.e., Mānāēl) is unattested, and is therefore most likely an ad construction. It could mean "vessel of God" (so Nagel, 105), which would anticipate the later description of the seven women as weak vessels. However, Mānāēl could alternatively mean in Syriac "garment of God," "mind of God," "measure of God," any of which could relate to the themes of *1 Apoc. Jas.* See the entry "mʾn, mʾnʾ (mān, mānā) n.m. vessel; garment" at https://cal.huc.edu. *Mān/mānā* can also mean a vessel of war, i.e., "weapon," "armor," which would also be congruent with the context in which the name appears in *1 Apoc. Jas*. If "Masphēl" means "watchtower of God," as I argue in the next footnote, then the meaning "weapon of God" would be fitting, at least in part, for the name Mānāēl. However, both Mānāēl and Masphēl could refer to states of awareness when we understand *mānā* as "mind" and Masphēl as "watchtower," the latter implying active awareness, watching. I thank Martin Schwartz for this suggestion, who also refers to Proverbs 15:3's *ṣōp̲ʰōtʰ*, "√*ṣ-p-y*, *ṣāphā(h)*, with regard to God's 'looking out,' 'scoping,' 'being aware,' 'scrutinizing.'"

The first part of the name Mānāēl would be cognate with the name Mānī, i.e., *mānā +ḥayyē*, at least as understood by Kurt Rudolph: "Greek *Manichaîos*, Aramaic *mani haija*, 'vessel/spirit of life.'" Kurt Rudolph, "Mani, Manichaeans," in Hubert Canik, Helmuth Schneider; Christine F. Salazar, eds., *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World. Antiquity Volume 8 LYD–MINE* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 233–236;

This is a holy name, equivalent
[**24**] to Masphel.[58] This one

here 234. Similarly, Hans Heinrich Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1927), 88 interprets Mānī's full name as "Mani the Living." For a fuller discussion of the etymology of Mānī's name, see Werner Sundermann, "MANI," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, online edition, 2009, available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mani-founder-manicheism (accessed on 18 May 2025). I thank Martin Schwartz (University of California-Berkeley) for pointing out the relevance of the name Mānī for this discussion. (Private communication, 18 May 2025).

As Sundermann writes, hesitation is in order regarding Schraeder's (and Rudolph's) proposed etymology for Mānī's full name. Martin Schwartz points out in his private communication, "the *ḥeθ* as in *ḥayya*, 'life,' was rendered by zero in the LXX," and cites the Mandaic proper name Baraiēs, "Son of Life." As Schwartz remarks: "Sundermann, who refers to the data of the Septuagint, ignores the fact that still at that time, Hebrew, like Arabic, had, as it were, *xeθ* and *ḥeθ*, *ḡayin* and *ʿayin*." Schwartz also notes that both **ḥ* and **x* merge as *x* in Neo-Aramaic, and adds: "Maybe already at the time of the Greek form Μανιχαῖος there were already two dialectal(?) pronunciations of *ḥeθ*, as seems to be the case in early Ashkenaz." Cf. Alexander Beider, "Bne Hes and Bne Kes," in Geoffrey Khan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 373–375. The crucial issue is, as Beider, 374 interjects: "They could either have been inherited from a common ancestor for the Hebrew of these two Jewish groups, or result from similar innovations."

Rudolph's "spirit" reflects the German *Geist*, which means both "mind" and "spirit," and he is referring to *mānā* as "mind." OG Isa 40:13 renders Hebrew *rūaḥ*, "spirit," with *nous*, "mind," in the phrase "mind of the LORD." Mānāēl could then possibly mean "the Spirit of God." (Cf. Isa 11:2's phrase "the Spirit of the LORD," which in the Greek and Syriac versions reads as "the Spirit of God," *pneuma tou theou*; *rūḥā dī-ʾălāhā*). The reworking of Isa 40:13 in Wis 9:13–17 retains "spirit" in the form *to hagion sou pneuma apo hupsistōn*, "your holy Spirit from on high." (Targum Jonathan similarly expands Isa 40:13's "spirit" to "holy Spirit." "Holy Spirit" is also used in the reworking of Isa 11:2 in Psalms of Solomon 17, Greek vv. 37–40, Syriac vv. 42–44). Cf. the reworking of Isa 40:13 in Syriac 4 Ezra 4:11: "how can your mind (*mʾnk*) grasp the way of the Most High?"

The polyvalence of Aramaic/Syriac *mānā* ranging from "vessel," "weapon," and "mind-spirit," links together the *1 Apoc. Jas*. Mānāēl passage and the immediately following section on the seven women disciples as "vessels" who are identified as Isaiah 11's seven "spirits." This is evidence for the incorporation of Syriac traditions in *1 Apoc. Jas*.

In conclusion, it is intriguing that Mānāēl is linked to the trope of receiving a secret book around the time of the Kitos War, 116–118 CE. This is approximately the time Elchasai appeared with his famous book. On Elchasai, see J. P. Asmussen, "ALCHASAI," Encyclopædia Iranica, I/8, 824-825; http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/alchasai-a-sectarian-in-the-early-christian-church-1st-2nd-centuries-a; accessed on 25 May 2025. See further Gerard P. Luttikhuizen, *The Revelation of Elchasai: Investigations into the Evidence for a Mesopotamian Jewish Apocalypse of the Second Century and Its Reception by Judaeo-Christian Propagandists* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 8; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985); idem, "The *Book of Elchasai*: a Jewish Apocalypse," *Aula Orientalis* 5 (1987): 101–106; idem, "Elchasaites and their Book," in Antti Marjanen & Petri Luomanen, eds., *A Companion to Second-Century Christian "Heretics"* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), 335–364. For a fundamentally different (and less plausible, in my opinion) understanding of the *Book of Elchasai* than that of Luttikhuizen, see F. Stanley Jones, "The *Book of Elchasai* in Its Relevance for Manichaean Institutions with a Supplement: The *Book of Elchasai* Reconstructed and Translated," *ARAM* 16 (2004): 179–215.

[58] The name Masphēl is unattested, and is therefore most likely an ad hoc construction. I seriously doubt there is any relevance in the claim by Nagel, 105: "The name could be derived from the Aramaic passive participle משפיל *mašpīl*, 'lowered,' 'humble.'" A straightforward origin would instead be the Biblical Hebrew *Miṣpeh* (Syriac/Aramaic *Miṣpʰyāʾ*), "watchtower"; OG Esdras B 13:19 (=Nehemiah 3:7) *masphe*, more commonly *massēpha*, as in Judges 11:11, etc. Masphēl therefore would mean "the watchtower of God," which could fit both a military and a cognitive context. The idea of joining *miṣpeh* with God could derive partly from Gen 31:48–49: "Therefore was the name of it called Galeed; and Mizpah, for he said: 'The LORD watch (*yiṣepʰ*) between me and you." The LXX here reads *ho theos* rather than *ho kyrios*, the latter of which would correspond to "the LORD," while *theos* would render Hebrew *ʾēl*. Thus, concealed behind the *-ēl* of Mānāēl and Masphēl would be the true holy name, the Tetragrammaton, YHWH, the LORD.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
	will preserve this book for an inheritance to his children.[59]	
	From him, however, will come a holy offspring,[60] which is worthy to inherit these (things) I have spoken, but when his little son will become [big, and] he [recognizes] the Living One,[61] he will [receive] a name, 'Levi.'	**[Leaf G]** [. . .] because a holy spirit [will come] from him, and he will be judged worthy to inherit these previously mentioned things.
[**37**] [. . .] his name will be called 'Levi.'		
Then he will [not] bring forth a [single] word of [what I] had said previously.	Then the land will wage war once again,[62] but Levi himself will be hidden as a little child, and no word that I have spoken will pass over his lips,	When his younger son inherits them [. . .] Levi, war will then be waged against this land, [but] Levi will hide them discreetly [. . .].
[He will take] a woman,[63] one from Jerusalem, of <his>[64] [tribe, and] together with her will beget [two] sons.	but he will take a woman, one from Jerusalem, of his tribe, and he will produce two sons with her, and the pair of brothers will inherit all of this.	
They will inherit these things, [and] the understanding[65] of the [older one] will become arrogant,[66] and [these] will be	The mind[67] of the older one will close itself, and they will be taken from his mind.[68]	

[59] Cf. 1 En 92:1.

[60] Cf. Jub 25:3; 1 En 39:1.

[61] "The Living One," *p.et onh*, is a divine title synonymous with *p.et šoop*, "the Existent One," "He Who Is," derived from Coptic Exodus 3:14, *de anok pe p.et šoop*, "I, however, am (the) being/existent one" (see https://data.copticscriptorium.org/texts/old-testament/02_exodus_3/analytic). The title "the Living One" is intriguing in light of the previously discussed etymology of Mānī's full name, the form of which could mean "the living vessel," "vessel of life," or perhaps "vessel of the Living One," although this etymology is uncertain. The chronology of the war narrative in *1 Apoc. Jas*. excludes an allusion to the third-century Mānī. We may, however, have here traditions from a community that belonged to the background or trajectory of Mānī's "Jewish-Christian" ancestors, namely, the Elchasaites. For the theory that close similarities shared between Mandaean and Manichaean sources might be explained by an earlier common source, namely, the Elchasaites, see Kevin T. van Bladel, *From Sasanian Mandaeans to Ṣābians of the Marshes* (Leiden Studies in Islam and Society 6; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), 86–88. If Mānī's full name indeed derives from *mānā +ḥayyē*, then the Mandaean divine title *mānā + hiia* may be of Elchasaite origin, and Mānī's full name could then reflect a divine name used in common by the Elchasaites and Mandaeans.

[62] An allusion to the Kitos War, 116–118 CE.

[63] "He will take a woman," i.e., as a wife.

[64] "<His>," corrected from the codex reading "her."

[65] "Understanding," *dianoia*. This is soon followed by a mention of *nous*. This seems to hint at two of the seven spirits later mentioned in the text, i.e., the spirit of *dianoia* and the spirit of *nous*.

[66] Although "arrogant" agrees with the traditional Rabbinic portrayal of Bar Kokhba (e.g., Jerusalem Talmud *Taʿanit* 4.5.24b), it would appear instead that Levi's younger son resembles Bar Kokhba, given that this younger son "will increase and occupy several provinces," like Bar Kokhba. Because this figure in *1 Apoc. Jas*. is associated with the name Levi does not necessarily imply he was of the tribe of Levi. In any case, one must bear in mind that we are dealing with a secondary literary adaptation of an earlier source.

[67] "Mind," *pʰēt*. This links the text back to the earlier mention of Mānāēl, whose element *mānā-* is Syriac/Aramaic for "mind."

[68] "Mind," *hēt*. This links the text back to the earlier mention of Mānāēl, whose element *mānā-* is Syriac/Aramaic for "mind."

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
taken from him, from out of his mind.[69]		[. . .] his mind.
However, the younger will grow in them, and this will be apportioned to him, concealed inside him until [he] comes to the age of seven[teen] years, [and the land will wage] war [. . .].	The younger one, however, will increase in them, and will keep them concealed until in the course of life he reaches seventeen years,[70] [**25**] and then the land will wage war.[71]	The younger one, however, will increase in them, and keep them concealed [until he attains to (?)] seventeen years of age, and then war will then be waged against this land while he is not (present?), but [by Providence] he will be protected [. . .],"
[**38**] [. . . a] large number [of provinces . . . while a number] will be saved through [him]. His companions will eagerly emulate[72] him [. . .], he[73] will be proclaimed [by] them, and [they will proclaim] this message. [Then] will it become a seed[74] of [salvation]."[75]	However, because he will not be there, he will be guarded in agreement with Providence, and he will increase and occupy several provinces.[76] Many will be saved through him, and he will make this message become a teaching from[77] many provinces. He will be severely persecuted by the [people themselves], and he will be scorned by them, and they will scorn this message, but this will come to pass by the archons apprehending."[78]	[**Leaf H**] and [this message will be] scorned [b]y the dece[it of the archo]n[s]."[79]

[69] "Mind," *nous*. This links the text back to the earlier mention of Mānāēl, whose element *mānā-* is Syriac/Aramaic for "mind."

[70] "Seventeen years," i.e., from the outbreak of the Kitos War in 116 CE until the beginning of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in 132 CE.

[71] An allusion to the Bar Kokhba Revolt, 132–136 CE.

[72] The NH version understands the verb *pōt* positively as "follow," "emulate," which is clear from the subsequent verb "proclaim," while the CT version understands *pōt* negatively as "persecute," which is clear from the subsequent verb "scorn."

[73] "He," or "it."

[74] "Seed of salvation." Cf. Isa 45:8, where salvation is brought forth like a plant by the earth.

[75] The terms "salvation" and "redemption" could have political overtones, as on the Bar Kokhba coinage. The NH version of *1 Apoc. Jas*. seems to preserve an earlier form of the allusion to the Bar Kokhba Revolt, before Bar Kokhba fell in battle and became scorned, as in later Rabbinic tradition.

[76] As surprising as it may seem, the text appears to hint that Bar Kokhba was the younger of the two sons of Levi. The text may therefore serve as evidence for "Jewish-Christian" approval of Bar Kokhba and his revolt. On such a possibility, see Dennis D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened: A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Dissertation Series 97; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988), 408–412.

[77] "From," or "for."

[78] This would seem to hint at Bar Kokhba's defeat. The Coptic could be understood either as the archons apprehending or being apprehended, but the Greek text makes the latter interpretation unlikely.

[79] The Greek reads [*kat*]*a henedr*[*an tōn archont*]*ō*[*n*]; see Landau, Smith, Henry, 12. We could harmonize the Coptic and Greek by saying that the archons apprehend/seize by means of deceit or deception.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
The Seven Women Disciples		
James said: "[I] am pleased [with all of these things], and they are [well with what is inside] my soul.[80] Yet these [other things] will I ask of you: Who are the [seven] women who [have become] your disciples?[81] And behold! All women praise you. I myself marvel at how [power]less vessels have become strong by means of a [perception] dwelling inside them."[82]	"Rabbi, I am convinced of all of these (things), and they are well with what is inside my soul. Additionally, I wanted ask you: Who are the seven women who have become your disciples, and whom all the generations bless?[83] I myself marvel that they dwell inside fragile vessels, and they have found powers and perceptions."	"Rabbi, [. . .] and [. . .]."
The Lord [said]: "You do well [to marvel . . .]. [. . .].	"James, you do well to marvel, but the Son of Man[84] has come and has revealed [**26**] what is concealed on account of the Sons of Light,[85] so that they might dwell in what is revealed while they possess what is concealed.[86]	"[. . . the Sons] of Light, [so that they can dwell in what is] manifest, [even should they] possess these matters [(that are) concealed].[87]

[80] Not that they are pleasant or pleasing topics, but that James understands the statements.
[81] Brankaer/Bethge, 239 suggests that the seven women-spirits are to be coordinated with the previously mentioned Sophia.
[82] This is a reworking of *Gos. Thom*. 29.
[83] Cf. Luke 1:48: "For behold, henceforth all generations will call me blessed." CT seems to preserve more of the original text, while NH's "All women praise you" seems secondary. However, NH's introductory "And behold!" may be an original element, although it might have been added secondarily from Luke 1:48.
[84] "The Son of Man." This is the sole occurrence of this title in *1 Apoc. Jas*. Here we detect an echo of the Son of Man who throughout the Parables of Enoch reveals hidden secrets and concealed knowledge.
[85] "The Sons of Light." This phrase occurs earlier in the NH version on page 25, and in the CT version on page 12. The usage of this phrase in *1 Apoc. Jas*. does not resemble its use in Luke 16:8 and John 12:36 (see also 1 Thes 5:5 and Eph 5:8) as much as it does in the Qumran literature, where it appears in the context of the apocalyptic war against Rome. I refer to the War Scroll, its full title being War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. The War Scroll *Col*. 1 identifies the Sons of Light first with "the sons of Levi." In 1QS, The Rule of the Community, *Col*. 3,25 "the Sons of Light" are mentioned together with "the spirits of light." Cf. 1 QS *Col*. I,8 –9, "all revealed things . . . the Sons of Light." Compare also the proximity of "Sons of Light" and "spirits" here in *1 Apoc. Jas*. Further, 1QS *Col*. III,13, "the Sons of Light . . . the sons of man." Despite these observations, there is no direct relation between the Dead Sea Scrolls and *1 Apoc. Jas*.
[86] The Sons of Light possess by revelation the divine mysteries, which calls to mind, *mutatis mutandis*, a common Dead Sea Scrolls trope in both the War Scroll and in 1QS. Here in *1 Apoc. Jas*., the concealed-revealed mysteries appear to refer to the teaching concerning the seven women-spirits.
[87] Revelation does not cancel or end the concealed nature of what has been revealed. Concealment and revelation are two manifestations of a single entity.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
	The seven women are seven spirits[88] which were established in the Scripture:	[The seven] women [are] the seven spirits
[**39**] [. . .] a spirit of [wisdom, a spirit] of reflection,[89]	A spirit of wisdom and of intelligence,[90]	[. . .] a spirit [. . .] of thought[91]
[a spirit] of counsel[92] and of [power], a spirit [of mind],[93]	a spirit of counsel[94] [and] of power, a spirit [of] mind	
a spirit of knowledge,[95] [a spirit] of fear.[96]	and [knowledge],[97] a spirit of fear.	[. . .] spirit of fear."
[At that time], when we had passed over [the region of this] archon, who [is named] Adonaios, [I went in] towards him, and [he was] ignorant, [because when] I departed from him, [when he] thought that I am [a] son of his, he was gracious [to me], as though I were his son, and then, before <I> appeared in this place,	When <I> wandered through the land of the great archon who is named Addon, I entered into his presence, and he was ignorant, and when I departed from him, he thought of [me] as his son, and he showed me favor as his own son, and before I came to appear in these places, these[98] were there among this people, the place	

[88] In ancient Semitic languages, words for "spirit" are in general grammatically feminine. This facilitates linking women with the term "spirit."

[89] "Reflection," *eumeue*. The terms for the second spirit in all three versions more closely approximate the Syriac version's *sukkālā*, "intelligence," "reasoning," than they do the Hebrew (*bʰīnāh*), Greek (*sunesis*), or Coptic (*mntrmhēt*) terms, all of which mean "understanding." However, cf. Jerome's translation of *bʰīnāh* in Isa 11:2 as *intellectus*.

[90] "Intelligence," *mnt.sabe*. I would prefer to render *mnt.sabe* as "wisdom," but "the spirit of wisdom and of wisdom" would be odd in English.

[91] "Thought," [*di*]*anoias*. OG Isa 11:2 has in this position of the list of spirits *sunesis*, "understanding," "intelligence." The *Vorlage* of P. Oxy. 5533 does not seem to be necessarily dependent on OG Isa 11:2. In the position of P. Oxy. 5533's *dianoias*, NH has *eumeue*, "reflection," and CT has *mnt.sabe*, "wisdom / intelligence."

[92] "Counsel," *šočne*.

[93] "Thought," or "mind," *nous*, which has no parallel in Isa 11:2, at least not in this position. The NH and CT versions both add *nous* in the sixth position. This is in order to have a total of seven spirits, in contrast to a total of six spirits in Isa 11:2, which has seven spirits only if one counts "the Spirit of the LORD" as the first spirit. Although *nous* has no parallel in the Hebrew text or Greek and Coptic versions of Isa 11:2, it is paralleled in the Syriac version of Isa 11:2, but in the third position, namely, *tarʿīta*, "thought," "plan," "mind," which overlaps semantically with both Greek *boulē* (the third spirit in OG), "counsel," and *nous*, "mind." However, most importantly, Greek *nous* would reflect Syriac *mānā*, "mind," which ties the text back to the passage on the name Mānāēl, "Mind of God."

[94] "Counsel," *sočne*.

[95] "Knowledge," *gnōsis*.

[96] All three versions of *1 Apoc. Jas*. have *hote*, "fear," as the seventh spirit. This does not agree with OG Isa 11:2's *eusebeia*, "piety" (which is the meaning of the reading in Coptic Isa 11:2 as well, *mntrmnnoute*), but with the Hebrew text and the Syriac version (and *Targum Jonathan*), but also with the reworking of Isa 11:2 in the Greek Psalms of Solomon 17:40 (Syriac v. 44).

[97] "Knowledge," *sooune*.

[98] "These," i.e., the seven spirits.

they were brought among[99] [this] people, because in [this place] there were no prophets [. . .]."

[**40**] [. . .] will fulfil.

James [said]: "Rabbi, [you] have [convinced] my heart [of] this. The [seven who were appointed] together, which ones among them are [more honored than the others]?"

The Lord said: "[James], I praise you [on account of your discernment . . .], word [. . .], because [you have] thrown away from [yourself the] cup, that is, the bitterness,[101] [because] none of the [archons] will array themselves against you, [because you] have [begun] to recognize [those who are yours]. From the beginning to the end throw away from yourself all lawlessness,[104] and

where no prophet[100] has spoken without the seven spirits, and these are the seven spirits who have announced me through the mouths of humans, [**27**] as they were able to speak, because I (myself) have not spoken with complete power, but then I came [myself] and have fulfilled (it), although I have not yet fulfilled it (completely)."

"You have again convinced me of all of this. Now, Rabbi, because they have received the seven, and left them together, are there with you some who are more honored than others?"

"I praise you even more, O James, because you ask astutely, and you will not utter a single idle word.[102] [You] are truthfully worthy of your own root, and you have thrown away from yourself the cup of drunkenness.[103] No archon will be able to rise up against you, because you have begun to recognize those who belong to you. Throw far away from yourself all ignorance, until the end, and watch that they do not become envious of you, because you

[99] "Among," or "into," "within," given that the spirit of prophecy is traditionally said to dwell upon or within a prophet.

[100] "No prophet." This likely in part echoes *Gos. Thom*. 31, given that *1 Apoc. Jas*. knows *Gos. Thom*. 28, 29, and 30.

[101] The phrase "the cup of bitterness" occurs earlier in the NH version on page 25, and in CT on page 11. Regarding NH page 40's cup of bitterness, the CT 27 parallel reads "cup of drunkenness." The latter reading seems to have been inspired by the link between bitterness and drunkenness in Lam 3:15, which reads in the Syriac version as, "He has filled me with bitterness (*mrārā*); and he has made me drunk (*wərawwāyny*) with wormwood."

[102] Cf. Matt 12:36.

[103] An allusion to *Gos. Thom*. 28; *1 Apoc. Jas*. also reworks *Gos. Thom.* 29 and 30.

[104] "Lawlessness." CT reads "ignorance." Both are to be correlated with the previously mentioned cup of bitterness-drunkenness. NH correlates bitterness with lawlessness, while CT correlates drunkenness with ignorance. At an earlier stage of transmission, avoiding "lawlessness" would have referred to keeping the Torah. In its current form, "lawlessness" is likely meant as the opposite of justice, as in the *Gospel of Truth* 33,23-31; see Brankaer/Bethge, 241.

take care, so that they do not become envious of you when you speak these [lofty] words. Be in agreement[106] with this [other matter]: Salome,[107] and Mariam,[108] [and Ars]inoe[109] [. . .].[110]

[**41**] [. . . offerings of first-fruits . . ., because] the priest [of the Exalted One] accepts [first-fruits,[113] and] these he

have accepted these words, the lofty-minded knowledge.[105]

Be convinced as well of this other matter, that is, Salome, and Marihamme, and Arsinoe,[111]
whom I will [**28**] bring together with you, because they are worthy of the Existent One, because they have grown sober and have been freed from the blindness in their hearts,[112] and have recognized what I am.

This (came to pass) according to the Providence of the Father, because he has sent me as a priest, and in every place they will be counted among these: the offering of the first-fruits and the firstborn.[114] He receives the offering of the first-fruits and dismembers the sacrifices and

[105] "Lofty-minded knowledge," *p.sooune et.čise n.hēt*, is clearly a play off the subsequent name Arsinoe, from Greek *arsis* + *noos*, "raising," "lifting," + "mind," that is, in effect, Lofty-Mind.
[106] "Be in agreement." A semantic play off the subsequent name Salome, from Hebrew for "peace." In Syriac the verb *šlm* can mean "to make/be at peace" as well as "to agree."
[107] The name Salome is cognate with Syriac pl. *šlamyn*, "offering," which is in fact the next topic in *1 Apoc. Jas*.
[108] Mariam, from Hebrew for "bitter," playing off the earlier-mentioned "bitterness."
[109] Although caution is in order because of the respective lacunae, it appears that in both the NH and CT versions the names Salome and Mariam/Marihamme are intentionally set off on a line of their own, while the next line has an intentional long blank space between the conjunction "and" and the name "Arsinoe." Since this oddity appears to be present in both codices, there is likely an intentional motivation behind it, probably of a numerical nature. This may have something to do with the wording of *Gos. Thom*. 30, Coptic "Where there are three . . . Where there is two or one," Greek "Where there are three . . . Where there is one alone." See April D. DeConick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation: With a Commentary and New English Translation of the Complete Gospel* (Early Christianity in Context 287; London/New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 135–136. Similarly, on NH page 42 and CT page 29 the names Sapphira and Susanna have their own line, with Johanna alone on the next line (NH page 42 *mn Iōanna*; CT page 29 *Iōanna* with preceding *mn* at the end of the line above). One must be cautious again, though, given that the limitations of the available physical space of each line must be taken into account.
[110] On the different opinions about whether or not a fourth name could have been lost here in the NH lacuna, see Brankaer/Bethge, 243–244. Against a fourth name is not only the parallel passage in CT, but the deciding factor is that both versions have James later in the same passage refer to "these three" (NH page 41; CT page 28).
[111] The name Arsinoe is attested in Manichaean literature (see Brankaer/Bethge, 244). This, however, does not require that *1 Apoc. Jas*. learned this name from Manachaean sources. A more likely scenario is that both the Manichaean sources and *1 Apoc. Jas*. learned this name from an older common source.
[112] An echo of *Gos. Thom*. 28.
[113] The first-fruits were offered during the Feast of Shavuot.
[114] "Firstborn," or "first-fruits."

brings [as] burnt offerings and [sacrificial offerings]. I, however, am not of this

kind,[115] but offerings of first-fruits from the [Indestructible One I] bear up[116] to Heaven[117] [and outspread] them, so that the power of [the truth] can appear, because what is destructible[119] has ascended[120] to what is indestructible, and [the] activity of the female has attained to the activity of the male."[121]

James said: "Rabbi, now these three,[122] were they thrown into their [destruction], because they have been abused, and [they have] also [been] persecuted [. . .].

sacrificial offerings, but I am not of this kind. Instead, I receive the offerings of the first-fruits on the part of those who are defiled,[118] and I dispatch them, so that the true power will be revealed, because what is defiled has been separated from what is undefiled, and the activity of the <female> has attained to the male.

"Rabbi, have <not> these three now perished? Have they not suffered? If they truly had been worthy, and had been persecuted by [. . .], even[123] they had been taught (things) that do not exist."

"James, it is not at all necessary that someone [**29**] should perish.[124] These three[125] have been set apart into[126] a

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[115] This seems to be an Ebionite-like polemic against sacrifices. Exactly what kind of symbolic sacrifice Jesus alludes to here becomes clear from NH page 42's "the first-fruits of knowledge."
[116] "Bear up," or "lift/raise up," congruent with Greek *arsis*, "raising," the first element of the name Arsinoe.
[117] Reading uncertain.
[118] "Defiled," or "stained."
[119] "What is destructible," i.e., physical sacrifices.
[120] The noun "ascend" belongs to the biblical vocabulary of sacrificial offerings.
[121] "The female has attained to . . . the male," i.e., weakness has attained to strength. This passage hints, on one level at least, at the trope of the attainment of spiritual androgyny, as in *Gos. Thom*. 22, 114, and the *Gospel of Mary*'s concluding scene.
[122] "These three," grammatically feminine.
[123] "Even," literally, "and."
[124] Cf. Matt 18:14.
[125] "These three . . . a place." An echo of *Gos. Thom*. 30's "place" where "three gods" dwell. This echo is clear, given the reworking of *Gos. Thom*. 29 on NH page 38 and on CT page 25.
[126] "Into," or "to." See Nagel, 115, who renders *eu.ma* as "zu einem Ort," i.e., "to a place." To be rejected is the interpretation "These three women have left the state of faith, for they have received the hidden knowledge," *pace* Antti Marjanen, "The Seven Women Disciples in the Two Versions of the First Apocalypse of James," in April DeConick, ed., *The Codex Judas papers: proceedings of the International Congress on the Tchacos Codex held at Rice University, Houston, Texas, March 13–16, 2008* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 71; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 535–546; here 543. Marjanen in this case misunderstands the noun *pistis* as "faith," in the sense of an intellectual ascent to the religious dogmas of the mainstream churches in contrast to the "gnostic" community of *1 Apoc. Jas*. The fact is that here *pistis* derives from Isa 11:5 (from the same Isaiah 11 passage on the seven spirits), which the Syriac and Targum render with *haymānūt^{h}ā*, whose primary meaning is "faithfulness," "reliability," as is the case with the Hebrew *Vorlage*'s *'ĕmūnāh*, which RSV correctly renders as

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
	place[127] of faithfulness, because [they have obtained] the concealed knowledge.[128] These [are] the names [of] the three: Sapphira,[131] and Susanna,[132] and Joanna.[133]	
[**42**] [. . . Sappira[129] and Susa]nna [and Johanna].[130]		

"faithfulness." *1 Apoc. Jas.* evidently relies on a Semitic text of Isa 11:5, given that OG renders *ʾĕmūnāh* with *alētheia*, "truth."

[127] "Place" and "dwelling-place" are key terms in the Parables of Enoch. Cf. especially 1 En 39:6: "And in that place my eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faithfulness." (R. H. Charles translation modified). "That place" refers to 1 En 39:4's "the dwelling-places of the holy, and the resting-places of the righteous." The "place of faithfulness" that the three martyrs Sapphira, Susanna, and Joanna have received is their post-mortem dwelling-place where divine secrets and wisdom are revealed to them, as described throughout the Parables of Enoch (see especially 1 En 46:3; 48:1). See also the eschatological promise to the persecuted dead, "the good who belong to the generation of light," in 1 Enoch 108:14, "for to the faithful He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths."

[128] This reverses the sequence of the stages of acquisition of faithfulness and knowledge in NHC 29, "because a multitude will [come to] faithfulness, [and] they will increase [in it] until [they come to knowledge]," and in CT 16, "[Many, however], will turn to faithfulness and grow in it, [so that] they will come to knowledge."

[129] Sapphira, etymologically means "sapphire," i.e., lapis lazuli. Given that the text immediately continues with an echo of the beginning of the Parables of Enoch (1 Enoch 37, which develops 1 Enoch 1's opening verses), it is worth pointing out that the conclusion to the Enochic Parables, 1 Enoch 71, a vision of God's throne room, mentions the "hyacinth," Ethiopic *yākent*, which is used to render "sapphire" (i.e., lapis lazuli) in Ezek 28:13 (Hebrew *sappir*; Greek *sapphiron*). See George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *A Commentary on the Book of Enoch Chapters 37–82* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 324. The sapphire/lapis lazuli is a traditional element of the vision of God's throne beginning with Ezek 1:26 and 10:1 (cf. Exod 24:10, where Targums Pseudo-Jonathan and Onqelos explicitly mention the divine throne). See also 1 En 18:8, which likens the throne of God to sapphire (i.e., lapis lazuli).

[130] Given *1 Apoc. Jas*.' interest in name etymologies, here the significance of "Johanna" likely goes beyond the basic fact that a "Johanna" was a known disciple of Jesus in tradition (Luke 8:1–3 and 24:10). One must ask why *1 Apoc. Jas*. mentions this particular name rather than another one known from the gospels, e.g., Martha. It is well known that early Christian tradition viewed Hannah (cognate to "Johanna") as a prototype of Jesus' mother, Mary. Already Luke's *Magnificat*, sung by Mary (Luke 1:46–55) reworks the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10), which celebrates the birth of Samuel. *1 Apoc. Jas.* NH page 38/CT page 25 applies an echo of Luke 1:48, a verse from the *Magnificat*, to the seven women disciples of Jesus. Samuel is prominently linked not only to the Ark of the Covenant, but also to both place names Gilgal and Mizpah (1 Sam 7:16, and throughout 1 Samuel), which are relevant for *1 Apoc. Jas*.' place name Gaugēlan (Galgē[la]m/Golgoul) and proper name Masphēl. The Targum Jonathan at 1 Sam 2:1 depicts Hannah as possessing a prophetic spirit or spirit of prophecy.

[131] The name Sapphira means "sapphire," i.e., lapis lazuli. Cf. Acts 5:1–10, the story of Ananias and Sapphira. Incidentally, the name Ananias is cognate with the name Joanna, the latter meaning "Yah is gracious."

[132] "Susanna," from Hebrew for "lily," "rose." Biblical lilies were red or pink. As sapphires are a feature of the divine throne, so depictions of lilies accompanied the figures of cherubim in the temple of Solomon (1 King 6:32,35), and lilies ornamented the Holy of Holies which contained the Ark of the Covenant (1 King 6:18–19). Cherubim were placed atop the Ark of the Covenant, representing the divine throne; see also Ezekiel 10's cherubim linked to the divine chariot-throne. Lily figures also adorned the temple menorah consisting of seven lamps. Perhaps *1 Apoc. Jas*. implicitly links Isaiah 11:2's seven spirits with the seven lamps of the menorah.

[133] *1 Apoc. Jas*. refers to seven women-spirits, but mentions only six names, i.e., Salome, Mariam, Arsinoe, Sapphira, Susanna, and Johanna. This is probably an intentional hint at the fact that Isa 11:2 actually names only six spirits, if one does not count "the Spirit of the LORD." Psalms of Solomon 17:37–40 (Syriac 42–44) in its reworking of Isa 11:2 omits the spirit of knowledge, substituting it with "righteousness," derived from Isa 11:5. Psalms of Solomon 18:7 shortens the spirits to four, in the sequence fear (of God), wisdom, righteousness, strength. The correlation between knowledge and righteousness may be explained as follows. After Isaiah 11:2's "the Spirit of the LORD," this phrase occurs next in Isaiah 40:13. The next verse uses justice/righteousness in poetic parallelism with "knowledge." Cf. Isa 53:11, "by his *knowledge* shall the *righteous* one. . . ." (Isa 33:6's "wisdom and knowledge; the fear of the LORD" also echoes Isa 11:2). 1Q28 (Rule of the Blessings) *Col*. V,25 shortens the list of Isa 11:2's spirits to four, namely, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, fear of God.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
Behold! [I] have [revealed] every matter [to you, and I have] in no respect [omitted (anything) . . .],[134] because you have obtained [the first-fruits[137] offering] of knowledge, and now [you know] which [place][138] it is [to which you will] go. [. . ., and] you will [also find rest].[139]	Behold! I have revealed to you all things, and you are not alien to these words, because you have obtained the summit[135] of knowledge[136] [concerning your root] from those that belong to you. Furthermore, go, and you [will] also [find] rest.	
I, however, will depart, and I will appear [to them], because they have been faithful to you, so that [they] will be in agreement[140] for their [blessing] and salvation,[141] and so that this	I, [however, I will] go to these and appear to them, because [. . .]."	

[134] This is an echo of 1 En 37:3: "Hear, you men of old time, and see (*wärəʾayu*), you that come after, the words of the Holy One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare (them only) to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom." (R. H. Charles translation modified).

[135] Here *archē* bears the meaning "sum," which can be extended to "summit," especially in view of the biblical Semitic terms behind the biblical LXX (OG) *archē*. Syriac *rēšā*, like its Hebrew cognate *rēʾšīt*^{h}, literally means "head," "chief." See the discussion on the term in 1 En 37:3 in George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *A Commentary on the Book of Enoch Chapters 37–82*, 88.

[136] Literally, "the beginning of knowledge," *arc*^{h}*ē mpsooune* (CT *gnōsis*), an echo of Prov 1:7 (cf. also Sir 1:12), which is synonymous with the phrase "the beginning of wisdom" in Prov 4:7 (lacking in the Greek and Coptic versions). However, *1 Apoc. Jas*. here does not depend on OG Prov 1:7, which instead reads *archē sophias*, "beginning of *wisdom*" (the same reading occurs in the Coptic version), in agreement with 9:10, nor does it depend on the Syriac of Prov 1:7, *rēš ḥek*^{h}*mət*^{h}*ā*, "beginning/summit of wisdom." In this case, the reliance would be on either the Hebrew text or on an Aramaic Targum.

1 Apoc. Jas.' reference to the beginning of "knowledge" is prompted by the earlier mention of Isa 11:2's spirit of knowledge. *1 Apoc. Jas*.' "the beginning of knowledge" also may be inspired partly by the phrase "the beginning of wisdom" in 1 Enoch 37. This is because this *1 Apoc. Jas*. passage's tropes of words (especially 1 En 37:2, "this is the beginning of the *words* of wisdom"), plenary revelation, place, persecution, martyrdom, concealed knowledge, faithfulness (based on Isa 11:5), blessing, salvation, departure, and rest/repose are all prominent themes in the Parables of Enoch.

The Enoch text, incidentally, reworks Isaiah 11's list of seven spirits in 1 En 49:3 and 61:11, the latter beginning with "the spirit of faithfulness and the spirit of wisdom." The reworking of the seven spirits of Isaiah 11 in 1 Enoch 49 concludes with "and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep [i.e., died] in righteousness." Contextually, it is very likely that this includes the martyrs. This Enochic background finally explains the unusual identification of the seven spirits of Isaiah 11 with seven women disciples in *1 Apoc. Jas.*, of whom at least three are martyrs.

[137] The first-fruits are the best fruits. Consequently, the "first-fruits of knowledge" in NHC overlaps semantically with the "beginning/summit of knowledge" in CT. In Hebrew, the first word in the phrase first-fruits is *rēʾšīt*^{h}.

[138] The eschatological place of rest, like the post-mortem "place of faithfulness" obtained by the three martyrs Sapphira, Susanna, and Joanna.

[139] For the lexical links of finding + rest, see 1 En 63:6. "Rest" and "resting-places" are key tropes throughout the Parables of Enoch.

[140] "In agreement" anticipates the subsequent "among them a unity."

[141] The constellation of faithfulness, unity, blessing, salvation, and revelation indicates we have here an echo of 1 En 61:9–12, where all spirits, including the spirit of faithfulness, unite as one in agreement to bless the Lord of spirits in what is a reworking of the Jewish liturgy's Qedushah, based on Isa 6:3. Revelation is mentioned in 1

revelation may be realized." And at that time he went away.

James Convinces the Twelve

He immediately upbraided the twelve, and bestowed [among them] a unity [and an efflu]ence of knowledge[142] [. . .].

[. . . the] twelve [on account of their un]faithfulness [. . .], he spoke to them [. . .] and knowledge [. . .] he convinced them [. . .] from them [. . .] also the remainder [. . .].

Conclusion: The Martyrdom of James

After [some time] it came to pass that they apprehended James in place of another man, [**30**] after making accusation against him, because he had fled [from them], but [they had thrown him into] prison for ten [days], and it was someone else with the name who came out of the dungeon.

They took this this one into custody instead of him, and brought him before the judges.

[**43**] [. . .]. Instead of [. . .].

However, the majority of the [judges], when they recognized [that] there was no (legal) cause against him, [they released] him.

Most of the judges saw that there was nothing for which to fault him, and they [let him] go free.

The [others and] the people [apprehended him], saying to those who had risen up: "[Let us] take [this one] from this earth, because he is not [worthy] of life."[143]

The others, however, and the whole people lined themselves up, and said: "Take him away from the earth. He is not [worthy of life]."

These now grew afraid.

These, however, grew afraid, [lifted themselves up], and

En 61:5,13. 1 En 61:4 mentions "faithfulness" and "righteousness," echoing Isa 11:5. The nearby 1 En 62:13 refers to salvation. Similarly, the other Enochic passage that reworks the seven spirits of Isaiah 11's, 1 En 49:3, is preceded in 48:7–8 by mentions of salvation.

[142] "Effluence of knowledge." Cf. 1 En 49:1, "For wisdom is poured out like water," 51:3, "And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel." Cf. also 1 En 48:1, "fountains of wisdom."

[143] Cf. OG Isa 3:10; Wis 2:19-20.

Nag Hammadi Codex V, 3	Codex Tchacos 2	P.Oxy. 5533
They rose up, saying: "We have no part in this blood, because a just man will perish by injustice."	said, "We have no [part] in [the blood of this man . . .]."	
James went, so that [. . .]. [**44**] [. . .].	He thought [. . .] he became [. . .] because the men [. . .] him, however [. . ., and] as they were stoning [him], he said:	
"[My] Father [in heaven, forgive] them, because [they know] not what [they do]."[144]	"My Father, [who is in] heaven, forgive them, because they [know] <not> what they do."	
The Apocalypse of James	**James**	

[144] Cf. Luke 23:34, combined with the opening of the *Pater Noster*.

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PREFACE

This volume is a thorough revision of *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. The first edition, published in 1977, marked the end of one stage of Nag Hammadi scholarship and the beginning of another. The first stage was concerned with making this library of texts available; the second stage has been characterized by the discussion and interpretation of the texts.

The library of fourth-century papyrus manuscripts consists of twelve codices plus eight leaves from a thirteenth and contains fifty-two separate tractates. Due to duplications there are forty-five separate titles. Because the majority of the library's tractates derive from the Hellenistic sects now called gnostic, and survive in Coptic translations, it is characterized as the Coptic Gnostic Library. Scholarly rivalries and the situation in Egypt in the years following the library's discovery in 1945 hindered work on the manuscripts. Twenty years after the discovery only a small percentage of the texts had been edited and translated, mostly by European scholars, and less than ten percent had become available in English translations. In 1966 the team responsible for the present volume began to come together into "The Coptic Gnostic Library Project" under the auspices of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California.

The editing and translating of the library could only proceed as the manuscripts became accessible. In 1970 the Ministry of Culture of the Arab Republic of Egypt, together with UNESCO, named an International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices. The representative of the United States, James M. Robinson, was elected secretary. The primary task of the committee was to oversee the publication of photographic facsimiles. Between 1972 and 1977 the entire library was thus published by E.J. Brill of Leiden as *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*. These were followed in 1979 with the publication of the *Cartonnage* volume and in 1984 with an *Introduction* volume, completing the twelve-volume *Facsimile Edition*. That edition was facilitated by members of The Coptic Gnostic Library Project working in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo between 1971 and 1977 to reconstruct and conserve the manuscripts.

In 1977, coinciding with the availability of the library's complete contents in facsimile form, E.J. Brill and Harper & Row published the first

edition of *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. The one-volume English translation was brought out as the project was beginning to publish its major scholarly work, a complete critical edition, *The Coptic Gnostic Library*. This series of volumes contains the edited Coptic text with English translations, introductions, notes, and indices. It includes the entire Nag Hammadi library plus three similar manuscripts housed in Berlin, London, and Oxford. The volumes and the editors of *The Coptic Gnostic Library*, published by E.J. Brill, are as follows: *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, Volume 1: *Introduction, Texts and Translation*; Volume 2: *Notes*, volume editor Harold W. Attridge, 1985; *Nag Hammadi Codices II,1 and IV,1: The Apocryphon of John, Long Recension*, edited by Frederik Wisse, forthcoming; *Nag Hammadi Codex II,2-7, together with XIII,2*, Brit. Lib. Or. 4926 (I) and P. Oxy. 1,654,655*, Volume I: *Gospel of Thomas, Gospel of Philip, Hypostasis of the Archons, Indexes*; Volume 2: *On the Origin of the World, Exegesis on the Soul, Book of Thomas, Indexes*, edited by Bentley Layton, in the press; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,1 and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,2: The Apocryphon of John, Short Recension*, edited by Peter Nagel, volume editor Frederik Wisse, forthcoming; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)*, edited by Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib, 1975; *Nag Hammadi Codices III,3-4 and V,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1081: Eugnostos and The Sophia of Jesus Christ*, edited and translated by Douglas M. Parrott, in the press; *Nag Hammadi Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Savior*, volume editor Stephen Emmel, 1984; *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4*, volume editor Douglas M. Parrott, 1979; *Nag Hammadi Codex VII*, volume editor Frederik Wisse, forthcoming; *Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, volume editor John Sieber, forthcoming; *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, volume editor Birger A. Pearson, 1981; *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII and XIII*, volume editor Charles W. Hedrick, in the press; *Nag Hammadi Codices: Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Cartonnage of the Covers*, edited by J.W.B. Barns †, G.M. Browne, and J.C. Shelton, 1981; *Pistis Sophia*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, 1978; *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, text edited by Carl Schmidt, translation and notes by Violet MacDermot, volume editor R. McL. Wilson, 1978.

In 1981 and 1984 respectively, Harper & Row and E.J. Brill published

paperback editions of *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. These included an addition to the translation of *The Dialogue of the Savior* based on fragments (144,15-146,24) discovered by Stephen Emmel in the Beinecke Library at Yale University.

At the time of the publication of *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* more than a decade ago, only one title in the Coptic Gnostic Library series had appeared in print. Now, with that series nearing completion, the present book has been extensively revised to bring the translations into conformity with the critical edition's final translations. In the case of the earlier volumes to appear, an occasional improvement on the critical edition has been made. Research in the field of Gnosticism, greatly stimulated by the work of The Coptic Gnostic Library Project, has also developed during the past ten years. New tractate introductions have been written to acknowledge the ongoing discussion. Since several titles appear in the library in more than one version, it has been possible to combine fragmentary versions of some texts to produce more complete translations. Two titles from the closely related Berlin Gnostic Papyrus are also included.

Since the original manuscripts of the library are fragmentary in many places, ellipsis dots (. . .) are included to indicate the place, but not the extent, of all lacunae. The page and line numbers of the papyrus codex, given in the translations, should indicate the extent of the damage. A complete portrayal of the physical condition of the manuscripts is given in *The Facsimile Edition* and in the critical edition, *The Coptic Gnostic Library*. The textual signs that appear in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* are those found in the critical edition; the reader is referred to those volumes for more scholarly matters. An ongoing bibliography in the field of gnostic studies is provided by David M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969*, volume one of the series *Nag Hammadi Studies*, published by E.J. Brill in 1971, with annual updates in the journal *Novum Testamentum*. All these supplements are soon to be merged with each other and published in *Nag Hammadi Studies* in a volume entitled *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1970-1985*. Two books recently published by Harper & Row present discussions of ancient Gnosticism and its modern scholarship: *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism*, 1983, by Kurt Rudolph; and *The Jesus of Heresy and History: The Discovery and Meaning of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic Library*, 1988, by John Dart.

The Coptic Gnostic Library Project has been generously supported over the years by many organizations which we would like to thank: The

Egyptian Antiquities Organization, UNESCO, the American Research Center in Egypt, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the American Philosophical Society, the Smithsonian Institution, and The Claremont Graduate School. In final appreciation, it should be said that the preparation of this thoroughly revised new edition was rendered considerably easier by the work done in the preparation of the first edition by its Managing Editor, Marvin W. Meyer.

Richard Smith
Managing Editor

TABLE OF TRACTATES IN THE COPTIC GNOSTIC LIBRARY

The following table lists, for the thirteen Nag Hammadi Codices and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, the codex and tractate numbers, the tractate titles as used in this edition (the titles found in the tractates themselves, sometimes simplified and standardized, or, when the tractate bears no surviving title, one supplied by the editors), and the abbreviations of these titles.

I,*1*	*The Prayer of the Apostle Paul*	*Pr. Paul*
I,*2*	*The Apocryphon of James*	*Ap. Jas.*
I,*3*	*The Gospel of Truth*	*Gos. Truth*
I,*4*	*The Treatise on the Resurrection*	*Treat. Res.*
I,*5*	*The Tripartite Tractate*	*Tri. Trac.*
II,*1*	*The Apocryphon of John*	*Ap. John*
II,*2*	*The Gospel of Thomas*	*Gos. Thom.*
II,*3*	*The Gospel of Philip*	*Gos. Phil.*
II,*4*	*The Hypostasis of the Archons*	*Hyp. Arch.*
II,*5*	*On the Origin of the World*	*Orig. World*
II,*6*	*The Exegesis on the Soul*	*Exeg. Soul*
II,*7*	*The Book of Thomas the Contender*	*Thom. Cont.*
III,*1*	*The Apocryphon of John*	*Ap. John*
III,*2*	*The Gospel of the Egyptians*	*Gos. Eg.*
III,*3*	*Eugnostos the Blessed*	*Eugnostos*
III,*4*	*The Sophia of Jesus Christ*	*Soph. Jes. Chr.*
III,*5*	*The Dialogue of the Savior*	*Dial. Sav.*
IV,*1*	*The Apocryphon of John*	*Ap. John*
IV,*2*	*The Gospel of the Egyptians*	*Gos. Eg.*
V,*1*	*Eugnostos the Blessed*	*Eugnostos*
V,*2*	*The Apocalypse of Paul*	*Apoc. Paul*
V,*3*	*The (First) Apocalypse of James*	1 *Apoc. Jas.*
V,*4*	*The (Second) Apocalypse of James*	2 *Apoc. Jas.*
V,*5*	*The Apocalypse of Adam*	*Apoc. Adam*
VI,*1*	*The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles*	*Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*
VI,*2*	*The Thunder: Perfect Mind*	*Thund.*
VI,*3*	*Authoritative Teaching*	*Auth. Teach.*

VI,4	*The Concept of Our Great Power*	*Great Pow.*
VI,5	*Plato, Republic 588a-589b*	*Plato Rep.*
VI,6	*The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*	*Disc. 8-9*
VI,7	*The Prayer of Thanksgiving*	*Pr. Thanks.*
VI,7a	*Scribal Note*	*Scribal Note*
VI,8	*Asclepius 21-29*	*Asclepius*
VII,1	*The Paraphrase of Shem*	*Paraph. Shem*
VII,2	*The Second Treatise of the Great Seth*	*Treat. Seth*
VII,3	*Apocalypse of Peter*	*Apoc. Peter*
VII,4	*The Teachings of Silvanus*	*Teach. Silv.*
VII,5	*The Three Steles of Seth*	*Steles Seth*
VIII,1	*Zostrianos*	*Zost.*
VIII,2	*The Letter of Peter to Philip*	*Ep. Pet. Phil.*
IX,1	*Melchizedek*	*Melch.*
IX,2	*The Thought of Norea*	*Norea*
IX,3	*The Testimony of Truth*	*Testim. Truth*
X	*Marsanes*	*Marsanes*
XI,1	*The Interpretation of Knowledge*	*Interp. Know.*
XI,2	*A Valentinian Exposition*	*Val. Exp.*
XI,2a	*On the Anointing*	*On Anoint.*
XI,2b	*On Baptism A*	*On Bap. A*
XI,2c	*On Baptism B*	*On Bap. B*
XI,2d	*On the Eucharist A*	*On Euch. A*
XI,2e	*On the Eucharist B*	*On Euch. B*
XI,3	*Allogenes*	*Allogenes*
XI,4	*Hypsiphrone*	*Hypsiph.*
XII,1	*The Sentences of Sextus*	*Sent. Sextus*
XII,2	*The Gospel of Truth*	*Gos. Truth*
XII,3	*Fragments*	*Frm.*
XIII,1	*Trimorphic Protennoia*	*Trim. Prot.*
XIII,2	*On the Origin of the World*	*Orig. World*
BG,1	*The Gospel of Mary*	*Gos. Mary*
BG,2	*The Apocryphon of John*	*Ap. John*
BG,3	*The Sophia of Jesus Christ*	*Soph. Jes. Chr.*
BG,4	*The Act of Peter*	*Act Pet.*

References to the Nag Hammadi tractates, and to the texts in Berlin Gnostic Papyrus, are to page and line number, except for references to *The Gospel of Thomas*, which are to saying number.

TEXTUAL SIGNS

Small strokes above the line indicate line divisions. Every fifth line a small number is inserted in place of a stroke; the frequency of these numbers, however, may vary in tractates which are quite fragmentary. A new page is indicated with a number in bold type. When the beginning of a new line or page coincides with the opening of a paragraph, the line divider or number is placed at the end of the previous paragraph.

[ ] Square brackets indicate a lacuna in the manuscript. When the text cannot be reconstructed, three dots are placed within the brackets, regardless of the size of the lacuna; a fourth dot, if appropriate, may function as a period. An exception to this rule is the occasional use of a different number of dots to estimate the extent of the missing portion of a proper noun. In a few instances the dots are used without brackets to indicate a series of Coptic letters which do not constitute a translatable sense unit. A bracket is not allowed to divide a word, except for a hyphenated word or a proper noun. Other words are placed entirely inside or outside the brackets, depending on the certainty of the Coptic word and the number of Coptic letters visible.

⟨ ⟩ Pointed brackets indicate a correction of a scribal omission or error. The translator has either inserted letters unintentionally omitted by the scribe, or replaced letters erroneously inserted with what the scribe presumably intended to write.

{ } Braces indicate superfluous letters or words added by the scribe.

( ) Parentheses indicate material supplied by the editor or translator. Although this material may not directly reflect the text being translated, it provides useful information for the reader.

INTRODUCTION

by

JAMES M. ROBINSON

1. The Stance of the Texts

The Nag Hammadi library is a collection of religious texts that vary widely from each other as to when, where, and by whom they were written. Even the points of view diverge to such an extent that the texts are not to be thought of as coming from one group or movement. Yet these diversified materials must have had something in common that caused them to be chosen by those who collected them. The collectors no doubt contributed to this unity by finding in the texts hidden meanings not fully intended by the original authors. After all, one of them, *The Gospel of Thomas*, begins with a word to the wise: "Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will not experience death." Thus the texts can be read at two levels: what the original author may have intended to communicate and what the texts may subsequently have been taken to communicate.

The focus that brought the collection together is an estrangement from the mass of humanity, an affinity to an ideal order that completely transcends life as we know it, and a life-style radically other than common practice. This life-style involved giving up all the goods that people usually desire and longing for an ultimate liberation. It is not an aggressive revolution that is intended, but rather a withdrawal from involvement in the contamination that destroys clarity of vision.

As such, the focus of this library has much in common with primitive Christianity, with eastern religion, and with "holy men" (and women) of all times, as well as with the more secular equivalents of today, such as the counter-culture movements coming from the 1960s. Disinterest in the goods of a consumer society, withdrawal into communes of the like-minded away from the bustle and clutter of big-city distraction, non-involvement in the compromises of political process, sharing an in-group's knowledge both of the disaster-course of the culture and of an ideal, radical alternative not commonly known – all this in modern garb is the real challenge rooted in such materials as the Nag Hammadi library.

To be sure, these roots, fascinating and provocative as they are, can also be confusing and even frustrating, not only for the person scarcely open to what they have to say, but also to the more attentive who seek to follow the light glimmering through the flow of language. For the point of the Nag Hammadi library has been battered and fragmented by the historical process through which it has finally come to light. A salvage operation is needed at many levels if that point is to be grasped clearly today. The ancient world's religious and philosophical traditions and mythology were all that was available to express what was in fact a quite untraditional stance. Indeed the stance was too radical to establish itself within the organized religions or philosophical schools of the day, and hence was hardly able to take advantage of the culture's educational institutions to develop and clarify its implications. Gnostic schools began to emerge within Christianity and Neoplatonism, until both agreed in excluding them as the "heresy" of Gnosticism. Thus meaningful and eloquent myths and philosophic formulations of that radical stance became in their turn garbled traditions, re-used by later and lesser authors whose watered-down, not to say muddied, version may be most of what has survived ... though there are several "classics" in the Nag Hammadi library.

The texts were translated one by one from Greek into Coptic, and not always by translators capable of grasping the profundity or sublimity of what they sought to translate. The translator of a brief section of Plato's *Republic* clearly did not understand the text, though it obviously seemed edifying and worth translating. Fortunately, most texts are better translated, but when there are duplications one can sense what a difference the better translation makes in comparison to the poor translation – which leads one to wonder about the bulk of the texts that exist only in a single version.

There is the same kind of hazard in the transmission of the texts by a series of scribes who copied them, generation after generation, from increasingly corrupt copies, first in Greek and then in Coptic. The number of unintentional errors is hard to estimate, since such a thing as a clean control copy does not exist; nor does one have, as in the case of the Bible, a quantity of manuscripts of the same text that tend to correct each other when compared. Only when the error can be detected as such in the sole copy we have can it be corrected. In addition there is the physical deterioration of the books themselves, which began no doubt before they were buried around 400 C.E., advanced steadily while they remained buried, and unfortunately was not completely halted in the period between their

discovery in 1945 and their final conservation some thirty years later. When only a few letters are missing, they can often be filled in adequately, but larger holes must simply remain a blank.

The reader should not be misled by such impediments to understanding into thinking that the stance inherent in these essays is unworthy of serious consideration. Rather, we have to do here with an understanding of existence, an answer to the human dilemma, an attitude toward society, that is worthy of being taken quite seriously by anyone able and willing to grapple with such ultimate issues. This basic stance has until now been known almost exclusively through the myopic view of heresy-hunters, who often quote only to refute or ridicule. Thus the coming to light of the Nag Hammadi library gives unexpected access to the gnostic stance as Gnostics themselves presented it. It may provide new roots for the uprooted.

Those who collected this library were Christians, and many of the essays were originally composed by Christian authors. In a sense this should not be surprising, since primitive Christianity was itself a radical movement. Jesus called for a full reversal of values, advocating the end of the world as we have known it and its replacement by a quite new, utopian kind of life in which the ideal would be real. He took a stand quite independent of the authorities of his day . . . and did not last very long before they eliminated him. Yet his followers reaffirmed his stand – for them he came to personify the ultimate goal. Yet some of his circle, being a bit more practical, followed a more conventional way of life. The circle gradually became an established organization with a quite natural concern to maintain order, continuity, lines of authority, and stability. But this concern could encourage a commitment to the status quo, rivaling, and at times outweighing, the commitment to the ultimate goal far beyond any and every achievement. Those who cherished the radical dream, the ultimate hope, would tend to throw it up as an invidious comparison to what was achieved, and thus seem to be disloyal, and to pose a serious threat to the organization.

As the cultural situation changed with the passage of time and the shift of environments, the language for expressing such radical transcendence itself underwent change. The world of thought from which Jesus and his first followers had come was the popular piety of the Jewish synagogue, focused in terms of John the Baptist's rite of transition from the old regime to the new ideal world whose dramatic arrival was forthcoming. In this way of thinking, the evil system that prevails is not the way things inherently are. In principle, though not in practice, the world is good.

The evil that pervades history is a blight, ultimately alien to the world as such. But for some, the outlook on life increasingly darkened; the very origin of the world was attributed to a terrible fault, and evil was given status as the ultimate ruler of the world, not just a usurpation of authority. Hence the only hope seemed to reside in escape. Because humans, or at least some humans, are at heart not the product of such an absurd system, but by their very nature belong to the ultimate. Their plight is that they have been duped and lured into the trap of trying to be content in the impossible world, alienated from their true home. And for some, concentrated inwardness undistracted by external factors came to be the only way to attain the repose, the overview, the merger into the All which is the destiny of one's spark of the divine.

Christian Gnosticism thus emerged as a reaffirmation, though in somewhat different terms, of the original stance of transcendence central to the very beginnings of Christianity. Such Gnostic Christians surely considered themselves the faithful continuation, under changing circumstances, of that original stance which made Christians Christians. But the "somewhat different terms" "under changing circumstances" also involved real divergences, and other Christians clearly considered Gnosticism a betrayal of the original Christian position. This was the conviction of not just those who had accommodated themselves to the status quo, but no doubt also of some who retained the full force of the original protest and ultimate hope. The departure from the original language could be exploited to unite opposition across the breadth of the church. Thus Gnostics came to be excluded from the church as heretics.

In the New Testament two such Gnostic Christians are repudiated at the beginning of the second century (2 Timothy 2:16-18):

> Avoid empty and worldly chatter; those who indulge in it will stray further and further into godless courses, and the infection of their teaching will spread like a gangrene. Such are Hymenaeus and Philetus; they have shot wide of the truth in saying that our resurrection has already taken place, and are upsetting people's faith.

This view, that the Christian's resurrection has already taken place as a spiritual reality, is advocated in *The Treatise on the Resurrection*, *The Exegesis on the Soul*, and *The Gospel of Philip* in the Nag Hammadi library!

But the Nag Hammadi library also documents the fact that the rejection was mutual, in that Christians described there as "heretical" seem to be more like what is usually thought of as "orthodox." *The*

Apocalypse of Peter has Jesus criticize mainstream Christianity as follows:

> They will cleave to the name of a dead man, thinking that they will become pure. But they will become greatly defiled and they will fall into the name of error and into the hand of an evil, cunning man and a manifold dogma, and they will be ruled heretically. For some of them will blaspheme the truth and proclaim evil teaching. And they will say evil things against each other ... But many others, who oppose the truth and are the messengers of error, will set up their error and their law against these pure thoughts of mine, as looking out from one (perspective), thinking that good and evil are from one (source). They do business in my word ... And there shall be others of those who are outside our number who name themselves bishop and also deacons, as if they have received their authority from God. They bend themselves under the judgement of the leaders. These people are dry canals.

With the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity of the more conventional kind, the survival chances of Gnostic Christianity, such as that reflected in the Nag Hammadi library, were sharply reduced. The Bishop of Cyprus, Epiphanius, whose main work was a "medicine chest" against all heresies, describes his encounter with Gnosticism in Egypt about the same time the Nag Hammadi library was being collected:

> For I happened on this sect myself, beloved, and was actually taught these things in person, out of the mouths of practising Gnostics. Not only did women under this delusion offer me this line of talk, and divulge this sort of things to me. With impudent boldness moreover, they tried to seduce me themselves ... But the merciful God rescued me from their wickedness, and thus – after reading them and their books, understanding their true intent and not being carried away with them, and after escaping without taking the bait – I lost no time reporting them to the bishops there, and finding out which ones were hidden in the church. Thus they were expelled from the city, about eighty persons, and the city was cleared of their tarelike, thorny growth.

Gnosticism was ultimately eradicated from Christendom, except for occasional underground movements, some affinities in medieval mysticism, and an occasional tamed echo that stays just within the limits of propriety, for example within English romanticism:

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting
> And Cometh from afar.
> ...
> The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

Gnosticism of sorts was also able to continue beyond the frontiers of the Roman-Empire-become-Christendom. It is still extant in the war-torn area of Iraq and Iran in the form of a small sect called Mandeans, which is their word for "knowers," that is to say, "Gnostics."

This same withdrawal to inwardness or despair of the world from which the Gnostic stance emerged, swept not only through early Christianity to produce Christian Gnosticism, but also through late antiquity in general, thus producing forms of Gnosticism outside of Christianity. There is a long-standing debate among historians of religion as to whether Gnosticism is to be understood as only an inner-Christian development or as a movement broader than, and hence independent of, and perhaps even prior to Christianity. This debate seems to be resolving itself, on the basis of the Nag Hammadi library, in favor of understanding Gnosticism as a much broader phenomenon than the Christian Gnosticism documented by the heresiologists.

There is, to begin with, the question of Jewish Gnosticism. It would seem that there is considerable historical truth to the view of the heresiologists, to the effect that some Christian heresies go back to Jewish sects. After all, Christianity itself grew up within Judaism, and it would be surprising if it did not reflect various strands of the Judaism of the day. Primitive Christianity was itself not a unified movement. The Jewish Christianity of the first generation in Galilee that developed the collection of sayings imbedded in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke may well have been considered heretical even by Paul and the Hellenists, and the feeling may have been mutual. Paul clearly rejected as heretical the Christian "Judaizers." Then later in the first century all the various strands of Jewish Christianity were excluded from Judaism, as "normative" Judaism emerged in response to the threat to Jewish identity posed by the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.

Some of the gnostic essays in the Nag Hammadi library do not seem to reflect Christian tradition, but do build upon the Old Testament, which was of course also the Jewish Bible. But the very idea of Jewish Gnosticism is at times rejected as a contradiction in terms. How could Jews designate their God as the malevolent force whose misguided blunder produced the world, a God who was ignorant of the hidden good God beyond? Since Christians worship the same God as do Jews, this argument could also be made against the very idea of Christian Gnosticism. But since the early Christian heresy-hunters clearly identified Gnostics as Christians, though of course heretical Christians, the concept of Christian Gnosticism is firmly established. To use another

analogy, Simon Magus, one of the earliest known Gnostics, was from Samaria, although the Samaritans worshipped in their own way the same God as did the Jews and Christians. Hence the concept of Jewish Gnostics is intelligible, even if, from a given normative point of view, the validity of using the word Jewish, Christian, or Samaritan for such a person or text may be contested. Of course we do not actually know the Gnostics who built upon Jewish or Old Testament traditions, other than through the texts containing such traditions, so that all one really has in view in speaking of Jewish Gnosticism is just Jewish cultural traditions lacking visible Christian overlay, without necessarily any further identification of the bearers of these traditions.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has already drawn attention to the fact that first-century Judaism was quite pluralistic in its theological positions, and contained a number of divergent groups or sects. The Essenes, prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, were in a situation much like the Gnostics prior to the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library: they too were a movement about which too little was known to be treated with the seriousness it deserved. Now we know that the Essenes were a Jewish sect that had broken with the official Judaism of the Jerusalem temple and had withdrawn to the desert at the Wadi Qumran. They understood their situation in terms of the antithesis of light and darkness, truth and lie, a dualism that ultimately went back to Persian dualism – and then moved forward toward Gnosticism. The history of Gnosticism, as documented in the Nag Hammadi library, takes up about where the history of the Essenes, as documented by the Dead Sea Scrolls, breaks off. Later Jewish mystical traditions, traced especially by Gershom Scholem, have shown that, inconsistent though it seems, gnostic trends have continued to carry on a clandestine existence within the context of normative Judaism.

Some traits previously thought to be characteristic of Christian Gnosticism have been shown by the Nag Hammadi library to be originally non-Christian, though a Jewish ingredient is unmistakable. Irenaeus presents Barbelo as the leading mythological figure of a Christian Gnostic group designated "Barbelo-Gnostics." But *The Three Steles of Seth* is a Gnostic text without Christian ingredients that nonetheless gives Barbelo a prominent position. Hippolytus cites a "Paraphrase of Seth" as a Christian Gnostic text. But a very similar Nag Hammadi text, *The Paraphrase of Shem*, lacks a Christian ingredient. It is understandable that Christian heresiologists were primarily concerned to refute the Christian form of gnostic texts and movements. But this should not be

taken to indicate that the Christian form is the original form, especially when the Nag Hammadi discovery gives documentation of a non-Christian form.

Another instance, though in this case not necessarily gnostic, is the mythological birth narrative in Revelation 12, which commentators have had the greatest difficulty in deriving from any version of the birth stories about Jesus. But *The Apocalypse of Adam* has a series of non-Christian narrations of the coming of the savior that have much the same outline, and thus show a shared mythological background that is not Christian.

It is especially the Sethian texts in the Nag Hammadi library that as a group attest a non-Christian Gnosticism that had not been previously documented so clearly. The Sethian corpus spans the transition from non-Christian to Christianized Gnosticism, as has been summarized by the leading expert on Sethianism as follows: "Most writings of our text group contain no Christian elements at all (*The Three Steles of Seth, Allogenes, Marsanes, The Thought of Norea*); others contain barely Christian motifs (*Zostrianus, The Apocalypse of Adam*) or display only here and there a Christian veneer (*Trimorphic Protennoia, The Gospel of the Egyptians*); while only a few (*The Hypostasis of the Archons, Melchizedek, The Apocryphon of John*) come near to being what is called Christian Gnosis."

In none of these Sethian instances can one derive the texts or their mythology primarily from Christian tradition. For the Christian ingredient seems so external to the main thrust of the text that one is inclined to think it was added by a Christian editor, translator, or scribe to what had been originally composed as a non-Christian text, even though the purely non-Christian form is no longer extant. For example, the *Trimorphic Protennoia*, where a secondary Christianizing has taken place, has nonetheless its roots in the same Jewish wisdom speculation as does the Prologue of the Gospel of John. It is also part of this Christianizing trend when "the Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit" is given by some scribe the secondary title "The Gospel of the Egyptians." Thus one concludes that though the Sethian corpus was obviously usable by Christians (as were other non-Christian texts such as the Old Testament), it derives from non-Christian "Jewish" Gnosticism.

The Nag Hammadi library even presents one instance of the Christianizing process taking place almost before one's eyes. The non-Christian philosophic treatise *Eugnostos the Blessed* is cut up somewhat arbitrarily into separate speeches, which are then put on Jesus' tongue, in answer to questions (which sometimes do not quite fit the answers) that the dis-

ciples address to him during a resurrection appearance. The result is a separate tractate entitled *The Sophia of Jesus Christ*. Both forms of the text occur side by side in Codex III.

Some of the Nag Hammadi texts, and again often the Sethian traditions, seem to have appropriated a philosophic and Neoplatonic orientation. Plotinus, the leading Neoplatonist of the third century C.E., does in fact refer to Gnostics within his school: "We feel a certain regard for some of our friends who happened upon this way of thinking before they became our friends, and, though I do not know how they manage it, continue in it." But the school turned against Gnosticism, as Plotinus' polemics indicate. His pupil Porphyry reports in his *Life of Plotinus*:

> There were in his time many Christians and others, and sectarians who had abandoned the old philosophy, men ... who ... produced revelations by Zoroaster and Zostrianos and Nicotheus and Allogenes and Messos and other people of the kind, themselves deceived and deceiving many, alleging that Plato had not penetrated to the depths of intelligible reality. Plotinus hence often attacked their position in his lectures, and wrote the treatise to which we had given the title "Against the Gnostics"; he left it to us to assess what he passed over. Amelius went to forty volumes in writing against the book of Zostrianos.

The Nag Hammadi library contains treatises with two such titles, *Zostrianos* and *Allogenes*, which hence may well be those refuted by Amelius and other Neoplatonists. And such Nag Hammadi texts as the *Trimorphic Protennoia* and *Marsanes* are quite similar in philosophic orientation. Plotinus' own attack on gnostic "magic chants" addressed to the "higher powers" may have in view hymnic texts like *The Three Steles of Seth*. Thus the Nag Hammadi library makes an important contribution not only to the history of religion, but also to the history of philosophy.

The Nag Hammadi library also includes material drawing upon other religious traditions than the Judeo-Christian heritage. There are, for example, Hermetic texts that build on Egyptian lore. Typically they present dialogues of initiation between the deities Hermes Trismegistus and his son Tat. *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* in the Nag Hammadi library is such a previously unknown Hermetic text. And, whereas one could debate whether a good number of texts in the library are actually gnostic or not, depending on how one defines Gnosticism and interprets texts, a few, such as *The Sentences of Sextus*, clearly are not gnostic. But, just as a gnostic interpretation of the Bible became possible, one may assume that these moralistic maxims could also be fitted into a gnostic orientation.

Since the Nag Hammadi library seems to have been collected in terms of Christian Gnosticism, it is sometimes difficult to conceive of some of the texts, such as the Hermetic ones, being used by persons who thought of themselves as Christian. One text even claims a Zoroastrian heritage, in that it is ascribed to his grandfather (or, possibly, uncle) Zostrianos and in a cryptogram even mentions Zoroaster. Yet Gnostics were more ecumenical and syncretic with regard to religious traditions than were orthodox Christians, so long as they found in them a stance congenial to their own. If they could identify Seth with Jesus, they probably could produce Christianizing interpretations of Hermes and Zoroaster as well.

Thus Gnosticism seems not to have been in its essence just an alternate form of Christianity. Rather it was a radical trend of release from the dominion of evil or of inner transcendence that swept through late antiquity and emerged within Christianity, Judaism, Neoplatonism, Hermetism, and the like. As a new religion it was syncretistic, drawing upon various religious heritages. But it was held together by a very decided stance, which is where the unity amid the wide diversity is to be sought.

2. The Manuscripts

The Nag Hammadi library is important for the content of the many lost Greek works it has preserved in Coptic translation. It also sheds significant light upon the production of the Coptic books themselves, and hence upon those who copied, read, and buried them.

The Nag Hammadi library consists of twelve books, plus eight leaves removed from a thirteenth book in late antiquity and tucked inside the front cover of the sixth. These eight leaves comprise a complete text, an independent treatise taken out of a book of collected essays. In fact, each of the books, except the tenth, consists of a collection of relatively brief works. Thus there is a total of fifty-two tractates. Since a single book usually contains several tractates, one may suspect that, like the books of the Bible, the texts were composed with a small format in mind, but that a larger format had come into use by the time these extant copies were made. This can be explained in terms of the history of the manufacture of books.

The roll was the usual form of a book up until the first centuries C.E., when it began to be replaced by a more economical format that permitted writing on both sides, namely the modern book with individual leaves. Technically speaking, a book in the firm of a roll is a "scroll" or "volume" (from the Latin verb meaning "to roll"). But a book in the form

of a modern book is a "codex" (plural: "codices"), the Latin word for a set of wooden waxed tablets tied together as a scratch pad, which was the ancestor of the book with papyrus, parchment, or paper leaves. Whereas literary works continued to be written in the more prestigious form of the scroll, Christians (but not Jews) soon came to prefer the more economical codex. The codex was also more practical than the scroll, as anyone who has worked with microfilm knows. The inconvenience and wear-and-tear of unrolling and then rerolling the scroll every time one wanted to resume reading or look up a reference led to the replacement of the scroll with the codex, just as today there is a trend away from rolls of microfilm and toward microfiche.

In Egypt the most common writing material was papyrus. The triangular stalk of the papyrus plant is filled with fibrous pith that can be cut or peeled off in long thin strips. These strips are laid side by side and then a second layer is placed at right angles on top. When this is pressed, dried, and polished it becomes a flexible, smooth, and durable writing surface. Whereas these papyrus sheets were usually only about twenty centimeters long, those used in the Nag Hammadi library were often over a meter in length. Since this was a technological feat for that time, it indicated the importance of the books for those who made them.

A series of such papyrus writing surfaces was placed side by side so as to overlap a couple of centimeters where they were pasted together. The result was a papyrus roll, often about three meters long. Sheets ranging in breadth from twenty to forty centimeters would be cut from such rolls, from the right end of the roll to the left. Enough rolls would be thus cut up to produce a stack of from twenty to forty sheets, which, when folded down the middle, formed the quire of a codex. The fact that from two to six rolls were used to manufacture a single codex helps to explain the fact that a codex could contain more than one text, if each text had originally been composed with the size of the roll in view.

Since each strip of papyrus has a fiber pattern as distinctive as a fingerprint, the more fragmentary books in the Nag Hammadi library were reassembled by locating the position of the fibers of a fragment or a leaf on the original papyrus sheet that had been made from the papyrus strips. Then its position within the roll and ultimately within the codex could be calculated.

The Coptic Museum in Cairo, where the Nag Hammadi library is kept, has assigned a number to each book. At the time this was done, the numeration was thought to be the order in which they would be published, which in turn reflected a value judgment in terms of their impor-

tance and state of preservation. Only the very fragmentary fourth book is an exception to this tendency – it was given its relatively high position because the two tractates it contains are duplicates of tractates in the third book. For convenience of reference the tractates are numbered consecutively in each book. Although the numeration systems used for the books, tractates, and even pages have varied widely over the past generation, the numeration used here is that of the Coptic Museum and of *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* and hence should supersede older numerations.

Of the fifty-two tractates, six that are duplicates (III,*1*; IV,*1* and *2*; V,*1*; XII,*2*; and XIII,*2*) are not included in the present work since there is a better copy that is included. Six more were already extant when the Nag Hammadi library was discovered, either in the original Greek (VI,*5* and *7*, and XII,*1*), or in translation, in Latin (VI,*8*) or Coptic (II,*1* and III,*4*). The two in Coptic are from a papyrus codex, now in Berlin, called BG 8502, which to this extent is a codex similar to the Nag Hammadi library. For this reason the other two tractates it contains are included at the end of the present work. To get an impression of the amount of literature that has survived only in the Nag Hammadi library, one may subtract the total of twelve duplications inside or outside the Nag Hammadi library and thus reach the figure of forty newly recovered texts. To be sure, a few fragments existed of three of these, one in Greek (II,*2*) and two in Coptic (II,*5* and VII,*4*), but they had not been identified as such until the complete text became available in the Nag Hammadi library. Now that the whole library is accessible, fragments of still others may be identified. But such vestiges of a tractate are more tantalizing than useful. Hence a more serious limitation on the figure of forty new texts is the fact that some of these are themselves quite fragmentary (VIII,*1*; IX,*1*, *2*, and *3*; XI,*1*, *2*, *3*, and *4*; and XII,*3*). It would be safe to think of the Nag Hammadi library as adding to the amount of literature that has survived from antiquity thirty fairly complete texts, and ten that are more fragmentary.

Although the Nag Hammadi library is in Coptic, the texts were originally composed in Greek. Hence the fact that they were discovered in Upper Egypt may be misleading. Some of course have been composed in Egypt, for several contain specific allusions to Egypt: *Asclepius* calls Egypt the "image of heaven"; *On the Origin of the World* appeals to "the water hydri in Egypt" and "the two bulls in Egypt" as witnesses; and *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* instructs the son to "write this book for the temple at Diospolis (Magna near Luxor or Parva near

Nag Hammadi) in hieroglyphic characters." Yet the Greek-writing authors may have been located anywhere in the ancient world where Greek was used, such as Greece itself (VI,*5*), or Syria (II,*2*), or Jordan (V,*5*). Much the same is the case with the Bible and other ancient texts written in various parts of the ancient world and preserved in the "dry sands of Egypt." Thus the Nag Hammadi library involves the collecting of what was originally a Greek literary productivity by largely unrelated and anonymous authors spread through the eastern half of the ancient world and covering a period of almost half a millennium (or more, if one takes into consideration a brief section of Plato's *Republic*, VI,*5*).

Almost nothing is known about the different persons who translated the tractates into Coptic, or those who copied, used, and buried them, other than what may be inferred from the books themselves. The Egyptian reading public in this period was largely familiar with Greek, and hence Greek literature was imported and copied extensively. A Roman garrison town, Diospolis Parva, with Greek-speaking Galatian troops from Asia Minor, was just across the Nile from the site where the Nag Hammadi library was buried. A Greek inscription reading "In behalf of the [good] fortune of Emperor [Caesar] Trajan Hadrian [Augustus]" has been found at Chenoboskia, on the right bank of the Nile in sight of the place of the burial. Greek prayers to Zeus Sarapis mentioning Antioch are found in two caves in the cliff near where the books were buried. But, more and more, Greek texts such as the Bible and the Nag Hammadi library were translated into the native Egyptian language. This can be illustrated for the region in which the library was produced, read, and buried, and for approximately the same period of time, from *The Life of St. Pachomius*. This text, which itself exists in both Greek and Coptic, tells that a Greek-speaking monk from Alexandria came to Pachomius, who "made him live in the same dwelling with an old brother who knew the Greek language," while he learned the native tongue. Meanwhile Pachomius "made every effort to learn Greek by the grace of God in order to discover the way of offering him solace frequently. Then Pachomius appointed him house manager of the Alexandrian and other foreign brothers who came after him."

When the Egyptian language is written with the Greek alphabet (plus a few letters for sounds Greeks did not make), it is called Coptic. The Nag Hammadi library is written in two Coptic dialects. Even among the texts translated into the same dialect, minor divergences point to a plurality of translators, who do not correspond to the plurality of scribes responsible for surviving copies. In the case of duplicates, different trans-

lators were involved, working from divergent Greek texts. The translation process may have been spread over a wide area of Egypt, and more than a single century.

Each codex was bound in leather. The outline of the desired book size was often scored onto the leather, whereupon the flesh side of the outlined area was lined with used papyrus pasted into thick cardboards called cartonnage, producing a hardback effect. This used papyrus consisted of Greek and Coptic letters and business documents, and has produced names of persons and places as well as dates that help to determine the time and place of the manufacture of the covers. After a cover was thus lined with cartonnage, a strip of the cover was turned in at the head and foot of the front and back cover and at the fore edge of the back cover. Since the line of the animal's spine usually ran horizontally across the cover, the narrowing of the skin leading to the animal's tail could be retained to form a flap extending from the fore edge of the front cover. To this was added a thong to encircle horizontally the closed book. This may have been a practice taken over from the manufacture of a papyrus scroll, where a parchment wrapper and thong were traditionally used to protect it and hold it closed. A thong was also needed to hold a codex closed. Each of the Nag Hammadi books has a single quire, that is to say, a single stack of sheets folded down the center to produce the writing surfaces (although in Codex I the main quire is supplemented with two smaller quires). Such large quires would tend to gape at the fore edge unless securely tied. Shorter thongs extending from the head and foot of the front and back covers were tied together to aid in holding the codex closed.

Two of the covers (IV and VIII) lack a flap on the fore edge of the front cover, though they do have the usual thong. A third cover of a similar construction (V) has such a flap added to the fore edge of the front cover. These three books thus seem to have been made from smaller skins, and the poor quality of the papyrus used for their quires confirms the impression of economy. Other covers include a leather reinforcement (called by bookbinders a "mull") that lines the spine and protects the cover and the quire from the pressure of the binding thongs that run through the fold at the center of the quire, as well as two horizontal supportive thongs lying between the cover and the mull. Three covers have such a construction (VI, IX, and X). They form a second group among the covers, together with another similarly constructed cover (II), which however is now lacking whatever lining it may have had. This group is characterized both by such advances in technique as have just been men-

tioned and by a higher aesthetic quality. Indeed, the cover of Codex II has rather beautiful tinted tooling. The four other covers (I, III, VII, XI) do not share distinctive traits, except for a certain primitiveness, which would make it possible to assign them to a group.

The scribes involved in producing the thirteen codices can be distinguished by their handwriting. There seem to be few clear instances of a single scribe working on more than one codex: One scribe copied most of Codex I, but a second scribe copied tractate 4 of Codex I; this second scribe also copied tractates 1 and 2 of Codex XI. A third scribe copied in a different dialect tractates 3 and 4 of Codex XI and also Codex VII. Thus three of the four books that seem unrelated to each other in terms of the way the covers were made do seem interrelated in terms of the scribes who wrote them. Conversely it was earlier thought that one scribe copied Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX, which would mean that the two groups distinguished in terms of leather covers must have been related by scribal hand. But more recent study of the hands has indicated that one has to do with different, even if similar, hands, that diverge most clearly just where the bookbinding divergences take place, thereby belatedly confirming, rather than relativizing, the distinction into groups based initially only on the leather covers.

The two groups of covers plus four miscellaneous covers, and the one group of scribal hands plus miscellaneous scribes, may indicate that the Nag Hammadi library is a secondary merging of what was originally a series of smaller libraries or isolated books. This would seem to be confirmed by the distribution of the duplicates. No one codex contains two copies of the same work, nor is there a duplicate tractate among the books of one group of covers. Nor did the same scribe, with but one exception, copy the same text twice. The one exception would seem to be II,*4* and XIII,*2*, which are the same text in the same scribal hand and with almost identical wording. Yet the second copy was discarded, when Codex XIII was torn apart and only one tractate (XIII,*1*) preserved inside the front cover of Codex VI – together with a few opening lines of XIII,*2* on the back of the last leaf, which could not be discarded without mutilating the text one was seeking to preserve (XIII,*1*). The fact that this scribal duplication was nullified by separating off XIII,*2* (except for the unavoidable opening lines) may attest to what seems to have been an awareness of the unnecessariness of such duplication. A scribal note in Codex VI expresses concern not to displease whoever commissioned the work by duplicating something already owned. Hence when duplication does turn up in terms of the whole library, one is inclined to think the

books with the duplication were not produced with the whole library of thirteen books in view. Both the tractates in Codex IV are also in Codex III, so that Codex IV is wholly superfluous in the present library. And there is a total of three copies of the *Apocryphon of John* (II,*1*; III,*1*; and IV,*1*), one from each of the three classifications of covers. Thus one may conjecture that the present library derives from at least three smaller collections.

The dating of Coptic literary hands, such as those attested in the texts before us, is much less certain than is the dating of Greek literary hands, or the dating of the cursive business hands of the day. A thorough study of the hands of the Nag Hammadi library has not yet been made, although dates ranging at least from early to late fourth century C.E. have been proposed. The texts themselves do not normally contain dates or datable historical references. But *The Concept of Our Great Power* may provide one reference that can serve as a point of departure for dating Codex VI: "Cease from the evil lusts and desires and (the teachings of) the Anomoeans, evil heresies that have no basis!" While the Archbishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, was in hiding in the Pachomian monasteries in the late 350s C.E., "Anomoean" heretics were flourishing for a brief period in Alexandria. Probably this text received its final form no earlier than at this time.

The papyrus used for letters and business documents and reused to thicken the leather covers may be located in time and space with more ease than can the leaves that comprise the quires bound with the help of these covers. Dates found in such "cartonnage" of Codex VII are 341, 346, and 348 C.E. This indicates that the cover of Codex VII was manufactured no earlier than the latest date, but perhaps as much as a generation after these dates. A document found in the cartonnage of Codex I mentions "Diospol[is] near Chenobos[kia]." Other locations in the same general region also occur in the cartonnage of the other covers. Some of the cartonnage in the cover of Codex VII seems to have belonged to a monk named Sansnos who was in charge of the cattle of a monastery, which would no doubt account for his close relationship to the manufacture of the leather covers. The headquarters of the monastery of the Pachomian order at Pabau, where the Basilica of Saint Pachomius was located, as well as the third Pachomian monastery at Chenoboskia, where Pachomius himself began his Christian life as a hermit, are only 8.7 and 5.3 kilometers (5.4 and 3.3 miles) respectively from the place where the library was buried. Thus the provenience of the Nag Hammadi codices has often been identified with the Pachomian Monastic Order, which

among other things involved a large-scale literary program at the appropriate time and place of the production of the Nag Hammadi codices. But the publication of this cartonnage in 1981 involved a critical sifting of the evidence, which proved to be less conclusive than had been previously maintained. The relation of the Nag Hammadi codices to the Pachomian movement remains a tantalizing possibility, more concrete than any other that has been suggested, and yet far from assured.

In view of the orthodoxy of the Pachomian monasteries reflected in *The Life of St. Pachomius* and other monastic legends, some have hesitated to associate the Nag Hammadi library with these monasteries, unless it be that such texts were copied for ready reference in refuting heresy. But a defender of Christian orthodoxy would hardly bother to collect the non-Christian texts that are in the Nag Hammadi library. And some of the Christian texts are not explicitly "heretical" and hence would hardly have been included in such a blacklist. The very fact that the library seems to have been made up by combining several smaller collections tends to point toward individual Christian Gnostics or monasteries producing individual books or small collections for their own spiritual enlightenment, rather than to a heresy-hunting scribal campaign. Since the familiar heresy-hunting literature is in Greek, one should hesitate to postulate such a widespread heresy-hunting activity in Coptic. And the Pachomian literature transmitted through monastic channels is much more pedestrian.

Of course it is conceivable that book manufacture could have been one of the handicrafts common in monasteries to produce commodities to trade or sell for the necessities of life. Hence one could conjecture that uninscribed books were produced in the monastery and sold to Gnostics (or anyone else) to inscribe as they saw fit. But there is some evidence from that period that books were first inscribed and then bound, as when a line of writing passes through the fold at the spine. And in the Nag Hammadi library blotting is usually present on the first and last pages but not elsewhere, which may perhaps be explained as due to the dampness of the paste in the cartonnage at the time of the binding, in which case the quire would have had to have been inscribed before being bound.

The care and religious devotion reflected in the manufacture of the Nag Hammadi library hardly suggest that the books were produced out of antagonism or even disinterest in their contents, but rather reflect the veneration accorded to holy texts. The leather covers are not very ornate, compared, for example, with reports that Manichaean books were studded with jewels (though the very plain extant wooden covers of the Mani-

chaean codices of Medinet Madi are even simpler than the Nag Hammadi covers). Yet simplicity would be appropriate to the Pachomian monasteries. *The Life of St. Pachomius* reports: "He also taught the brothers to pay no attention to the loveliness and beauty of this world, whether it be beautiful food or clothing, or a cell, or an outwardly seductive book." The simple tooling of some of the leather covers does include crosses (II, IV, VIII). The *ankh* hieroglyph of life that became the Christian cross *ansata* is on the beautifully tooled cover of Codex II and at the end of *The Prayer of the Apostle Paul.* The acrostic "fish" symbol standing for the creed "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior" occurs in two scribal notes (in codices III and VII). In the first case the name of the scribe is preserved in the comment "in the flesh my name is Gongessos," which is probably the Latin name Concessus. He also had a spiritual name or title of Eugnostos. Thus he had some spiritual status, and referred to his "fellow lights in incorruptibility." Within this spiritual circle he described the text as "God-written." Even if such a scribal note was not composed by the scribe who copied the codex that has survived, but rather came from an earlier scribe who wrote an ancestor of the copy that survived, nevertheless the scribe of Codex III did not feel called upon to eliminate it, much less to replace it with a warning against heresy in the text. Some scribal notes, however, since they were written at the end of an extant codex, may be assumed to have been composed by the scribe of that particular codex. They reflect the godliness the scribe found in what he or she was copying. Codex II concludes with this note: "Remember me also, my brethren, [in] your prayers: Peace to the saints and those who are spiritual." Codex VII ends on a similar note: "The book belongs to the fatherhood. It is the son who wrote it. Bless me, O father. I bless you, O father, in peace. Amen." These scribal notes, together with the scribe's care to correct errors, tend to indicate that the scribes were of a religious persuasion congenial to the contents they were copying.

Perhaps the common presentation of the monastic movement of the fourth century C.E. as solidly orthodox is an anachronism, and more nearly reflects the situation of the later monasticism that recorded the legends about the earlier period. When a hermit withdrew from civilization into the desert, he also tended to be out of contact with the Church, for example with its fellowship, sacraments, and authority. Early in the fourth century there was a monk in the delta named Hierakas, a scribe by trade and a learned interpreter of the Bible, who was so ascetic in his views as to argue that marriage was limited to the old covenant, for no married person "can inherit the kingdom of heaven." Although this led

to him being classified as a heretic, it did not prevent him from having a following. *The Testimony of Truth* in the Nag Hammadi library represents a similar view:

> For no one who is under the law will be able to look up to the truth, for they will not be able to serve two masters. For the defilement of the Law is manifest; but undefilement belongs to the light. The Law commands (one) to take a husband (or) to take a wife, and to beget, and to multiply like the sand of the sea. But passion which is a delight to them constrains the souls of those who are begotten in this place, those who defile and those who are defiled, in order that the Law might be fulfilled through them. And they show that they are assisting the world; and they [turn] away from the light, who are unable [to pass by] the archon of [darkness] until they pay the last [penny].

The Life of St. Pachomius narrates that a "philosopher" from Panopolis (Akhmim), where Pachomius built a monastery just 108 kilometers (67 miles) downstream from where the Nag Hammadi library was buried, came to test the monk's "understanding of the scriptures." Pachomius sent his assistant Theodore to meet him:

> The philosopher queried him on something for which the answer was not difficult to find, "Who was not born but died? Who was born but did not die? And who died without giving off the stench of decomposition?" Theodore replied that Adam was not born but died, Enoch was born but did not die, and Lot's wife died but, having become a pillar of salt, did not give off the stench of decomposition. The philosopher accepted these answers and departed.

This may well be a faint echo of Pachomian debates with Christian Gnostics before the middle of the fourth century C.E. Epiphanius' efforts to run Christian Gnostics out of town took place in Egypt about the same time.

In 367 C.E. Archbishop Athanasius wrote an Easter letter that condemns heretics and their "apocryphal books to which they attribute antiquity and give the name of saints." Theodore, by then head of the Pachomian monasteries, had the letter translated into Coptic, and "deposited it in the monastery to serve them as a rule." There must still have been heretics or heretical books influencing the Pachomian monastic movement which made this act necessary. Of course many of the Nag Hammadi texts are indeed pseudonymous, that is to say, ascribed in their titles to some "saint" of the past. In another of the Pachomian legends one of "these books that the heretics write" but "give out under the name of saints" is quoted: "After Eve was deceived and had eaten the

fruit of the tree, it is of the devil that she bore Cain." *The Hypostasis of the Archons* in the Nag Hammadi library has a narrative that points in this direction:

> Then the authorities came to their Adam. And when they saw his female counterpart speaking with him, they became agitated with great agitation; and they became enamored of her. They said to one another, "Come let us sow our seed in her," and they pursued her. And she laughed at them for their witlessness and their blindness; and in their clutches, she became a tree, and left them her shadowy reflection resembling herself; and they defiled [it] foully. – And they defiled the stamp of her voice, so that by the form they had modelled, together with [their] (own) image, they made themselves liable to condemnation.

Early in the fifth century C.E. Shenoute, Abbot of the White Monastery at the same Panopolis where Pachomius had founded monasteries and from which the "philosopher" had come, attacked a group at the nearby temple of Pneueit that called itself "kingless," worshipped the "demiurge," and would not accept Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria, as their "illuminator." These terms, which Shenoute seems to borrow from the group, are so well-known in the Nag Hammadi library that it may have been a Christian Gnostic, perhaps a Sethian group, even though in his polemic Shenoute calls them pagan heretics. He seized their "books full of abomination" and "of every kind of magic." Indeed, series of vowels and unintelligible magic words (Plotinus called it "hissing") occur in the Nag Hammadi library itself. Actually Pachomius himself wrote to the heads of his monasteries using a code that even his successors could not decipher! Hence the Nag Hammadi library and Pachomius' "books of spiritual letters" may not have been entirely different in appearance from what Shenoute would call a book of magic. Shenoute threatened the heretics: "I shall make you acknowledge ... the Archbishop Cyril, or else the sword will wipe out most of you, and moreover those of you who are spared will go into exile." Just as the Dead Sea Scrolls were put in jars for safekeeping and hidden at the time of the approach of the Roman Tenth Legion, the burial of the Nag Hammadi library in a jar may also have been precipitated by the approach of Roman authorities, who by then had become Christian.

The fact that the Nag Hammadi library was hidden in a jar suggests the intention not to eliminate but to preserve the books. For not only were the Dead Sea Scrolls put in such jars for safekeeping, but biblical manuscripts have been found similarly preserved up and down the Nile, in some cases dating from the same period and buried in the Nag Hammadi region.

In fact, a second discovery, made in 1952, of manuscripts buried in a jar a couple of centuries later than the Nag Hammadi codices, is much more certainly the remains of a library of the Pachomian monastic order than is the Nag Hammadi discovery. For this discovery included archival copies of formal letters of abbots of the Pachomian Order. And the rest of the holdings are also what one would expect of a Pachomian library: biblical, apocryphal, martyriological, and other edifying material. To be sure, there are also some Greek (and Latin) classical texts, whose presence may be explained by the assumption that persons who joined the Pachomian movement gave their worldly possessions to the Order, which would thus have acquired non-Christian texts. Later they would have been taken to be venerable texts like the others in the archives, fragile and fragmentary relics to be preserved and no longer texts to be read.

This second discovery is known locally as the Dishnā Papers, since Dishnā near the river and railroad is the large town through which the texts were marketed. But the site of the discovery was at the foot of the Jabal Abū Manā', 5.5 km (3.4 miles) northwest of Dishna, and, more significant, 5 km (3.1 miles) northeast of the headquarters of the Pachomian Order and 12 km (7.5 miles) east of the site of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices. This manuscript discovery has been known for the past generation in scholarly circles as the Bodmer Papyri, since the largest part of it was acquired by the Bibliothèque Bodmer near Geneva. But it is only recently, in the process of tracking down the provenience of the Nag Hammadi codices, that the provenience of the Bodmer Papyri has been identified beyond the reports of the antiquities dealers and made public to the scholarly world.

The Bible refers to burial in a jar as a way to preserve a book and to burning as the way to eliminate one (Jer 32:14-15; 36:23). *The Life of St. Pachomius* reports that he got rid of a book by Origen, whom he considered a heretic, by throwing it in the water, with the comment that if the Lord's name had not been in it he would have burned it. The burning of the greatest library in antiquity at Alexandria by Christians late in the fourth century C.E. suggests that such a ready solution would hardly have been overlooked if the intent had been to get rid of the Nag Hammadi library. If the codices had been part of a Pachomian library, they must have been removed not by heresy-hunters, but by devotees who cherished them enough to bury them in a jar for safekeeping, perhaps for posterity.

Two of the texts in the Nag Hammadi library refer to their being stored for safekeeping in a mountain until the end of time. *The Gospel of the Egyptians* concludes:

> The Great Seth wrote this book with letters in one hundred and thirty years. He placed it in the mountain that is called Charaxio, in order that, at the end of the times and the eras, . . . it may come forth and reveal this incorruptible, holy race of the great savior, and those who dwell with them in love, and the great, invisible, eternal Spirit, and his only begotten Son . . .

Near the end of *Allogenes* a similar idea occurs:

> Write down [the things that I] shall [tell] you and of which I shall remind you for the sake of those who will be worthy after you. And you will leave this book upon a mountain and you will adjure the guardian, "Come Dreadful One."

On each side of the Nile Valley cliffs rise abruptly to the desert above. The section of the cliff on the right bank marking the limit of the Nile Valley and the arable land between Chenoboskia and Pabau is called the Jabal al-Ṭārif. A protruding boulder shaped somewhat like a stalagmite had broken off in prehistoric times from the face of the cliff and fallen down onto the talus (the inclined plane of fallen rock that over the ages naturally collects like a buttress at the foot of a cliff). Under the northern flank of one of the huge barrel-shaped pieces of this shattered boulder the jar containing the Nag Hammadi library was secreted.

In the face of the cliff, just at the top of the talus, which can be climbed without difficulty, sixth-dynasty tombs from the reigns of Pepi I and II (2350-2200 B.C.E.) had in antiquity long since been robbed. Thus they had become cool solitary caves where a monk might well hold his spiritual retreats, as is reported of Pachomius himself, or where a hermit might have his cell. Greek prayers to Zeus Sarapis, opening lines of biblical Psalms in Coptic, and Christian crosses, all painted in red onto the walls of the caves, show that they were indeed so used. Perhaps those who cherished the Nag Hammadi library made such use of the caves, which would account for the choice of this site to bury them. The jar rested there a millennium and a half . . .

3. The Discovery

In the month of December peasants of the Najʿ Ḥammādī region of Upper Egypt fertilize their crops by carrying nitrates from the talus of the Jabal al-Ṭārif to their fields, using the saddlebags of their camels. Two brothers, Muḥammad and Khalīfah ʿAlī of the al-Sammān clan, hobbled their camels on the south side of the fallen boulder and came upon the jar as they were digging around its base. Muḥammad ʿAlī

reports that at first he was afraid to break the jar, whose lid may have been sealed on with bitumen, for fear that a jinn might be closed up inside it; but, on reflecting that the jar might contain gold, he recovered his courage and smashed it with his mattock. Out swirled golden-like particles that disappeared into the sky – neither jinns nor gold but perhaps papyrus fragments! He wrapped the books in his tunic, slung it over his shoulder, unhobbled his camel, and carried the books home, a hovel in the hamlet of al-Qaṣr, which was the ancient site of Chenoboskia where Pachomius had begun his life as a Christian.

Half a year earlier, during the night of 7 May 1945, the father of the two brothers, whose name was ʿAlī, while on his job as night watchman guarding irrigation equipment in the fields, had killed a marauder. By mid-morning he had in turn been murdered in blood vengeance. About a month after the discovery of the books, a peasant named Aḥmad fell asleep sitting in the heat of the day on the side of the dirt road near Muḥammad ʿAlī's house, a jar of sugar-cane molasses for sale beside him. A neighbor pointed him out to Muḥammad ʿAlī as the murderer of his father. He ran home and alerted his brothers and widowed mother, who had told her seven sons to keep their mattocks sharp. The family fell upon their victim, hacked off his limbs bit by bit, ripped out his heart, and devoured it among them, as the ultimate act of blood revenge.

Aḥmad was the son of the sheriff, Īsmāʿīl Husayn, a strong man imposed on al-Qaṣr from outside, indeed, a member of the Hawāra tribe, who is so alienated from society that it considers itself non-Arabic though directly descended from the Prophet. The village of the Hawāra, Ḥamrah Dūm, is just at the foot of the Jabal al-Ṭārif, for which reason Muḥammad ʿAlī has been afraid to return to the site of the discovery lest his vengeance be in turn avenged. In fact Aḥmad's brother did avenge the death at the time by killing two members of the al-Sammān clan. Even a decade later, Aḥmad's young son, who by then was a teenager, heard that at dusk there was to be in al-Qaṣr a funeral procession of the family of Muḥammad ʿAlī. He proved his manhood by sneaking into town and shooting up the procession, with a score killed and wounded. Muhḥammad ʿAlī proudly shows a wound just above his heart, to prove that they tried but failed in vengeance. But he stoutly refused to return to the cliff to identify the site of the discovery until a camouflage costume, a governmental escort, and of course a financial consideration combined to persuade him to change his mind.

The village of al-Qaṣr was so glad to be rid of the sheriff's son that no eye witnesses could be found to testify at the hearing. But during this pe-

riod the police tended to search Muḥammad ʿAlī's home every evening for weapons. Having been told that the books were Christian, no doubt simply on the basis of the Coptic script, Muḥammad ʿAlī asked the Coptic priest of Al-Qaṣr, Bāsīlīyūs ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, if he could deposit the books in his house. A priest's home would hardly be searched. Coptic priests marry, and this priest's wife had a brother, Rāghib Andrawus, who went from village to village in a circuit teaching English and history in the parochial schools of the Coptic Church. Once a week when he taught in al-Qaṣr he stayed in his sister's home. On seeing one of the books (Codex III), he recognized its potential value and persuaded the priest to give it to him. He took it to Cairo and showed it to a Coptic physician interested in the Coptic language, George Sobhi, who called in the authorities from the Department of Antiquities. They took control of the book, agreeing to pay Rāghib £300. After what seemed endless delays, Rāghib finally received £250 upon agreeing to make a gift of the balance of £50 to the Coptic Museum, where the book was deposited. The Register of the Museum records the date as 4 October 1946.

Thinking the books were worthless, perhaps even a source of bad luck, the widow of ʿAlī had burned part of them in the oven (probably Codex XII, of which only a few fragmentary leaves remain). Illiterate Muslim neighbors bartered or purchased the remainder for next to nothing. Nāshid Bisādah had one, and entrusted it to a gold merchant of Nag Hammadi to sell in Cairo, whereupon they divided the profit. A grain merchant is reported to have acquired another and sold it in Cairo at such a high price that he was able to set up his shop there. The villagers of al-Qaṣr identify him as Fikrī Jabrā'īl, today the proprietor of the "Nag Hammadi Store" in Cairo; however, he stoutly denies any involvement, though familiar with this story. Bahīj ʿAlī, a one-eyed outlaw of al-Qaṣr, got most of the books. Escorted by a well-known antiquities dealer of the region, Dhakī Baṣṭa, he went to Cairo. They first offered the books to Mansoor's shop at Shepherds Hotel, and then to the shop of Phokion J. Tano, who bought their whole stock and then went to Nag Hammadi to get whatever was left.

Most of Codex I was exported from Egypt by a Belgian antiquities dealer in Cairo, Albert Eid. It was offered for sale unsuccessfully in New York and Ann Arbor in 1949, and then on 10 May 1952 was acquired in Belgium from Eid's widow Simone by the Jung Institute of Zürich and named the "Jung Codex." It was returned to Cairo bit by bit after publication, where it is conserved in the Coptic Museum. Meanwhile Tano's collection was taken into custody by the Egyptian Department of Anti-

quities to prevent it from leaving the country. After Nasser came to power it was nationalized, with a token compensation of £4,000. Today the Nag Hammadi library is back together again, conserved in the Coptic Museum.

The Director of the Coptic Museum at the time of the discovery, Togo Mina, had studied in Paris under the Abbot Étienne Drioton, who had subsequently become Director of the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Togo Mina had been a classmate of the wife of Jean Doresse, a young French scholar who came to Egypt to study Coptic monasteries. Togo Mina was glad to give him access to Codex III and to make plans with him for a predominantly French edition of the library, plans cut short by Mina's death in 1949. In 1956 a meeting of some members of an international committee in Cairo led to the publication of *The Gospel of Thomas* in 1959. And the Jung Codex was gradually published in six volumes from 1956 through 1975. Meanwhile the new Director of the Coptic Museum, Pahor Labib, made plans to publish the better part of the library with the German scholars Alexander Böhlig and Martin Krause.

The General Director of UNESCO, René Maheu of France, worked out an agreement in the early 1960s with the Minister of Culture and National Guidance of the United Arab Republic, Saroite Okacha, to publish a complete edition through an international committee jointly chosen by Egypt and UNESCO. But when it was discovered that many of the choicest texts had already been assigned for publication, the UNESCO plan was limited to a facsimile edition. The project was rather dormant until the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices was appointed at the end of 1970. *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* was published by E.J. Brill in twelve volumes from 1972 through 1984. A number of the earlier assignments have by now been published, and complete editions in English, German and French are currently being prepared. The present volume makes use of the translations from the seventeen-volume English edition, entitled *The Coptic Gnostic Library* (see p. x).

With the publication of *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* the work has only just begun, for it marks a new beginning in the study of Gnosticism. Over a century ago students began to study Gnosticism in order to know what the heresy-hunting Church fathers were talking about. Around the turn of this century the History of Religions School broadened this issue by seeking the origins of Gnosticism throughout the ancient Near East. Between the two world wars, Hans Jonas produced

a philosophical interpretation of Gnosticism that for the first time made sense of it as a possible way to understand existence. Rudolf Bultmann then reinterpreted the New Testament in terms of an interaction with Gnosticism involving appropriation as well as confrontation. Yet the results of this century of research into the origin, nature, and influence of Gnosticism stand in a certain ambivalence, as if hanging in suspense. One cannot fail to be impressed by the clairvoyance, the constructive power, the learned intuitions of scholars who, from limited and secondary sources, were able to produce working hypotheses that in fact worked so well. Yet the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library has drawn attention to how meager those sources were. For even though the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library was quite accidental and its contents somewhat arbitrary, the flood of new source material it contains cannot fail to outweigh the constructions and conjectures of previous scholarship. But, for the first generation after the discovery, the new source material was at best a trickle, and the suspense produced stagnation, as the scholarly community waited and waited. Now the time has come for a concentrated effort, with the whole Nag Hammadi library accessible, to rewrite the history of Gnosticism, to understand what it was really all about, and of course to pose new questions. Rarely has a generation of students had such an opportunity! May the readers of *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* share this exhilaration, and this responsibility, with those who produced it.

THE PRAYER OF THE APOSTLE PAUL (I,*1*)

Introduced and translated by

DIETER MUELLER

The Prayer of the Apostle Paul occupies the front flyleaf of Codex I, also known as the Jung Codex. The scribe apparently added this prayer to the collection of tractates in the codex after he had finished copying *The Tripartite Tractate* (I,*5*). The title, followed by a brief colophon, is placed at the end of the prayer. The Greek language retained in that title was no doubt the original language of the prayer as a whole. The short text is of unknown provenance. Its general gnostic affinities are clear. Details such as the reference to the "psychic God" (A,31) may indicate Valentinian connections. That association in turn suggests a date of origin between the second half of the second century and the end of the third century.

In form and content *The Prayer of the Apostle Paul* echoes various other compositions. It displays a striking resemblance not only to prayers in the *Corpus Hermeticum* (1.31-32; 5.10-11; 13.16-20) but also to invocations found in magical texts. Furthermore, its beginning is rather similar to that of the hymn of the First Stele of *The Three Steles of Seth* (VII,*5*). Both documents may use a common tradition. There are also similarities within *The Gospel of Philip* (II,*3*). In general, *The Prayer of the Apostle Paul* is heavily indebted to the Psalms and the Pauline letters. The most striking echo of the apostle, and at the same time a clear index of gnostic orientation, is the request to be granted "what no angel-eye has seen and no archon-ear has heard and what has not entered into the human heart" (cf. 1 Co 2:9).

THE PRAYER OF THE APOSTLE PAUL

I A, 1-B, 10

A.I (*Approximately two lines are missing.*) | [your] light, give me your [mercy! My] | Redeemer, redeem me, for [5] [I am] yours; the one who has come | forth from you. You are [my] mind; bring me forth! | You are my treasure house; open for me! You | [are] my fullness; take me to you! | You are (my) repose; give me [10] [the] perfect thing that cannot be grasped! |

I invoke you, the one who is | and who pre-existed in the name | [which is] exalted above every name, through Jesus Christ, | [the Lord] of Lords, the King of the ages; [15] give me your gifts, of which you do

not repent, | through the Son of Man, | the Spirit, the Paraclete of | [truth]. Give me authority | [when I] ask you; give [20] healing for my body when I ask | you through the Evangelist, | [and] redeem my eternal light soul | and my spirit. And the First-born of the Pleroma of grace – [25] reveal him to my mind!

Grant | what no angel eye has | [seen] and no archon ear | (has) heard and what | has not entered into the human heart [30] which came to be angelic and (modelled) | after the image of the psychic God | when it was formed | in the beginning, since I have | faith and hope.[35] And place upon me your | beloved, elect, | and blessed greatness, the | First-born, the First-begotten, [B.1] and the [wonderful] mystery | of your house; [for] | yours is the power [and] | the glory and the praise [5] and the greatness | for ever and ever. [Amen.] |

Prayer of Paul | (the) Apostle. |

In Peace.

[10] Christ is holy.

THE APOCRYPHON OF JAMES (I,2)

Introduced and translated by

FRANCIS E. WILLIAMS

The Apocryphon of James is a pseudonymous work translated from Greek to Coptic, which professes to be a letter written by James, the Lord's brother; the alleged recipient's name is illegible but might have been that of the early Christian heterodox teacher, Cerinthus. The letter in turn introduces a secret writing, or "apocryphon" – hence our title for the entire tractate. This apocryphon is meant for an elect few – even among the disciples, for James and Peter only – but salvation is promised to those who receive its message.

"James'" letter states that the apocryphon is written in the Hebrew alphabet, and mentions another even more secret apocryphon, which James has already sent. These details are presumably inserted for the sake of atmosphere.

The apocryphon, which comprises the bulk of our tractate, makes Jesus appear to the disciples 550 days after the resurrection, take Peter and James aside to "fill" them, and give them, in a series of speeches, his final and definitive teaching, heretofore delivered only "in parables." He then ascends to the Father's right hand, with James and Peter unsuccessfully attempting to follow. This closes the apocryphon; the letter now resumes, and states that the revelation just given was meant, not for the disciples of Jesus, but for the "children" who would be "born" later. While the disciples believed the revelation, they were angry over these later children, and James therefore dispatched them to other places. This, presumably, is meant to explain why our tractate formed no part of the apostolic preaching (or the canonical scripture?).

Jesus' speeches in the apocryphon are partly the author's composition, but incorporate older material, which seems to be the product of complex oral and perhaps written transmission; some of it can be compared with the material underlying the canonical gospels. The speeches show Jesus announcing that he has descended to save God's "beloved" sons, and inviting them to follow him back to the place from which he (and they?) came. He assures them of salvation in the strongest terms, while at the same time urging them to earnestness and zeal, and warning them that they can be lost. The first and longest of the speeches, however, is a two-page exhortation to martyrdom. Its distinctive style, manner, and subject matter suggest that it may be a later interpolation.

It is clear that the persons for whom this tractate was written made a distinction between themselves and the larger Christian church. Probably they rejected the doctrine of the atonement; they certainly ignored the second coming of Christ and the general resurrection, and hoped to ascend, in soul or spirit, to the kingdom of heaven, which they meanwhile felt to be within themselves. This outlook, together with the large amount of typically gnostic terminology in the tractate, has led most investigators to conclude that the work is Christian Gnostic, even though it lacks the Valentinian, and other well-known gnostic theol-

ogies. The reporting of a special postresurrection appearance of Jesus, and the appeal to James as a source of secret and superior tradition, are means Gnostics often used to legitimate their message.

The exhortation to martyrdom, James' letter, and the description of Jesus' appearance to the disciples, may be secondary; these and other questions relating to the document's literary history have been investigated and deserve further investigation. It has been urged that the tractate must have been written before 150 C.E., while it was still possible to speak of "remembering" orally delivered sayings of Jesus and writing them down; this language, it is argued, would not have been used after the fixing of the Gospel canon. The apocryphon's many resemblances to the Fourth Gospel's "farewell discourses" might also help to establish its date. To use these as a criterion, however, one must decide whether they are allusions to the actual text of the Fourth Gospel, or independent discussions of the same questions. In any case the tractate cannot be later than 314 C.E., when the persecution of the church, and with it the risk of martyrdom, came to an end.

THE APOCRYPHON OF JAMES

I 1, 1-16, 30

[James] writes to | [. . .]thos: Peace | [be with you from] Peace, | [love from] Love, [5] [grace from] Grace, | [faith] from Faith, | life from Holy Life! |

Since you asked | that I send [10] you a secret book | which was revealed to me | and Peter by the Lord, | I could not turn you away | or gainsay (?) you; [15] but [I have written] it in | the Hebrew alphabet and | sent it to you, and you | alone. But since you are | a minister of the salvation [20] of the saints, endeavor earnestly | and take care not to rehearse | this text to many – this | that the Savior did not wish | to tell to all of us, his [25] twelve disciples. | But blessed will they be | who will be saved through | the faith of this discourse.

I | also sent you, [30] ten months ago, another secret | book which the Savior | had revealed to me. Under the circumstances, however, | regard that one | as revealed [35] to me, James; but this one **2** [*untranslatable fragments*] | the twelve disciples | [were] all sitting together [10] and recalling | what the Savior had said | to each one of them, whether | in secret or openly, | and [putting it] [15] in books – [But I] | was writing that which was in [my book] – | lo, the Savior appeared, [after] | departing from [us while we] gazed | after him. And five hundred [20] and fifty days since he had risen | from the dead, we said |to him, "Have you departed and removed yourself from us?" |

But Jesus said, "No, but | I shall go to the place from whence I came.[25] If you wish to come | with me, come!"

They all answered | and said, "If you bid | us, we come."

He said, | "Verily I say unto you,[30] no one will ever enter | the kingdom of heaven at my | bidding, but (only) because | you yourselves are full. Leave | James and Peter to me [35] that I may fill them." And | having called these two, | he drew them aside and bade | the rest occupy themselves | with that which they were about.[40]

The Savior said, "You have received mercy **3** [7] [*untranslatable fragments*] | Do you not, then, desire to be filled? | And your heart is drunken; [10] do you not, then, desire to be sober? | Therefore, be ashamed! Henceforth, waking | or sleeping, remember | that you have seen | the Son of Man, and [15] spoken with him in person, | and listened to him in person. | Woe to those who have seen the | Son [of] Man; | blessed will they be who [20] have not seen the man, and they | who have not consorted with him, and | they who have not spoken with him, | and they who have not listened to | anything from him; yours is [25] life! Know, then, that he healed | you when you were ill | that you might reign. Woe | to those who have found relief from | their illness, for they will [30] relapse into illness. Blessed are | they who have not been ill, and | have known relief before | falling ill; yours is the | kingdom of God. Therefore, I [35] say to you, 'Become | full and leave no space within | you empty, for he who is coming | can mock you.'"

Then | Peter replied, "Lo, [40] three times you have told us, **4** 'Become [full'; but] | we are full."

The [Savior answered] | and said, ["For this cause I have said] | to you, ['Become full,'] that [5] [you] may not [be in want. They who are in want], | however, will not [be saved]. For it is good to be full, | and bad to be in want. Hence, just as | it is good that you (sg.) be in want and, | conversely, bad that you be full, so [10] he who is full is in want, | and he who is in want does not become full as | he who is in want becomes full, and | he who has been filled, in turn, attains | due perfection. Therefore, you must be in want [15] while it is possible to fill you (pl.), and | be full while it is possible for you to be in want, | so that you may be able [to fill] | yourselves the more. Hence become | full of the Spirit, [20] but be in want of | reason, for reason ⟨belongs to⟩ the soul; | in turn it is (of the nature of) soul." |

But I answered and said to him, "Lord, | we can obey you [25] if you wish, for we have forsaken | our fathers | and our mothers and our villages | and followed you. Grant us, therefore, | not to be tempted [30] by the devil, the evil one." |

The Lord answered | and said, "What is your (pl.) merit | if you do the will of the Father | and it is not given to you from him [35] as a gift while | you are tempted by | Satan? But if | you (pl.) are oppressed by | Satan and [40] persecuted and you do his (i.e. the Father's) **5** will, I [say] that he will | love you, and make you equal | with me, and reckon | [you] to have become [5] beloved through his providence | by your own choice. So | will you not cease | loving the flesh and being | afraid of sufferings? Or do [10] you not know that you have yet | to be abused and to be | accused unjustly; | and have yet to be shut | up in prison, and [15] condemned | unlawfully, and | crucified ⟨without⟩ | reason, and buried | ⟨shamefully⟩, as (was) I myself, [20] by the evil one? | Do you dare to spare the flesh, | you for whom the Spirit is an | encircling wall? If you consider | how long the world existed [25] ⟨before⟩ you, and how long | it will exist after you, you will find | that your life is one single day | and your sufferings one | single hour. For the good [30] will not enter into the world. | Scorn death, therefore, | and take thought for life! | Remember my cross | and my death, and you will [35] live!"

But I answered and | said to him, "Lord, | do not mention to us the cross | and death, for they are far **6** from you."

The Lord answered | and said, "Verily I say | unto you, none will be saved | unless they believe in my cross. [5] But those who have believed in my | cross, theirs is the kingdom of | God. Therefore, become seekers | for death, like the dead | who seek for life; [10] for that which they seek is revealed to them. | And what is there | to trouble them? As for you, when you examine | death, it will | teach you election. Verily [15] I say unto you, none | of those who fear death will be saved; | for the kingdom ⟨of God⟩ | belongs to those who put themselves to death. | Become better than I; make [20] yourselves like the son of the Holy Spirit!" |

Then I asked him, | "Lord, how shall we be able | to prophesy to those who request | us to prophesy [25] to them? For there are many who | ask us, and look | to us to hear an oracle | from us."

The Lord | answered and said, "Do you not [30] know that the head of | prophecy was cut off with John?" |

But I said, "Lord, | can it be possible to remove | the head of prophecy?"

The Lord [35] said to me, "When you (pl.) | come to know what 'head' means, and | that prophecy issues from the | head, (then) understand the meaning of 'Its head was **7** removed.' At first I spoke | to you (pl.) in parables | and you did not understand; | now I speak to [5] you openly, and | you (still) do not perceive. Yet | it was you who served me | as a

parable in | parables, and as that which is open [10] in the (words) that are open.

"Hasten | to be saved without being urged! | Instead, be | eager of your own accord and, | if possible, arrive even before me; [15] for thus | the Father will love you. |

"Come to hate | hypocrisy and the evil | thought; for it is the thought [20] that gives birth to hypocrisy; | but hypocrisy is far from | truth.

"Do not allow | the kingdom of heaven to wither; | for it is like a palm shoot [25] whose fruit has dropped down | around it. They (i.e., the fallen fruit) put forth | leaves, and after they had sprouted, | they caused their womb to dry up. | So it is also with the fruit which [30] had grown from this single root; | when it had been picked (?), | fruit was borne by many (?). | It (the root) was certainly good, (and) if | it were possible for you to produce the [35] new plants now, ⟨you⟩ (sg.) would find it.

"Since | I have already been glorified in this fashion, | why do you (pl.) hold me back | in my eagerness to go? **8** For after the [labor], you have | compelled me to stay with | you another eighteen days for | the sake of the parables. It was enough [5] for some ⟨to listen⟩ to the | teaching and understand 'The Shepherds' and | 'The Seed' and 'The Building' and 'The Lamps of | the Virgins' and 'The Wage of the | Workmen' and 'The Didrachmae' and 'The [10] Woman.'

"Become earnest about | the word! For as to the word, | its first part is faith; | the second, love; the | third, works; [15] for from these comes life. | For the word is like a | grain of wheat; when someone | had sown it, he had faith in it; and | when it had sprouted, he loved it because he had seen [20] many grains in place of one. And | when he had worked, he was saved because he had | prepared it for food, (and) again he | left (some) to sow. So also | can you yourselves receive [25] the kingdom of heaven; | unless you receive this through knowledge, | you will not be able to find it.

"Therefore, | I say to you, | be sober; do not be deceived! [30] And many times have I said to you all together, | and also to you alone, | James, have I said, | 'Be saved!' And I have commanded | you (sg.) to follow me, [35] and I have taught you | what to say before the archons. | Observe that I have descended | and have spoken and undergone tribulation | and carried off my crown **9** after saving you (pl.). For | I came down to dwell with | you (pl.) so that you (pl.) in turn | might dwell with me. And, [5] finding your houses | unceiled, I have made my abode | in the houses that could receive me | at the time of my descent. |

"Therefore, trust [10] in me, my brethren; understand | what the great

light is. The Father | has no need of me, | – for a father does not need a son, | but it is the son who needs [15] the father – though I go to him. | For the Father | of the Son has no need of you. |

"Hearken to the word; | understand knowledge; love [20] life, and no one will persecute | you, nor will anyone | oppress you, other | than you yourselves. |

"O you wretches; O [25] you unfortunates; O | you pretenders to the truth; | O you falsifiers of knowledge; | O you sinners against the Spirit: | can you still bear to [30] listen, when it behooved you | to speak from the first? | Can you still bear to | sleep, when it behooved you to be awake | from the first, so that [35] the kingdom of heaven might receive you? **10** Verily I say unto you, | it is easier for a pure one | to fall into defilement, and for | a man of light to fall [5] into darkness, than for you to reign | or not reign.

"I have remembered | your tears and your mourning | and your anguish, (while you say) 'They are far | behind us.' But now, you who are [10] outside of the Father's inheritance, | weep where it is necessary | and mourn and | preach what is good, | as the Son is ascending as he should. [15] Verily I say | unto you, had I been sent | to those who listen to me, and | had I spoken with them, | I would never have come [20] down to earth. So, | then, be ashamed for these things. |

"Behold, I shall depart from you | and go away, and do not wish | to remain with you any longer, just as [25] you yourselves have not wished it. | Now, therefore, follow | me quickly. This is why | I say unto you, 'for your sakes | I came down.' You are [30] the beloved; you are they | who will be the cause of life | in many. Invoke the Father, | implore God often, | and he will give to you. Blessed [35] is he who has seen you with Him | when He was proclaimed among the | angels, and glorified among | the saints; yours (pl.) is life. | Rejoice and be glad as **11** sons of God. Keep his will | that you may be saved; | accept reproof from me and | save yourselves. I intercede [5] on your behalf with the Father, and he will | forgive you much."

And when we | had heard these words, we became glad, | for we had been grieved | at the words we have mentioned [10] before. But when he saw us | rejoicing, he said, "Woe to you (pl.) | who lack an advocate! | Woe to you, who stand in need | of grace! Blessed will they be [15] who have | spoken out and obtained | grace for themselves. Liken | yourselves to foreigners; | of what sort are they in the eyes of your [20] city? Why are you disturbed | when you cast yourselves away | of your own accord and | separate yourselves from your city? Why | do you abandon

your dwelling place [25] of your own accord, | making it ready for those who want | to dwell in it? O you | outcasts and fugitives, woe | to you, for you will be caught! Or [30] do you perhaps think that the Father | is a lover of mankind, or that he is | won over without prayers, or that he | grants remission to one on another's behalf, or | that he bears with one who asks? – [35] For he knows the desire and | also what it is that the flesh needs! – | (Or do you think) that it is not this (flesh) that desires | the soul? For without the soul | the body does not sin, just as **12** the soul is not saved without | [the] spirit. But if the soul | is saved (when it is) without evil, and | the spirit is also saved, then the body [5] becomes free from sin. For it is the spirit | that raises the soul, but the body that | kills it; | that is, it is it (the soul) which kills | itself. Verily I say unto you, [10] he will not forgive the soul the sin | by any means, nor the flesh | the guilt; for none of those who have | worn the flesh will be saved. | For do you think that many have [15] found the kingdom of heaven? | Blessed is he who has seen himself as | a fourth one in heaven!" |

When we heard these words, we were distressed. | But when he saw that we were distressed, [20] he said, "For this cause I tell | you this, that you may | know yourselves. For the kingdom | of heaven is like an ear of grain after it | had sprouted in a field. And [25] when it had ripened, it scattered its | fruit and again filled the field | with ears for another year. You | also, hasten to reap | an ear of life for yourselves that [30] you may be filled with the kingdom! |

"And as long as I am | with you, give heed to me | and obey me; but | when I depart from you, [35] remember me. And remember me | because when I was with you, | you did not know me. | Blessed will they be who have | known me; woe to those who have [40] heard and have not believed! | Blessed will they be who **13** have not seen, [yet have believed]! |

"And once more I [prevail upon] you, | for I am revealed to you (pl.) | building a house which is of great value to [5] you when you find shelter | beneath it, just as it will be able | to stand by your neighbors' house | when it threatens to fall. Verily | I say unto you, woe [10] to those for whose sakes I was sent | down to this place; blessed | will they be who ascend | to the Father! Once more I | reprove you, you who are; [15] become like those who are not, | that you may be with those who | are not.

"Do not make | the kingdom of heaven a desert | within you. Do not be proud [20] because of the light that illumines, but | be to yourselves |

as I myself am | to you. For your sakes I have | placed myself under the curse, that you [25] may be saved." |

But Peter replied | to these words and said, | "Sometimes you urge | us on to the kingdom of [30] heaven, and then again you turn | us back, Lord; sometimes | you persuade and draw | us to faith and promise | us life, and then again you cast [35] us forth from the kingdom | of heaven."

But the Lord answered | and said to us, "I have given you (pl.) | faith many times; moreover, | I have revealed myself to you (sg.), **14** James, and you (pl.) have not | known me. Now again I | see you (pl.) rejoicing many times; | and when you are elated [5] at the promise of life, | are you yet sad, and do you | grieve, when you are instructed | in the kingdom? But you, through | faith [and] knowledge, have received [10] life. Therefore, disdain | the rejection when you | hear it, but when you hear | the promise, rejoice the more. | Verily I say unto you, [15] he who will receive life and | believe in the kingdom will | never leave it, not even if | the Father wishes | to banish him.

"These are the things that I shall tell [20] you so far; now, however, I shall | ascend to the place from whence I came. | But you, when I was eager | to go, have cast me out, and | instead of accompanying me, [25] you have pursued me. | But pay heed to the glory that awaits | me, and, having opened | your heart, listen to the hymns | that await me up in the heavens; [30] for today I must | take (my place at) the right hand of the Father. | But I have said (my) last word to | you, and I shall depart from you, | for a chariot of spirit has borne me aloft, [35] and from this moment on I shall strip myself | that I may clothe myself. | But give heed; blessed | are they who have proclaimed | the Son before his descent [40] that, when I have come, I might ascend (again). | Thrice blessed **15** are they who [were] | proclaimed by the Son | before they came to be, that | you might have a portion [5] among them."

Having said these words, | he departed. But we bent (our) knee(s), | I and Peter, and gave thanks | and sent our heart(s) upwards | to heaven. We heard with [10] our ears, and saw with | our eyes, the noise of wars | and a trumpet blare | and a great turmoil.

And | when we had passed beyond [15] that place, we sent our | mind(s) farther upwards and | saw with our eyes and heard | with our ears hymns | and angelic benedictions and [20] angelic rejoicing. And | heavenly majesties were | singing praise, and we too | rejoiced.

After this | again, we wished to send our [25] spirit upward to the | Majesty, and after ascending we | were not permitted to see or hear | anything, for the other | disciples called us and [30] asked us, "What did

you (pl.) | hear from the | Master? And what has | he said to you? And where | did he go?"

But we answered [35] them, "He has ascended and | has given us a pledge and | promised life to us all and | revealed to us children (?) | who are to come after us, after bidding **16** [us] love them, as we would be | [saved] for their sakes."

And | when they heard (this), they indeed believed | the revelation, but were displeased [5] about those to be born. And so, not wishing | to give them offense, | I sent each one to another | place. But I myself went | up to Jerusalem, praying that I [10] might obtain a portion among the beloved, | who will be made manifest. |

And I pray that | the beginning may come from you, | for thus I shall be capable of [15] salvation, since they will be | enlightened through me, by my faith – | and through another (faith) that is | better than mine, for I would that | mine be the lesser. [20] Endeavor earnestly, then, to make | yourself like them and | pray that you may obtain a portion | with them. For because of what | I have said, the Savior did [25] not make the revelation to us | for their sakes. We do, indeed, proclaim | a portion with those | for whom the proclamation was made, | those whom the Lord has made his [30] sons.

THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH (I,*3* AND XII,*2*)

Introduced and translated by

HAROLD W. ATTRIDGE and GEORGE W. MACRAE

The Gospel of Truth is a Christian Gnostic text with clear affinities to the Valentinian school, offering a subtle yet moving reflection on the person and work of Jesus. The tractate has no explicit title in the manuscript and is known by its *incipit*. Many other works in antiquity, such as the "gospel" of Mark and the "revelation" of John, were similarly identified by their opening words. A Valentinian work entitled the "Gospel of Truth" is attested in the *Adversus Haereses* (3.11.9) of Irenaeus. Unfortunately the heresiologist reveals little about the content of the work, except that it differed significantly from the canonical gospels. Given the general Valentinian affinities of the text of Codex I, it is quite possible that it is identical with the work known to Irenaeus. If so, a date of composition in the middle of the second century (between 140 and 180 C.E.) would be established. On the basis of literary and conceptual affinities between this text and the exiguous fragments of Valentinus, some scholars have suggested that the Gnostic teacher himself was the author. That remains a distinct possibility, although it cannot be definitively established. Whatever its precise date and authorship, the work was certainly composed in Greek in an elaborate rhetorical style, by a consummate literary artist.

Despite its title, this work is not a gospel of the sort found in the New Testament, since it does not offer a continuous narration of the deeds, teachings, passion, and resurrection of Jesus. The term "gospel" in the *incipit* preserves its early sense of "good news." It defines the text's subject, not its genre, which is best understood as a homily. Like other early Christian homilies, such as the Epistle to the Hebrews, *The Gospel of Truth* alternates doctrinal exposition with paraenesis (e.g., 32,31-33,32) and, like that canonical work, it reflects on the significance of the salvific work of Jesus from a special theological perspective.

Identification of the work as a homily says little about its literary or theological dynamics. Analysis of both surface structure and underlying conceptual scheme is made difficult by the elusive character of the discourse, which combines allusions to familiar elements of early Christian tradition, sometimes in unusual associations, with references to less familiar notions. Similarly elusive is the frame of reference of the text, which seems to slip quite easily from cosmic to historical, then to personal or psychological perspectives. These qualities of the work may indicate something of its intended function. Traditions familiar from the New Testament are given a new meaning by being set in a conceptual environment, the structure of which remains artfully obscured. Nonetheless, certain key themes and perspectives characteristic of Valentinian theology, such as the principle that knowledge of the Father destroys ignorance (18,10-11; 24,30-32), are emphasized. The work was thus probably designed to introduce Valentinian soteriological insights to members of the great church.

The work is divided into three large blocks of exposition separated by two formally distinct units, a festive "Litany on the Word" (23,18-24,9) and a paraenetic appeal (32,31-33,32). Each of the three blocks of exposition also contains three thematically distinct sections. After an introduction (16,31-17,4), the first block begins with a description of the generation of Error (17,4-18,11), which comes forth from the Father, but for which the Father is not responsible, and by which he is not diminished. A mythological account, like that of the fall of Sophia, found in many gnostic texts (c.f., e.g., *The Hypostasis of the Archons* or *On the Origin of the World*), no doubt underlies this description of Error. The text then (18,11-19,27) turns to Jesus and his work as revealer and teacher. To illustrate the last notion, the text appeals to traditions like that of Jesus in the temple in Luke 2, although the allusion may be to noncanonical accounts of the youth of Jesus. The final segment of the first block (19,27-24,9) mentions, without any docetic qualifications, the death of Jesus (20,25), then interprets that event, with images drawn from Colossians and the Apocalypse, as an act of revelation. That act reveals the essence of the Father and the origin and destiny of the human self in Him. Through that insight the powers of Error are overcome.

The second major block of exposition (24,9-33,32) describes the effects of the revelation of the "gospel of truth." It produces unity with the Father (24,9-27,7). It makes possible authentic human existence, imaged in traditional gnostic terms as a state of wakefulness (27,7-30,16), a condition of joy and delight graphically contrasted with the nightmarish existence of those in ignorance. Finally the revelation opens the way to ultimate return to the Father (30,16-32,30).

The final block of exposition focuses on the process of reintegration to the primordial source. The return begins (33,33-36,39) as gentle attraction, imaged as an alluring perfume. That attractive fragrance is in fact the spirit of incorruptibility which produces forgiveness. The agent of the return (36,39-40,23) is the Son, who is the name of the Father. The identification of Son and Name involves the most subtle of the reflections of the text (38,6-40,23), combining ancient Jewish-Christian exaltation patterns with philosophical semantics. The final portion of the text (40,23-41,14) describes in festive terms the ultimate goal of the process of return, rest in the Father. Those who recognize that their destiny is in the source from which they have come are the children whom the Father loves.

The Gospel of Truth's combination of literary and conceptual sophistication with genuine religious feeling suggests much better than the rather dry accounts of gnostic systems in the heresiologists why the teaching of Valentinus and his school had such an appeal for many Christians of the second century.

The following translation is based on the text of Codex I; the text of Codex XII is very fragmentary.

THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH

I 16, 31-43, 24

The gospel of truth is joy | for those who have received from | the Father of truth the grace of knowing him, | through the power of the Word that came forth from [35] the pleroma, the one who is in the thought | and the mind of the Father, that is, | the one who is addressed as | the Savior, (that) being the name of the work he is | to perform for the redemption of those who were **17** ignorant of the Father, while in the name [of] | the gospel is the proclamation | of hope, being discovery | for those who search for him.

When [5] the totality went about searching for the one | from whom they had come forth – and the totality was | inside of him, the | incomprehensible, inconceivable one | who is superior to every thought – [10] ignorance of the Father brought about anguish | and terror; and the anguish | grew solid like a fog, | so that no one was able to see. | For this reason error [15] became powerful; it worked on its own matter | foolishly, | not having known the truth. It set about with a creation, | preparing with power and [20] beauty the substitute for the truth. |

This was not, then, a humiliation for him, | the incomprehensible, inconceivable one, | for they were nothing, the anguish and the oblivion and the creature [25] of deceit, while the established | truth is immutable, | imperturbable, perfect in beauty. | For this reason, despise | error.

Thus [30] it had no root; it fell into | a fog regarding the Father, while it was involved in | preparing works and | oblivions and terrors, in order that | by means of these it might entice those [35] of the middle and capture | them.

The oblivion of error was | not revealed. It is not a **18** [. . .] from the Father. Oblivion | did not come into existence from the Father, | although it did indeed come into existence because of him. | But what comes into existence in him is knowledge, [5] which appeared in | order that oblivion might vanish | and the Father might be known. Since | oblivion came into existence because | the Father was not known, then if [10] the Father comes to be known, oblivion | will not exist from that moment on.

Through this, | the gospel of the one who is searched | for, which ⟨was⟩ revealed to those who | are perfect through the mercies [15] of the Father, the hidden mystery, | Jesus, the Christ, | enlightened those who were in darkness | through oblivion. | He enlightened | them; he showed

(them) a way; [20] and the way is the truth | which he taught them.

For this reason | error grew angry at him, | persecuted him, was distressed at him | (and) was brought to naught. He was nailed to a tree (and) he [25] became a fruit of the knowledge of | the Father. It did not, however, cause destruction because | it was eaten, but to those who ate it | it gave (cause) to become glad | in the discovery, and he [30] discovered them in himself, | and they discovered him in themselves.

As for the | incomprehensible, inconceivable one, the | Father, the perfect one, the one who | made the totality, within him is [35] the totality and of him the totality has need. | Although he retained their perfection | within himself which he did not give | to the totality, the Father was not jealous. | What jealousy indeed (could there be) [40] between himself and his members? **19** For, if this aeon had thus [received] | their [perfection], they could not have come [...] | the Father. He retains within himself their perfection, [5] granting it to them as a return to him | and a perfectly unitary | knowledge. It is he who fashioned | the totality, and within him is the totality | and the totality was in need [10] of him.

As in the case of | a person of whom some | are ignorant, he | wishes to have them know him and | love him, so – [15] for what did the totality have need of | if not knowledge regarding | the Father? – he became a guide, | restful and leisurely. | In schools he appeared (and) he spoke [20] the word as a teacher. | There came the men wise | in their own estimation, | putting him to the test. | But he confounded them because they [25] were foolish. They hated | him because they were not really | wise.

After all these, | there came the little | children also, those to whom [30] the knowledge of the Father belongs. Having been strengthened, | they learned about the impressions | of the Father. They knew, | they were known; they were glorified, they | glorified. There was manifested in their [35] heart the living book | of the living – the one written | in the thought and the mind **20** [of the] Father, which from before the | foundation of the totality was within | his incomprehensibility – that (book) | which no one was able to take, [5] since it remains for the one who will take it | to be slain. No one could have become manifest | from among those who have believed | in salvation unless | that book had appeared. [10] For this reason the merciful one, the faithful one, | Jesus, was patient in accepting sufferings | until he took that book, | since he knows that his death | is life for many. [15]

Just as there lies hidden in a will, before | it is opened, the fortune | of the deceased master of the house, | so (it is) with the totality, which | lay hidden while the Father of the totality was [20] invisible, being some-

thing which is | from him, from whom | every space comes forth. | For this reason Jesus appeared; | he put on that book; [25] he was nailed to a tree; | he published the edict | of the Father on the cross. O | such great teaching! He draws | himself down to death though life [30] eternal clothes him. Having stripped | himself of the perishable rags, | he put on imperishability, | which no one | can possibly take away from him. Having entered [35] the empty spaces of | terrors, he passed through | those who were stripped naked by | oblivion, being knowledge | and perfection, proclaiming the things that are in the heart, **21** [...] | teach those who will receive teaching. |

But those who are to receive teaching [are] | the living who are inscribed in the book [5] of the living. It is about themselves that they receive instruction, | receiving it | from the Father, turning | again to him. Since the | perfection of the totality is in the Father, [10] it is necessary for the totality to | ascend to him. Then, if | one has knowledge, he receives what are | his own and draws | them to himself. For he who is [15] ignorant is in need, and | what he lacks is great, | since he lacks that which will | make him perfect. Since the perfection of | the totality is in the Father [20] and it is necessary for the totality to | ascend to him and for each | one to receive what are his own, | he enrolled them in advance, having | prepared them to give to those [25] who came forth from him.

Those | whose name he knew in advance | were called at the end, | so that one who has knowledge is | the one whose name the Father [30] has uttered. For he whose name | has not been spoken is ignorant. | Indeed, how is one | to hear if his name has not | been called? For he who is [35] ignorant until the end is a creature | of oblivion, and he will | vanish along with it. If not, | how is it that these miserable ones have **22** no name, (how is it that) they do not have | the call? Therefore, | if one has knowledge, he is | from above. If he is called, [5] he hears, he answers, | and he turns to him who is calling | him, and ascends to him. And | he knows in what manner he | is called. Having knowledge, he does [10] the will of the one who called | him, he wishes to be pleasing to him, he | receives rest. Each one's name | comes to him. He who is to have knowledge | in this manner knows where he comes [15] from and where he is going. | He knows as one | who having become drunk has turned away from | his drunkenness, (and) having returned to himself, | has set right what [20] are his own.

He has brought many | back from error. He has gone | before them to their places, | from which they had moved away, | since it was on ac-

count [25] of the depth that they received error, the depth of the one who encircles | all spaces while there is none | that encircles him. It was a great | wonder that they were in the Father, | not knowing him, and (that) they were [30] able to come forth by themselves, | since they were unable to | comprehend or to know the one | in whom they were. For if | his will had not thus emerged from him – [35] for he revealed it | in view of a knowledge in which | all its emanations concur. |

This is the knowledge of | the living book which he revealed to the **23** aeons, at the end, as [his letters], | revealing how | they are not vowels | nor are they [5] consonants, | so that one might read them and | think of something foolish, | but they are letters of the | truth which they alone speak [10] who know them. | Each letter is a complete ⟨thought⟩ | like a complete | book, since they are | letters written by [15] the Unity, the Father having | written them for the aeons in order that by | means of his letters | they should know the Father.

While his wisdom | contemplates [20] the Word, and his teaching | utters it, his knowledge | has revealed ⟨it⟩. | While forebearance is | a crown upon it, [25] and his gladness is in harmony | with it, his glory | has exalted it, his image | has revealed it, | his repose has [30] received it into itself, his love | has made a body over it, | his fidelity has embraced | it. In this way the Word | of the Father goes [35] forth in the totality, as the fruit **24** [of] his heart and | an impression of his will. | But it supports the totality; it | chooses them and also receives [5] the impression of the totality, | purifying them, bringing them back | into the Father, into the Mother, | Jesus of the infinite | sweetness.

The Father reveals [10] his bosom. – Now his bosom | is the Holy Spirit. – He | reveals what is hidden of him – | what is hidden of him is | his Son – so that through [15] the mercies of the Father | the aeons may know him | and cease laboring in search of | the Father, resting there | in him, knowing [20] that this is the rest. Having | filled the deficiency, he abolished | the form – the form of | it is the world, that | in which he served. – [25] For the place where there is envy | and strife is deficient, | but the place where (there is) Unity | is perfect. Since the deficiency | came into being because the [30] Father was not known, therefore, when | the Father is known, | from that moment on the deficiency will no longer exist. As | in the case of the ignorance | of a person, when he comes [35] to have knowledge, his ignorance | vanishes of itself, | as the darkness vanishes | when light appears, **25** so also | the deficiency vanishes | in the perfection. So | from that moment on the form is not apparent, [5] but it will vanish | in the fusion of Unity, | for now their works

| lie scattered. In | time Unity will perfect [10] the spaces. It is within | Unity that each one | will attain himself; within | knowledge he will purify himself | from multiplicity into [15] Unity, consuming | matter within himself | like fire, and | darkness by light, death by | life.

If indeed these things have happened [20] to each one of us, | then we must | see to it above all that | the house will be holy | and silent for the Unity. [25] (It is) as in the case of some people | who moved out of dwellings | having | jars that in | spots were not good. [30] They would break them, and | the master of the house would not suffer loss. | Rather ⟨he⟩ is glad because | in place of the bad jars | (there are) full ones which are made [35] perfect. For such is | the judgment which has come from **26** above. It has passed judgment on | everyone; it is a drawn sword, | with two edges, cutting | on either side. When the [5] Word appeared, the one that is | within the heart of those who utter it – | it is not a sound alone | but it became a body – a great | disturbance took place among [10] the jars because some had | been emptied, others filled; | that is, some had been supplied, | others poured out, | some had been purified, still [15] others broken up. All the spaces | were shaken and disturbed | because they had no order | nor stability. | Error was upset, not knowing [20] what to do; | it was grieved, in mourning, | afflicting itself because it knew | nothing. When | knowledge drew near it – this [25] is the downfall of (error) and all its emanations – | error is empty, | having nothing inside. |

Truth appeared; | all its emanations knew it. [30] They greeted the Father in truth | with a perfect power | that joins them with the Father. | For, as for everyone who loves the truth – | because the truth is the mouth [35] of the Father; his tongue is the | Holy Spirit – he who is joined **27** to the truth is joined | to the Father's mouth | by his tongue, whenever he is to | receive the Holy Spirit, [5] since this is the manifestation of the | Father and his revelation | to his aeons.

He manifested | what was hidden of him; he explained it. | For who contains, [10] if not the Father alone? | All the spaces are his emanations. | They have known that they came forth | from him like children | who are from a grown [15] man. They knew | that they had not yet | received form nor yet | received a name, each one of which | the Father begets. [20] Then, when they receive form | by his knowledge, | though truly within him, they | do not know him. But the Father | is perfect, knowing [25] every space within him. | If he wishes, | he manifests whomever he wishes | by giving him form and giving | him a name, and he gives a name [30] to him and brings it about | that those come into existence who,

| before they come into existence, are | ignorant of him who fashioned them. |

I do not say, then, that [35] they are nothing (at all) who have not | yet come into existence, but they are **28** in him who will wish | that they come into existence when he | wishes, like | the time that is to come. [5] Before all things appear, | he knows what he will | produce. But the fruit | which is not yet manifest | does not know anything, nor [10] does it do anything. Thus, | also, every space which is | itself in the Father is from | the one who exists, who | established it [15] from what does not exist. | For he who has no | root has no | fruit either, but | though he thinks to himself, [20] "I have come into being," yet | he will perish by himself. | For this reason, he who did not exist | at all will | never come into existence. What, then, did he [25] wish him to think of himself? | This: "I have come into being like the | shadows and phantoms | of the night." When | the light shines on the terror [30] which that person had experienced, | he knows that it is nothing. |

Thus they were ignorant | of the Father, he being the one **29** whom they did not see. Since | it was terror and disturbance | and instability | and doubt and [5] division, there were many | illusions at work | by means of these, and | (there were) empty fictions, as if | they were sunk in sleep [10] and found themselves in | disturbing dreams. Either (there is) a place | to which they are fleeing, or | without strength they come (from) having chased | after others, or they are involved in [15] striking blows, or they are receiving | blows themselves, or they have fallen from high places, | or they take off into | the air though they do not even have wings. [20] Again, sometimes (it is as) if people | were murdering them, though there is | no one even pursuing them, or they themselves | are killing their neighbors, | for they have been stained with [25] their blood. | When those who | are going through | all these things wake up, they see nothing, | they who were in the midst [30] of all these disturbances, | for they are nothing. | Such is the way | of those who have cast | ignorance aside [35] from them like sleep, | not esteeming it as anything, | nor do they esteem its **30** works as solid | things either, but they | leave them behind like a dream in the night. The [5] knowledge of the Father they value | as the dawn. This is the way | each one has acted, | as though asleep at the time | when he was ignorant. [10] And this is the way | he has ⟨come to knowledge⟩, as if | he had awakened. {and} Good | for the man who will return | and awaken. And [15] blessed is he who has opened | the eyes of the blind.

And | the Spirit ran after him, | hastening from | waking him up.

Having extended his hand [20] to him who lay upon the | ground, he set him up | on his feet, for | he had not yet risen. | He gave them the means of knowing [25] the knowledge of the Father and the | revelation of his Son. | For, when they had seen him and had | heard him, he granted them to | taste him and [30] to smell him and | to touch the | beloved Son.

When he had appeared | instructing them about the Father, | the incomprehensible one, when he had breathed into them [35] what is in the thought, doing | his will, when many had | received the light, they turned **31** to him. For the material ones were strangers | and did not see his likeness | and had not known | him. For he came [5] by means of fleshly | form, while nothing blocked | his course because | incorruptibility is irresistible, | since he, again, spoke [10] new things, still speaking about | what is in the heart of the Father, having | brought forth the flawless word. |

When light had spoken | through his mouth, [15] as well as his voice | which gavé birth to life, he | gave them thought and understanding | and mercy and salvation and the powerful spirit | from the infiniteness [20] and the sweetness of the Father. | Having made punishments | and tortures cease – for it was they which | were leading astray from his face some | who were in need of mercy, in [25] error and in bonds – | he both destroyed them with power | and confounded them with knowledge. | He became a | way for those who were gone astray [30] and knowledge for those who were | ignorant, a discovery for those | who were searching, and a support | for those who were wavering, | immaculateness for those who [35] were defiled.

He is the shepherd | who left behind the ninety- **32** nine sheep which were not lost. | He went searching for the one which | had gone astray. He rejoiced when he | found it, for ninety-nine [5] is a number that is in the left hand | which holds it. But | when the one is found, | the entire number | passes to the right (hand). As [10] that which lacks the one – that is, | the entire right (hand) – | draws what was deficient and | takes it from the | left-hand side and brings (it) to the [15] right, so too the number | becomes one hundred. It is the sign of the one who is in | their sound; it is the Father. | Even on the Sabbath, he labored for the sheep | which he found fallen into the [20] pit. He gave life to | the sheep, having brought it up | from the pit in order that you | might know interiorly – [38] you, the sons of interior [39] knowledge – | what is the Sabbath, on which it is not fitting [25] for salvation to be idle, | in order that you may speak | from the day from above, | which has no night, | and from the light [30] which does not sink because it is perfect. |

Say, then, from the heart that | you are the perfect day | and in you dwells | the light that does not fail. [35] Speak of the truth with those who | search for it and (of) knowledge to those | who have committed sin in their error. **33** Make firm the foot of those | who have stumbled and stretch out | your hands to those who are ill. Feed | those who are hungry and [5] give repose to those who are weary, and | raise up those who wish to | rise, and awaken those who | sleep. For you are the | understanding that is drawn forth. If [10] strength acts thus, it becomes | even stronger. Be concerned with yourselves; | do not be concerned with | other things which you have | rejected from yourselves. [15] Do not return to what you have vomited | to eat it. Do not be moths. | Do not be worms, for you have already | cast it off. Do not become a [20] (dwelling) place for the devil, for | you have already destroyed him. | Do not strengthen (those who are) obstacles to you | who are collapsing, as though (you were) a support (for them). | For the lawless one is someone to treat [25] ill rather than the just one. | For the former | does his work as a | lawless person; the latter as | a righteous person does his [30] work among others. So | you, do the will of the Father, | for you are from him. |

For the Father is sweet and in | his will is what is good. [35] He has taken cognizance of | the things that are yours that you might find rest | in them. For by the | fruits does one take cognizance of | the things that are yours because the children of the Father **34** are his fragrance, for | they are from the grace of his | countenance. For this reason the Father loves | his fragrance and manifests it [5] in every place, and if it mixes | with matter he gives his fragrance | to the light and in his repose | he causes it to surpass every form | (and) every sound. For it is not the ears that [10] smell the fragrance, but | (it is) the breath that has | the sense of smell and attracts the fragrance | to itself and is submerged | in the fragrance of the Father, so that he [15] thus shelters it and takes it to the place | where it came from, | from the first fragrance which | is grown cold. It is something in a | psychic form, being [20] like cold water | which has frozen (?), which is on earth | that is not solid, of which those | who see it think it | is earth; afterwards it dissolves [25] again. If a breath | draws it, it gets hot. The fragrances, | therefore, that are cold are from the division. | For this reason faith came; | it dissolved the division, [30] and it brought the warm pleroma | of love in order that | the cold should not come again | but there should be the unity of | perfect thought. [35]

This ⟨is⟩ the word of the gospel | of the discovery of the pleroma, for | those who await **35** the salvation which is coming | from on high.

While their | hope, for which they | are waiting, is in waiting – they whose image [5] is light with no shadow | in it – then, at that time, | the pleroma | is proceeding to come. The ⟨deficiency⟩ | of matter came to be not through [10] the limitlessness of | the Father, who is coming to give time for | the deficiency, although no one | could say that the incorruptable one would | come in this way. But [15] the depth of the Father was multiplied | and the thought of | error did not exist | with him. It is a thing that falls, | it is a thing that easily stands upright (again) [20] in the discovery of him | who has come to him whom he shall bring back. | For the bringing back | is called repentance. |

For this reason incorruptibility [25] breathed forth; it pursued the one | who had sinned in order that he might | rest. For forgiveness is | what remains for the light in the deficiency, | the word of the pleroma. [30] For the physician runs to the place | where sickness is, because | that is the will that is | in him. He who has a deficiency, then, does not | hide it, because one has what [35] the other lacks. So the pleroma, | which has no deficiency, | but fills up the deficiency, is what he **36** provided from himself for filling up | what he lacks, in order that | therefore he might receive the grace. For when | he was deficient, he did not have [5] the grace. That is why | there was diminution existing in | the place where there is no grace. | When that which was diminished | was received, he revealed what he [10] lacked, being (now) a pleroma; | that is the discovery of the light | of truth which rose upon him because | it is immutable.

That is why | Christ was spoken of in their [15] midst, so that those who were disturbed | might receive a bringing back, and he | might anoint them with the ointment. The ointment is | the mercy of the Father who will have mercy | on them. But those whom he has anointed [20] are the ones who have become perfect. | For full jars are the | ones that are usually anointed. But when | the anointing of one (jar) is dissolved, | it is emptied, and the [25] reason for there being a deficiency is the thing | by which its ointment goes. | For at that time | a breath draws it, a thing | in the power of that which is with it. [30] But from him who | has no deficiency, no seal is removed | nor is anything emptied, | but what he lacks | the perfect Father fills again. [35] He is good. He knows | his plantings, because it is he | who planted them in his paradise. | Now his paradise | is his place of rest.

This **37** is the perfection in the thought | of the Father, and these are | the words of his meditation. | Each one of his words [5] is the work of his | one will in the revelation | of his Word. While they were still | depths of his thought, the Word | which was first to come forth re-

vealed [10] them along with a mind that | speaks, the one Word in | silent grace. He was called | thought, since they | were in it before being revealed. [15] It came about then, that he | was first to come forth at the time when the will of him | who willed desired it. | And the will is what the Father [20] rests in and | is pleased with. Nothing | happens without him nor does anything | happen without the will of | the Father, but his will [25] is unsearchable. His trace | is the will and no one | will know him nor is it possible | for one to scrutinize him in order to | grasp him. But [30] when he wills, | what he wills is this – even if | the sight does not please them | in any way before God – | desiring the Father. For he knows the [35] beginning of all of them and their end. | For at their end he will question them | directly. Now, the end is receiving knowledge | about the one who is hidden, and this is the Father, **38** from whom the beginning came | forth, to whom all will | return who have | come forth from him. [5] And they have appeared for the glory and the | joy of his name. |

Now the name of the Father is the Son. It is he | who first gave a name to the one | who came forth from him, who was himself, [10] and he begot him as a son. | He gave him his name which | belonged to him; he is the one to whom | belongs all that exists around | him, the Father. His is the name; [15] his is the Son. It is possible | for him to be seen. The name, however, | is invisible because | it alone is the | mystery of the invisible [20] which comes to ears that are completely filled | with it by him. For indeed, | the Father's name is not spoken, | but it is apparent through a | Son.

In this way, then, the name is a great thing. [25] Who, therefore, will be able to utter a name for him, | the great name, except him | alone to whom | the name belongs and the sons of the name | in whom rested [30] the name of the Father, | (who) in turn themselves rested | in his name? Since the | Father is unengendered, he alone is the one | who begot him for him(self) as a name, [35] before he brought forth the | aeons, in order that the name | of the Father should be over their head as | lord, that is the **39** name in truth, which is firm in his | command through perfect power. | For the name is not from | (mere) words, nor [5] does his name consist of appellations, | but it is invisible. | He gave a name to him alone, | since he alone sees him, he | alone having [10] the power to give him a name. | For he who does not exist | has no name. | For what name is given to him | who does not exist? [15] But the one who exists | exists also with his name, and | he alone knows it, | and alone (knows how) to give him a name. | It is the Father. The Son [20] is his name. He

did | not, therefore, hide it in the thing, | but it | existed; as for the Son, he alone gave a name. | The name, therefore, is that of the Father, [25] as the name of | the Father is the Son. Where | indeed would compassion find a name | except with the Father?

But | no doubt one will say [30] to his neighbor: "Who is it | who will give a name to him who | existed before himself, | as if offspring did not receive a name **40** from those | who begot ⟨them⟩?" First, | then, it is fitting for us | to reflect on this matter: What [5] is the name? It is the name | in truth; it is not therefore | the name from the Father, for | it is the one which is the proper | name. Therefore, he did not receive the name | on loan as (do) | others, according to the form | in which each one | is to be produced. | But this is the proper name. [15] There is no one else who gave it to him. | But he ⟨is⟩ unnamable, | indescribable, | until the time when he | who is perfect spoke of him alone. [20] And it is he who | has the power to speak | his name and to see | it.

When, therefore, it pleased | him that his name [25] which is loved should be his Son, and | he gave the name to him, that is, him | who came forth from the depth, he | spoke about his secret things, knowing | that the Father is a being without evil. [30] For that very reason he brought him | forth in order to speak | about the place and his | resting-place from which he had come forth, **41** and to glorify the pleroma, | the greatness of his name and | the sweetness of the Father. About | the place each one came from [5] he will speak, and to the | region where he received his establishment | he will hasten to return | again and to take from | that place – the place where he [10] stood – receiving a taste | from that place and | receiving nourishment, receiving growth. And | his own resting-place | is his pleroma.

Therefore, [15] all the emanations of the Father | are pleromas, and | the root of all his emanations is in | the one who made them all | grow up in himself. He assigned them [20] their destinies. Each one then | is manifest, | in order that through their | own thought ⟨. . .⟩. | For the place to which they send [25] their thought, that place, | their root, is what takes them | up in all the heights | to the Father. They possess his | head, which is rest for them, [30] and they are supported, | approaching him, | as though to say that | they have participated in his face | by means of kisses. [35] But they do not become manifest **42** in this way, | for they were not themselves exalted; | (yet) neither did they lack the glory | of the Father nor did they think of him as [5] small nor that he is harsh | nor that he is wrathful, but | (that) he is a being without evil, imperturbable, | sweet, knowing | all spaces before they have come into existence, and [10] he had no need to be instructed. |

This is the manner of | those who possess (something) | from above of the | immensurable greatness, as they [15] wait for the one alone | and the perfect one, the one who is | there for them. And they do not go down | to Hades nor have they | envy nor [20] groaning nor death | within them, but they | rest in him who is at rest, | not striving nor | being twisted around [25] the truth. But they | themselves are the truth; and | the Father is within them and | they are in the Father, being perfect, | being undivided in [30] the truly good one, being | in no way deficient in anything, but | they are set at rest, refreshed in the | Spirit. And they will heed their | root. They will be concerned with those (things) [35] in which he will find his root | and not suffer loss to his | soul. This is the place of the | blessed; this is their place. |

For the rest, then, may they [40] know, in their places, that | it is not fitting for me, **43** having come to be in the resting-place, | to speak of anything else. But | it is in it that I shall come to be, and (it is fitting) to | be concerned at all times with the Father of [5] the all and the true brothers, | those upon whom the love of | the Father is poured out and | in whose midst there is no lack of him. | They are the ones who appear [10] in truth, since they exist in | true and eternal life and | speak of the light which | is perfect and filled with | the seed of the Father, and [15] which is in his heart and in the | pleroma, while his | Spirit rejoices in it and glorifies | the one in whom it existed | because he is good. And [20] his children are perfect and | worthy of his name, | for he is the Father: it is children | of this kind that he | loves.

THE TREATISE ON THE RESURRECTION (I,*4*)

Introduced and translated by

MALCOLM L. PEEL

The importance of this short, eight-page, didactic letter lies in its witness to a distinctively unorthodox interpretation of Christian teaching about survival after death. By the late second century, the probable time of its composition, Christians – whether Gnostic or orthodox – were struggling with certain challenges and questions. Was such survival philosophically demonstrable (as Socrates had argued in the *Phaedo*)? What form might it take? (Immortality of the soul? Resurrection of the body? Reincarnation?) When would such survival be experienced? (At death? At Christ's final return? Perhaps even before death?) The New Testament teaching was somewhat ambiguous on several of these points, though within the great church there seemed general agreement on at least two matters: the prototype and basis of hope for such survival was the resurrection of Jesus Christ, and the resurrection of individuals would entail their retention of personal identity.

The anonymous author of *The Treatise on the Resurrection*, however, claimed a Christ-given knowledge (49,41-50,2) that enabled him to offer direct and unambiguous answers to such questions, questions which in this case had been put to him by his pupil, Rheginos (43,25). First, the resurrection is a matter of faith in the reality of Jesus Christ's resurrection and his destruction of death (46,14-19). Such cannot be the result of philosophical "persuasion," and most philosophers of the world are in fact sceptics.

Second, the form of survival will be the "resurrection," which is *not* understood as the re-creation of a spiritual body at Christ's Parousia (cf. 1 Co 15 *passim*). Rather, at the point of biological death, the "elect" believer experiences the separation of the inward, "living members," whose intellectual nature is clarified by reference to the "mind" and its "thought," *from* the external "body" of "perishable," "visible," outward "members" (47,38-48,2; 45,39-46,2; 45,19-21). Even so, this "resurrection body," covered with a new "flesh" (47,4-8) or "garment of light" ("rays" in 45,30-31), retains personally identifiable features, as the appearance of Elijah and Moses at Christ's transfiguration (Mk 9:2-8) makes clear. Such is the "spiritual resurrection" which "swallows up" (i.e., renders nonsensical or destroys) the "resurrection" of either the naked "soul" or of the crudely literal "flesh" (45,39-46,2). Implied is a dualistic doctrine of outer/inner that goes beyond Pauline anthropology.

Third, unlike the early church, which in its resurrection hope held to an "eschatological reservation" (i.e., the notion that the full benefit of individual Christians' participation in the resurrection would wait the final return of Christ), the author of *The Treatise on the Resurrection* held that for the elect believer who had proleptically participated in Christ's suffering (death), resurrection, and ascension (45,24-28), the new reality should be clear: one already *has*

the resurrection in the present. In sum, our author, like the Hymenaeus and Philetus condemned in 2 Timothy 2:18, teaches that the resurrection has already occurred! He reinforces it by means of a kind of existential proof: the believer who knows of death's inevitability should consider himself as dead already and thus as already participating in the resurrected state (49,16-30). Thus, the believer is to have "faith" in the reality of Christ's victory over death and its guarantee (45,14-46, 4,14-17; 46,8-13), to avoid all "doubt" (47,36-48,3), to "know" the "Son of Man" and the truth proclaimed about his resurrection (46,13-17, 30-32), to "practise" one's release from the inimical power of this cosmos (49,30-33) through correct thought, and to realize the mystical unity between the experience of the Savior and that of the believer (45,15-46,2).

Major studies of the text have clarified that the author is a Christian Gnostic teacher who is clearly influenced by Valentinian Gnosticism. The evidence for this is found in the close parallels between the treatise's teaching that the spiritual resurrection has already occurred and the reports of Valentinian "realized eschatology" in Tertullian (*De praes. haer.* 33.7; *De res. mort.* 19,2-7) and Irenaeus (*Haer.* 2.31.2). Also, certain conceptual complexes unique to Valentinianism appear in *Treat. Res.*, such as the idea of a primordial pleroma which suffered a devolution and resulting "deficiency" (46,35-47,1; 49,4-5) which the Savior must "restore" (44,30-33).

Only to be expected, then, is the presence of Middle Platonic ideas which, as prior scholarship has shown, influenced Valentinianism. Such ideas include a distinction between a world of being (including the Good itself) and the sphere of becoming and corruption (48,20-27), as well as between an "intelligible world" and a "sensible" world (46,35-47,1). Also Platonic are notions of the pre-existence of souls (46,38-47,1; cf. 47,4-6; 49,30-36) and of "practising" for dying (49,28-33).

Rather un-Platonic, however, is the absence of any mention of an ultimate quest for ecstatic vision/union with the ultimate One, as well as our treatise's stress on retention of identifiable personal characteristics in the *post mortem* resurrected state.

Because of the centrality of Jesus Christ in the text, however, and because the author appeals to the New Testament as highest authority for his proofs (cf. 43,34; 45,4, 24-28; 48,6-11), we conclude that the author is a Christian Gnostic whose thought displays the influence of Middle Platonism as filtered through a late and somewhat vaguely articulated Valentinian Gnosticism.

Critical opinion now generally holds that *Treat. Res.* is not written by Valentinus himself. Studies of the stage of the New Testament canon of which the anonymous author seems aware, of the place of *Treat. Res.* teaching in the context of debates over the resurrection in the early church, and of the type of Middle Platonic ideas found in it all converge in pointing toward the late second century as the probable time of composition. As to its provenance, neither internal nor external evidence provides any clues.

Debate continues over whether the writing is a genuine didactic letter lacking a *praescriptio* naming its author (such as are the *Epistula Apostolorum* or the *Letter of Ptolemy to Flora*) and incorporating elements of the diatribe style, or whether it is principally a philosophical discourse decisively shaped by the Cynic-Stoic diatribe. As yet, the last named is lacking a convincing demonstration.

Most scholars do seem to reject the suggestions, however, that the text is the result of combining two originally separate letters or that it is the result of a gnostic redaction of an originally Christian text.

THE TREATISE ON THE RESURRECTION

I 43, 25-50, 18

Some there are, my son Rheginos, | who want to learn many things. | They have this goal | when they are occupied with questions | whose answer is lacking. [30] If they succeed with these, they usually | think very highly of | themselves. But I do not think | that they have stood within | the Word of Truth. They seek [35] rather their own rest, which | we have received through our | Savior, our Lord Christ. **44** We received it (i.e., Rest) when we came to know | the truth and rested | ourselves upon it. But | since you ask us [5] pleasantly what is proper | concerning the resurrection, I am writing | you (to say) that it is necessary. | To be sure, many are | lacking faith in it, but there are a few [10] who find it. | So then, let us discuss | the matter. |

How did the Lord proclaim | things while he existed [15] in flesh and after | he had revealed himself as Son | of God? He lived | in this place where you | remain, speaking [20] about the Law of Nature – but I call | it "Death!" Now the Son | of God, Rheginos, | was Son of Man. | He embraced them [25] both, possessing the | humanity and the divinity, | so that on the one hand he might vanquish | death through his | being Son of God, [30] and that on the other through the Son of | Man the restoration | to the Pleroma | might occur; because | he was originally from above, [35] a seed of the Truth, before | this structure (of the cosmos) had come into being. | In this (structure) many dominions and | divinities came into existence. |

I know that I am presenting **45** the solution in difficult terms, | but there is nothing | difficult in the Word | of Truth. But since [5] the Solution appeared | so as not to leave anything hidden, | but to reveal all | things openly concerning | existence – the destruction [10] of evil on the one hand, the revelation | of the elect on the other. This (Solution) is | the emanation of Truth and | Spirit, Grace is of the Truth. |

The Savior swallowed up [15] death – (of this) you are not reckoned as being ignorant – | for he put aside the world | which is perishing. He transformed [himself] | into an imperishable Aeon | and raised himself up, having [20] swallowed the visible | by the invisible, | and he gave us |

the way of our immortality. Then, | indeed, as the Apostle [25] said, "We suffered | with him, and we arose | with him, and we went to heaven | with him." Now if we are | manifest in [30] this world wearing | him, we are that one's beams, | and we are | embraced by | him until our setting, that is [35] to say, our death in this life. | We are drawn to heaven | by him, like beams | by the sun, not being restrained | by anything. This is [40] the spiritual resurrection | **46** which swallows up the psychic | in the same way as the fleshly. |

But if there is one who | does not believe, he does not have [5] the (capacity to be) persuaded. For it is the domain of faith, | my son, and not that which belongs | to persuasion: the dead shall | arise! There is one who believes | among the philosophers who are in this world. [10] At least he will arise. And let not the philosopher | who is in this world have cause to | believe that he is one who returns himself | by himself – and (that) because of our faith! | For we have known the Son of [15] Man, and we have believed | that he rose from among the | dead. This is he of whom we say, | "He became the destruction | of death, as he is a great one [20] in whom they believe." | ⟨Great⟩are those who believe. |

The thought of those | who are saved shall not perish. | The mind of those who have known him shall not perish. [25] Therefore, we are elected to | salvation and redemption since | we are predestined from the beginning | not to fall into the | foolishness of those who are without knowledge, [30] but we shall enter into the | wisdom of those who have known the | Truth. Indeed, the Truth which is kept | cannot be abandoned, | nor has it been. [35] "Strong is the system of the | Pleroma; small is that which | broke loose (and) became | (the) world. But the All is | what is encompassed. It has not **47** come into being; it was existing." So, | never doubt concerning | the resurrection, my son Rheginos! | For if you were not existing [5] in flesh, you received flesh when you | entered this world. Why | will you not receive flesh when you | ascend into the Aeon? | That which is better than the flesh is that which is [10] for it (the) cause of life. | That which came into being on your account, is it not | yours? Does not that which is yours | exist with you? | Yet, while you are in this world, what is it that you [15] lack? This is what | you have been making every effort to learn. |

The afterbirth of the body is | old age, and you | exist in corruption. You have [20] absence as a gain. | For you will not give up what | is better if you depart. That which is worse | has diminution, | but there is grace for it.

Nothing, [25] then, redeems us from | this world. But the All which |

we are, we are saved. We have received | salvation from end | to end. Let us think in this way! [30] Let us comprehend in this way!

But | there are some (who) wish to understand, | in the enquiry about | those things they are looking into, whether | he who is saved, if he leaves [35] his body behind, will | be saved immediately. Let | no one doubt concerning this. | ... indeed, the visible members | which are dead **48** shall not be saved, for (only) the living [members] | which exist within | them would arise.

What, | then, is the resurrection? [5] It is always the disclosure of | those who have risen. For if you | remember reading in the Gospel | that Elijah appeared | and Moses [10] with him, do not think the resurrection | is an illusion. | It is no illusion, but | it is truth! Indeed, it is more | fitting to say that [15] the world is an illusion, | rather than the resurrection which | has come into being through | our Lord the Savior, | Jesus Christ. [20]

But what am I telling | you now? Those who are living | shall die. How | do they live in an illusion? | The rich have become poor, [25] and the kings have been overthrown. | Everything is prone | to change. The world | is an illusion! – lest, | indeed, I rail at [30] things to excess!

But | the resurrection does not have | this aforesaid character, for | it is the truth which stands firm. | It is the revelation of [35] what is, and the transformation | of things, and a | transition into | newness. For imperishability **49** [descends] upon | the perishable; the light flows | down upon the darkness, | swallowing it up; and the Pleroma [5] fills up the deficiency. | These are the symbols and | the images of the resurrection. | He (Christ) it is who makes the | good.

Therefore, do not [10] think in part, O Rheginos, | nor live | in conformity with this flesh for the sake of | unanimity, but flee | from the divisions and the [15] fetters, and already you have | the resurrection. For if | he who will die knows | about himself that he | will die – even if he spends many [20] years in this life, he is | brought to this – | why not consider yourself | as risen and (already) | brought to this? [25] If you have | the resurrection but continue as if | you are to die – and yet that one knows | that he has died – why, then, | do I ignore your [30] lack of exercise? It is fitting for each | one to practice | in a number of ways, and | he shall be released from this Element | that he may not fall into error but shall himself [35] receive again | what at first was. |

These things I have received from | the generosity of my **50** Lord, Jesus Christ. [I have] taught | you and your [brethren], my sons, concerning them, | while I have not omitted any of | the things suitable for

strengthening you (pl.). [5] But if there is one thing written | which is obscure in my exposition of | the Word, I shall interpret it for you (pl.) | when you (pl.) ask. But now, | do not be jealous of anyone who is in your number [10] when he is able to help. |

Many are looking into | this which I have written | to you. To these I say: | peace (be) among them and grace. [15] I greet you and those who love | you (pl.) in brotherly love. |

The Treatise on the | Resurrection

THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE (I,5)

Introduced by

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The final tractate of Codex I is an elaborate, but untitled, Valentinian theological treatise which gives an account of the whole process of devolution from and reintegration into the primordial godhead. The text is divided by scribal decoration into three segments which contain the major acts of the cosmic drama; hence its modern title.

The date of composition can only be determined within broad limits. Since the doctrine of the text represents a revised form of Valentinian theology which may be a response to the criticism of orthodox theologians such as Irenaeus or Hippolytus, the work was probably written in the early to mid third century. The text displays some affinities with Origen's doctrines, although these may be due to common theological and philosophical sources.

The tractate offers no information about the identity of its author. Some scholars have speculated that the Valentinian teacher Heracleon could have written the work. While there are affinities with Heracleon and the Western or Italian school of Valentinianism, the work departs from classical Valentinian doctrine more radically than any known representative of the tradition.

Like the other tractates of Codex I and most of the works in the Nag Hammadi collection, *The Tripartite Tractate* was originally composed in Greek. The Coptic translation presents numerous difficulties and obscurities, many of which probably reflect the style of the original.

The theological purview of the tractate is comprehensive. The first part (51,1-104,3) describes the emanation of all supernatural entities from their primal source. It begins with the Father (51,1-57,8), described primarily through a *via negativa* as an utterly transcendent entity. What can be affirmed is that he is unique and monadic. The insistence on the unitary character of the Father distinguishes the text from most other Valentinians who posit a primal masculine-feminine dyad, although some members of the school, such as those mentioned by Hippolytus (*Ref.* 6.29.2-8), also hold to a monadic first principle.

Emanating from the Father are two other entities, the Son and the Church (57,8-59,38). At this point the tractate again differs from other Valentinian sources, which regularly posit a more complex godhead. The pleroma or "fullness of deity" usually consists of an ogdoad, a set eight syzygies, or pairs of divine entities, a similarly composed decad, and duodecad. Instead, *The Tripartite Tractate* posits an initial trinity.

Some elements of the complex traditional Valentinian picture are retained in

the description of the components or "aeons" of the third element of the trinity, the Church (50,1-74,18). The dependence on, as well as revision of, Valentinian sources is clear in the stage of the text which describes the problems created by one of the aeons (74,18-80,11). In other Valentinian accounts, which are based on earlier, non-Christian speculation, the problem in the godhead arises because of a female aeon, Sophia (Wisdom), who attempts to do the impossible. According to different versions of the story, she either tries to produce offspring without her consort or tries to know the unknowable primal source. In either case, she falls outside the divine pleroma and produces the world of psychic and material forces. In *The Tripartite Tractate* the agent of the rupture in the pleroma is a masculine aeon, the Logos (Word). His fall, which includes elements of both traditional explanations of Sophia's catastrophe, is presented in remarkably positive terms, as a result of his own "abundant love" (76,19-20). It is also, remarkably enough, in accordance with the Father's will (76,24-77,1). Most importantly, it proceeds from the Logos' free choice (75,35-76,1), a quality which all entities dependent on him share.

The fall of the Logos produces two orders of beings which are outside the pleroma (80,11-85,15). From his confused and defective procreative activity emerge hylic forces. When the Logos, on his own initiative, repents, he produces psychic forces. These supernatural forces will play a role in creation of the first human and in cosmic governance.

The most important result of the conversion of the Logos is the generation of the Savior (85,15-90,13). This transpires when the Logos splits in two. His better, masculine self returns to the pleroma to intercede for his defective, feminine self. That better self, along with the aeons who have never left the pleroma, produce the Savior. That being is also called, by analogy with the highest level of reality, the Son, because as the Son reveals the Father to the aeons of the pleroma, the Savior will provide revelatory insight to those outside the pleroma.

The brief second part of the tractate (104,4-108,12) offers an interpretation of Genesis 1-3. The first human being is produced on the one hand by the Demiurge and on the other hand by the Logos. The former provides Adam's psychic and material components and the latter his spiritual component. The three potencies of the first human being will later be actualized in three classes of human beings at the coming of the Savior.

The third part of the tractate (108,13-138,27) focuses on soteriological issues. The Savior's appearance divides humankind into three classes (118,14-122,12). The pneumatic or spiritual recognize the Savior immediately and respond to him, while the hylic or material reject him utterly. Between these two extremes the psychic or soulful types hesitate, and only gradually come to join the Savior. As is usual in Valentinian texts, the three types have clear social referents. The pneumatics are the Valentinians themselves, the hylics are non-Christians and the psychics are ordinary Christians. The attention lavished on the detailed description of the psychics is indicative of the apologetic and irenic tendencies of the work.

In its final section (129,34-138,27) the text returns to the issue of the psychic and the process of their salvation. It then proceeds to sketch an eschatological tableau, the last portions of which are quite fragmentary. It concludes with a hymn to "the Savior, the Redeemer of all those who belong to the one filled with love, through his Holy Spirit, from now on through all generations forever" (138,20-25).

The Tripartite Tractate has revised traditional Valentinianism on several key points: in its insistence on the unity of the first principle; in the substitution of a trinity for a more complex godhead; in its portrait of the Logos as the element of the godhead responsible for the rupture in the divine; in its moderate assessment of the psychic demiurge; in its detailed analysis of the tripartition of humanity as a result of the freely chosen response of each individual to the appearance of the Savior; and in the hope of final redemption held out to ordinary Christians. This bold revision of Valentinian speculation serves as the basis for a comprehensive theological statement designed to appeal not simply to an isolated sect, but to the church as a whole.

THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE

I 51, 1-138, 27

Part I

1. *Introduction*

As for what we can say about the things which are exalted, | what is fitting is that we | begin with the Father, who is the root of | the Totality, the one from whom we have received [5] grace to | speak about him.

2. *The Father*

He existed | before anything other than himself | came into being. The Father is a | single one, like a [10] number, for he is the first one and the one who | is only himself. Yet he is | not like a solitary individual. | Otherwise, how could he be a father? | For whenever there is a "father," [15] the name "son" follows. But the single | one, who alone is | the Father, is like a root | with tree, branches | and fruit. It is said [20] of him that he is | a father in the proper sense, since he is | inimitable | and immutable. Because of | this he is single in the proper sense [25] and is a god, because no | one is a god for him nor | is anyone a father to him. | For he is unbegotten and there is no other | who begot him, nor [30] another who created him. | For whoever is someone's father | or his creator, | he, too, has a father and | creator. It is certainly possible [35] for him to be father and creator | of the one who came into being | from him and the one whom he created, | for he is not a father in the proper sense, nor [40] a god, because he has **52** someone who begot [him and] who | created him. It is, then, | only the Father and God in the proper sense

| that no one else begot. As for [the] Totalities, [5] he is the one who begot them and | created them. He is without beginning | and without end.

Not only | is he without end – He is immortal for this reason, | that he is unbegotten – [10] but he is also invariable in | his eternal existence, | in his identity, in that | by which he is established and in that | by which he is great. Neither [15] will he remove himself from that by which he | is, nor will anyone else | force him to produce | an end which he has not ever desired. | He has not had [20] anyone who initiated his own existence. | Thus, he is himself unchanged | and no one else | can remove him from his | existence and [25] his identity, that in which he is, | and his greatness, so that | he cannot be grasped; nor is it possible | for anyone else to change him into a different | form or to reduce him, or alter him [30] or diminish him, – since this is so | in the fullest sense of the truth – | who is the unalterable, immutable one, | with immutability clothing him. |

Not only is he the one [35] called | "without a beginning" and "without an end," | because he is unbegotten | and immortal; | but just as he has [40] no beginning and no | end as he is, he is | unattainable **53** in his greatness, inscrutable | in his wisdom, incomprehensible | in his power, | and unfathomable in his [5] sweetness.

In the proper sense | he alone, the good, | the unbegotten Father and the | complete perfect one, is the one filled | with all his offspring [10] and with every virtue and with | everything of value. And he has | more, that is, lack of any | malice, in order that it may be discovered | that whoever has [anything] is indebted to him, [15] because he gives it, being | himself unreachable and unwearied | by that which he gives, since he is wealthy | in the gifts which he bestows | and at rest [20] in the favors which he grants. |

He is of such a kind and | form and great magnitude | that no one else has been with | him from the beginning; nor is there a place [25] in which he is, or from which he has come forth, | or into which he will go; | nor is there a primordial form, | which he uses as a model | as he works; nor is there any difficulty [30] which accompanies him in what | he does; nor is there any material which | is at his disposal, from which ⟨he⟩ creates | what he creates; | nor any substance within him from [35] which he begets what he begets; | nor a co-worker | with him, working with him on the things at which he works. | To say anything of this sort | is ignorant. Rather, (one should speak of him) as [40] good, faultless, perfect, **54** complete, being himself the Totality. |

Not one of | the names which are conceived, | or spoken, seen or | grasped, | not one of them applies to him, | even though they are exceedingly glorious, magnifying | and honored. However, | it is possible to utter these names for his glory | and honor, in accordance with the capacity | of each of those who give him glory. | Yet as for him, in his own | existence, being | and form, | it is impossible for mind to conceive | him, nor can any speech | convey him, nor can any eye | see him, nor can any body | grasp him, because of | his inscrutable greatness | and his incomprehensible depth, | and his immeasurable height, | and his illimitable will. | This is the nature of the | unbegotten one, which does not touch | anything else; nor is it joined (to anything) | in the manner of something which is limited. | Rather, he possesses this constitution, | without having a | face or a form, things which | are understood through | perception, whence also comes (the epithet) "the incomprehensible." | If he is incomprehensible, | then it follows that | he is unknowable, that he is the one who is inconceivable | by any thought, | invisible by any thing, | ineffable by any word, | untouchable by any hand. | He alone | is the one who knows himself as he **55** is, along with his form | and his greatness and his magnitude, | and since he has the ability to | conceive of himself, to see himself, to name | himself, to comprehend himself, he | alone is the one who is his own mind, | his own eye, | his own mouth, his own | form, and he is what he thinks, | what he sees, | what he speaks, | what he grasps, himself, | the one who is inconceivable, | ineffable, incomprehensible, immutable, | while sustaining, joyous, | true, delightful, | and restful is that which he conceives, | that which he sees, that about which he speaks, | that which he has as thought. | He transcends | all wisdom, and is | above all intellect, and is | above all glory, and is | above all beauty, and | all sweetness, and all greatness, | and any depth and any height. |

If this one, who is | unknowable in his | nature, to whom pertain all the greatnesses which | I already mentioned, | if out of the abundance of his sweetness he wishes to grant knowledge | so that he might be known, | he has the ability to do so. | He has his power, | which is his will. Now, however, | in silence he himself holds back, | he who is | the great one, who is the cause | of bringing the Totalities into their | eternal being. **56**

It is in | the proper sense that he begets | himself as ineffable, | since he alone is self-begotten, | since he conceives of himself, and since he | knows himself as he is. | What is worthy of | his admiration and glory and honor | and praise, he produces | because of the boundlessness | of

his greatness, and the | unsearchability of his | wisdom, and the immeasurability | of his power and his [15] untasteable sweetness. | He is the one who projects himself | thus, as generation, having | glory and honor | marvelous and lovely; the one who [20] glorifies himself, | who marvels, ⟨who⟩ | honors, who also loves; | the one who has | a Son, who subsists [25] in him, who is silent concerning him, who is | the ineffable one | in the ineffable one, the | invisible one, the incomprehensible one, | the inconceivable one in [30] the inconceivable one. Thus, | he exists in him forever. | The Father, in the way we mentioned earlier, | in an unbegotten way, is the one in whom | he knows himself, [35] who begot him having | a thought, | which is the thought | of him, that is, the **57** perception of him, which is the [...] | of his constitution | forever. That is, | however, in the proper sense, [5] [the] silence and the wisdom | and the grace, if it is designated | properly | in this way.

3. *The Son and the Church*

Just as [the] | Father exists in the proper sense, [10] the one before whom [there was no one] | else and [the one] | apart from [whom] there is no other unbegotten one, so | too the [Son] | exists in the proper sense, [15] the one before whom there was no other, | and after whom | no other son exists. | Therefore, he is a firstborn | and an only Son, [20] "firstborn" because no one | exists before him and "only Son" | because no one is after | him. Furthermore, he has | his fruit, [25] that which is unknowable because | of its surpassing greatness. Yet | he wanted it to be known, | because of the riches of his | sweetness. [30] And he revealed the unexplainable power and | he combined with it | the great abundance of his generosity. |

Not only did the Son exist | from the beginning, but the Church, [35] too, existed from the beginning. | Now, he who thinks that the discovery | that the Son is an only son | opposes the statement (about the Church) – | because of the mysterious quality of the matter [40] it is not so. For just as **58** the Father is a unity | and has revealed himself | as Father for him | alone, so too [5] the Son was found | to be a brother to himself alone, | in virtue of the fact that he is unbegotten | and without beginning. He | wonders at himself [10] [along with the] Father, and he gives | [him(self)] glory and honor and | [love.] Furthermore, he too | is the one whom he conceives of | as Son, in accordance with the [15] dispositions: "without | beginning" and "without end." | Thus is the matter | something which is fixed. | Being innumerable and [20] illimit-

able, his offspring | are indivisible. Those | which exist have come | forth from the Son and the Father | like kisses, because of the multitude [25] of some who kiss one | another with a | good, insatiable thought, | the kiss being a unity, although it involves | many kisses. This is to say, it is the [30] Church consisting of many men that | existed before the aeons, | which is called, in the proper | sense, "the aeons of the aeons." | This is the nature of the [35] holy imperishable spirits, | upon which the Son rests, | since it is his essence, just as | the Father rests **59** upon the Son.

4. *Aenoic Emanations*

[. . .] | the Church exists in the | dispositions and properties | in which the Father and the Son exist, [5] as I have said from the start. | Therefore, it subsists | in the procreations of innumerable aeons. | Also in an uncountable way [they] | too beget, by [the] properties [and] [10] the dispositions in which it (the Church) [exists.] | [For] these [comprise its] | association which [they form] | toward one another and [toward those] | who have come forth from [them] [15] toward the Son, for whose glory they exist. | Therefore, | it is not possible for mind to conceive of | him – He was the perfection of that place – | nor can speech [20] express them, for they are ineffable | and unnameable | and inconceivable. They | alone have the ability | to name themselves and to conceive [25] of themselves. For they have not been rooted | in these places.

Those of that place | are ineffable, | (and) innumerable in | the system which is [30] both the manner and the | size, the joy, the gladness | of the unbegotten, | nameless, unnameable, | inconceivable, invisible, [35] incomprehensible one. | It is the fullness of paternity, | so that his abundance | is a begetting **60** [. . .] of the aeons.

They | were forever in | thought, for the Father | was like a thought [5] and a place for them. When their | generations had been established, the one who is completely in control | wished to lay hold of and to bring forth that which was deficient in the [10] [. . . , and he brought] forth those | [. . .] him. But since he is | [as] he is, | [he is] a spring, which is not | diminished by the water which [15] abundantly flows from it. | While they were | in the Father's thought, that | is, in the hidden depth, | the depth knew them, [20] but they | were unable to know | the depth in which they were; | nor was it | possible for them to know [25] themselves, nor | for them to know anything else. That | is, they were | with the Father; they did not exist for | themselves. Rather, [30] they only had | existence in the

manner | of a seed, so that it has been discovered | that they existed like a | fetus. Like the word [35] he begot them, subsisting | spermatically, and | the ones whom he was to beget had not yet come into being **61** from him. The one who | first thought of them, the Father, | – not only so that they might exist for him, | but also that they might exist for themselves as well, [5] that they might then exist in [his] thought | as mental substance | and that they might exist for themselves too, – | sowed a thought like a [spermatic] seed. | Now, in order that [they] [10] might know [what exists] | for them, he graciously [granted the] | initial form, while in order that they might [recognize] | who is the Father who exists [for them]. | he gave them the name "Father" [15] by means of a voice proclaiming to them | that what exists exists through | that name, which they have | by virtue of the fact that they came into being, because the exaltation, | which has escaped their notice, is in the name. [20]

The infant, while in the | form of a fetus | has enough for itself, | before ever seeing the one who | sowed it. Therefore, they had [25] the sole task | of searching for him, realizing | that he exists, ever wishing to find out | what exists. Since, however, | the perfect Father is good, [30] just as he did not hear | them at all so that they would exist (only) | in his thought, but rather granted that | they, too, might come into being, so | also will he give them grace [35] to know what exists, | that is, the one who knows | himself eternally, **62** [. . .] | form to [know] what | exists, just as people are begotten in this | place: when they are born, they are in [5] the light, so that they see those who have begotten them. |

The Father brought forth everything, | like a little child, | like a drop from a | spring, like a blossom [10] from a [vine], like a | [flower], like a ⟨planting⟩ | [. . .] in need of gaining | [nourishment] and growth and | faultlessness. He withheld it [15] for a time. He who had thought | of it from the very beginning, | possessed it from the very beginning, | and saw it, but he closed it off | to those who first came from [20] him. (He did this,) not out of envy, but | in order that the aeons might not receive their faultlessness | from the very beginning | and might not exalt themselves to the | glory, to the Father, and might think [25] that from themselves alone | they have this. But | just as he wished | to grant that they might come into being, so | too, in order that they might come into being as [30] faultless ones, when he wished, he gave them | the perfect idea of | beneficience | toward them.

The one whom he raised up | as a light for those who came [35] from himself, the one | from whom they take their name, | he is the Son, who is full, complete | and faultless. He brought him forth | mingled with

what came forth from **63** him [. . .] | partaking of the [. . .] | the Totality, in accordance with [. . .] by which each | one can receive [him] for himself, [5] though such was not his greatness | before he was received by it. Rather, | he exists by himself. As | for the parts in which he exists in his own manner and | form and greatness, [10] it is possible for ⟨them⟩ to see him | and speak about that which they know | of him, since they wear | him while he wears them, [because] | it is possible for them to comprehend him. [15] He, however, is as he is, | incomparable. | In order that the Father might receive | honor from each one | and reveal himself, [20] even in his ineffability, | hidden, and invisible, | they marvel at him mentally. | Therefore, the | greatness of his loftiness consists in the fact that they [25] speak about him and see him. | He becomes manifest, | so that he may be hymned because of the abundance | of his sweetness, with the grace | of ⟨. . .⟩. And just as [30] the admirations | of the silences | are eternal generations | and they are mental offspring, | so too the dispositions [35] of the word are spiritual | emanations. Both of them [admirations and dispositions], | since they belong to a word, **64** are [seeds] and | thoughts [of] his offspring, | and roots which live | forever, appearing [5] to be offspring which have come forth from | themselves, being minds and | spiritual offspring to | the glory of the Father.

There is no need | for voice and spirit, mind and [10] word, because there is no need to | [work at] that which they desire | [to do], but on the pattern | by which [he was] existing, so | are those who have come forth from him, [15] begetting everything which they desire. And | the one whom they conceive of, and | whom they speak about, and the one | toward whom they move, and | the one in whom they are, and [20] the one whom they hymn, thereby glorifying him, | he has | sons. For this is their procreative | power, like | those from whom they have come, [25] according to their mutual assistance, | since they assist one another | like the unbegotten ones. |

The Father, in accordance with his | exalted position over the Totalities, being [30] an unknown and incomprehensible one, | has such greatness | and magnitude, that, | if he had revealed himself | suddenly, quickly, [35] to all the exalted ones among the aeons | who had come forth from him, they | would have perished. Therefore, he | withheld his power and his inexhaustibility | within that in which he **65** is. [He is] | ineffable [and] unnameable | and exalted above every mind | and every word. This one, however, stretched [5] himself out | and it was that which he stretched out | which gave a foundation and | a space and a dwelling

place for | the universe, a name of his being "the [10] one through whom," since he is | Father of the All, out of his | laboring for those who exist, | having sown into their thought that [they] | might seek after him. The abundance of their [. . .] [15] consists in the fact that they understand that he | exists and in the fact that they ask what it is | [that] was existing. This one was | given to them for enjoyment and | nourishment and joy and an abundance [20] of illumination, which | consists in his fellow laboring, | his knowledge and his mingling | with them, that is, the one | who is called and is, in fact, [25] the Son, since he is the Totalities | and the one of whom they know both who he is | and that it is he who clothes. | This is the one who is called | "Son" and the one of whom they understand [30] that he exists and they were seeking | after him. This is the one who exists | as Father and (as) the one about whom they cannot speak, | and the one of whom they do not conceive. | This is the one who first came into being. [35]

It is impossible for anyone to conceive | of him or think of him. Or can anyone | approach there, toward the exalted one, | toward the preexistent in the proper | sense? But all the names conceived **66** or spoken | about him are presented | in honor, as a trace | of him, according to the ability of each [5] one of those who glorify him. Now he | who arose from him when he stretched | himself out for begetting and | for knowledge on the part of the Totalities, he | [. . .] all of the names, without falsification, [10] and he is, | in the proper sense, the sole first one, | [the] man of the Father, that is, the one whom I | call

the form of the formless, |
the body of the bodiless,
the face [15] of the invisible,
the word of [the] | unutterable,
the mind of the inconceivable, |
the fountain which flowed from | him,
the root of those who are planted, |
and the god of those who exist,
the light [20] of those whom he illumines,
the love of those | whom he loved,
the providence of those for whom he | providentially cares,
the wisdom | of those whom he made wise,
the power | of those to whom he gives power,
the assembly [25] [of] those whom he assembles to him,
the revelation | of the things which are sought after,
the eye | of those who see,

the breadth of those who breathe,
the life of those who live,
the unity of those who are mixed with the Totalities.

All of them exist in the single one, as he clothes himself completely and by his single name he is never called. And in this unique way they are equally the single one and the Totalities. He is neither divided as a body, nor is he separated into the names which he has [received], (so that) he is one thing in this way and another **67** in [another way.] Also, neither does he change in [...], nor does he turn into [the names] which he [thinks of,] and become now this, now something else, this thing now being one thing and, at another time, something else, but rather he is wholly himself to the uttermost. [He] is each and every one of the Totalities forever at the same time. He is what all of them are. He brought the Father to the Totalities. He also is the Totalities, for he is the one who is knowledge for himself and he is each one of the properties. He has the powers and [he is] beyond all that which he knows, while seeing himself in himself completely and having a Son and form. Therefore, his powers and properties are innumerable and inaudible, because of the begetting [by] which he begets them. Innumerable and indivisible are the begettings of his words, and his commands and his Totalities. He knows them, which things he himself is, since they are in the single name, and are all speaking in it. And he brings (them) forth, in order that it might be discovered that they exist according to their individual properties in a unified way. And he did not reveal the multitude to the Totalities at once nor did he reveal his equality to those who had come forth from him.

5. *Aeonic Life*

All those who came forth from him, ⟨who⟩ are the aeons of the aeons, **68** being emanations and offspring of ⟨his⟩ procreative nature, they too, in their procreative nature, have ⟨given⟩ glory to the Father, as he was the cause of their establishment. This is what we said previously, namely that he creates the aeons as roots and springs and fathers, and that he is the one to whom they give glory. They have begotten, for he has knowledge and wisdom and the Totalities knew that it is from knowledge and wisdom that they have come forth. They would have brought forth a seeming honor: "The Father is the one who is the Totalities," if the aeons had risen

up to give | honor individually. | Therefore, in the | song of glorification and | in the power of the unity [25] of him from | whom they have come, they were drawn into a mingling | and a combination and a unity | with one another. | They offered glory worthy of [30] the Father from the pleromatic | congregation, which is a | single representation although many, | because it was brought forth as a glory | for the single one and because [35] they came forth toward the one who | is himself the Totalities. Now, this **69** was a praise [. . .] | the one who brought forth the Totalities, | being a first-fruit of the immortals | and an eternal one, because, [5] having come forth from the living aeons, being | perfect and full because of the one who is perfect | and full, it left full | and perfect those who have given glory in | a perfect way because of the [10] fellowship. For, like the faultless Father, | when he is glorified he | also hears the glory which glorifies him, | so as to make them manifest as that which | he is.

The cause of the second [15] honor which accrued to them | is that which was returned | to them from the Father when they had known | the grace by which they bore fruit with one another | because of the Father. [20] As a result, just as they | ⟨were⟩ brought forth in glory for the Father, | so too in order to appear | perfect, they appeared | acting by giving glory.

They [25] were fathers of the third glory | according to the independence and | the power which was begotten with them, | since each one of them individually does not | exist so as to give glory [30] in a unitary way to him whom he loves. |

They are the first and the | second and thus both of them are perfect and | full, for they are manifestations | of the Father who is perfect [35] and full, as well as of those who came forth, | who are perfect by the fact that they glorify | the perfect one. The fruit of the third, however, | consists of honors of | the will of each one of the aeons [40] and each one of the properties. – | The Father has power. – It exists **70** fully, | perfect in [the thought] which is a product of | agreement, since it is a product | of the individuality [5] of the aeons. It is this which he loves | and over which he has power, | as it gives glory to the Father by means of it. |

For this reason, they are minds of | minds, which are found to be [10] words of words, | elders of | elders, degrees | of degrees, which are exalted above | one another. Each one [15] of those who give glory has | his place and his | exaltation and his dwelling and his | rest, which consists of the glory | which he brings forth. [20]

All those who glorify the Father | have their begetting | eternally, – they beget in | the act of assisting one another – | since the emanations are limitless and [25] immeasurable and since there is | no envy on the part | of the Father toward those who came forth from | him in regard to their begetting something | equal or similar to him, since he is the one who [30] exists in the Totalities, begetting | and revealing himself. | Whomever he wishes, he makes into a father, | of whom he in fact is Father, | and a god, of whom he in fact [35] is God, and he makes them | the Totalities, whose | entirety he is. In the proper sense all the names which **71** are great are kept there, | these (names) which | the angels share, | who have come into being in [5] the cosmos along with the archons, although [they] do not have | any resemblance | to the eternal beings.

The entire system | of the aeons has | a love and a longing [10] for the perfect, complete discovery | of the Father and this is their unimpeded agreement. | Though the Father reveals | himself eternally, | he did not wish [15] that they should know him, since he grants that he be | conceived of in such a way as to be sought for, while | keeping to himself his unsearchable | primordial being.

It is he, | [the] Father, who gave root impulses [20] to the aeons, since they are places | on the path which leads toward him, | as toward a school of | behavior. He has extended to them | faith in and prayer to him whom [25] they do not see; and a firm hope | in him of whom they do not conceive; | and a fruitful love, | which looks toward that which it does not | see; and an acceptable understanding [30] of the eternal mind; | and a blessing, | which is riches and freedom; | and a wisdom of the one | who desires the glory of the Father [35] for ⟨his⟩ thought.

It is by virtue of his will that the Father, | the one who is exalted, is known, **72** that is, | (by virtue of) the spirit which breathes in the Totalities | and it gives them an | idea of seeking after the [5] unknown one, just as one is drawn | by a pleasant | aroma to search for the thing | from which the aroma arises, | since the aroma [10] of the Father surpasses these ordinary ones. | For his sweetness | leaves the aeons in | ineffable pleasure | and it gives them their idea [15] of mingling with him who | wants them to know him in | a united way and to assist | one another in the spirit which | is sown within them. Though existing [20] under a great weight, | they are renewed in an inexpressable way, | since it is impossible | for them to be separated from that | in which they are set in an uncomprehending way, [25] because they will not speak, | being silent about the Father's glory, | about the one who has power | to

speak, and yet they will take form from | him. He revealed [himself, though] [30] it is impossible to speak of him. | They have him, hidden in | a thought, since from | this one [. . .]. They are silent about | the way the Father is [35] in his form and his nature | and his greatness, **73** while the aeons have become worthy of knowing | through his spirit | that he is unnameable and | incomprehensible. It is through [5] his spirit, which is the trace | of the search for him, that he provides | them the ability to conceive of him and | to speak about him.

Each one | of the aeons is a name, ⟨that is⟩, each of [10] the properties and powers of | the Father, since he exists in many names, which are | intermingled and harmonious with one another. | It is possible to speak of him because | of the wealth of speech, just as the Father [15] is a single name, because | he is a unity, yet is innumerable | in his properties and | names.

The emanation of | the Totalities, which exist from the one [20] who exists, did not occur according | to a separation from one another, | as something cast off from the one who begets | them. Rather, their begetting is like | a process of extension, [25] as the Father extends himself | to those whom he loves, so that | those who have come forth from him might | become him as well.

Just as | the present aeon, though a [30] unity, is divided by units of time | and units of time are divided into | years and years are divided into | seasons and seasons into months, | and months into days, and days [35] into hours, and hours | into moments, so **74** too the aeon of the Truth, | since it is a unity | and multiplicity, receives honor in the small | and the great names according to the [5] power of each to grasp it – by way | of analogy – like a spring | which is what it is, | yet flows into streams | and lakes and canals [10] and branches, or like a | root spread out beneath | trees and branches with | its fruit, or like a | human body, which is partitioned [15] in an indivisible way into members | of members, primary members | and secondary, great [and] | small.

6. *The Imperfect Begetting by the Logos*

The aeons have brought [themselves] forth | in accord with the third [20] fruit by the | freedom of the will | and by the wisdom | with which he favored them for their thought. | They do not wish to give honor [25] [with] that which is from an agreement, [though] | it was produced for words of [praise] | for each of the Pleromas. | Nor do they wish | to give honor with the Totality. Nor do [30] they wish (to do so) with anyone else

| who was originally above | the depth of that one, or (above) his | place, except, however, for the one who exists | in an exalted name and [35] in the exalted place, and only if he receives | from the one who wished (to give honor), **75** and takes it to him(self) for the one above | him, and (only if) he begets | him(self), so to speak, himself, and, | through that one, begets him(self) [5] along with that which he is, and himself | becomes renewed along with the one who came upon him, | by his brother, and sees him | and entreats him about the matter, | namely, he who wished to ascend to him. [10]

So that it might be in this way, | the one who | wished to give honor does not say anything to him about this, | except only that there is a limit | to speech set in the Pleroma, so [15] that they are silent about the incomprehensibility | of the Father, but they speak about the one | who wishes to comprehend him. It came to | one of the aeons that he should attempt | to grasp the incomprehensibility [20] and give glory to it and | especially to the ineffability of the Father. | [Since] he is a Logos of the unity, | he is one, though he is not from | the agreement of the Totalities, nor [25] from him who brought them forth, | namely, the one who brought forth the Totality, the Father. |

This aeon was among those | to whom was given wisdom, so that he could become | pre-existent in each one's [30] thought. By that which he wills | will they be produced. Therefore, | he received a wise nature | in order to examine the hidden basis, | since he is a wise fruit; [35] for, the free will | which was begotten with | the Totalities was a cause | for this one, such as to make him do **76** what he desired, with no one | to restrain him.

The | intent, then, of the Logos, who | is this one, was good. [5] When he had come forth, he gave | glory to the Father, even if it led | to something beyond possibility, | since he had wanted to bring forth one | who is perfect, from an [10] agreement in which he had not been, | and without having the | command. |

This aeon was last to have | ⟨been⟩ brought forth by [15] mutual assistance, and he was small | in magnitude. And before | he begot anything else for the glory | of the will and in agreement with the Totalities, | he acted, magnanimously, [20] from an abundant love, | and set out | toward that which surrounds | the perfect glory, for | it was not without the will of the Father [25] that the Logos was produced, which | is to say, not without it | will he go forth. But | he, the Father, had brought him forth | for those about whom he knew that it was [30] fitting that they should come into being.

The Father | and the Totalities drew away from him, | so that the limit | which the Father had set | might be established – for [35] it is not from grasping the incomprehensibility | but by the will **77** of the Father, – and furthermore, (they withdrew) so that | the things which have come to be might become | an organization which would come into being. | If it were to come, it would not come into being [5] by the manifestation of the Pleroma. | Therefore, it is not fitting to | criticize the movement which is the Logos, | but it is fitting that we should say about | the movement of the Logos that it is a cause [10] of an organization which has been destined to | come about.

The Logos himself caused it to happen, | being complete and unitary, | for the glory of the Father, whom | he desired, and (he did so) being content with it, [15] but those whom he wished to take hold of | firmly he begot in shadows | [and] copies and likenesses. | For, he was not able to bear the sight | of the light, but he looked into [20] the depth and he doubted. | Out of this there was a division – he became | deeply troubled – and a turning away because of his | self-doubt and division, forgetfulness | and ignorance of himself and [25] ⟨of that⟩ which is.

His self-exaltation and | his expectation of comprehending | the incomprehensible became firm for him | and was in him. But the sicknesses | followed him [30] when he went beyond | himself, having come into being | from self-doubt, namely from the fact | that he did not ⟨reach the attainment of⟩ | the glories of the Father, the one whose exalted status [35] is among things unlimited. This one | did not attain him, for he did not receive him. |

The one whom he himself brought forth **78** as a unitary aeon | rushed up to | that which is his and this kin of his | in the Pleroma abandoned [5] him who came to be in the defect along with | those who had come forth from him in | an imaginary way, since they are not his. |

When he who produced | himself as perfect actually did bring [10] himself forth, | he became weak like a female nature | which has abandoned its | virile counterpart.

From that | which was deficient in itself there [15] came those things which came into being | from his thought and [his] | arrogance, but from that | which is perfect in him he left it and raised [himself] | up to those who are his. He was [20] in the Pleroma as | a remembrance for him so that he [would be] | saved from his arrogance. |

The one who ran on high and | the one who drew him to himself were not [25] barren, but in bringing | forth a fruit in the Pleroma, | they upset those who | were in the defect. |

Like the Pleromas are the things which came into being from the [30] arrogant thought, | which are their (the Pleromas') | likenesses, | copies, shadows, | and phantasms, lacking [35] reason and the light, these | which belong to the vain thought, | since they are not products of anything. Therefore, **79** their end will be like | their beginning: from that which did | not exist (they are) to return once again to | that which will not be. It is they, however, [5] by themselves | who are greater, more powerful, | and more honored than the names | which are given to them, which are [their] shadows. | In the manner of a reflection are they beautiful. [10] For the [face] of the copy normally takes its beauty | from that of which it is a copy. |

They thought of themselves | that they are beings existing by themselves | and are without a source, [15] since they do not see anything else | existing before them. Therefore, they | [lived] in disobedience | [and] acts of rebellion, without | having humbled themselves before the one because of whom they came into being. [20]

They wanted to command | one another, overcoming one another | [in] their vain ambition, | while the glory which they possess | contains a cause [25] [of] the system which was to be. |

They are likenesses of the things which are exalted. | They were brought to a lust for power | in each one of them, | according to the greatness of the name [30] of which each is a shadow, | each one imagining that it is superior | to his fellows.

The thought of these | others was not barren, | but just like ⟨those⟩ [35] of which they are shadows, all that | they thought about they have as | potential sons; **80** those of whom they thought | they had | as offspring. Therefore, | it happened that many offspring came forth from them, [5] as fighters | as warriors, as | troublemakers, as apostates. | They are disobedient beings, | lovers of power. [10] All [the] other beings of this sort were [brought] | forth from these.

7. *The Conversion of the Logos*

The Logos was | a cause of those [who] | came into being and he continued all the more | to be at a loss and he was astonished. [15] Instead of perfection, he saw a defect; | instead of unification, he saw division; | instead of stability, he [saw] disturbances; instead of [rests,] | tumults. Neither was it [possible] [20] for him to make them cease from [loving] | disturbance, nor was it possible for him | to destroy it. He was completely powerless, | once his totality and his exaltation | abandoned him.

Those who had come into being [25] not knowing themselves | both did not know | the Pleromas from which they came forth | and did not know | the one who was the cause of [30] their existence.

The Logos, | being in | such unstable conditions, | did not continue to bring | forth anything like emanations, [35] the things which are in the Pleroma, | the glories which exist for the honor | of the Father. Rather, he brought **81** forth little weaklings, | [hindered] by the illnesses | by which he too was hindered. | It was the likeness of the disposition which was [5] a unity, that which | was the cause of the things | which do not themselves exist from the first. |

Until the one who brought | forth into the defect these things which were thus [10] in need, until he | judged those who came into being because | of him contrary to reason – which is the judgment | which became a condemnation – | he struggled against them unto destruction, [15] that is, the ones who struggled against the condemnation | and whom the wrath pursues, while | it (the wrath) accepts and | redeems (them) from their (false) opinion and | apostasy, since from it [20] [is] the conversion which is | also called "metanoia." | The Logos turned to [another] opinion | and another thought. | Having turned away from evil, [25] he turned toward the good things. | Following the conversion came | the thought of the things which exist | and the prayer for the one who converted | himself to the good. [30]

The one who is in the Pleroma | was what he first prayed to and | remembered; then (he remembered) his brothers | individually and (yet) always | with one another; then all of them together; [35] but before all of them, the Father. **82** The prayer of the agreement | was a help for him | in his own return | and (in that of) the Totality, for a cause [5] of his remembering | those who have existed from the first was | his being remembered. This | is the thought which calls out | from afar, bringing him back. [10]

All his prayer and | remembering were | numerous powers according to that limit. | For there is nothing | barren in his thought. [15]

The powers were good | and were greater than those of the | likeness. For those belonging to the | likeness also belong to a nature of [falsehood]. | From an illusion [20] of similarity and a thought | of arrogance has [come about] | that which they became. And they | originate from the thought | which first knew [them.] [25]

To what do the former beings pertain? | They are like forgetfulness | and heavy sleep; being | like those who dream | troubled dreams, to whom [30] sleep comes while they – | those who dream – are oppressed.

| The others are | like some creatures of light | for him, looking for the rising of the sun, since it happened that | they saw in him dreams | which are truly sweet. **83** It immediately put a stop | [to] the emanations of the thought. | They [did] not any longer have | their substance and also they did not have honor any longer. |

Though he is not equal to those who | pre-existed, if they were superior to | the likenesses, it was he alone | through whom they were more exalted than those, | for they are not from a good intent. |

It was not | from the sickness which came into being that they were produced, | from which is the good intent, | but (from) the one who sought after the pre-existent. | Once he had prayed, he both raised | himself to the good | and sowed in them | a pre-disposition to seek and pray to the | glorious pre-existent one, | and he sowed in them a thought | about him and an idea, so that they should | think that something greater than themselves exists prior to them, although they did not understand | what it was. Begetting | harmony and mutual love | through that thought, | they acted in unity and unanimity, | since from | unity and from unanimity | they have received their very being. |

They were stronger than them in the lust for power, | for they were more honored **84** than the first ones, who had been raised | above them. Those had not | humbled themselves. They thought about themselves | that they were beings originating from themselves alone and were | without a source. As they brought [forth] | at first according to their own birth, | the two orders assaulted one another, | fighting for command because of their manner of | being. As a result, they were submerged in | forces and natures | in accord with the condition of mutual assault, | having lust for power | and all other things | of this sort. It is from these that the | vain love of glory draws | all of them to the desire of the lust | for power, while none | of them has the exalted | thought nor acknowledges | it.

The powers of this thought are prepared | in the works of the pre-existent | ⟨ones⟩, those of which they are | the representations. For the order | of those of this sort had mutual | harmony, but it | fought against the order | of those of the likeness, while the order | of those of the likeness wages war against the representations and acts | against it alone, because of its | wrath. **85** From this it [. . .] | them [. . .] | one another, many [. . .] | necessity appointed them [. . .] and might prevail [. . .] | was not a multitude, [. . .] | and their envy and their [. . .] | and their wrath and violence and | desire and prevailing ignorance produce empty matters and | powers of various sorts, mixed in | great

number with one another; while the mind of the Logos, who was | a cause of their begetting, was open | to a revelation of the hope [15] which would come to him from above.

8. *The Emanation of the Savior*

The Logos | which moved had | the hope and the expectation of him | who is exalted. As for those of the shadow, he separated | himself from them in every way, [20] since they fight against him and are not at all humble | before him. He was content | with the beings of the thought. And as for the one who is set up | in this way and who is within the | exalted boundary, remembering [25] the one who is defective, the Logos brought him forth | in an invisible way, | among those who came into being according to the thought, according | to the one who was with them, | until the light shone upon him from [30] above as a lifegiver, the one who was begotten | by the thought of brotherly love | of the pre-existent Pleromas. |

The stumbling, which happened to the aeons | of the Father of the Totalities who did [35] not suffer, was brought to them, as if it were their own, | in a careful and non-malicious | and immensely sweet way. **86** [It was brought to the] Totalities so that they might be instructed about the | [defect] by the single one, | from whom [alone] they all [received strength] | to eliminate the defects.

The order [5] [which] was his came into being from | him who ran [on] high and that which brought itself forth | from him and from the entire perfection. | The one who ran on high became | for the one who was defective an intercessor with the [10] emanation of the aeons which had come into being in accord with | the things which exist. When he prayed | to them, they consented joyously and | willingly, since they were in agreement, and with harmonious | consent, to aid the [15] defective one. They gathered together, | asking the Father with beneficent intent | that there be aid from | above, from the Father, for his glory, | since the defective one could not become perfect in any other way, [20] unless it was the will of | the Pleroma of the Father, which he had drawn to himself, | revealed, and given to the defective | one. Then from the harmony, in a | joyous willingness which had come into being, they [25] brought forth the fruit, which was a begetting | from the harmony, a | unity, a possession of the Totalities, | revealing the countenance of | the Father, of whom the aeons thought [30] as they gave glory and prayed for help for their | brother with a wish in which the Father counted himself | with

them. Thus, it was willingly and | gladly that they bring forth | the fruit. And he made manifest the agreement of the [35] revelation of his union | with them – which is his beloved | Son. **87** But the Son in whom the Totalities are pleased | put himself on them as a garment, | through which | he gave perfection to the defective one, [5] and gave confirmation to those who are perfect, | the one who is properly called | "Savior" and "the Redeemer" | and "the Well-Pleasing one" and "the Beloved," | "the one to whom prayers have been offered" and "the Christ" and [10] "the Light of those appointed," in accordance with the ones from whom | he was brought forth, since he has become | the names of the positions [which] were given | to him. Yet, what other name may be applied | to him except "the Son," as we previously [15] said, since he is the knowledge | of the Father, whom he wanted them | to know?

Not only did the aeons | generate the countenance of the Father to whom | they gave praise, which was written previously, but also [20] they generated their own; for the aeons | who give glory generated their countenance | and their face. They were produced as an army | for him, as for a king, | since the beings of the thought have a [25] powerful fellowship and an intermingled | harmony. They came forth | in a multifaceted form, in | order that the one to whom help was to be given might | see those to whom he had prayed [30] for help. He also sees the one who gave | it to him.

The fruit | of the agreement with him, of which we previously spoke, | is subject to the power of the Totalities. | For the Father has set the Totalities within him, [35] both the ones which pre-exist | and the ones which are, and the ones which will be. **88** He was capable (of doing it). He revealed | those which he had placed within him. | He did not give them, when he entrusted (them] to him. | He directed the organization of the universe [5] according to the authority which was given him | from the first and (according to) the power of the task. | Thus, he began and effected | his revelation.

The one | in whom the Father is and the one [10] in whom the Totalities are ⟨was⟩ created | before the one who lacked | sight. He instructed him about those who searched | for their sight, by | means of the shining of that perfect light. [15] He first perfected him | in ineffable joy. He | perfected him for himself as a perfect one | and he also gave him what is appropriate to each | individual. For this is the determination of [20] the first joy. And ⟨he⟩ sowed | in him in an invisible way | a word which is destined to be | knowledge. And he gave him power | to separate and cast out from himself [25] those who are disobedient to him.

| Thus, he made himself manifest | to him. But to those | who came into being because of him he | revealed a form surpassing [30] them. They acted in a hostile way | toward one another. Suddenly he revealed himself to them, | approaching them | in the form of lightning. And | in putting an end to the entanglement which they have with [35] one another he stopped it **89** by the sudden revelation, | which they were not informed about, | did not expect, | and did not know of. Because of this, they [5] were afraid and fell down, since they were not able to bear | the appearance of the light which struck | them. The one who appeared was an | assault for the two orders. Just as | the beings of thought had been given the name [10] "little one," so they have | a faint notion that they have the | exalted one, – he exists before them, – and they | have sown within them an attitude of | amazement at the exalted one who [15] will become manifest. Therefore, they welcomed | his revelation and | they worshipped him. They became | convinced witnesses to ⟨him⟩. They acknowledged | the light which had come into being as [20] one stronger than those who fought against them. The | beings of the likeness, however, were exceedingly afraid, | since they were not able to hear about him | in the beginning, that there is a vision of this sort. | Therefore they fell down [25] to the pit of ignorance | which is called "the Outer Darkness," | and "Chaos" and | "Hades" and "the Abyss." He set up what | was beneath the order of the beings [30] of thought, as it was | stronger than they. They were worthy of | ruling over the unspeakable darkness, | since it is theirs | and is the lot which was assigned to them. He [35] granted them that they, too, should be of use | for the organization which was to come, **90** to which he had [assigned] them.

There is a great | difference between the revelation of the one who came into being | to the one who was defective and to those things which are to come into being because of | him. For he revealed himself to him within [5] him, since he is with him, is | a fellow sufferer with him, gives | him rest little by little, makes | him grow, lifts him up, gives himself | to him completely for enjoyment from [10] a vision. But to those who fall outside, | he revealed himself quickly and | in a striking way and he withdrew to himself suddenly | without having let them see him. |

9. *The Pleroma of the Logos*

When the Logos which was defective was illumined, [15] his Pleroma began. | He escaped those who had disturbed | him at first. He became | unmixed with them. He stripped off | that arrogant thought. [20] He re-

ceived mingling with the Rest, | when those who had been disobedient to him at first | bent down and humbled themselves before him. | And [he] rejoiced | over the visitation of his brothers [25] who had visited him. He gave | glory and praise to those who had become manifest | as a help to him, while he gave thanks, | because he had escaped those who revolted against him, | and admired and honored the greatness [30] and those who had appeared to him in a | determined way. He generated manifest images | of the living visages, pleasing | among [things] which are good, existing | among the things which exist, resembling [35] them in beauty, but unequal to them | in truth, since they [are] not from | an agreement with him, between the one who brought them **91** forth and the one who revealed himself to him. But | in wisdom and knowledge | he acts, mingling the Logos with | him(self) entirely. Therefore, those which came [5] forth from him are great, just as | that which is truly great. |

After he was amazed at the beauty | of the ones who had appeared to him, | he professed gratitude for this [10] visitation. The Logos performed this activity, | through those from whom he had received | aid, for the stability | of those who had come into being because of him and | so that they might receive something good, [15] since he thought to pray for the organization | of all those who came forth from him, | which is stabilized, so that it might make them established. | Therefore, those whom he intentionally produced | are in chariots, [20] just as those who came into being, those who | have appeared, so that they might pass through | every place of things which are below, | so that each one might be given the place | which is constituted as he [25] is. This is destruction | for the beings of the likeness, yet is an act of beneficence | for the beings of the thought, a revelation | *[Dittography]* | of those who are from [30] the ordinance, which was a unity | while suffering, while they are seeds, | which have not come to be by themselves. |

The one who appeared was a countenance | of the Father and of the harmony. He was [35] a garment (composed) of every grace, and food | which is for those whom the Logos | brought forth while praying and [giving] glory and | honor. **92** This is the one whom he glorified and honored | while looking to those to whom he prayed, | so that he might perfect them through the | images which he had brought forth.

The Logos added [5] even more to | their mutual assistance and | to the hope of the promise, since | they have joy and abundant rest | and undefiled pleasures. [10] He generated those whom he | remembered at first, when they | were not with him, (he generated them) having the perfec-

tion. ⌜ *[Dittography]* ⌝ Now, while he who belongs to the vision is with him, [15] he exists in hope and ⌝ faith in the perfect Father, as much as the Totalities. ⌝ He appears to him before he ⌝ mingles with him in order that the things which have ⌝ come into being might not perish by looking [20] upon the light, for they can ⌝ not accept the great, exalted stature. ⌝

The thought of the Logos, ⌝ who had returned to his stability ⌝ and ruled over those who had [25] come into being because of him, was called ⌝ "Aeon" and "Place" of ⌝ all those whom he had brought forth ⌝ in accord with the ordinance, and it is also called ⌝ "Synagogue of [30] Salvation," because he healed him(self) from ⌝ the dispersal, which is the multifarious thought ⌝ and returned to ⌝ the single thought. Similarly, ⌝ it is called "Storehouse," [35] because of the rest which he ⌝ obtained, giving (it) to himself alone. **93** And it is also called "Bride," ⌝ because of the joy of the one ⌝ who gave himself to him in the hope of fruit ⌝ from the union, and who appeared to him. [5] It is also called "Kingdom," ⌝ because of the stability which he received, while he ⌝ rejoices at the domination over those who fought him. ⌝ And it is called "the Joy ⌝ of the Lord," because of the gladness in [which he] [10] clothed himself. With him is the light, ⌝ giving him recompense for the ⌝ good things which are in him ⌝ and (with him is) the thought of freedom. ⌝

The aeon, of whom we previously spoke, [15] is above the two orders ⌝ of those who fight against one another. ⌝ It is not a companion of those who hold dominion and ⌝ is not implicated in the illnesses and weaknesses, ⌝ things belonging to the thought and to the likeness. [20]

That in which the Logos set ⌝ himself, perfect in joy, ⌝ was an aeon, having ⌝ the form of matter, but also having ⌝ the constitution of the cause, which [25] is the one who revealed himself. (The aeon was) an image ⌝ of those things which are in the Pleroma, ⌝ those things which came into being from the abundance ⌝ of the enjoyment of the one who exists ⌝ joyously. It, moreover, the [30] countenance of the one who revealed himself, was ⌝ in the sincerity and the attentiveness ⌝ and the promise concerning ⌝ the things for which he asked. It had ⌝ the designation of the Son [35] and his essence and his power and his ⌝ form, who is the one whom he loved ⌝ and in whom he was pleased, **94** who was entreated in a loving way. ⌝ It was light and was a desire ⌝ to be established and an openness ⌝ for instruction and an eye for vision, [5] qualities which it had ⌝ from the exalted ones. It was also wisdom ⌝ for his thinking in opposition to the things beneath the ⌝ organization. It was also a word for ⌝ speaking and the perfection of the things [10] of this sort. And it is these

who | took form with him, but according to the image | of the Pleroma, having | their fathers who are the ones who gave them life, | each one being a copy [15] of each one of the faces, | which are forms of maleness, | since they are not from the illness which | is femaleness, but are from | this one who already has left behind [20] the sickness. It has the name | "the Church," for in harmony | they resemble the harmony in the assembly | of those who have revealed themselves.

That | which came into being in the image of the [25] light, it too is perfect, | inasmuch as it is an image of the | one existing light, which is the | Totalities. Even if it was inferior to the one of whom | it is an image, nevertheless it has [30] its indivisibility, because | it is a countenance of the | indivisible light. Those, however, | who came into being in the image | of each one of the aeons, [35] they in essence are in the one whom we | previously mentioned, but in power they are not equal, | because it (the power) is in each | of them. In | this mingling with one another [40] they have equality, **95** but each one has not cast off what is peculiar to itself. | Therefore, they are passions, | for passion is sickness, since | they are productions not of the agreement [5] of the Pleroma, but of this one, | prematurely, before he received the Father. Hence, | the agreement with his Totality and will | was something beneficial for the organization | which was to come. It was granted them [10] to pass through the places which are below, | since the places are unable | to accommodate their | sudden, hasty coming, unless (they come) individually, | one by one. [15] Their coming is necessary, since | by them will everything be perfected. |

In short, the Logos received the vision of all things, | those which pre-exist and those which are now | and those which will be, [20] since he has been entrusted | with the organization of all that which | exists. Some things are already | in things which are fit for | coming into being, but the seeds which are to [25] be he has within himself, | because of the promise which belonged to that | which he conceived, as something belonging | to seeds which are to be. And | he produced his offspring, that [30] is, the revelation of that which | he conceived. For a while, however, the seed of | promise is guarded, | so that those who have been appointed for a | mission might be appointed [35] by the coming of the Savior and of those who | are with him, the ones who are first | in knowledge and glory of | the Father.

10. *The Organization*

It is fitting, from **96** the prayer which he made and the | conversion which occurred because of it, | that some should perish | while others benefit [5] and still others be | set apart. He first prepared | the punishment of those who are | disobedient, making use of a power | of the one who appeared, the one from whom he received [10] authority over all things, | so as to be separate from him. He is | the one who is below and he also keeps himself | apart from that which is exalted, until he | prepares the organization of all those things [15] which are external, and gives to each the place | which is assigned to it. |

The Logos established him(self) at | first, when he beautified the Totalities, as | a basic principle and cause [20] and ruler of the things which | came to be, like the Father, the one who | was the cause of the establishment, | which was the first to exist after him. | He created the pre-existent images, [25] which he brought forth | in thanks and glorification. Then | he beautified the place of those whom he had | brought forth in glory, which is called | "Paradise" and [30] "the Enjoyment" and "the Joy full | of sustenance" and "the Joy," which | pre-exist. And of | every goodness which exists in | the Pleroma, it preserves the image. [35] Then he beautified the kingdom, | like a city | filled with everything pleasing, | which is brotherly love and | the great generosity, which is filled **97** with the holy spirits and [the] | mighty powers which govern | them, which the Logos | produced and established [5] in power. Then (he beautified) the place of | the Church which assembles in this place, | having the form of the | Church which exists in the aeons, which glorifies | the Father. After these (he beautified) the place [10] of the faith and obedience (which arises) from | hope, which things the Logos received | when the light appeared; | then (he beautified the place of) the disposition, which is prayer [and] | supplication, which were followed by forgiveness [15] and the word concerning | the one who would appear.

All the spiritual places | are in spiritual power. | They are separate from the beings | of the thought, since the power is established in [20] an image, which is that which separates | the Pleroma from the Logos, while the power | which is active in prophesying about | the things which will be, directs the beings of the thought | which have come into being toward that which is pre-existent, [25] and it does not permit them to mix with the things which | have come into being through a vision of the things which are | with him.

The beings of the thought which | is outside are humble; they | preserve the representation of the pleromatic, [30] especially because of the sharing | in the names by which they are beautiful. |

The conversion is | humble toward the beings of the thought, and the law, | too, is humble toward them, [35] (the law) of the judgment, which is the condemnation and | the wrath. Also humble toward them | is the power which separates those who | fall below them, sends them | far off and does not allow them **98** [to] spread out over the beings of the thought and | the conversion, which (power) consists in fear and | perplexity and forgetfulness and astonishment and | ignorance and the things which have come into being [5] in the manner of a likeness, through phantasy. | And these things, too, which were in fact lowly, | are given the exalted names. | There is no knowledge for those who have come | forth from them with arrogance [10] and lust for power | and disobedience and falsehood. |

To each one he gave | a name, since the two orders are | in a name. Those belonging to the thought and those of the representation [15] are called | "the Right Ones" and "Psychic" and | "the Fiery Ones" and "the Middle Ones." | Those who belong to the arrogant thought and those of the likeness | are called "the Left," [20] "Hylic," "the Dark Ones," and "the Last." |

After the Logos established | each one in his order, | both the images and the representations and the likenesses, | he kept the aeon of the images [25] pure from all those who | fight against it, since it is a place of joy. | However, to those of the thought he revealed | the thought which he had stripped | from himself, desiring to draw them [30] into a material union, for the sake | of their system and dwelling place | and in order that they might also bring forth | an impulse for diminution from | their attraction to evil, so that they might not any more [35] rejoice in the glory | of their environment and be dissolved, | but might rather see | their sickness in which they suffer, **99** so that they might beget love | and continuous searching after | the one who is able to heal them | of the inferiority. Also over those [5] who belong to the likeness, he set | the word of beauty, so that he might | bring them into a form. He also set | over them the law of judgment. | Again, he set over them [the] [10] powers which the roots had produced | [in] their lust for power. He [appointed] | them as rulers over them, so that | either by the support of the word which is beautiful | or by the threat of the [law] [15] or by the power of lust for | power the order might be preserved | from those who have reduced it to evil, | while the Logos is pleased with them, | since they are useful for the organization.

The Logos knows the agreement [20] in the lust for power of the | two orders. | To these and to all the others, he | graciously granted their desire. He gave | to each one the appropriate rank, [25] and it was ordered | that each one | be a ruler over a | place and an activity. He yields to the place | of the one more exalted than himself, in order to command [30] the other places in an activity | which is in the allotted activity | which falls to him to have control over | because of his mode of being. | As a result, there are commanders and [35] subordinates in positions of domination | and subjection among the angels **100** and archangels, while the activities | are of various types and are different. | Each one of the archons with his | race and his perquisites to which his lot [5] has claim, just as they | appeared, each was on guard, since they have been entrusted | with the organization and none | lacks a command and | none is without kingship from [10] the end of the heavens to the end of the | [earth], even to the foundations of the [earth] | and to the places beneath the earth. There are | kings, there are lords and those who give | commands, some [15] for administering punishment, others | for administering justice, still others for | giving rest and healing, others | for teaching, others for guarding. |

Over all the archons he appointed an Archon [20] with no one commanding | him. He is the lord of all of them, | that is, the countenance which the Logos | brought forth in his thought | as a representation of the Father of the Totalities. Therefore, [25] he is adorned with every ⟨name⟩ | which ⟨is⟩ a representation of him, since he is characterized by every property | and glorious quality. For he too is called | "father" and "god" and "demiurge" and | "king" and "judge" and "place" [30] and "dwelling" and "law." |

The Logos uses him | as a hand, to beautify and | work on the things below and he | uses him as a mouth, [35] to say the things which will be prophesied. |

The things which he has spoken he does. | When he saw that they were great and | good and wonderful, he was | pleased and rejoiced, as **101** if he himself in his own thought | had been the one to say them and do | them, not knowing that the movement | within him is from the spirit who moves [5] him in a determined way toward those things which he wants. |

In regard to the things which came into being from him, he spoke of them | and they came into being as a representation of the spiritual | places which we mentioned previously | in the discussion about the images.

Not only ⟨did⟩ he work, but also, as the one who is appointed as father of [his] organization, he engendered by himself and by the seeds, yet also [by the spirit] which is elect and which will descend through him to the places which are below. Not only does he speak spiritual words of his own, ⟨but⟩ in an invisible way, (he speaks) through the spirit which calls out and begets things greater than his own essence.

Since in his essence he is a "god" and "father" [and] all the rest of the honorific titles, he was thinking that they were elements of his own essence. He established a rest for those who obey him, but for those who disobey him, he also established punishments. With him, too, there is a paradise and a kingdom and everything else which exists in the aeon which exists before him. They are more valuable than the imprints, because of the thought which is connected with them, which is like **102** a shadow and a garment, so to speak, because he does not see in what way the things which exist actually do exist.

He established workers and servants, assisting in what he will do and what he will say, for in every place where he worked he left his countenance in his beautiful name, effecting and speaking of the things which he thinks about.

He established in his place images of the light which appeared and of [those things which are] spiritual, though they were of his own essence. For, thus they were honored in every place by him, being pure, from the countenance of the one who appointed them, and they were established: paradises and kingdoms and rests and promises and multitudes of servants of his will, and though they are lords of dominions, they are set beneath the one who is lord, the one who appointed them.

After he listened to him in this way, properly, about the lights, which are the source and the system, he set them over the beauty of the things below. The invisible spirit moved him in this way, so that he would **103** wish to administer through his own servant, whom he too used, as a hand and as a mouth and as if he were his face, (and his servant is) the things which he brings, order and threat and fear, in order that those [with] whom he has done what is ignorant might despise the order which [was given for them to] keep, since they are fettered in the [bonds of the] archons which are on them [securely].

The whole establishment of matter [is divided] into three. The [strong] powers which the spiritual Logos brought forth from phan-

tasy | and arrogance, he established | in the first spiritual rank. | Then those (powers) which these produced by [20] their lust for power, he set | in the middle area, since they are powers | of ambition, so that they | might exercise dominion and give commands with compulsion and force | to the establishment which is beneath them. [25] Those | which came into being through envy | and jealousy and all the other offspring | from dispositions of this sort, he set | in a servile order [30] controlling the extremities, commanding | all those which exist and all (the realm of) generation, | from whom come | rapidly destroying illnesses, | who eagerly desire begetting, who are something [35] in the place where they are from | and to which they will return. | And therefore, he appointed over | them authoritative powers, | acting [continuously] on matter, in order that **104** the offspring of those which exist might also exist | continuously. For this is their | glory. |

Part II

11. *The Creation of Material Humanity*

The matter which flows through its form [5] (is) a cause by which the | invisibility which exists through the powers | [. . .] for them all, for | [. . .], as they beget before them and | [destroy.]

The thought which is set [10] between those of the right [and] | those of the left is a power of [begetting]. | All those which the [first ones] | will wish to make, so to | speak, a projection of theirs, [15] like a shadow cast from | and following a body, those things which | [are] the roots of the visible creations, | namely, the entire preparation of the | adornment of the images and representations [20] and likenesses, have come | into being because of those who need | education and teaching and formation, | so that the smallness | might grow, little [25] by little, as through a mirror image. | For it was for this reason that he created | mankind at the end, having first | prepared and | provided for him the things which he had created [30] for his sake. |

Like that of all else is the creation of mankind as well. | The spiritual Logos | moved him | invisibly, as he perfected [35] him through the **105** Demiurge and his angelic servants, | who shared in the act of fashioning in [multitudes, when he] | took counsel with his archons. | Like a shadow is earthly man, [5] so that he might be like [those] | who are cut off from the Totalities. Also | he is something prepared by all of them,

those of the right | and those of the left, since each one in [the] | orders gives a form to the [. . .], [10] in which it exists.

The [. . .] which | the Logos [who was] | defective brought forth, who [was] | in the sickness, did not resemble him | because he brought it forth [forgetfully,] [15] ignorantly, and [defectively,] | and in all the other weak ways, | although the Logos gave the first form | through the Demiurge | out of ignorance, so that he [20] would learn that the exalted one exists | and would know that he needs [him]. | This is what the prophet called | "Living Spirit" and "Breath | of the exalted aeons" and "[the] [25] Invisible" and this is the living soul | which has given life to the power | which was dead at first. For that which | is dead is ignorance. |

It is fitting that we explain [30] about the soul of the first human being, | that it is from the spiritual Logos, | while the creator thinks | that it is his, since it is from | him, as from a mouth through which [35] one breathes. The creator also sent | down souls | from his substance, since he, | too, has a power of procreation, **106** because he is something which has come into being from the representation | of the Father. Also those of the left brought forth, | as it were, men | of their own, since they have [5] the likeness of ⟨being⟩. |

The spiritual substance is a | [single thing] and a single representation, | [and] its weakness is the determination | [in many] forms. As for the substance [10] of the psychics, its determination | is double, since it has the knowledge | and the confession of the exalted one, | and it is not inclined to evil, because of | the inclination of the thought. As for the material substance [15] its way is different | and in many forms, and it was a weakness | which existed in many types | of inclination.

The first human being is a | mixed formation, and a [20] mixed creation, and a deposit | of those of the left and those of the right, | and a spiritual word | whose attention is divided between each of the two | substances from which he takes [25] his being. Therefore, | it is said that | a paradise was planted for him, so that he might | eat of the food of three | kinds of tree, since it is a garden of the [30] threefold order, | *and* since it is that which gives enjoyment.

The | noble elect substance | which is in him was more exalted. | It created and it did not wound [35] them. Therefore they issued | a command, making a threat | and bringing upon him a great **107** danger, which is death. Only the | enjoyment of the things which are evil | did he allow him to taste, | and from the other tree with [5] the double (fruit) he did not allow him | to eat, much | less from the tree of life, so that

[they would not] | acquire honor [. . .] | them and so that [they would not be . . .] [10] by the evil power [which] | is called "the serpent." And he is more cunning | than all the evil powers. | He led man astray [through] | the determination of those things which belong to the thought [15] and the desires. ⟨He⟩ made him transgress | the command, so that he would die. | And he was expelled from | every enjoyment of that place. |

This is the expulsion which was made [20] for him, when he was expelled from the enjoyments | of the things which belong to the likeness and those of the representation. | It was a work of providence, so that | it might be found that it is a short time | until man will receive the enjoyment [25] of the things which are eternally good, | in which is the place of rest. | This the spirit ordained when | he first planned | that man should experience the [30] great evil, which is death, | that is complete ignorance of the Totality, | and that he should experience | all the evils which | come from this and, [35] after the deprivations and cares which are in these, | that he should receive of the greatest **108** good, which is | life eternal, that is, | firm knowledge of the Totalities | and the reception of all good things. [5] Because of the transgression of the first man | death ruled. It was accustomed | to slay every man | in the manifestation of its | [domination] which had been given it [10] [as] a kingdom, because of the organization | of the Father's will, | of which we spoke previously. |

Part III

12. *The Variety of Theologies*

If both the orders, | those on the right and those on the left, [15] are brought together with one another by | the thought which is set between them, | which gives them their organization | with each other, it happens | that they both act with the same [20] emulation of their deeds, with | those of the right resembling those of the left | and those of the left resembling | those of the right. And if at times the evil order | begins to do [25] evil in a | foolish way, | the ⟨wise⟩ order emulates, | in the form of a man of violence, | also doing what is evil, [30] as if it were a power of a man | of violence. At other times | the foolish order | attempts to do good, | making itself like it, since the hidden order, [35] too, is zealous to do it. | Just as it is in | the things which are established, [so] (it is) in the **109** things which have come to be. Since they bring | things unlike

one another, | those who were not instructed were | unable to know the cause of the things which exist. [5] Therefore, | they have introduced other types (of explanation), | some saying that | it is according to providence that the things which exist have their being. | These are the people who observe [10] the stability and the conformity of the movement of creation. | Others say | that it is something alien. | These are people who observe the | diversity and the lawlessness and the evil of the powers. [15] Others say | that the things which exist are what | is destined to happen. These are the people who were | occupied with this matter. Others say | that it is something in accordance with nature. [20] Others say that | it is a self-existent. The majority, however, | all who have reached as far as the visible elements, | do not know anything more | than them.

Those who were wise [25] among the Greeks and the barbarians | have advanced to the powers which have | come into being by way of imagination and | vain thought. Those who have | come from these, in accord with the mutual conflict [30] and rebellious manner | active in them, | also spoke in a likely, | arrogant and | imaginary way concerning the things [35] which they thought of as wisdom, | although the likeness deceived them, | since they thought that they had attained the truth, **110** when they had (only) attained error. | (They did so) not simply in minor appellations, but | the powers themselves seem to hinder them, | as if they were the Totality. [5] Therefore, the | order was caught up in fighting | itself alone, because of the | arrogant hostility of | one [of the offspring] of the archon who is [10] superior, who exists before him. | Therefore, nothing | was in agreement with its fellows, | nothing, neither | philosophy nor types of medicine [15] nor types of rhetoric nor types | of music nor types of | logic, but they are opinions and | theories. | Ineffability held sway [20] in confusion, because of the indescribable quality | of those who hold sway, who give them | thoughts.

Now, as for the things which came | forth from the ⟨race⟩ of the | Hebrews, things which are written by [25] the hylics who speak in the fashion of the Greeks, | the powers of those who think about all | of them, so to speak, the "right ones," the powers | which move them all to think of | words and a representation, they ⟨brought⟩ them, and [30] they grasped so as to attain | the truth and used the confused powers | which act in them. | Afterwards they attained to the order | of the unmixed ones, the one which is established, the [35] unity which exists as a | representation of the representation of the Father. It is not invisible **111** in its nature, but | a wisdom envelops it, so that | it might preserve the form of the | truly invisible one. Therefore, [5] many angels have not been able

to see it. | Also, other men of | the Hebrew race, of whom we | already spoke, namely the righteous ones | and the prophets, did not think of anything [10] and did not say anything | from imagination or through a | likeness or from esoteric thinking, | but each one | by the power which was at work in him, [15] and while listening to the things which he saw | and heard, spoke of them in [...]. | They have a unified harmony | with one another after the manner | of those who worked in them, [20] since they preserve the connection and the | mutual harmony primarily | by the confession of the one more exalted | than they. And there is one who is greater than they, | who was appointed since they have need [25] of him, and whom the spiritual Logos | begot along with them as one who needs | the exalted one, in hope and | expectation in accord with the thought which | is the seed of salvation. [30] And he is an illuminating word, which | consists of the thought and his offspring and | his emanations. Since the righteous ones and | the prophets, whom we have previously mentioned, | preserve the confession and the [35] testimony concerning | the one who is great, made by their fathers who were **112** looking for the hope and | the hearing, in them is sown | the seed of prayer and the searching, | which is sown in many [5] who have searched for strengthening. | It appears and draws them to | love the exalted one, to proclaim | these things as pertaining to a unity. | And it was a unity which [10] worked in them when they spoke. | Their vision and their words do not differ | because of the multitude | of those who have given them the vision and | the word. Therefore, those who have [15] listened to what they have said | concerning this do not reject any | of it, but have accepted the scriptures | in an altered way. By interpreting | them they established [20] many heresies which | exist to the present among the | Jews. Some | say that God is one, | who made a proclamation [25] in the ancient scriptures. Others | say that he is many. | Some say | that God is simple | and was a single mind [30] in nature. Others say | that his activity is linked with | the establishment of good | and evil. Still others | say that he is the [35] creator of that which has come into being. Still others | say that **113** it was by the angels that he created. |

The multitude of ideas of | this sort is the multitude of forms and the abundance | of types of scripture, that which produced [5] their teachers of the Law. The | prophets, however, did not say anything of | their own accord, | but each one of them | (spoke) of the things which he had seen and [10] heard through the proclamation of | the Savior. This is what he proclaimed, | with the main subject of their | proclamation being that which each said concerning | the coming of the Savior, which is this

coming. Sometimes the prophets speak about it as if it will be. Sometimes (it is) as if the Savior speaks from their mouths, saying that the Savior will come and show favor to those who have not known him. They have not all joined with one another in confessing anything, but each one, on the basis of the thing from which he received power to speak about him and on the basis of the place which he saw, thinks that it is from it that he will be begotten and that he will come from that place. Not one of them knew whence he would come nor by whom he would be begotten, but he alone is the one of whom it is worthy to speak, the one who will be begotten and will suffer. Concerning that which he previously was and that which he is eternally, an unbegotten, impassible one from the Logos, who came into being in flesh, **114** he did not come into their thought. And this is the account which they received an impulse to give concerning his flesh which was to appear. They say that it is a production from all of them, but that before all things it is from the spiritual Logos who is the cause of the things which have come into being, from whom the Savior received his flesh. He had conceived ⟨it⟩ at the revelation of the light, according to the word of the promise, at his revelation from the seminal state. For the one who exists is not a seed of the things which exist, since he was begotten at the end. But to the one by whom the Father ordained the manifestation of salvation, who is the fulfillment of the promise, to him belonged all these instruments for entry into life, through which he descended. His Father is one and alone is truly a father to him, the invisible, unknowable, the incomprehensible in his nature, who alone is God in his will and his form, who has granted that he might be seen, known and comprehended.

13. *The Incarnate Savior and his Companions*

He it is who was our Savior in willing compassion, who is that which they were. For it was for their sake that he became manifest in an involuntary suffering. They became flesh and soul, – that is, eternally – which (things) hold them and with corruptible things they die. And as for those who [came into being] **115** [the] invisible one taught them invisibly about himself.

Not only did he take upon ⟨himself⟩ the death of those whom he thought to save, but he also accepted their smallness to which they had descended when they were ⟨born⟩ in body and soul. (He did so),

because he had let himself be conceived [10] and born as an infant, in | body and soul.

Among all the others | who shared in them | and those who fell and received the light, | he came being exalted, because [15] he had let himself be conceived without sin, | stain and | defilement. | He was begotten in life, being in life | because the former and the latter are in [20] passion and changing opinion | from the Logos who moved, | who established them to be body | and soul. He it is ⟨who⟩ has taken | to himself the one who came from those whom we previously [25] mentioned.

He came into being from the | glorious vision and the unchanging thought | of the Logos who | returned to himself, after his movement, | from the organization, just as [30] those who came with him took body and soul | and a confirmation | and stability and judgment of | things. They too intended | to come.

When they thought of [35] the Savior they came, and [they came] when he knew; | they also came more exalted in the | emanation according to the flesh than those | who had been brought forth from a defect, because **116** in this way | they, too, received their bodily emanation along with | the body of the Savior, through | the revelation and [5] the mingling with him. These | others were those of one substance | and it indeed is the spiritual (substance). | The organization | is different. This is one thing, [10] that is another. Some | come forth from passion | and division, needing | healing. Others are from | prayer, so that they heal [15] the sick, when they have been appointed | to treat those who have fallen. These | are the apostles and the evangelists. | They are the disciples | of the Savior, and teachers [20] who need instruction. Why, then, | did they, too, share in the passions | in which | those who have been brought forth | from passion share, if indeed they are bodily productions [25] in accordance with the organization and | ⟨the⟩ Savior, who did not | share in the passions? |

The Savior was an image | of the unitary one, he who [30] is the Totality in bodily form. | Therefore, he preserved the form of | indivisibility, from which | comes impassibility. | They, however, are images [35] of each thing which | became manifest. Therefore, they | assume division from | the pattern, having taken form for the planting which | exists beneath [the heaven.] This also **117** is what shares in the evil which exists | in the places which they have reached. | For the will | held the Totality under sin, so that [5] by that will he might have mercy | on the Totality and they might be saved, while a single one | alone is appointed to give life and all the rest | need salvation. Therefore, | it was from (reasons)

of this sort that [10] it began to receive grace to give the | honors which were proclaimed | by Jesus, which were suitable for | him to proclaim to the rest, | since a seed of the [15] promise of Jesus Christ was set up, whom we have | served in (his) revelation and union. | Now the promise possessed | the instruction and the return | to what they are from [20] the first, from which they possess | the drop, so as to return | to him, which is that which is called | "the redemption." And it is the release | from the captivity and the acceptance [25] of freedom. In its places the captivity of | those who were slaves of ignorance | holds sway. | The freedom is the knowledge of | the truth which existed before [30] the ignorance was ruling, | forever without beginning and | without end, being something good | and a salvation of things | and a release from [35] the servile nature | in which they have suffered.

Those | who have been brought forth in a lowly thought | of vanity, | that is, (a thought) which goes to things which are evil **118** through the thought which [draws] them | down to the lust for power, these have | received the possession which is freedom, | from the abundance of the grace which looked [5] upon the children. It was, however, a disturbance of the | passion and a destruction of | those things which he cast off from | himself at first, when the Logos separated them | from himself, (the Logos) who [10] was the cause of their being destined for | destruction, though he kept ⟨them⟩ at ⟨the⟩ end of the organization | and allowed them to exist | because even they were useful for the things which were | ordained.

14. *The Tripartition of Mankind*

Mankind came [15] to be in three essential types, | the spiritual, the psychic | and the material, conforming | to the triple disposition | of the Logos, from which [20] were brought forth the material ones and the | psychic ones and the spiritual ones. Each | of the three essential types | is known by its fruit. | And they were not known at first [25] but only at the coming of the Savior, | who shone upon the saints | and revealed what each | was.

The | spiritual race, being [30] like light from | light and like spirit from | spirit, when its head | appeared, it ran toward him | immediately. It immediately became a body [35] of its head. It suddenly received knowledge | in the revelation. | The psychic race is like light | from a fire, since it hesitated to accept knowledge **119** of him who appeared to it. (It hesitated) even | more to run toward him in faith. | Rather, through a

voice it was instructed | and this was sufficient, since it is not far [5] from the hope according to the promise, | since it received, so to speak as a | pledge, the assurance of the things | which were to be. The material | race, however, is alien in [10] every way; since it is dark, it | shuns the shining of the light | because its appearance destroys | it. And since it has not received its unity, | it is something excessive and [15] hateful toward the Lord at his | revelation.

The spiritual race | will receive complete salvation in | every way. The material will receive | destruction in every way, just as [20] one who resists him. The psychic | race, since it is in the middle | when it is brought forth and also when it is created, | is double according to its determination | for both good and evil. It takes its [25] appointed departure | suddenly and its complete escape | to those who are good. | Those whom the Logos brought forth | in accordance with the first element of his [30] thought, when he remembered the | exalted one and prayed for salvation, | have salvation [suddenly.] | They will be saved completely [because of] | the salvific thought. As he [35] was brought forth, so, [too], | were these brought forth from | him, **120** whether angels or men. | In accordance with the confession that there is | one who is more exalted than themselves, | and in accordance with the prayer and the search for [5] him, they also will attain the | salvation of those who have been brought forth, since | they are from the disposition | which is good. They were appointed for | service in proclaiming the coming [10] of the Savior who was to be and | his revelation which had come. | Whether angels or men, when | he was sent as a service to them, they received, | in fact, the essence of their being. [15] Those, however, who are from | the thought of lust for | power, who have come into being from | the blow of those who fight | against him, those whom the thought [20] brought forth, from these, | since they are mixed, they will receive their end | suddenly. Those who will be brought forth | from the lust for | power which is given to them for a [25] time and for certain periods, and who will give glory to | the Lord of glory, and who will relinquish | their wrath, they will receive the reward for | their humility, which is to remain | forever. Those, however, who [30] are proud because of the desire | of ambition, and who love temporary | glory and who forget that | it was only for certain periods and times which they have | that they were entrusted with power, [35] and for this reason | did not acknowledge that the Son of God **121** is the Lord of all and | Savior, and were not brought | out of wrath and the | resemblance to the evil ones, they [5] will receive judgment for their ignorance | and their senselessness, | which is

suffering, along with those | who went astray, anyone | of them who turned away; and [10] even more (for) wickedness in | doing to the Lord things | which were not fitting, | which the powers of the left did to him, | even including his death. They persevered [15] saying, "We shall become rulers | of the universe, if | the one who has been proclaimed king of the universe | is slain," (they said this) when they labored to do | this, namely the men and angels [20] who are not from the good disposition | of the right ones but | from the mixture. And | they first chose for themselves | honor, though it was only a temporary wish [25] and desire, while the | path to eternal rest is by way | of humility for salvation of | those who will be saved, those of | the right ones. After they confess [30] the Lord and the thought of that which | is pleasing to the church and the song of | those who are humble along with her to the full extent | possible, in that which is pleasing to do | for her, in sharing in her sufferings [35] and her pains in the manner of | those who understand what is good | for the church, they will have a share | in [her] hope. This is to be said **122** on the subject of how men and angels | who are from the | order of the left | have a path to error: [5] not only did they deny the Lord | and plot evil against him, | but also toward the Church did they direct | their hatred | and envy and jealousy; [10] and this is the reason for the condemnation | of those who have moved and have aroused themselves | for the trials of the Church.

15. *The Process of Restoration*

The election | shares body | and essence with [15] the Savior, since it is like a bridal | chamber because of its unity | and its agreement with him. For, before | every place, the Christ came for her sake. | The calling, [20] however, has the place | of those who rejoice at the bridal chamber | and who are glad and happy | at the union of the bridegroom | and the bride. [25] The place which the calling will have is the aeon | of the images, where | the Logos has not yet joined with the Pleroma. And | since the man of the Church was happy and | glad at this, as he was hoping for [30] it, | he separated spirit, soul, and body in | the organization of the one who thinks that | he is a unity, though within him | is the man who is [35] the Totality – and he is all of them. | And, though he has | the escape from the [. . .] which **123** the places will receive, he also has | the members about which we spoke | earlier. When the redemption was proclaimed, | the perfect man received knowledge [5] immediately, | so as to return in haste to his | unitary state, to the place from | which

he came, to return | there joyfully, to the place [10] from which he came, to the place from which | he flowed forth. His | members, however, needed a place of instruction, | which is in the places which | are adorned, so that [they] might receive from them resemblance [15] to the images and archetypes, | like a mirror, until | all the members of the body of | the Church are in a single place | and receive the restoration at one [20] time, when they have been manifested as the | whole body, – namely the restoration | into the Pleroma. – | It has a preliminary concord | with a mutual agreement, [25] which is the concord which belongs to the Father, | until the Totalities receive a countenance | in accordance with him. The restoration is | at the end, after the Totality | reveals what it is, the Son, [30] who is the redemption, that | is, the path toward the | incomprehensible Father, that is, the return to | the pre-existent, and (after) | the Totalities reveal themselves [35] in that one, in the proper way, who | is the inconceivable one and the | ineffable one, **124** and the invisible one and the | incomprehensible one, so that it | receives redemption. It was not only release | from the domination of the [5] left ones, nor was it only [escape] | from the power | of those of the right, to each of which | we thought | that were slaves and [10] sons, from whom none | escapes without quickly | becoming theirs again, but | the redemption also is an ascent | [to] the degrees which are in the [15] Pleroma and [to] those who have named | themselves and who conceive of themselves | according to the power of each of | the aeons, and (it is) an entrance | into what is silent, where there is no [20] need for voice nor for | knowing nor for forming a concept | nor for illumination, | but (where) all things are | light, while they do not need to be [25] illumined.

Not only | do humans need | redemption, but also the angels, | too, need redemption along with | the image and the rest of the Pleromas of [30] the aeons and the wondrous powers of | illumination. So that we might not be in doubt in regard to | the others, even the Son | himself, who has the position of | redeemer of the Totality, [needed] redemption **125** as well, – he who had become | man, – since he gave | himself for each thing which we need, | we in the flesh, who are [5] his Church. Now, when he | first received redemption from | the word which had descended upon him, | all the rest received redemption from | him, namely those who had taken him to themselves. [10] For those who received the one who had received (redemption) | also received what was in him.

Among | the men who are in the flesh redemption | began to be given, his first-born, | and his love, the [15] Son who was incarnate, while the | angels who are in heaven | asked to associate, so that they might form

an association | with him upon the earth. Therefore, | he is called "the Redemption [20] of the angels of the Father," he who | comforted those who were laboring | under the Totality for his knowledge, | because he was given the grace | before anyone else.

The Father had foreknowledge [25] of him, since he was | in his thought before | anything came into being and since he had | those to whom he has revealed him. | He set the deficiency on the one who [30] remains for certain periods and times, | as a glory for his Pleroma, since | the fact that he is unknown | is a cause | of his production from his [35] agreement [...] **126** of him. Just as reception of | knowledge of him is a manifestation of his lack | of envy and the revelation | of the abundance of his sweetness, [5] which is the second glory, | so, too, he has been found | to be a cause | of ignorance, although he is also | a begetter of knowledge.

In a [10] hidden and incomprehensible wisdom | he kept the knowledge to the end, | until the Totalities became weary while searching for | God the Father, whom no one | found through his own wisdom [15] or power. | He gives himself, so that they might receive knowledge of the abundant thought about | his great glory, which | he has given, and (about) the cause, which he has | given, which is his unceasing thanksgiving, [20] he who, from | the immobility of his counsel, | reveals himself eternally | to those who have been worthy of the Father | who is unknown in his nature, so that they [25] might receive knowledge of him, through his desire | that they should come to experience the | ignorance and its pains. |

Those of whom he first thought | that they should attain knowledge and [30] the good things which are in it, | they were planning – which is the wisdom | of the Father, – that they might experience | the evil things and might | train themselves in them, [35] as a [...] for a time, | [so that they might] receive the enjoyment | [of good things] for | eternity. **127** They hold change and | persistent renunciation and the | cause of those who fight against them as an adornment | and marvelous quality of those who [5] are exalted, so that it is manifest | that the ignorance of | those who will be ignorant of the Father was | something of their own. He who gave them | knowledge of him was one of his powers [10] for enabling them to grasp that | knowledge in the fullest sense is | called "the knowledge of | all that which is thought of" and "the | treasure" and "the addition for the [15] increase of knowledge," "the revelation | of those things which were known at first," | and "the path toward harmony | and toward the | pre-existent one," which is the [20] increase of those who have | abandoned the greatness which was theirs |

in the organization of | the will, so that the end | might be like the beginning. [25]

As for the baptism which exists | in the fullest sense, into | which the Totalities will descend | and in which they will be, there is no other | baptism apart from this one alone, [30] which is the redemption into | God, Father, Son and | Holy Spirit, when | confession is made through | faith in those names, [35] which are a single name of | the gospel, **128** when they have come to believe what has been said to them, | namely that they exist. From | this they have their | salvation, those who have [5] believed that they exist. This | is attaining in an invisible way | to the Father, Son, | and Holy Spirit in an | undoubting faith. And when they [10] have borne witness to them, it is also with a | firm hope that they | attained them, so that the return to them might | become the perfection of those who have believed | in them and (so that) [15] the Father might be one with them, the Father, | the God, whom they have confessed | in faith and who | gave (them) their union with him in | knowledge.

The baptism which we [20] previously mentioned is called | "garment of those who do not | strip themselves of it," for those who | will put it on and those who have | received redemption wear it. It is also [25] called "the confirmation of the | truth which has no fall." | In an unwavering and | immovable way it grasps those | who have received the [restoration] [30] while they grasp it. (Baptism) is | called "silence" because of | the quiet and the tranquility. | It is also called "bridal chamber" | because of the agreement and the [35] indivisible state of those who know | they have known him. It is also called **129** "the light which does not set | and is without flame," since it does not give light, | but those who have worn it | are made into light. They [5] are the ones whom he wore. | (Baptism) is also called, "the | eternal life," which is | immortality; and it is called | "that which is, entirely, simply, [10] in the proper sense, what is pleasing, | inseparably and irremovably | and faultlessly and | imperturbably, for the one who exists | for those who have received a beginning." For, what else is there [15] to name it | apart from "God," since it is the Totalities, | that is, even if it is given | numberless names, | they are spoken simply as a reference to it. [20] Just as he transcends every word | and he transcends every voice | and he transcends every mind | and he transcends everything | and he transcends every silence, [25] so it is | *[Dittography]* | with those who are that | which he is. This is that which they find | it to be, [30] ineffably and | inconceivably in (its) visage, for the coming into being in those who | know, through him whom they have comprehended, | who is the one to whom | they gave glory.

16. *Redemption of the Calling*

Even if on the matter of the election **130** there are many more things for | us to say, as it is fitting to | say, nonetheless, on the | matter of those of the calling – for [5] those of the right are so named | – it is necessary | for us to return once again to them | and it is not profitable | for us to forget them. We have spoken [10] about them, – If there is enough in | what preceded at some length, how have we | spoken? In a partial way, – | since I said about all those who came | forth from the Logos, [15] either from the judgment of | the evil ones or from | the wrath which fights against them and the | turning away from them, which | is the return to [20] the exalted ones, or from the prayer and | the remembrance of those who pre-existed | or from hope and | faith that [they] would receive their salvation | from good work [25] since they have been deemed worthy because | they are beings from the good | dispositions, (that) they have | cause of their begetting | which is an opinion from the one who [30] exists. Still further (I said) that before the | Logos concerned himself with | them in an invisible way, | willingly, the exalted one added | to this thought, because [35] they were [in need] of him, **131** who was the cause of | their being. They did not exalt themselves, | when they were saved, as if there were nothing | existing before them, but they [5] confess that they have a beginning | to their existence and they | desire this: to know him | who exists before them. | Most of all (I said) that they worshipped [10] the revelation of the light | in the form of lightning and | they bore witness that it appeared | as ⟨their⟩ salvation. |

Not only those who have come forth [15] from the Logos, about whom | alone we said that | they would accomplish the good work, | but also those whom these brought forth | according to the good dispositions [20] will share | in the repose according to the abundance | of the grace. Also those who have been | brought forth from the desire | of lust for [25] power, having the | seed in them which is the | lust for power, will receive | the reward for (their) good deeds, | namely those who acted and those [30] who have the predisposition | toward the good, if they | intentionally desire and wish | to abandon the | vain, temporal ambition [35] and [they] keep the commandment of the Lord **132** of glory, instead of the momentary | honor, and inherit | the eternal kingdom.

Now, | it is necessary that we unite [5] the causes and the effects on them | of the grace and the impulses, | since it is fitting that we say what | we mentioned previously about the salvation | of all those of the right, [10] of all those unmixed and those mixed, | to join them | [with] one

another. And as for the repose, [which] | is the revelation of [the] form ⟨in⟩ which they believed, [15] (it is necessary) that we should treat it with a | suitable discussion. For when we | confessed the kingdom | which is in Christ, ⟨we⟩ escaped from | the whole multiplicity of forms and from [20] inequality and change. For the end | will receive a unitary existence | just as the beginning is unitary, | where there is no | male nor female, nor slave [25] and free, nor circumcision | and uncircumcision, neither angel | nor man, but | Christ is all in all. What is the form | of the one who did not exist at first? [30] It will be found that he will exist. And | what is the nature of the one who was a slave? | He will take a place with a **133** free man. For, they will receive the vision | more and more by nature | and not only by a little word, | so as to believe, only through [5] a voice, that this is the way | it is, that | the restoration to that which used to be is a unity. | Even if some are | exalted because of the organization, since they have been appointed [10] as causes of the things which have come into being, | since they are more active as natural forces | and since they are desired because of these things, | angels and men will receive the kingdom and the confirmation | [and] the salvation. [15] These, then, are the causes. |

About the ⟨one⟩ who appeared in flesh they believed | without any doubt | that he is the Son of the unknown | God, who [20] was not previously spoken of | and who could not be seen. | They abandoned their gods | whom they had previously worshipped | and the lords who are [25] in heaven and on | earth. Before | he had taken them up, and while he was still | a child, they testified that he had already | begun to preach, [30] and when he was in the tomb | as a dead man the | [angels] thought that he was alive, | [receiving] life **134** from the one who had died. | They first desired their numerous services | and wonders, | which were in the temple on their behalf, [5] to be performed continuously ⟨as⟩ the confession. | That is, it can | be done on their behalf through | their approach to him. |

That preparation which they did not accept [10] they rejected | because of the one who had not been sent | from that place, but [they granted to] | Christ, of whom they thought | that he exists in [that] place [15] from which they had come | along with him, a place of gods | and lords whom they served, | worshipped | and ministered to [20] in the names which they had received on loan. | – They were given to the one who is designated | by them properly. – | However, after his | assumption, they had the experience [25] to know that he is their Lord, | over whom no one else is lord. | They gave him their kingdoms; | they rose from

their thrones; | they were kept from their [30] crowns. He, however, revealed himself to them, | for the reasons which we have already spoken of, | their salvation and the [return to a] | good thought until [. . .] **135** [. . .] companion and the angels | [. . .] and the abundance of good | [which they did] with it. Thus, | they were entrusted with the services, [5] which benefit the elect, | bringing their iniquity | up to heaven. They tested them eternally | for the lack of humility from the inerrancy | of the creation, continuing on their [10] behalf until all come to life and | leave life, while their | bodies [remain] on earth, serving | all their [. . .], sharing | [with them] in their sufferings [15] [and] persecutions and | tribulations, which were brought | upon the saints in [every] place. |

As for the servants of the | evil ⟨one⟩, though [20] evil is worthy of destruction, they are in | [. . .]. But because of the | [. . .] which is above | all the worlds, which is | their good thought [25] and the fellowship, | the Church will remember them | as good friends | and faithful servants, once she has received | redemption [from the one who gives] requital. [30] Then the [grace] which is in | the bridal [chamber] and [. . . | . . .] in her house [. . . | . . .] in this thought | of the giving and the one who [. . .] **136** Christ is the one with her [and the] | expectation of the Father [of] | the Totality, since she will produce for them | angels as guides and [5] servants.

They will | think pleasant thoughts. | They are services for her. She will | give them their requital for all that which | the aeons will think about. [10] He is an emanation from them, so that, | just as Christ [did] his | will which he brought [forth and] | exalted the greatnesses of the Church [and] | gave them to her, so [15] will she be a thought for | [these.] And to men he gives [their] | eternal dwelling places, in | which they will dwell, [leaving] | behind the attraction toward [20] the defect, while | the power of the Pleroma pulls them up | in the greatness of the | generosity and [the] sweetness of | the aeon which pre-exists. This [25] is the nature of the entire begetting of those | whom he had when he shone | on them [in] a [light] which he | revealed [. . .]. | Just as his [. . .] [30] which will be [. . .] | so too his [lord] | [while] the change alone is | in those who have changed. **137** which [. . .] by | him [. . .] | [. . .] said, | while the hylics will remain until [10] the end for destruction, since they will not give | forth for their [names], if | [they would] return once again to that which | [will not be]. As they were | [. . .] they were not [15] [. . .] but they were of use | [in the] time that they were | [in it] among them, although they were not | [. . .] at first. If | [. . .] to do something else concerning [20] the control which | they have of the preparation, | [. . .] before them. | –

For though I continually use | these words, I have not understood [25] his meaning. – Some | [elders . . .] him | [greatness.] **138** all [. . .] angels | [. . .] word | and [the sound of] a trumpet | he will proclaim the great [10] complete amnesty | from the beauteous east, in the | bridal chamber which is the love | of God the Father [. . .] | according to the power which [. . .] [15] of the greatness [. . .] | the sweetness of [. . .] | of him, since he reveals | himself to the greatnesses [. . .] | his goodness [. . .] [20] the praise, the dominion, [and] the [glory] | through [. . .] the Lord the | Savior, the Redeemer of all those belonging to the one filled | with Love, | through his Holy Spirit [25] from now through all | generations forever | and ever. Amen.

THE APOCRYPHON OF JOHN (II,*1*, III,*1*, IV,*1*, AND BG 8502,*2*)

Introduced and translated by

FREDERIK WISSE

The Apocryphon of John is an important work of mythological Gnosticism. Using the framework of a revelation delivered by the resurrected Christ to John the son of Zebedee, this tractate offers a remarkably clear description of the creation, fall, and salvation of humanity; the mythological description is developed largely in terms of the early chapters of Genesis. Reports of the church fathers indicate that some of them were familiar with the contents of *The Apocryphon of John*: the teachings of certain Gnostics described by Irenaeus are very similar to the cosmological teachings of the present tractate. Though Irenaeus apparently did not know *The Apocryphon of John* in its present form, it is certain that the main teachings of the tractate existed before 185 C.E., the date of Irenaeus' work *Against Heresies*. *The Apocryphon of John* was still used in the eighth century by the Audians of Mesopotamia.

The Apocryphon of John supplies answers to two basic questions: What is the origin of evil? How can we escape from this evil world to our heavenly home? The cosmogeny, in spite of its exotic details, also seeks to answer these questions. The highest deity is defined in terms of an abstract Greek concept of perfection, a perfection which excludes all anthropomorphism and all involvement in the world. From this supreme deity emanates a series of light-beings, including Christ and Sophia.

According to *The Apocryphon of John*, the fall occurs when Sophia desires to bring forth a being without the approval of the great Spirt or her consort. Consequently, she produces the monstrous creator-god Yaldabaoth, who still possesses some of the light-power of his mother. Yaldabaoth creates angels to rule over the world and aid in the creation of man; man himself is fashioned after the perfect Father's image, which was mirrored on the water. Man comes to life when Yaldabaoth is tricked into breathing light-power into him. Thus begins a continuous struggle between the powers of light and the powers of darkness for the possession of the divine particles in man. The evil powers put man in a material body to keep him imprisoned, and also create woman and sexual desire to spread the particles of light and make escape more difficult. Finally Christ is sent down to save humanity by reminding people of their heavenly origin. Only those who possess this knowledge and have lived ascetic lives can return to the realm of light; the others are reincarnated until they also come to saving knowledge.

Three versions of *The Apocryphon of John* are known. III,*1* and BG,*2* represent independent translations into Coptic of a short Greek recension of the work. II,*1* and IV,*1* are copies of the same Coptic translation of a long Greek recension. The English translation presented here is of the long recension. Page and line

numbers are given for II,*1*, except where IV,*1* preserved text which was omitted in II,*1* through scribal error.

THE APOCRYPHON OF JOHN

II 1, 1-32, 9 = IV 1, 1-49, 28

The teaching [of the savior], and [the revelation] | of the mysteries, [and the] things hidden in | silence, [even these things which] he taught | John, [his] disciple. [5]

[And] it happened one [day], when | John, [the brother] of James | – who are the sons of Zebedee – had come up to | the temple, that a Pharisee | named Arimanius approached him and said [10] to him, "Where is your master [whom] | you followed?" And he [said] to him, | "He has gone to the [place] from which he came." The Pharisee | [said to him, "With deception | did this Nazarene] deceive you (pl.), [15] and he filled [your ears with lies], | and closed [your hearts (and) turned you] | from the traditions [of your fathers."]

[When] | I, [John], heard these things [I turned] | away from the temple [to a desert place]. [20] And I grieved [greatly in my heart saying], | "How [then was] the savior [appointed], | and why was he sent [in to the world] | by [his Father, and who is his] | Father who [sent him, and of what sort] [25] is [that] aeon [to which we shall go?] | For what did he [mean when he said to us], | 'This aeon to [which you will go is of the] type | of the [imperishable] aeon,' [but he did not teach] | us concerning [the latter of what sort it is."] [30]

Straightway, [while I was contemplating these things,] | behold, the [heavens opened and] the whole creation [which is] below heaven shone, | and [the world] was shaken. **2** [I was afraid, and behold I] saw in | the light [a youth who stood] by me. | While I looked [at him he became] like an | old man. And he [changed his] likeness (again) becoming [5] like a servant. There was [not a plurality] before me, | but there was a [likeness] with multiple forms | in the light, and the [likenesses] appeared | through each other, [and] the [likeness] had three | forms.

He said to me, "John, John, [10] why do you doubt, or why [are you] | afraid? You are not unfamiliar with this image, are you? | – that is, do not [be] timid! – I am the one who | is [with you (pl.)] always. I | [am the Father], I am the Mother, I am the Son. [15] I am the undefiled and incorruptible one. | Now [I have come to teach you] what is | [and what was] and what will come to | [pass], that [you may know the]

things which are not revealed | [and those which are revealed, and to teach you] concerning the [20] [unwavering race of] the perfect [Man]. Now, | [therefore, lift up] your [face, that] you may | [receive] the things that I [shall teach you] today, [and] | may [tell them to your] fellow spirits who [are | from] the [unwavering] race of the perfect [25] Man."

[And I asked] to | [know it, and he said] to me, "The Monad | [is a] monarchy with nothing above it. | [It is he who exists] as [God] and Father of | everything, [the invisible] One who is above [30] [everything, who exists as] incorruption, which is | [in the] pure light into which no | [eye] can look. |

He [is the] invisible [Spirit] of whom it is not right | [to think] of him as a god, or something [35] similar. For he is more than a god, | since there is nothing above him, for no one **3** lords it over him. [For he does] not [exist] in something | inferior [to him, since everything] exists in him. | (IV 4, 9-10: [For it is he who establishes]) himself. [He is eternal] since | he does [not] need [anything]. For [he] is total [5] perfection. [He] did not [lack anything] that he might | be completed by [it; rather] he is always completely perfect | in [light]. He is [illimitable] since | there is no one [prior to him] to set limits to him. | He is unsearchable [since there] exists no one [10] prior to him to [examine him. He is] immeasurable | since there [was] no one [prior to him to measure] | him. [He is invisible since no] | one saw [him. He is eternal] since he [exists] | eternally. He is [ineffable since] [15] no one was able to comprehend him to speak [about him]. | He is unnameable since [there is no one prior to him] | to give [him] a name.

He is [immeasurable light] | which is pure, holy [(and) immaculate]. | He is ineffable [being perfect in] incorruptibility. [20] (He is) [not] in perfection, nor in | blessedness, nor in | divinity, but he is far superior. | He is not corporeal [nor] is he incorporeal. | He is neither large [nor] is he small. [There is no] [25] way to say, 'What is his quantity?' or, 'What [is his quality?'], | for no one can [know him]. | He is not someone among (other) [beings, rather he is] | far superior. [Not] that [he is (simply) superior], but his | essence does not [partake] in the aeons nor [30] in time. For he who partakes in [an aeon] | was prepared beforehand. Time [was not] | apportioned to him, [since] he does not | receive anything from another, [for it would be received] | on loan. For he who precedes someone does not [lack] [35] that he may receive from [him]. | For [rather] it is the latter that looks expectantly at him in **4** his light.

For the [perfection] is majestic. | He is pure, immeasurable [mind]. |

He is an aeon-giving aeon. | He is [life]- | giving life. He is a blessedness-giving [5] blessed one. He is knowledge-giving | knowledge. [He is] goodness-giving | goodness. [He is] mercy and redemption-[giving mercy]. | He is grace-giving grace, [not] because | he possesses it, but because he gives [the] immeasurable, [10] incomprehensible [light].

[How am I to speak] with you about him? His | [aeon] is indestructible, at rest and | existing in [silence, reposing] (and) being | prior [to everything. For he] is the head of [all] the aeons, | [and] it is he who gives them strength in [15] his goodness. For [we know] not | [the ineffable things, and we] do not understand what | [is immeasurable], except for him who came forth | [from] him, namely (from) [the] Father. For it is he | who [told] it to us [alone]. For it is he who looks [20] at him[self] in his light which surrounds | [him], namely the spring [of the] water of life. And | it is he who gives to [all] the [aeons] and in every way, (and) who | [gazes upon] his image which he sees | in the spring of the [Spirit]. It is he who puts his desire in his [25] [water]-light [which is in the] spring of the | [pure light]-water [which] surrounds him.

And | [his thought performed] a deed and she came forth, | [namely] she who had [appeared] before him | in [the shine of] his light. This is [30] the first [power which was] before all of them | (and) [which came] forth from his mind, She | [is the forethought of the All] – her light | [shines like his] light – the [perfect] | power which is [the] image of the invisible, [35] virginal Spirit who is perfect. | [The first power], the glory of Barbelo, the perfect **5** glory in the aeons, the glory of the | revelation, she glorified the virginal | Spirit and it was she who praised him, because thanks to him | she had come forth. This is the first thought, [5] his image; she became the womb of everything | for it is she who is prior to them all, the | Mother-Father, the first man, the holy Spirit, | the thrice-male, the thrice-powerful, | the thrice-named androgynous one, and the [10] eternal aeon among the invisible ones, and | the first to come forth.

"⟨She⟩ requested from | the invisible, virginal Spirit – | that is Barbelo – to give her foreknowledge. | And the Spirit consented. And when he had [consented], [15] the foreknowledge came forth, and | it stood by the forethought; it originates from | the thought of the invisible, | virginal Spirit. It glorified him [and] | his perfect power, Barbelo, for [20] it was for her sake that it had come into being.

"And she requested again | to grant her [indestructibility], and he consented. | When he had [consented], indestructibility | [came] forth, and it stood by | the thought and the foreknowledge. It glorified [25] the

invisible One and Barbelo, | the one for whose sake they had come into being.

"And Barbelo requested | to grant her eternal life. And | the invisible Spirit consented. And | when he had consented, eternal life [30] came forth, and [they attended] and glorified | the invisible [Spirit] and Barbelo, | the one for whose sake they had come into being.

"And she requested again | to grant her truth. And the invisible Spirit | consented. (IV 8, 24f.: And [when he had] consented) truth came forth, [35] and they attended and glorified the invisible, **6** excellent Spirit and his Barbelo, | the one for whose sake they had come into being.

"This is the pentad of the aeons | of the Father, which is the first | man, the image of the invisible Spirit; [5] it is the forethought, which is Barbelo, | and the thought, and the foreknowledge, and | the indestructibility, and the eternal life, and | the truth. This is the androgynous pentad of the aeons, | which is the decad of the aeons, which is [10] the Father.

"And he looked at Barbelo | with the pure light which surrounds the invisible | Spirit and (with) his spark, and she conceived | from him. He begot a spark of light with a light | resembling blessedness. But it does not equal [15] his greatness. This was an only-begotten child | of the Mother-Father which had come forth; | it is the only offspring, the only-begotten one of | the Father, the pure Light.

"And | the invisible, virginal Spirit rejoiced [20] over the light which came forth, that which | was brought forth first by the first power | of his forethought which is Barbelo. | And he anointed it with his goodness | until it became perfect, not lacking [25] in any goodness, because he had anointed it | with the goodness of the invisible Spirit. And | it attended him as he poured upon | it. And immediately when it had received from | the Spirit, it glorified the holy Spirit [30] and the perfect forethought [32] for whose sake it had | come forth.

"And it requested to give it a fellow worker, | which is the mind, and he consented (IV 10, 14: [gladly]). [35] And when the invisible Spirit had consented, **7** the mind came forth, and it attended | Christ glorifying him and | Barbelo. And all these came into being | in silence.

"And the mind wanted [5] to perform a deed through the word | of the invisible Spirit. And his will became | a deed and it appeared with | the mind; and the light glorified it. | And the word followed the will. [10] For because of the word, Christ | the divine Autogenes created everything. And the | eternal life ⟨and⟩ his will and the mind | and the foreknowledge attended and glorified | the invisible Spirit and Barbelo, [15] for whose sake they had come into being.

"And the holy | Spirit completed the divine Autogenes, | his son, together with Barbelo, | that he may attend the mighty and invisible, | virginal Spirit as the divine [20] Autogenes, the Christ whom he had | honored with a mighty voice. He came forth | through the forethought. And the invisible, | virginal Spirit placed the | divine Autogenes of truth over everything. [25] And he subjected to him every authority, | and the truth which is in him, | that he may know the All which | had been called with a name exalted above | every name. For that name will be mentioned [30] to those who are worthy of it.

"For from the light, | which is the Christ, and the indestructibility, | through the gift of the Spirit the four | lights (appeared) from the divine Autogenes. | He expected that they might attend **8** him. And the three (are) will, | thought, and life. And the four | powers (are) understanding, grace, perception, | and prudence. And grace belongs to [5] the light-aeon Armozel, which | is the first angel. And there are | three other aeons with this aeon: grace, | truth, and form. And the second | light (is) Oriel, who has been placed [10] over the second aeon. And there are | three other aeons with him: conception, perception, | and memory. And the third light | is Daveithai, who has been placed | over the third aeon. And there are [15] three other aeons with him: understanding, | love, and idea. And the fourth | aeon was placed over the fourth | light Eleleth. And there are | three other aeons with him: perfection, [20] peace, and wisdom. These are the four lights | which attend the divine Autogenes, | (and) these are the twelve aeons which attend | the son of the mighty one, the Autogenes, the Christ, | through the will and the gift of the invisible [25] Spirit. And the twelve aeons belong to | the son of the Autogenes. And all things were | established by the will of the holy Spirit | through the Autogenes.

"And from | the foreknowledge of the perfect mind, [30] through the revelation of the will of the invisible | Spirit and the will of the Autogenes, | ⟨the⟩ perfect Man (appeared), the first revelation, | and the truth. It is he whom | the virginal Spirit called Pigera- [35] Adamas, and he placed him over **9** the first aeon with the mighty one, the Autogenes, | the Christ, by the first light Armozel; | and with him are his powers. | And the invisible one gave him a spiritual, [5] invincible power. And he spoke | and glorified and praised the invisible | Spirit, saying, 'It is for thy sake that everything | has come into being and everything will return to thee. | I shall praise and glorify thee and [10] the Autogenes and the aeons, the three: the Father, | the Mother, and the Son, the perfect power.'

"And he | placed his son Seth over the second | aeon in the presence of the second light | Oriel. And in the third aeon [15] the seed of Seth was placed | over the third light Daveithai. | And the souls of the saints were placed (there). | And in the fourth aeon | the souls were placed of those who do not know the [20] Pleroma and who did not repent at once, | but who persisted for a while and repented | afterwards; they are by the fourth | light Eleleth. These are | creatures which glorify the invisible Spirit. [25]

"And the Sophia of the Epinoia, being an aeon, | conceived a thought from herself and | the conception of the invisible Spirit and | foreknowledge. She wanted to bring forth | a likeness out of herself without the consent of the Spirit, [30] – he had not approved – and without her consort, | and without his consideration. And though the person of her | maleness had not approved, | and she had not found her agreement, | and she had thought without the consent of the Spirit [35] and the knowledge of her agreement, (yet) she brought forth. **10** And because of the invincible power which is in her, | her thought did not remain idle and | something came out of her | which was imperfect and different from her appearance, [5] because she had created it without her consort. | And it was dissimilar to the likeness of its mother | for it has another form.

"And when she saw (the consequences of) her | desire, it changed into a form | of a lion-faced serpent. And its eyes [10] were like lightning fires which | flash. She cast it away from her, outside | that place, that no one | of the immortal ones might see it, for she had created it | in ignorance. And she surrounded it with [15] a luminous cloud, and she placed a throne | in the middle of the cloud that no | one might see it except the holy Spirit | who is called the mother of the living. | And she called his name Yaltabaoth.

"This [20] is the first archon who took a great | power from his mother. And he | removed himself from her and moved | away from the places in which he was born. He | became strong and created for himself other aeons with [25] a flame of luminous fire which (still) exists | now. And he joined with his arrogance | which is in him and begot | authorities for himself. The name of the first one | is Athoth, whom the generations call [30] [the reaper]. The second one is Harmas, | who [is the eye] of envy. The third one | is Kalila-Oumbri. The fourth one is Yabel. | The fifth one is Adonaiou, who is called | Sabaoth. The sixth one is Cain, [35] whom the generations of men call | the sun. The seventh is Abel. The | eighth is Abrisene. The ninth is Yobel. **11** The tenth is Armoupieel. The

eleventh | is Melceir-Adonein. The twelth | is Belias, it is he who is over the depth | of Hades. And he placed seven kings [5] – each corresponding to the firmaments of heaven – over the | seven heavens, and five over the depth of the abyss, | that they may reign. And he shared his fire | with them, but he did not send forth from | the power of the light which he had taken from his mother, [10] for he is ignorant darkness.

"And | when the light had mixed with the darkness, it caused the | darkness to shine. And when the darkness had mixed with | the light, it darkened the light and it became | neither light nor dark, but it became [15] dim.

"Now the archon who is weak has | three names. The first name is Yaltabaoth, | the second is Saklas, and the third is | Samael. And he is impious in his arrogance | which is in him. For he said, [20] 'I am God and there is no other God | beside me,' for he is ignorant of his strength, | the place from which he had come.

"And the archons | created seven powers for themselves, and | the powers created for themselves six angels for [25] each one until they became 365 angels. | And these are the bodies belonging with the names: the first is Athoth, | he has a sheep's face; the second is Eloaiou, | he has a donkey's face; the third | is Astaphaios, he has a [hyena's] face; the [30] fourth is Yao, he has a [serpent's] face with | seven heads; the fifth is Sabaoth, | he has a dragon's face; the sixth is Adonin, | he had a monkey's face; the seventh is Sabbede, | he has a shining fire-face. This is the [35] sevenness of the week.

"But Yaltabaoth | had a multitude **12** of faces more than all of them | so that he could put a face before | all of them, according to his desire, when he is in | the midst of seraphs. He shared [5] his fire with them; | therefore he became lord over them. Because of the power of | the glory he possessed of his mother's | light, he called | himself God. And he did not [10] obey the place from which he came. And | he united | the seven powers in his thought with the authorities which were with him. | And when he spoke it happened. And | he named each power beginning [15] with the highest: the first is | goodness with the first (authority), Athoth; | the second is foreknowledge with | the second one, Eloaio; and the third | is Astraphaio (II has been corrected by a later hand to read: and the third is divinity with the third one, Astraphaio); the fourth is [20] lordship with the fourth one, Yao; | the fifth is kingdom with the fifth one, | Sabaoth; the sixth is envy with | the sixth one, Adonein; the seventh | is understanding with the seventh one, [25] Sabbateon. And these have | a firmament corresponding to each aeon-heaven. They

were | given names according to the glory which belongs to heaven | for the [destruction of the] powers. And in the names which were | given to [them by] their Originator [30] there was power. But the names which were given | them according to the glory which belongs to heaven mean | for them destruction and powerlessness. | Thus they have two names. |

"And (IV 20, 11: having created [ ]) everything he organized according to the model of the first [35] aeons which had come into being, so that he might **13** create them like the indestructible ones. Not because | he had seen the indestructible ones, but the power | in him, which he had taken from | his mother, produced in him the likeness of [5] the cosmos. And when he saw the creation which surrounds | him and the multitude of the angels around | him which had come forth from him, | he said to them, 'I am a jealous God | and there is no other God beside me.' But by [10] announcing this he indicated to the angels | who attended him that there exists another God. | For if there were no other one, of whom | would he be jealous?

Then the mother began | to move to and fro. She became aware of the deficiency when [15] the brightness of her light diminished. And she | became dark because her consort | had not agreed with her."

And I | said, "Lord, what does it mean that she moved to and fro?" But he | smiled and said, "Do not think it is, as [20] Moses said, 'above | the waters.' No, but when she had seen | the wickedness which had happened, and the theft which | her son had committed, she repented. | And she was overcome by forgetfulness in the darkness of [25] ignorance and she began to be ashamed. (IV 21, 13-15: And she did not dare | to return, but she was moving) | about. And the moving is the going to and fro.

"And the | arrogant one took a power from | his mother. For he was ignorant, | thinking that there existed no other except [30] his mother alone. And when he saw the multitude | of the angels which he had created, then he exalted | himself above them.

"And when | the mother recognized that the garment of darkness | was imperfect, then she knew [35] that her consort had not agreed | with her. She repented **14** with much weeping. And the whole | pleroma heard the prayer of her repentance | and they praised on her behalf | the invisible, virginal [5] Spirit. (IV 22, 5-7: And | he consented; and when the invisible Spirit | had consented), the holy Spirit poured | over her from their whole pleroma. | For it was not her consort who came to her, | but he came to her through the pleroma | in order that he might correct her deficiency. And she was taken [10] up not to her own aeon |

but above her son, that she might be | in the ninth until she has corrected her | deficiency.

"And a voice came forth from the exalted | aeon-heaven: 'The Man exists and [15] the son of Man.' And the chief archon, Yaltabaoth, | heard (it) and thought that the | voice had come from his mother. | And he did not know from where it came. And | he taught them, the holy and perfect Mother-Father, [20] the complete foreknowledge, | the image of the invisible one who is the Father | of the all (and) through whom everything came into being, | the first Man. For he revealed his likeness | in a human form.

"And the [25] whole aeon of the chief archon trembled, | and the foundations of the abyss shook. And | of the waters which are above | matter, the underside was illuminated by | the appearance of his image which [30] had been revealed. And when all the authorities | and the chief archon looked, they | saw the whole region of the underside which was | illuminated. And through the light they saw | the form of the image in the water. **15**

"And he said to the authorities which attend him, | 'Come, let us create a man according to | the image of God and according to our likeness, that | his image may become a light for us.' [5] And they created by means of their respective powers | in correspondence with the characteristics which were given. And | each authority supplied a characteristic | in the form of the image which he had seen | in its natural (form). He created a being [10] according to the likeness of the first, perfect Man. | And they said, 'Let us call him | Adam, that his name may become | a power of light for us.'

"And the powers | began: the first one, goodness, created [15] a bone-soul; and the second, foreknowledge, | created a sinew-soul; the third, | divinity, created a flesh-soul; | and the fourth, the lordship, created | a marrow-soul; the fifth, kingdom [20] created a blood-soul; the sixth, | envy, created a skin-soul; | the seventh, understanding, created | a hair-soul. And the multitude | of the angels attended him and they received [25] from the powers the seven substances | of the natural (form) in order to create | the proportions of the limbs and the proportion of the rump | and the proper working together of each | of the parts.

"The first one began to create [30] the head. Eteraphaope-Abron created | his head; Meniggesstroeth created | the brain; Asterechme (created) the right eye; | Thaspomocha (created) the left eye; | Yeronumos (created) the right ear; Bissoum (created) [35] the left ear; Akioreim (created) the nose; **16** Banen-Ephroum (created) the lips; Amen (created) | the

teeth; Ibikan (created) the molars; Basiliademe (created) | the tonsils; Achcha (created) the uvula; Adaban (created) | the neck; Chaaman (created) the vertebrae; [5] Dearcho (created) the throat; Tebar (created) the (IV 25, 4-5: right shoulder; | [.... (created) the]) left | shoulder; Mniarcon (created) the (IV 25, 6-7: right | elbow; [.... (created) the]) left elbow; | Abitrion (created) the right underarm; | Evanthen (created) the left underarm; Krys (created) the right hand; | Beluai (created) the left hand; Treneu [10] (created) the fingers of the right hand; Balbel | (created) the fingers of the left hand; Kriman (created) the nails | of the hands; Astrops (created) the right breast; | Barroph (created) the left breast; Baoum (created) the right | shoulder joint; Ararim (created) the left shoulder joint; Areche (created) [15] the belly; Phthave (created) the navel; Senaphim (created) | the abdomen; Arachethopi (created) the right | ribs; Zabedo (created) the left ribs; | Barias (created) the (IV 25, 19-20: right | hip; Phnouth the) left hip; Abenlenarchei (created) | the marrow; Chnoumeninorin (created) the bones; [20] Gesole (created) the stomach; Agromauna (created) | the heart; Bano (created) the lungs; Sostrapal (created) | the liver; Anesimalar (created) the spleen; Thopithro | (created) the intestines; Biblo (created) the kidneys; | Roeror (created) the sinews; Taphreo (created) the spine [25] of the body; Ipouspoboba (created) the veins; | Bineborin (created) the arteries; Atoimenpsephei, | theirs are the breaths which are in all the limbs; | Entholleia (created) all the flesh; Bedouk (created) | the right buttock (?); Arabeei (created) the left penis; [30] Eilo (created) the testicles; Sorma (created) the genitals; Gorma-Kaiochlabar | (created) the right thigh; Nebrith (created) | the left thigh; Pserem (created) the kidneys of | the right leg; Asaklas (created) the left | kidney; Ormaoth (created) the right leg; [35] Emenun (created) the left leg; Knyx (created) the **17** right shin-bone; Tupelon (created) the left shin-bone; | Achiel (created) the right knee; Phnene (created) the | left knee; Phiouthrom (created) the right foot; | Boabel (created) its toes; Trachoun (created) [5] the left foot; Phikna (created) its toes; | Miamai (created) the nails of the feet; Labernioum – . |

"And those who were appointed over all of these | are: Zathoth, Armas, Kalila, Jabel, (IV 26, 19-20: Sabaoth, Cain, | Abel). And | those who are particularly active in the limbs [10] (are) the head Diolimodraza, the neck Yammeax, | the right shoulder Yakouib, the | left shoulder Verton, the right hand | Oudidi, the left one Arbao, the fingers of the right hand | Lampno, the fingers of the left hand [15] Leekaphar, the right breast Barbar, the | left breast Imae, the chest Pisandriaptes, | the

right shoulder joint Koade, the left shoulder joint | Odeor, the right ribs Asphixix, the left | ribs Synogchouta, the belly Arouph [20] the womb Sabalo, the right thigh | Charcharb, the left thigh Chthaon, | all the genitals Bathinoth, the right | leg Choux, the left leg Charcha, | the right shin-bone Aroer, the left shin-bone [25] Toechtha, the right knee Aol, the left | knee Charaner, the right foot | Bastan, its toes Archentechtha, the | left foot Marephnounth, its toes | Abrana.

"Seven have power over [30] all of these: Michael, Ouriel, | Asmenedas, Saphasatoel, Aarmouriam, | Richram, Amiorps. And the ones who are in charge over the senses | (are) Archendekta; and he who is in charge over the receptions | (is) Deitharbathas; and he who is in charge over the imagination [35] (is) Oummaa; and he who is over the composition **18** Aachiaram, and he who is over the whole impulse | Riaramnacho.

"And the origin of the demons | which are in the whole body is determined to be four: | heat, cold, wetness, [5] and dryness. And the mother of all of them is matter. | And he who reigns over the heat (is) Phloxopha; | and he who reigns over the cold | is Oroorrothos; and he who reigns over | what is dry (is) Erimacho; and he who reigns [10] over the wetness (is) Athuro. And the mother of all of these, | Onorthochrasaei, stands in their midst | since she is illimitable, and she mixes | with all of them. And she is truly matter, | for they are nourished by her.

"The four [15] chief demons are: Ephememphi who | belongs to pleasure, Yoko who belongs to desire, | Nenentophni who belongs to grief, Blaomen | who belongs to fear. And the mother of them all is | Aesthesis-Ouch-Epi-Ptoe. And from the four [20] demons passions came forth. | And from grief (came) envy, jealousy, | distress, trouble, pain, | callousness, anxiety, mourning, | etc. And from pleasure [25] much wickedness arises, and empty | pride, and similar things. | And from desire (comes) anger, wrath, | and bitterness, and bitter passion, | and unsatedness, and similar things. [30] And from fear (comes) dread, | fawning, agony, and shame. All of these | are like useful things as well as evil things. | But the insight into their true (character) is Anaro, | who is the head of the material soul, **19** for it belongs with the seven senses, Ouch-Epi-Ptoe. |

"This is the number of the angels: | together they are 365. They | all worked on it until, [5] limb for limb, the natural and | the material body was completed by them. Now there are | other ones in charge over the remaining passions | whom I did not mention to you. But if you | wish to know them, it is written in [10] the book of Zoroaster. And | all the angels and demons worked | until they had constructed the natural body.

| And their product was completely | inactive and motionless for a long time. [15]

"And when the mother wanted to retrieve | the power which she had given to the chief archon, | she petitioned the Mother-Father | of the All who is most merciful. He sent, | by means of the holy decree, the five lights [20] down upon the place of the angels of | the chief archon. They advised him that they should | bring forth the power of the mother. And they said | to Yaltabaoth, 'Blow into his face | something of your spirit and [25] his body will arise.' And he blew | into his face the spirit which is the power | of his mother; he did not know (this), for he exists | in ignorance. And the power | of the mother went out of [30] Yaltabaoth into the natural body | which they had fashioned after the image of the one who | exists from the beginning. The body moved and gained strength, | and it was luminous. |

"And in that moment the rest of the powers **20** became jealous, because he had come into being | through all of them and they had given their | power to the man, and his intelligence was greater | than that of those who had made him, and [5] greater than that of the chief archon. And when they recognized | that he was luminous, and that he could think better | than they, and that he was free from wickedness, they took | him and threw him into the lowest region | of all matter.

"But the blessed One, the Mother-Father, [10] the beneficent and merciful One, | had mercy on the power of the mother | which had been brought forth out of the chief archon, | for they (the archons) might gain power over the | natural and perceptible body. And he [15] sent, through his beneficent | Spirit and his great mercy, a helper | to Adam, luminous Epinoia | which comes out of him, who is called | Life. And she assists the whole creature, [20] by toiling with him and by restoring | him to his fullness and by | teaching him about the descent of his | seed (and) by teaching him about the way of ascent, | (which is) the way he came down. [25] And the luminous Epinoia was hidden in Adam, | in order that the archons might not know her, | but that the Epinoia might be a correction | of the deficiency of the mother.

"And the man came forth | because of the shadow of the light [30] which is in him. And his thinking | was superior to all those who had made him. | When they looked up they saw | that his thinking was superior. And they took | counsel with the whole array of archons [35] and angels. They took fire and earth **21** and water and mixed them together | with the four fiery winds. And they wrought them | together and caused a great | disturbance. And they brought him (Adam) into

the shadow of death in order that they might form (him) again | from earth and water and fire | and the spirit which originates in matter, which is | the ignorance of darkness and desire, | and their counterfeit spirit. This | is the tomb of the newly-formed body | with which the robbers had clothed the man, | the bond of forgetfulness; and he became a | mortal man. This is the first one who came down | and the first separation. But the Epinoia of the light which was in him, | she is the one who was to awaken his thinking.

"And | the archons took him and placed | him in paradise. And they said to him, | 'Eat, that is at leisure,' for | their luxury is bitter and their beauty is depraved. | And their luxury is deception and | their trees are godlessness and their fruit | is deadly poison and their | promise is death. And the tree of their | life they had placed in the midst of paradise. |

"And I shall teach you (pl.) | what is the mystery of their life, | which is the plan which they made together, | which is the likeness of their spirit. | The root of this (tree) is bitter and its branches | are death, its shadow is hate | and deception is in its leaves, | and its blossom is the ointment of evil, | and its fruit is death and | desire is its seed, and | it sprouts in darkness. The **22** dwelling place of those who taste from it is | Hades and the darkness is their place of rest. |

"But what they call | the tree of knowledge of good and | evil, which is the Epinoia of the light, | they stayed in front of it in order that he (Adam) might not | look up to his fullness and | recognize the nakedness of his shamefulness. | But it was I who brought about that they ate."

And | I said to the savior, "Lord, was it not the serpent | that taught Adam to eat?" | The savior smiled and said, "The serpent taught them | to eat from wickedness of begetting, | lust, (and) destruction, that he (Adam) might | be useful to him. And he (Adam) knew that he was | disobedient to him (the chief archon) due to light of the Epinoia | which is in him, which made him more correct in his | thinking than the chief archon. And (the latter) | wanted to bring about the power which he himself had given | him. And he brought a forgetfulness | over Adam.

And I said to the savior, "What is | the forgetfulness?" And he said, "It is not the way Moses | wrote (and) you heard. For he said in | his first book, 'He put him to sleep' (Gn 2: 21), but | (it was) in his perception. For also he said through the | prophet, 'I will make their | hearts heavy that they may not pay attention and may not | see' (Is 6: 10).

"Then the Epinoia of the light | hid herself in him (Adam). And the

chief archon wanted [30] to bring her out of his rib. | But the Epinoia of the light cannot be grasped. | Although darkness pursued her, it did not catch her. And | he brought a part of his power | out of him. And he made another creature [35] in the form of a woman according to the likeness of the Epinoia | which had appeared to him. And he brought **23** the part which he had taken from the power | of the man into the female creature, | and not as Moses said, | 'his rib-bone.'

"And he (Adam) saw the woman beside [5] him. And in that moment | the luminous Epinoia appeared, and she lifted | the veil which lay over his mind. | And he became sober from the drunkenness of darkness. | And he recognized his counter-image, and he said, [10] 'This is indeed bone of my bones | and flesh of my flesh.' Therefore | the man will leave his father and his | mother and he will cleave to his wife and they will | both be one flesh. For they [15] will send him his consort, | and he will leave his father and his mother. {....} [20]

"And our sister | Sophia (is) she who came down in innocence | in order to rectify her deficiency. | Therefore she was called Life, which is | the mother of the living, by the foreknowledge [25] of the sovereignty of heaven (IV 36, 18-20: and [ ] to him [ ].) And through her | they have tasted the perfect Knowledge. I appeared | in the form of an eagle on | the tree of knowledge, which is the Epinoia | from the foreknowledge of the pure light, [30] that I might teach them and awaken | them out of the depth of sleep. For they | were both in a fallen state and they | recognized their nakedness. The Epinoia | appeared to them as a light (and) she awakened [35] their thinking.

"And when Yaldabaoth | noticed that they withdrew from him, | he cursed his earth. He found the woman as she was **24** preparing herself for her husband. He was lord | over her though he did not know the mystery | which had come to pass through the holy decree. | And they were afraid to blame him. And [5] he showed his angels his | ignorance which is in him. And | he cast them out of paradise and | he clothed them in gloomy darkness. And the | chief archon saw the virgin who stood [10] by Adam, and that the luminous | Epinoia of life had appeared in her. | And Yaldabaoth was full of ignorance. | And when the foreknowledge of the All | noticed (it), she sent some and they snatched [15] life out of Eve.

"And the chief archon | seduced her and he begot in her | two sons; the first and the second | (are) Eloim and Yave. Eloim has a bear-face | and Yave has a cat-face. The one [20] is righteous but the other is unrighteous. (IV 38, 4-6: Yave | is righteous but Eloim is | unrighteous.) |

Yave he set | over the fire and the wind, and Eloim he set | over the water and | the earth. And these he called with the names [25] Cain and Abel with a view to deceive. |

"Now up to the present day | sexual intercourse continued due to the chief archon. | And he planted sexual desire | in her who belongs to Adam. And he produced through [30] intercourse the copies of the bodies, | and he inspired them with his counterfeit spirit. |

"And the two archons he set | over principalities so that | they might rule over the tomb. [35] And when Adam recognized the likeness of his own | foreknowledge, he begot the likeness **25** of the son of man. He called him Seth | according to the way of the race in the aeons. Likewise | the mother also sent down her spirit | which is in her likeness and a [5] copy of those who are in the pleroma, for she will | prepare a dwelling place for the aeons which will come | down. And he made them drink water of forgetfulness, | from the chief archon, in order that they might not | know from where they came. Thus [10] the seed remained for | a while assisting (him) in order that, when | the Spirit comes forth from | the holy aeons, he may raise up and | heal him from the deficiency, that the [15] whole pleroma may (again) become holy and | faultless."

And I said to the savior, | "Lord, will all the souls then be brought safely | into the pure light?" He answered | and said to me, "Great things [20] have arisen in your mind, for it is | difficult to explain them to others | except to those who are from | the immovable race. Those on whom the Spirit of life | will descend and (with whom) he will be with the power, [25] they will be saved and become perfect | and be worthy of the greatness and | be purified in that place from | all wickedness and the involvements in evil. | Then they have no other care than [30] the incorruption alone, to which they direct their attention | from here on, without anger or envy or jealousy | or desire and greed of | anything. They are not affected by | anything except the state of being in [35] the flesh alone, which they bear while looking expectantly | for the time when they will be met **26** by the receivers (of the body). Such | then are worthy of the imperishable, | eternal life and the calling. For they endure | everything and bear up under [5] everything, that they may finish | the good fight and inherit | eternal life."

I said to him, "Lord, | the souls of those who did not do these works, | (but) on whom the power and Spirit [10] descended, (IV 40, 24-25: will they be rejected?" He | answered and said to me, "If) the | Spirit (IV 40, 24-25: descended upon them), they will in any case be saved | and they will change (for the better). For the | power will descend on every

man, | for without it no one can stand. [15] And after they are born, then, | when the Spirit of life increases and | the power comes and strengthens that soul, | no one can lead it astray | with works of evil. [20] But those on whom the counterfeit spirit | descends are drawn by | him and they go astray."

And I | said, "Lord, where will the souls of these go | when they have come out of their [25] flesh?" And he smiled | and said to me, "The soul, in which the power | will become stronger than the counterfeit spirit, | is strong and it flees from | evil and, through [30] the intervention of the incorruptible one, it is saved | and it is taken up to the rest | of the aeons."

And I said, "Lord, | those, however, who have not known | to whom they belong, where will their souls [35] be?" And he said to me, | "In those the despicable spirit has **27** gained strength when they went astray. And he | burdens the soul and draws it | to the works of evil, and he casts | it down into forgetfulness. And after it [5] comes out of (the body), it is handed over to the authorities, | who came into being through the archon, and | they bind it with chains and cast | it into prison and consort with it | until it is liberated from the forgetfulness and [10] acquires knowledge. And if thus it | becomes perfect, it is saved."

And I | said, "Lord, how can the soul become smaller | and return into the nature | of its mother or into man?" Then [15] he rejoiced when I asked him this, and | he said to me, "Truly, you are blessed, | for you have understood! That soul | is made to follow another one (fem.), since the Spirit of | life is in it. It is saved through [20] him. It is not again cast | into another flesh."

And I said, | "Lord, these also who did not know but | have turned away, where will their | souls go?" Then he said to me, "To that place [25] where the angels of poverty go | they will be taken, the place | where there is no repentance. And | they will be kept for the day on which | those who have blasphemed the spirit will be tortured, [30] and they will be punished with eternal punishment." |

And I said, "Lord, | from where did the counterfeit spirit come?" | Then he said to me, "The Mother-Father | who is rich in mercy, the holy Spirit [35] in every way, the One who is merciful and **28** who sympathizes with you (pl.), i.e. the | Epinoia of the foreknowledge of light, | he raised up the offspring of the perfect | race and its thinking and the eternal [5] light of man. When | the chief archon realized that they were exalted | above him in the height – and they surpass | him in thinking

– then he wanted to seize their | thought, not knowing that they surpassed [10] him in thinking and that he will not be able | to seize them.

"He made a plan | with his authorities, which are his powers, and | they committed together adultery with Sophia, and | bitter fate was begotten through them, [15] which is the last of the changeable bonds. | And it is of a sort that | is interchangeable. And it is harder and | stronger than she with whom | the gods united and the angels and the demons [20] and all the generations until this day. | For from that fate | came forth every sin and | injustice and blasphemy and the chain | of forgetfulness and ignorance and every [25] severe command and serious sins | and great fears. And thus | the whole creation was made blind, | in order that they may not know God who is | above all of them. And because of the chain of forgetfulness [30] their sins were hidden. For they are bound with | measures and times and moments, | since it (fate) is lord over everything.

"And he (the chief archon) | repented for everything which had come into being | through him. This time he planned [35] to bring a flood **29** upon the work of man. But the greatness | of the light of the foreknowledge informed | Noah, and he proclaimed (it) to all the offspring | which are the sons of men. But [5] those who were strangers to him did not listen to him. | It is not as Moses said, | 'They hid themselves in an ark' (Gn 7: 7), but | they hid themselves in a place, not | only Noah but also many other people [10] from the immovable race. They went | into a place and hid themselves in a | luminous cloud. And he (Noah) recognized his authority, | and she who belongs to the light was with him, | having shone on them because [15] he (the chief archon) had brought darkness upon the whole earth. |

"And he made a plan with his powers. | He sent his angels to the daughters | of men, that they might take some of them for themselves | and raise offspring [20] for their enjoyment. And at first they did not succeed. | When they had no success, they gathered | together again and they made | a plan together. They created | a counterfeit spirit, who resembles the Spirit who had descended, [25] so as to pollute the souls through it. | And the angels changed themselves in their | likeness into the likeness of their (the daughters of men) mates, | filling them with the spirit of darkness, | which they had mixed for them, and with evil. [30] They brought gold and silver | and a gift and copper and iron | and metal and all kinds | of things. And they steered the people | who had followed them **30** into great troubles, by leading them astray | with many deceptions. They (the people) became old without having enjoy-

ment. | They died, not having found truth and | without knowing the God of truth. And [5] thus the whole creation became enslaved forever, | from the foundation of the world | until now. And they took women | and begot children out of the darkness according to | the likeness of their spirit. And they closed their hearts, [10] and they hardened themselves through the hardness | of the counterfeit spirit until now.

"I, | therefore, the perfect Pronoia of the all, | changed myself into my seed, for I existed | first, going on every road. [15] For I am the richness of the light; | I am the remembrance of the pleroma.

"And I | went into the realm of darkness and | I endured till I entered the middle | of the prison. And the foundations of chaos [20] shook. And I hid myself from them because of | their wickedness, and they did not recognize me.

"Again | I returned for the second time | and I went about. I came forth from those who belong to the light, | which is I the remembrance of the Pronoia. [25] I entered into the midst of darkness and | the inside of Hades, since I was seeking (to accomplish) | my task. And the foundations of chaos | shook, that they might fall down upon those who | are in chaos and might destroy them. [30] And again I ran up to my root of light | lest they be destroyed before | the time.

"Still for a third time | I went – I am the light | which exists in the light, I am [35] the remembrance of the Pronoia – that I might | enter into the midst of darkness and the inside **31** of Hades. And I filled my face with | the light of the completion of their aeon. | And I entered into the midst of their prison | which is the prison of the body. And [5] I said, 'He who hears, let him get up from the deep | sleep.' And he wept and shed tears. | Bitter tears he wiped from | himself and he said, 'Who is it that calls my | name, and from where has this hope come to me, [10] while I am in the chains of the prison?' And | I said, 'I am the Pronoia of the pure light; | I am the thinking of the virginal | Spirit, who raised you up to the honored | place. Arise and remember [15] that it is you who hearkened, and follow | your root, which is I, the merciful one, and | guard yourself against | the angels of poverty and the demons | of chaos and all those who ensnare you, [20] and beware of the | deep sleep and the enclosure of the inside | of Hades.'

"And I raised him up | and sealed him in the light | of the water with five seals, in order that [25] death might not have power over him from this time on.

"And | behold, now I shall go up to the perfect | aeon. I have completed everything for you | in your hearing. And I | have said everything

to you that you might write [30] them down and give them secretly to your fellow spirits, | for this is the mystery of the immovable race." |

And the savior presented these things to him that | he might write them down and keep them | secure. And he said to him, "Cursed be [35] everyone who will exchange these things for a gift | or for food or for | drink or for clothing or for any other such thing." **32** And these things were presented to him | in a mystery, and immediately | he disappeared from him. | And he went to his fellow disciples and related [5] to them what the savior had told him. |

Jesus Christ, Amen. |

The | Apocryphon | According to John

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS (II,*2*)

Introduced by

HELMUT KOESTER

Translated by

THOMAS O. LAMBDIN

The Gospel of Thomas is a collection of traditional sayings of Jesus. These sayings, or small groups of sayings (the numeration of the 114 sayings is not found in the manuscript, but is followed by most scholars today) are introduced in most instances by "Jesus said (to them)," sometimes by a question or a statement of the disciples. Only in one instance (13) is a saying expanded into a longer discourse between Jesus and the disciples. The sayings preserved in *The Gospel of Thomas* are of several types: wisdom sayings (proverbs), parables, eschatological sayings (prophecies), and rules for the community. They appear in this document in arrangement that does not reveal any overall plan of composition. On occasion, small groups of sayings are kept together by similarity in form or by catchword association.

The Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* was translated from the Greek. Fragments of this gospel in the original Greek version are extant in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1, 654 and 655, which had been discovered and published at the beginning of this century, but were identified as parts of *The Gospel of Thomas* only after the discovery of the Coptic Nag Hammadi library. The first of these Greek papyri contains sayings 26-30, 77, 31-33 (in this order!), the other two the sayings 1-7 and 36-40, respectively. At least one of these Greek fragments comes from a manuscript that was written before 200 C.E.; thus the Greek version of this gospel was used in Egypt as early as the second century.

The authorship of this gospel is attributed to Didymos Judas Thomas, that is, Judas "the twin" (both the Aramaic *thomas* and the Greek *didymos* mean "twin"). In the Syrian church, (Judas) Thomas was known as the brother of Jesus who founded the churches of the East, particularly of Edessa (in a somewhat later tradition, he even travels to India). Other Christian writings of the eastern churches have been attributed to the same apostle; to these belong the *Acts of Thomas* and most likely also *The Book of Thomas*, which was discovered as part of the Nag Hammadi library (II,*7*). The latter writing, as well as *The Gospel of Thomas*, were most likely written in Syria. It is doubtful, however, whether it was originally composed in Aramaic and then translated into Greek, although many of the sayings, like the oldest sayings of the canonical gospels, were certainly first circulated in Aramaic, the language of Jesus.

A large number of the sayings of *The Gospel of Thomas* have parallels in the gospels of the New Testament, in the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke), as well as the Gospel of John (parallels with the latter are especially strik-

ing; cf., e.g., sayings 13, 19, 24, 38, 49, 92). Some of the sayings are known to occur also in noncanonical gospels, especially in the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* (cf. saying 2) and the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (cf. saying 22), which are both attested for the second century by Clement of Alexandria (floruit 180-200). However, a direct dependence of *The Gospel of Thomas* upon another noncanonical gospel is very unlikely. More problematic is the relationship of *The Gospel of Thomas* to the canonical gospels. Whereas the latter all contain large segments of narrative materials, no traces of such materials are found in the former. Already this makes it unlikely that our document can be considered as an eclectic excerpt from the gospels of the New Testament. If one considers the form and wording of the individual sayings in comparison with the form in which they are preserved in the New Testament, *The Gospel of Thomas* almost always appears to have preserved a more original form of the traditional saying (in a few instances, where this is not the case, the Coptic translation seems to have been influenced by the translator's knowledge of the New Testament gospels), or presents versions which are independently based on more original forms. More original and shorter forms are especially evident in the parables of Thomas (cf. sayings 8, 9, 57, 63, 64, 65, 96, cf. 109).

In its literary genre, *The Gospel of Thomas* is more akin to one of the sources of the canonical gospels, namely the so-called Synoptic Sayings Source (often called "Q" from the German word *Quelle*, "source"), which was used by both Matthew and Luke. Indeed, many of the sayings found in our document were also parts of this source of the gospels of the New Testament. On the other hand, *The Gospel of Thomas* also contains quite different older sayings, paralleled in the Gospel of John, in Mark 4:21-25, and even in 1 Corinthians (cf. saying 17 with 1 Co 2:9). Moreover, the sayings about the future coming of the Son of Man, so characteristic for "Q" (cf. Lk 12:8, 10; 17:22, 24, 26), are completely missing. *The Gospel of Thomas* is, therefore, a closely related but independent collection of sayings. In its most original form, it may well date from the first century (the middle of the first century is usually considered the best date for the composition of "Q").

Neither the Coptic translation nor the Greek fragments seem to have preserved this gospel in its oldest form. Even the comparison of the extant Coptic and Greek texts demonstrates that the text was subject to change in the process of transmission. The oldest form most likely contained wisdom sayings and eschatological sayings of Jesus, including a number of parables. The sayings of this type, even those which have no parallels in the gospels of the New Testament (especially the parables 97 and 98), may belong to the oldest strata of the tradition. Whereas "Q" emphasized the eschatological expectation of the future coming of the "Kingdom of God," *The Gospel of Thomas* in its oldest form, stressed the finding of wisdom, or of the "Kingdom of the Father," in the knowledge (*gnosis*) of oneself (cf. saying 3), guided by the sayings of Jesus. This understanding of salvation is similar to that expressed in many passages of the Gospel of John in which the finding of truth and life is bound to the words of Jesus (Jn 6:63; 8:51). The first saying of *The Gospel of Thomas* states this programmatically: the interpretation of the sayings is identical with the finding of eternal life.

In the further history and growth of *The Gospel of Thomas*, this wisdom interpretation of the sayings of Jesus is more clearly developed under the influence

of gnostic theology, though it is not possible to ascribe the work to any particular gnostic school or sect. The theme of recognizing oneself is further elaborated in sayings (cf. 50, 51) which speak of the knowledge of one's divine origin which even Adam did not share, although "he came into being from a great power" (saying 85). Salvation is obtained in stripping off everything that is of this world (cf. sayings 21a, 37, 56). The disciples must "pass by" the present corruptible existence (saying 42). The existence of the ideal gnostic disciple is characterized by the term "solitary one," which describes the one who has left behind everything that binds human beings to the world (cf. sayings 16, 23, 30, and 76). Even women can obtain this goal, if they achieve the "maleness" of the solitary existence (saying 114).

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS

II 32, 10-51, 28

These are the secret sayings which the living Jesus | spoke and which Didymos Judas Thomas wrote down. |

(1) And he said, | "Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will | not experience death."

(2) Jesus said, [15] "Let him who seeks continue seeking until he | finds. When he finds, he will | become troubled. When he becomes troubled, he will | be astonished, and he will | rule over the all."

(3) Jesus said, "If [20] those who lead you say to you, | 'See, the kingdom is in the sky,' | then the birds of the sky will precede you. | If they say to you, 'It is in the sea,' | then the fish will precede you. [25] Rather, the kingdom is inside of you, and | it is outside of you. When you come to | know yourselves, then you will become known, **33** and you will realize that it is you who are | the sons of the living father. But if | you will not know yourselves, you | dwell in poverty and it is you [5] who are that poverty."

(4) Jesus said, "The man old in days will not | hestitate to ask | a small child seven | days old about the place of life, and | he will live. For many who are first will become last, [10] and they will become one and the same."

(5) Jesus said, | "Recognize what is in your (sg.) sight, | and that which is hidden from you (sg.) will become plain | to you (sg.). For there is nothing hidden which will | not become manifest."

(6) His disciples questioned him [15] and said to him, "Do you want us to fast? | How shall we pray? Shall we give alms? | What diet shall we observe?"

Jesus said, "Do not tell lies,' | and do not do what you hate, for [20] all things are plain in the sight | of heaven. For nothing hidden will not | become manifest, and nothing covered | will remain without being uncovered."

(7) Jesus said, | "Blessed is the lion which [25] becomes man when consumed by | man; and cursed is the man | whom the lion consumes, and | the lion becomes man."

(8) And he said, | "The man is like a wise fisherman [30] who cast his net | into the sea and drew it up | from the sea full of small fish. | Among them the wise fisherman found a fine large fish. | He threw [35] all the small fish **34** back into the sea and chose the large | fish without difficulty. Whoever has ears | to hear, let him hear."

(9) Jesus said, "Now | the sower went out, took a handful (of seeds), [5] and scattered them. Some fell on the road; | the birds came and gathered them up. Others | fell on rock, did not take root | in the soil, and did not produce ears. | And others fell on thorns; [10] they choked the seed(s) and worms ate them. | And others fell on the good soil | and it produced good fruit: | it bore sixty per measure and a hundred and twenty per measure."

(10) Jesus said, "I have cast fire upon [15] the world, and see, I am guarding it | until it blazes."

(11) Jesus said, "This heaven will | pass away, and the one above it will pass away. | The dead are not alive, and the living | will not die. In the days when you consumed [20] what is dead, you made it what is alive. | When you come to dwell in the light, | what will you do? On the day when you | were one you became two. But when | you become two, what [25] will you do?"

(12) The disciples said to Jesus, | "We know that you will depart from us. Who is | to be our leader?"

Jesus said to them, | "Wherever you are, you are to | go to James the righteous, [30] for whose sake heaven and earth came into being."

(13) Jesus said | to his disciples, "Compare me to someone and | tell me whom I am like."

Simon Peter | said to him, "You are like a | righteous angel."

Matthew said to him, **35** "You are like a wise philosopher."

Thomas said to him, | "Master, my mouth is wholly incapable | of saying whom you are like."

Jesus said, [5] "I am not your (sg.) master. Because you (sg.) have drunk, you (sg.) have become intoxicated | from the bubbling spring which I | have measured out."

And he took him and withdrew | and told him three things. | When Thomas returned to his companions, they asked him, [10] "What did Jesus say to you?"

Thomas said to them, | "If I tell you one of the things | which he told me, you will pick up stones and | throw them at me; a fire will come out of | the stones and burn you up." [15]

(14) Jesus said to them, "If you fast, you will | give rise to sin for yourselves; and if you | pray, you will be condemned; and | if you give alms, you will do | harm to your spirits. When you [20] go into any land and | walk about in the districts, if they receive | you, eat what they will set before you, | and heal the sick among them. | For what goes into your mouth [25] will not defile you, but that which | issues from your mouth – it is that which | will defile you."

(15) Jesus said, "When | you see one who was not born | of woman, prostrate yourselves on [30] your faces and worship him. That one | is your father."

(16) Jesus said, | "Men think, perhaps, that it is peace which I have come to cast | upon the world. | They do not know that it is dissension which I have come to cast [35] upon the earth: fire, sword, | and war. For there will be five **36** in a house: three will be against | two, and two against three, the father | against the son, and the son against the father. | And they will stand solitary." [5]

(17) Jesus said, "I shall give you what | no eye has seen and what no | ear has heard and what no hand has touched | and what has never occurred to the human | mind."

(18) The disciples said to Jesus, "Tell [10] us how our end will be." |

Jesus said, "Have you discovered, then, | the beginning, that you look for | the end? For where the beginning is, | there will the end be. Blessed is [15] he who will take his place in the beginning; | he will know the end and will not experience | death."

(19) Jesus said, "Blessed is | he who came into being before he came into being. | If you become my disciples [20] and listen to my words, these stones | will minister to you. | For there are five trees for you in Paradise | which remain undisturbed summer and winter | and whose leaves do not fall. [25] Whoever becomes acquainted with them will not experience death." |

(20) The disciples said to Jesus, "Tell | us what the kingdom of heaven is | like."

He said to them, "It is like | a mustard seed. It is the smallest of [30] all seeds. But when it | falls on tilled soil, it | produces a great plant and becomes | a shelter for birds of the sky."

(21) Mary said to Jesus, "Whom are your disciples [35] like?"

He said, "They are like **37** children who have settled in a field | which is not theirs. When the owners of the field come, | they will say, 'Let us have back our field.' | They (will) undress in their presence [5] in order to let them have back their field and to give | it back to them. Therefore I say, | if the owner of a house knows that the thief is coming, | he will begin his vigil before he comes and will not | let him dig through into his house of his [10] domain to carry away his goods. You (pl.), | then, be on your guard against the world. Arm | yourselves with great strength | lest the robbers find a way to come | to you, for the difficulty which you expect [15] will (surely) materialize. Let there be | among you a man of understanding. | When the grain ripened, he came quickly | with his sickle in his hand and reaped it. | Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear." [20]

(22) Jesus saw infants being suckled. He said to | his disciples, "These infants being suckled | are like those who enter the | kingdom."

They said to him, "Shall we then, as children, | enter the kingdom?"

Jesus said to them, [25] "When you make the two one, and | when you make the inside like the outside | and the outside like the inside, and the above | like the below, and when | you make the male and the female one and the same, [30] so that the male not be male nor | the female female; and when you fashion | eyes in place of an eye, and a hand | in place of a hand, and a foot in place | of a foot, and a likeness in place of a likeness; [35] then will you enter [the kingdom]." **38**

(23) Jesus said, "I shall choose you, one out | of a thousand, and two out of ten thousand, and | they shall stand as a single one." |

(24) His disciples said to him, "Show us the place [5] where you are, since it is necessary for us | to seek it."

He said to them, "Whoever has | ears, let him hear. There is light | within a man of light, | and he lights up the whole world. If he [10] does not shine, he is darkness."

(25) Jesus said, "Love | your (sg.) brother like your soul, guard him | like the pupil of your eye."

(26) Jesus said, "You (sg.) see the mote | in your brother's eye, | but you do not see the beam in your own eye. When [15] you cast the beam out of your own | eye, then you will see clearly to cast the mote | from your brother's eye."

(27) ⟨Jesus said,⟩ "If you do not fast | as regards the world, you will not find the kingdom. | If you do not observe the Sabbath as a Sabbath, [20] you will not see the father." |

(28) Jesus said, "I took my place in the midst of the world, | and I appeared to them in flesh. | I found all of them intoxicated; I found none | of them thirsty. And my soul became afflicted [25] for the sons of men, because they are blind | in their hearts and do not have sight; | for empty they came into the world, | and empty too they seek to leave the world. | But for the moment they are intoxicated. [30] When they shake off their wine, then they will | repent."

(29) Jesus said, "If the flesh | came into being because of spirit, it is a wonder. | But if spirit came into being because of the body, | it is a wonder of wonders. Indeed, I am amazed **39** at how this great wealth | has made its home in this poverty."

(30) Jesus said, | "Where there are three gods, | they are gods. Where there are two or one, I [5] am with him."

(31) Jesus said, "No prophet | is accepted in his own village; no physician heals | those who know him."

(32) Jesus said, | "A city being built on a high mountain | and fortified cannot fall, [10] nor can it be hidden."

(33) Jesus said, "Preach from your (pl.) housetops | that which you (sg.) will | hear in your (sg.) ear. | For no one lights a lamp and | puts it under a bushel, nor does he put it in a [15] hidden place, but rather he sets it on a lampstand | so that everyone who enters | and leaves will see its | light."

(34) Jesus said, "If a blind man leads | a blind man, they will both fall [20] into a pit."

(35) Jesus said, "It is not possible | for anyone to enter the house of a strong man | and take it by force unless he binds | his hands; then he will (be able to) ransack | his house."

(36) Jesus said, "Do not be concerned from [25] morning until evening and from evening | until morning about what you will wear." |

(37) His disciples said, "When | will you become revealed to us and when | shall we see you?"

Jesus said, "When [30] you disrobe without being | ashamed and take up your garments | and place them under your feet | like little children and | tread on them, then [will you see] **40** the son of the living one, and you will not be | afraid."

(38) Jesus said, "Many times have you | desired to hear these words | which I am saying to you, and you have [5] no one else to hear them from. There will be days | when you will look for me and | will not find me."

(39) Jesus said, "The pharisees | and the scribes have taken the keys

| of knowledge (gnosis) and hidden them. They themselves have not entered, [10] nor have they allowed to enter those who wish to. | You, however, be as wise | as serpents and as innocent as | doves."

(40) Jesus said, "A grapevine has been | planted outside of the father, but being [15] unsound, it will be pulled up by its roots and | destroyed."

(41) Jesus said, "Whoever has something in his | hand will receive more, and whoever has nothing | will be deprived of even the little he has." |

(42) Jesus said, "Become passers-by." [20]

(43) His disciples said to him, | "Who are you, that you should say these things to us?"

〈Jesus said to them,〉 "You do not realize who I am | from what I say to you, | but you have become like | the Jews, for they (either) love the tree and hate [25] its fruit (or) love the fruit | and hate the tree."

(44) Jesus said, "Whoever | blasphemes against the father will be forgiven, and | whoever blasphemes against the son will be forgiven, | but whoever blasphemes against the holy spirit [30] will not be forgiven either on earth | or in heaven."

(45) Jesus said, "Grapes are not harvested | from thorns, nor are figs gathered | from thistles, for they do not produce fruit. | A good man brings forth **41** good from his storehouse; an evil | man brings forth evil things from | his evil storehouse, which is in his heart, and | says evil things. For out of [5] the abundance of the heart he brings forth evil | things."

(46) Jesus said, "Among those born of women, | from Adam until John | the Baptist, there is no one so superior to John the Baptist | that his eyes should not be lowered (before him). [10] Yet I have said, whichever one of you | comes to be a child will be acquainted with the kingdom | and will become superior to John."

(47) Jesus said, | "It is impossible for a man to mount two horses | or to stretch two bows. And it is impossible [15] for a servant to serve two masters; | otherwise, he will honor the one | and treat the other contemptuously. No man drinks old wine | and immediately desires to drink new wine. | And new wine is not put into old wineskins, [20] lest they burst; nor | is old wine put into a new wineskin, lest | it spoil it. An old patch is not sewn into a new garment, | because a tear would result." |

(48) Jesus said, "If two make peace with [25] each other in this one house, they will say | to the mountain, 'Move away,' and it will move | away."

(49) Jesus said, "Blessed are the | solitary and elect, for you will | find the kingdom. For you are from it, [30] and to it you will return." |

(50) Jesus said, "If they say to you, | 'Where did you come from?', say to them, | 'We came from the light, the place | where the light came into being on [35] its own accord and established [itself] **42** and became manifest through their image.' | If they say to you, 'Is it you?', say, | 'We are its children, and we are the elect | of the living father.' If they ask you, [5] 'What is the sign of your father in | you?', say to them, 'It is movement and | repose.' "

(51) His disciples said to him, | "When will the repose of | the dead come about, and when [10] will the new world come?"

He said to them, | "What you look forward to has already come, but | you do not recognize it." |

(52) His disciples said to him, "Twenty-four | prophets spoke in Israel, [15] and all of them spoke in you." |

He said to them, "You have omitted the one living in | your presence and have spoken (only) of the | dead."

(53) His disciples said to him, | "Is circumcision beneficial or not?"

He said [20] to them, "If it were beneficial, their father | would beget them already circumcised from their mother. | Rather, the true circumcision in spirit has | become completely profitable."

(54) Jesus said, "Blessed are the poor, | for yours is the kingdom of heaven." [25]

(55) Jesus said, "Whoever does not hate his father | and his mother cannot become a disciple to me. | And whoever does not hate his brothers and | sisters and take up his cross in my way | will not be worthy of me." [30]

(56) Jesus said, "Whoever has come to understand the world has found (only) | a corpse, and whoever has found a corpse | is superior to the world." |

(57) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the father is like | a man who had [good] seed. [35] His enemy came by night **43** and sowed weeds among the good seed. | The man did not allow them to pull up | the weeds; he said to them, 'I am afraid that | you will go intending to pull up the weeds [5] and pull up the wheat along with them.' | For on the day of the harvest the weeds will be plainly visible, | and they will be pulled up and burned."

(58) Jesus said, | "Blessed is the man who has suffered | and found life."

(59) Jesus said, "Take heed of the [10] living one while you are alive, lest you die | and seek to see him and be unable | to do so."

(60) ⟨They saw⟩ a Samaritan carrying | a lamb on his way to Judea. | He said to his disciples, "That man is round about the [15] lamb."

They said to him, "So that he may | kill it and eat it."

He said to them, "While | it is alive, he will not eat it, but only when he has | killed it and it has become a corpse."

They said to him, | "He cannot do so otherwise."

He said to them, [20] "You too, look for a | place for yourselves within repose, | lest you become a corpse and be | eaten."

(61) Jesus said, "Two will rest | on a bed: the one will die, and the other [25] will live."

Salome said, "Who are you, | man, that you ... have come up on | my couch and eaten from my | table?"

Jesus said to her, "I am he | who exists from the undivided. [30] I was given some of the things of my father."

⟨...⟩ "I | am your disciple."

⟨...⟩ "Therefore I say, | if he is destroyed he will be filled | with light, but if he is | divided, he will be filled with darkness."

(62) Jesus said, "It [35] is to those [who are worthy of **44** my] mysteries that I tell my mysteries. Do not let your (sg.) left hand know | what your (sg.) right hand is doing."

(63) Jesus said, | There was a rich man who had | much money. He said, 'I shall put [5] my money to use so that I may sow, reap, | plant, and fill my storehouse with produce, | with the result that I shall lack nothing.' Such were | his intentions, but | that same night he died. Let him who has ears [10] hear."

(64) Jesus said, "A man | had received visitors. And when he had prepared | the dinner, he sent his servant to | invite the guests. He went to | the first one and said to him, 'My master invites [15] you.' He said, 'I have claims | against some merchants. They are coming to me this evening. | I must go and give them my orders. I ask to be excused | from the dinner.' He went to another | and said to him, 'My master has invited you.' [20] He said to him, 'I have just bought a house and | am required for the day. I shall not have any spare time.' | He went to another and said to him, 'My master | invites you.' He said to him, 'My friend | is going to get married, and I am to prepare the banquet. [25] I shall not be able to come. I ask to be excused from the dinner.' | He went to another and said to him, 'My master | invites you.' He said to him, 'I have just bought | a farm, and I am on my way to collect the rent. I shall not be able to come. | I ask to be excused.' The servant returned and said [30] to his master, 'Those whom you invited to | the din-

ner have asked to be excused.' The master said to | his servant, 'Go outside to the streets | and bring back those whom you happen to meet, so that | they may dine.' Businessmen and merchants [35] [will] not enter the places of my father." **45**

(65) He said, "There was a good man who owned | a vineyard. He leased it to tenant farmers | so that they might work it and he might collect the produce | from them. He sent his servant so that [5] the tenants might give him the produce of | the vineyard. They seized his servant | and beat him, all but killing him. | The servant went back and told his master. | The master said, 'Perhaps he did not recognize them.' [10] He sent another servant. The tenants beat | this one as well. Then the owner sent | his son and said, 'Perhaps they will show respect | to my son.' Because the tenants | knew that it was he who was the heir [15] to the vineyard, they seized him and killed him. | Let him who has ears hear." |

(66) Jesus said, "Show me the stone which | the builders have rejected. That one is the | cornerstone."

(67) Jesus said, "If one who knows the all [20] still feels a personal deficiency, he is completely deficient." |

(68) Jesus said, "Blessed are you when | you are hated and persecuted. | Wherever you have been persecuted | they will find no place." [25]

(69) Jesus said, "Blessed are they who have been persecuted | within themselves. It is they | who have truly come to know the father. | Blessed are the hungry, for | the belly of him who desires will be filled."

(70) Jesus said, [30] "That which you have will save you | if you bring it forth from yourselves. | That which you do not have within you [will] kill you | if you do not have it within you." |

(71) Jesus said, "I shall [destroy this] house, [35] and no one will be able to build it [. . .]" **46**

(72) [A man said] to him, "Tell my brothers | to divide my father's possessions | with me."

He said to him, "O man, who | has made me a divider?"

He turned to [5] his disciples and said to them, "I am not a divider, | am I?"

(73) Jesus said, "The harvest | is great but the laborers are few. | Beseech the lord, therefore, to send out laborers | to the harvest."

(74) He said, "O lord, there are [10] many around the drinking trough, but there is nothing in | the cistern."

(75) Jesus said, "Many are standing | at the door, but it is the solitary who will enter | the bridal chamber."

(76) Jesus said, | "The kingdom of the father is like a [15] merchant who had a consignment of merchandise | and who discovered a pearl. That merchant | was shrewd. He sold the merchandise | and bought the pearl alone for himself. | You too, seek [20] his unfailing and enduring treasure | where no moth comes near | to devour and no worm destroys." |

(77) Jesus said, "It is I who am the light which is above | them all. It is I who am the all. [25] From me did the all come forth, and unto me did the all | extend. Split a piece of wood, and I | am there. Lift up the stone, and you will | find me there."

(78) Jesus said, "Why | have you come out into the desert? To see a reed [30] shaken by the wind? And to see | a man clothed in fine garments | [like your] kings and your great **47** men? Upon them are the fine garments, | and they are unable to discern | the truth."

(79) A woman from the crowd said to him, | "Blessed are the womb which [5] bore you and the breasts which | nourished you."

He said to [her], | "Blessed are those who have heard | the word of the father and have truly kept it. | For there will be days [10] when you (pl.) will say, 'Blessed are the womb | which has not conceived and the breasts which have not | given milk.' "

(80) Jesus said, "He who has recognized | the world has found the body, but he who has found | the body is superior to the world." [15]

(81) Jesus said, "Let him who has grown rich | be king, and let him who possesses power | renounce it."

(82) Jesus said, "He who is near | me is near the fire, and he who is far | from me is far from the kingdom."

(83) Jesus said, [20] "The images are manifest to man, | but the light in them remains concealed | in the image of the light of the father. He will | become manifest, but his image will remain concealed | by his light."

(84) Jesus said, [25] "When you see your likeness, you | rejoice. But when you see | your images which came into being before you, | and which neither die nor become manifest, | how much you will have to bear!"

(85) Jesus said, [30] "Adam came into being from a great | power and a great wealth, | but he did not become worthy of you. | For had he been worthy, [he would] not [have experienced] | death."

(86) Jesus said, "[The foxes **48** have their holes] and the birds have | their nests, but the son of man | has no place to lay his head and | rest."

(87) Jesus said, "Wretched [5] is the body that is dependent upon a body, | and wretched is the soul that is dependent | on these two."

(88) Jesus said, "The angels | and the prophets will come to you and | give to you those things you (already) have. And [10] you too, give them those things which you have, | and say to yourselves, 'When | will they come and take what is theirs?' " |

(89) Jesus said, "Why do you wash the outside | of the cup? Do you not realize that [15] he who made the inside is the same one | who made the outside?"

(90) Jesus said, | "Come unto me, for my yoke is easy | and my lordship is mild, | and you will find repose for [20] yourselves."

(91) They said to him, "Tell us | who you are so that we may believe in you." |

He said to them, "You read the face of the sky | and of the earth, but you have not recognized | the one who is before you, and [25] you do not know how to read this moment." |

(92) Jesus said, "Seek and you will find. Yet, what | you asked me about in former times and which I did not | tell you then, now | I do desire to tell, but you do not inquire after [30] it."

(93) ⟨Jesus said,⟩ "Do not give what is holy to dogs, lest | they throw them on the dung heap. Do not throw the | pearls [to] swine, lest they ... it | [...]."

(94) Jesus [said], "He who seeks will find, | and [he who knocks] will be let in." [35]

(95) [Jesus said], "If you have money, **49** do not lend it at interest, but give [it] to one | from whom you will not get it back."

(96) Jesus said, | "The kingdom of the father is like [a certain] woman. She | took a little leaven, [concealed] it in [5] some dough, and made it into large loaves. | Let him who has ears hear." |

(97) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the [father] is like | a certain woman who was carrying a [jar] full of meal. While she was walking [on the] road, [10] still some distance from home, the handle of the jar broke | and the meal emptied out behind her [on] the road. | She did not realize it; she had noticed no | accident. When she reached her house, | she set the jar down and found it [15] empty."

(98) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the father | is like a certain man who wanted to kill | a powerful man. In his own house he drew | his sword and stuck it into the wall | in order to find out whether his hand could carry through. [20] Then he slew the powerful man." |

(99) The disciples said to him, "Your brothers | and your mother are standing outside." |

He said to them, "Those here | who do the will of my father are [25]

my brothers and my mother. It is they who will | enter the kingdom of my father." |

(100) They showed Jesus a gold coin and said to him, | "Caesar's men demand taxes from us." |

He said to them, "Give Caesar what belongs [30] to Caesar, give God what belongs to God, | and give me what is mine." |

(101) ⟨Jesus said,⟩ "Whoever does not hate his [father] and his | mother as I do cannot become a [disciple] to me. | And whoever does [not] love his [father and] his [35] mother as I do cannot become a [disciple to] | me. For my mother [...], **50** but [my] true [mother] gave me life." |

(102) Jesus said, "Woe to the pharisees, for | they are like a dog sleeping in the | manger of oxen, for neither does he eat [5] nor does he [let] the oxen eat."

(103) Jesus said, | "Fortunate is the man who knows | where the brigands will enter, | so that [he] may get up, muster his | domain, and arm himself [10] before they invade." |

(104) They said to Jesus, "Come, let us pray today | and let us fast."

Jesus said, "What | is the sin that I have committed, or wherein have I been defeated? | But when the bridegroom leaves [15] the bridal chamber, then let them | fast and pray."

(105) Jesus said, | "He who knows the father and the mother will be called | the son of a harlot."

(106) Jesus said, | "When you make the two one, you will become [20] the sons of man, and when you | say, 'Mountain, move away,' it will | move away."

(107) Jesus said, "The kingdom is like | a shepherd who had a hundred | sheep. One of them, the largest, went astray. [25] He left the ninety-nine and looked for that one | until he found it. When he had gone to such trouble, he said | to the sheep, 'I care for you more than the ninety-nine.' " |

(108) Jesus said, "He who will drink from my mouth | will become like me. I myself shall become [30] he, and the things that are hidden will be revealed to him." |

(109) Jesus said, "The kingdom is like a man | who had a | [hidden] treasure in his field without knowing it. | And [after] he died, he left it to his [35] [son]. The son [did] not know (about the treasure). He inherited **51** the field and sold [it]. And the one who bought it | went plowing and [found] the treasure. | He began to lend money at interest to whomever he wished." |

(110) Jesus said, "Whoever finds the world [5] and becomes rich, let him renounce the world." |

(111) Jesus said, "The heavens and the earth will be rolled up | in your presence. And the one who lives from | the living one will not see death." Does not Jesus | say, "Whoever finds himself [10] is superior to the world"?

(112) Jesus said, "Woe | to the flesh that depends on the soul; woe | to the soul that depends on the flesh." |

(113) His disciples said to him, | "When will the kingdom come?"

⟨Jesus said,⟩ "It will not come by [15] waiting for it. It will not be a matter of saying 'here | it is' or 'there it is'. Rather, the kingdom | of the father is spread out upon the earth, and | men do not see it."

(114) Simon Peter said | to them, "Let Mary leave us, [20] for women are not worthy of life."

Jesus said, | "I myself shall lead her | in order to make her male, so that | she too may become a living spirit resembling | you males. For every woman who will make herself [25] male will enter the kingdom | of heaven." |

The Gospel |
According to Thomas

THE GOSPEL OF PHILIP (II,3)

Introduced and translated by

WESLEY W. ISENBERG

The Gospel of Philip is a compilation of statements pertaining primarily to the meaning and value of sacraments within the context of a Valentinian conception of the human predicament and life after death.

Like the gospels of the New Testament canon these statements employ a variety of literary types: aphorism, analogy, parable, paraenesis, polemic, narrative dialogue, dominical sayings, biblical exegesis, and dogmatic propositions. However, *The Gospel of Philip* is not a gospel like one of the New Testament gospels. To be sure, it does provide the occasional word or deed of Jesus. It contains seventeen sayings of Jesus, nine of which are citations and interpretations of Jesus' words already found in the canonical gospels (55,33-34; 57,3-5; 68,8-12; 68,26-27; 72,33-73,1; 77,18; 83,11-13; 84,7-9; 85,29-31). The new sayings (55,37-56,3; 58,10-14; 59,25-27; 63,29-30; 64,2-9; 64,10-12; 67,30-35; and 74,25-27), identified by the formula introducing them ("he said," "the Lord said," or "the Savior said") are brief and enigmatic and are best interpreted from a gnostic perspective. There are also a few stories about Jesus; they are similar to those in the early Christian apocryphal gospels. During a revelation on a mountain he appeared larger than life to his disciples (57,28-58,10). His three female companions were each named Mary (59,6-11), though he had an apparent preference for Mary Magdalene (63,32-36). After he had put seventy-two colors into a single vat in the dye-works of Levi, they coalesced into white (63,25-30). Philip the apostle is said to be the source of the story that Joseph the carpenter made the cross on which his offspring later hung (73,8-15).

These few sayings and stories about Jesus, however, are not set in any kind of narrative framework like one of the New Testament gospels. In fact, *The Gospel of Philip* is not organized in a way that can be conveniently outlined. Although some continuity is achieved through an association of ideas (cf. 51,29-52,35), a series of contrasts) or by catchwords (cf. 77,15-78,24, the word *love*), the line of thought is rambling and disjointed. Complete changes of subject are common.

The text gives the impression of logical coherence because of the recurrence of certain themes (e.g., the meaning of the names of Jesus, 56,3-15; 62,7-17; 63,21-24; the need to experience resurrection before one dies, 56,15-20; 56,26-57,22; 66,16-23; 73,1-8; putting on light to escape the hostile powers, 70,5-9; 76,22-77-1; 86,4-10), but this coherence is probably more coincidental than planned.

It is possible that the compiler of this collection purposely disjoined what were once whole paragraphs of thought and distributed the pieces in various places in this work. A clear thought results if one joins 70,5-9 with 76,22-77,1 and 66,7-29, in that order. Indefinite pronouns gain proper antecedents in the process. Similarly 75,13-14 seems to provide the theme amplified by 61,36-62,5. In 63,5-11 one has the analogy prefacing the point made in 70,22-29.

Since *The Gospel of Philip* is eccentrically arranged, its contents can best be considered by reference to summarizing statements. The statement at 69,1-4 reflects a dominant concern, the mysteries of the bridal chamber, and distinguishes those who may participate – the free men and virgins – from those who may not – the animals, slaves, and defiled women.

Those excluded from the bridal chamber are described entirely in negative terms. We learn, *inter alia*, that animals and men must remain separate (78,25-28; 75,25-26). But "there are many animals in the world which are in human form" (81,7-8). If one is an "animal" he belongs "outside or below" rather than "above" or "within" (79,5-11). "Slaves" are to be contrasted with "sons" (52,2-6), with "children" (81,12-14) and with the "free" (79,13-18). A "slave" is one who commits sin (77,18), who is ignorant of the inner wickedness which enslaves him (83,18-29; 85,24). "Defiled women" are all women who participate in sexual intercourse, i.e., in "the marriage of defilement," which is fleshly and lustful (81,34-82,10). Unclean spirits seek to defile men and woman sexually (65,1-23).

"Free men and virgins" are the opposite of "animals, slaves, and defiled women." A virgin has never been defiled by sexual intercourse (55,27-28; cf. 81,34-82,8). The "free man" does not sin (77,15-18). He neither fears the flesh nor loves it (66,4-6). He is endangered by the deceptions of the archons who seek to enslave him (54,16-31). "Free men and virgins" are those called "Christians" (74,13-16), who possess "the resurrection, the light, the cross, the holy spirit" (74,18-21).

According to this gospel the existential malady of humanity results from the differentiation of the sexes. When Eve was separated from Adam, the original androgynous unity was broken (68,22-26). The purpose of Christ's coming is to reunite Adam and Eve (70,12-17). Just as a husband and wife unite in the bridal chamber, so also the reunion effected by Christ takes place in a bridal chamber, the sacramental one (70,17-22), where a person receives a foretaste and assurance of ultimate union with an angelic, heavenly counterpart (cf. 58,10-14).

This leads us to another summarizing statement (67,27-30), "The lord did everything in a mystery, a baptism and a chrism and a eucharist and a redemption and a bridal chamber." The sentence probably describes five stages of a complete initiation, rather than five separate, unrelated sacraments. It is possible that "bridal chamber" is a covering term for the whole initiation, since a particular benefit of one stage of the initiation (e.g., "light," associated usually with chrism, 67,5-6; 69,12-14; 57,27-28) is also connected with bridal chamber (86,4-11; cf. 70,5-9). In 74,12-24 the person anointed in chrism is said to possess everything – resurrection, light, the cross, the holy spirit – but then the author adds, "the father gave him this in the bridal chamber." Conversely, what one expects to be connected with bridal chamber appears in reference to eucharist (58,10-14) or baptism and chrism (69,4-14).

The Gospel of Philip does not describe, step by step, the ritual of all or any of the five stages of initiation. It does explain, however, that in baptism one "goes down into the water and comes up" with the gift of the name "Christian," so that one can say, "I am a Christian" (64,22-31; cf. 77,9-12). The analogy of God as a dyer suggests that baptism was by immersion (61,12-20). The initiate takes off his clothes before entering the water so that he may put on the perfect

man as a new garment (75,21-25). That the chrism was a warm perfumed oil is apparent from references to the chrism as fire (67,5-9; 57,27-28) and to the oil as being fragrant (77,36-78,7; 82,15-23). Perhaps a trinitarian formula was used at the moment of anointing (67,19-24). The priest consecrates the bread and the cup for the eucharist (77,2-8). The consecrated cup contains wine mixed with water (75,14-21). The consecrated bread is "bread from heaven," food fit for the initiate (55,10-14). To partake of the bread and the cup is to receive "the flesh and the blood" of Jesus (56,26-57,22; cf. 63,21-24). A further ritual called ransom, or redemption, is mentioned, but no details are given. This stage of the initiation is compared to "the holy of the holy" in the Jerusalem temple and is said to take place in the bridal chamber (69,23-27).

Because of the contents, the eccentric arrangement, and the literary types exhibited, it is likely that *The Gospel of Philip* is a collection of excerpts mainly from a Christian Gnostic sacramental catechesis. It explains the significance of sacramental rites of initiation, the meaning of sacred names, especially names of Jesus, and provides paraenesis for the life of the initiated. It interprets Biblical passages, particularly from the book of Genesis, makes use of typology, both historical and sacramental, and, as catechists do, argues on the basis of analogy and parable. In these and other ways *The Gospel of Philip* resembles the orthodox catechisms from the second through fourth centuries.

The title of this text may be derived merely from the fact that Philip is the only apostle named in it (73,8), though Philip, along with Thomas and Matthew, had an eminence among Gnostics as a privileged recipient and custodian of dominical revelation. The Coptic text is undoubtedly a translation of a Greek text which was written perhaps as late as the second half of the third century C.E. Because of the interest in the meaning of certain Syriac words (63,21-23; 56,7-9), its affinities to Eastern sacramental practice and catecheses, and its ascetic ethics, an origin in Syria is probable.

THE GOSPEL OF PHILIP

II 51, 29-86, 19

A Hebrew makes another Hebrew, [30] and such a person is called | "proselyte." But a proselyte does not | make another proselyte. [...] | just as they [...] | and make others like themselves, **52** while [others] simply exist. |

The slave seeks only to be | free, but he does not hope to acquire the estate | of his master. But the son is not only [5] a son but lays claim to the inheritance of the father. | Those who are heirs | to the dead are themselves dead, | and they inherit the dead. Those | who are heirs to what is living are alive, [10] and they are heirs to both what is living and the dead. | The dead are heirs to | nothing. For how can he who is dead inherit? | If he who is dead inherits | what is living he will not die, but he who is dead [15] will live even more.

A gentile | does not die, for he has never lived in order that | he may die. He who has believed in the truth | has found life, and this one is in danger of dying, for he is alive. | Since Christ came the world has been [20] created, the cities adorned, | the dead carried out. When we were | Hebrews we were orphans and | had only our mother, but when we became | Christians we had both father and mother. [25]

Those who sow in winter reap in summer. | The winter is the world, the summer the other eternal realm (aeon). | Let us sow in the world that | we may reap in the summer. Because of this it is fitting | for us not to pray in the winter. Summer [30] follows winter. But if any man reap | in winter he will not actually reap but only | pluck out, since it will not provide | a harvest for such a person. It is not only [...] that it | will [...] come forth, but also on the Sabbath [35] [...] is barren.

Christ came **53** to ransom some, | to save others, to | redeem others. He ransomed those who were strangers and | made them his own. And he set [5] his own apart, those whom he gave as a pledge | according to his plan. It was not only when he | appeared that he voluntarily laid down his life, | but he voluntarily laid down his life | from the very day the world came into being. [10] Then he came first in order to take it, since | it had been given as a pledge. It fell into the hands of | robbers and was taken captive, but he | saved it. He redeemed the good people | in the world as well as the evil.

Light and darkness, [15] life and death, right and left, | are brothers of one another. They are inseparable. | Because of this neither are the good | good, nor the evil evil, | nor is life life, nor death death. [20] For this reason each one will dissolve | into its earliest origin. But those who are exalted | above the world are indissoluble, | eternal.

Names given | to the worldly are very deceptive, [25] for they divert our thoughts | from what is correct to what is incorrect. | Thus one who hears the word "God" does not perceive | what is correct, but perceives | what is incorrect. So also with "the father" [30] and "the son" and "the holy spirit" and | "life" and "light" and "resurrection" | and "the church" and all the rest – | people do not perceive what is correct but they | perceive what is incorrect, [unless] they [35] have come to know what is correct. The [names which are heard] | are in the world [... **54** deceive. If they] were in the eternal realm (aeon), they would | at no time be used as names in the world. | Nor were they set among | worldly things. They have an end in [5] the eternal realm.

One single name is not uttered | in the world, the name which the father gave | to the son; it is the name above all things: | the name of the

father. For the son | would not become father unless he wore [10] the name of the father. | Those who have this name know it, but they do | not speak it. But those who do not have it | do not know it.

But truth brought names into existence | in the world for our sakes because it is not possible [15] to learn it without these names. Truth is one single thing; | it is many things and for our sakes to | teach about this one thing in love through | many things. The rulers (archons) wanted to deceive | man, since they saw that he had [20] a kinship with those that are | truly good. They took the name of those that are good | and gave it to those that are not good, | so that through the names they might deceive | him and bind them to those that are [25] not good. And afterward, what a | favor they do for them! They make them be removed | from those that are not good and place them | among those that are good. These things they knew, | for they wanted to [30] take the free man and make him a | slave to them forever.

There are powers | which [...] man, not wishing | him to be [saved], in order that they may | [...]. For if man [35] is [saved, there will not] be any sacrifices | [...] and animals will not be offered **55** to the powers. Indeed the animals were | the ones to whom they sacrificed. They were indeed offering | them up alive, but when they | offered them up they died. As for man, they offered [5] him up to God dead, and he lived. |

Before Christ came there was no bread | in the world, just as Paradise, the place | where Adam was, had many trees | to nourish the animals but no wheat [10] to sustain man. Man used to feed | like the animals, but when Christ | came, the perfect man, he brought bread | from heaven in order that man might be nourished | with the food of man. The rulers [15] thought that it was by their own power and will | that they were doing what they did, | but the holy spirit in secret | was accomplishing everything through them | as it wished. Truth, [20] which existed since the beginning, is sown everywhere. And | many see it being sown, | but few are they who see it being reaped. |

Some said, "Mary conceived by | the holy spirit." They are in error. [25] They do not know what they are saying. When | did a woman ever conceive by a woman? | Mary is the virgin whom no | power defiled. She is a | great anathema to the Hebrews, who [30] are the apostles and [the] apostolic men. | This virgin whom no power defiled [...] the powers | defile themselves. And the lord [would] not have said | "My [father who is in] heaven" (Mt 16:17) [35] unless [he] had had another father, | but he would have said simply "[My father]." |

The lord said to the disciples, "[...] **56** from every house. Bring into

the house | of the father. But do not take (anything) in the house | of the father nor carry it off."

"Jesus" is a hidden name, | "Christ" is a revealed name. [5] For this reason "Jesus" is not particular | to any language; rather he is always called | by the name "Jesus." While as for "Christ," in Syriac it is "Messiah," | in Greek it is "Christ." Certainly [10] all the others have it | according to their own language. | "The Nazarene" is he who reveals | what is hidden. Christ has everything | in himself, whether man or angel [15] or mystery, and the father.

Those who say | that the lord died first and (then) | rose up are in error, for he rose up | first and (then) died. If one does not first attain | the resurrection he will not die. As God [20] lives, he would . . .

No one | will hide a large valuable object | in something large, but many a time | one has tossed countless thousands | into a thing worth a penny. Compare [25] the soul. It is a precious thing and it came to be | in a contemptible body.

Some | are afraid lest they rise naked. | Because of this they wish to rise | in the flesh, and [they] do not know that it is those who [30] wear the [flesh] who are naked. | [It is] those who [. . .] to unclothe | themselves who are not naked. "Flesh | [and blood shall] not inherit the kingdom | [of God]" (1 Co 15:50). What is this which will **57** not inherit? This which is on us. But what | is this, too, which will inherit? It is that which belongs to Jesus | and his blood. Because of this he said, | "He who shall not eat my flesh and drink [5] my blood has not life in him" (Jn 6:53). What | is it? His flesh is the word, and his blood | is the holy spirit. He who has received these has | food and he has drink and clothing. | I find fault with the others who say [10] that it will not rise. Then both of them | are at fault. You (sg.) say | that the flesh will not rise. But tell me | what will rise, that we may honor you (sg.). | You (sg.) say the spirit in the flesh, [15] and it is also this light in the flesh. (But) this too is a matter | which is in the flesh, for whatever you (sg.) shall, say, | you (sg.) say nothing outside the flesh. | It is necessary to rise in this flesh, since | everything exists in it. In this world [20] those who put on garments are better than the | garments. In the kingdom of heaven the garments | are better than those who have put them on.

It is through | water and fire that the whole place is purified – | the visible by visible, [25] the hidden by the hidden. There are some things | hidden through those visible. | There is water in water, there is fire | in chrism.

Jesus took them all by stealth, | for he did not appear as [30] he was,

but | in the manner in which [they would] be able to see | him. He appeared to [them all. | He appeared] to the great | as great. He [appeared] [35] to the small as small. He [appeared **58** to the] angels as an angel, and | to men as a man. Because of this his | word hid itself from everyone. Some | indeed saw him, thinking that they were seeing [5] themselves, but when he appeared | to his disciples in glory | on the mount he was not small. He | became great, but he made the disciples | great, that they might be able to see [10] him in his greatness.

He said on that day | in the thanksgiving, "You who have joined | the perfect light with the holy spirit, | unite the angels with us also, | as being the images." Do not despise the lamb, for without it [15] it is not possible to see the king. No one | will be able to go in to the king if he is | naked.

The heavenly man has many more sons | than the earthly man. If the sons of Adam | are many, although they die, [20] how much more the sons of the perfect man, | they who do not die but are | always begotten. The father makes a son, | and the son has not the power to make | a son. For he who has been begotten has not the power [25] to beget, but the son gets | brothers for himself, not sons. All who | are begotten in the world | are begotten in a natural way, and | the others [are nourished] from [the place] whence they have been born. [30] It is from | being promised to the heavenly place | that man [receives] nourishment. | [. . .] him from the mouth. | [And had] the word gone out from that place **59** it would be nourished from the mouth and | it would become perfect. For it is | by a kiss that the perfect conceive and give birth. For this reason | we also kiss one another. [5] We receive conception from the grace which is in | one another.

There were three who always walked with | the lord: Mary his mother | and her sister and Magdalene, the one | who was called his companion. [10] His sister and his mother | and his companion were each a Mary.

"The father" and "the son" | are single names, "the holy spirit" | is a double name. For they are | everywhere: they are above, they are below; [15] they are in the concealed, they are in the revealed. | The holy spirit is in the revealed: | it is below. It is in the concealed: | it is above.

The saints are served | by evil powers, [20] for they are blinded by the holy spirit | into thinking that they are serving | an (ordinary) man whenever they do so for the saints. | Because of this a disciple | asked the lord one day for something [25] of this world. He said to him, | "Ask your mother, and she will give you | of the things which are another's."

The apostles said | to the disciples, "May our entire offering | obtain

salt." [30] They called [Sophia] "salt." Without it | no offering [is] acceptable. But Sophia | is barren, [without] child. For this reason | she is called "a trace of | salt." Wherever they will [. . .] [35] in their own way, the holy spirit [. . . , **60** and] her children are many.

What the father possesses | belongs to the son, and the son | himself, so long as he is small, is not | entrusted with what is his. But when [5] he becomes a man his father gives him | all that he possesses.

Those who have gone astray, whom | the spirit (itself) begets, usually go astray also | because of the spirit. Thus, by one and the same breath, | the fire blazes and is put out. [10]

Echamoth is one thing and Echmoth another. | Echamoth is Wisdom simply, | but Echmoth is the Wisdom of death which is | the one which | knows death, which is called [15] "the little Wisdom."

There are | domestic animals, like the bull | and the ass and others of this kind. | Others are wild | and live apart in the deserts. Man ploughs [20] the field by means of the domestic animals, | and from this he is nourished (both) he and | the animals, whether tame or | wild. Compare the perfect | man. It is through powers which are submissive [25] that he ploughs, preparing for everything to come into being. | For it is because of this that the whole place stands, | whether the good or the evil, | the right and the left. The holy spirit | shepherds every one and rules [30] [all] the powers, the "tame" ones | and the "wild" ones, as well as those which are unique. | For indeed he [. . . (and)] shuts them in, | in order that [if . . .]wish, they will not be able [to escape].

[He who] has been created is [35] [beautiful, but] you (sg.) would ⟨not⟩ find his sons **61** noble creations. If he were not | created but begotten, you (sg.) would find | that his seed was noble. But now | he was created, (and) he begot. What [5] nobility is this? First adultery | came into being, afterward murder. And he | was begotten in adultery, for he was the child | of the serpent. So he became | a murderer, just like his father, and [10] he killed his brother. Indeed every act of sexual intercourse | which has occurred between those unlike | one another is adultery.

God | is a dyer. As the good dyes, | which are called "true," dissolve [15] with the things dyed in them, so | it is with those whom God has dyed. | Since his dyes are immortal, they become immortal by means of his colors. | Now God dips what he dips [20] in water.

It is not possible | for anyone to see anything of the things that actually exist | unless he becomes like | them. This is not the way with man | in the world: he sees the sun without being a sun; [25] and he sees the heaven and the earth and | all other things, but he is not these

things. | This is quite in keeping with the truth. But you (sg.) saw | something of that place, and you became | those things. You saw the spirit, you [30] became spirit. You saw Christ, you became | Christ. You saw [the father, you] shall become father. | So [in this place] you see | everything and [do] not [see] yourself, | but [in that place] you do see yourself – and what [35] you see you shall [become]. |

Faith receives, love gives. [No one will be able to **62** receive] without faith. No one will be able to give without | love. Because of this, in order that we may indeed receive, | we believe, and in order that we may love, we give, since | if one gives without love, he has no [5] profit from what he has given. He who | has received something other than the lord is still a Hebrew. |

The apostles who were before us had these names for him: | "Jesus, the Nazorean, Messiah," that | is, "Jesus, the Nazorean, the Christ." The last [10] name is "Christ," the first is "Jesus," that in | the middle is "the Nazarene." "Messiah" | has two meanings, both "the Christ" | and "the measured." "Jesus" in Hebrew is | "the redemption." "Nazara" is "the truth." "The [15] Nazarene," then, is "the truth." "Christ" | ... been measured. It is "the Nazarene" and "Jesus" | who have been measured.

When the pearl is cast | down into the mud it becomes greatly despised, [20] nor if it is anointed with balsam oil | will it become more precious. But it always has | value in the eyes of its owner. | Compare the sons of | God, wherever they may be. [25] They still have value in the eyes of their | father.

If you (sg.) say, "I am a Jew," | no one will be moved. If you say, "I am a | Roman," no one will be disturbed. If you say, "I am a Greek, a barbarian, [30] a slave, [a] free man," no one | will be troubled. [If] you [say], "I am a | Christian," the [...] will tremble. Would | that I might [...] like that – the person whose name | [...] will not be able to endure [35] [hearing].

God is a **63** man-eater. For this reason men are [sacrificed] | to him. Before men were sacrificed | animals were being sacrificed, since those | to whom they were sacrificed were not gods. [5]

Glass decanters and earthenware | jugs are both made by means of fire. | But if glass decanters break | they are done over, for | they came into being through a breath. If earthenware jugs [10] break, however, they are destroyed, | for they came into being without breath.

An ass | which turns a millstone did a hundred miles | walking. When it was loosed | it found that it was still at the same place. [15] There are

men who make many journeys, | but make no progress towards | any destination. When evening came upon them, | they saw neither city nor | village, neither human artifact nor natural phenomenon, [20] power nor angel. In vain have the wretches | labored.

The eucharist is Jesus. For | he is called in Syriac "Pharisatha," | which is "the one who is spread out," | for Jesus came to crucify the world. [25]

The lord went into the dye works | of Levi. He took seventy-two different colors | and threw them into the vat. He took them | out all white. And he said, "Even so | has the son [30] of man come [as] a dyer."

As for the Wisdom | who is called "the barren," she | is the mother [of the] angels. And the | companion of the [. . .] Mary Magdalene. | [. . . loved] her [35] more than [all] the disciples [and used to] | kiss her [often] on her [. . .]. | The rest of [the disciples **64** . . .]. They said to him, | "Why do you love her more than all of us?" The | savior answered and said to them, | "Why do I not love you [5] like her? When a blind man and one who sees | are both together in darkness, they are no different from | one another. When the light comes, then | he who sees will see the light, and | he who is blind will remain in darkness." [10]

The Lord said, "Blessed is he who | is before he came into being. For he who | is, has been and shall be."

The superiority | of man is not obvious to the eye, but | lies in what is hidden from view. Consequently he [15] has mastery over the animals which are stronger than he is and | great in terms of the obvious and the hidden. | This enables them to survive. But if | man is separated from them, they slay | one another and bite one another. [20] They ate one another because they did not find | any food. But now they have found food because | man tilled the soil.

If one | go down into the water and come up without | having received anything and says, "I am a Christian," [25] he has borrowed the name at interest. But if he | receive the holy spirit, he has | the name as a gift. He who has received a | gift does not have to give it back, but of him who | has borrowed it at interest, payment is demanded. This is the way [30] [it happens to one] when he experiences | a mystery.

Great is | the mystery of marriage! For [without] it the world | would [not exist]. Now the existence of | [the world . . .], and the existence [35] [. . . marriage]. Think of the [. . . relationship], for it possesses | [. . .] power. Its image **65** consists of a [defilement].

The forms of evil spirit | include male ones and | female ones. The males are they that | unite with the souls which inhabit [5] a female form,

but the females | are they which are mingled with those in a | male form, though one who was disobedient. And none | shall be able to escape them, since they detain him | if he does not receive a male power or a [10] female power, the bridegroom and | the bride. – One receives them from the | mirrored bridal chamber. – When the wanton women | see a male sitting | alone, they leap down on him and [15] play with him and defile him. So | also the lecherous men, when they see a | beautiful woman sitting alone, | they persuade her and compel her, | wishing to defile her. But if they see [20] the man and his wife sitting | beside one another, the female cannot come | in to the man, nor can the male | come in to the woman. So | if the image and the angel are united [25] with one another, neither can any venture | to go in to the man or the woman. |

He who comes out of the world | and so can no longer be detained on the grounds that he was in | the world evidently is above [30] the desire of the [...] and fear. | He is master over [...]. He is superior to | envy. If [...] comes, they seize | him and throttle [him]. And how will [this one] be able to escape the [great ...] powers? [35] How will he be able to [...] | There are some [who say], | "We are faithful," in order that [... **66** the unclean spirits] and the demons. | For if they had the holy spirit, | no unclean spirit would cleave | to them. Fear not the flesh nor [5] love it. If you (sg.) fear it, it will gain mastery | over you. If you love it, it will swallow and paralyze you. |

And so he dwells either in this world or in the | resurrection or in the middle place. | God forbid that I be found there! [10] In this world there is good | and evil. Its good things | are not good, and its evil things | not evil. But there is evil after | this world which is truly evil – [15] what is called "the middle." It | is death. While we are in this world | it is fitting for us to acquire the resurrection, | so that when we strip off the flesh | we may be found in rest and not [20] walk in the middle. For many go astray | on the way. For it is good to come forth | from the world before one | has sinned.

There are some who neither will | nor have the power to; and others who, [25] if they will, do not profit: for | they did not act since, (they believe,) [...] makes them | sinners. And if they do not will, justice | will elude them in both cases: | and [it is] always a matter of the will, not the act.

An [30] apostolic man in a vision saw some people | shut up in a house of fire and | bound with fiery [...], lying | [...] flaming [...]. them in | [...] faith [...]. And they said to them, [35] "[...] able to be saved?" | [...] "They did not desire it. They received | [...] punishment, what is called **67** 'the [...] darkness,' because he [...]" |

It is from water and fire that the soul | and the spirit came into being. It is from water and | fire and light that the son of [5] the bridal chamber (came into being). The fire is the chrism, the light | is the fire. I am not referring to that fire | which has no form, but to the other fire whose | form is white, which is bright and beautiful, | and which gives beauty.

Truth did not come [10] into the world naked, but it came in | types and images. The world will not receive truth in | any other way. There is a rebirth and an | image of rebirth. It is certainly necessary | to be born again through the image. Which [15] one? Resurrection. The image must | rise again through the image. The bridal chamber and | the image must enter through the image into | the truth: this is the restoration. Not only must those who produce the name of [20] the father and the son and the holy spirit do so, | but ⟨those who⟩ have produced them for you. If one does not acquire | them, the name ("Christian") will also be taken from him. | But one receives the unction of the [...] | of the power of the cross. This power the apostles [25] called "the right and the left." | For this person is no longer a Christian but | a Christ.

The lord [did] everything in a | mystery, a baptism and a chrism | and a eucharist and a redemption [30] and a bridal chamber.

[...] he said, | "I came to make [the things below] | like the things [above, and the things] | outside like those [inside. I came to unite] | them in the place." [...] [35] here through [types ...]. | Those who say, "[There is a heavenly man and] | there is one above [him," are wrong. | – For it is the first of these two heavenly [men], the one who is revealed, **68** that they call | "the one who is below"; and he to whom the hidden belongs | is (supposed to be) that one who is above him. | For it would be better for them to say, "The inner [5] and the outer, and what | is outside the outer." Because of this the | lord called destruction "the outer darkness": | there is not another outside of it. He said, | "My father who is in secret." He said, [10] "Go into your (sg.) chamber and shut | the door behind you, and pray to your father | who is in secret" (Mt 6:6), the one who is | within them all. But that which is within | them all is the fullness. [15] Beyond it there is nothing else within it. | This is that of which they say, "That which is | above them."

Before Christ some | came from a place they were no longer | able to enter, and they went where they were no longer [20] able to come out. Then Christ came. | Those who went in he brought out, and | those who went out he brought in.

When | Eve was still in Adam death did not exist. | When she was separated from him death came into being. [25] If he enters again and attains his former self, | death will be no more.

"My God, my God, | why, O lord, have you forsaken me?" (Mk 15:34 and parallels). It was | on the cross that he said these words, for he had departed from that place.

[...] who has been begotten through [30] him who [...] from God. |

The [...] from the dead. | [...] to be, but now | [...] perfect. | [...] flesh, but this [35] [...] is true flesh. | [...] is not true, but | [...] only an image of the true. **69**

A bridal chamber is not for the animals, | nor is it for the slaves, nor for defiled | women; but it is for free | men and virgins.

Through [5] the holy spirit we are indeed begotten | again, but we are begotten through | Christ in the two. We are anointed through | the spirit. When we were begotten we were united. None | can see himself either in water or in [10] a mirror without light. Nor again can you (sg.) | see in light without water or mirror. | For this reason it is fitting to baptize in the two, | in the light and the water. Now the light | is the chrism.

There were three buildings specifically for [15] sacrifice in Jerusalem. The one | facing west was called | "the holy." Another facing | south was called "the holy of | the holy." The third facing [20] east was called "the holy | of the holies," the place where only the high priest | enters. Baptism | is "the holy" building. Redemption is "the holy | of the holy." "The holy of the holies" [25] is the bridal chamber. Baptism includes | the resurrection [and the] redemption; the redemption | (takes place) in the bridal chamber. But the bridal chamber | is in that which is superior to [...] | you (sg.) will not find [...] [30] are those who pray [...] | Jerusalem. [...] | Jerusalem who [...] | Jerusalem, [...] | those called "the holy [35] of the holies" [... the] | veil was rent [...] | bridal chamber except the image [...] **70** above. Because of this its | veil was rent from top to bottom. For it was fitting for some | from below to go upward. [5]

The powers do not see | those who are clothed in the perfect light, | and consequently are not able to detain them. | One will clothe himself in this light | sacramentally in the union.

If the [10] woman had not separated from the man, she should not die | with the man. His separation became | the beginning of death. Because of this | Christ came to repair | the separation which was from the beginning [15] and again unite the two, and to give life to those | who died as a result of the separation | and unite them. But the woman is united | to her husband in the bridal chamber. | Indeed those who have united in the bridal chamber will [20] no longer be separated. Thus Eve |

separated from Adam because it was not in the bridal chamber | that she united with him.

The soul of Adam | came into being by means of a breath. The | partner of his soul is the spirit. His mother [25] is the thing that was given to him. His soul was taken from him and | replaced by a [spirit]. When | he was united (to the spirit), [he spoke] words incomprehensible | to the powers. They envied him | [. . .] spiritual partner [30] [. . .] hidden | [. . .] opportunity | [. . .] for themselves alone | [. . .] bridal chamber so that | [. . .]

Jesus appeared [35] [. . .] Jordan – the | [fullness of the kingdom] of heaven. He who | [was begotten] before everything **71** was begotten anew. He [who was] once [anointed] | was anointed anew. He who was redeemed | in turn redeemed (others).

Indeed, one must utter a | mystery. The father of everything united [5] with the virgin who came down, and | a fire shone for him on that day. | He appeared in the great bridal chamber. | Therefore, his body came into being | on that very day. It left the bridal chamber [10] as one who came into being | from the bridegroom and the bride. So | Jesus established everything | in it through these. | It is fitting for each of the disciples [15] to enter into his rest. |

Adam came into being from two virgins, | from the spirit and from | the virgin earth. Christ, therefore, | was born from a virgin [20] to rectify the fall which | occurred in the beginning. |

There are two trees growing in Paradise. | The one bears [animals], the other bears | men. Adam [ate] from the tree [25] which bore animals. [He] became an animal | and he brought forth animals. For this reason | the children of Adam worship [animals]. The tree [. . .] | fruit is [. . .] [30] increased. [. . .] ate the [. . .] | fruit of the [. . .] | bears men, [. . .] man. [. . .] [35] God created man. [. . . men] **72** create God. That is the way it is in the world – | men make gods and worship their creation. It would be fitting for the gods | to worship men!

Surely [5] what a man accomplishes | depends on his abilities. | For this reason we refer to one's accomplishments as | "abilities." Among his accomplishments are his children. They | originate in a moment of ease. [10] Thus his abilities determine | what he may accomplish, but this ease | is clearly evident in the children. | You will find that this applies directly to the image. | Here is the man made after the image [15] accomplishing things with his physical strength, | but producing his children with ease. |

In this world the slaves | serve the free. In the | kingdom of heaven

the free will [20] minister to the slaves: the children of | the bridal chamber will minister to the children | of the marriage. The children of the bridal chamber | have [just one] name: rest. | [Altogether] they need take no (other) [25] form [because they have] contemplation, | [...]. They are numerous | [...] in the things | [...] the glories | [...]

Those [30] [... go] down into the water. | [...] out (of the water), will consecrate it, | [...] they who have | [...] in his name. For he said, | "[Thus] we should fulfill at **73** righteousness" (Mt 3:15).

Those who say they will | die first and then rise | are in error. If they do not first receive the | resurrection while they live, when they die they will receive nothing. [5] So also when speaking about | baptism they say, "Baptism | is a great thing," because if people receive it they will | live.

Philip the apostle | said, "Joseph the carpenter planted [10] a garden because he needed wood | for his trade. It was he who | made the cross from the | trees which he planted. His own offspring hung | on that which he planted. His offspring was [15] Jesus and the planting was the cross." But the tree | of life is in the middle of the garden. | However, it is from the olive tree | that we get the chrism, and from the chrism, | the resurrection.

This world is a corpse-eater. [20] All the things eaten | in it themselves die also. Truth | is a life-eater. Therefore no one | nourished by [truth] will die. It was | from that place that Jesus came and brought [25] food. To those who | so desired he gave [life, that] | they might not die.

God [...] a garden. | Man [...] garden. | There are [...] [30] and [...] | of God. [...] | The things which are in [...] | I wish. This garden [is the place where] | they will say to me, "... eat] [35] this or do not eat [that, just as you (sg.)] **74** wish." In the place where I will eat all things | is the tree of knowledge. | That one killed Adam, | but here the tree of knowledge made men alive. [5] The law was the tree. It has power | to give the knowledge of good | and evil. It neither removed him from | evil, nor did it set him in the good, | but it created death for those who [10] ate of it. For when he said, | "Eat this, do not eat that," it became | the beginning of death.

The chrism is superior | to baptism, for it is from the word "chrism" | that we have been called "Christians," certainly not because [15] of the word "baptism." And it is because of the chrism that "the | Christ" has his name. For the father anointed | the son, and the son anointed the apostles, | and the apostles anointed us. He who | has been anointed possesses everything. He possesses [20] the resurrection, the light, the cross, | the holy spirit. The father gave him this | in the bridal chamber;

he merely accepted (the gift). The father was | in the son and the son in the father. | This is [the] kingdom of heaven. [25]

The lord said it well: "Some have entered the kingdom | of heaven laughing, and they have come out | [. . .] because [. . .] a Christian, | [. . .] And as soon as | [. . . went down into] the water he came [30] [. . .] everything (of this world), [. . .] because | [. . .] a trifle, but | [. . . full of] contempt for this | [. . .] the kingdom of | [heaven . . .]. If he despises [35] [. . .] and scorns it as a trifle, | [. . .] out laughing. So it is also **75** with the bread and the cup and the oil, | even though there is another one superior to these.

The | world came about through a mistake. | For he who created it wanted to create [5] it imperishable and immortal. | He fell short of attaining his desire. | For the world never was imperishable, | nor, for that matter, was | he who made the world. [10] For things are not imperishable, | but sons are. Nothing | will be able to receive imperishability if it does not | first become a son. But he who has not the ability | to receive, how much more will he be unable to give?

The cup [15] of prayer contains wine and | water, since it is appointed as the type of | the blood for which thanks is given. And | it is full of the holy spirit, and | it belongs to the wholly perfect man. When [20] we drink this, we shall receive for ourselves the perfect | man. The living water is a body. | It is necessary that we put on the living man. | Therefore, when he is about to go down into the water, | he unclothes himself, in order that he may put on the living man. [25]

A horse sires a horse, a | man begets man, a god | brings forth a god. Compare | [the] bridegroom and the [bride]. They have come from the [. . .]. [30] No Jew [. . .] | [. . .] | has existed. And | [. . .] | from the Jews. [. . .] | Christians, [. . .] [35] these [. . .] are referred to as | "the chosen people of [. . .]" **76** and "the true man" and "the son of | man" and "the seed of the son of man." | This true race is renowned | in the world. . . . that [5] the sons of the bridal chamber dwell. |

Whereas in this world the union | is one of husband with wife – a case of strength complemented by | weakness (?) – in the eternal realm (aeon) the form of the union | is different, although we refer to them by the same names. There are [10] other names, however; they are superior to every name | that is named and are | stronger than the strong. For where there is a show of strength, | there those who excel in strength appear. | These are not separate things, [15] but both of them are this one | single thing. This is the one which will not be able to rise | above the heart of flesh.

Is it not necessary for all those who possess | everything to know themselves? | Some indeed, if they do not know [20] themselves, will not enjoy what they | possess. But those who have come to know themselves will | enjoy their possessions.

Not only | will they be unable to detain the perfect man, | but they will not be able to see him, for if they see him [25] they will detain him. There is no other way | for a person to acquire this quality except by putting on the perfect light | [and] he too becoming perfect light. He who has [put it] on will enter [30] [...]. This is the perfect | [...] that we [...] become | [...] before we leave | [...]. Whoever receives everything | [...] hither [...] be able [35] [...] that place, but will | [... the middle] as imperfect. **77** Only Jesus knows the end of this person. |

The priest is completely holy, down | to his very body. For if he has taken the bread, | he will consecrate it. Or the cup [5] or anything else that he gets, | he will consecrate. Then how will he not consecrate | the body also?

By perfecting | the water of baptism, Jesus | emptied it of death. Thus we do go [10] down into the water, but we do not go | down into death in order that we may not be poured | out into the spirit of the world. When | that spirit blows, it brings the winter. | When the holy spirit breathes, [15] the summer comes.

He who has | knowledge of the truth is a free man, | but the free man does not sin, | for "he who sins is the slave of sin" (Jn 8:34). | Truth is the mother, knowledge [20] the father. Those who think that sinning does not apply to them | are called "free" by the world. | "Knowledge" of the truth merely "makes | such people arrogant," which | is what the words "it makes them free" mean. [25] It even gives them a sense of superiority over the whole world. But "love | builds up" (1 Co 8:1). In fact, he who is really free through | knowledge is a slave because of love | for those who have not yet been able to attain to the | freedom of knowledge. Knowledge [30] makes them capable of becoming | free. Love [never calls] | something its own, [...] it [...] possess [...]. | It never [says "This is yours"] | or "This is mine," [but "All these] [35] are yours." Spiritual love | is wine and fragrance. **78** All those who anoint themselves with it take pleasure in it. | While those who are anointed are present, | those nearby also profit (from the fragrance). | If those anointed with ointment withdraw from them [5] and leave, then those not anointed, | who merely stand nearby, still | remain in their bad odor. The Samaritan | gave nothing but | wine and oil to the wounded man. It is nothing other than [10] the ointment. It healed the wounds, | for "love covers a multitude of sins" (1 P 4:8). |

The children a woman bears | resemble the man who loves her. If her | husband loves her, then they resemble her husband. If it is an adulterer, [15] then they resemble the adulterer. Frequently, | if a woman sleeps with her | husband out of necessity, while her heart is with the adulterer | with whom she usually has intercourse, the child | she will bear is born resembling [20] the adulterer. Now you who live together with the son | of God, love not the world, | but love the lord, in order that those you will | bring forth may not resemble the world, | but may resemble the lord. [25]

The human being has intercourse with the human being. | The horse has intercourse with the horse, the ass | with the ass. Members of a race usually have associated | [with] those of like race. So spirit | mingles with spirit, and thought [30] consorts with thought, | and [light] shares | [with light. If you (sg.)] are born a human being, | it is [the human being] who will love you. If you become | [a spirit], it is the spirit which will be joined to you. If you become [35] thought, it is thought which will mingle **79** with you. If you become light, | it is the light which will share | with you. If you become one of those who belong above, | it is those who belong above who will rest [5] upon you. If you become horse | or ass or bull or dog or sheep | or another of the animals which are outside | or below, then | neither human being nor spirit [10] nor thought nor light will be able to love you. Neither | those who belong above nor those who belong within | will be able to rest in you, | and you have no part in them.

He | who is a slave against his will will be able to become free. [15] He who has become free by the favor | of his master and has sold | himself into slavery will no longer be able | to be free.

Farming in the | world requires the cooperation of four essential elements. A harvest is gathered [20] into the barn only as a result of the natural action of water, | earth, wind, and light. | God's farming likewise | has four elements – faith, | hope, love, and [25] knowledge. Faith is our earth, that in which we | take root. [And] hope | is the water through which we are | nourished. Love is the wind through | which we grow. Knowledge then is the light [30] through which we [ripen]. | Grace exists in [four ways: it is] | earthborn; it is [heavenly; ...] | the highest heaven; [...] in [...].

Blessed | is the one who on no occasion caused a soul [...]. **80** That person is Jesus Christ. He came to | the whole place and did not burden anyone. | Therefore, blessed is the one who is like | this, because he is a perfect man. For [5] the word tells us that this kind is difficult | to

define. How shall we be able to accomplish | such a great thing? How will he give everyone comfort? | Above all, it is not proper | to cause anyone distress – whether the person is great or small, [10] unbeliever or believer – and then give comfort | only to those who take satisfaction in good deeds. | Some find it advantageous to give | comfort to the one who has fared well. He who does | good deeds cannot give comfort [15] to such people; for he does not seize whatever he likes. | He is unable to cause distress, | however, since he does not afflict them. To be sure, the one who | fares well sometimes causes people distress – | not that he intends to do so; rather it is their own wickedness [20] which is responsible for their distress. He who possesses | the qualities (of the perfect man) bestows joy upon the good. | Some, however, are terribly distressed by all this. |

There was a householder who had | every conceivable thing, be it son or slave or [25] cattle or dog or pig or corn | [or] barley or chaff or grass or | [...] or meat and acorn. [Now he was] a sensible fellow | and he knew what the food of each | one was. He served the children bread [30] [...]. He served the slaves | [... and] meal. And | [he threw barley] and chaff and grass to the cattle. | He threw bones to [the] dogs, | and to the pigs he threw acorns **81** and slop. Compare the disciple | of God: if he is a sensible fellow he | understands what discipleship is all about. The | bodily forms will not deceive him, [5] but he will look at the condition | of the soul of each one and speak | with him. There are many animals in the world | which are in human form. When | he identifies them, to the swine he will throw [10] acorns, to the cattle he will throw | barley and chaff and grass, to the | dogs he will throw bones. To the slaves | he will give only the elementary lessons, to the children he will give | the complete instruction.

There is the son of man [15] and there is the son of the son of man. | The lord is the son of man, | and the son of the son of | man is he who creates through the son | of man. The son of man received [20] from God the capacity to create. He also has the ability | to beget. He who has received | the ability to create is a creature. He who has received | the ability to beget is an offspring. He who creates cannot | beget. He who begets also has power to create. [25] Now they say, "He who creates begets." | But his so-called "offspring" is merely a creature. Because of [...] | of birth, they are not his offspring but [...]. | He who creates works openly | and he himself is visible. [30] He who begets begets in [private] | and he himself is hidden, since [...] | image. Also, he who creates [creates] | openly. But one who begets [begets] | children in pri-

vate. No [one can] [35] know when [the husband] **82** and the wife have intercourse with one another | except the two of them. Indeed marriage in the | world is a mystery for those who have taken | a wife. If there is a hidden quality to the marriage of defilement, [5] how much more is the undefiled marriage | a true mystery! It is not fleshly | but pure. It belongs not to desire | but to the will. It belongs not to the darkness | or the night but to the day and [10] the light. If a marriage is open to the public, | it has become prostitution, and the bride | plays the harlot not only when she is impregnated by another man | but even if she slips out of her bedroom | and is seen. [15] Let her show herself only to her father and her | mother and to the friend of the bridegroom and | the sons of the bridegroom. These are permitted | to enter every day into the bridal chamber. | But let the others yearn just [20] to listen to her voice and to enjoy | her ointment, and let them feed from the | crumbs that fall from the table, like the | dogs. Bridegrooms and | brides belong to the bridal chamber. No one shall be able [25] to see the bridegroom with the bride unless | [he become] such a one.

When Abraham | [. . .] that he was to see what he was to see, | [he circumcised] the flesh of the foreskin, teaching | us that it is proper to destroy the flesh. [30]

[Most things] in the world, as long as their | [inner parts] are hidden, stand upright and live. | [If they are revealed] they die, as | is illustrated by the visible man: | [as long as] the intestines of the man are hidden, the man is alive; **83** when his intestines are exposed | and come out of him, the man will die. | So also with the tree: while its root | is hidden it sprouts and grows. If its [5] root is exposed, the tree dries up. | So it is with every birth that is in the world, | not only with the revealed | but with the hidden. For so long as the root | of wickedness is hidden, it is strong. But when it is recognized [10] it is dissolved. When it is revealed | it perishes. That is why the word says, | "Already the ax is laid at the root | of the trees" (Mt 3:10). It will not merely cut – what | is cut sprouts again – but the ax [15] penetrates deeply until it | brings up the root. Jesus pulled out | the root of the whole place, while others did it only | partially. As for ourselves, let each | one of us dig down after the root [20] of evil which is within one, and let one pluck it | out of one's heart from the root. It will be plucked out | if we recognize it. But if we | are ignorant of it, it takes root in | us and produces its fruit [25] in our heart. It masters us. | We are its slaves. It takes us captive, | to make us do what we do [not] want; | and what we do want we do [not] do. It | is powerful because we have not recognized it. While [it exists] [30] it is ac-

tive. Ignorance | is the mother of [all evil]. | Ignorance will result in [death, because] | those that come from [ignorance] | neither were nor [are] [35] nor shall be. [...] **84** will be perfect when all the truth | is revealed. For truth is like | ignorance: while it is hidden it rests | in itself, but when it is revealed [5] and is recognized, it is praised inasmuch as | it is stronger than ignorance and error. | It gives freedom. The word said, | "If you (pl.) know the truth, | the truth will make you free" (Jn 8:32). [10] Ignorance is a slave. Knowledge is | freedom. If we know the truth, | we shall find the fruits of the truth within | us. If we are joined to it, it will bring our fulfillment. |

At the present time we have the manifest things [15] of creation. We say, | "The strong who are held in high regard are great people. | And the weak who are despised are the obscure." Contrast the manifest things | of truth: they are weak and | despised, while the hidden things are strong and [20] held in high regard. The mysteries of truth are | revealed, though in type and image. The bridal chamber, | however, remains hidden. It is the holy in | the holy. The veil at first | concealed how God controlled [25] the creation, but when the veil is rent | and the things inside are revealed, | this house will be left | desolate, or rather will be | [destroyed]. And the whole (inferior) godhead will flee [30] [from] here but not into the holies | [of the] holies, for it will not be able to mix with the | unmixed [light] and the | [flawless] fullness, but will be under the wings of the cross | [and under] its arms. This ark will be [35] [their] salvation when the flood **85** of water surges over them. If | some belong to the order of the priesthood | they will be able to go | within the veil with the high priest. [5] For this reason the veil was not | rent at the top only, since it | would have been open only to those above; nor | was it rent at the bottom only, since | it would have been revealed only to those below. [10] But it was rent from top to bottom. Those | above opened to us the things below, | in order that we may go in to the secret | of the truth. This truly is what is | held in high regard (and) what is strong! But we shall go in there [15] by means of lowly types and forms of weakness. | They are lowly indeed when compared with the perfect glory. | There is glory which surpasses glory. There is power which surpasses | power. Therefore the perfect things have opened | to us, together with the hidden things of truth. The holies [20] of the holies were revealed, and | the bridal chamber invited us in.

As long | as it is hidden, wickedness is indeed ineffectual, but | it has not been removed from the midst of the seed of the holy spirit. | They are slaves of evil. But when [25] it is revealed, then the | perfect light will

flow out on every | one. And all those who are in it will [receive the chrism]. | Then the slaves will be free [and] | the captives ransomed. "[Every] plant [which] [30] my father who is in heaven [has not] planted [will be] | plucked out" (Mt 15:13). Those who are separated will unite [. . .] and | will be filled. Every one who will [enter] | the bridal chamber will kindle the [light], for [. . .] | just as in the marriages which are [. . .] happen [35] at night. That fire [. . .] only **86** at night and is put out. But the mysteries | of that marriage are perfected rather in | the day and the light. Neither that day | nor its light ever sets. If anyone becomes a son [5] of the bridal chamber, he will receive the light. | If anyone does not receive it while he is here, he will not be able to receive it | in the other place. He who will receive that light | will not be seen, nor can he be detained. | And none shall be able to torment [10] a person like this even while he dwells | in the world. And again when he leaves | the world he has already received the truth in | the images. The world has become the eternal realm (aeon), | for the eternal realm is fullness for him. [15] This is the way it is: it is revealed | to him alone, not hidden in the darkness and the | night, but hidden in a perfect day | and a holy light.

The Gospel |
According to Philip

THE HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS (II,4)

Introduced by

ROGER A. BULLARD

Translated by

BENTLEY LAYTON

The Hypostasis of the Archons ("Reality of the Rulers") is an anonymous tractate presenting an esoteric interpretation of Genesis 1-6, partially in the form of a revelation discourse between an angel and a questioner. While the treatise illustrates a wide-ranging Hellenistic syncretism, the most evident components are Jewish, although in its present form *The Hypostasis of the Archons* shows clearly Christian features and thus can be considered a Christian work. Its theological perspective is a vigorous Gnosticism of perhaps Sethian affiliation.

It is generally assumed that *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, like all the other Nag Hammadi texts, is a translation from Greek. The possibility of a Coptic pun on the phrase "beside me" (Is 46:9) and "blind" (*Hyp. Arch.* 86,30; 94,22), as well as the description of animal-headed Rulers (87,29) suggests that the provenance may have been Egypt.

The document is tentatively dated in the third century C.E. It is obviously no later than the fourth century, to which the Nag Hammadi collection is dated. But the well-developed gnostic treatment of the material in this document as well as the midrashic handling of scriptural material argue against an early date. Further, the philosophical orientation of 96,11-14 has been identified as typical of third-century Neoplatonism.

The questions of date and provenance are complicated by the possibility that the work as it stands is a result of a Christian editor's having combined a narrative source (interpreting parts of Genesis) with a revelation discourse concerned with soteriology and eschatology, and placing them both within a Christian framework.

The Hypostasis of the Archons is certainly the work of a gnostic teacher instructing an audience. While using previous material, he writes from a position of authority, even in the angelic revelation where a character in the discourse is ostensibly speaking. The audience is a Christian Gnostic community, aware of material of both testaments and accepting the authority of Paul. They are familiar with Jewish literary traditions, including apocalyptic. A traditional function of apocalyptic – providing reassurance for an insecure community – is operative here. *The Hypostasis of the Archons* is thus an esoteric work, written for a self-conscious community which probably felt pressure from a Christian community that defined itself as orthodox and others as heretical.

There is clearly some literary relationship between *The Hypostasis of the Archons* and *On the Origin of the World*, which follows this tractate in Codex II.

Both seem to draw from common sources. The latter mentions a *Book* or *Books of Norea* (102,11, 24-25), to which Epiphanius also refers. It has been suggested that *The Hypostasis of the Archons* is to be identified with that source, but without compelling evidence.

After a brief introduction quoting "the great apostle" Paul, *The Hypostasis of the Archons* offers its mythological narrative. The main characters in the mythological drama which unfolds include the blind ruler Samael, also called Sakla ("fool") and Yaldabaoth, who blasphemes against the divine; the spiritual Woman, who rouses Adam and outwits the rapacious rulers; the Snake, the Instructor, who counsels the man and woman to eat of the fruit forbidden by the rulers; and Norea, the daughter of Eve, a virgin pure in character and exalted in knowledge. On page 93 of the tractate the focus changes somewhat: on center stage now is the great angel Eleleth, who reveals to Norea the origin and destiny of the archontic powers.

The Hypostasis of the Archons proclaims, as its title indicates, the reality of the archontic rulers: far from being merely fictitious, imaginary powers, the archons are all too real. These rulers indeed exist. This is a grim reality for the Christian Gnostics, who define their own spiritual nature in opposition to that of the ruling and enslaving authorities. Yet, as this document promises, the Christian Gnostics can have hope, for their spiritual nature will be more lasting than the archons, and their heavenly destiny will be more glorious. In the end the rulers will perish, and the Gnostics, the children of the light, will know the Father and praise him.

THE HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS

II 86, 20-97, 23

On account of the reality (*hypostasis*) of the authorities (*eksousiai*), (inspired) by the spirit | of the father of truth, the great | apostle – referring to the "authorities of the darkness" (Col 1:13) – told us | that "our contest is not against flesh and | [blood]; rather, the authorities of the universe [25] and the spirits of wickedness" (Ep 6:12). | [I have] sent (you) this because you (sg.) inquire about the reality | [of the] authorities.

Their chief is blind; | [because of his] power and his ignorance | [and his] arrogance he said, with his [30] [power], "It is I who am God; there is none | [apart from me]."

When he said this, he sinned against | [the entirety]. And this speech got up **87** to incorruptibility; then there was a voice that came | forth from incorruptibility, saying, | "You are mistaken, Samael" – which is, "god | of the blind."

His thoughts became blind. And, having expelled [5] his power – that

is, the blasphemy he had spoken – | he pursued it down to chaos and | the abyss, his mother, at the instigation of Pistis | Sophia (Faith Wisdom). And she established each of his offspring | in conformity with its power – after the pattern [10] of the realms that are above, for by starting from the | invisible world the visible world was invented.

As incorruptibility | looked down into the region of the waters, | her image appeared in the waters; | and the authorities of the darkness became enamored of her. [15] But they could not lay hold of that image, | which had appeared to them in the waters, | because of their weakness – since beings that merely possess a soul | cannot lay hold of those that possess a spirit – for | they were from below, while it was from [20] above.

This is the reason why "incorruptibility | looked down into the region (etc.)": | so that, by the father's will, she | might bring the entirety into union with the light. The rulers (*archontes*) laid | plans and said, "Come, [25] let us create a man that will be soil from | the earth." They modelled their creature | as one wholly of the earth.

Now the rulers ... | body ... they have ... female ... is ... | with the face of a beast. They had taken [some soil] [30] from the earth and modelled their [man], | after their body and [after the image] | of God that had appeared [to them] | in the waters.

They said, "[Come, let] us | lay hold of it by means of the form that we have modelled, [so that] [35] it may see its male counterpart [...], **88** and we may seize it with the form that we have modelled" – not | understanding the force of God, because of | their powerlessness. And he breathed into | his face; and the man came to have a soul (and remained) [5] upon the ground many days. But they could not | make him arise because of their powerlessness. | Like storm winds they persisted (in blowing), that they might | try to capture that image, which had appeared | to them in the waters. And they did not know [10] the identity of its power.

Now all these (events) came | to pass by the will of the father of the entirety. Afterwards, | the spirit saw the soul-endowed man | upon the ground. And the spirit came forth from | the Adamantine Land; it descended and came to dwell within [15] him, and that man became a living soul. |

It called his name Adam since he | was found moving upon the ground. A voice | came forth from incorruptibility for the assistance of Adam; | and the rulers gathered together [20] all the animals of the earth and all the | birds of heaven and brought them in to Adam | to see what

Adam would call them, | that he might give a name to each of the birds | and all the beasts.

They took Adam [25] [and] put him in the garden, that he might cultivate | [it] and keep watch over it. And the rulers issued a command | to him, saying, "From [every] tree | in the garden shall you (sg.) eat; | yet – [from] the tree of recognizing good [30] and evil do not eat, nor | [touch] it; for the day you (pl.) eat | [from] it, with death you (pl.) are going to die."

They | [. . .] this. They do not understand what | [they have said] to him; rather, by the father's will, **89** they said this in such a way that he | might (in fact) eat, and that Adam might ⟨not⟩ regard them as would a man of an exclusively | material nature.

The rulers took counsel | with one another and said, "Come, let us cause [5] a deep sleep to fall upon Adam." And he slept. | – Now the deep sleep that they | "caused to fall upon him, and he slept" is Ignorance. – They opened | his side like a living woman. | And they built up his side with some flesh [10] in place of her, and Adam came to be endowed | only with soul.

And the spirit-endowed woman | came to him and spoke with him, saying, | "Arise, Adam." And when he saw her, | he said, "It is you who have given me life; [15] you will be called 'Mother of the living.' | – For it is she who is my mother. It is she who is the physician, | and the woman, and she who has given birth."

Then the | authorities came up to their Adam. | And when they saw his female counterpart speaking with him, [20] they became agitated with great agitation; | and they became enamored of her. They said to one another, | "Come, let us sow our seed | in her," and they pursued her. And | she laughed at them for their witlessness [25] and their blindness; and in their clutches, she became a tree, | and left before them her shadowy reflection resembling herself; | and they defiled [it] | foully. – And they defiled the stamp of | her voice, so that [30] by the form they had modelled, together with [their] (own) image, they made themselves liable to condemnation. |

Then the female spiritual principle came [in] | the snake, the instructor; and it taught [them], | saying, "What did he [say to] | you (pl.)? Was it, 'From every tree in the garden [35] shall you (sg.) eat; yet – from [the tree] **90** of recognizing evil and good | do not eat'?"

The carnal woman said, | "Not only did he say 'Do not eat,' but even | 'Do not touch it; for the day you (pl.) eat from it, with death you (pl.) are going to die.'" |

And the snake, the instructor, said, "With death | you (pl.) shall not die; for it was out of jealousy | that he said this to you (pl.). Rather your (pl.) eyes | shall open and you (pl.) shall come to be like gods, recognizing [10] evil and good." | And the female instructing principle was taken away from the snake, | and she left it behind merely a thing of the earth. |

And the carnal woman took from the tree | and ate; and she gave to her husband as well as herself; and [15] these beings that possessed only a soul, ate. And their imperfection | became apparent in their lack of acquaintance; and | they recognized that they were naked of the spiritual element, | and took fig leaves and bound them | upon their loins.

Then the chief ruler came; [20] and he said, "Adam! Where are you?" – for he did not | understand what had happened.

And Adam | said, "I heard your voice and was | afraid because I was naked; and I hid." |

The ruler said, "Why did you (sg.) hide, unless it is [25] because you (sg.) have eaten from the tree | from which alone I commanded you (sg.) not to eat? | And you (sg.) have eaten!" |

Adam said, "The woman that you gave me, | [she gave] to me and I ate." And the arrogant [30] ruler cursed the woman.

The woman | said, "It was the snake that led me astray and I ate." | [They turned] to the snake and cursed its shadowy reflection, | [...] powerless, not comprehending | [that] it was a form they themselves had modelled. From that day, **91** the snake came to be under the curse of the authorities; | until the all-powerful man was to come, | that curse fell upon the snake.

They turned | to their Adam and took him and expelled him from the garden [5] along with his wife; for they have no | blessing, since they too are | beneath the curse.

Moreover they threw mankind | into great distraction and into a life | of toil, so that their mankind might be [10] occupied by worldly affairs, and might not have the opportunity | of being devoted to the holy spirit.

Now afterwards, | she bore Cain, their son; and Cain | cultivated the land. Thereupon he knew his | wife; again becoming pregnant, she bore Abel; and Abel [15] was a herdsman of sheep. Now Cain brought | in from the crops of his field, but | Abel brought in an offering (from) among | his lambs. God looked upon the | votive offerings of Abel; but he did not accept the votive offerings [20] of Cain. And carnal Cain | pursued Abel his brother.

And God | said to Cain, "Where is Abel your brother?" |
He answered, saying, "Am I, then, | my brother's keeper?"
God said to [25] Cain, "Listen! The voice of your brother's blood | is crying up to me! You have sinned with | your mouth. It will return to you: anyone who | kills Cain will let loose seven | vengeances, and you will exist groaning and [30] trembling upon the earth."
And Adam [knew] | his female counterpart Eve, and she became pregnant, and bore [Seth] | to Adam. And she said, "I have borne [another] | man through God, in place [of Abel]." |
Again Eve became pregnant, and she bore [Norea]. [35] And she said, "He has begotten on [me a] virgin **92** as an assistance [for] many generations | of mankind." She is the virgin whom the | forces did not defile.
Then mankind began | to multiply and improve.
The rulers took counsel [5] with one another and said, "Come, let | us cause a deluge with our | hands and obliterate all flesh, from man | to beast."
But when the ruler of the forces | came to know of their decision, he said to Noah, [10] "Make yourself an ark from some wood | that does not rot and hide in it – you | and your children and the beasts and | the birds of heaven from small to large – and set it | upon Mount Sir."
Then Orea came [15] to him wanting to board the ark. | And when he would not let her, she blew upon the | ark and caused it to be consumed by fire. Again he | made the ark, for a second time.
The rulers went to meet her | intending to lead her astray. [20] Their supreme chief said to her, "Your mother | Eve came to us."
But Norea turned to | them and said to them, "It is you who are the rulers of | the darkness; you are accursed. And you did not know | my mother; instead it was your female [25] counterpart that you knew. For I am not your descendant; | rather it is from the world above that I am come." |
The arrogant ruler turned, with all his might, | [and] his countenance came to be like (a) black | [. . .]; he said to her presumptuously, [30] "You must render service to us, | [as did] also your mother Eve; for I have been given (?) | [. . .]."
But Norea turned, with the might of | [. . .]; and in a loud voice [she] cried out | [up to] the holy one, the God of the entirety, [93] "Rescue me from the rulers of unrighteousness | and save me from their clutches – forthwith!"
The ⟨great⟩ angel | came down from the heavens | and said to her, "Why are you crying up [5] to God? Why do you act so boldly towards the | holy spirit?"

Norea said, "Who are you?" |

The rulers of unrighteousness had withdrawn from | her. He said, "It is I who am Eleleth, | sagacity, the great angel, who stands [10] in the presence of the holy spirit. | I have been sent to speak with you and | save you from the grasp of the lawless. And I | shall teach you about your root."

– Now as for that angel, | I cannot speak of his power: his appearance is like [15] fine gold and his raiment is like snow. | No, truly, my mouth cannot bear | to speak of his power and the appearance of his face! |

Eleleth, the great angel, spoke to me. | "It is I," he said, "who am understanding. [20] I am one of the four light-givers, | who stand in the presence of the great | invisible spirit. Do you think | these rulers have any power over you (sg.)? None | of them can prevail against the root [25] of truth; for on its account he appeared | in the final ages; and | these authorities will be restrained. And these authorities | cannot defile you and that generation; | for your (pl.) abode is in incorruptibility, [30] where the virgin spirit dwells, | who is superior to the authorities of chaos | and to their universe."

But I said, | Sir, teach me about the [faculty of] | these authorities – [how] did they come into being, [35] and by what kind of genesis, [and] of **94** what material, and who | created them and their force?"

And the | great angel Eleleth, understanding, spoke to me: | "Within limitless realms [5] dwells incorruptibility. Sophia, | who is called Pistis, wanted to | create something, alone without her consort; and | her product was a celestial thing. |

"A veil exists between the world above [10] and the realms that are below; and | shadow came into being beneath the veil; | and that shadow became matter; | and that shadow was projected | apart. And what she had created became [15] a product in the matter, like an aborted fetus. | And it assumed a plastic form molded out of shadow, and became | an arrogant beast resembling a lion." | It was androgynous, as I have already said, | because it was from matter that it derived.

"Opening his [20] eyes he saw a vast quantity of matter without limit; | and he became arrogant, saying, 'It is I who am God, and there | is none other apart from me.'

"When he said | this, he sinned against the entirety. | And a voice came forth from above the realm of absolute power, [25] saying, 'You are mistaken, Samael' – | which is, 'god of the blind.'

"And he | said, 'If any other thing exists before | me, let it become

visible to me!' And | immediately Sophia stretched forth her finger [30] and introduced light into | matter; and she pursued it down | to the region of chaos. And she returned | up [to] her light; once again darkness | [. . .] matter.

"This ruler, by being androgynous, [35] made himself a vast realm, **95** an extent without limit. And he contemplated | creating offspring for himself, and created | for himself seven offspring, androgynous just like | their parent.

"And he said to his offspring, [5] 'It is I who am the god of the entirety.'

"And Zoe (Life), | the daughter of Pistis Sophia, cried | out and said to him, 'You are mistaken, Sakla!' – | for which the alternate name is Yaltabaoth. She | breathed into his face, and her breath became [10] a fiery angel for her; and | that angel bound Yaldabaoth | and cast him down into Tartaros | below the abyss.

"Now when his offspring | Sabaoth saw the force of that angel, [15] he repented and | condemned his father and his | mother matter.

"He loathed her, but he | sang songs of praise up to Sophia and her daughter Zoe. | And Sophia and Zoe caught him up [20] and gave him charge of the seventh heaven, | below the veil between | above and below. And he is | called 'God of the forces, Sabaoth,'' | since he is up above the forces [25] of chaos, for Sophia established | him.

"Now when these (events) had come to pass, he made | himself a huge four-faced chariot of cherubim, | and infinitely many angels | to act as ministers, [30] and also harps and | lyres.

"And Sophia took her daughter | Zoe and had her sit upon his right to teach him about the things that exist | in the eighth (heaven); and the angel [of] wrath [35] she placed upon his left. [Since] that day, [his right] has been called **96** life; and the left has come to represent | the unrighteousness of the realm of absolute power | above. It was before your (sg.) time that they came into being (text corrupt?).

"Now when | Yaldabaoth saw him in this [5] great splendor and at this height, he envied him; | and the envy became an androgynous product. | and this was the origin of | envy. And envy engendered death; and death | engendered his offspring and gave each [10] of them charge of its heaven; and all the heavens | of chaos became full of their multitudes.

"But it was | by the will of the father of the entirety that they all came into being – | after the pattern of all the things above – | so that the sum of chaos might be attained. [15]

"There, I have taught you (sg.) about the pattern | of the rulers; and the matter in which it was expressed; | and their parent; and their universe."

But I | said, "Sir, am I also | from their matter?"

– "You, together with your offspring, are from [20] the primeval father; | from above, out of the imperishable light, | their souls are come. Thus the authorities | cannot approach them because of | the spirit of truth present within them; [25] and all who have become acquainted with this way | exist deathless in the midst | of dying mankind. Still that sown element (*sperma*) | will not become known now.

"Instead, | after three generations it will come to be known, [30] and has freed them from the bondage of the | authorities' error."

Then I said, | "Sir, how much longer?"

He said | to me, "Until the moment when the true man, | within a modelled form, reveals the existence of (?) [35] [the spirit of] truth, which the father has sent. **97**

"Then he will teach them about | everything: And he will anoint them with the | unction of life eternal, | given him from the undominated generation. [5]

"Then they will be freed of | blind thought: And they will trample under foot | death, which is of the authorities: And they will ascend | into the limitless light, | where this sown element belongs. [10]

"Then the authorities will relinquish their | ages: And their angels will weep | over their destruction: And their demons | will lament their death.

"Then all the children | of the light will be truly acquainted with the truth [15] and their root, and the father | of the entirety and the holy spirit: They will all say | with a single voice, | 'The father's truth is just, and the son | presides over the entirety': And from everyone [20] unto the ages of ages, 'Holy – holy – holy! Amen!'"|

The Reality | Of the Rulers

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD (II,5 AND XIII,2)

Introduced by

HANS-GEBHARD BETHGE

Translated by

HANS-GEBHARD BETHGE, BENTLEY LAYTON,
SOCIETAS COPTICA HIEROSOLYMITANA

The text of this tractate is quite well preserved. It is a compendium of central gnostic ideas, especially on cogmogony, anthropogony, and eschatology. Based on various sources and traditions, the treatise is in part presented in a semi-scholarly style, with numerous etiologies and etymologies. It is in the form of an apologetic tract designed for public effectiveness in attracting adherents. Earthly history, but also the presentation of the world above, including its development, are largely ignored. On the basis of the unnamed and unknown author's intention, stated at the beginning and then carried through in the text itself, scholarship has assigned the document the hypothetical title *On the Origin of the World.*

There are good reasons to assume that we have to do with a conscious, well-planned literary composition without extensive secondary alterations, rather than with the product of a rather long process in the transmission of tradition. The early fourth century could possibly be the time of composition. The remarkable mixture of various kinds of Jewish views, Manichaean elements, Christian ideas, Greek philosophical conceptions, and figures of Greek or Hellenistic mythology, magic, and astrology, as well as a clear emphasis on Egyptian thought, all point to Alexandria as the probable place of origin for the Greek original of *On the Origin of the World.* The process of translating into Coptic may have involved several stages. The seemingly corrupt condition of many passages that invite emendation, along with other difficult, often barely intelligible, parts could be explained by assuming that the text as it lies before us still represents a provisional stage in the process of translation. *On the Origin of the World* would thus be an "opus imperfectum" (B. Layton).

The author uses various sources and traditions, some gnostic, some not, that are difficult to define more closely in terms of literary criticism, much less to reconstruct. In the process there are on occasion tensions, unevenness, and contradictions, since at least a few of these traditions or works presuppose a very special system all their own, or contain other tendencies, e.g., Sethian, or Valentinian, or even Manichaean. *On the Origin of the World* itself offers no closed system of its own, nor does it represent one of the known gnostic systems. The author works with direct or indirect quotations, references, summaries, explanations, and etymologies, which stand in sharp contrast to the otherwise dominant narrative style. This way of working, defending one's own view by appeal or reference to other works, is intended as a demonstration of a substantive and convincing

argumentation. *On the Origin of the World* has many parallels with *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, indicating a close relation between the two texts. Yet the dissimilar nature of both documents, the diverging world views, and numerous differences in details, indicate that direct literary relationships are rather improbable. The parallelism probably results from the use of the same source material.

The cosmogony and anthropogony that follow upon the semi-philosophical beginning are in part oriented to Genesis 1-2, but beyond that to concepts such as those known from Jubilees or the Enoch literature. In general, characteristically Jewish influences dominate, e.g., in the angelology, demonology, and eschatology, as well as in etymologies. The gnostic reinterpretation of the received material varies considerably. It extends from complete reevaluation, e.g., in the case of the demiurge's presumption (making use of Is 45:5; 46:9 LXX), and what took place in Genesis 3, on to relatively unbroken appropriation of Jewish ideas and motifs, such as the presentation of paradise.

The primordial history emphasizes the creation of the earthly man by the Archons, in connection with the doctrine of the primal man, which to be sure is hard to understand, due to varying motifs and heterogeneous concepts. On the other hand, the primordial history initiates already the story of redemption on the part of Pistis Sophia or Sophia Zoe, who are encountered or act in various ways. In this complex soteriology, however, Jesus Christ has no central function, but rather a marginal role. For these reasons *On the Origin of the World* belongs to the gnostic Nag Hammadi texts that are essentially non-Christian.

On the Origin of the World is oriented towards universal eschatology. This is shown by the many allusions to the end, as well as by the broad presentation of the final events with a massive appropriation of thoughts, terms, and motifs from apocalypticism. The final state, brought about by the higher world, distinguishing the redemption of the gnostics from the destruction of the creation together with its creator, surpasses the primal condition, and renders impossible a repetition of events such as these presented in *On the Origin of the World.*

On the Origin of the World is a significant gnostic work. We attain through this relatively long document a good insight into an educated author's thinking, work habits, and argumentation on fundamental themes. Furthermore, *On the Origin of the World* shows to what a high degree and with what freedom and authority a gnostic author makes use of foreign, even non-gnostic and heterogenous thoughts. It thus attests the greater importance ascribed to the gnostic stance toward the world and existence than to its mythological formulation. *On the Origin of the World* can help us understand how the gnostic world view, in debate with other intellectual currents, but also making use of them, could maintain itself or perhaps at times even win the field.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

II 97, 24-127, 17

Seeing that everybody, gods of the world [25] and mankind, says that nothing | existed prior to chaos, I | in distinction to them shall demon-

strate that they are | all mistaken, because they are not acquainted with the origin | of chaos, nor with its root. Here is the demonstration. [30] How well it suits **98** all men, on the subject of chaos, to say that | it is a kind of darkness! But in fact it comes from a shadow, | which has been called by the name darkness. And the shadow | comes from a product that has existed [5] since the beginning. It is, moreover, clear that it (viz., the product) | existed before chaos came into being, and that the latter | is posterior to the first product.

Let us therefore concern ourselves | with the facts of the matter; and furthermore, with the first | product, from which chaos was projected. [10] And in this way the truth will be clearly demonstrated. |

After the natural structure of the immortal beings | had completely developed out of the infinite, | a likeness then emanated from Pistis (Faith); | it is called Sophia (Wisdom). It exercised volition [15] and became a product resembling | the primeval light. And | immediately her will manifested itself | as a likeness of heaven, having | an unimaginable magnitude; [20] it was between the immortal beings and those things that | came into being after them, like . . . : she (Sophia) | functioned as a veil dividing | mankind from the things above.

Now the eternal realm (aeon) | of truth has no shadow outside it, [25] for the limitless light is everywhere | within it. But its exterior is shadow, | which has been called by the name darkness. From | it there appeared a force, presiding over | the darkness. And the forces [30] that came into being subsequent to them called the shadow | "the limitless chaos." From it, | every [kind] of divinity sprouted up | . . . together with the entire place, [so that] | also, [shadow] is posterior to the first **99** product. It was ⟨in⟩ the abyss that [it] (shadow) appeared, | deriving from the aforementioned Pistis.

Then | shadow perceived that there was something | mightier than it, and felt envy; and when it had become pregnant [15] of its own accord, suddenly it | engendered jealousy. Since that day, | the principle of jealousy amongst | all the eternal realms and their worlds has been apparent. Now as for that jealousy, | it was found to be an abortion without [10] any spirit in it. Like a shadow it came into existence | in a vast watery substance. Then | the bile that had come into being out of the shadow | was thrown into a part of chaos. | Since that day, a watery substance [15] has been apparent. And what sank within | it flowed away, being visible | in chaos: as with a woman giving birth to a child | – all her superfluities flow out; | just so, matter came into being out of [20] shadow and was projected apart. And it (viz., matter) did not | depart from chaos; rather, matter was in chaos, | being in a part of it. |

And when these things had come to pass, then Pistis came | and appeared over the matter of [25] chaos, which had been expelled like an | aborted fetus – since there was no spirit in it. For all of it (viz., chaos) | was limitless darkness | and bottomless water. | Now when Pistis saw what had resulted [30] from her defect, she became disturbed. | And the disturbance appeared, as a | fearful product; it rushed [to] her in | the chaos. She turned to it and [blew] into | its face in the abyss, which is below **100** all the heavens.

And when Pistis | Sophia desired to cause the thing | that had no spirit to be formed into a likeness | and to rule over matter and over all her [5] forces, there appeared for the first time | a ruler, out of the waters, | lionlike in appearance, androgynous, | having great authority within | him, and ignorant of whence he had come into being. [10] Now when Pistis Sophia | saw him moving about in the depth of the waters | she said to him, "Child, | pass through to here," whose equivalent is *"yalda baōth."*

Since that day there appeared the principle [15] of verbal expression, which reached | the gods and the angels and mankind. | And what came into being as a result of verbal expression, | the gods and the angels and mankind finished. | Now as for the ruler Yaltabaoth, [20] he is ignorant of the force of Pistis: | he did not see her face, rather he saw | in the water the likeness that spoke with him. | And because of that voice, he called | himself Yaldabaoth. But [25] Ariael is what the perfect call him, for he was like | a lion. Now when he had come to have authority over matter, | Pistis Sophia withdrew up | to her light.

When the ruler saw [30] his magnitude – and it was only himself | that he saw: he saw nothing else, | except for water and darkness – then he supposed | that it was he alone who existed. His | [...] was completed by verbal expression: it **101** appeared as a spirit moving to and fro | upon the waters. And when that spirit | appeared, the ruler set apart the watery substance. | And what was dry [5] was divided into another place. And from matter | he made for himself an abode, and he called | it heaven. And from matter, | the ruler made a footstool, | and he called it earth.

Next, [10] the ruler had a thought – consistent with his nature – and | by means of verbal expression he created an androgyne. | He opened his mouth and cooed to | him. When his eyes had been opened, he looked | at his father, and he said to him, "Eee!" Then his [15] father called him Eee-a-o (Yao). Next he | created the second son. He cooed | to him. And he opened his eyes and said | to his father, "Eh!" His

father called | him Eloai. Next he created [20] the third son. He cooed to him. And he opened his | eyes and said to his father, "Asss!" His | father called him Astaphaios. These | are the three sons of their father. |

Seven appeared in chaos, androgynous. [25] They have their masculine names | and their feminine names. The feminine name | is Pronoia (Forethought) Sambathas, which | is "week." And his son is called | Yao: his feminine name is Lordship. [30]

Sabaoth: his feminine name is Deity. |

Adonaios: his feminine name is Kingship. |

Eloaios: his feminine name is Jealousy. |

Oraios: his feminine name is Wealth. |

And Astaphaios: his feminine name **102** is Sophia (Wisdom).

These are the [seven] forces | of the seven heavens of [chaos]. And they were born | androgynous, consistent with the immortal pattern | that existed before them, according to the wish [5] of Pistis: so that the likeness of what had | existed since the beginning might reign to | the end.

You (sg.) will find the effect of these names | and the force of the male entities in the *Archangelic (Book)* | *of the Prophet Moses*, and the [10] names of the female entities in the first *Book (biblos)* | *of Noraia.*

Now the prime parent Yaldabaoth, | since he possessed great authorities, | created heavens for each of his | offspring through verbal expression – created them beautiful, as dwelling places [15] – and in each heaven he created great glories, | seven times excellent. Thrones and | mansions and temples, and also | chariots and virgin spirits up | to an invisible one and their glories, each one [20] has these in his heaven; mighty | armies of gods and lords and angels | and archangels – countless myriads | – so that they might serve.

The account of these matters you (sg.) will find | in a precise manner in the first *Account* [25] *of Oraia.*

And they were completed from this heaven to as far up as | the sixth heaven, namely that of Sophia. | The heaven and his earth were destroyed by | the troublemaker that was below them all. | And the six heavens shook violently; [30] for the forces of chaos knew who it was | that had destroyed the heaven that was below them. | And when Pistis knew about the breakage | resulting from the disturbance, she sent forth her breath and | bound him and cast him down into Tartaros. [35] Since that day, the heaven, along with **103** its earth, has consolidated itself through Sophia the daughter of Yaldabaoth, | she who is below them all. |

Now when the heavens had consolidated themselves along with their

forces | and all their administration, the prime parent [5] became insolent. And he was honored by | all the army of angels. And | all the gods and their angels | gave blessing and honor to him. And for his part he | was delighted and continually boasted, [10] saying to them, | "I have no need of anyone." He said, | "It is I who am God, and there is no other one that exists | apart from me." And when he said this, he sinned against | all the immortal beings who give answer. And they laid it [15] to his charge.

Then when Pistis saw the impiety | of the chief ruler she was filled with anger. | She was invisible. She said, "You are mistaken, | Samael," that is, "blind god." | "There is an immortal man of light who [20] has been in existence before you and who will appear | among your modelled forms; he will trample you to scorn | just as potter's clay is pounded. And you will descend | to your mother, the abyss, along with those that belong to you. [25] For at the consummation of your (pl.) works | the entire defect that has become visible | out of the truth will be abolished, and it will cease to be and will be | like what has never been." | Saying this, Pistis revealed [30] her likeness of her greatness in the waters. And | so doing she withdrew up | to her light.

Now when Sabaoth the son | of Yaldabaoth heard the | voice of Pistis, he sang praises to her, and [he] [35] condemned the father ... **104** at the word of Pistis; and he praised her | because she had instructed them about the immortal man | and his light. Then Pistis Sophia | stretched out her finger and poured upon him [5] some light from her light, to be a condemnation | of his father. Then when Sabaoth | was illumined, he received great authority | against all the forces of chaos. | Since that day he has been called [10] "Lord of the Forces."

He hated his father, the darkness, | and his mother, the abyss, and loathed | his sister, the thought of the prime parent, | which moved to and fro upon the waters. And because of | his light all the authorities of chaos were jealous [15] of him. And when they had become disturbed, | they made a great war in the seven | heavens. Then when Pistis Sophia | had seen the war, she dispatched | seven archangels to Sabaoth from her light. [20] They snatched him up to the seventh | heaven. They stood before him as attendants. | Furthermore she sent him three more | archangels and established the kingdom for him | over everyone so that he might dwell [25] above the twelve gods | of chaos.

Now when Sabaoth had taken up the place | of repose in return for his repentance, | Pistis also gave him her daughter Zoe (Life) | together with great authority so that she might [30] instruct him about all things that

exist in the eighth heaven. | And as he had authority, | he made himself first of all a mansion. | It is huge, magnificent, | seven times as great as all those that exist [35] in the seven heavens.

And before **105** his mansion he created a throne, | which was huge and was upon a | four-faced chariot called | "Cherubin." Now the Cherubin has [5] eight shapes per each of | the four corners, lion forms and | calf forms and human forms | and eagle forms, so that all the forms | amount to sixty-four forms [10] – and (he created) seven archangels that stand | before it; he is the eighth, and has | authority. All the forms amount to | seventy-two. Furthermore, from this chariot | the seventy-two gods took shape; [15] they took shape so that they might rule over the seventy-two | languages of the peoples. And by that throne | he created other, | serpent-like angels, called | "Saraphin," which praise him at all times. [20]

Thereafter he created a congregation (*ekklesia*) of angels, thousands and myriads, numberless, | which resembled the congregation in | the eighth heaven; and a firstborn | called Israel – which [25] is, "the man that sees God"; and another being, | called Jesus Christ, who resembles the savior | above in the eighth heaven and who | sits at his right upon a | revered throne, and at his left, there [30] sits the virgin of the holy spirit, | upon a throne and glorifying him. | And the seven virgins stand before her, | ... possessing thirty harps, | and psalteries and **106** trumpets, glorifying him. And | all the armies of the angels glorify him, | and they bless him. Now where he sits is upon a | throne of light ⟨within a⟩ great cloud that covers [5] him. And there was no one with him | in the cloud except Sophia ⟨the daughter of⟩ Pistis, | instructing him about all the things that exist in the eighth heaven, | so that the likenesses of those things might be created, | in order that his reign might endure [10] until the consummation of the heavens of chaos | and their forces.

Now Pistis Sophia | set him apart from the darkness and summoned him to her right, | and the prime parent she put at her left. | Since that day, right has been called [15] justice, and left called | wickedness. Now because of this they all received | a realm (*kosmos*) in the congregation of justice | and wickedness, ... stand ... upon a creature ... | all.

Thus when the prime parent of chaos [20] saw his son Sabaoth and the glory | that he was in, and perceived that he was greatest of all the authorities | of chaos, he envied him. And | having become wrathful he engendered Death out of his | death: and he (viz., Death) was established over the sixth [25] heaven, ⟨for⟩ Sabaoth had been snatched up from

there. | And thus the number | of the six authorities of chaos was achieved. Then Death, | being androgynous, mingled with his (own) nature | and begot seven androgynous offspring. [30] These are the names of the male ones: Jealousy, Wrath, | Tears, Sighing, Suffering, Lamentation, | Bitter Weeping. And these are the names | of the female ones: Wrath, Pain, Lust, | Sighing, Curse, Bitterness, Quarrelsomeness. [35] They had intercourse with one another, and each | one begot seven, so that they amount to **107** forty-nine androgynous demons. |

Their names and their effects you will find | in the *Book of Solomon.* |

And in the presence of these, Zoe, who [15] was with Sabaoth, created seven | good androgynous forces. | These are the names of the male ones: the Unenvious, | the Blessed, the Joyful, the True, | the Unbegrudging, the Beloved, [10] the Trustworthy. Also, as regards the female ones, these are their | names: Peace, Gladness, Rejoicing, Blessedness, | Truth, Love, Faith (Pistis). And | from these there are many good | and innocent spirits.

Their influences [15] and their effects you will find in | the *Configurations of the Fate of Heaven That Is* | *Beneath the Twelve.* |

And having seen the likeness | of Pistis in the waters, the prime parent grieved very much, [20] especially when he heard her voice, | like the first voice that had | called to him out of the waters. And | when he knew that it was she who had given a name | to him, he sighed. He was ashamed on account of his [25] transgression. And when he had come to know in truth | that an immortal man | of light had been existing before him, he was greatly disturbed; | for he had previously said | to all the gods and their angels, [30] "It is I who am god. No other one | exists apart from me." For he had been afraid | they might know that another | had been in existence before him, and might condemn him. But he, being devoid of understanding, [35] scoffed at the condemnation | and acted recklessly. He said, "If **108** anything has existed before me, let it appear, | so that we may see its light."

And | immediately, behold! Light came out of the eighth heaven | above and passed through all of the heavens [5] of the earth. When the prime parent saw that the light was beautiful as it radiated, | he was amazed. And he was greatly ashamed. As | that light appeared, a human likeness | appeared within it, very wonderful. [10] And no one saw it except for | the prime parent and Pronoia, | who was with him. Yet its light appeared | to all the forces of the heavens. Because of this | they were all troubled by it.

Then [15] when Pronoia saw that emissary, she became enamored of

him. | But he hated her because she was on the darkness. | But she desired to embrace him, and she was not | able to. When she was unable to assuage her love, | she poured out her light upon the earth. Since [20] that day, that emissary has been called | "Adam of Light," whose rendering | is "the luminous man of blood," and the earth spread over him, holy Adaman, | whose rendering is "the Holy Land of Adamantine." [25] Since that day, | all the authorities have honored the blood of the virgin. | And the earth was purified on account of | the blood of the virgin. But most of all, | the water was purified through the likeness of Pistis [30] Sophia, who had appeared to | the prime parent in the waters. | Justly, then, it has been said: "through the waters." | The holy water, since it vivifies the all, **109** purifies it.

Out of that first blood | Eros appeared, being androgynous. | His masculinity is Himireris (i.e., Himeros), being | fire from the light. His femininity, [5] that is with him – a soul of blood – is from | the stuff of Pronoia. He is very lovely | in his beauty, having a charm beyond | all the creatures of chaos. Then all the gods | and their angels, when they beheld [10] Eros, became enamored of him. And appearing | in all of them he set them afire: just as | from a single lamp many lamps | are lit, and one and the same light is there, but the lamp | is not diminished. And in this way Eros [15] became dispersed in all the created beings of chaos, | and was not diminished. Just as from | the midpoint of light and darkness | Eros appeared and at the midpoint | of the angels and mankind [20] the sexual union of Eros was consummated, so | out of the earth the primal pleasure blossomed. | The woman followed earth. | And marriage followed woman. | Birth followed marriage. Dissolution [25] followed birth.

After that Eros, | the grapevine sprouted up | out of that blood, which had been shed over | the earth. Because of this, those who drink of it | conceive the desire of sexual union. [30] After the grapevine, a fig tree | and a pomegranate tree sprouted up from | the earth, together with the rest of the trees, | all species, having | within them their seed from the **110** seed of the authorities and their angels. |

Then Justice created Paradise, | being beautiful and being outside the orbit | of the moon and the orbit of the sun in [15] the Land of Wantonness, in the East in the midst | of the stones. And desire is in the midst of | the beautiful, appetizing trees. And | the tree of eternal life is as it | appeared by God's will, [10] to the north of Paradise, so that it might make | eternal the souls of the pure, | who shall come forth from the modelled forms of poverty | at the consummation of the age. Now the

color | of the tree of life is like the sun. And [15] its branches are beautiful. Its leaves are like | those of the cypress. Its fruit is like | a bunch of grapes when it is white. Its height | goes as far as heaven. And next to it (is) the tree | of acquaintance (*gnosis*), having the strength [20] of God. Its glory is like the moon | when fully radiant. And its branches are beautiful. | Its leaves are like fig leaves. | Its fruit is like a good appetizing date. | And this tree is to the north of Paradise, [25] so that it might arouse the souls from | the torpor of the demons, in order that they might approach | the tree of life and eat of | its fruit and so condemn the | authorities and their angels.

The effect [30] of this tree is described in the *Sacred Book*, | to wit: "It is you who are the tree of acquaintance, | which is in Paradise, from which the first | man ate and which opened his mind; | and he loved his female counterpart and condemned **111** the other, alien likenesses and loathed them." |

Now after it, the olive tree sprouted up, | which was to purify the kings and the | high priests of righteousness, who were to [5] appear in the last days, since | the olive tree appeared out of the light | of the first Adam for the sake of the unguent | that they were to receive.

And the first soul (*psyche*) loved | Eros, who was with her, and poured her blood [10] upon him and upon the earth. | And out of that blood the rose first sprouted up, | out of the earth, out of | the thorn bush, to be a source of joy for the light that | was to appear in the bush. [15] Moreover after this the beautiful, good-smelling flowers | sprouted up from the earth, | different kinds, from every single virgin | of the daughters of Pronoia. | And they, when they had become enamored of Eros, poured out [20] their blood upon him and upon the earth. | After these, every plant sprouted up | from the earth, different kinds, containing | the seed of the authorities and their | angels. After these, the authorities [25] created out of the waters all species of beast, | and the reptiles and birds – different kinds – containing | the seed of the authorities and their angels. |

But before all these, when he had appeared [30] on the first day, he remained upon the earth, something like two days, and | left the lower Pronoia in | heaven, and ascended towards his light. And | immediately darkness covered all the universe. **112** Now when she wished, the Sophia who was in the lower heaven | received authority from | Pistis, and fashioned great luminous bodies | and all the stars. And she put them in the sky to [5] shine upon the earth and to render | temporal signs and seasons and | years and months and days | and nights and moments and so

forth. | And in this way the entire region upon the sky was adorned. [10]

Now when Adam of Light conceived the wish | to enter his light – i.e., | the eighth heaven – he was unable to do so because of | the poverty that had mingled with his light. Then | he created for himself a vast eternal realm. And within [15] that eternal realm he created six eternal realms | and their adornments, six in number, that were seven times better | than the heavens of chaos and their adornments. | Now all these eternal realms and their | adornments exist within the infinity [20] that is between the eighth heaven and the chaos below | it, being counted with the universe that belongs to | poverty.

If you (sg.) want to know the arrangement | of these, you will find it written in the *Seventh* | *Universe of the Prophet Hieralias.* [25]

And before Adam of Light had | withdrawn in the chaos, the authorities saw him | and laughed at the prime parent because he had | lied when he said, "It is I who am God. | No one exists before me." When they came to [30] him, they said, "Is this not the god who | ruined our work?" He answered and said, | "Yes. If you do not want him to be able | to ruin our work, come let us | create a man (i.e., human being) out of earth, according to [35] the image of our body and according to the likeness **113** of this being (viz., Adam of Light), to serve us; so that when he (viz., Adam of Light) | sees his likeness he might become enamored of it. No longer will he | ruin our work; rather, | we shall make those who are born out of the light our servants [5] for all the duration of this eternal realm. Now all of this | came to pass according to the forethought of Pistis, | in order that man should appear after | his likeness, and should condemn them | because of their modelled form. And their modelled form [10] became an enclosure of the light.

Then the authorities | received the acquaintance (*gnosis*) necessary to create | man. Sophia | Zoe – she who is with Sabaoth – had anticipated them. And she laughed | at their decision. For they are blind: [15] against their own interests they ignorantly created him. | And they do not realise what they are about to do. | The reason she anticipated them and made her own man (i.e., human being) | first, was in order that he might instruct | their modelled form how to despise [20] them and thus to escape from them. |

Now the production of the instructor came about | as follows. When Sophia let fall a droplet | of light, it flowed onto the water, | and immediately a human being appeared, being androgynous. [25] That droplet she molded | first as a female body. Afterwards, | using the body she molded it | in the likeness of the mother which had appeared. | And he

finished it in twelve months. [30] An androgynous human being was produced, | whom the Greeks call Hermaphrodites; | and whose mother the Hebrews call | Eve of Life (Eve of Zoe), namely, the female instructor | of life. Her offspring is the creature [35] that is lord. Afterwards, the authorities **114** called it "Beast," so that it might lead astray | their modelled creatures. The interpretation of "the beast" | is "the instructor." For it was found to be the wisest | of all beings.

Now, Eve is the first [5] virgin, the one who without a husband bore her first offspring. | It is she who served as her own midwife.

For | this reason she is held to have said: |

"It is I who am the part of my mother;
And it is I who am | the mother;
It is I who am the wife;
It is I who am the virgin; [10]
It is I who am pregnant;
It is I who am the midwife;
It is I who am the one that | comforts pains of travail;
It is my husband who bore me;
And | it is I who am his mother,
And it is he who is my father | and my lord.
It is he who is my force;
What he desires, | he says with reason.
I am in the process of becoming.
Yet [15] I have borne a man as lord."

Now these through the will | ⟨...⟩. The souls | that were going to enter the modelled forms of the authorities were manifested to Sabaoth and his Christ. | And regarding these the holy voice | said, "Multiply and improve! Be lord [20] over all creatures." And it is they who were | taken captive, according to their destinies, by | the prime parent. And thus | they were shut into the prisons of the modelled forms. | Or: at the consummation of the age. And at that time, [25] the prime parent | then rendered an opinion concerning man to those who were with him. | Then each of them cast | his sperm into the midst of the navel of | the earth. Since that day, the seven rulers [30] have fashioned man with his body | resembling their body, but his likeness | resembling the man that had appeared to them. | His modelling took place by parts, | one at a time. And their leader fashioned [35] the brain and the nervous system. Afterwards | he appeared as prior to him. He became **115** a soul-endowed man. And he was called | Adam, that is, "father," according to | the name of the one that existed before him.

And when they had finished | Adam, he abandoned him as an inanimate vessel, since he had taken form [5] like an abortion, in that no spirit was in him. | Regarding this thing, when the chief ruler | remembered the saying of Pistis, he was afraid | lest the true man enter his | modelled form and become its lord. For this reason he [10] left his modelled form forty days without | soul, and he withdrew and abandoned it. Now on the fortieth | day, Sophia Zoe sent | her breath into Adam, who had no | soul. He began to move upon the ground. [15] And he could not stand up.

Then when the seven | rulers came, they saw him and | were greatly disturbed. They went up to | him and seized him. And he (viz., the chief ruler) said to | the breath within him, "Who are you? And [20] whence did you come hither?" It answered | and said, "I have come from the force | of the man for the destruction of your work." | ⟨...⟩ When they heard, they glorified him, since he | gave them respite from the fear and the anxiety in which they found themselves. [25] Then they called that day | "Rest," in as much as they had rested | from toil. And when they saw that Adam | could not stand up, they were glad, and they took him | and put him in Paradise. And they withdrew [30] up to their heavens.

After | the day of rest Sophia | sent her daughter Zoe, being called | Eve, as an instructor in order that she might | make Adam, who had no soul, arise [35] so that those whom he should engender might become | containers of light. When **116** Eve saw her male counterpart prostrate she had pity | upon him, and she said, "Adam! Become alive! | Arise upon the earth!" Immediately her word | became accomplished fact. For Adam, having [5] arisen, suddenly opened his eyes. | When he saw her he said, "You shall be called | 'Mother of the Living'. For it is you who have | given me life."

Then the authorities were informed | that their modelled form was alive and had arisen, and they [10] were greatly troubled. They sent seven archangels | to see what had happened. They came | to Adam. When they saw Eve talking to | him they said to one another, "What sort of thing is this luminous woman? | For she resembles that likeness which appeared [15] to us in the light. Now come, | let us lay hold of her and cast our | seed into her, so that when she becomes soiled | she may not be able to ascend into her light. | Rather, those whom she bears will be under [20] our charge. But let us not tell Adam, for he is not one | of us. Rather let us bring a deep sleep | over him. And let us instruct him in his | sleep to the effect that she came from | his rib, in order that his wife may obey, [25] and he may be lord over her."

Then Eve, | being a force, laughed at their decision. | She put mist into their eyes and secretly left | her likeness with Adam. She entered | the tree of acquaintance and remained there. [30] And they pursued her, and she revealed | to them that she had gone into the tree and become | a tree. Then, entering a great | state of fear, the blind creatures fled.

Afterwards, | when they had recovered from the daze, they came [35] [to Adam]; and seeing the likeness of this woman **117** with him, they were greatly disturbed, thinking it was she | that was the true Eve. And they acted rashly; they came | up to her and seized her and cast | their seed upon her. They did so [5] wickedly, defiling not only | in natural ways but also in foul ways, | defiling first the seal of her voice | – that had spoken with them, saying, "What is it that exists | before you?" – intending to defile those who might say [10] at the consummation (viz., of the age) that they had been born | of the true man through verbal expression. | And they erred, not knowing | that it was their own body that they had defiled: it was the likeness that | the authorities and their angels defiled in every way. [15]

First she was pregnant with Abel, | by the first ruler. And it was | by the seven authorities and their angels | that she bore the other offspring. And all this | came to pass according to the forethought of the prime parent, [20] so that the first mother | might bear within her every seed, | being mixed and being fitted to the fate | of the universe and its configurations, and | to Justice. A prearranged plan came into effect [25] regarding Eve, so that the modelled forms of the authorities | might become enclosures of the light, whereupon | it (viz., the light) would condemn them through their | modelled forms.

Now the first Adam, (Adam) of Light, | is spirit-endowed (*pneumatikos*), and appeared [30] on the first day. The second | Adam is soul-endowed (*psychikos*), and appeared | on the sixth day, which is called Aphrodite. The third | Adam is a creature of the earth (*choikos*), that is, [35] the man of the law, and he appeared on | the eighth day [... the] tranquility **118** of poverty, which is called | Sunday. And the progeny of the | earthly Adam became numerous and was completed, | and produced within itself every kind of scientific information of [5] the soul-endowed Adam. But all were in | ignorance.

Next let me say | that once the rulers had seen him and | the female creature who was with him erring ignorantly | like beasts, they were very glad. [10] ⟨...⟩ When they learned that the immortal man was not going to | neglect them, rather that they would even have to fear | the female creature that had turned into a tree, they were disturbed, and said,

| "Perhaps this is the true man | – this being who has brought a fog upon us and [15] has taught us that she who was soiled is like | him – and so we shall be conquered!"

Then | the seven of them together laid plans. They came up to Adam | and Eve timidly: they said to him, | "The fruit of all the trees created for you in Paradise [20] shall be eaten; but as for the tree | of acquaintance, control yourselves and do not eat | from it. If you eat you | will die." Having imparted great fear to them | they withdrew up to their authorities.

Then [25] came the wisest of all creatures, | who was called Beast. | And when he saw the likeness of their mother | Eve he said to her, "What did God | say to you (pl.)? Was it 'do not eat from the tree [30] of acquaintance (*gnosis*)'?" She said, "He said, 'Not only | do not eat from it, but | do not touch it, lest you (sg.) die'." He said | to her, "Do not be afraid. In death you (pl.) shall not | die. For he knows that when you eat **119** from it, your intellect will become sober and | you will come to be like gods, | recognizing the difference that obtains between evil | men and good ones. [5] Indeed, it was in jealousy that he said this to you, so that you | would not eat from it."

Now Eve had confidence | in the words of the instructor. She gazed | at the tree and saw that it was beautiful and | appetizing, and liked it; she took some of [10] its fruit and ate it; and she gave some also to her | husband, and he too ate it. Then their intellect | became open. For when they had eaten, the light of | acquaintance had shone upon them. When they clothed | themselves with shame, they knew that they were naked [15] of acquaintance. When they became sober, they saw that | they were naked and became enamored of one another. When | they saw that the ones who had modelled them had the form | of beasts, they loathed them: they were very aware. |

Then when the rulers knew that they had broken [20] their commandments, they entered Paradise | and came to Adam and Eve with earthquake and great threatening, | to see | the effect of the aid. Then | Adam and Eve trembled greatly [25] and hid under the trees in Paradise. | Then the rulers did not know where they were | and said, "Adam, where are you?" He said, "I am here, | for through fear of you I hid, | being ashamed." And they said to him ignorantly, [30] "Who told you about | the shame with which you clothed yourself? – unless | you have eaten from that tree!" He said, | "The woman whom you gave me – it is she that | gave to me and I ate." Then they said to the latter, **120** "What is this that you have done?" She answered and said, | "It is the instructor that urged me on, and I | ate."

Then the rulers came up to the instructor. | Their eyes became misty because of him, [5] and they could not do anything to him. They cursed him, | since they were powerless. Afterwards, they came up to the woman | and cursed her and her offspring. After | the woman, they cursed Adam, and (cursed) the land because of him, | and the crops; and all things that they had created [10] they cursed. They have no blessing. | Good cannot result from | evil.

From that day, the authorities | knew that truly there was something mightier than | they: they recognized only that [15] their commandments had not been kept. Great | jealousy was brought into the world solely because of | the immortal man. Now when the rulers saw | that their Adam had entered into an alien state of acquaintance they | desired to test him, and they gathered together [20] all the domestic animals and the wild beasts | of the earth and the birds of heaven and brought them to Adam | to see what he would call them. | When he saw them he gave names to their | creatures.

They became troubled because Adam had recovered from [25] all the trials. They assembled and | laid plans, and they said, "Behold Adam! | He has come to be like one of us, so that he | knows the difference between the light and the darkness. | Now perhaps he will be deceived as in the case of [35] the tree of acquaintance and also will come to | the tree of life and eat from it | and become immortal and become lord and despise | us and disdain [us] and all our glory. | Then he will denounce [35] [us along with our] universe. Come let us expel him **121** from Paradise down to the land | from which he was taken, so that henceforth he might not | be able to recognize anything better | than we can."And so they expelled Adam from [5] Paradise, along with his wife. And this deed | that they had done was not enough for them. Rather, they were afraid. | They went in to the tree of life and surrounded it | with great fearful things, fiery living creatures | called "Cheroubin," and they put [10] a flaming sword in their midst, fearfully | twirling at all times, so that | no earthly being might ever enter | that place.

Thereupon | since the rulers were envious of Adam they wanted to diminish [15] their (viz., Adam's and Eve's) lifespans. They could not because of | fate, which had been fixed since the beginning. | For to each had been alotted a lifespan | of 1,000 years according to the course of the luminous bodies. | But although the rulers could not [20] do this, each of the evil doers | took away ten years. | And all this lifespan (which remained) amounted to 930 years: and these are in pain and | weakness and evil [25] distraction. And so | life has turned out to be, from that day until the consummation | of the age.

Then when Sophia Zoe | saw that the rulers of the darkness had | laid a curse upon her counterparts, she was indignant. [30] And coming out of the first heaven with | full power she chased those rulers out of | [their] heavens, and cast them down into | the sinful [world], so that there they | should dwell, in the form of evil [35] spirits (*daimones*) upon the earth.

[. . .], **122** so that in their world it might pass the thousand years in Paradise | – a soul-endowed living creature | called "phoenix." It | kills itself and brings itself to life as a witness [5] to the judgment against them, for they did wrong to Adam and his | generation, unto the consummation of the age. ⟨. . .⟩ There are . . . three | men, and also his posterities unto the consummation | of the world: the spirit-endowed of eternity, and the soul-endowed, and the earthly. Likewise, [10] the three phoenixes ⟨in⟩ Paradise – the first | [is] immortal; the second lives 1,000 | years; as for the third, it is written in the *Sacred Book* | that it is consumed. So too there are | three baptisms – the first is the spiritual, [15] the second is by fire, the third | is by water. Just as the phoenix | appears as a witness concerning the angels, | so the case of the water hydri in Egypt, | which has been a witness to those going down [20] into the baptism of a true man. | The two bulls in Egypt possess | a mystery, the sun and moon, being | a witness to Sabaoth: namely, that over | them Sophia received the universe; from [25] the day that she made the sun and the moon she | put a seal upon her heaven, unto eternity. |

And the worm that has been born out of the phoenix | is a human being as well. It is written (Ps 91:13 LXX) concerning it, "the just man | will blossom like a phoenix." And [30] the phoenix first appears | in a living state, and dies, and rises again, | being a sign of what has become apparent | at the consummation of the age. It was only in Egypt that these great signs appeared [35] – nowhere else – as an indication **123** that it is like God's Paradise. |

Let us return to the aforementioned rulers, | so that we may offer | some explanation of them. Now, when the seven rulers [5] were cast down from their heavens | onto the earth, they made for themselves angels, | numerous, demonic, to serve | them. And the latter instructed mankind in many kinds of error | and magic and potions and worship of [10] idols and spilling of blood and altars and | temples and sacrifices and libations to all the spirits | of the earth, having their coworker | fate, who came into existence by | the concord between the gods of injustice [15] and justice.

And thus when the world | had come into being, it distractedly erred | at all times. For all men | upon earth worshipped the spirits (*daimo-*

nes) from | the creation to the consummation – both the angels [20] of righteousness and the men of unrighteousness. | Thus did the world come to exist in distraction, | in ignorance, and in a stupor. | They all erred, until the appearance (*parousia*) | of the true man.

Let this suffice [25] so far as the matter goes. Now we shall proceed to consideration of our world, | so that we may accurately finish the description of its structure | and management. | Then it will become obvious how | belief in the unseen realm, which has been apparent [30] from creation down to the consummation | of the age was discovered.

I come, therefore, to the main points | [regarding] the immortal man: I shall | speak of all the beings that belong to him, explaining how | they happen to be here.

When a multitude [35] of human beings had come into existence, through the parentage of [the Adam] **124** who had been fashioned, and out of matter, | and when the world had already become full, the rulers were master | over it – that is, they kept | it restrained by ignorance. For what reason? [5] For the following: since the immortal father knows | that a deficiency of truth came into being amongst the eternal realms | and their universe, when he wished | to bring to naught the rulers of perdition through the | creatures they had modelled he sent your (pl.) likenesses down into the world [10] of perdition, namely, the blessed little | innocent spirits. They are not alien to | acquaintance. For all acquaintance is vested in one angel | who appeared before them; he is not without power | in the company of the father. And ⟨he⟩ gave them acquaintance. [15] Whenever they appear in the world | of perdition, immediately and first of all they reveal [20] the pattern of imperishability as a condemnation | of the rulers and their forces. Thus when the blessed beings | appeared in forms modelled by authorities, | they were envied. And out of envy the authorities | mixed their seed with them, in hopes of [25] polluting them. They could not. Then when the blessed beings | appeared in luminous form, | they appeared in various ways. And each one | of them, starting out in his land, revealed | his (kind of) acquaintance to the visible church [30] constituted of the modelled forms of perdition. | It (viz., the church) was found to contain all kinds of seed, because of the seed | of the authorities that had [mixed with it].

Then | the savior created [. . .] of | them all – and the spirits of these [are manifestly] [35] superior, being blessed **125** and varying in election – and | also (he created) many other beings, which have no king and are superior | to everyone that was before them. Consequently, four | races exist. There are three that belong to the kings [5] of the eighth heaven. But

the fourth | race is kingless and perfect, being | the highest of all. For these shall enter | the holy place of their father. | And they will gain rest in repose [10] and eternal, unspeakable glory | and unending joy. Moreover they are | kings within the mortal domain, in that they are immortal. They | will condemn the gods of chaos and | their forces.

Now the Word (*Logos*) that is superior to [15] all beings was sent for this purpose alone: | that he might proclaim the unknown. | He said (Mk 4:22 par.), "There is nothing hidden that is | not apparent, and what has not been recognized | will be recognized." And these were sent [20] to make known what is hidden, and | the seven authorities of chaos and their | impiety. And thus they were condemned | to death.

So when all the perfect | appeared in the forms modelled [25] by the rulers and when they revealed | the incomparable truth, | they put to shame all the wisdom of the gods. | And their fate was found | to be a condemnation. And their force [30] dried up. Their lordship was dissolved. | Their forethought became [emptiness, | along with] their glory.

Before the consummation | [of the age], the whole place will shake | with great thundering. Then the rulers [35] will be sad, [...] their **126** death. The angels will mourn for their mankind, | and the demons will weep over their seasons, | and their mankind will wail and scream | at their death. Then the age [5] will begin, and they will be disturbed. Their kings will | be intoxicated with the fiery sword, and they will | wage war against one another, so that | the earth is intoxicated with bloodshed. | And the seas will be disturbed by [10] those wars. Then the sun will become dark. | And the moon will cause its light to cease. | The stars of the sky will cancel their circuits. | And a great clap of thunder will come out | of a great force that is above [15] all the forces of chaos, where | the firmament of the woman is situated. | Having created the first product, she will | put away the wise fire of intelligence | and clothe herself with witless wrath. [20] Then she will pursue the gods | of chaos, whom she created along with the prime parent. | She will cast them down into the abyss. | They will be obliterated because of their wickedness. For they will | come to be like volcanoes [25] and consume one another until they perish | at the hand of the prime parent. | When he has destroyed them, he will turn against himself | and destroy himself until he ceases to exist.

And | their heavens will fall one upon the next [30] and their (the rulers') forces will be consumed by fire. Their eternal realms, too, | will be overturned. And his (the prime parent's) heaven will | fall and break in two. His ... will | fall down upon the [...] | support them; they will fall into the abyss, [35] and the abyss will be overturned.

The light will | [... the] darkness and obliterate it: it will be like **127** something that has never been. And the product | to which the darkness had been posterior will dissolve. And | the deficiency will be plucked out by the root (and thrown) down into | the darkness. And the light will withdraw up [5] to its root. And the glory of the unbegotten | will appear. And it will fill | all the eternal realm. When the prophecy and | the account of those that are king becomes known and | is fulfilled by those who are called [10] perfect, those who – in contrast – have not become perfect | in the unbegotten father will receive their glory | in their realms and in the kingdoms of the | immortals: but they will never enter | the kingless realm.

For everyone must [15] go to the place from which he has come. | Indeed, by his acts and his | acquaintance each person will make his nature known.

THE EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL (II,*6*)

Introduced by

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The Exegesis on the Soul is a short tale (ten pages of papyrus) narrating the gnostic myth of the soul from her fall into the world to her return to heaven. The soul, whose nature is feminine – she even had a womb – was virginal and androgynous in form when she was alone with her Father in heaven, but when she fell into the world and into a body she polluted herself with many lovers. These lovers are brigands and bandits who treat the soul as a whore, then abandon her. In her suffering, she seeks for other lovers who also deceive her, making her the slave of their sexual pleasure. Ashamed, the soul remains in slavery, living in a brothel, going from one market place to another. The only gift she receives from her lovers is their polluted seed: her children are dumb, blind, sick and feeble-minded.

The soul remains in this sexual and psychic captivity until the day she perceives her situation and repents. She asks help from the Father who has mercy on her. He performs two actions to help the soul: first, he makes her womb turn inward so that the soul regains her proper character: "the womb of the soul is around the outside like the male genitalia, which are external" (131,19-27). This turning inward protects the soul from further sexual contaminations by her lovers. Secondly, the Father sends a bridegroom from heaven to the soul. The bridegroom is her brother, the firstborn of the house of the Father.

Renewed and purified, the soul adorns herself in the bridal chamber waiting for the fiancé. At his arrival, they love each other passionately. Their love, which is spiritual and eternal, is described with a vivid sensuality normally used for carnal intercourse. The fruit of this marriage are good and beautiful children (i.e., in allegory, the good, virtuous ideas: cf. Philo, *Cher.* 44). Finally the soul regenerates herself and returns to her former state.

In its main lines, the story of the soul in *Exeg. Soul* follows the Valentinian myth of Sophia, the last aeon who leaves the Pleroma searching for new horizons. From prostitution to repentance in tears and from repentance to her return to the house of the Father, the itinerary of the soul closely recalls Sophia's journey.

Nevertheless, much of the originality of *Exeg. Soul* is to be found in the theatrical approach to the myth, now presented not in a philosophical and complex way but in a novelistic adaptation, capable of capturing the reader's attention.

Two close literatures and traditions have certainly influenced the author in the composition of his treatise: Hellenistic and Jewish romance literature. Love and

adventures are the chief ingredients of Hellenistic novels, love being the first cause of the action. These novels are governed by a single motif: the tragic separation of two lovers and their final reunion after thousands of misadventures (tricks, brigands, ambiguous figures tempting the soul's chastity; cf. the Greek novels of Achilles Tatius, Chariton, Heliodorus, Longus, and Xenophon of Ephesus).

However, two features having no connection with the Greek novel can be observed in the gnostic story: first, the heroine in *Exeg. Soul* is unique. The fiancé has little part in the narration, while in the Greek novel the primary role is always given to a couple. Second, if Greek heroines are always chaste and pure, the heroine in *Exeg. Soul* (as in other gnostic novels) has led a life of prostitution. Only later will she attain virginity.

The Jewish influence is deeper. *Exeg. Soul* is a female story, the soul in fact is presented as a woman. This is quite rare in ancient literature. We find women's stories in Jewish writings, however, especially in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. The story of the soul from prostitution to virginity through repentance recalls the stories of Jewish sinners such as Rahab, Tamar, Ruth, and Bathsheba (cf., Joshua, *Jubilees, Testament of Judah*, Ruth, 2 Kings).

Exeg. Soul is not the only Nag Hammadi treatise consecrated to a female figure. Comparisons exist also with *Auth. Teach, Thund., Norea, Trim. Prot.*, and with other gnostic texts recounting short women's stories. Under the different names and physiognomies of all these women there is hidden one and only one personnage: soul searching for her heavenly origin. The common feature linking these female figures is the opposition, the polarity "virginity-prostitution." Rehabilitation consists in recovering original purity which is essential to attain knowledge.

In *Exeg. Soul* emphasis on pollution shows how the author was influenced by Apocryphal Judaism. This intense focus on pollution is typical of Essenic psychology (cf., *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and Qumran literature). In *Exeg. Soul* as well as in Essenic spirituality, purification and repentance are the only remedies for impurity. The turning inward of the womb is to be compared with spiritual circumcision; both express the will to abandon the outside, symbol of worldly temptations.

The author of *Exeg. Soul* illustrates the myth of the soul by a series of biblical quotations and two Homeric references. These quotations are part of the narrative and strictly linked to it: they even give the writer the occasion to develop themes related to the myth of the soul. Part of these quotations are grouped together in order to point out the three stages of the soul's journey: prostitution, repentance, return to the Father. These groups of quotations were not gathered by the author but drawn from an anthology of which traces had been preserved by some Christian authors of Alexandria: Clement, Didymos and Origen.

This helps to determine the author's milieu. He is dependent on an academic culture in which florilegia and anthologies formed an important part of an intellectual education.

The use of biblical as well as of Homeric references shows that Greek and Jewish wisdom had the same prophetical value for the author. Both of them expound the gnostic doctrine in a comprehensible way to a Christian, Jewish, or pagan public. These elements show that the gnostic author of *Exeg. Soul* was part of

a cultivated, syncretistic milieu where Jewish and Greek scriptures were well known, probably Alexandria at the beginning of the third century C.E. Even though the author borrowed traditions from Judaism and, partly, from Christianity and Paganism, nonetheless he was able to reinterpret them in the light of a new message, the gnostic one.

THE EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL

II 127, 18-137, 27

The Expository Treatise on the Soul

Wise men of old gave the soul a feminine name. Indeed she is female in her nature as well. She even has her womb.

As long as she was alone with the father, she was virgin and in form androgynous. But when she fell down into a body and came to this life, then she fell into the hands of many robbers. And the wanton creatures passed her from one to another and [...] her. Some made use of her [by force], while others did so by seducing her with a gift. In short, they defiled her, and she [... her] **128** virginity.

And in her body she prostituted herself and gave herself to one and all, considering each one she was about to embrace to be her husband. When she had given herself to wanton, unfaithful adulterers, so that they might make use of her, then she sighed deeply and repented. But even when she turns her face from those adulterers, she runs to others and they compel her to live with them and render service to them upon their bed, as if they were her masters. Out of shame she no longer dares to leave them, whereas they deceive her for a long time, pretending to be faithful, true husbands, as if they greatly respected her. And after all this they abandon her and go.

She then becomes a poor desolate widow, without help; not even a measure of food was left her from the time of her affliction. For from them she gained nothing except the defilements they gave her while they had sexual intercourse with her. And her offspring by the adulterers are dumb, blind, and sickly. They are feebleminded.

But when the father who is above visits her and looks down upon her and sees her sighing – with her sufferings and disgrace – and repenting of the prostitution in which she engaged, and when she begins to call upon [his name] so that he might help her, [...] all her heart, saying, "Save me, my father, for behold I will render an ac-

count | [to thee, for I abandoned] my house and **129** fled from my maiden's quarters. | Restore me to thyself again." When he sees her | in such a state, then he will count | her worthy of his mercy upon her, for many are the afflictions [5] that have come upon her because she abandoned her house.

Now concerning | the prostitution of the soul the holy spirit prophesies in | many places. For he said | in the prophet Jeremiah (3:1-4),

> If | the husband divorces his wife and she [10] goes and takes another man, can she return to him after | that? Has not that woman utterly | defiled herself? "And you (sg.) | prostituted yourself to many shepherds and you returned | to me!" said the lord. "Take an honest [15] look and see where you | prostituted yourself. Were you not sitting in the | streets defiling the land with your acts of prostitution | and your vices? And you took many shepherds for a | stumbling block for yourself. You became shameless [20] with everyone. You did not call on me as | kinsman or as father or author of your | virginity."

Again it is written in the prophet Hosea (2:2-7), |

> Come, go to law with | your (pl.) mother, for she is not to be a wife to me [25] nor I a husband to her. | I shall remove her prostitution from my presence, | and I shall remove her adultery from | between her breasts. I shall make her naked | as on the day she was born, and [30] I [shall] make her desolate like a land without | [water], and I shall make her [longingly] childless. | [I] shall show her children no pity, for | they are children of prostitution, since their mother | prostituted herself and [put her children to shame]. **130** For she said, "I shall prostitute myself to | my lovers. It was they who gave me my | bread and my water and my garments and my | clothes and my wine and my oil and everything [5] I needed." Therefore behold | I shall shut them up so that she shall not be able | to run after her adulterers. And when she | seeks them and does not find them, she will say, | "I shall return to my former husband, for [10] in those days I was better off than now." |

Again he said in Ezekiel (16:23-26), |

> It came to pass after much depravity, said | the lord, you built yourself a brothel | and you made yourself a beautiful place [15] in the streets. And you built yourself | brothels on every lane, and you wasted | your beauty, and you spread your legs | in every alley, and you multiplied your acts of prostitution. | You prostituted yourself to the sons of Egypt, [20] those who are your neighbors, men great of flesh.

But what | does "the sons of Egypt, men great of flesh" mean | if not the domain of the flesh and the perceptible realm | and the affairs of the earth, by which the soul | has become defiled here, receiving bread from [25] them, as well as wine, oil, clothing, | and the other external nonsense | surrounding the body – the things she thinks | she needs.

But as to this prostitution the | apostles of the savior commanded (cf. Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25; 1 Th 4:3; 1 Co 6:18; 2 Co 7:1), [30]

Guard yourselves against it, purify yourselves from it, |
speaking not just of the prostitution of the | body but especially of that of the soul. For this reason | the apostles [write to the churches] of | God, that such [prostitution] might not [35] occur among [us].

Yet the greatest | [struggle] has to do with the prostitution **131** of the soul. From it arises the prostitution | of the body as well. Therefore Paul, | writing to the Corinthians (1 Co 5:9-10), said,

> I wrote | you in the letter, "Do not associate with prostitutes," [5] not at all (meaning) the prostitutes of this world | or the greedy or the thieves or the | idolators, since then you would have to | go out from the world.

here it is speaking | spiritually –

> For our struggle is [10] not against flesh and blood – as he | said (Ep 6:12) – but against the world rulers | of this darkness and the spirits of | wickedness.

As long as the soul | keeps running about everywhere copulating with whomever [15] she meets and defiling herself, she exists suffering | her just deserts. But when | she perceives the straits she is in | and weeps before the father and repents, | then the father will have mercy on her and he will make [20] her womb turn from the external domain | and will turn it again inward, so that the soul will regain her | proper character. For it is not so with a woman. | For the womb of the body is | inside the body like the other internal organs, but the womb [25] of the soul is around the outside | like the male genitalia, which are | external.

So when the womb of the soul, | by the will of the father, turns itself inward, | it is baptized and is immediately [30] cleansed of the external pollution | which was pressed upon it, just as | [garments, when] dirty, are put into | the [water and] turned about until their | dirt is removed and they become clean. And so the cleansing [35] of the soul is to regain the [newness] **132** of her former nature and to turn herself back again. | That is her baptism.

Then she will | begin to rage at herself like a woman | in labor, [5] who writhes and rages in the hour of delivery. | But since she is female, by

herself she is powerless to beget | a child. From heaven the father sent her | her man, who is her brother, | the firstborn. Then the bridegroom came [10] down to the bride. She gave up | her former prostitution and cleansed herself of the pollutions | of the adulterers, and she was renewed so as to be a bride. | She cleansed herself in the bridal chamber; she filled it with perfume; | she sat in it waiting [15] for the true bridegroom. No longer does she | run about the market place, copulating with whomever she | desires, but she continued to wait for him – | (saying) "When will he come?" – and to fear him, | for she did not know what he looked like: [20] she no longer remembers since the time she fell | from her father's house. But by the will | of the father ⟨...⟩. And she dreamed of him like | a woman in love with a man.

But then | the bridegroom, according to the father's will, [25] came down to her into the bridal chamber, | which was prepared. And he decorated the bridal chamber. |

For since that marriage is | not like the carnal marriage, those who are to have intercourse | with one another will be satisfied with [30] that intercourse. And as if it were a burden | they leave behind them the annoyance of physical | desire and they [turn their faces from] | each other. But this marriage [...]. | But [once] they unite [35] [with one another], they become a single life. **133** Wherefore the prophet said (Gn 2:24) | concerning the first man and the first woman, |

They will become a single flesh. |

For they were originally joined to one another when they were with the father [5] before the woman led astray the man, who | is her brother. This marriage | has brought them back together again and the | soul has been joined to her true love, her | real master, as it is written (cf. Gn 3:16; 1 Co 11:1; Ep 5:23), [10]

For the master of the woman is her husband.

Then gradually she recognized him, | and she rejoiced once more, weeping | before him as she remembered the | disgrace of her former widowhood. | And she adorned herself still more so that [15] he might be pleased to stay with her.

And the | prophet said in the Psalms (45:10-11),

> Hear, | my daughter, and see and incline your ear | and forget your people and your father's house, | for the king has desired your beauty, [20] for he is your lord.

For he requires her | to turn her face from her | people and the multitude of her adulterers, | in whose midst she once was, to devote herself | only to her king, her real | lord, and to forget the house of the | earthly

father, with whom things went | badly for her, but to remember her father | who is in heaven. Thus also it was said | (Gn 12:1) to Abraham,

> Come out from your [30] country and your kinsfolk and from | your father's house.

Thus when the soul [had adorned] | herself again in her beauty | [. . .] enjoyed her beloved, | and [he also] loved her. And [35] when she had intercourse with him, she got **134** from him the seed that is the life-giving | spirit, so that by him she bears good children | and rears them. | For this is the great, perfect marvel [5] of birth. And so this marriage is made perfect | by the will of the father.

Now it is fitting that the soul | regenerate herself and become again as | she formerly was. The soul then moves of her own accord. | And she received the divine nature from the father [10] for her rejuvenation, so that she might be restored to | the place where originally she had been. This is | the resurrection that is from the dead. | This is the ransom from captivity. | This is the upward journey of ascent to heaven. This [15] is the way of ascent to the father. Therefore | the prophet said (Ps 103:1-5), |

> Praise the lord, O my soul, and, all that is | within me, (praise) his holy name. My | soul, praise God, who forgave [20] all your sins, who healed | all your sicknesses, who ransomed | your life from death, who crowned | you with mercy, who satisfies your longing | with good things. Your youth will [25] be renewed like an eagle's.

Then when she becomes young | again she will ascend, praising the father | and her brother, by whom she was rescued. | Thus it is by being born again that the soul will | be saved. And this [30] is due not to rote phrases | or to professional skills or to | book learning. Rather it [is] the grace of the [. . . , | it is] the gift of the [. . .]. | For such is this heavenly thing. [35] Therefore the savior cries out (Jn 6:44), **135**

> No one can come to me unless | my Father draws him and brings him to me; | and I myself will raise him up on the last | day.

It is therefore fitting to pray to the father and to call [5] on him with all our soul – not externally with the lips | but with the spirit, | which is inward, which came forth from the | depth – sighing; repenting for | the life we lived; confessing [10] our sins; perceiving the empty deception | we were in, and the empty zeal; | weeping over how we were | in darkness and in the wave; mourning for ourselves, | that he might have pity on us; hating [15] ourselves for how we are now. Again | the savior said (cf. Mt 5:4, 6; Lk 6:12),

> Blessed | are those who mourn, for it is they who will be pitied; | blessed, those who are hungry, for | it is they who will be filled.

Again he said (cf. Lk 14:26),

If [20] one does not hate his soul he cannot follow | me.

For the beginning of salvation is | repentance. Therefore (cf. Acts 13:24),

Before | Christ's appearance came John, | preaching the baptism of repentance. [25]

And repentance takes place in distress | and grief. But the father is good and loves | humanity, and he hears the | soul that calls upon him and | sends it the light of salvation. Therefore [30] he said through the spirit to the | prophet (cf. 1 Cl 8:3),

Say to the children of my people, | "[If your] sins extend | [from earth to] heaven, and if they become | [red] like scarlet and [35] blacker than [sackcloth and if] **136** you return to me with all your | soul and say to me, | "My father," I will heed you as a | holy people."

Again another place (Is 30:15),

Thus says [5] the lord, the holy one of | Israel: "If you (sg.) return and sigh, | then you will be saved and will know where you were | when you trusted in what is empty."

Again | he said in another place (Is 30:19-20) ,

Jerusalem wept [10] much, saying, "Have pity on me." He will have pity on the sound | of your (sg.) weeping. And when he saw he heeded you. | And the lord will give you (pl.) bread of | affliction and water of oppression. | From now on those who deceive will not approach you (sg.) again. [15] Your eyes will see those who are deceiving | you.

Therefore it is fitting to pray to | God night and day, spreading out | our hands towards him as do people sailing in the middle | of the sea: they pray to God [20] with all their heart without hypocrisy. | For those who pray | hypocritically deceive only themselves. | Indeed, it is in order that he might know who is worthy of salvation | that God examines the inward parts and [25] searches the bottom of the heart. For no | one is worthy of salvation who still loves | the place of deception. Therefore it is written | in the poet (Homer, *Odyssey* 1.48-59),

Odysseus sat | on the island weeping and grieving and turning [30] his face from the words of Calypso | and from her tricks, longing to see | his village and smoke coming | forth from it. And had he not [received] | help from heaven, [he would] not [have been able to return] [35] to his village.

Again [Helen] ⟨...⟩ saying (*Odyssey* 4.260-261), |

[My heart] turned itself from me. **137** It is to my house that I want to return.

For she sighed, | saying (*Odyssey* 4.261-264),

It is Aphrodite who | deceived me and brought me out of my village. My only daughter | I left behind me, and my [5] good, understanding, handsome husband.

For when | the soul leaves her | perfect husband because of the treachery of Aphrodite, | who exists here in the act of begetting, then | she will suffer harm. But if she sighs [10] and repents, she will be restored to her | house.

Certainly Israel would not have been visited | in the first place, to be brought out of the land of Egypt, | out of the house of bondage, if it had not sighed | to God and wept for the oppression [15] of its labors. Again it is written in the Psalms (6:6-9), |

I was greatly troubled in my groaning. I will | bathe my bed and my cover each | night with my tears. I have become old in the midst of all my enemies. | Depart from me, all [20] you who work at lawlessness, for behold the | lord has heard the cry of my weeping and | the lord has heard my prayer."

If | we repent, truly God will | heed us, he who is long suffering and abundantly [25] merciful, to whom is the glory for | ever and ever. Amen. |

The Expository Treatise on the Soul

THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER (II,7)

Introduced and translated by

JOHN D. TURNER

The Book of Thomas the Contender is the seventh and last treatise in Codex II of the Coptic Gnostic library from Nag Hammadi. It is a revelation dialogue between the resurrected Jesus and his twin brother Judas Thomas, ostensibly recorded by Mathaias (the apostle Matthew?) at a time just before Jesus' ascension. It is a literary expression of traditions native to Syrian Edessa about the apostle Jude, surnamed Thomas, the missionary to India. It was likely composed in the first half of the third century C.E. Two products of this tradition have been dated with fair certainty: *The Gospel of Thomas*, composed ca. C.E. 50-125, and the *Acts of Thomas*, composed ca. C.E. 225. Both seem to derive from the ascetic, pre-Manichaean Christianity in the Osrhoëne (eastern Syria, between Edessa [modern Urfu] and Messene). *The Book of Thomas the Contender* seems to occupy a median position between the *Gos. Thom.* and the *Acts* in 1) date of composition, 2) relative dominance of the role played by Thomas in these works, and 3) in developing from a sayings collection preserved by Thomas (*Gos. Thom.*) to a dialogue between Jesus and Thomas (*Thom. Cont.*), to a full-blown romance centered on the missionary exploits of Thomas (*Acts of Thomas*). The present Coptic version was probably translated from Greek; the existence of the text is otherwise unattested in antiquity.

The subscripted title designates the work as a "book" of "Thomas the *athletes* (i.e., "one who struggles" against the fiery passions of the body) writing to the perfect, while the opening lines designate the work as "secret sayings" spoken by Jesus to Judas Thomas and recorded by Mathaias as he heard them speaking. The designation "sayings" does not really correspond to the genre of the work, which is a revelation dialogue. This type of dialogue is unlike the Platonic dialogue in which a conversational process of statement, counterstatement, and clarification leads step by step to the birth of knowledge. It is instead more related to the literature sometimes called *eratapokriseis* ("questions and answers"), in which an initiate elicits revealed truth from a spiritual authority in the form of catachetical answers to topical questions. Such revelation dialogues are found in many pagan Hermetic and gnostic Christian texts, including many from Nag Hammadi (*Ap. John, Soph. Jes. Chr., Dis. 8-9, Dial. Sav., Ep. Pet. Phil.*) These dialogues are set at a time between the resurrection and ascension, when the Savior appeared on earth in his true divine form, so that both he and his teaching were available to select apostles in a form unclouded by the sort of materiality which was believed to obscure the spiritual significance of his rather parabolic earthly, preresurrection teaching. This special teaching might consist of enlightening commentary on his darker earthly teaching, or even new revelations to special apostles. As the Savior's twin, Thomas had a claim to direct insight into the nature of the Savior and his teaching. By "knowing himself," Thomas

would also know the "depth of the all," whence the Savior came, and whither he was about to return, and thus become a missionary possessing the true teaching of Jesus.

This true teaching of Jesus turns out to be consistently ascetic. Its basic theme or catchword is "fire," the fire of bodily passions that torment the soul, and its counterpart in the flames of hell: one shall be punished by that by which one sins. Around this principal theme are gathered a number of conceptual oppositions. It is of course the presence of the Savior as the emissary of the light which serves to illumine the eyes to see invisible reality within that which heretofore was only perceptually visible and thus illusory. The treatise thus evinces a Platonic dualism of a radically ascetic stripe, and may be properly considered broadly ascetic rather than gnostic. The gnostic myth of the creation of the world by a divine accident or evil power is neither mentioned nor apparently presupposed, and the dualism of the treatise is much more anthropological (body/soul) than cosmic (the above/below). A more appropriate designation for the doctrine of this work is Christian(ized) wisdom with ascetic application: the wisdom themes of seeking, finding, being troubled, resting, and ruling (cf. *Gospel of Thomas*, saying 2, etc.) are distinctly present and pressed into the service of an exhortation to the ascetic life by means of a Platonic dualism between the visible-passional-illusory and the invisible-spiritual-real.

There are presently two competing theories concerning the composition of *The Book of Thomas the Contender*. The more recent one, developed by H.M. Schenke, holds that its underlying source lay in a probably non-Christian Hellenistic Jewish wisdom treatise. Subsequently, in the Christian orbit, this ascetic treatise was Christianized by the substitution of Jesus for the figure of divine wisdom as the revelatory figure of the work, by the addition to the title of the phrase "The Book of Thomas," and by the attendant recasting of the whole from the genre of expository treatise into the genre of revelation dialogue. That is, the text was dissected into smaller expository sections placed upon the lips of the risen Jesus; these were recast as answers to fictitious questions put to him by the apostle Thomas, which themselves were inserted into the text as pretexts for the ensuing answers of the Savior.

The earlier theory, developed by the author of this article, began with the observation that the actual dialogue between Thomas and Jesus occupies only the first three fifths of the treatise (138,4-142,21), while the remaining two fifths (142,21-end) actually constitute a long monologue of the Savior, in which Thomas no longer plays a role. This and the detection of a transitional editorial seam at 142,21 suggest that *The Book of Thomas the Contender* could have been compiled by a redactor from two separate works, the first three fifths from a dialogue between Thomas and Jesus, perhaps entitled "The Book of Thomas the Contender writing to the Perfect," and the second two fifths from a collection of the sayings of the Savior gathered into a homiletical discourse perhaps entitled "The hidden words which the Savior spoke, which I recorded, even I, Mathaias." A redactor later prefixed the dialogue to the sayings collection, prefaced the whole with the present opening lines, augmented by the reference to Thomas as the recipient of the secret words and Mathaias as the scribe, but then appended a subscript title designating Thomas as the author of the whole.

While a final decision between these two compositional theories is still await-

ed, there can be no question that *The Book of Thomas the Contender* displays the marks of a redactional history. On either view, it represents a new source for the critical investigation of early Christian literature and for the process by which ever new literary genres were adapted for Christian teaching. It also constitutes another instance in a growing body of Christian wisdom literature, with its emphasis on seeking, finding, resting on, and ruling by the truth, and thus escaping the troubles of life.

THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

II 138, 1-145, 19
145, 20-23

The secret words that the savior spoke to | Judas Thomas which I, even I Mathaias, | wrote down, while I was walking, listening to them speak with | one another.

The savior said, "Brother Thomas, while [5] you (sg.) have time in the world, listen to me, | and I will reveal to you the things you have pondered | in your mind.

"Now since it has been said that you are my | twin and true companion, examine yourself and learn | who you are, in what way you exist, and [10] how you will come to be. Since you will be called my brother, | it is not fitting that you be ignorant | of yourself. And I know that you have understood, | because you had already understood that I am the knowledge of the truth. | So while you accompany me, although you are uncomprehending, [15] you have (in fact) already come to know, and you will be called 'the one who | knows himself.' For he who has not known himself | has known nothing, but he who has known himself | has at the same time already achieved knowledge about the depth of the all. | So then, you, my brother Thomas, have beheld what is obscure [20] to men, that is, what they ignorantly stumble against." |

Now Thomas said to the lord, | "Therefore I beg you to tell me | what I ask you before your ascension, | and when I hear from you about [25] the hidden things, then I can speak about | them. And it is obvious to me that the truth is difficult to | perform before men."

The savior answered, saying, | "If the things that are visible to you (pl.) are obscure | to you, how can you hear [30] about the things that are not visible? If the deeds of the truth | that are visible in the world are difficult for you (pl.) to perform, | how indeed, then, shall you perform those that pertain to the | exalted height and to the pleroma which are not visible? | And how shall you be called 'laborers'? [35] In this respect-

you are apprentices, and have not yet received | the height of perfection."

Now Thomas answered | and said to the savior, "Tell us about these things | that you say are not visible, [but are] hidden | from us."

The savior said, "[All] bodies [. . .] [40] the beasts are begotten [. . .] . . . | it is evident like [. . .] . . . | [. . .] . . . this, too, those that are above | [. . .] things that are visible, but [they are] visible **139** in their own root, and it is their fruit | that nourishes them. But these visible bodies | survive by devouring creatures similar to them | with the result that the bodies change. Now that which changes will [5] decay and perish, and has no hope of life from then on, | since that body is bestial. So just as the body of the beasts | perishes, so also will these formations | perish. Do they not derive from intercourse | like that of the beasts? If it, (the body) too derives from intercourse, [10] how will it beget anything different from | beasts? So, therefore, you are babes until | you become perfect."

And Thomas answered, | "Therefore I say to you, lord, that those who speak | about things that are invisible and difficult [15] to explain are like those who shoot their arrows at a | target at night. To be sure, they shoot their arrows as | anyone would – since they shoot at the target – but it is not visible. | Yet when the light comes forth and | hides the darkness, then the work of each will appear. [20] And you, our light, enlighten, O lord." |

Jesus said, "It is in light that light exists." |

Thomas spoke, saying, "Lord, | why does this visible light that shines | on behalf of men rise and set?"

The savior [25] said, "O blessed Thomas, of course this visible light | shines on your (pl.) behalf – not in order [that] | you (pl.) remain here, but rather that you might come forth | – and whenever all the elect abandon | bestiality, then this light will withdraw [30] up to its essence, and its essence will welcome it, | since it is a good servant."

Then | the savior continued and said, "O | unsearchable love of the light! O bitterness of | the fire that blazes in the bodies of men and in [35] their marrow, kindling in them night and | day, and burning the limbs of men and | [making] their minds become drunk and their souls become deranged | [. . .] them within males and females | . . . [. . .] night and moving them, [. . .] [40] . . . secretly and visibly. | For the males [move . . . upon the females] | and the females upon [the males. Therefore it is] **140** said, 'Everyone who seeks the truth from | true wisdom will make himself wings so as to | fly, fleeing the lust that scorches the

spirits | of men.' And he will make himself wings to flee [5] every visible spirit."

And Thomas answered, | saying, "Lord, this is exactly what I am asking | you about, since I have understood that you | are the one who is beneficial to us, as you say."

Again the savior answered and said, "Therefore it is necessary [10] for us to speak to you (pl.), since this is the doctrine for the perfect. | If, now, you (pl.) desire to become perfect, you shall | observe these things; if not, your (pl.) name is 'Ignorant,' | since it is impossible for an intelligent man to dwell with a | fool, for the intelligent man is perfect in all wisdom. [15] To the fool, however, the good and bad are | the same – indeed the wise man will be nourished by | the truth and (Ps 1:3) 'will be like a tree growing by | the meandering stream' – seeing that there are some who, although having wings, | rush upon the visible things, things that [20] are far from the truth. For that which guides them, | the fire, will give them an illusion of truth, | [and] will shine on them with a [perishable] beauty, | and it will imprison them in a dark | sweetness and captivate them with fragrant pleasure. [25] And it will blind them with insatiable lust | and burn their souls and become | for them like a stake stuck in their heart | which they can never dislodge. And like | a bit in the mouth it leads them according to its [30] own desire.

"And it has fettered them with its | chains and bound all their limbs | with the bitterness of the bondage of lust for those | visible things that will decay and change | and swerve by impulse. They have [35] always been attracted downwards; as they are killed, | they are assimilated to all the beasts of | the perishable realm."

Thomas answered and said, "It | is obvious and has been said, '[Many are ... | ... those who do not know [...] ... [40] soul.'"

And [the savior] answered, saying, | "[Blessed is] the wise man who [sought | after the truth, and] when he found it, he rested **141** upon it forever and was unafraid of those | who wanted to disturb him."

Thomas answered | and said, "Is it beneficial for us, lord, to rest | among our own?"

The savior said, "Yes, it is useful. [5] And it is good for you (pl.) since things visible | among men will dissolve – for the vessel of | their flesh will dissolve, and when it is brought to naught | it will come to be among visible things, among things that are seen. | And then the fire which they see gives them pain [10] on account of love for the faith they | formerly possessed. They will be gathered back to that which is visible. | Moreover, those who have sight among things that are not vis-

ible, without | the first love they will perish in the concern for this | life and the scorching of the fire. Only a little while longer, [15] and that which is visible will dissolve; then | shapeless shades will emerge and | in the midst of tombs they will forever dwell upon the corpses | in pain and corruption of soul." |

Thomas answered and said, "What have we [20] to say in the face of these things? What shall we say to | blind men? What doctrine should we express to these miserable | mortals who say, 'We came to [do] | good and not to curse,' and yet [claim], | 'Had we not been begotten in the flesh, we would not have known [25] [iniquity]'?"

The savior said, "Truly, as for | [those], do not esteem them as men, but regard them [as] | beasts, for just as beasts devour one another, | so also men of this sort | devour one another. On the contrary, they are deprived of [the kingdom] [30] since they love the sweetness of the fire and are | servants of death and rush to the works of corruption. | They fulfill the lust of their fathers. They will | be thrown down to the abyss and be afflicted | by the torment of the bitterness of their evil nature. [35] For they will be scourged so as to make them | rush backwards, whither they do not know, and | they [will recede] from their limbs not patiently, but | [with] despair. And they rejoice over [. . .] | [. . .] madness and derangement . . . [40] [They] pursue [this] derangement without realizing [their | madness, thinking] that they [are] wise. [They . . .] | . . . their body [. . .] **142** Their mind is directed to their own selves, for their thought is occupied | with their deeds. But it is the fire that will burn them!" |

And Thomas answered and said, "Lord, what will the one | thrown down to them do? For I am most anxious [5] about them; many are those who fight them." |

The savior answered and said, 'What is your own | opinion?"

Judas – the one called | Thomas – said, "It is you, lord, whom it befits | to speak, and me to listen." [10]

The savior replied, "Listen to what I am going to tell you (sg.) | and believe in the truth. That which sows and that which is sown | will dissolve in their fire – within the fire | and the water – and they will hide in tombs of darkness. | And after a long time they shall show forth [15] the fruit of the evil trees, being punished, | being slain in the mouth of beasts and men | at the instigation of the rains and winds and air | and the light that shines above."

Thomas | replied, "You have certainly persuaded us, lord. [20] We realize in our heart, and it is obvious, that this | [is so], and that your

word is sufficient. But these words | that you speak to us are ridiculous and contemptible to the world | since they are misunderstood. | So how can we go [25] preach them, since we are [not] esteemed | [in] the world?"

The savior answered and said, | "Truly I tell you (pl.) that he who will listen to | [your] word and turn away his face or sneer | at it or smirk at these things, truly [30] I tell you that he will be handed over to | the ruler above who rules over | all the powers as their king, and he will turn | that one around and cast him from heaven down to | the abyss, and he will be imprisoned in a narrow [35] dark place. Moreover, he can neither turn nor move on account of | the great depth of Tartaros and the [heavy bitterness] | of Hades that is steadfast [...] | [...] them to it ... | [...] they will not forgive ... [40] [...] pursue you (pl.). They will hand | [...] over [to...] angel Tartarouchos | [...] fire pursuing them **143** [...] fiery scourges that cast a shower of sparks into | the face of the one who is pursued. If he flees westward, he | finds the fire. If he turns southward, he finds it there as well. | If he turns northward, the threat [5] of seething fire meets him again. Nor does he find the way to the east | so as to flee there and be saved, for he did not find it in the day | he was in the body, so that he might find it in the day of judgment." |

Then the savior continued, saying, | "Woe to you, godless ones, who have no hope, [10] who rely on things that will not happen!

"Woe to you (pl.) | who hope in the flesh and in the prison that will perish! | How long will you be oblivious? And how long will you suppose that the imperishables | will perish too? Your hope is set | upon the world, and your god is this life! [15] You are corrupting your souls!

"Woe to you (pl.) within | the fire that burns in you, for it is insatiable! |

"Woe to you because of the wheel that turns in | your minds!

"Woe to you within the grip of the burning | that is in you, for it will devour your flesh openly [20] and rend your souls secretly, | and prepare you for your companions!

"Woe to | you, captives, for you are bound in caverns! | You laugh! In mad laughter you rejoice! | You neither realize your perdition, nor [25] do you reflect on your circumstances, nor have [you] | understood that you dwell in darkness and [death]! | On the contrary, you are drunk with the fire and [full] | of bitterness. Your mind is deranged on account of the [burning | that is in] you, and sweet to you are the poison and [30] the blows of your enemies! And the darkness rose for | you like the light, for you surrendered your freedom | for servitude! You darkened your hearts | and surrendered your thoughts | to folly, and you

filled your thoughts [35] with the smoke of the fire that is in you! And | your light [has hidden] in the cloud | [of . . .] and the garment that is put upon you, you [. . .] | [. . .]. And [you] were seized [by | the hope that] does not exist. And whom is it [you [40] have] believed? Do you [not know that you] | all dwell among those who that [. . .] | [. . .] you as though [you . . .]. **144** You baptized your souls in the water of darkness! | You walked by your own whims!

"Woe | to you (pl.) who dwell in error, heedless | that the light of the sun which judges and [5] looks down upon the all will circle around all things | so as to enslave the enemies. You do not even notice | the moon, how by night and day it | looks down, looking at the bodies of your slaughters!

"Woe | to you (pl.) who love intimacy with womankind [10] and polluted intercourse with them!

"Woe to you (pl.) in the grip of the powers of your body, | for they will afflict you!

"Woe to you (pl.) in the grip of | the forces of the evil demons! |

"Woe to you (pl.) who beguile your limbs with fire! [15] Who is it that will rain a refreshing dew on you | to extinguish the mass of fire from you | along with your burning? Who is it that will cause the sun to | shine upon you to disperse the darkness in you | and hide the darkness and polluted water?

"The sun [20] and the moon will give a fragrance to you (pl.), together with the air and | the spirit and the earth and the water. For if the sun does not | shine upon these bodies, they will wither and perish | just like weeds or grass. If | the sun shines on them, they prevail and choke [25] the grapevine; but if the grapevine | prevails and shades those weeds | [and] all that other brush growing alongside and | [spreads] and flourishes, it alone | inherits the land in which it grows; [30] and every place it has shaded it dominates. | And when it grows up, it dominates all the land | and is bountiful for its master, and it pleases him | even more, for he would have suffered great pains | on account of these plants until he uprooted them. But the [35] grapevine alone removed them and choked | them, and they died and became like the soil."

Then | Jesus continued and said to them, "Woe to | you (pl.), for you did not receive the doctrine, and those who are [. . .] | will labor at preaching [. . .]. [40] And [you] are rushing into . . . [. . .] | [. . .] will send [them] down . . . | [. . .] you kill them daily **145** in order that they might rise from death.

"Blessed are you (pl.) | who have prior knowledge of the stumbling blocks and who flee | alien things.

"Blessed are you (pl.) who are reviled | and not esteemed on account of the love [5] their lord has for them.

"Blessed are | you (pl.) who weep and are oppressed by | those without hope, for you will be released from | every bondage.

"Watch and pray that you (pl.) not come to be | in the flesh, but rather that you come forth from the bondage of the bitterness [10] of this life. And as you pray, | you will find rest, for you have left behind the suffering and the disgrace. | For when you come forth from the sufferings and | passions of the body, you will receive rest | from the good one, and you will reign with the king, [15] you joined with him and he with you, from now on, | for ever and ever. Amen." |

The Book of Thomas |
The Contender Writing |
To the Perfect (pl.). [20]

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Remember me also, my brethren, |
[in] your prayers: |
Peace to the saints |
and those who are spiritual.

THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS (III,*2* AND IV,*2*)

Introduced and translated by

ALEXANDER BÖHLIG and FREDERIK WISSE

The so-called *Gospel of the Egyptians* is preserved in two Coptic versions which were translated independently from the Greek. It is not related to the apocryphal Gospel of the Egyptians which is cited in Patristic literature. The tractate, which is also entitled "The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit," is an esoteric writing representing a Sethian type of mythological Gnosticism. It may be described as a work which presents a gnostic salvation history. Since the mythological, heavenly Seth is portrayed as the father of the gnostic race, it is appropriate that the tractate lists him as the author of this divinely inspired book.

The tractate is divisible into four main sections. The first section (III 40,12-55,16 = IV 50,1-67,1) deals with the origin of the heavenly world: from the supreme God, dwelling in solitary height as the transcendent Great Invisible Spirit, there evolves and emanates a series of glorious beings, from the mighty trinity of Father, Mother Barbelo, and Son, through the pleroma of heavenly powers, to Adamas' great son Seth, the father and savior of the incorruptible race. The second section (III 55,16-66,8 = IV 67,2-78,10) discusses the origin, preservation, and salvation of the race of Seth: because of the arrogance and hostility of Saklas and the Archons, Seth comes from heaven, puts on Jesus as a garment, and accomplishes a work of salvation on behalf of his children. The third section (III 66,8-67,26 = IV 78,10-80,15) is hymnic in character; and the fourth section (III 68,1-69,17 = IV 80,15-81,end) contains a concluding account of the Sethian origin and transmission of the tractate.

Thus, in a manner analogous to that in which the New Testament gospels proclaim the life of Jesus, *The Gospel of the Egyptians* presents the life of Seth. His pre-history, the origin of his seed, the preservation of his seed by the heavenly powers, the coming of Seth into the world, and his work of salvation, especially through baptism, are proclaimed with drama and praise.

The following translation is based primarily on the text of Codex III; the more fragmentary (though probably more reliable) text of Codex IV has been utilized for the missing pages 45-48, and when the text of III,*2* appears to be corrupted.

THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS

III 40, 12-44, 28
IV 55, 20-60, 30
III 49, 1-69, 20

The [holy] book [of the Egyptians] | about the great invisible [Spirit, the] Father | whose name cannot be uttered, [he who came] [18] forth from the heights of [the perfection, the] light | of the light of the [aeons of light], | the light of the [silence of the] providence | ⟨and⟩ the Father of the silence, the [light] | of the word and the truth, the light [of the **41** incorruptions, the] infinite light, | [the] radiance from the aeons of light | of the unrevealable, unmarked, | ageless, unproclaimable Father, [5] the aeon of the aeons, Autogenes, | self-begotten, self-producing, alien, | the really true aeon.

Three | powers came forth from him; | they are the Father, the Mother, (and) the Son, [10] from the living silence, what came forth from | the incorruptible Father. These came | [forth from] the silence of the unknown Father. |

[And] from that place | Domedon Doxomedon came [forth, [15] the aeon of] the aeons and the [light | of] each one of [their] powers. | [And] thus the Son came | [forth] fourth; the Mother [fifth; | the Father] sixth. He was [20] [...] but unheralded; | [it is he] who is unmarked among | all [the powers], the glories, and the | [incorruptions].

From that place | the three powers [came] forth, **42** the three ogdoads that [the Father | brings] forth, in silence with his providence, | from his bosom, i.e. | the Father, the Mother, (and) the Son. [5]

The ⟨first⟩ ogdoad, because of which | the thrice-male child came forth, | which is the thought, and [the] word, | and the incorruption, and the eternal | [life], the will, the mind, [10] and the foreknowledge, the androgynous | Father.

The second | ogdoad-power, the Mother, the virginal Barbelon | epititioch[...] | ai, memeneaimen[... who] [15] presides over the heaven, karb[...] | the uninterpretable power, | the ineffable Mother. [She originated] | from herself [...]; | she came forth; [she] [20] agreed with the Father [of the] silent | [silence].

The third ogdoad-[power], | the Son of the [silent silence], | and the crown of the silent silence, [and] | the glory of the Father, and the virtue [of the **43** Mother. He] brings forth from the bosom | the seven powers of the great | light of the seven voices, and the word | [is] their completion.

These are the three [5] [powers], the three ogdoads that the Father | [through] his providence brought | [forth] from his bosom. He brought them | [forth] at that place.

Domedon | Doxomedon came forth, [10] the aeon of the aeons, and the | [throne] which is in him, and the powers | [which surround] him, the glories and the | [incorruptions. The] Father of the great light | [who came] forth from the silence, he is [15] [the great] Doxomedon-aeon in which | [the thrice]-male child rests. | And the throne | of his [glory] was established [in it, | this one] on which his unrevealable name [20] [is inscribed], on the tablet | [...] one is the word, the [Father | of the light] of everything, he | [who came] forth from the silence, while he rests | in the silence, he whose **44** name [is] in an [invisible] symbol. [A] | hidden, [invisible] mystery | came forth iiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii[iii] | ēēēēēēēēēēēē-ēēēēēēēēē[ēē o] [5] ooooooooooooooooooo uu[uuu] | uuuuuuuuuuuu-uuuuu eeeee | eeeeeeeeeeeeeee aaaaaaa[aaaa] | aaaaaaaaaaa ōōōōōōōōō[ōō] | ōōōōōōōōōōō.

And [in this] [10] way the three powers gave praise to the [great], | invisible, unnameable, | virginal, uncallable Spirit, and [his] | male virgin. They asked [for a] | power. A silence of living silence [15] came forth, namely [glories] and | incorruptions in the aeons [... aeons] | myriads added [on ... , the] | three males, [the three] | male offspring, the [male] races (IV 55, 5-7 adds: the [glories of the Father, | the] glories of the great [Christ and | the] male offspring, the [races]) [20] filled the great Doxomedon-[aeon with] | the power of the word of the [whole pleroma]. |

Then the thrice-male [child of the great] | Christ whom the [great] invisible | Spirit had anointed – he [whose] [25] power [was called] Ainon – gave [praise to] | the great invisible Spirit [and his] | male virgin Yoel, [and] | the silence of silent silence, and the [greatness] **IV 55** [20] that [...] | ineffable. [...] | ineffable [...] | unanswerable and | uninterpretable, the [25] first one who has [come forth], | and (who is unproclaimable, [...] **56** which is wonderful | [...] ineffable | [...], he who has | all the greatnesses [of] greatness [5] [of] the silence at | that [place]. The thrice-[male | child] brought | praise and asked [for a | power] from the [great, [10] invisible, virginal] | Spirit.

Then there | appeared at [that] place | [...] who [... | who] sees [glories [15] ...] treasures in a [... | invisible] | mysteries to [...] | of the silence | [who is the male] virgin [20] [Youel].

Then | [the child of the] child | Esephech [appeared]. |

And [thus] he was completed, | namely, the [Father, the] Mother, the

[Son], [25] the [five] seals, the | unconquerable power which [is] | the great [Christ] of all the incorruptible **57** ones. [...] | holy [...] | the end, [the] incorruptible [...] | and [...], [5] they are powers [and glories | and] incorruptions [...] | they came forth [...]. [13] This one brought [praise] | to the unrevealable, [15] hidden [mystery ... | the] hidden [...] [21] him in the [... | and] the aeons [...] thrones, | [...] and | each one [...] [25] myriads of [powers] | without number surround [them, **58** glories] and | incorruptions [...] and they | [... of] the Father, | [and] the [Mother, and] the Son, and [5] [the] whole [pleroma] which I [mentioned] | before, [and the] five seals | [and the mystery] of | [mysteries]. They [appeared ... [13] who] presides [over | ...] and the aeons [of [15] ... really] | truly [...] and the [...] [18] eternal [...]. [21] and the | [really] truly [eternal] aeons.

Then [providence came forth | from silence], and the [living silence [25] of] the Spirit, [and] | the Word [of] the Father, and [a] | light. [She ... the five] **59** seals which [the Father brought] | forth from his bosom, and she passed [through] | all the aeons which I mentioned | before. And she established [5] thrones of glory [and myriads] | of angels [without] number | [who] surrounded them, [powers | and incorruptible] glories, who | [sing] and give glory, all giving [10] praise with [a single voice], | with one accord, [with | one] never-silent [voice ... | to] the Father, and the [Mother, | and the] Son [... and [15] all the] pleromas [that I] | mentioned [before], who is [the | great] Christ, who is from [silence, | who] is the [incorruptible] child | Telmael Telmachael [20] [Eli Eli] Machar Machar | [Seth, the] power which really truly lives, | [and the] male | [virgin] who is with [him], Youel, | [and] Esephech, [the] holder of glory, [25] the [child] of the child | [and the crown of] his glory | [...] of the five | seals, [the] pleroma [that | I mentioned before].

There **60** the great self-begotten | living [Word came forth, | the] true [god], the | unborn physis, he whose [5] name I shall tell, saying, | [...]aia[.....]thaōthōsth[..], | who [is the] son of the [great] | Christ, who is the son [of | the] ineffable silence, [who] [10] came forth from the great [invisible] | and incorruptible [Spirit]. | The [son] of the silence and [silence] | appeared [... [15] invisible ... | man | and the] treasures [of] his glory. [Then] | he appeared in the revealed [...]. | And he [established] [20] the four [aeons]. | With a word [he] established | them.

He brought [praise] | to the great, [invisible], | virginal Spirit, [the silence] [25] of the [Father] in a silence [of the] | living silence [of silence, | the] place where the man rests. | [...] | through [...]. [30]

Then there came forth [at (or: from)] **III 49** that [place] the cloud | [of the] great light, the living | power, the mother of the holy, incorruptible ones, | the great power, the Mirothoe. [5] And she gave birth to him whose name | I name, saying, ien | ien ea ea ea, three times. **IV 61** [8]

For this one, [Adamas], | is [a light] which radiated [from [10] the light; he is] the eye of the [light]. | For [this is] the first man, **III 49** [10] he through whom | and to whom everything became, | (and) without whom nothing became. | The unknowable, | incomprehensible Father came forth. He [15] came down from above | for the annulment of the deficiency.

Then | the great Logos, the divine Autogenes, | and the incorruptible man | Adamas mingled with each other. [20] A Logos of man came into being. | However, the man | came into being through a word.

He | gave praise to the great, invisible, | incomprehensible, virginal [25] Spirit, and the male virgin, | and the thrice-male child, **50** and the male [virgin] | Youel, and Esephech, the holder of glory, | the child of the child and | the crown of his glory, and the great [5] Doxomedon-aeon, and | the thrones which are in him, and the | powers which surround him, the glories and | the incorruptions, and their whole pleroma | which I mentioned before, [10] and the ethereal earth, the | receiver of God, where | the holy men of the | great light receive shape, | the men of the Father [15] of the silent, living silence, the Father | and their whole pleroma as | I mentioned before.

The | great Logos, | the divine Autogenes, and [20] the incorruptible man Adamas gave praise, | (and) they asked for a power and | eternal strength for the Autogenes | for the completion of the | four aeons, in order that, [25] through them, there may appear **51** [. . .] the glory and the power | of the invisible Father of | the holy men of the great light | which will come to the world [5] which is the image of the night. The incorruptible | man Adamas asked for them | a son out of himself, in order | that he (the son) may become father of the | immovable, incorruptible race, so [10] that, through it (the race), the silence | and the voice may appear, | and, through it, | the dead aeon may raise itself, so that | it may dissolve.

And thus [15] there came forth, from above, the power | of the great light, the | Manifestation. She gave birth to the four great | lights: Harmozel, Oroiael, | Davithe, Eleleth, [20] and the great incorruptible Seth, the son | of the incorruptible man | Adamas.

And thus | the perfect hebdomad which | exists in hidden mysteries became complete. **52** When she [receives] the [glory] | she becomes eleven | ogdoads.

And the Father nodded approval; | the whole pleroma of the | lights was well pleased. | Their consorts came forth | for the completion of the ogdoad of | the divine Autogenes: the | Grace of the first light [10] Harmozel, the Perception of the second | light Oroiael, the Understanding | of the third light | Davithe, the Prudence of the | fourth light Eleleth. This [15] is the first ogdoad of the | divine Autogenes.

And | the Father nodded approval; the whole pleroma | of the lights was well pleased. | The ⟨ministers⟩ came forth: [20] the first one, the great | Gamaliel (of) the first great | light Harmozel, and the great | Gabriel (of) the second great | light Oroiael, and the great [25] Samlo of the great light Davithe, | and the great Abrasax of **53** [the great light] Eleleth. And | [the] consorts of these came forth | by the will of the good pleasure | of the Father: the Memory of the great one, [5] the first, Gamaliel; the Love | of the great one, the second, Gabriel; | the Peace of the third one, the great | Samblo; the eternal Life | of the great one, the fourth, Abrasax. [10] Thus were the five ogdoads completed,' | a total of forty, | as an uninterpretable power.

Then | the great Logos, the Autogenes, | and the word of the pleroma [15] of the four lights gave | praise to the great, invisible, | uncallable, virginal Spirit, | and the male virgin, | and the great Doxomedon-aeon, [20] and the thrones which are in | them, and the powers which surround them, | glories, authorities, | and the powers, ⟨and⟩ the thrice-male | child, and the male virgin [25] Youel, and Esephech, **54** the holder of glory, [the child] | of the child and the crown of [his] | glory, the whole pleroma, and | all the glories which are there, the [5] infinite pleromas ⟨and⟩ the | unnameable aeons, in | order that they may name the Father | the fourth with the incorruptible | race, (and) that they may call the seed [10] of the Father the seed of the great | Seth.

Then everything shook, | and trembling took hold of the incorruptible | ones. Then the three male | children came forth [15] from above down | into the unborn ones, and the | self-begotten ones, and those who were begotten | in what is begotten. | The greatness came forth, the [20] whole greatness of the great Christ. He | established thrones in glory, | myriads without number, | in the four aeons around them, | myriads without number, [25] powers and glories **55** and incorruptions. And they came | forth in this way.

And | the incorruptible, spiritual | church increased in the four [5] lights of the great, living Autogenes, | the god of truth, praising, | singing, (and) giving glory with one voice, | with one accord, with a mouth | which does not rest, to the Father, and [10] the Mother, and the Son,

and their whole | pleroma, just as I mentioned ⟨before⟩. | The five seals which possess the myriads, and | they who rule over the aeons and they who | bear the glory of the leaders [15] were given the command to reveal | to those who are worthy. Amen.

Then the great | Seth, the son of the incorruptible | man Adamas, gave praise | to the great, invisible, uncallable, [20] unnameable, virginal | Spirit, and the ⟨male virgin, and the thrice-male child, and the male⟩ | virgin Youel, and Esephech, | the holder of glory, and the | crown of his glory, the child of the child, **56** and the great Doxomedon-aeons, | and the pleroma which I mentioned | before; and asked for his seed. |

Then there came forth from that place [5] the great power of the great | light Plesithea, the mother of the angels, | the mother of the lights, the | glorious mother, the virgin with the | four breasts, bringing the fruit [10] from Gomorrah as spring and Sodom, | which is the fruit of the spring of | Gomorrah which is in her. She came forth | through the great Seth.

Then | the great Seth rejoiced about [15] the gift which was granted him | by the incorruptible | child. He took his seed | from her with the four breasts, the virgin, | and he placed it with [20] him in the fourth aeon (or, IV 68, 3: [in] the four aeons), | in the third great | light Davithe.

After five | thousand years the great | light Eleleth spoke: "Let some-one [25] reign over the chaos and Hades." | And there appeared a cloud **57** [whose name is] hylic Sophia | [.... She] looked out on the parts | [of the chaos], her face being like | [... in] her form [...] [5] blood. And | [the great] angel Gamaliel spoke | [to the great Gabriel], the minister of | [the great light] Oroiael; | [he said, "Let an] angel come forth [10] [in order that he may] reign over the chaos | [and Hades]." Then the cloud, being | [agreeable, came forth] in the two monads, | each one [of which had] light. | [... the throne], which she had placed [15] in the cloud [above. | Then] Sakla, the great | [angel, saw] the great demon | [who is with him, Nebr]uel. And they became | [together a] begetting spirit of the earth. [20] [They begot] assisting angels. | Sakla [said] to the great | [demon Neb]ruel, "Let | [the] twelve aeons come into being in | [the ...] aeon, worlds [25] [...." ...] the great angel | [Sakla] said by the will of the Autogenes, **58** "There shall [be] the [...] | of the number of seven [...]." | And he said to the [great angels], | "Go and [let each] [5] of you reign over his [world]." | Each one [of these] | twelve [angels] went [forth. The first] | angel is Ath[oth. He is the one] | whom [the great] generations [10] of men call [.... The] | second is Harmas, [who] is [the eye of the fire]. | The third [is Galila. The] | fourth is Yobel. [The fifth is] | Adonaios, who is [called] [15] Sabaoth. The sixth [is Cain,

whom] | the [great generations of] | men call the sun. The [seventh is Abel]; | the eighth Akiressina; the [ninth Yubel]. | The tenth is Harm[upiael. The] [20] eleventh is Arch[ir-Adonin]. | The twelfth [is Belias. These | are] the ones who preside over Hades [and the chaos]. |

And after the founding [of the world] | Sakla said to his [angels], [25] "I, I am a [jealous] god, | and apart from me nothing has [come into being," since he] **59** trusted in his nature.

Then a voice | came from on high, saying, | "The Man exists, and the Son of the Man." | Because of the descent of the image [5] above, which is like its voice in the height | of the image which has looked out, | through the looking out of the image | above, the first creature was | formed.

Because of this [10] Metanoia came to be. She received her | completion and her power by the will | of the Father and his approval with which he | approved of the great, incorruptible, | immovable race of the great, [15] mighty men of the great Seth, | in order that he may sow it in the aeons which | had been brought forth, so that, through her (Metanoia), | the deficiency may be filled up. | For she had come forth from above down [20] to the world which is the image of the night. | When she had come, she prayed for (the repentance of) both the seed | of the archon of this aeon and ⟨the⟩ authorities | who had come forth from him, that | defiled (seed) of the demon-begetting god [25] which will be destroyed, and the seed **60** of Adam and the great Seth, | which is like the sun.

Then the great | angel Hormos came to prepare, | through the virgins of the [5] corrupted sowing of this aeon, in | a Logos-begotten, holy vessel, | through the holy Spirit, | the seed of the great Seth. |

Then the great Seth came and brought his [10] seed. And it was sown in the aeons | which had been brought forth, their number being the amount of | Sodom. Some say | that Sodom is the place of pasture | of the great Seth, which is Gomorrah. [15] But others (say) that the great Seth took | his plant out of Gomorrah and | planted it in the second place | to which he gave the name Sodom. |

This is the race which came forth through [30] Edokla. For she gave birth through the word | to Truth and Justice, the origin | of the seed of the eternal life | which is with those who will persevere | because of the knowledge of their emanation. [25] This is the great, incorruptible | race which has come forth through three **61** worlds to the world.

And the | flood came as an example | for the consummation of the aeon. But it | will be sent into the world [5] because of this race. A conflagration will | come upon the earth. And grace | will be with those who

belong to the race | through the prophets | and the guardians who guard the life [10] of the race. Because of this race | famines will occur and plagues. | But these things will happen because of the | great, incorruptible race. Because of | this race temptations will come, [15] a falsehood of false prophets. |

Then the great Seth saw the activity | of the devil, and his many | guises, and his schemes which will come | upon his incorruptible, immovable race, [20] and the persecutions of his | powers and his angels, and their | error, that they acted against themselves. |

Then the great Seth gave | praise to the great, uncallable, [25] virginal Spirit, and the male **62** virgin Barbelon, | and the thrice-male child Telmael | Telmael Heli Heli Machar | Machar Seth, the power which really truly [5] lives, and the male virgin | Youel, and Esephech, the | holder of glory, and the crown of his | glory, and the great Doxomedon-aeon, | and the thrones which are in him, and [10] the powers which surround them, and the whole | pleroma, as I mentioned before. | And he asked for guards over his | seed.

Then there came forth from the great | aeons four hundred ethereal [15] angels, accompanied by the great | Aerosiel and the great Selmechel, to | guard the great, incorruptible race, | its fruit, and the great men | of the great Seth, from the time and [20] the moment of Truth and Justice | until the consummation of the aeon and its | archons, those whom the great judges | have condemned to | death.

Then the great Seth was [25] sent by the four | lights, by the will of the Autogenes **63** and the whole pleroma, through | ⟨the gift⟩ and the good pleasure of the great invisible | Spirit, and the five seals, | and the whole pleroma.

He passed through [5] the three parousias which I mentioned | before: the flood, and the conflagration, | and the judgment of the archons and the powers | and the authorities, to save her (the race) who went astray, | through the reconciliation of the world, and [10] the baptism through a Logos-begotten | body which the great Seth | prepared for himself, | secretly through the virgin, in order that the | saints may be begotten by the holy Spirit, through [15] invisible, secret symbols, | through a reconciliation of the world with the world, | through the renouncing of the world | and the god of the thirteen aeons, | and (through) the convocations of the saints, and [20] the ineffable ones, and the incorruptible bosom, | and (through) the great light of the Father | who preexisted with his Providence | and established through her | the holy baptism that surpasses [25] the heaven, through the incorruptible, **64** Logos-begotten one,

even Jesus the living one, even | he whom the great Seth has | put on. And through him he nailed the powers | of the thirteen aeons, and [5] established those who are brought forth and | taken away. He armed them | with an armor of knowledge of this truth, | with an unconquerable power | of incorruptibility.

There appeared to them | the great attendant Yesseus | Mazareus Yessedekeus, the living | water, and the great leaders, | James the great and Theopemptos | and Isaouel, and they who preside over [15] the spring of truth, Micheus and Michar | and Mnesinous, and he who presides over | the baptism of the living, and the | purifiers, and Sesengenpharanges, | and they who preside over the gates of the waters, [20] Micheus and Michar, and they who | preside over the mountain Seldao and Elainos, | and the receivers of | the great race, the incorruptible, | mighty men ⟨of⟩ the great Seth, the [25] ministers of the four lights, | the great Gamaliel, the great Gabriel, | the great Samblo, and the great **65** Abrasax, and they who preside over the sun, its | rising, Olses and Hypneus and | Heurumaious, and they who preside over the | entrance into the rest of eternal [5] life, the rulers Mixanther | and Michanor, and they who guard the | souls of the elect, Akramas and | Strempsouchos, and the great power | Heli Heli Machar Machar Seth, and [10] the great invisible, uncallable, | unnameable, virginal | Spirit, and the silence, and the great light | Harmozel, the place of the living Autogenes, | the God of the truth, and ⟨he⟩ who is with [15] him, the incorruptible man Adamas, | the second, Oroiael, the place of the great | Seth, and Jesus, who possesses the life and who came | and crucified that which is in the law, | the third, Davithe, the place of the [20] sons of the great Seth, the fourth, | Eleleth, the place where the souls | of the sons are resting, | the fifth, Yoel, who presides over the name | of him to whom it will be granted to baptize with [25] the holy baptism that surpasses the heaven, | the incorruptible one.

But from now on **66** through the incorruptible man Poimael, | and they who are worthy of (the) invocation, | the renunciations of the five seals in | the spring-baptism, these will [5] know their receivers as | they are instructed about them, and they will | know them (or: be known) by them. These | will by no means taste death.

Iē ieus | ēō ou ēō ōua! Really truly, [10] O Yesseus Mazareus Yessedekeus, | O living water, O child of the child, | O glorious name, really truly, | aiōn o ōn (or: O existing aeon), iiii ēēēē eeee oo | oo uuuu ōōōō aaaa{a}, really [15] truly, ēi aaaa ōō | ōō, O existing one who sees the aeons! | Really truly, aee ēēē iiii | uuuuuu ōōōōōōōō, | who is eternally

eternal, [20] really truly, iēa aiō, in | the heart, who exists, u aei eis aei, | ei o ei, ei os ei (or: (Son) forever, Thou art what Thou art, Thou art who Thou art)!

This great name | of thine is upon me, O self-begotten Perfect one, | who art not outside me. [25] I see thee, O thou who art visible | to everyone. For who will be able | to comprehend thee in another tongue? Now **67** that I have known thee, I have mixed | myself with the immutable. I have armed | myself with an armor of light; | I have become light. For the Mother was at [5] that place because of the | splendid beauty of grace. Therefore | I have stretched out my hands while they were | folded. I was shaped in the circle | of the riches of the light which is in [10] my bosom, which gives shape to the many | begotten ones in the light into which no complaint | reaches. I shall declare thy | glory truly, for I have comprehended | thee, sou iēs ide aeiō aeie ois, O [15] aeon, aeon, O God of silence! I | honor thee completely. Thou art my | place of rest, O son ēs ēs o e, the | formless one who exists in the formless ones, | who exists, raising up the man [20] in whom thou wilt purify me into | thy life, according to thine imperishable name. | Therefore the incense of life | is in me. I mixed it with water | after the model of all archons, [25] in order that I may live with thee in the peace | of the saints, thou who existeth really truly **68** for ever.

This is the book | which the great Seth wrote, and placed | in high mountains on which | the sun has not risen, nor is it [5] possible. And since the days of the prophets, | and the apostles, and the | preachers, the name has not at all risen | upon their hearts, nor is it possible. | And their ear has not heard it. [10]

The great Seth wrote this book | with letters in one hundred and thirty | years. He placed it in the mountain | that is called Charaxio, | in order that, at the end of the [15] times and the eras, by the | will of the divine Autogenes | and the whole pleroma, through the gift | of the untraceable, unthinkable, | fatherly love, it may [20] come forth and reveal this | incorruptible, holy race | of the great savior, and those who | dwell with them in love, and | the great, invisible, eternal [25] Spirit, and his only begotten | Son, and the eternal light, **69** and his great, incorruptible | consort, and the incorruptible | Sophia, and the Barbelon, and the | whole pleroma in eternity. [5] Amen. |

The Gospel of ⟨the⟩ Egyptians. | The God-written, holy, secret | book. Grace, understanding, | perception, prudence (be) with him [10] who has written it, Eugnostos the beloved | in the Spirit – in the flesh

| my name is Gongessos – and my | fellow lights in incorruptibility, | Jesus Christ, Son of God, [15] Savior, Ichthus, God-written (is) | the holy book of the great, invisible | Spirit. Amen. |

The Holy Book of the Great |
Invisible Spirit. [20]
Amen.

EUGNOSTOS THE BLESSED (III,*3* and V,*1*)

and

THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST (III,*4* AND BG 8502,*3*)

Introduced and translated by

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

Eugnostos begins as a formal letter written by a teacher to his disciples and subsequently shifts to take on qualities of a revelation discourse. It is without apparent Christian influence. With some minor omissions and one major one, it was used by a Christian gnostic editor as he composed *The Sophia of Jesus Christ*. In form, *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is a revelation discourse given by the risen Christ in response to the questions of his disciples. Thus the placing of the two tractates together in the present edition allows one to see the process by which a non-Christian tractate was modified and transformed into a Christian gnostic one. On the basis of the model provided by these two tractates, scholars have conjectured that the same process may have been responsible for other Christian gnostic writings, such as *The Gospel of the Egyptians* and *The Apocryphon of John*.

Eugnostos seems to be directed to a general audience interested in certain religious-philosophical problems. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* was directed to an audience for whom Christianity was an added element in their religious environment. The audience may have been made up of non-Christian Gnostics who already knew the tractate *Eugnostos*. By connecting Christ, in *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, with the prediction at the end of *Eugnostos* (90,6-11), the editor may have hoped to persuade them that Christ was the latest incarnation of the gnostic savior. Or the audience may have consisted of non-gnostic Christians, and the editor may have wanted to persuade them that the religion revealed by Christ was gnostic Christianity. Perhaps the editor had both groups in mind.

The main intent of *Eugnostos* appears to have been to assert and describe the existence of an invisible, supercelestial region beyond the visible world – a region not reflected in the speculations of philosophers (whose views, as they are described, resemble those of Stoics, Epicureans, and Babylonian astrologers). Ruling that region is a hierarchy of five principal divine beings: Unbegotten Father; his reflection, called Self-Father; Self-Father's hypostatized power, Immortal Man, who is androgynous; Immortal Man's androgynous son, Son of Man; and Son of Man's androgynous son, the Savior. The names of the female aspects of the last three include the term Sophia. These divine beings each have their own sphere or aeon, and numerous attendant and subordinate beings. A special group, called "the generation over whom there is no kingdom among the kingdoms that exist," has its origin and true home with Unbegotten Father

(75,12-19). A second group of six divine beings spring from the first five. These are said to resemble the first. Ineffable joy and unutterable jubilation characterize existence in the supercelestial region; and from there come patterns or types for subsequent creations. Following a summary passage (85,9-21), the tractate concludes with an appendix dealing with the realm of Immortal Man, which is our aeon. *Eugnostos* shows the influence of the transcendent realm upon this world. With one brief exception (85,8), which is probably an editorial addition, the influence is benign. *Eugnostos*, then, cannot be considered gnostic in any classic sense.

In the *Soph. Jes. Chr.* the following major points are added: the Savior (Christ) came from the supercelestial region (III 93,8-10; 94,10-14; 107,11-14; 118,15-16). Sophia is the one responsible for the fall of drops of light from the divine realm into the visible world (III 107,16-17; III 114,13/BG 119,9). Furthermore, a god exists who, with his subordinate powers, directly rules this world to the detriment of those who come from the divine realm (III 107,3-11; BG 119,2-121,13). Sex, it is suggested, is the means by which enslavement to the powers is perpetuated (III 108,10-14). But the Savior (Christ) broke the bonds imposed by the powers, and taught others to do the same (III 107,15-108,4; BG 121,13-122,3; III 118,3-25). Two classes of persons will be saved: those who know the Father in pure knowledge (that is, as described in *Soph. Jes. Chr.*), who will go to him; and those who know the Father defectively (III 117,8-118,2), who will go to the Eighth. In addition, it should be noted that the disciples named in *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, Philip, Matthew, Thomas, Bartholomew, and Mary, reflect a tradition within Gnosticism of disciples who are distinctively gnostic, and who are contrasted with some regularity, and in various ways, with "orthodox" or "orthodox turned gnostic" disciples (principally, Peter and John).

The notion of three divine men in the heavenly hierarchy appears to be based on Genesis 1-3 (Immortal Man = God; Son of Man = Adam [81,12]; Son of Son of Man, Savior = Seth). Because of the presence of Seth (although unnamed in the tractate), *Eugnostos* must be thought of as Sethian, in some sense. However, since it is not classically gnostic and lacks other elements of developed Sethian thought, it can only be characterized as proto-Sethian. Egyptian religious thought also appears to have influenced its picture of the supercelestial realm. The probable place of origin for *Eugnostos*, then, is Egypt. A very early date is suggested by the fact that Stoics, Epicureans and astrologers are called "all the philosophers." That characterization would have been appropriate in the first century B.C.E., but not later. *Eugnostos* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* may have influenced the Sethian-Ophites, as described by Irenaeus. Some have proposed an influence by *Eugnostos* on Valentianism. Because of the dating of *Eugnostos*, it would not be surprising if *Soph. Jes. Chr.* had been composed soon after the advent of Christianity in Egypt – the latter half of the first century C.E. That possibility is supported by the tractate's relatively nonpolemical tone.

The two versions of *Eugnostos* differ from each other at significant points, attesting a long period of usage. The two versions of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* are very close. The translation which follows is based on the versions of Codex III; the other versions have been employed in instances where pages are no longer extant and where the text has required restoration.

EUGNOSTOS THE BLESSED

III 70, 1-90, 12;
Supplemented by V 7, 23-9, 9

Eugnostos, the Blessed, to those | who are his.

THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST

III 90, 1-119, 18
Supplemented by BG 107, 1-111, 1 and 118, 13-112, 9

The Sophia of Jesus Christ.

After [15] he rose from the | dead, his twelve | disciples and seven | women continued to be his followers and | went to Galilee onto the mountain **91** called "Divination | and Joy." When they gathered together | and were perplexed about the underlying reality | of the universe and the plan and [5] the holy providence and | the power of the authorities and about | everything that the Savior is doing | with them in the secret | of the holy plan, [10] the Savior appeared, not in his | previous form, but in the | invisible spirit. And his likeness | resembles a great angel of light. | But his resemblance I must not describe. [15] No mortal flesh | could endure it, but only | pure (and) perfect flesh, like | that which he taught us about on the mountain | called [20] "Of Olives" in Galilee. And | he said: "Peace be to you (pl.)! My peace | I give | to you!" And they all marveled | and were afraid.

The Savior **92** laughed and said to them: "What | are you thinking about? (Why) are you perplexed? | What are you searching for?" | Philip said: "For the un-

Rejoice in this, | that you know (V [1], 3-4: Greetings! I want [you to know]) that all men | born from the foundation [5] of the world until now are | dust. While they have inquired about God, | who he is and what he is like, | they have not found him. The wisest | among them have speculated about the truth from the ordering [10] of the world. | And the speculation has not reached | the truth. For the ordering | is spoken of in three (different) opinions | by [15] all the philosophers, (and) hence | they do not agree. For some | of them say | about the world that it was directed | by itself. Others, [20] that it is providence (that directs it). | Others, that it is fate. | But it is none of these. | Again, of the three voices I have just | mentioned, none **71** is true.

For whatever is from itself | is an empty | life; it is self-made. Providence | is foolish. (And) fate [5] is an undiscerning thing.

Whoever, then, is able | to get free of | these three voices | I have just mentioned and come by means | of another voice to confess the [10] God of truth and agree | in everything concerning him, he is | imderlying reality [5] of the universe and the plan." |

The Savior said to them: | "I want you to know | that all men born | on earth from the foundation of [10] the world until now, being | dust, while they have inquired about God, | who he is and what he | is like, have not found him. Now the | wisest among [15] them have speculated from the ordering of | the world and (its) movement. | But their speculation has not reached | the truth. For it | is said that the ordering is directed in three ways [20] by all the philosophers, | (and) hence they do not | agree. For some of | them say about the world | that it is directed by itself. **93** Others, | that it is providence (that directs it). Others, | that it is fate. | But it is none of these. [5] Again, of the three voices I have | just mentioned, none | is close to the truth, and (they are) from | man. But I, who came | from Infinite Light, [10] I am here – for I know him (Light) – | that I might speak to you about the precise nature | of the truth. For whatever is from | itself is a polluted life; | it is self-made. Providence [15] has no wisdom in it. And | fate does not discern.

But to you | it is given to know; | and whoever is worthy of knowledge | will receive (it), whoever has not been [20] begotten by the sowing of | unclean rubbing but by First | Who Was Sent, for | he

mortal, dwelling in the midst | of mortal men.

He Who | Is is ineffable. [15] No principle knew him, no authority, | no subjection, nor any creature | from the foundation of the world, | except he alone.

For he | is immortal and eternal, [20] having no birth; for everyone | who has birth will perish. | He is unbegotten, having no beginning; | for everyone who has a beginning | has an end. No one rules **72** over him. He has no name; for whoever has | a name is the creation of another. | He is unnameable. He has no | human form; for whoever has [5] human form is the creation | of another. He has his own semblance – | not like | the semblance we have received and seen, | but a strange semblance [10] that surpasses all things | and is better than the totalities. It looks | to every side and sees itself | from itself. | He is infinite; he is incomprehensible. [15] He is ever imperishable | (and) has no likeness (to anything). He is | unchanging good. He is | faultless. He is everlasting. | He is blessed. He is unknowable, [20] while he (none-

is an immortal in the midst of | mortal men."

Matthew said **[9]4** to him: "Lord, | no one can find the truth except | through you. Therefore teach us | the truth." The Savior said: [5] "He Who Is is ineffable. | No principle knew him, no authority, | no subjection, nor any creature | from the foundation of | the world until now, except [10] he alone and anyone to whom he wants | to make revelation through him | who is from First | Light. From now on | I am the Great Savior. For he [15] is immortal and eternal. | Now he is eternal, | having no birth; for everyone | who has birth will perish. He is unbegotten, | having no beginning; [20] for everyone who has a beginning | has an end. Since no one rules | over him, he has no name; for whoever | has a name is the creation of | another. **(BG 84**, 13-17 adds: He is unnameable. He has no human form; for whoever has human form is the creation of another.) And he has a semblance **9[5]** of his own – not like | what you have seen and | received, but a strange semblance | that surpasses all things [5] and is better than the universe. | It looks to every side and sees itself | from itself. Since it is infinite, | he is ever incomprehensible. | He is imperishable and has no likeness (to anyting). [10] He is unchanging good. | He is faultless. He is eternal. | He

theless) knows | himself. He is immeasurable. | He is untraceable. He is | perfect, having no defect. **73** He is imperishably blessed. | He is called "Father | of the Universe."

Before anything is | visible among those that are visible, [5] the majesty and the authorities that | are in him, he embraces the | totalities of the totalities, and nothing | embraces him. For he | is all mind, thought [10] and reflecting, considering, | rationality and power. | They all are equal powers. | They are the sources of the totalities. | And their whole race ⟨from first⟩ to last [15] is in the foreknowledge | of Unbegotten, | is blessed. While he is not known, | he ever knows | himself. He is immeasurable. He is [15] untraceable. He is perfect, | having no defect. He is imperishably blessed. | He is called | 'Father of the Universe.'"

Philip said: "Lord, [20] how, then, did he appear to the perfect ones?" | The perfect Savior said to him: | "Before anything is visible | of those that are visible, the | majesty and the authority are **9[6]** in him, since he embraces the whole of the totalities, | while nothing embraces | him. For he is | all mind. And he is thought [5] and considering | and reflecting and | rationality and power. They | all are equal powers. | They are the sources of the totalities. [10] And their whole race from | first to last was | in his foreknowledge, (that of) the infinite | Unbegotten | Father."

Thomas said to him: [15] "Lord, Savior, | why did these come to be, and why | were these revealed?" | The perfect Savior said: | "I came from the Infinite [20] that I might tell you all | things. Spirit Who Is was the begetter, | who had | the power ⟨of⟩ a begetter **[97]** and form-[giver's] nature, that | the great | wealth that was hidden in him might be revealed. Because of | his mercy and his love [5] he wished | to bring forth fruit by himself, that | he might not ⟨enjoy⟩ his | goodness alone

for they had not yet come to visibility. |

Now a difference existed | among the imperishable aeons. [20] Let us, then, consider (it) this way. |

Everything that came from the perishable will perish, since it came | from the perishable. Whatever came **74** from imperishableness will not | perish but will become | imperishable, since it came from | imperishableness. So, [5] many men went astray | because they had not known this difference; that | is, they died.

But this much is | enough, since it is impossible for anyone | to dispute the nature of the words [10] I have just spoken about the blessed, | imperishable, true God. | Now, if anyone | wants to believe the words | set down (here), let him go [15] from what is hidden to the end of what is visible, | and this Thought | will in-

but (that) other spirits | of the Unwavering Generation might bring forth [10] body and fruit, glory and | honor in imperishableness and | his infinite grace, | that his treasure might be revealed | by Self-begotten God, [15] the father of every imperishableness and | those that came to be afterward. | But they had not yet come to visibility.

Now a great difference | exists among the imperishables." He called [20] out saying: "Whoever | has ears to hear about | the infinities, let him hear"; | and "I have addressed those who are awake." | Still he continued **[98]** and said: "Everything that came | from the perishable will perish, | since it came from | the perishable. But whatever came [5] from imperishableness does not perish | but becomes imperishable (**BG 89**, 16-17 adds: since it is from imperishableness). So, many men | went astray because they had not known this | difference and they died."

Mary said to him: [10] "Lord, | then how will we know that?" | The perfect Savior said: |

"Come (pl.) from invisible | things to the end of those that are visible, [15] and the very emanation

struct him how faith | in those things that are not visible was | found in what is visible. This is a [20] knowledge principle.

The Lord | of the Universe is not rightly | called "Father" but "Forefather." | For the Father is the beginning (*or* principle) **7[5]** of what is visible. For he (the Lord) is | the beginningless | Forefather. He sees himself | within himself, like a [5] mirror, having appeared in his | likeness as Self-Father, that is, | Self-Begetter, and as Confronter, | since he confronted | Unbegotten First Existent. [10] He is indeed of equal age with the one who is before | him, but he is not equal to him | in power. |

Afterward he revealed | many confronting, | self-begotten ones, equal in age [15] (and) power, being | in glory and without number, who are called | "The Generation over Whom | There Is No Kingdom among | the Kingdoms That Exist." |

And the whole multitude [20] of the place over which there is no | kingdom is called | "Sons of Unbegotten | Father."

Now the Unknowable **7[6]** [is] ever [full] of imperishableness [and] ineffable joy. | They all are at rest | of | Thought will reveal to you | how faith in those | things that are not visible was found | in those that are visible, those that belong to [20] Unbegotten Father. | Whoever has ears to hear, | let him hear.

The Lord of the Universe | is not called 'Father' | but 'Forefather.' ⟨For the Father is⟩ the beginning (*or* principle) of [25] those that will appear, but he (the Lord) **99** is [the] beginningless Forefather. | Seeing himself | within himself in a mirror, he appeared | resembling himself, [5] but his likeness appeared | as Divine | Self-Father | and ⟨as⟩ Confronter 'over the confronted ones,' | First Existent Unbegotten [10] Father. He is indeed of equal age | ⟨with⟩the Light that is before | him, but he is not equal to him | in power. |

"And afterward was revealed | a whole multitude of confronting, [15] self-begotten ones, | equal in age and power, | being in glory (and) without number, whose race is called | 'The Generation | over Whom There Is No Kingdom ' 'from the one [20] in whom you yourselves have appeared | from these | men.' And that whole multitude | over which there is no | kingdom is called **100** 'Sons of Unbegotten | Father, God, [Savior], | Son of God,' | whose likeness is with you. Now he [5] is the Unknowable, | who is full of ever imperishable glory | and ineffable joy. |

in him, ever rejoicing in ineffable joy | over the unchanging glory | and the measureless jubilation | that was never heard or | known among all the aeons and their worlds. But | this much is enough, lest we | go on endlessly. | This is another knowledge principle from | ⟨Self-⟩begotten.

The First who appeared before the universe | in infinity is Self-grown, | Self-constructed Father, | and is full of shining, ineffable light. | In the beginning, he decided to have his likeness become | a great power. | Immediately, | the principle (*or* beginning) of that Light | appeared as Immortal Androgynous Man.

His male name **[77]** is | "[Begotten,] Perfect [Mind]." | And his female name (is) "All-wise | Begettress Sophia." It is also said that she resembles her | brother and her consort. | She is uncontested truth; | for here below error, which exists with truth, | contests it.

They all are at rest | in him, ever rejoicing in ineffable joy | in his unchanging glory | and measureless jubilation; | this was never heard | or known among all the aeons and their worlds | until now."

Matthew said | to him: "Lord, | Savior, how was Man revealed?" | The perfect Savior said: "I want | you to know that he who | appeared before the universe in | infinity, Self-grown **101** Self-constructed Father, being full | of shining light | and ineffable, | in the beginning, when he decided to have his likeness become a great power, | immediately the principle (*or* beginning) | of that Light appeared as Immortal | Androgynous Man, | that through that Immortal Man they might attain | their salvation and awake | from forgetfulness through the interpreter | who was sent, who | is with you until the end of the poverty of the robbers.

"And his | consort is the Great Sophia | who from the first was

Through [10] Immortal Man | appeared the first designation, | namely, divinity | and kingdom, for the Father, who is | called "Self-Father Man," [15] revealed this. | He created a great aeon for his own majesty. He gave him | great authority, and he ruled | over all creations. He created [20] gods and archangels | and angels, myriads | without number for retinue. |

Now through that Man | originated divinity **[78]** [and kingdom]. Therefore he was | called "God of gods," "King | of kings."

First Man | is "Faith" for those who will come [5] afterward. He has, within, | a unique mind (and) thought – just as | he is it (thought] – (and) reflecting | and considering, rationality and power. All the attributes [10] that exist are perfect and immortal. | In respect to imperishableness, they | are indeed equal. (But) in respect to power, there is a difference, | like the difference between father | and son, and son and thought, [15] and the thought and the remainder.

As | I said earlier, among the things that were created, | the monad is first, The dyad | follows it, and the triad, | up to the tenths. Now the tenths [20] rule the destined in him | for union by | Self-begotten Father, from [20] Immortal Man 'who appeared | as First and divinity and kingdom,' | for the Father, who is **102** called 'Man, Self-Father,' | revealed this. | And he created a great aeon, | whose name is Ogdoad, [5] for his own majesty.

"He was given | great authority, and he ruled | over the creation of poverty. | He created gods | and angels ⟨and⟩ archangels, [10] myriads without number | for retinue from that Light | and the | tri-male Spirit, which is that of Sophia, | his consort. [15] For from this God originated | divinity | and kingdom. Therefore he | was called 'God of | gods,' 'King of kings.'

" [20] First Man has | his unique mind, | within, and thought | – just as he is it (thought) – (and) considering, | reflecting, rationality, **103** power. All the attributes that exist | are perfect and | immortal. In respect to | imperishableness, they are indeed equal. (But) in respect to [5] power, they are different, like the difference | between father and son, ⟨and son⟩ and thought, | and the thought and the remainder.

"As | I said earlier, among | the things that were created, the monad is [10] first.

hundredths; the hundredths | rule the thousandths; the thousand⟨th⟩s rule | the ten thousand⟨th⟩s. This is the pattern ⟨among the⟩ | immortals. First Man | is like this: His monad

(Pages **79** and **80** are missing. They are replaced here with the corresponding section from Eugnostos – Codex V, the beginning of which is somewhat different from the final partial sentence of **III 78**.)

V [7] [23] Again it is this pattern | [that] exists among the immortals: the monad [25] and the thought are those things that belong to [Immortal] Man. | The thinkings [are] for | ⟨the⟩ decads, and the hundreds are [the teachings,] | [and the thousands] are the counsels, | [and] the ten thousands [are] the powers. [Now] those [who] [30] come [from the . . .] | exist with their [. . .] | [in] every aeon [. . .] | [. . .] **[8]** [. . . In the beginning, thought] | and thinkings [appeared from] mind, | [then] teachings [from] | thinkings, counsels [5] [from teachings], (and) power [from] | [counsels]. And after all [the attributes,] | all that [was revealed] | appeared from [his powers.] | And [from] what [was] [10] created, what was [fashioned] appeared. And | what was formed appeared | from what was [fashioned.] | What was named appeared | from what was formAnd after everything, | all that was revealed | appeared from his power. And from what | was created, | all that was fashioned [15] appeared; from | what was fashioned | appeared what was formed; | from what was formed, | what was named. Thus [20] came the difference among the unbegotten

ed, [15] while the difference among begotten things | appeared from what was [named], | from beginning to end, by | power of all the aeons. Now Immortal Man | is full of every [20] imperishable glory and ineffable | joy. His whole kingdom | rejoices in | everlasting rejoicing, those who never | have been heard of or known [25] in any aeon that | [came] after [them and | its [worlds].

Afterward [another] | [principle] came from Immortal [Man], | who is [called] "Self-perfected [30] [Begetter.]" | [When he received the consent] of his [consort,] | [Great Sophia, he] revealed | [that first-begotten androgyne,] **[9]** [who is called] | "First-begotten [Son] | [of God]." His female aspect | [is "First-]begotten Sophia, [5] [Mother of the Universe]," whom some | [call] "Love." | [Now] First-begotten, since he has | [his] authority from | his [father], **III[81]** created angels, | myriads [without] number, | for retinue. The whole multitude | of those angels are called [5] "Assembly of the | Holy Ones, the ones | from beginning to end." |

Then Bartholomew | said to him: "How (is it that) ⟨he⟩ was designated in **104** the Gospel 'Man' | and 'Son of Man'? | To which of | them, then, is this Son related?" The Holy One [5] said to him:

"I want you | to know that First Man | is called | 'Begetter, Self-perfected | Mind.' [10] He reflected with Great | Sophia, his consort, and revealed | his first-begotten, | androgynous son. His | male name [15] is designated 'First Begetter | Son of God'; his female | name, 'First | Begettress Sophia, Mother of the Universe.' | Some call her [20] 'Love.' Now First- | begotten is called | 'Christ.' Since he has authority | from his father, he created | a multitude of angels **105** without number for retinue | from Spirit and Light." |

Shadowless Lights." | Now when these greet | each other, their embraces | become angels [10] like themselves.

First Begetter | Father is called | "Adam of the Light."

And the kingdom | of Son of Man is | full of ineffable joy [15] and unchanging jubilation, (they) ever rejoicing | in ineffable joy | over their imperishable | glory, which has | never been heard nor has it been revealed [20] to all the aeons that came to be | and their worlds.

Then Son | of Man consented with | Sophia, his consort, and | revealed a great androgynous light. **[82]** [His] masculine name | is [designated] "Savior, | Begetter

His disciples | said to him: "Lord, reveal to us [5] about the one | called 'Man' that | we also may know his glory exactly." | The perfect | Savior said: "Whoever has [10] ears to hear, let him | hear. First Begetter | Father is called 'Adam, | Eye of Light,' because he came | from shining Light, [15] [and] his holy angels, who are ineffable | (and) shadowless, | ever rejoice with joy | in their reflecting, | which they received from their Father. The whole kingdom [20] of Son of Man, | who is called 'Son | of God,' is full of | ineffable and shadowless joy, | and unchanging jubilation, (they) rejoicing [25] over his imperishable **106** glory, which has never been heard until | now, nor has it been revealed | in the aeons that came | afterward and their worlds. [5] I came from Self- | begotten and First | Infinite Light that | I might reveal everything to you." |

Again, his disciples said: [10] "Tell us clearly | how (it is that) they came down from the | invisibilities, | from the immortal (realm) to the world | that dies?" The perfect [15] Savior said: "Son of | Man consented with Sophia, his | consort, and revealed | a great androgynous light. | His male name [20] is designated 'Savior, |

of All things." His feminine name | is designated [5] "Sophia, All-Begettress." Some | call her "Pistis." |

Then Savior consented with | his consort, Pistis Sophia, | and revealed six androgynous spiritual beings [10] who are the type | of those who preceded them. | Their male names are these: first, "Unbegotten"; | second, "Self- | begotten"; third, [15] "Begetter"; fourth, | "First Begetter"; fifth, | "All-Begetter"; sixth, | "Arch-Begetter." Also the names | of the females are these: first, [20] "All-wise Sophia"; second, | "All-Mother Sophia"; third, | "All-Begettress Sophia"; | fourth, "First Begettress | Sophia"; fifth, "Love Sophia"; **[83]** [sixth], "Pistis Sophia." |

[From the] consenting | of those I have just mentioned, thoughts appeared | in the aeons that exist. [5] From thoughts, reflectings; | from reflectings, | considerings; from considerings, | rationalities; from rationalities, | wills; from [10] wills, words.

Then the twelve | powers, whom I have just discussed, | consented with each other. | ⟨Six⟩ males (each) (and) ⟨six⟩ females (each) were revealed, | so that there are seventy- [15] two powers. Each one of the seventy-two | revealed | five spiritual (powers), | which (together) are the three hundred sixty | powers. The union of them all is [20] the will.

Begetter of All Things.' His | female name is designated 'All-Begettress Sophia.' | Some call her | 'Pistis.'

Therefore our aeon came to be as the type | of Immortal Man. | Time came to be as | the type of First Begetter, **[84]** his son. [The year] came to be as | the type of [Savior. The] twelve | months came to be as the type | of the twelve powers. The three [5] hundred sixty days of the year | came to be as the type of the three hundred | sixty powers who appeared | from Savior. Their hours | and moments came to be as the [10] type of the angels who came | from them (the three hundred sixty powers) (and) who are without number. |

All who come [25] into the world, like **107** a drop from the Light, | are sent by him | to the world of Almighty, | that they might be guarded [5] by him. And the bond of | his forgetfulness bound him by the will | of Sophia, that the matter might be ⟨revealed⟩ through it | to the whole world in poverty | concerning his (Almighty's) arrogance [10] and blindness and | the ignorance that he was named. But I | came from the places | above by the will of the great | Light, (I) who escaped from that bond; [15] I have cut off the work of the | robbers; I have wakened that drop | that was sent from Sophia, | that it | might bear much fruit [20] through me and be perfected and not again be | defective but be ⟨joined⟩ through | me, the Great Savior, that his | glory might be

revealed, so that | Sophia might also be justified in regard to that [25] defect, that her **108** sons might not again become defective but | might attain honor and | glory and go up to their | Father and know the words of the masculine Light. And [5] you | were sent by | the Son, who was sent | that you might receive Light and | remove yourselves from the forgetfulness of [10] the authorities, and that it might not again come to appearance | because of you, namely, the unclean rubbing | that is | from the fearful fire that | came from their fleshly part. [15] Tread upon their | malicious intent."

Then Thomas said to [him]: | "Lord, Savior | how many are the aeons of those | who surpass the heavens?" The perfect [20] Savior said: "I praise | you (pl.) because you ask about | the great aeons, for your roots | are in the infinities. Now when | those whom I have discussed earlier were revealed, [25] he [provided]

(Pages **109** and **110** are missing. They are replaced here with the corresponding section from the Berlin Gnostic Codex [no. 8502], the beginning of which is somewhat different from the final partial sentence of **III 108**.)

And when those whom I have discussed appeared, | All-Begetter, their father, very soon |

BG 107 Now when | those whom I have discussed earlier were revealed, | Self-Begetter | Father

created [15] twelve aeons | for retinue for the twelve | angels.

And in | each aeon there were six (heavens), | so [20] there are seventy-two heavens of the seventy-two | powers who appeared | from him. And in each of the heavens | there were five firmaments, | so there are (altogether) three hundred sixty **[85]** [firmaments] of the three hundred | sixty powers that appeared | from them.

When the firmaments | were complete, they were called [5] "The Three Hundred Sixty Heavens," according to the name of the | heavens that were before them. And all these | are perfect and good. And in this | way the defect | of femaleness appeared.

The first [10] aeon, then, is that of Immortal Man. | The second aeon is that of Son of | Man, who is called | "First Begetter," (**V 13**, 12-13 adds here: The third is that of son of Son of Man), who | is called "Savior." [15]

That which embraces these is the aeon | over which there is no kingdom, (the aeon) of the | Eternal Infinite God, the | aeon of the aeons of the immortals | who are in it, (the aeon) above the Eighth

very soon created [5] twelve | aeons for retinue | for the twelve | angels.

All | these are perfect [10] and good. | Thus | the defect | in the female appeared."

And ⟨he⟩ said | to him: "How many are the [15] aeons of the immortals, | starting from the infinities?" | The perfect Savior said: | "Whoever has | ears to hear, let him **108** hear. The first aeon | is that of Son of Man, | who is called | 'First Begetter,' [5] who is called | 'Savior,' | who has appeared. | The second aeon (is) that of | Man, who is called [10] 'Adam, Eye | of Light.'

That which embraces | these is the aeon | over which there is no kingdom, | (the aeon) of the Eternal [15] Infinite God, | the Self-begotten aeon | of the aeons | that are in it, (the aeon) of the immor-

that appeared in | chaos.

Now Immortal Man | revealed aeons | and powers and kingdoms | and gave authority to everyone **[86]** who [appeared from] him | to make [whatever they desire] | until the days that are above chaos. | For these consented with each other and revealed | every magnificence, even from spirit, | multitudinous lights | that are glorious and without number. These | received names in the beginning, that is, the first, the middle, ⟨and⟩ the perfect; | that is, the first aeon and | the second and the third. | The first was called | "Unity and Rest." Since each one has its (own) | name, the | ⟨third⟩ aeon was designated "Assembly" | from the great multitude that | appeared in the multitudinous one. Therefore, when the multitude | gathers and comes to a unity, | they are called "Assembly," | from the Assembly that surpassed | heaven. Therefore, the Assembly of **[87]** the [Eighth was] revealed | as [androgynous] and was named | partly as male and partly | as female. The male was called "Assembly," the female, "Life," that | it might be shown that from | a female came the life | in all the aeons. Every name was received, | starting from the beginning.

tals, | whom I described earlier, **109** (the aeon) above the Seventh | that appeared from | Sophia, which is the | first aeon.

"Now Immortal Man revealed | aeons | and powers and kingdoms | and gave authority | to all who appear in him that they might | exercise their desires until | the last things that are above | chaos. For these | consented with each other and revealed | every magnificence, even | from spirit, | multitudinous lights that are glorious | and without number. These **110** were called | in the beginning, that is, | the first aeon | and ⟨the second⟩ and ⟨the third⟩. The first ⟨is⟩ called | 'Unity | and Rest.' Each one has | its (own) name; for the ⟨third⟩ aeon | was designated 'Assembly' | from the | great multitude that | appeared: in one, a multitude revealed themselves. | Now because | the multitudes **111** gather **III 111** and come to a unity, (**BG 111**, 2-5 adds here: therefore ⟨they⟩ are called 'Assembly,' from that Assembly that surpasses heaven) we call | them 'Assembly | of the Eighth.' It appeared | as androgynous and was named partly as male and | partly as female. The male | is called 'Assembly,' while the | female is called 'Life,' | that it might be shown that from a female came the life for | all the aeons. And every name was | received, starting from the beginning.

From his [10] concurrence with his thought, | the powers appeared who were called | "gods"; and the gods | from their considerings revealed | divine gods; [15] and the gods from their | considerings revealed lords; | and the lords of the lords from | their words revealed lords; | and the lords from [20] their powers revealed | archangels; the archangels | revealed angels; from | ⟨them⟩ the semblance appeared **[88]** with structure [and form] for naming | [all] the aeons [and] their worlds. |

All the immortals, whom | I have just described, have authority – all of them – [5] from the power of | Immortal Man and Sophia, | his consort, who was | called "Silence," (and) who was named | "Silence" because by reflecting [10] without speech she perfected her | own majesty. Since the imperishabilities had | the authority, each provided | great kingdoms in all the immortal heavens [15] and their firmaments, | thrones, (and) temples, | for their own majesty.

Some, indeed, | (who are) in dwellings and in chariots, | being in ineffable glory [20] and not able to be sent into any creature, | provided for themselves | hosts of angels, myriads | without number

"For from | his concurrence with his thought, the powers | very soon appeared who [15] were called 'gods'; | and [the] gods of the gods from their | wisdom revealed gods; | ⟨and the gods⟩ from their wisdom revealed | lords; and the lords of [20] the lords from their thinkings revealed lords; | and the lords from | their power revealed archangels; | the archangels | from their words revealed angels; **112** from them | semblances appeared with structure and form | and name for all the aeons | and their worlds.

"And the immortals, [5] whom I have just described, all have | authority from | Immortal Man, who | is called 'Silence' | because by reflecting without [10] speech all her own majesty was perfected.' | For since the imperishabilities had | the authority, each created | a great kingdom | in the Eighth [15] and (also) thrones and | temples (and) firmaments for | their own majesties. For these all | came by the will | of the Mother of the Universe."

Then [20] the Holy Apostles said | to him: "Lord, Savior, | tell us about those who are in the aeons, | since it is necessary for us to ask | about them." The perfect **113** Savior said: "If you ask | about anything, I will tell you. | They created hosts of | angels, myriads without number [5] for retinue and their glory. They created | virgin

for retinue **[89]** and glory, even virgin | spirits, the ineffable lights. | They have no sickness | nor weakness, but it is only will: [5] it comes to be in an instant. | Thus were completed | the aeons with their heavens and firmaments | for the glory of Immortal | Man and Sophia, his consort: [10] the area which ⟨contained the pattern of⟩ every aeon and | their worlds and those that came | afterward, in order to provide | the types from there, their | likenesses in the heavens of chaos and [15] their worlds.

And all natures | from the Immortal One, from Unbegotten | to the revelation of | chaos, are in the light that shines without shadow | and (in) ineffable joy [20] and unutterable jubilation. | They ever delight themselves | on account of their glory that does not change | and the rest that is not measured, | which cannot be described **90** or conceived | among all the aeons | that came to be and their powers. | But this much is enough. All [5] I have just said to you, | I said in the way you might | accept, until the one who need not be taught | appears among you, | and he will speak all these things to you [10] joyously and in | pure knowledge. |

spirits, the | ineffable and unchangeable lights. | For they have no sickness | nor weakness, [10] but it is will. (**BG 115**, 14 adds here: And they came to be in an instant.)

"Thus the aeons were completed | quickly with the heavens | and the firmaments in the glory | of Immortal Man and Sophia, | his consort: the area from which [15] every aeon and the world | and those that came afterward | took (their) pattern for their creation | of likenesses in the heavens of chaos | and their worlds. And all natures, [20] starting from the revelation of chaos, | are in the Light that shines without shadow | and joy that cannot be described | and | unutterable jubilation. They ever [25] delight themselves on account of their unchanging glory **114** and the immeasurable rest, | which cannot be described | among all the aeons that | came to be afterward and all their [5] powers. Now all that | I have just said to you, I | said that you might shine in | Light more than these."

Mary said | to him: "Holy Lord, [10] where did your disciples | come from and where are they going and (what) should they | do here?" | The perfect Savior said

to them: "I want | you to know that Sophia, [15] the Mother of the Universe and the consort, | desired by herself | to bring these to existence without | her male (consort). But by the will | of the Father of the Universe, that his [20] unimaginable goodness might be revealed, | he created that curtain | between the immortals | and those | that came afterward, [25] that the consequence might follow

(Pages **115** and **116** are missing. They are replaced here with the corresponding section from the Berlin Gnostic Codex [no. 8502].)

BG 118 every aeon | and chaos, [15] that the defect of the female | might ⟨appear⟩, and it might come about that | Error would contend with | her. And these became **119** the curtain | of spirit. From ⟨the⟩ aeons | above the emanations | of Light, as [5] I have said already, a | drop from Light | and Spirit came down to the lower regions | of Almighty [10] in chaos, that | their molded forms might appear | from that drop, | for it is a judgment | on him, Arch-Begetter, [15] who is called | 'Yaldabaoth.' | That drop revealed | their molded forms | through the breath, as a **120** living soul. It was withered | and it slumbered in the ignorance | of the soul. When it | became hot from the breath [5] of the Great Light | of the Male, and

it took | thought, (then) | names were received by all who | are in the world of chaos [10] and all things that are in | it through that | Immortal One, when the breath | blew into him. | But when this came about [15] by the will of Mother | Sophia – so that Immortal Man | might piece together **121** the garments there | for a judgment | on the robbers – | ⟨he⟩ then welcomed the blowing [5] of that breath; | but since he was soul-like, | he was not able to take | that power for himself | until [10] the number of chaos should be complete, (that is,) when the time | determined by the great | angel is complete.

"Now I have taught | you about Immortal [15] Man and have loosed | the bonds of the robbers | from him. | I have broken the gates of **122** the pitiless ones in their presence. | I have humiliated their | malicious intent, and they all have been shamed | and have risen [5] from their ignorance. Because | of this, then, I came here, | that they might be joined with | that Spirit and | Breath, **III 117** that [...] and Breath, and might | from two become one, just as from | the first, that you might yield much fruit | and go up to [5] Him Who Is from the Beginning, in | ineffable joy and glory | and [honor and] grace of | [the Father of the Universe].

"Whoever, [then], knows | [the

Father in pure] knowledge [10] [will depart] to the Father | [and repose in] Unbegotten | [Father]. But [whoever knows] [him defectively] will depart | [to the defect] and the rest [15] [of the Eighth. Now] whoever knows | Immortal [Spirit] | of Light in silence, through reflecting | and consent in the truth, | let him bring me signs [20] of the Invisible One, and he will become | a light in the Spirit of Silence. | Whoever knows Son of Man | in knowledge and love, | let him bring me a sign **118** of Son of Man, that he might depart | to the dwelling-places with those in the Eighth. |

"Behold, I have revealed to you | the name of the Perfect One, the whole will [5] of the Mother of the Holy Angels, | that the masculine [multitude] | may be completed here, | that there [might appear, in the aeons,] | [the infinities and] [10] those that [came to be in the] untraceable | [wealth of the Great] | Invisible [Spirit, that they] all [might take] | [from his goodness,] | even the wealth [of their rest] [15] that has no [kingdom over it]. I | came [from First] Who | Was Sent, that I might reveal | to you Him Who Is from | the Beginning, because of the arrogance [20] of Arch-Begetter and his angels, | since they say about themselves that | they are gods. And I | came to remove them from their blindness | that I might tell everyone [25]

about the God who is above the universe. **119** Therefore, tread upon their | graves, humiliate their malicious intent | and break their yoke | and arouse my own. I have given [5] you authority over all things | as Sons of Light, | that you might tread upon their power with | [your] feet."

These are the things [the] blessed | Savior [said,] [10] [and he disappeared] from them. Then | [all the disciples] were in | [great, ineffable joy] in | [the spirit from] that day on. | [And his disciples] began to preach [15] [the] Gospel of God, | [the] eternal, imperishable [Spirit]. | Amen. |

EUGNOSTOS, THE BLESSED THE SOPHIA OF JESUS

THE DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR (III,5)

Introduced by

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Translated by

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The title *The Dialogue of the Savior* appears in the *incipit* and the *explicit* of the manuscript and is apparently a later addition. No specific author is indicated anywhere in the text. But the speaker is the "Savior" or the "Lord" (he is never called Jesus or Jesus Christ) in conversation with his disciples Judas, Mary, and Matthew. In this respect, the title "dialogue" is appropriate, except for the first section of the text (120,3-124,22) which is an uninterrupted monologue of the Savior. The text is preserved only in this somewhat fragmentary manuscript, and it is not referred to or quoted in any ancient source. Thus, no external attestation for the date of its composition is available.

The Dialogue of the Savior is a writing of considerable complexity, and its several parts exhibit a great variety in style and content. It is best seen as a compilation of various generations of Christianity and composed in its extant form, originally in Greek, some time during the 2nd century. Parallels to the author's understanding of baptism in deutero-Pauline epistles suggest a date close to the turn of the first century.

The primary source was a dialogue between the Lord and three disciples. This source is preserved in the following sections of the extant work: 124,23-127,19; 128,23-129,16; 131,19-133,21(?); 137,3-146,20, i.e., in about 65% of the present text. These sections are characterized by brief questions, usually from one of the named disciples (sometimes by all disciples) and equally brief answers of the Lord. Sometimes these questions and answers are expanded into longer units discussing a particular topic. Traditional sayings of Jesus used in these questions and answers have parallels in the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, and particularly in *The Gospel of Thomas*. However, a literary dependence upon any of these writings seems unlikely. Rather, the sayings tradition used here appears to be an independent parallel to the one used in *The Gospel of Thomas* and the Gospel of John.

The form of these brief dialogue units parallels the dialogues found in the Gospel of John. In contrast to some gnostic dialogues which are actually secondarily arranged theological discourses (such as *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* and *Pistis Sophia*), the dialogues of the Gospel of John and of *The Dialogue of the Savior* are not free compositions of an author, but elaborations and interpretations of traditional sayings. In some instances, the dialogical development of the sayings tradition in our document is less advanced and theologically less complex than the Johannine parallels. This would argue for a date of the original dialogue source of this document before the end of the first century.

The sequence of the topics explored in these dialogues has close parallels in sayings of *The Gospel of Thomas*, especially in its saying 2 about the seeking, finding, marvelling, ruling and resting. That saying presents an eschatological timetable which is further explored in the dialogues of this writing. The disciples have sought and found and marvelled, but their ruling and resting will come only in the future. At the present time, they still carry the burden of the flesh, i.e., the body and earthly labor or, in the words of this writing, of "the works of womanhood." Mary who recognizes this receives the highest praise. This theme, the continuation of the works of the female, i.e., the continuation of the human race through childbirth, is prominent in the last portion of the dialogue. It deals with the role of the female in the process of salvation more explicitly than most other early Christian writings (close parallels can be found in *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, quoted by Clement of Alexandria), and it gives Mary a very high estimate as "a woman who had understood completely" (139,11-13).

In the final form of the document, several other traditional pieces have been added to the original dialogue: 1) Fragments of a creation myth (127,19-131,18) which is based upon Gen 1-2. The myth relates how water, originally separated from the earth by a wall of fire, made the world fruitful. In 128,1-129,12, the author has interrupted the account of this myth in order to interpret the term spirit. 2) A cosmological wisdom list (133,23-134,24). The author has added comments about the root of wickedness and about baptism. 3) An apocalyptic vision of which fragments are still recognizable in 134,24-137,3. The vision, taking place on a high mountain from where the whole of heaven and earth can be seen, originally spoke about the rescue of a soul and its installation before God in a new garment. The process is explained by an angelic figure called "Son of Man," a title which *The Dialogue of the Savior* never uses for Jesus.

The final author opened his compilation of these materials with an intriguing section (120,2-124,22), consisting of an exhortation, a prayer of thanksgiving and a gnostic discourse about the passage of the soul through the heavenly powers. This section employs established Christian soteriological language with allusions to passages from the New Testament epistles; it also contains a reference to the Gospel of John (Jn 1:18). With this introduction the entire dialogue is placed into a new context: baptismal initiation. The baptismal theology resolves the conflict between the "already" of a realized eschatology and the "not yet" of a futuristic eschatology. As baptism is understood in the same way as in Eph 2:1-6 and Col 3:1-4, those who are baptized have already passed through death into true life. Metaphorical and mythical language is thus related to a cultic act for the expression of realized eschatology.

Yet, receiving visions in the context of baptism is not the culmination of the experience of redemption. Instead, through the utilization and interpretation of the older dialogue used in the composition, the author presents a discussion of the complex eschatological situation of the disciples. Although the disciples have already sought and found and have marvelled at visions, have experienced the indwelling of the living God and passed through the powers in the experience of baptism, their final entry into ruling and resting is still to come. Their present existence is defined as work in behalf of the revelation, so that they, like their Lord, may save others and "reveal the greatness of the revealer," while they are still wearing the flesh, carrying a burden just as the Lord himself. This also in-

dicates that the "Lord" who is speaking in this dialogue is not the exalted Lord but the "earthly" Jesus. The "place of truth" is not defined in terms of otherworldly existence, but as the place where the Lord is. This emphasis upon the tasks of a Christian life in this world implies that the "dissolution of the works of womanhood" does not suggest a metaphysically motivated sexual asceticism, but speaks of the secret birth through the one who "is coming from the Father." In spite of the evident employment of gnostic language in the description of the baptismal experience, *The Dialogue of the Savior* cannot be understood as the simple product of gnostic theology. Rather, it resembles the Gospel of John in its attempt to reinterpret the sayings of Jesus in the horizon of gnostic thought.

THE DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR

III 120, 1-147, 23

The Dialogue of the Savior

(1) The Savior said to his disciples, "Already the time has come, brothers, for us to abandon our labor and stand at rest. For whoever stands at rest will rest forever. And I say to you, [be] always [above . . .] time . . . [. . .] . . . you [. . .] be afraid [of . . .] . . . you . . . [. . .] . . . anger [is] fearful [. . .] arouse anger . . . [. . . is . . .] but since you have . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] they accepted these words [concerning it] with [fear] and trembling, and it set them up with governors, for from it nothing was forthcoming. But when I came, I opened the path and I taught them about the passage which they will traverse, the elect and solitary, **121** [who have known the Father, having believed] the truth and [all] the praises while you offered praise.

(2) "So when you offer praise, do so like this: Hear us, Father, just as you heard your only-begotten son and received him [and] gave him rest from many . . . [. . . . You are the one] whose power [. . . your] armor . . . [. . . is . . .] . . . light [. . .] . . . living [. . .] . . . touch . . . [. . .] . . . the word . . . [. . .] repentance . . . life [. . .] . . . you. You are [the] thinking and the [entire] serenity of the solitary. Again: [Hear] us just as you heard your elect. Through your [sacrifice these] will enter; through their [good] works these have saved their souls from these blind [limbs] so that they might exist **122** eternally. Amen.

(3) "I will teach you. When the time of dissolution arrives, the first power of darkness will come upon you. Do not be afraid and

say, 'Behold! The time | has come!' But when you see | a single staff ... [...] | ... this ... [...] ... [...] [10] ... [...] | ... [...] | understand ... [...] | ... the work ... [...] | and the governors ... [...] [15] come upon you ... [...]. | Truly, fear is the [power ...] | .... So if you are going to be [afraid] | of what is about to come upon [you], | it will engulf you. [20] For there is not one among them who will | spare you or show [you] mercy. | But in this way, look at [the ...] | in it, since you have mastered every word | on earth. It **123** [... take] you up to the ... | [... place] where there is no rule | [... tyrant]. When you | [... you] will see those who [5] [...] ... and also ... | [... tell] you ... | [...] ... the reasoning power | [...] reasoning power ... | [... place] of truth [10] [...] ... but ... | [...]. But you | [...] ... truth, this | [...] ... living ... | [... and] your joy [15] [...]. So [...] ... in order that | [...] your souls | [...] lest it | [...] the word [... | ...] ... raise ... [20] [...] ... [...] ... | [...] ... [...] ... your ... | [...] ... [...] ... | [...] .... For the crossing place **124** is fearful [before you]. | But you, [with a] | single mind, pass [it] by! | For its depth is great; [its] [5] height [is] enormous [...] | a single mind ... [...] | and the fire ... [...] | ... [... | all] the powers [...] [10] ... you, they ... [...] | and the [powers ...] | they ... [...] | ... [...] | ... soul ... [...] [15] ... [...] | in everyone [... you] | are the ... [...] | and ... [...] | ... forget ... [...] [20] ... son ... [...] | and you [...] ... [...] | you ... [...] ... [...]." |

(4) [Matthew] said, "[How ... | ... **125** ...]?"

(5) The Savior said, | "[...] ... the things inside you | [...] ... will remain, you | [...]."

(6) Judas [said], "Lord, [5] [...] ... the works | [... these] souls, these | [...] these little ones, when | [...] where will they be? | [...] ... [...] ... the spirit [10] [...]."

(7) The Lord [said], | "[...] ... | [... receive] | them. These do not die, | [...] ... they are not destroyed, for they have known [15] [their] consorts and him who would [receive | them]. For the truth seeks | [out the] wise and the righteous." |

(8) The Savior [said], "The lamp | [of the body] is the mind. As long as [20] [the things inside] you are set in order, that is, | [...] ... , your bodies are [luminous]. | As long as your hearts | are [dark], the luminosity you **126** anticipate [...] | I have ... [...] | ... I will go ... [...] | ... my word ... [...] [5] I send ... [...]." |

(9) His [disciples said, "Lord], | who is it who seeks, and [...] | reveals?"

(10) [The Lord said to them], | "He who seeks [. . .] [10] reveals . . . [. . .]." |

(11) [Matthew said, "Lord, when] | I [. . .] | and [when] I speak, who is it who . . . [. . .] | . . . who listens?"

(12) [The Lord] said, [15] "It is the one who speaks who also [listens], | and it is the one who can see who also | reveals."

(13) [Mary] said, | "Lord, behold! | Whence [do I] bear the body [while I] [20] weep, and whence while I [. . .]?" |

(14) The Lord said, "[. . .] | weep on account of its works [. . .] | remain and the mind laughs [. . .] . . . [. . . **127** . . .] . . . spirit. If one does not | [. . .] darkness, he will be able to see | [. . .]. So I tell you | [. . .] light is the darkness [5] [. . .] . . . stand in | [. . .] not see the light | [. . .] the lie [. . .] . . . they brought them from | [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . . You will give | [. . .] . . . and [10] [. . . exist] forever. | [. . .] . . . | [. . .] . . . | [. . .] ever. Then | [all] the powers [15] which are above as well as those | [below] will [. . .] you. In that place | [there will] be weeping and | [gnashing] of teeth over the end of [all] these things." |

(15) Judas [said], "Tell [20] [us, Lord], what was [. . .] before | [the heaven and the] earth existed." |

(16) The Lord said, | "There was darkness and water and **128** spirit upon [water]. | And I say [to you, . . . | what] you seek [after . . .] | inquire after . . . [. . .] [5] within you . . . [. . .] | . . . the power and the [mystery . . .] | spirit, for from . . . [. . .] | wickedness [. . .] come . . . [. . .] | mind . . . [. . .] [10] behold . . . [. . .] | . . . [. . .]." |

(17) [. . .] said, "[Lord], | tell us | where [the . . . is established] and [15] where [the true mind] exists." |

(18) The Lord [said], "The fire [of the] | spirit came into existence . . . [. . .] | both. On this account, the [. . .] | came into existence, and [20] the [true] mind came into existence [within] them [. . .]. | If someone [sets his soul] | up high, [then he will] | be exalted."

(19) And Matthew [asked him **129** . . .] . . . took . . . | [. . .] . . . it is he who . . . | [. . .]."

(20) The Lord [said], | "[. . . stronger] than . . . [5] [. . .] . . . you . . . | [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . to follow | [you] and all the works | [. . .] your hearts. For just as | your hearts [. . .], so [10] [. . .] the means to overcome the powers | [above] as well as those below | [. . .]. I say to you, | let him [who possesses] power renounce | [it and repent]. And [15] [let] him who [. . .] seek and find and [rejoice]." |

(21) Judas [said], "Behold! | [I] see that all things exist | [. . .] like signs upon | [. . .]. On this account did they happen thus." [20]

(22) The Lord [said], "When the [Father | established] the cosmos, he | [. . .] water from it | [and his] Word came forth from it **130** and it inhabited many . . . [. . .]. | It was higher than the [path . . . surround] | the entire earth . . . [. . .] | . . . the [collected] water [. . .] [5] existing outside them. [. . .] | . . . the water, a great fire [encircling] | them like a wall. . . . [. . .] | . . . time once many things had become separated [from what] | was inside. When the [. . .] [10] was established, he looked . . . [. . .] | and said to it, 'Go, and . . . [. . .] | from yourself in order that . . . [. . .] | be in want from generation to [generation, and] | from age to age.' [Then it] [15] cast forth from itself [fountains] | of milk and [fountains of] | honey and oil and [wine] | and [good] fruits | and sweet flavor and [20] good roots, [in order that] | it might not be deficient from generation [to] | generation, and from age [to age]. |

(23) "And it is above . . . [. . . **131** . . .] standing | [. . .] . . . its beauty . . . | [. . .] . . . and outside | [there was a great] light, powerful [5] [. . .] . . . resemble it, for it | [. . .] . . . rules over [all] the aeons | [above] and below. | [. . . was] taken from the fire . . . | [. . .] . . . it was scattered in the [10] [. . .] . . . above and | [below. All] the works | [which] depend on them, it is they | [. . .] over the heaven above | [and over] the earth [below]. [15] On them depend | all [the works]."

(24) [And] when [Judas] | heard these things, he bowed down and he | [. . .] and he offered praise to the Lord. |

(25) [Mary] hailed her brethren, [20] [saying], "Where are you going to put [these things] about which you ask the son . . . | [. . .]?" |

(26) [The Lord said] to her, "Sister, | [. . .] will be able to inquire about these things [except | for someone who] has somewhere **132** to put them in his [heart . . .] | . . . to come [forth . . .] | and enter . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] | so that they might not hold back . . . [. . .] [5] this impoverished cosmos."

(27) [Matthew] said, | "Lord, I want [to see] | that place of life [. . .] | where there is no wickedness, [but rather] | there is pure [light]!"

(28) The Lord [said], [10] "Brother [Matthew], | you will not be able to see it [as long as you are] | carrying flesh around."

(29) [Matthew] said, | "Lord, [even if I will] | not [be able] to see it, let me [know it]!" [15]

(30) The Lord [said], "[Everyone] | who has known himself has seen [it in] | everything given to him to do [. . .] | . . . and has come to [. . .] | it in his [goodness]."

(31) [Judas] [20] responded, saying, | "Tell me, Lord, [how it is that . . .] | . . . which shakes the earth | moves."

(32) The Lord picked up a [stone and] | held it in his hand, [saying, **133** "What] am I holding | [in] my [hand]?"

(33) He said, "[It is] a stone." |

(34) He [said] to them, "That which supports | [the earth] is that which supports the heaven. [5] When a Word comes forth | from the Greatness, it will come on what | supports the heaven and the earth. For the earth | does not move. Were it to move, it would | fall. But it neither moves nor falls, in order that the First Word might not [10] fail. For it was that which established | the cosmos and inhabited | it and inhaled fragrance from | it. For, ... [...] ... which do not move I | [...] ... you, all the sons of [men. [15] For] you are from [that] place. | [In] the hearts of those who speak out of [joy] | and truth you exist. | Even if it comes forth in | [the body] of the Father among men [20] and is not received, still | it [...] return to its place. Whoever [does not] know | [the work] of perfection [knows] | nothing. If one does not stand | in the darkness, he will not be able to see the light. **134**

(35) "If [one] does not [understand | how] fire came into existence, | he will burn in it, because | he does not know the root of it. [5] If one does not first understand | water, he knows nothing. For what | use is there for him to be baptized | in it? If one does not understand | how blowing wind [10] came into existence, he will blow away | with it. If one does not understand | how body, which he bears, | came into existence, he will [perish] with | it. And how will someone who does [not] know [the Son] [15] know the [Father]? | And to someone who will not know the [root] | of all things, they remain hidden. Someone who | will not know the root of wickedness | is no stranger to it. Whoever [20] will not understand how | he came will not understand how | he will go, and he is no [stranger] | to this cosmos which [will ...], | which will be humiliated."

(36) Then he [... Judas] [25] and Matthew and [Mary **135** ...] ... [...] ... the edge of heaven | [and] earth. [And] when he placed his | [hand] upon them, they hoped that they might | [...] ... it. Judas raised his eyes [5] and saw an exceedingly high place, | and he saw the place of the abyss | below. Judas said to | Matthew, "Brother, who will | be able to climb up to such a height or down to the [10] bottom of the abyss? For there is a tremendous | fire there and something very fearful!" | At that moment, a Word came forth from | it. As it stood there, | he saw how it had come [15] [down]. Then he said to it, "[Why] | have you come down?"

(37) And the Son | of Man greeted them and said to them, | "A seed

from a power was | deficient and it went down to [20] [the] abyss of the earth. And the Greatness | remembered [it] and he sent the [Word | to] it. It brought it up into | [his presence] so that **136** the First Word might not fail." [Then his disciples] were | amazed at [all the things] | he had said to them, and they accepted them on [faith]. | And they concluded that it is useless [5] to regard wickedness.

(38) Then he said to | his disciples, "Have I not told | you that like a visible voice and flash of | lightning | will the good be taken up to [10] the light?"

(39) Then all his disciples | offered him praise and said, "Lord, | before you appeared | here, who was it who offered you praise? | For all praises exist on your account. [15] Or who is it who will bless [you]? | For all blessing derives [from] | you."

(40) As they stood there, he saw | two spirits bringing a single soul | with them in a great flash of lightning. [20] And a Word came forth from | the Son of Man, saying, | "Give them their garment!" [And] | the small one became like the big one. They were [...] ... [...] | ... those who received **137** them. ... [...] each other. | Then ... [...] disciples, | [whom] he had ... [...].

(41) Mary [said, | "...] see [5] [evil ...] ... them from the | first [...] each other." |

(42) The [Lord] said, "[...] ... when you see | them ... [...] become huge, they | will ... [...] .... But when you [10] see the Eternal Existent, that | is the great vision."

(43) Then they all said to him, | "Tell us about it!"

(44) He said to them, | "How do you wish to see it? | [By means of a] transient vision or an [15] eternal [vision]?" He went on and said, | "[Strive] to save that | [which] can follow | [you], and to seek it out, and to | speak from within it, so that, [20] as you seek it out, [everything] | might be in harmony with you! For | I [say] to you, truly, | the living God [...] ... in you **138** ... [...] ... in | him."

(45) [Judas said, "Truly], I | want [...]." |

(46) The [Lord said] to him, "[...] living [...] [5] dwells [...] ... entire | ... the [deficiency ...]."

(47) [Judas said], | "Who ... [...]?" |

(48) The Lord said, "[...] all [the] works | which ... [...] the remainder, [10] it is they [which you ...] ... [...] ...." |

(49) Judas said, "Behold! | The governors dwell above | us, so it is they who will rule | over us!"

(50) The Lord said, [15] "It is you who will rule over them! | But when

you rid yourselves of | jealousy, then | you will clothe yourselves in light | and enter the bridal chamber." [20]

(51) Judas said, | "How will [our] garments be brought to us?" |

(52) The Lord said, "There are | some who will provide for you, and | there are others who will receive [...]. **139** For [it is] they [who will give you] your | garments. [For] who [will] be able to reach | that place [which] is [the] reward? | But the garments of life were given to [5] man because he knows the | path by which he will leave. And | it is difficult even for me to reach it!" |

(53) Mary said, "Thus with respect to 'the | wickedness of each day,' and 'the laborer [10] is worthy of his food,' and | 'the disciple resembles his teacher.'" | She uttered this as a woman who had understood | completely.

(54) The disciples said to him, | "What is the fullness and [15] what is the deficiency?"

(55) He said to them, | "You are from the fullness | and you dwell in the place | where the deficiency is. And lo! His light has poured [down] [20] upon me!"

(56) [Matthew] said, | 'Tell me, Lord, | how the dead die | [and] how the living live." **140**

(57) The [Lord] said, "[You have] asked | me about a saying [...] which | eye has not seen, [nor] have I heard it | except from you. But I say [5] to you that when | what invigorates a man is removed, | he will be called 'dead.' And when | what is alive leaves what is dead, | what is alive will be called upon."

(58) Judas said, [10] "Why else, for the sake of truth, do they | ⟨die⟩ and live?"

(59) The Lord said, | "Whatever is born of truth | does not die. Whatever is born of woman | dies."

(60) Mary said, [15] "Tell me, Lord, why | I have come to this place to profit | or to forfeit."

(61) The Lord said, "You make clear | the abundance of the revealer!" |

(62) Mary said to him, [20] "Lord, is there then a place which is . . . , | or lacking truth?" |

(63) The Lord said, "The place where I | am not!"

(64) Mary said, | "Lord, you are fearful and [wonderful], **141** and . . . [...] . . . | . . . those who do not know [you]." |

(65) Matthew said, "[Why] do we | not rest [at once]?" [5]

(66) The Lord said, "When you lay down | these burdens!"

(67) Matthew said, | "How does the small | join itself to the big?"

(68) The Lord said, | "When you abandon [10] the works which will not be able | to follow you, then you will rest." |

(69) Mary said, | "I want to understand all things, | [just as] they are."

(70) The [Lord] said, [15] "He who will seek out life! | For [this] is their wealth. | For the ... [...] ... of this cosmos | is [...], and its gold and its silver | are [misleading]."

(71) His [disciples] said to him, [20] "What should we do to ensure that | our work will be perfect?" |

(72) The Lord [said] to them, "Be | [prepared] in face of everything. | [Blessed] is the man who has found **142** ... [...] ... the contest ... | his eyes. [Neither] did he kill, nor | was [he] killed, but he came forth victorious." |

(73) [Judas] said, "Tell me, Lord, [5] what the beginning of the path is."

(74) He said, | "Love and goodness. For if | one of these existed among the | governors, wickedness would never have come into existence." |

(75) Matthew said, "Lord, [10] you have spoken about the end of everything without concern." |

(76) The Lord said, "You have understood all the things | I have said to you | and you have accepted them on faith. | If you have known them, then they are [yours]. [15] If not, then they are not yours." |

(77) They said to him, "What is the place | to which we are going?"

(78) The [Lord] said, | "Stand in | the place you can reach!" [20]

(79) Mary said, "Everything | established thus is seen." |

(80) The Lord [said], "I have told you [that] | it is the one who can see who [reveals]." |

(81) His [disciples], numbering twelve, asked him, [25] "Teacher, [... **143** ... serenity ...] teach | us ... [...]." |

(82) The Lord said, "... [...] ... everything | which I have ... [...] you will ... [5] ... [...] ... you [...] ... everything." |

(83) [Mary] said, "There is but one saying | I will [speak] to the Lord | concerning the mystery of truth: | In this have we taken our stand, and [10] to the cosmic are we transparent." |

(84) Judas said to Matthew, "We | [want] to understand the sort | of garments we are to be [clothed] with | [when] we depart the decay of the [15] [flesh]."

(85) The Lord said, "The governors | [and] the administrators possess | garments granted [only for a time,] | which do not last. [But]

you, | as children of truth, [20] not with these transitory garments are you to clothe yourselves. | Rather, I say | [to] you that you will become [blessed] | when you strip [yourselves]! | For it is no great thing **144** ... [...] outside." |

(86) [... said ...] ... speak, I | ... [...] ...."

(87) The Lord said, | "... [...] ... your Father [5] ... [...] ...."

(88) [Mary said, | "Of what] sort is that [mustard seed]? | Is it something from heaven or | is it something from earth?"

(89) The Lord said, | "When the Father established the [10] cosmos for himself, he left much over from | the Mother of the All. Therefore, he speaks and | he acts."

(90) Judas said, "You have | told us this out of the mind of | truth. When we pray, [15] how should we pray?"

(91) The Lord said, | "Pray in the place where there is no woman." |

(92) Matthew said, | "'Pray in the place where there is [no woman],' he tells us, | meaning, 'Destroy the [20] works of womanhood,' not because there is any other [manner of birth], | but because they will cease [giving birth]." |

(93) Mary said, "They will never be obliterated." |

(94) The Lord said, "[Who] | knows that they will [not] dissolve **145** and ... [...] ... | [...] ... [...] ...?" |

(95) Judas said [to Matthew], | "[The works] of [womanhood] will dissolve [5] [...] the governors | will ... [...] .... Thus will we [become] | prepared [for] them." |

(96) [The] Lord [said], "Right. For do they see | [you? Do they see] those who receive [10] [you]? Now behold! A [true] Word | is coming forth from the Father | [to the abyss], in silence with a [flash of lightning], | giving birth. Do they see it or [overpower] | it? But you are even more [15] aware of [the path], this one, [before] | either [angel or authority has | .... Rather it belongs to the Father] and the [Son | because they] are both a single | [.... And] you [will] go via [20] [the path] which you have [known]. Even [if] | the governors become huge | [they will] not be able to reach it. [But listen!] I | [tell] you [that] it is difficult | even [for] me [to reach] it!" **146**

(97) [Mary] said [to the Lord], "When | the works [...] ... | ... [... which] dissolves | a [work]."

(98) [The Lord said, "Right. For] you [5] know [...] ... if I | dissolve [...] ... will go to | his [place]."

(99) Judas said, "How | is the [spirit] apparent?" |

(100) The Lord said, "How [is] [10] the sword [apparent]?"

(101) [Judas] said, | "How is the [light] apparent?" |

(102) The Lord said, "... [...] | in it forever."

(103) [Judas] said, | "Who forgives the [works] [15] of whom? [The works] which ... [...] | the cosmos [...] ... [... | who] forgives the [works]." |

(104) The Lord [said], "[Who ...] ...? | It behooves whomever has understood [the works] [20] to do the [will] of the Father. | And as for [you, strive] to rid [yourselves] of [anger] | and [jealousy], | and [to strip] yourselves | of your [...] ...s, and not to ... [... **147** ... [8] ...] ... | [...] ... [10] [...] ... | [...] ... | [...] ... | [...] ... reproach | [...]. For I say ... [15] [...] ... you take ... | [...] ... you ... | [...] who has sought, having | [...] ... this, will ... | [...] he will live [forever. [20] And] I say to | [you ...] ... so that you will not lead | [your] spirits and your souls into error." |

[The Dialogue] of the Savior

THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL (V,2)

Introduced and translated by

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The first of the four apocalypses in Codex V is a highly syncretistic, gnostic version of the ascension of Paul through the heavens. It bears no literary relationship to the Greek work of the same name, though the latter also deals with Paul's vision of judgment in the heavens. Whether it had affinities with the now lost "Ascension of Paul" used by the "Gnostics" according to Epiphanius, it is impossible to tell, but it should be noted that in Epiphanius' account the "Ascension" refers only to three heavens, whereas it is the uniqueness of the present work that it describes Paul's experience of the fourth to the tenth heavens; the third is mentioned only as a starting point.

Apoc. Paul begins with a narrative of Paul's encounter with a small child on the "mountain of Jericho" en route to Jerusalem. The child, who is Paul's guiding spirit or interpreting angel, sometimes called the Holy spirit in the text, takes him to the heavens to meet his fellow apostles, who accompany him during his further ascent. In the fourth heaven Paul witnesses the judgment of souls; in the fifth, angels driving souls to judgment. The sixth heaven is illuminated by a light from above, and in the seventh Paul meets an old man on a shining throne who threatens to block his further ascent. He continues, however, into the Ogdoad and the ninth and tenth heavens, and when he reaches the last he has been transformed so that he greets, no longer his fellow-apostles, but his fellow-spirits. The language of the narrative fluctuates from third person to first at 19,8, back to third person at 19,18, and finally to first person again from 20,5 on. The inconsistency may perhaps be attributed to literary carelessness rather than to multiple sources, for at these points in the narrative no clear "seams" can be detected on other grounds.

For purposes of analysis, the contents of *Apoc. Paul* may be divided into three distinct episodes: an epiphany scene, a scene of judgment and punishment, and a heavenly journey. In the first, the little child who meets Paul on the mountain and gives him a revelation most naturally suggests an epiphany of the risen Christ, who is sometimes described as a small child (e.g., in *Ap. John* (BG,2) 20,19-21,4, *Act. Jn.* 88). This experience, as the allusion to Gal 1:15 (Jer 1:5) in 18,15-16 suggests, functions as the calling of Paul to be an apostle and thus interprets Gal 1:11-17. The heavenly visitor not only reveals to Paul but conducts him above to (the heavenly) Jerusalem, to the apostles, thus interpreting Gal 2:1-2 also. The ascent itself builds on 2 Co 12:2-4.

The scene of the judgment and punishment of souls in the fourth and fifth

heavens has its closest parallel in Jewish apocalyptic literature, notably in the *Testament of Abraham* 10 (long recension) and even more closely in the Coptic version of the short recension, which has several details peculiar to it. The author of *Apoc. Paul* is indebted to other traditions, however, for his picture of the three angels who rival one another in whipping the souls forward to judgment (22,5-10). This is clearly an evocation of the Erinyes of Greek mythology. Likewise the toll-collector who is also judge belongs to Babylonian and Hellenistic astrology. The scene is thus the result of popular syncretism.

The third main element of the work, the heavenly journey, is concentrated for the most part in the sixth and seventh heavens. The ascent theme may have been borrowed from Jewish apocalyptic tradition, but its gnostic coloring is obvious in the depiction of the "old man" on the throne in the seventh heaven (Dan 7:13; 1 Enoch 46-47) as a hostile figure who tries to block the gnostic soul's ascent to the Ogdoad and the higher heavens. And the interrogation of Paul also recalls similar dialogues or formulas in other gnostic works (e.g., 1 *Apoc. Jas.* (V,3), *Gos. Mary* (BG,1), *Gos. Thom.* (II,2, saying 50).

The date and provenance of the document cannot be determined with any certainty. That it comes from gnostic circles with a typical anti-Jewish bias seems assured by the negative view of the deity in the seventh heaven. The portrayal of Paul as exalted even above the other apostles is at home in second-century Gnosticism, especially Valentinianism, and, according to Irenaeus (*Haer.* II.30.7), there was a gnostic tradition of interpreting Paul's experience in 2 Co 12:2-4. Nothing in *Apoc. Paul* demands any later date than the second century for its composition.

THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL

V 17, 19-24, 9

[The Apocalypse of] Paul |

[. . .] **18**[3] the road. And [he spoke to him], | saying, "[By which] [5] road [shall I go] up to [Jerusalem]?" | The little child [replied, saying], | "Say your name, so that [I may show] | you the road." [The little child] | knew [who Paul was]. [10] He wished to make conversation with | him through his words [in order that] he | might find an excuse for speaking | with him.

The little child spoke, | saying, "I know [15] who you are, Paul. | You are he who was blessed from | his mother's womb. For I have [come] | to you that you may [go up to Jerusalem] | to your fellow [apostles. And] [20] for this reason [you were called. And] | I am the [Spirit who accompanies] | you. Let [your mind awaken, | Paul], with [. . .]. **19** For [. . .] | whole which [. . .] | among the [principalities and] these authori-

ties [and] | archangels and powers [5] and the whole race of demons, | [. . .] the one that reveals | bodies to a soul-seed." |

And after he brought that speech | to an end, he spoke, saying [10] to me, "Let your mind awaken, | Paul, and see that this mountain | upon which you are standing is the mountain | of Jericho, so that you may know the | hidden things in those that are visible. [15] Now it is to the twelve apostles | that you shall go, | for they are elect spirits, and they will | greet you." He raised | his eyes and saw them [20] greeting him.

Then the | Holy [Spirit] who was speaking | with [him] caught him up | on high to the third | heaven, and he passed [25] beyond to the fourth [heaven]. | The [Holy] Spirit spoke to him, | saying, "Look | and see your [likeness] | upon the earth." And he [looked] [30] down and saw those [who were upon] | the earth. He stared [and saw] | those who were upon the [. . . . Then **20** he] gazed [down and] saw | the [twelve] apostles | [at] his right [and] at his left | in the creation; and the Spirit was [5] going before them.

But I saw | in the fourth heaven according to class – I | saw the angels resembling | gods, the angels bringing | a soul out of the land of [10] the dead. They placed it at the gate | of the fourth heaven. And | the angels were whipping it. | The soul spoke, saying, | "What sin was it that I committed [15] in the world?" | The toll-collector who dwells in the | fourth heaven replied, saying, | "It was not right to commit all those lawless deeds | that are in the world [20] of the dead." | The soul replied, saying, | "Bring witnesses! Let them [show] you | in what body I committed lawless deeds. | [Do you wish] to bring a book [25] [to read from]?"

And | the three witnesses came. | The first spoke, saying, | "Was I [not | in] the body the second hour [30] [. . .]? I rose up against you **21** until [you fell] into anger [and | rage] and envy." And | the second spoke, saying, | "Was I not [5] in the world? And I entered at | the fifth hour, and I saw you | and desired you. And behold, | then, now I charge you with the | murders you committed." [10] The third spoke, saying, | "Did I not come to you at | the twelfth hour of the day when | the sun was about to set? I gave you darkness | until you should accomplish your sins." [15] When the soul heard these things, | it gazed downward in | sorrow. And then it gazed | upward. It was cast down. | The soul that had been cast down [20] [went] to [a] body which had been prepared | [for it. And] behold | [its] witnesses were finished.

[Then I | gazed] upward and [saw | the] Spirit saying [to me], [25] "Paul, come! [Proceed | toward] me!" Then as I [went], | the gate

opened, [and] | I went up to the fifth [heaven]. | And I saw my fellow apostles [30] [going with me] **22** while the Spirit accompanied us. | And I saw a great angel | in the fifth heaven holding | an iron rod in his [5] hand. There were three other angels with | him, and I stared into | their faces. But they were rivalling | each other, with whips | in their hands, goading the [10] souls on to the judgment. | But I went with the Spirit | and the gate opened for me. |

Then we went up to the sixth heaven. | And I saw my fellow apostles [15] going with me, and the Holy Spirit | was leading me before them. | And I gazed up on high and saw a | great light shining down | on the sixth heaven. I spoke, [20] saying to the toll-collector | who was in the sixth heaven, "[Open] | to me and the [Holy] Spirit [who | is] before [me]." He opened [to me].

[Then | we went] up to the seventh [heaven [25] and I saw] an old man [. . .] | light [and | whose garment] was white. [His throne], | which is in the seventh heaven, | [was] brighter than the sun [30] by [seven] times. **23** The old man spoke, saying to [me], | "Where are you going, Paul, | O blessed one and the one who was | set apart from his mother's womb?" [5] But I looked at the Spirit, | and he was nodding his head, saying | to me, "Speak with him!" | And I replied, saying | to the old man, "I am going to the place [10] from which I came." And | the old man responded to me, "Where are you from?" | But I replied, saying, | "I am going down to the world of | the dead in order to lead captive [15] the captivity | that was led captive | in the captivity of Babylon." | The old man replied to me, | saying, "How will you be [20] able to get away from me? Look | and see the principalities and | authorities." [The] | Spirit spoke, saying, "Give him [the] | sign that you have, and [he will] [25] open for you." And then I gave [him] | the sign. He turned his face | downwards to his creation | and to those who are his own authorities. |

And then the [30] ⟨seventh⟩ heaven opened and we went up to [the] **24** Ogdoad. And I saw the | twelve apostles. They | greeted me, and we went | up to the ninth heaven. I [5] greeted all those who were in the | ninth heaven, and we went up | to the tenth heaven. And I | greeted my fellow spirits. |

The Apocalypse of Paul

THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES (V,3)

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The manuscript names this writing *The Apocalypse of James*. We refer to it here as *The (First) Apocalypse of James* to distinguish it from the next writing (V,4) which the manuscript also entitles *The Apocalypse of James*. Our apocalypse is an excellent example of a "revelation dialogue." The partners in the dialogue are the Lord and James the Lord's brother (though the latter is said to be the Lord's brother only in a purely spiritual sense). In the first part of the writing (24,10-30,11) James addresses questions to the Lord that reflect his anxiety at the suffering soon to overtake both himself and the Lord, and the Lord provides James consolation in terms of standard gnostic teaching about the place of man in the universe. An oblique and very brief reference to the crucifixion in 30,12-13 serves as the turning point in the account. After the reappearance of the Lord, the story is dominated by a series of formulae transmitted to James to enable him to meet the challenges of the hostile powers who will attempt to block his ascent to "the Pre-Existent One" after his martyrdom (32,23-36,1). These formulae represent a dramatized version of texts that appear elsewhere in the context of rites for the dying in forms of Valentinian Gnosticism (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.21.5; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 36.3.1-6). It is worth noting, however, that at least one characteristic line that appears here ("I am an alien, a son of the Father's race") has a close parallel in the *Corpus Hermeticum* (13.3). Other interesting matters taken up in the second part of our apocalypse include the directions concerning the handing on of the teaching in secret (36,13-38,11), the comments about the value of women as disciples (38,15-41,18), the mention of James' rebuke of the twelve disciples (42,20-24), and the relatively lengthy account (now much mutilated) of James' martyrdom at the conclusion of the writing.

The designation of James as "James the Just" (32,2-3; cf. 43,19) indicates contact with Jewish Christian tradition (cf. Hegesippus, in Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.23.4,7; *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, in Jerome, *De viris inl.* 2; *Gos. Thom.*, saying 12). The inclusion of Addai (36,15-24) in the list of figures who will hand on the teaching in secret points to contact with Syria and thereby possibly also to a Semitic form of Christianity (cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* 1.13). Some scholars have argued that numerous other themes in our apocalypse also betray the influence of Jewish Christian theology. But apart from the importance attributed to James the Just there is little in the writing that can with any confidence be attributed to the influence of Jewish Christianity in particular. There is a good possibility, then, that the figure of James was chosen by a circle of Gnostics as a convenient peg on which to hang their teaching.

One reason for the appeal of the figure of James was the fact that he stood outside the circle of twelve disciples and because of his relationship to Jesus (here understood in purely spiritual terms) could be appealed to as the originator of a purer form of Christian teaching than that represented by the twelve. In this connection, the command to hand on the teaching in secret presumably served to explain why it was that Gnosticism appeared to the uninitiated as a relatively late flowering of the religion of Jesus. Our apocalypse, in short, was attempting to present an alternative to the apostolic authority claimed for the teaching of a steadily advancing catholic form of Christianity. It appears, however, that whereas Jerusalem and Judaism are associated with the darker powers of the universe, the twelve (and thus catholic Christianity) move within the more beneficent spheres of the activity of Achamoth, the lesser Sophia.

Another reason for the appeal that the figure of James had for some Gnostics was that it enabled them to make more sense of the history of the first century. The fall of Jerusalem was an event that cried out for explanation. And though it soon seemed natural to attribute the disaster to the treatment of Jesus by the Jews (cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.13; Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.7), it was even more natural to connect the fall of Jerusalem with the treatment meted out to James by Jewish authorities just before the great war with Rome (Hegesippus, in Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.23). A careful Christian scholar was bound to find this disquieting (cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.47). Our apocalypse, however, has no such uneasiness and finds it possible to exploit the role of James for two reasons. First, the difference between the redeemer (the Lord) and the redeemed (James, the prototypical disciple) is significantly less pronounced in Gnosticism (cf. 27,8-10 where James is flatly identified with "Him-who-is"). Consequently, the two figures complement rather than rival one another in ways that are difficult for catholic Christianity to contemplate. Second, the general gnostic view that martyrdom could be (and in the minds of some Gnostics inevitably was) embraced for the wrong reasons made the emergence of resolve in this regard only after a long period of fear and anxiety a perfectly natural expectation. Thus the crucifixion of Jesus and the martyrdom of James are seen as complementary events, both of which are required for the full exemplification of the victory over the powers of darkness. In this connection, the defeat of the archons by James during his ascent to God is presumably connected with the fall of Jerusalem, the dwelling place (according to 25,15-19) of many archons.

A guide to the place of James the Just in early Christianity is provided by a fragment of Clement of Alexandria: "To James the Just and John and Peter the Lord transmitted the *gnosis* after the resurrection. They transmitted it to the other apostles. And the other apostles transmitted it to the seventy . . ." (Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.1.4). The passage strongly suggests that there were three main (no doubt overlapping) stages in the development of the image of James: 1) as James the Just, a symbol of Jewish-Christian values; 2) as the recipient of postresurrection revelation in a Gnosticizing milieu; and 3) as a colleague of the apostles of the Lord in a catholicizing milieu. Our apocalypse presumably reflects an interest in James that corresponds to the second main stage of the development of his image.

It should be noted finally that there is some evidence of the direct influence of esoteric Jewish speculation in our apocalypse. For it is only through an

unusual manipulation of numbers and an awareness of the importance of the number 72 in Jewish lore that we can account for the fact that "twelve hebdomads" (12 × 7) amount to "seventy-two heavens (26,2-18).

THE (FIRST) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

V 24, 10-44, 10

The Apocalypse of James

It is the Lord who spoke with me: "See now the completion of my redemption. I have given you a sign of these things, James, my brother. For not without reason have I called you my brother, although you are not my brother materially. And I am not ignorant concerning you; so that when I give you a sign – know and hear.

"Nothing existed except Him-who-is. He is unnameable and ineffable. I myself also am unnameable, from Him-who-is, just as I have been [given a] number of names – two from Him-who-is. And I, [I] am before you. Since you have [asked] concerning femaleness, femaleness existed, but femaleness was not [first]. And [it] prepared for itself powers and gods. But [it did] not exist [when] I came forth, **25** since I am an image of Him-who-is. But I have brought forth the image of [him] so that the sons of Him-who-is might know what things are theirs and what things are alien (to them). Behold, I shall reveal to you everything of this mystery. For they will seize me the day after tomorrow. But my redemption will be near."

James said, "Rabbi, you have said, 'They will seize me.' But I, what can I do?" He said to me, "Fear not, James. You too will they seize. But leave Jerusalem. For it is she who always gives the cup of bitterness to the sons of light. She is a dwelling place of a great number of archons. But your redemption will be preserved from them. So that you may understand who they are [and] what kinds they are, you will [. . .]. And listen. They [are] not [. . .] but [archons . . .]. These twelve [. . .] down [. . .] archons [. . .] **26** upon his own hebdomad."

James said, "Rabbi, are there then twelve hebdomads and not seven as there are in the scriptures?" The Lord said, "James, he who spoke concerning this scripture had a limited understanding. I, however, shall reveal to you what has come forth from him who has no number. I shall give a sign concerning their number. As for what has

come forth from him | who has no measure, I shall give a sign concerning their | measure."

James said, | "Rabbi, behold then, I have received [15] their number. There are seventy-two measures!" | The Lord said, "These | are the seventy-two heavens, which | are their subordinates. These are the powers of | all their might; and they were [20] established by them; | and these are they who were distributed | everywhere, existing under the [authority] | of the twelve archons. | The inferior power among them [25] [brought forth] for itself angels | [and] unnumbered hosts. | Him-who-is, however, has been given | [...] on account of | [...] Him-who-is [30] [...] they are unnumbered. **27** If you want | to give them a number now, you [will] | not be able to (do so) until you cast away | from yourself blind thought, [5] this bond of flesh which encircles you. | And then you will reach | Him-who-is. | And you will no longer be | James; rather you are [10] the One-who-is. And all those who are | unnumbered will | all have been named." |

⟨James said, "Then,⟩ | Rabbi, in what way shall I reach [15] Him-who-is, since | all these powers and these | hosts are armed against me?" | He said to me, "These powers | are not armed against you specifically, [20] but are armed against another. | It is against me that they are armed. | And they are armed with other [powers]. | But they are armed against me [in] | judgment. They did not give [...] [25] to me in it [...] | through them [...]. | In this place [...] | suffering, I shall [...]. | He will [...] **28** and I shall not rebuke them. But there shall | be within me a silence and | a hidden mystery. But I | am fainthearted before their anger." [5]

James said, "Rabbi, | if they arm themselves against you, then | is there no blame?

You have come with knowledge,
that | you might rebuke their forgetfulness.
You have come with | recollection,
that you might rebuke their [10] ignorance.

But I was concerned | because of you.

For you descended into a | great ignorance,
but | you have not been defiled by anything in it. |
For you descended into a great mindlessness, [15]
and your recollection remained. |

You walked in mud, |
and your garments were not soiled, |

and you have not been buried | in their filth,
and [20] you have not been caught.

And I was | not like them, but I clothed myself with everything | of theirs.

There is in me | forgetfulness,
yet I | remember things that are not theirs. [25]
There is in me [...], |
and I am in their | [...].

[...] knowledge | [...] not in their sufferings | [...]. But I have become afraid [30] [before them], since they rule. For what **29** will they do? What will I be able | to say? Or what word will I be able | to say that I may escape them?" |

The Lord said, "James, I praise [5] your understanding and your fear. | If you continue to be distressed, | do not be concerned for anything else | except your redemption. | For behold, I shall complete this destiny [10] upon this earth as | I have said from the heavens. | And I shall reveal to you | your redemption."

James said, | "Rabbi, how, after these things, [15] will you appear to us again? | After they seize you, | and you complete this destiny, | you will go up to Him- | who-is." The Lord said, "James, [20] after these things I shall reveal to you | everything, not for your sake | alone but for the sake of [the] | unbelief of men, | so that [faith] may [25] exist in them. | For [a] multitude will [attain] | to faith [and] | they will increase [in ...]. **30** And after this I shall appear | for a reproof to the archons. And I shall | reveal to them that | he cannot be seized. If they [5] seize him, then | he will overpower each of them. | But now I shall go. Remember | the things I have spoken and let them | go up before you." [10] James said, "Lord, I shall hasten | as you have said." | The Lord said farewell to him and fulfilled | what was fitting.

When James | heard of his sufferings [15] and was much distressed, | they awaited the sign | of his coming. And he came after | several days. And James | was walking upon the mountain, [20] which is called "Gaugelan," | with his disciples, | who listened to him | [because they had been distressed], and he was | [...] a comforter, [25] [saying], "This is | [...] the (or: a) second [...." | Then the] crowd dispersed, | but James remained | [...] prayer [30] [...], as **31** was his custom. |

And the Lord appeared to him. | Then he stopped (his) prayer | and embraced him. He kissed [5] him, saying, "Rabbi, | I have found you! I

have heard of your | sufferings, which you endured. And | I have been much distressed. My | compassion you know. [10] Therefore, on reflection, I was wishing | that I would not see this people. They must | be judged for these things that they have done. | For these things that they have done are contrary to | what is fitting."

The Lord said, [15] "James, do not be concerned | for me or for | this people. I am he who | was within me. Never | have I suffered in any way, [20] nor have I been distressed. | And this people has done | me no harm. | But this (people) existed [as] | a type of the archons, [25] and it deserved to be [destroyed] | through them. But [...] | the archons, [...] | who (or: which) has [...] | but since it (fem.) [...] [30] angry with [.... | The] just [...] **32** is his servant. Therefore | your name is 'James | the Just.' You see | how you will become sober when you see [5] me. And you stopped this prayer. | Now since you are a just | man of God, you have | embraced me and kissed me. | Truly I say to you that [10] you have stirred up great anger and | wrath against yourself. But | (this has happened) so that these others might come to be." |

But James was timid | (and) wept. And he was very distressed. [15] And they both sat down | upon a rock. The Lord said | to him, "James, thus | you will undergo these sufferings. But do not | be sad. For the flesh is [20] weak. It will receive what has been | ordained for it. But as for you, do not | be [timid] or afraid." | The Lord [ceased].

[Now] when James | heard these things, he [25] wiped away [the] tears in | [his eyes] and very bitter (?) | [...] which is | [...]. The Lord [said] to [him, | "James], behold, I shall **33** reveal to you your redemption. | When [you] are seized, | and you undergo these sufferings, | a multitude will arm themselves against you [5] that ⟨they⟩ may seize you. And in particular | three of them | will seize you – they who | sit (there) as toll collectors. Not | only do they demand toll, but [10] they also take away souls | by theft. When | you come into their power, | one of them who is their guard will say | to you, [15] 'Who are you or where are you from?' | You are to say to him, 'I am | a son, and I am from | the Father.' He will say to you, | 'What sort of son are you, and [20] to what father do you belong?' You are to | say to him, 'I am from | the Pre-existent Father, | and a son in the | Pre-existent One.' [When he says] [25] to you, [...], | you are to [say to him, ...] | in the [...] | that I might [...].

"[... **34** of] alien things?" You are to say to him, | 'They are not entirely alien, | but they are from Achamoth, | who is the female. And these [5] she produced as she brought down the race | from the | Pre-existent One. So then | they are not alien, but they are ours. | They are

indeed ours because she who [10] is mistress of them is from | the Pre-existent One. | At the same time they are alien because | the Pre-existent One did not | have intercourse with her, when she [15] produced them.' When he also says to you, | "Where will you go?,' you are to | say to him, 'To the place from which I have come, | there shall I return.' | And if you say these things, you will [20] escape their attacks.

"But when | you come to | [these] three detainers | [who] take away souls by | theft in that place [25] [. . .] these. You | [. . .] a vessel | [. . .] much more than [. . .] **35** of the one (fem.) whom | you [. . .] for [. . .] | her root. You | too will [5] be sober [. . .]. But I shall call | [upon] the imperishable knowledge, | which is Sophia who | is in the Father (and) who is the mother | of Achamoth. [10] Achamoth had no father nor | male consort, but | she is female from a | female. She produced you (pl.) | without a male, since she was alone [15] (and) in ignorance as to what | [lives through] her mother because she thought | that she alone existed. | But [I] shall cry out | to her mother. And then [20] they will fall into confusion (and) will | blame their | root and the race [of] | their mother. [But] you | will go up to [what is] [25] yours [. . .] | you will [. . .] **36** the [Pre-existent One].

"[They are | a] type [of the] twelve | disciples and [the] twelve | pairs, [. . .] [5] Achamoth, which is | translated 'Sophia.' | And who I myself am, | and (who) the imperishable Sophia (is) | through whom you will be redeemed, [10] and (who are) all the sons of Him-who- | is – these things they have known | and have hidden within | them. You are to hide ⟨these things⟩ within you, | and you are to keep silence. [15] But you are to reveal them to | Addai. When you [depart], | immediately war will be [made] | with this land. [Weep], | then, for him who dwells in Jerusalem. [20] But let Addai take these things | to heart. In the tenth | year let Addai sit | and write them down. | And when he writes them down [25] [. . .] and they are to give them | [. . .] he has the [. . .] **37**[6] he is [called] | Levi. Then he is to bring | [. . .] word | [. . .] from [10] [what I] said earlier | [. . .] a woman | [. . .] Jerusalem in her | [. . . and] he begets | [two] sons through her. [15] [They are to] inherit these things | [and] the understanding of him who | [. . .] exalts. And they are to receive | [. . .] through him from his | intellect. Now, the younger of them [20] is greater. And | may these things remain | hidden in him until [he] | comes to the age of | seventeen years [. . .] **38**[3] beginning [. . .] [5] through [them]. They will pursue | him exceedingly, since [they are] from | his [. . .] companions. He will be | proclaimed [through] them, | and [they will] proclaim this word. [10] [Then he will become] | a seed of [. . .]." |

James said, "[I am] | satisfied [. . .] | and they are [. . .] [15] my soul. Yet [another thing] | I ask of you: who are the [seven] | women who have [been] your disciples? | And behold, | all women bless you. [20] I also am amazed | how [powerless] vessels | have become strong by a perception | which is in them." | [The] Lord [said], "You [. . .] well [. . .] **39**[3] a spirit [of . . .], | a [spirit] of thought, [a spirit] [5] of counsel of [a . . .], | a spirit [. . . , a] spirit | of knowledge [. . .] of their | fear. [. . .] when we had passed | through [the breath] of [10] [this] archon who | is [named] Adonaios | [. . .] him and | [. . .] he was ignorant | [. . .] when I came forth from him, [15] [he] remembered that I | am [a] son of his. He was gracious | [to me] at that time as | his son. And then, | before ⟨I⟩ [20] appeared here, ⟨he⟩ | cast them among [this] | people. And from the [place] | of heaven the prophets [. . .]." **40**[4]

James [said], "Rabbi, [. . .] [6] I [. . .] all together | [. . .] in them | especially [. . .]." | The Lord said, "[James], I [10] praise [you . . .] | walk upon the earth [. . .] | the words while he [. . .] | on the [. . .]. | For cast away from [you the] [15] cup, which is bitterness. | For some from [. . .] | set themselves against you. For [you have begun] | to understand [their roots] | from beginning to end. Cast [20] away from yourself all lawlessness. | And beware lest | they envy you. When you | speak these words of this | [perception], encourage these [25] [four]: Salome and Mariam | [and Martha and Arsinoe . . .] **41**[6] since he takes | some [. . .]to me | he is [. . .] burnt offerings | and [. . .]. But I [10] [. . .] not in this way; but | [. . .] first-fruits of the | [. . .] upward | [. . .] so that | the power [of God might] appear. [15] The perishable has [gone | up] to the imperishable and | the female element has | attained to this male element." |

James said, [20] "Rabbi, into these three (things), then, | has their [. . .] been cast. | For they have been reviled, [and they have been] | persecuted [. . .]. **42**[5] Behold | [. . .] everything | [. . .] from | anyone [. . .]. | For you have received [. . .] of [10] knowledge. [And . . .] | that what is the [. . .] | go [. . .] | you will [find . . .]. | But I shall go [forth] [15] and shall reveal | that they believed in you [that they may] | be content with their [blessing] | and salvation, and | this revelation may come to pass." [20] And he went at that time | [immediately] and rebuked the | twelve, and cast | [out] of them contentment | [concerning the] way of knowledge [. . .].

[. . .]. **43**[7] And the majority | of [them . . .] when they | [saw, the] messenger took in [10] [. . .]. The others [. . .] [12] said, "[. . .] [14] him from this earth. | For [he is] not [worthy] of life." | These, then, [were]

afraid. They arose, | saying, "We | have no part in this blood, | for a just man [20] will perish through | injustice." James departed | so that [. . .] **44**[6] look | [. . .] for | we (?) [. . .] him. |

The Apocalypse [10] of James

THE (SECOND) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES (V,4)

Introduced and translated by

CHARLES W. HEDRICK

Edited by

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

The fourth tractate in Codex V has been given the modern title *The (Second) Apocalypse of James* in order to distinguish it from the preceding tractate, since both documents have the same ancient title: *The Apocalypse of James.* The twenty pages comprising the tractate are preserved in a fragmentary state. The literary form is difficult to describe. The title of the text calls it an apocalypse, and the first line describes it as a discourse. In the sense that James relates a revelation received from the resurrected Jesus, it may be called a revelation discourse. However, its actual structure is cast in the form of a two-part report to Theuda, the father of James, by Mareim, a priest and relative of Theuda, who apparently was present at the stoning of James.

The tractate contains at least four sections artistically arranged. Because of their balance and stylized form they have been described as "harmonic prose" possessing a "hymnic" quality. Three of these units are aretalogies. One (49,5-15) is a series of self-assertions by the resurrected Jesus in the "I am" style. Another (58,2-20) is a series of predications about the resurrected Jesus made by James in the third person (i.e., "he is"). In a further aretalogy (55,15-56,13) the resurrected Jesus describes James' special role in the second person (i.e., "you are"). The entire description in the third aretalogy suggests that James is intended to perform the function of gnostic redeemer.

The fourth unit (62,16-63,29) is a prayer attributed to James. Its present setting requires that one read it as the prayer of a martyr shortly before death. However, it is by no means certain that the present setting of the prayer was its original setting. Apart from its context, it has the character of a prayer that one might pray if one were facing some future period of persecution or trial. The request in 62,21-22 suggests that there was a prospect of continued existence in the world. The material in 63,23-24 speaks of something other than a painful death, already mentioned in 63,5-6, and in fact suggests trials and tribulations such as one might anticipate in one's daily experience.

The tractate as a whole is clearly gnostic in character, yet it shows remarkable restraint in treating usual gnostic themes. Nor can it be identified with any of the known gnostic systems of the second century. On the other hand, the author has made extensive use of Jewish-Christian traditions. James, who held a position of special prominence in Jewish-Christian circles, is regarded as the possessor of a special revelation from Jesus and is assigned a role in the gnostic tradition that rivals, and perhaps exceeds, that of Peter in the canonical tradition. For example,

James is the "escort" who guides the Gnostic through the door of the heavenly kingdom and even rewards him (55,6-14; cf. 55,15-56,13). The description is similar to Peter's charge as the keeper of the keys of heaven (Mt 16:19).

As to the date and place of composition, little can be said with certainty. Because of the basic Jewish-Christian traditions out of which the tractate is composed, it is probable that its origin is to be associated with Jewish-Christian circles. The absence of allusions to the later developed gnostic systems, and the almost total absence of allusions to the New Testament tradition suggest an early date for the origin of the tractate.

The presence and order of the two James apocalypses in Codex V are undoubtedly due to deliberate scribal organization. The two apocalypses stress different aspects of the James tradition and actually complement one another. The setting of *I Apoc. Jas.* emphasizes the period prior to the suffering of James, while *2 Apoc. Jas.* describes his suffering and death in line with the predictions in *1 Apoc. Jas.*

THE (SECOND) APOCALYPSE OF JAMES

V 44, 11-63, 32

The Apocalypse ¹
of [James] ¹

This is [the] discourse that James ¹ [the] Just spoke [15] in Jerusalem, [which] ¹ Mareim, one [of] the priests, ¹ wrote. He had told it to ¹ Theuda, the father of the Just One, ¹ since he was a relative [20] of his. He said, ¹ "[Hasten]! Come with ¹ [Mary], your wife and ¹ your relatives [. . .] **45** therefore [. . .] [5] of this [. . .] ¹ to [him, he will] understand. ¹ For behold, a multitude [10] are disturbed over ¹ his [. . .], and they are greatly ¹ angry [at him. . . .] ¹ and they pray [. . .]. [15] For ¹ [he would] often say these words ¹ and others ¹ also.

"He used to speak these words ¹ while the multitude of people [20] were seated. But (on this occasion) he entered ¹ and did ⟨not⟩ sit down ¹ in the place, as was his custom. ¹ Rather he sat above ¹ the fifth flight of steps, [which] [25] is (highly) esteemed, while all our people [. . .] [27] the words [. . .].

"'[. . .]. **46**[6] I am he who ¹ received revelation from ¹ the Pleroma [of] Imperishability. ¹ (I am) he who was first summoned [10] by him who is great, and ¹ who obeyed the [Lord] – ¹ he who passed [through] ¹ the [worlds . . .] ¹ he who [. . . he who] [15] stripped [himself and] ¹ went about naked, ¹ he who was found in a ¹ perishable (state), though he was about to be brought ¹ up into imperishability. – [20] This Lord who

is present | [came] as a son who sees, | and as a brother | [was he sought]. He will come to | [. . .] produced him because [. . .] and he unites | [. . .] make him free [. . .] **47** in [. . .] | he who came [to . . .].

"'Now again am I rich in | knowledge [and] I have | a unique [understanding], which was produced only from | above and the [. . .] | comes from a [. . .]. | I am the [. . .] whom I | knew. That which was revealed | to me was hidden from everyone | and shall (only) be revealed | through him. These two who see I ⟨. . .⟩ | (and) they have already proclaimed | through these [words]: | "He shall be judged with the [unrighteous]." | He who lived [without] blasphemy died by means of [blasphemy]. | He who was cast out | they [. . .].

"'"'"[. . . **48**[5] the] flesh | [and] it is by knowledge | that I shall come forth from the [flesh]. | I am surely dying, | but it is in life that I shall be found. | I entered | in order that they might judge [. . . I] | shall come forth [in . . .] | judge [. . . I do] | not bring blame against the servants of his [. . .] | I hasten | to make them free and | want to take them above | him who wants to rule over them. If | they are helped, | I am the brother in | secret, who prayed | to the Father [until he . . .] in [. . .] **49**[2] reign: [. . . | imperishability . . .] first | in [. . .].

I [am the] first [son] | who was begotten. –
He will destroy | the dominion of [them] all. – |
I am the beloved. |
I am the righteous one.
I am the son of | [the Father].

I speak even as | [I] heard.
I command | even as I [received] the order.
I | show you (pl.) even as I have [found].

Behold, I speak | in order that I may come forth. Pay | attention to me in order that you | may see me!

"'"'"If I | have come into existence, who then am I? For I did ⟨not⟩ come as I am, | nor would I have appeared | as I am. | For I used to exist | for a brief period of time [. . .]." **50**[5]

"'Once when I was sitting | deliberating, | [he] opened [the] door. | That one | whom you hated and persecuted came in to me. | He said to me, "Hail, my | brother; my brother, hail." | As I raised my [face] | to stare at him, (my) mother said to me, "Do not | be frightened, my son, because | he said 'My brother' to you (sg.). | For you (pl.) were nourished with | this same milk. Because of this he calls | me 'My

mother.' | For he is not a stranger to us. | He is your [step-brother . . .]."

"""[. . .] **51**[2] these words [. . .] [5] great [. . .] | I shall [find] them, and [they shall come] | forth. [However], I am the stranger, | and they have no knowledge | of me in [their] thoughts, [10] for they know me in | [this place]. But it | was fitting that others | know through you. |

"""⟨You are⟩ the one to whom I say: [15] Hear and understand – | for a multitude, when they | hear, will be slow witted. | But you, understand as I | shall be able to tell you. Your father [20] is not my father. But | my father has become a father | to [you].

"""This virgin | about whom you hear – | this is how [. . .] [27] virgin [. . .] **52** namely, the virgin. | [. . .], how | [. . .] to me for | [. . .] to know [5] [. . .] not as | [. . .] whom I [. . .]. For this one (masc.) | [. . .] to him, | and this also is profitable | for you. Your father, whom you [10] consider to be [rich], | shall grant that you inherit | all these (things) that you | see.

"""I proclaim | to you to tell you [15] these (words) that I shall speak. When | you hear, therefore, | open your ears | and understand and walk (accordingly)! | It is because of you that they pass by, [20] activated by | that one who is glorious. | And if they want to make a | disturbance and (seize) possession [. . .] **53** he began [. . .] | not, nor those who are [coming], | who were sent forth [by] | him to make this present [creation]. [5] After [these things, | when he] is ashamed, he shall be disturbed | that his labor, which is far [from] | the aeons, is nothing. And | his inheritance, [10] which he boasted | to be great, shall appear | small. And his | gifts are not | blessings. His promises are evil [15] schemes. For you are not an (instrument) | of his compassion, | but it is through you | that he does violence. He wants | to do injustice to us, and [20] will exercise dominion for a time | allotted to him.

"""But | understand and know the Father | who has compassion. | He was not given [25] an inheritance that was unlimited, | [nor] does it (his inheritance) [have] | a (limited) number of days, | but it is as [the] eternal [day . . .] [30] it is [. . .] **54** perceive [. . .]. | And he used | [. . .]. For in fact he is not | one (come) from [them], (and) because of this he [5] [is despised]. Because of this he [boasts], so | that he may not be reproved. | For because of this he is superior to | those who are below, those | by whom you [10] were looked down upon. After he imprisoned | those from [the] Father, | he seized them | and fashioned them to resemble | himself. And it is [15] with him that they exist.

"""I | saw from the height | those (things) that happened, and I have

explained | how they happened. | They were visited while they [20] were in another form, and, | while I was watching, | [they] came to know ⟨me⟩ as I am, | through those whom I know. |

"""Now before those (things) [25] [have happened] they will make a | [...]. I know | [how] they attempted | [to come] down to this place **55** [that] he might approach [...] | the small children, [but | I] wish to reveal | through you and the [Spirit [5] of Power], in order that he might reveal | [to those] who are yours. And | those who wish to enter, | and who seek to | walk in the way that is [10] before the door, | open the good door through you. And they | follow you; they enter | [and you] escort them inside, and give a reward | to each one who is ready for it. [15]

For you are not the redeemer |
nor a helper of strangers. |
You are an illuminator | and a redeemer |
of those who are mine,
and now [20] of those who are yours.
You shall | reveal (to them);
you shall bring good | among them all.

You [they shall] | admire
because of every powerful (deed). |
You are he whom the heavens [25] bless.
You | he shall envy,
he [who has] | called himself your [Lord]. |
I am the [...] **56**
[those who] are instructed in these
(things) with [you]. |

For your sake
they will be told | [these (things)],
and will come to rest. |
For your sake
they will reign,
[and will] [5] become kings.
For [your] sake |
they will have pity
on whomever they pity. |

For just as | you are first
having clothed | yourself,
you are also the [10] first who will strip himself, |

and you shall become | as you were |
before you were stripped." |

"'And he kissed [15] my mouth. He took hold of me, saying, | "My beloved! | Behold, I shall reveal | to you those (things) that (neither) | [the] heavens nor their archons [20] have known. Behold, | I shall reveal to you | those (things) that he did not know, | he who [boasted, '... [26] there is no] **57** other except me. Am I not alive? | Because I am a father, | [do] I [not have power] for everything?" | Behold, I shall reveal to you [5] everything, my beloved. | [Understand] and know them | [that] you may come forth just as | I am. Behold, I | [shall] reveal to you him who [10] [is hidden]. But now, stretch out your | [hand]. Now, take hold of me." | [And] then I stretched out my | hands and I did not find him | as I thought (he would be). But [15] afterward I heard him | saying, "Understand and | take hold of me." Then I understood, | and I was afraid. And | I was exceedingly joyful. [20]

"'Therefore, I tell | you (pl.), judges, you | have been judged. And you | did not spare, but you were spared. | Be sober and [...] **58** you did not [know]. |

He was that one | whom he who created | the heaven and the earth, [5]
and dwelled in it, | did not see.
He was [this one who] | is the life.
He | was the light.
He | was that one who will come to be. [10]

And again he shall provide
[an] | end for what | has begun
and a beginning | for what is about to be ended. |
He was the Holy Spirit [15] and the Invisible One, | who did not descend | upon the earth.
He was | the virgin, and that which | he wishes happens [20] to him.
I saw | that he was naked, | and there was no garment clothing | him.
That which he wills | happens to him [...]. **59**

"'[Renounce] this difficult way, | which is (so) variable, | [and] walk in accordance with him who desires | [that] you become free men [5] [with] me, after you have passed above | every [dominion]. For he will not [judge] (you) | for those (things) that you did, | but will have mercy on you. | For (it is) not you that did them, but it is [10] [your] Lord (that did them). [He was not] | a wrathful one, but he was a kind Father. |

"'But you have judged [yourselves], | and because of this you will re-

main | in their fetters. You [15] have oppressed yourselves, and you | will repent, (but) you will | not profit at all. Behold him | who speaks and seek | him who is silent. Know him [20] who came to this place, and understand | him who went forth (from it). I am | the Just One, and I do ⟨not⟩ judge. | I am not a master, then, but | I am a helper. He was cast [25] out before he | stretched out his hand. I [...].

"'[...] **60** and he allows me to hear. | And play your trumpets, | your flutes | and your harps [of [5] this house]. The Lord has taken | you captive | from the Lord, having closed | your ears, that | they may not hear the sound of [10] my word. Yet you [will be able to pay] | heed in your hearts, [and] | you will call me "the Just One." | Therefore, I tell | you: Behold, I gave [15] you your house, which | you say that God | has made – that (house) in which | he promised to give you | an inheritance through it. [20] This (house) I shall doom to | destruction and derision of those | who are in ignorance. | For behold, | those who judge deliberate [...].' **61**

"[On] that day | all the [people] and the crowd | were disturbed, and they | showed that they had not been persuaded. [5] And he arose and went | forth speaking in this [manner]. | And he entered (again) on that same day and | spoke a few hours. | And I was with the priests [10] and revealed nothing | of the relationship, | since all of them were saying | with one voice, 'Come, | let us stone the Just One.' [15] And they arose, | saying, 'Yes, let | us kill this man, that | he may be taken from our midst. | For he will be of no use to us.' [20]

"And they were there and found him | standing beside the columns of | the temple beside the mighty corner | stone. And they decided to throw | him down from [25] the height, and they cast | him down. And | they [...] they [...]. **62** They seized him and [struck] | him as they dragged him upon the ground. | They stretched him out, and placed | a stone on his abdomen. [5] They all placed their feet on him, | saying, | 'You have erred!'

"Again | they raised him up, since he was alive, and made him | dig a hole. They made him stand [10] in it. After having covered him | up to his abdomen, they stoned | him in this manner.

"And | he stretched out his hands | and said this prayer – [15] not that (one) which it is his custom to say: |

'My God and my Father, |
who saved me from | this dead hope, |
who made me alive through a [20] mystery of what he wills, |

do not let these days of this world | be prolonged for me, |
but the day of your (sg.) | [light . . .] remains
in [. . .] **63** salvation.
Deliver me from this | [place of] sojourn!
Do not let your grace be left behind | in me,
but may | your grace become pure!
Save me from an | evil death!
Bring me from | a tomb alive,
because your grace – | love – is alive in me |
to accomplish a work of fullness!
Save me from | sinful flesh,
because I trusted | in you with all my strength!
Because you | are the life of the life,
save me | from a humiliating enemy!
Do not give me into the hand | of a judge
who is severe | with sin!
Forgive me | all my debts of the | days (of my life)!
Because I am alive in you, your grace is alive in me. |
I have renounced everyone, |
but you I have confessed. |
Save me from evil | affliction!
But now is the [time] and the hour.
O Holy | [Spirit], send [me] |
salvation [. . .] the light [. . .] |
the light [. . .] | in a power [. . .].'

"After he [spoke, he] fell silent [. . .] | word [. . . afterward | . . .] the discourse [. . .]."

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM (V,5)

Introduced and translated by

GEORGE W. MACRAE

Edited by

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The Apocalypse of Adam is a revelation received by Adam from three heavenly visitors and narrated by him to his son Seth. He explains the loss of saving knowledge by himself and Eve (the fall), its transmission to Seth and his descendants, and its preservation, despite the attempts of the creator-god to destroy mankind by flood and by fire, until the third coming of a savior figure, the "Illuminator." The latter is persecuted by the powers of the world but will ultimately triumph over them. At the mention of his coming there is a long hymnic passage (77,27-83,4), which may be an interpolation into an original apocalypse, in which thirteen false or inadequate explanations of his origin are contrasted with a true one by the "generation without a king," i.e., the Gnostics. This unusual passage is a remarkable example of gnostic syncretism.

In terms of literary form the work embodies a whole succession of the traditional revelation devices. First, the revelation comes to Adam in a dream vision (65,24-66,23) in which it is not clearly stated that he sees the events of the future but perhaps is merely told them. Secondly, Adam's narration to Seth takes the form of a secret *traditio* from father to son (85,19-22). Thirdly, though not written in a book, these words are hidden on a high mountain (85,3-11). Finally, since Adam's revelation takes place just before his death, the work assumes the form of a testament. Though it is clearly dependent on certain episodes of the Genesis story which are often found in gnostic revelation literature, *Apoc. Adam* does not follow closely the text of Genesis as do *Hyp. Arch.* (II,*4*) and *Ap. John* (II,*1*), for example.

The most notable feature of this work is the absence of any explicit or clear borrowings from the Christian tradition. This has led several interpreters to see in it a witness to a non-Christian Gnosticism which contains an already well developed redeemer myth. On the other hand, its close dependence on Jewish apocalyptic tradition suggests that it may represent a transitional stage in an evolution from Jewish to gnostic apocalyptic. In this case the document may be a very early one, perhaps first or second century C.E., but no clear indications of its date have been perceived. *Apoc. Adam* is a Sethian work in the sense that Seth and his posterity are the tradents of the saving knowledge; it does not have any uniquely close affinities to the description of the Sethians found in Hippolytus (*Ref.* V.19-21) or Epiphanius (*Pan.* 39). Within the Nag Hammadi collection it has a great deal in common with *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*), which seems to suppose a christianized version of the story. Using as a key the three sets of angel names, which

are not common in the gnostic writings (Abrasax, Sablo, and Gamaliel, 75,22-23; Micheu, Michar, and Mnesinous, 84,5-6; Iesseus Mazareus Iessedekeus, 85,30-31), we find that *Apoc. Adam* is related to *The Untitled Text* in the Bruce Codex, to *Gos. Eg.*, to *Zostrianos* (VIII,*1*), and to *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1*). In addition several of these works share an interest in the personage of Seth and some concern with the interpretation of baptism, thus reflecting at least a remote connection with (Jewish) baptist circles.

There are references to "apocalypses of Adam" in the writings of the heresiologist Epiphanius (4th cent. C.E.) and Manichaean writings refer to "an apocalypse of Adam," but no direct connection with this tractate can be made in either case.

(George W. MacRae †)

The possibility that the third illuminator, described in 76,8-77,18, might be Christ, has continued to be discussed. Some who favor the identification with Christ have argued that the vagueness of the allusions is precisely what one would expect in an apocalyptic work. The apocalyptic tradition, however, did not prevent the writer from being rather precise about the flood. Also, the details that do come through in the illuminator's description only partly resemble the traditional details about Christ: He will come in great glory, bring the knowledge of the eternal God, and perform signs and wonders. The god of the powers will become angry. At that point the glory will withdraw. The flesh of the man, who was the illuminator when he had the glory, will be punished. We are not told the form of the punishment or whether it ended in death. Nor are we told of a subsequent resurrection. Thus the description is that of a charismatic figure who ran afoul of the authorities and was punished. It is difficult to see any compelling reason to identify this figure with Christ.

Seams in the text have invited those interested in source analysis. In addition to the suggestion, noted above, that the long hymnic passage (13 Kingdoms) was originally independent, two other proposals should be mentioned. One is that the tractate originally ended at 84,3 and that the remainder was added later (it seems to have its own theme – opposition to water baptism). The other is that the tractate is the result of the combining of two separate source documents by a redactor, who also made some contributions of his own. One can get a sense of the basis for the latter theory by looking at the following passages, which, it is contended, are the beginning sections of each of the sources: (A) 64,6-65,23; 66,12-67,11; (B) 65,24-66,12; 67,12-67,21).

(Douglas M. Parrott)

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

V 64, 1-85, 32

The Apocalypse of Adam

The revelation which Adam | taught his son Seth in | the seven hundredth year, saying, [5] "Listen to my words, my | son Seth. When | god had created me out of | the earth along with Eve your mother, | I went about with her in a [10] glory which she had seen in | the aeon from which we had come | forth. She taught me a word | of knowledge of the eternal god. | And we resembled [15] the great eternal angels, | for we were higher than | the god who had created us and | the powers with him, whom | we did not know. [20]

"Then god, | the ruler of the aeons | and the powers, divided us in wrath. Then | we became two aeons. | And the glory in our heart(s) [25] left us, | me and your mother Eve, | along with the first knowledge | that breathed within us. And | it (glory) fled from us; [30] it entered into [...] great [...] which (fem.) **65** [had come] forth, not from this aeon from which [we had] | come forth, I | and Eve your mother. But | it (knowledge) entered into the seed of [5] great aeons. For this reason | I myself have called you | by the name of that man | who is the seed of the great generation | or from whom (it comes). After [10] those days the eternal knowledge | of the God of truth | withdrew from me | and your mother Eve. | Since that time we [15] learned about dead things, | like men. Then | we recognized the god who had | created us. For we were not | strangers to his powers. And [20] we served him in fear | and slavery. | And after these (events) we became | darkened in our heart(s). | Now I slept in the [25] thought of my heart. |

"And I saw three | men before me | whose likeness I was unable | to recognize, since they [30] were not the powers | of the god who had [created | us]. They surpassed [...] | glory, and [...] | men [...] **66** saying to me, 'Arise, | Adam, from the sleep | of death, and hear | about the aeon and the seed [5] of that man | to whom life has come, | who came from you and | from Eve, your wife.' |

"When I had heard these [10] words from the great men | who were standing | before me, then we | sighed, I and Eve, in | our heart(s). And the Lord, the god [15] who had created us, stood | before us. He said to us, | 'Adam, why were you (pl.) | sighing in your heart? | Do you not know that I [20] am the god who created | you? And I breathed into | you

a spirit of life | as a living soul.' | Then darkness came upon our [25] eyes.

"Then the god, who | created us, created a | son from himself [and] Eve, | [your mother], for [. . . **67** in] the thought [of] | my [. . .]. I knew | a sweet desire | for your mother. Then [5] the vigor of | our eternal knowledge | was destroyed in us, | and weakness | pursued us. [10] Therefore the days of | our life became few. | For I knew that I had | come under the authority | of death.

"Now then, [15] my son Seth, I will | reveal to you the things | which those men | whom I saw | before me [20] at first | revealed to me: | after I have completed | the times | of this generation [25] and [the] years of | [the generation] | have been accomplished, [then | . . .] slave [. . .]. (p. 68 blank) **69**[2]

"For rain-showers | of [god] the | almighty [5] will be poured forth [so that] he | might destroy [all] flesh {of | god the almighty, | so that he might destroy all flesh} | from the earth [10] on account of the things that it seeks | after, along with [those from] | the seed [of] the men | to whom passed | the life of [15] the knowledge, which | came from me [and] Eve, | your mother. For they were | strangers to him. | Afterwards great [20] angels will come | on high clouds, | who will bring those men | into the place | where the spirit [of] life dwells [. . .] **70** glory | [. . .] there, | [. . .] come from heaven | to earth. [Then] [5] the whole [multitude] of flesh | will be left behind in the [waters].

"Then god | will rest from | his wrath. And he will cast | his power upon the waters, [10] and [he will] give power to his sons | and their wives by means of the ark | along with [the] animals, | whichever he pleased, and the | birds of heaven, which he [15] called and released | upon the earth. And god | will say to Noah – | whom the generations will call | Deucalion –, 'Behold, [20] I have protected ⟨you⟩ in the ark | along with your wife and your sons | and their wives and their | animals and the birds of | [heaven], which you called [25] [and released upon the earth]. **71** Therefore I will give the [earth] to you – | you and your sons. In | kingly fashion you will rule over it – you | and your sons. And no [5] seed will come from you | of the men who will not | stand in my presence in | another glory.'

"Then they will | become as the cloud of the [10] great light. Those | men will come who have | been cast forth from the knowledge | of the great aeons and the | angels. They will stand [15] before Noah and the aeons. | And god will say to | Noah, 'Why have you departed from | what I told you? You have | created another generation so that you [20] might scorn my power.' Then | Noah will say, 'I shall | testify before

your | might that the generation | of these men did not come [25] [from me] nor [from | my sons. . . .] **72** knowledge.

"And [he] will | [. . .] those men | and bring them into their proper | land and build them a [5] holy dwelling-place. And | they will be called by that | name and dwell there | six hundred years in a | knowledge of imperishability. [10] And angels of the great | light will dwell with them. | No foul deed | will dwell in their heart(s), but | only the knowledge of god. [15]

"Then Noah will divide the | whole earth among his sons, | Ham and Japheth and Shem. | He will say to them, 'My sons, | listen to my words. Behold, [20] I have divided the earth among you. But | serve him in fear and | slavery all the days | of your life. Let not | your seed depart from the face [25] of god the almighty. | [. . .] I and your [. . .] **73** son of Noah, '[My] | seed [will be] pleasing before you | and before your power. | Seal it by your | strong hand with fear and | commandment, so that the whole | seed which came forth from me | may not be inclined away from you | and god the almighty, [10] but it will serve | in humility and | fear of its knowledge.' |

"Then others | from the seed of Ham and [15] Japheth will come, four hundred | thousand men, and enter into | another land and sojourn | with those men who | came forth from the great [20] eternal knowledge. For | the shadow of their power will | protect those who have sojourned | with them from every evil thing | and every unclean desire. [25] Then the seed of Ham and | Japheth will form twelve | kingdoms, and their | seed [also] will enter into | the kingdom of another people. [30]

"[Then . . .] will take counsel [. . .] | aeons [. . .] **74** who are dead, of the great | aeons of imperishability. | And they will go to Sakla | their god. They will go in [5] to the powers, accusing the great | men who are in their | glory.

"They will say to Sakla, | 'What is the power of these men who | stood in your presence, [10] who were taken from the | seed of Ham and Japheth, | who will number four hundred ⟨thousand⟩ men? | They have been received into another aeon | from which they had come forth, and [15] they have overturned all the glory of your | power and the dominion of your hand. | For the seed of Noah through | his sons has done | all your will, and (so have) all the powers [20] in the aeons over which your might | rules, while both those | men and the ones who are | sojourners in their glory | have not done your will. [25] [But] they have turned (aside) your | whole throng.'

"Then the god | of the aeons will give them | (some) of those who

serve [him . . .] [30] they will come upon that land **75** where the great men | will be who | have not been defiled, nor will be | defiled by any desire. [5] For their soul did not come | from a defiled hand, but it | came from a great commandment | of an eternal angel. | Then fire [10] and sulphur and asphalt will be cast upon | those men, and | fire and (blinding) mist will come over | those aeons, and | the eyes of the powers of the illuminators will be darkened, [15] and the aeons will not see | them in those days. | And great clouds of light | will descend, and | other clouds of light [20] will come down upon them from | the great aeons. |

"Abrasax and Sablo and | Gamaliel will descend and bring | those men out of [25] the fire and the wrath, and | take them above the aeons | and the rulers of the [powers], and | [take] them away [. . .] | of life [. . .] [30] and take them away [. . .] | aeons [. . . **76** dwelling place] of the [great . . .] | there with the holy angels | and the aeons. | The men will be like [5] those angels, for they | are not strangers to them. But | they work in the imperishable seed. |

"Once again, for the | third time, the illuminator [10] of knowledge will pass by in great | glory, in order to leave | (something) of the seed of Noah | and the sons of Ham and Japheth – | to leave for himself [15] fruit-bearing trees. And he will | redeem their souls from the | day of death. For the whole creation | that came from | the dead earth will be [20] under the authority of death. | But those who reflect upon the knowledge | of the eternal God | in their heart(s) will not perish. | For they have not received spirit [25] from this kingdom alone, | but they have received (it) from an | [. . .] eternal angel. | [. . .] illuminator | [. . . will] come upon [30] [. . . that is] dead [. . .] **77** of Seth. And he will perform | signs and wonders in order to | scorn the powers and their ruler. |

"Then the god [5] of the powers will be disturbed, saying, 'What | is the power of this man who | is higher than we?' Then he will | arouse a great wrath against | that man. And [10] the glory will withdraw and | dwell in holy houses which | it has chosen for itself. And | the powers will not see it | with their eyes, nor will they [15] see the illuminator either. | Then they will punish the flesh | of the man upon whom the | holy spirit came.

"Then | the angels and all the [20] generations of the powers | will use the name | in error, asking, | 'Where did it (the error) come from?' or | 'Where did the [25] words of deception, which | all the powers have failed to discover, come from?

"[Now] the first | kingdom [says of him] |
[that] he came [from . . .]. **78** A spirit [. . .] to heaven.
He was nourished | in the heavens.
He received the glory | of that one and the power. He came | to the bosom of his mother.
And thus he came to the water. |

"And the second kingdom says | about him
that he came | from a great prophet. | And a bird came, took | the child who was born and brought him | onto a high mountain. |
And he was nourished by | the bird of heaven. An angel | came forth there. He said to him, | 'Arise! God has given glory | to you.'
He received glory and strength. |
And thus he came to the water. |

"The third kingdom says | of him
that he came | from a virgin womb. | He was cast out of his city, | he and his mother; he was brought | to a desert place.
He was nourished | there.
He came and received | glory and power.
And thus | he came to the water. |

"[The fourth] kingdom says | [of him]
[that] he came | [from a virgin. | . . . Solomon **79** sought] her, he and Phersalo | and Sauel and his armies, | which had been sent out. Solomon | himself sent his army | of demons to seek out the | virgin. And they did not find | the one whom they sought, but | the virgin who was given to them. | It was she whom they fetched. | Solomon took her. | The Virgin became pregnant and gave birth to | the child there. |
She nourished him on a border | of the desert. When | he had been nourished,
he received glory | and power from the seed | from which he had been begotten. |
And thus he came to the | water.

"And the fifth | kingdom says of him
that | he came from a | drop from heaven. He was thrown | into the sea. The abyss | received him, gave birth to him, | and brought him to heaven.

He received | glory and power.
And | thus he came to [the water]. |

"And [the] sixth kingdom | [says]
that a [... [30] down] to the aeon **80** which is below, in order to [gather] | flowers. She became pregnant from | the desire of the flowers. She | gave birth to him in that place. [5]
The angels of the | flower garden nourished him.
He received | glory there | and power.
And thus he came | to the water.

"And the [10] seventh kingdom says | of him
that he is a drop. | It came from heaven to earth. | Dragons brought him down to caves. | He became a [15] child. A spirit came upon him and | brought him on high to the place where the | drop had come forth. |
He received glory and power | there.
And thus [20] he came to the water.

"And the | eighth kingdom says | of him
that a cloud came | upon the earth and enveloped a | rock. He came [25] from it.
The angels | who were above the cloud | nourished him.
He [received] glory | [and] power [there].
And [thus he] came to [the water]. **81**

"And the [ninth] kingdom says | of him
that from the nine | Muses one separated away. | She came to a high mountain and spent [5] (some) time seated there, so that | she desired herself alone | in order to become androgynous. | She fulfilled her desire | and became pregnant from her desire. [10] He was born.
The | angels who were over the desire nourished him. |
And he received glory there | and power.
And | thus he came to the water.

"The [15] tenth kingdom says of him |
that his god loved a cloud | of desire. He begot him | in his hand and cast | upon the cloud above him [20] (some) of the drop, and | he was born.
He received glory and | power there.
And | thus he came to the water. |

"And the eleventh [25] kingdom says
that the father | desired his [own] | daughter. She herself became pregnant | [from] her father. She cast [...] | tomb **82** out in the desert.
The angel | nourished him there.
And thus he came | to the water.

"The [5] twelfth kingdom says | of him
that he came from | two illuminators.
He was | nourished there.
He received glory | and power.
And thus he came [10] to the water.

"And the | thirteenth kingdom says | of him
that every birth | of their ruler is a word. |
And his word received [15] a mandate there.
He | received glory and power. |
And thus he came to the water, |
in order that the desire | of those powers might be satisfied.

"But the generation [20] without a king over it says | that God chose | him from all the aeons. | He caused knowledge of the | undefiled one of truth to come to be [25] [in] him. [He (or: It)] said, '[Out of] | a foreign air, | [from a] great aeon, [the | great] illuminator came forth. [And he made] **83** the generation of those men | whom he had chosen for himself shine, | so that they could shine upon the | whole aeon.'

"Then the seed, [5] those who will receive his | name upon the water and (that) of them all, will fight against the power. | And a cloud | of darkness will come upon them.

"Then | the peoples will cry out with a [10] great voice, saying, | 'Blessed is the soul of those | men because they have known | God with a knowledge | of the truth! They shall live forever, [15] because they have not been | corrupted by their desire, | along with the angels, nor | have they accomplished the works of the | powers, but they have stood [20] in his presence in a knowledge | of God like light | that has come forth from | fire and blood.

"'But we | have done every deed of the powers [25] senselessly. We have | boasted in the transgression | of [all] our works. | We have [cried] against [the God] | of [truth] because all his works [...] **84** is eternal. These are against our | spirits. For now we have known that | our souls will die the death." |

"Then a voice came to them, [5] saying, 'Micheu and Michar and Mnesinous, who | are over the holy baptism | and the living water, why | were you crying out against the [10] living God with lawless voices | and tongues without law | over them, and souls | full of blood and foul | [deeds]? You are full of [15] works that are not of the truth, | but your ways are full of | joy and rejoicing. | Having defiled the water of life, | you have drawn it within [20] the will of the powers | to whom you have been given | to serve | them.

"'And your | thought is not like that of [25] those men whom | you persecute [. . .] [28] desire [. . .]. **85** Their fruit does not wither. But | they will be known | up to the great aeons, because the words | they have kept, of the God [5] of the aeons, were not committed to | the book, nor were they written. | But angelic (beings) will bring | them, whom all the generations | of men will not know. [10] For they will be on a high | mountain, upon a rock of truth. | Therefore they will be named | "The Words of Imperishability | [and] Truth," for those who know [15] the eternal God in | wisdom of knowledge | and teaching of angels | forever, for he knows all things.'" |

These are the revelations which [20] Adam made known to Seth his | son. And his son taught | his seed about them. This is the | hidden knowledge of Adam, | which he gave to Seth, which is the [25] holy baptism of those who | know the eternal knowledge | through those born of the word | and the imperishable illuminators, who | came from the holy seed: [30] Yesseus, Mazareus, | [Yesse]dekeus, [the Living] Water. |

The Apocalypse of Adam

THE ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES (VI,*1*)

Introduced by

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The title appears only at the conclusion of the tractate. At first glance it gives the impression of referring to thirteen apostles (Peter plus the twelve). But a reading of the text makes it clear that the title probably has to do with two different "acts": an act of Peter (1,30-5,5) and an act of the apostolic group (5,5-12,19). The title, however, must nonetheless be secondary, since the number twelve contradicts the explicit statement of the text that the disciples numbered eleven (9,20-21).

The tractate can be divided into four major units:

1. *An introductory section, which sets the stage for the tractate.* The first seven lines probably contained some indication of initial setting and purpose. The narrator is Peter (1,30) and the time is after the crucifixion, since the apostles undertake their journey on their own immediate initiative, and Jesus is not with them. The fact that there are only eleven disciples, however, suggests the preascension period. Having decided to undertake their ministry together, the apostles find a ship and set sail (1,16-26). They appear to leave their destination to the Lord. The ship arrives at an island city called Habitation, and Peter goes to learn about lodgings.

2. *Peter meets a pearl merchant and sees the response of the rich and the poor to him* (2,10-5,18). He observes that the rich turn away from him when he hawks his wares because they think he really has none. The poor, however, flock to him, although they lack the means to buy what he offers. They would be content to see a pearl. But the merchant says he will give them one without cost, if they would go to his city. The poor ask Peter about the hazards of the way to the city. Peter tells them what he has heard and turns to the merchant, asking about his name and the hardships of the way. The merchant tells him his name is Lithargoel, which is interpreted in the text as a lightweight, gazelle-like (i.e., gleaming like a gazelle's eyes) stone, presumably a pearl.

3. *The journey of Peter and his friends to Lithargoel's city* (5,19-8,11), *following instructions by Lithargoel.* The only way to prepare for the journey to the city of "nine gates" is complete renunciation of possessions and a regimen of fasting, so that one will have nothing predators might want (5,19-6,8). All that is needed is the name of Jesus (6,9-19). Then Peter sees a vision of the walls of the city surrounded by waves. The meaning of this is interpreted in a brief dialogue between Peter and an old man. Peter and the disciples then make the journey to the city.

4. *The appearance of Lithargoel as a physician, his revelation of himself as Jesus Christ, and the commissioning of the eleven disciples* (8,11-12,19). Lithargoel comes out of the city disguised as a physician and says that he will show them where Lithargoel lives (8,11-35). Instead of doing that, however, he reveals that he is Jesus Christ (9,1-19), in a dialogue with Peter that has been traced to Matthew 16,13-19. After the disciples prostrate themselves in worship and indicate their willingness to do his will, Christ, who is henceforth called the Lord, gives them a box and pouch of medicine and commissions them to return to Habitation, the city from which they came. They are to teach and minister to the faithful, with special emphasis on the poor (9,1-10,13). Peter objects that they have nothing to give the poor, since they have renounced everything, but the Lord points out that they have his name, which is of more value than anything else (10,13-30). After further discussion, the dialogue concludes with the injunction to avoid the rich. The disciples accept the commission and the Lord departs.

The text is composite. This can be seen by the awkward relationship among the various sections. For example, between sections 2 and 3, the reader expects the poor to go to the pearl merchant's city, but only the disciples do; two differing explanations are given for Peter's request about the way; the reader is unprepared for Peter's asking about the merchant's name; the reader is surprised that journey from the island city can be undertaken by foot. Examples of problems between 4 and the earlier sections are these: the sudden shift to third person narrative; the information that the disciples are expected to *continue* a ministry to *Christians* (10,4-6) (one had the impression at the start that the disciples were embarking on a mission to a non-Christian world), and the presence of explicit rules regarding church life at the conclusion of the tractate.

Four originally independent accounts seem to have been brought together by an editor. Three probably began as parables or allegories, somewhat resembling those found in *The Shepherd of Hermas*: the story of the pearl merchant who is rejected by the rich and accepted by the poor; the account of a city surrounded by walls (in part three, above) called Habitation; and the story of a journey whose successful completion required giving up food and possessions, rather than having enough of them. The fourth is the account of Christ's commissioning of the disciples to undertake a ministry of preaching and healing among poor and sick Christians. These accounts are related to each other by the common presence of Peter and the other disciples, and by the name Lithargoel, which serves to connect the pearl merchant, in section 2, with the one who gives instructions about the way, in section 3, and, then, also, with Christ, in section 4, who commissions the disciples.

The narrative intention of the final editor appears to have been to depict the disciples' preparation for apostolic activity. In the course of the account, he shifts the time frame from the earliest apostolic period to that of his own time. The result is that, at the conclusion of the final segment, it is not really the original disciples who are being commissioned, but their latter day representatives. In view of the shift, it appears that the editor wished to remind contemporary church leaders about their true mission.

Lithargoel may originally have been a non-Christian deity. But since no record of a Lithargoel cult has come down to us, it seems more reasonable to think that identification of Lithargoel with Jesus Christ (9,8-15) was the intention when the

word was first coined. (See *Acts of Peter* 20 and Rv 2:17.) The image of Christ as a physician may have been a way of dealing with the popularity of the cult of Asclepius.

It has sometimes been assumed that this tractate is gnostic. But that view has been based more on its presence in the Nag Hammadi library than on the text itself. As has been discussed elsewhere (see introduction to *Asclepius 21-29* [VI,8]), the codex in which it is found is not itself gnostic, but rather a miscellaneous collection of spiritual writings reflecting on the ultimate fate of the soul. If one examines the tractate by itself, little is found that would have offended developing orthodoxy. The Christology is that of the divine sonship; the crucifixion and death of Jesus, although not mentioned, may be implied (see 2,14). The theme of apostolic poverty is found in the Gospels, as is the polemic against the rich. A moderate encratite emphasis may be seen in the prohibition on the eating of meat, but there is nothing said about sexual activity or marriage. The tractate, then, does not appear to have sprung from or be directed to a sectarian group within early Christianity. The editor rather seems to be standing within the broad church and to be appealing for a return to apostolic practice on the part of the leaders.

It seems unlikely that this tractate would have been part of the lost portion of the apocryphal *Acts of Peter*, as has been proposed (see introduction to *The Act of Peter* [BG,4], for discussion).

The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles is to be grouped with the apocryphal Acts of the second and third centuries, rather than with the later ones, with which it has little in common. The similarity of portions of it to *The Shepherd of Hermas* suggests a second-century date for them.

THE ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

VI 1, 1-12, 22

[...] which [...] | purpose [... : | after ...] | us [...] [5] apostles [...]. | We sailed [...] | of the body. [Others] were not | anxious in [their | hearts]. And in our hearts, we were [10] united. We agreed to fulfill | the ministry to which | the Lord appointed us. And we made | a covenant with each other. |

We went down to the sea at [15] an opportune moment, which came | to us from the Lord. We | found a ship moored at the shore | ready to embark, | and we spoke with the sailors of [20] the ship about our coming aboard with them. | They showed great | kindliness toward us as | was ordained by the Lord. | And after we had embarked, [25] we sailed a day | and a night. After that, | a wind came up behind the ship and | brought us to a small city | in the midst of the sea. [30]

And I, Peter, inquired about the name | of this city from residents | who were | standing on the dock. **2** [A man] among [them] answered,

[saying, | "The name] of this [city is | Habitation, that is], Foundation [. . .] | endurance." And [5] the leader [among them | holding] the palm branch at the edge of [the dock]. | And after we had gone ashore [with the] | baggage, I [went] | into [the] city, to seek [advice] [10] about lodging.

A man came out | wearing a cloth | bound around his waist, | and a gold belt girded [it]. | Also a napkin was tied over [his] [15] chest, extending over | his shoulders and covering his head | and his hands.

I was staring at the | man, because he was beautiful in his | form and stature. There were four [20] parts of his body that | I saw: the soles of his | feet and a part of his | chest and the palms of his | hands and his visage. [25] These things I was able to see. | A book cover like (those of) my | books was in his left hand. | A staff of styrax wood was in | his right hand. His [30] voice was resounding as he slowly spoke, | crying out in the city, | "Pearls! Pearls!"

I, | indeed, thought he was a man [of] | that city. I said [35] to him, "My brother and my friend!" **3** [He answered] me, [then, saying, | "Rightly] did you say, '[My brother | and] my friend.' What is it you [seek] | from me?" I said to him, "[I [5] ask] you [about] lodging for me | [and the] brothers also, because we | are strangers here." He said [to] me, | "For this reason have I myself just said, | 'My brother and my friend,' [10] because I also am a fellow stranger | like you."

And | having said these things, he cried out, | "Pearls! Pearls!" | The rich men of that [15] city heard his voice. | They came out of their hidden storerooms. | And some were | looking out from the storerooms | of their houses. Others [20] looked out from their | upper windows. And they did not see (that they could gain) | anything from him, because | there was no pouch on his back nor | bundle inside his cloth [25] and napkin. And because of their | disdain they did not | even acknowledge him. | He, for his part, did not reveal himself to them. | They returned to their [30] storerooms, saying, | "This man is mocking us." |

And the poor [of that city] heard **4** [his voice, | and they came to] the man [who sells | this pearl. They said], | "Please take the trouble to [show us [5] the] pearl [so that we may], then, [see] | it with our (own) eyes. For we are [the poor]. | And we do not have this [. . .] price | to pay for it. But [show us] | that we might say to our friends that [we saw] [10] a pearl with our (own) eyes." He | answered, saying to them, "If | it is possible, come to my city, | so that I may not only show it | before your (very) eyes, but give it to [15] you for nothing."

And indeed they, | the poor of that city, heard | and said, "Since we

| are beggars, we surely | know that a man does not give a pearl [20] to a beggar, but (it is) bread | and money that is usually received. | Now then, the kindness which we want to receive | from you (is) that you show | us the pearl before our eyes. [25] And we will say to our friends | proudly that we saw a | pearl with our (own) eyes" – because | it is not found among the poor, especially | such beggars (as these). He answered [30] (and) said to them, "If it is | possible, you yourselves come | to my city, so that I may not only | show you it, but give it | to you for nothing." [35] The poor and the beggars rejoiced because of **5** the man [who gives for] nothing.

[The men | asked Peter] about the hardships. | Peter answered [and | told] those things that he had heard about the [hardships] [5] of [the] way. Because they are [interpreters of the] | hardships in their ministry. |

He said to the man who sells this | pearl, "I want | to know your name and the hardships of [10] the way to your city because we | are strangers and servants of | God. It is necessary for us to spread | the word of God in | every city harmoniously." He [15] answered and said, "If you | seek my name, Lithargoel | is my name, the interpretation of which is, | the light, gazelle-like stone. |

"And also (concerning) the road to the city, [20] which you asked me about, I will tell you | about it. No man is able to go | on that road, except one | who has forsaken everything that | he has and has fasted [25] daily from stage to stage. | For many are the robbers and | wild beasts on that road. | The one who carries bread with him | on the road, the black dogs [30] kill because of | the bread. The one who carries a costly garment | of the world with him, | the robbers kill **6** [because of the] garment. [The one who carries] water | [with him, the wolves kill because | of the water], since they were thirsty [for] it. | [The one who] is anxious about [meat] and [5] green vegetables, the lions eat | because of the meat. [If] he evades | the lions, the bulls | devour him because of the green vegetables." |

When he had said [these] things to me, I sighed [10] within myself, saying, "[Great] | hardships are on the road! If only | Jesus would give us power to walk it!" | He looked at me since my face was sad, and I | signed. He said to me, "Why [15] do you sigh, if you, indeed, know | this name 'Jesus' and believe him? | He is a great power for giving strength. | For I too believe in the Father | who sent him."

I replied, [20] asking him, "What is the name | of the place to which you go, | your city?" He said to me, | "This is the name of my city, | 'Nine Gates.' Let us praise God [25] as we are mindful that the tenth | is the head." After this I went away | from him in peace.

As I was | about to go and call my friends, I | saw waves and large [30] high walls surrounding | the bounds of the city. I | marveled at the great things I saw. | I saw an old man | sitting and I asked him if the name of the [35] city was really **7** [Habitation]. He [...], | "Habitation ...]." | He said to me, "[You | speak] truly, for we [inhabit] here [5] because [we] endure."

[I | responded], saying, "Justly | [...] have men named it | [...], because (by) everyone | [who] endures his trials, [10] cities are inhabited, | and a precious kingdom | comes from them, because | they endure in the midst of the | apostasies and the difficulties of the storms. [15] So that in this way, the city of everyone | who endures the burden of his yoke | of faith will be inhabited, | and he will be included in | the kingdom of heaven."

I hurried [20] and went and called my | friends so that we might go to the city | that he, Lithargoel, appointed for us. | In a bond | of faith we forsook [25] everything as | he had said (to do). We evaded | the robbers, because they did not | find their garments with us. | We evaded the [30] wolves, because they did not find the water | with us for which they thirsted. | We evaded the lions, | because they did not find the desire | for meat with us. **8** [We evaded the bulls ... [3] they did not find] green vegetables. |

A great joy [came upon] us [and a] [5] peaceful carefreeness [like | that of] our Lord. We [rested | ourselves] in front of the gate, [and] | we talked with each other [about that] | which is not a distraction of this [world]. [10] Rather we continued in contemplation | of the faith.

As we discussed the | robbers on the road, whom we | evaded, behold | Lithargoel, having changed, came out to [15] us. He had the appearance of a physician, | since an unguent box was under | his arm, and a young disciple was | following him carrying a pouch | full of medicine. [20] We did not recognize him. |

Peter responded and said to him, | "We want you to do | us a favor, because we are | strangers, and take us to the house of [25] Lithargoel before evening comes." | He said, "In uprightness | of heart I will show it to you. | But I am amazed at how | you knew this good man. [30] For he does not reveal himself to | every man, because he himself | is the son of a great king. | Rest yourselves a little so | that I may go and heal this man [35] and come (back)." He hurried and came (back) **9** quickly.

He said to Peter, | "Peter!" And Peter was frightened, | for how did he know | that his name was Peter? [5] Peter responded to the Savior, | "How do you know me, | for you called my name?" | Lithargoel an-

swered, "I | want to ask you who gave the [10] name Peter to you?" He | said to him, "It was Jesus Christ, the | son of the living God. He | gave this name to me." He answered | and said, "It is I! Recognize me, [15] Peter." He loosened the garment, | which clothed him – the one into which | he had changed himself because of us – | revealing to us in truth that | it was he.

We prostrated ourselves [20] on the ground and worshipped him. We | comprised eleven disciples. | He stretched forth his hand | and caused us to stand. We spoke with | him humbly. Our heads were [25] bowed down in unworthiness | as we said, "What you | wish we will do. But | give us power to do | what you wish at all times." [20]

He gave them the unguent box | and the pouch | that was in the hand of the young disciple. | He commanded them like this, **10** saying, "Go into [the] | city from which you came, | which is called Habitation. | Continue in endurance as you [5] teach all those who have believed | in my name, because I have endured | in hardships of the faith. I | will give you your reward. To the | poor of that city give [10] what they need in order to live | until I give them what is better, | which I told you that I will give | you for nothing."

Peter answered | and said to him, [15] "Lord, you have taught us to | forsake the world and | everything in it. We have renounced them | for your sake. What we are concerned about (now) | is the food for a single day. [20] Where will we be able to find the needs that you ask | us to provide for the poor?" |

The Lord answered and said, | "O Peter, it was necessary | that you understand the parable [25] that I told you! Do you not understand | that my name, which you teach, | surpasses all riches, | and the wisdom of God | surpasses gold, and silver [30] and precious stone(s)?" |

He gave them the pouch | of medicine and said, | "Heal all the sick | of the city who believe **11** [in] my name." Peter was afraid | [to] reply to him for the second time. | He signaled to the one who was beside | him, who was John: "You [5] talk this time." | John answered and said, | "Lord, before you we are afraid | to say many words. | But it is you who asks us [10] to practice this skill. We have not been | taught to be physicians. How then | will we know how to heal bodies | as you have told us?" |

He answered them, "Rightly have you [15] spoken, John, for I know | that the physicians of this world | heal what belongs to the world. | The physicians of souls, however, | heal the heart. Heal [20] the bodies first, therefore, so | that through the | real powers of healing | for their

bodies, without medicine of | the world, they may believe in you, [25] that you have power to heal | the illnesses of the heart also.

"The | rich men of the city, however, those | who did not see fit | even to acknowledge me, but who [30] reveled in their | wealth and pride – | with such as these, therefore, **12** do not dine in [their] houses | nor be friends with them, | lest their partiality | influence you. For many in the churches have [5] shown partiality to the rich, because | they also are sinful, | and they give occasion for | others to sin. But judge | them with uprightness, so [10] that your ministry may | be glorified, and that | my name also, may be glorified in the | churches." The disciples | answered and said, "Yes, [15] truly this is what is fitting | to do."

They prostrated themselves on the ground | and worshipped him. He caused them | to stand and departed from | them in peace. Amen. [20]

The Acts of Peter | and the Twelve | Apostles

THE THUNDER: PERFECT MIND (VI,*2*)

Introduced and translated by

GEORGE W. MACRAE

Edited by

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

The title appears to be double: "The Thunder" is not syntactically related to "Perfect Mind" but is separated by a mark of punctuation (:). It is nowhere referred to in the body of the work (unless one should reconstruct "[perfect] mind" at 18,9).

In content *Thund.* is virtually unique in the Nag Hammadi library and very unusual. It is a revelation discourse by a female figure who is, except possibly for the title, otherwise not specifically identified. The work has no apparent structural divisions but is written throughout in the first person, interweaving and combining three types of statement: self-proclamation in the "I am" style, exhortations to heed the speaker, and reproaches for failures to heed or love, etc. The most distinctive feature is that the self-proclamations are most often antithetical or even paradoxical. The parallelism of form suggests that originally these may have been part of a hymnic structure.

Parallels for this revelatory genre can be adduced from a variety of sources. In *Orig. World* (II,*5*) 114,7-15, the heavenly Eve utters a hymnic self-proclamation that is very similar to *Thund.* 13,19-14,9, and a trace of the same material, though not in the form of self-proclamation, occurs in a similar context in *Hyp. Arch.* (II,*4*) 89,14-17. It may be significant that the *Thund.* passage thus paralleled is not repeated in the work, whereas many of the other self-proclamations occur more than once in *Thund.*, sometimes in varying forms. In such other Nag Hammadi works as *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1*) and the longer ending of *Ap. John* (II,*1*:30,11-31,25), there are examples of the "I style" of proclamation by a revealer figure, but without the antithetical context. There are three interesting parallels to *Thund.*, in content or in style or in both, outside the Nag Hammadi corpus. One is the well-known "Hymn of Christ" in the *Acts of John* 94-96, in which Christ sings of himself in a succession of antitheses and contrasts, without, however, the use of "I am" formulas. The second example is a passage in the Mandaean Ginza R, Book VI, the so-called "Book of Dinanukht," which is generally thought to be one of the older sections of the Ginza. There the spirit Ewath recites a formula which contains antitheses similar to, but for the most part not identical with, those in *Thund.*: "I am death, I am life. I am darkness, I am light. I am error, I am truth, etc." The third example is a series of passages in ancient Indian literature in which contrasting or contradictory assertions are made of the Deity either in the "I am" form (Bhagavad-Gita IX,16-19) or in the second or third person (Atharva-Veda X, viii,27-28; Śvetāśvatara Upanishad

IV,3). These examples include both personal categories ("Thou art woman, Thou art man") and non-personal ones ("Death am I and deathlessness, What is not and that which is").

In terms of the religious traditions represented in the Nag Hammadi collection, *Thund.* is difficult to classify. It contains no distinctively Christian, Jewish, or gnostic allusions and does not seem clearly to presuppose any particular gnostic myth. There are resemblances to the tone and style of the wisdom hymns in the Biblical and intertestamental wisdom literature, and the self-proclamations are similar to the Isis aretalogy inscriptions. But if the multiple assertions in these works are intended to assert the universality of Isis or of God's wisdom, perhaps the antithetical assertions of *Thund.* are a way of asserting the totally other-worldly transcendence of the revealer.

(George W. MacRae †)

There has been a tendency among scholars to assume that *Thund.* is gnostic, in spite of George MacRae's caution, expressed above. Accordingly it has been proposed that the female figure here is to be understood as a combination of the higher and lower Sophia figures found in gnostic literature. It has also been proposed that the figure is Eve, as she is understood in gnostic writings found in the Nag Hammadi collection (see references above) and mentioned elsewhere.

If one takes *Thund.* at face value and includes the title in consideration, the female figure who is the speaker throughout is named Thunder (feminine in Greek), a figure who must be understood in terms of the parallel phrase in the title: Perfect Mind. Thunder, in Greek myth, in the Hebrew Bible, and elsewhere, comes forth from the highest god (the Greeks sometimes called Zeus "The Thundering One"). It is the way in which the god makes his presence known on earth. In the tractate, Thunder is allegorized as Perfect Mind, meaning the extension of the divine into the world (1,1-2). The understanding of Perfect Mind appears to owe much to the Stoic notion of cosmic Pneuma, the active, intelligent element in all things, made up of air and fire. It was thought of as spanning all worldly divisions and dichotomies and at some level being responsible for everything that occurs. In its manifestation as reason, it was also able to instruct those who listen about the way to true life. (For Thunder's similar role, see 20,26-27; 21,20-32). The tractate as it stands, is not Stoic, since it speaks of a power above Perfect Mind (1,1). But with its conception of the immanence of the divine in all aspects of the world, neither is it gnostic. It still remains "difficult to classify."

(Douglas M. Parrott)

THE THUNDER: PERFECT MIND

VI 13, 1-21, 32

The Thunder: Perfect Mind

I was sent forth from | [the] power,
and I have come to those who | reflect upon me,
and I have been found [5] among those who seek after me. |
Look upon me, you (pl.) who reflect upon me, |
and you hearers, hear me. |
You who are waiting for me, take me | to yourselves.
And do not banish me [10] from your sight. |
And do not make your voice hate | me, nor your hearing. |
Do not be ignorant of me anywhere | or any time. Be on your guard! [15]
Do not be ignorant of me. |

For I am the first and the last.
I | am the honored one and the scorned one. |
I am the whore and the holy one. |
I am the wife and the [20] virgin.
I am ⟨the mother⟩ | and the daughter.
I am the members | of my mother.
I am the barren one |
and many are her sons.
I | am she whose wedding is great,
and [25] I have not taken a husband.
I am the midwife | and she who does not bear.
I | am the solace of my labor pains.
I | am the bride and the bridegroom, |
and it is my husband who [30] begot me.
I am the mother of | my father
and the sister of my | husband,
and he is my offspring. |
I am the slave of him who | prepared me.
I am the ruler **14** of my offspring.
But he is the one who [begot me] | before the time on a birthday. |
And he is my offspring [in] | (due) time,

and my power [5] is from him.
I am the staff | of his power in his youth,
[and] | he is the rod of my | old age.
And whatever he wills | happens to me.
I am the silence [10] that is incomprehensible
and the idea | whose remembrance is frequent. |
I am the voice whose sound is | manifold
and the word whose appearance | is multiple.
I am the utterance of [15] my name.

Why, you who hate me, | do you love me
and | hate those who love me? |
You who deny me, confess | me,
and you who confess [20] me, deny me.
You who tell | the truth about me, lie about me,
and you | who have lied about me, tell the truth about me. |
You who know me, be ignorant | of me,
and those who have not [25] known me, let them know me. |

For I am knowledge and | ignorance.
I am | shame and boldness. |
I am shameless; I am [30] ashamed.
I am strength and | I am fear.
I am | war and peace.
Give heed | to me.
I am the one who is disgraced | and the great one.

Give heed to my **15** poverty and my wealth. |
Do not be arrogant to me when I am | cast out upon the earth,
[and] | you will find me in [those [5] that] are to come.
And do not look | [upon] me on the dung-heap
nor go | and leave me cast out, |
and you will find me in | the kingdoms.
And do not look [10] upon me when I am cast out among those who |
are disgraced and in the least | places,
nor laugh at me. |
And do not cast me out among those who | are slain in violence. [15]
But I, I am compassionate | and I am cruel.

Be on your guard! |
Do not hate my obedience |
and do not love my self-control. |

In my weakness, do not [20] forsake me,
and do | not be afraid of my power. |
For why do you despise | my fear
and | curse my pride? [25]
But I am she who exists in | all fears
and strength | in trembling.
I am she who is | weak,
and I am well in a | pleasant place.
I am [30] senseless and I am wise. |

Why have you hated me | in your counsels?
For I shall be | silent among those who are silent, |
and I shall appear and speak. **16**
Why then have you hated me, you Greeks? |
Because I am a barbarian among [the] | barbarians?
For I am the wisdom | [of the] Greeks
and the knowledge of [the] [5] barbarians.
I am the judgment of [the] | Greeks and of the barbarians.
[I] | am the one whose image is great in Egypt |
and the one who has no image among the | barbarians.
I am the one who has been hated [10] everywhere
and who has been loved | everywhere.
I am the one whom they call | Life,
and you have | called Death.
I am the one whom | they call Law, [15]
and you have called Lawlessness. |
I am the one whom you have pursued, |
and I am the one whom you have seized. |
I am the one whom you have scattered, |
and you have gathered me together. [20]
I am the one before whom you have | been ashamed,
and you have been | shameless to me.
I am she who does not keep festival, |
and I am she whose festivals are many. |
I, I am godless,
and [25] I am the one whose God is great. |
I am the one whom you have reflected upon, |
and you have scorned me.
I am | unlearned,
and they learn from | me.

I am the one whom you have despised,
and you reflect upon me.
I am the one whom you have hidden from,
and you appear to me.
But whenever you hide yourselves,
I myself will appear. **17**
For [whenever] you [appear],
I myself [will hide] from you.
Those who have [...] to it [...] senselessly [...].

Take me [... understanding] from grief,
and take me to yourselves from understanding [and] grief.
And take me to yourselves from places that are ugly and in ruin,
and rob from those which are good even though in ugliness.
Out of shame, take me to yourselves shamelessly;
and out of shamelessness and shame, upbraid my members
in yourselves.
And come forward to me, you who know me
and you who know my members,
and establish the great ones among the small first creatures.
Come forward to childhood,
and do not despise it because it is small and it is little.
And do not turn away greatnesses in some parts from the smallnesses,
for the smallnesses are known from the greatnesses.

Why do you curse me and honor me?
You have wounded and you have had mercy.
Do not separate me from the first **18** ones whom you have [known].
[And] do not cast anyone [out nor] turn anyone away
[...] turn you away and [... know] him not.
[...].
What is mine [...].
I know the [first ones] and those after them [know] me.

But I am the mind of [...] and the rest of [...].
I am the knowledge of my inquiry,
and the finding of those who seek after me,
and the command of those who ask of me,
and the power of the powers in my knowledge
of the angels, who have been sent at my word,

and of gods | in their seasons by my counsel, |
and of spirits of every man who | exists with me,
and of women [20] who dwell within me.
I am the one who | is honored, and who is praised, |
and who is despised | scornfully.
I | am peace,
and war [25] has come because of me.
And I | am an alien and a citizen. |
I am the substance and the one who | has no substance.

Those who are | without association with me are ignorant [30] of me,
and those who are in my | substance are the ones who know me. |
Those who are close to me have been ignorant | of me,
and those who are far | away from me are the ones who have
known [35] me.
On the day when I am close to **19** [you],
[you] are far away | [from me],
[and] on the day when I | [am far away] from you,
[I am | close] to you.

[I am [5] ...] within.
[I am | ...] of the natures.
I am | [...] of the creation of the [spirits]. |
[...] request of the souls. |
[I am] control and the uncontrollable. [10]
I am the union and | the dissolution.
I am the abiding | and I am the dissolution.
I | am the one below,
and they come | up to me.
I am the judgment [15] and the acquittal.
I, I | am sinless,
and the root | of sin derives from me. |
I am lust in (outward) appearance, |
and interior self-control [20] exists within me.
I | am the hearing which is attainable to | everyone
and the speech which cannot be | grasped.
I am a mute | who does not speak,
and great [25] is my multitude of words.

Hear | me in gentleness, and | learn of me in roughness. |
I am she who cries out, |

and I am cast [30] forth upon the face of the earth. |
I prepare the bread and | my mind within.
I am the | knowledge of my name.
I am the one | who cries out,
and I listen. **20**
I appear and [...] | walk in [...] | seal of my [...]. [5]
I am [...] | the defense [...]. |
I am the one who is called | Truth,
and iniquity [...]. |

You honor me [...] [10] and you whisper against [me].
You [who] | are vanquished,
judge them (who vanquish you) | before they give judgment against you, |
because the judge and partiality | exist in you.
If you are condemned [15] by this one, who will | acquit you?
Or if you are acquitted | by him, who will be able to | detain you?
For what is | inside of you is what is outside of you, [20]
and the one who fashions you on the outside |
is the one who shaped | the inside of you.
And what | you see outside of you, |
you see inside of you; [25]
it is visible and it is your garment. |

Hear me, you hearers, |
and learn of my words, | you who know me.
I am | the hearing that is attainable to everything; [30]
I am the speech that cannot | be grasped.
I am | the name of the sound
and the sound | of the name.
I am the sign | of the letter
and the designation [35] of the division.
And I [...].
[...] **21**[4] light [...].
[...] [6] hearers [...] | to you
[...] | the great power.
And [...] | will not move the name. [10]
[...] to the one who created me. |
And I will speak his name. |

Look then at his words
and all | the writings which have been completed.
Give | heed then, you hearers
and | you also, the angels | and those who have been sent, |
and you spirits who have arisen from | the dead.
For I am the one who | alone exists,
and I have no one | who will judge me.

For many | are the pleasant forms which | exist in
numerous sins, |
and incontinencies, |
and disgraceful passions, |
and fleeting pleasures, |
which (men) embrace | until they become sober
and | go up to their resting-place. |
And they will find | me there,
and they will | live,
and they will not die | again.

AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING (VI,*3*)

Introduced and translated by

GEORGE W. MACRAE

Edited by

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

The third tractate of Codex VI is not obviously related either to what precedes or to what follows. It is a heavily metaphorical exposition of the origin, condition, and ultimate destiny of the soul. With respect to its contents, there are some reasons for regarding *Auth. Teach.* as a composite or collection of several explanations of the soul's origin, fall, and victory over the material world. There is a major break at 25,26, where the narrative returns to the world of the Father where it has (presumably) begun, and from 26,20 onward there are several sections containing statements in the first person plural. Moreover, a number of different extended metaphors are introduced successively to explain the same phenomenon, the condition of the soul in the world, although some key metaphors such as those of the food, the medicine, the bridal relationship occur in several sections of the work. Some of these metaphors are extremely common in the literature of the Roman Hellenistic era, e.g., the bridegroom and life as an athletic contest, but others are highly distinctive and almost unparalleled in their elaborateness, e.g., the fisherman and the dealers in bodies.

Auth. Teach. contains no typical gnostic cosmogenic myth – unless it is alluded to in the passages now lost through some of the early lacunae – but it seems to presuppose a generally gnostic, i.e., anticosmic dualist, understanding of the fate of the soul in the material world. It has a number of parallels in the remainder of the Nag Hammadi library, notably with *Gos. Phil.* (II,*3*), *Exeg. Soul* (II,*6*), *Teach. Silv.* (VII,*4*), and the Hermetic tractates of Codex VI, as well as with the *Corpus Hermeticum*. There is nothing in *Auth. Teach.*, however, to suggest that it is itself a Hermetic composition. It is also distinctively different from the *De anima* literature of the early Christian centuries, whether of Tertullian and his sources, or of Porphyry or Iamblichus, in that it is totally nonphilosophical in its forms of expression. Apart from a few expressions such as "evangelists," "hearing the preaching," and the like, there is nothing specifically Christian in the document, nor is there any trace of the heavy dependence on Jewish speculation which we find in so many other Nag Hammadi tractates.

Perhaps there is a clue, though a veiled one, to be sure, to its origin in the section 33,4-34,34, which contains a polemic against the senseless who are distinguished both from the "we" with whom the writer identifies and from the pagans, who are more or less excusable on grounds of ignorance. One is tempted to think of a Christian berating the Jews for their failure to heed the message which they have heard preached to them, but again there is no unambiguous al-

lusion to either Christian or Jewish belief or practice. In its emphasis on the evil character of the material world, on the heavenly origin of the spiritual soul, on the role of revealed knowledge as salvific, *Auth. Teach.* appears to be a gnostic work. But it lacks the tone of self-assurance and confidence, almost arrogance, which characterizes many unquestionably gnostic treatises. The soul is in perpetual danger of succumbing to the "adversary," or to the false attraction of the material, and consequently she must maintain a practised vigilance.

(George W. MacRae †)

Since George W. MacRae wrote, attempts have been made to be more precise about the group responsible for the tractate. Some have argued that they were in fact Gnostics, who only expressed as much of the gnostic myth in the tractate as was needed. A fundamental difference may be seen between Gnostics and traditional Christians, it is argued, in 33,4-34,34, where gnostic "seekers" contrast themselves with the "senseless" faith-oriented Christians, who have "found" the way, in sterile creedal religion. Others believe that second-century Christian Middle Platonists produced the tractate. They find numerous echoes to passages in the New Testament. They also find the distinctive Middle Platonic doctrine of two souls (spiritual and rational). Neither of these basically antithetical positions is well enough supported in the text to warrant abandoning the cautious assessment expressed by MacRae.

(Douglas M. Parrott)

AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING

VI 22, 1-35, 24

[...] [6] in heaven [...] | within him [...] | anyone appears [...] | the hidden heavens [...] [10] appear, and [before] | the invisible, ineffable worlds | appeared. | From these the invisible | soul of righteousness [15] came, being | a fellow member, and a fellow | body, and a fellow spirit. | Whether she is in the descent | or is in the Pleroma, [20] she is not separated from them, but they see | her and she looks at them | in the invisible world. |

Secretly her bridegroom | fetched it. He presented it to her mouth [25] to make her eat it like | food, and he applied the word | to her eyes as a medicine | to make her see with her mind | and perceive her kinsmen [30] and learn about her root, | in order that she might cling to her branch | from which she had first come forth, | in order that she might receive what | is hers and renounce [matter].

[...] **23**[5] he [dwelt ...] | having [...] | sons. The sons [...] | truly, those who have | [come] from his seed, [10] call the sons | of the woman

"our brothers." | In this very way, when the spiritual | soul was cast | into the body, it became [15] a brother to lust and hatred | and envy, and a material | soul. So therefore the body | came from lust, | and lust [20] came from material substance. | For this reason the soul | became a brother to them.

And yet | they are outsiders, without power | to inherit from the male, [25] but they will inherit | from their mother only. | Whenever, therefore, the soul | wishes to inherit | along with the outsiders – for the possessions of [30] the outsiders are | proud passions, the pleasures | of life, hateful envies, | vainglorious things, nonsensical things, | accusations **24** [. . .] [6] for her [. . . | prostitution], he excludes her [and puts] | her into the brothel. For [. . .] | [debauchery] for her. [She left] [10] modestly behind. For death | and life are set before | everyone. Whichever of these two they wish, then, | they will choose for themselves.

That one (fem.) then will fall [15] into drinking much wine in | debauchery. For wine is | the debaucher. Therefore she does not remember | her brothers and her father, for | pleasure and sweet profits [20] deceive her.

Having | left knowledge behind, she fell | into bestiality. For a senseless person | exists in | bestiality, not knowing what it is [25] proper to say and what it is proper | not to say. But, on the other hand, the | gentle son inherits | from his father with pleasure, while | his father rejoices over him [30] because he receives honor on account of him from | everyone, as he looks again | for the way to double the things | that he has received. For the outsiders [. . .].

[. . .] **25**[5] to mix with the [. . .]. | For if a thought [of] lust | enters into | [a] virgin man, he has | [already] become contaminated. And their [10] gluttony cannot | mix with moderation. | For if the chaff is mixed | with the wheat, it is not the chaff that is | contaminated, but the wheat. [15] For since they are mixed with each other, no | one will buy her wheat because it is contaminated. | But they will coax | him, "Give us this chaff!", | seeing the wheat mixed [20] with it, until they get it and | throw it with all other chaff, | and that chaff | mixes with all other materials. | But a pure seed [25] is kept in storehouses | that are secure. All these things, then, | we have spoken.

And before | anything came into being, | it was the Father alone who existed, [30] before the worlds that are in | the heavens appeared, | or the world that is on | the earth, or principality, or | authority, or the powers. **26** [. . .] [4] appear [. . .] | and [. . . . | And] nothing | came into being without his wish. |

He, then, the Father, wishing | to reveal his [wealth] [10] and his glory, brought about | this great contest | in this world, wishing | to make the contestants appear, | and make all those who contend [15] leave behind | the things that had come into being, and | despise them with a | lofty, incomprehensible knowledge, | and flee to the one who [20] exists.

And (as for) those who contend with us, | being adversaries who | contend against us, we are to be victorious over their | ignorance through our | knowledge, since we have already known [25] the Inscrutable One from whom we have | come forth. We have nothing in | this world, lest | the authority of the world that | has come into being should detain us [30] in the worlds that are in the heavens, | those in which universal death | exists, | surrounded by the individual **27** [...] [5] worldly. [We have] | also become ashamed [of the] worlds, | though we take no interest in them when they | [malign] us. And we ignore | them when they curse [10] us. When they cast shame in | our face, we look at them | and do not speak.

For they | work at their business, | but we go about in hunger (and) [15] in thirst, looking toward | our dwelling-place, the place which | our conduct and our conscience | look toward, | not clinging to the things [20] which have come into being, but withdrawing | from them. Our hearts | are set on the things that exist, though we are ill | (and) feeble (and) in pain. | But there is a great strength hidden [25] within us.

Our soul | indeed is ill because she dwells | in a house of poverty, while | matter strikes blows at her eyes, | wishing to make her blind. [30] For this reason she pursues | the word and applies it to her eyes | as a medicine, ⟨opening⟩ | them, casting away **28** [...] [4] thought of a[...] | blindness in [...] | afterwards when | that one is again in | ignorance, he is completely [darkened] | and [is] material. [10] Thus the soul [...] | a word every hour, to apply | it to her eyes as a medicine | in order that she may see, | and her light may conceal the hostile forces [15] that fight with | her, and she may make them blind with | her light, and enclose them in | her presence, | and make them fall down in sleeplessness, [20] and she may act boldly | with her strength and with her | scepter.

While her enemies look | at her in shame, she runs | upward into her treasure-house – [25] the one in which her mind | is – and (into) her | storehouse which is secure, since nothing | among the things that have come into being has seized | her, nor has she received a [30] stranger into her house. | For many are her | homeborn ones who fight against her | by day and by night, | having no rest **29** by day or by night, | for their lust oppresses | them.

For this reason, then, we do | not sleep, nor do we forget [the] [5] nets that are spread out in | hiding, lying in wait for us to catch | us. For if we are caught in | a single net, it will suck us | down into its mouth, while the water flows [10] over us, striking our face. And we will | be taken down into the dragnet, and we | will not be able to come up from | it because the waters are high | over us, flowing from above [15] downward, submerging our heart down | in the filthy mud. And we | will not be able to escape from them. | For man-eaters will seize | us and swallow us, rejoicing [20] like a fisherman casting | a hook into the water. For | he casts many kinds of food | into the water because each one | of the fish has his own [25] food. He smells it | and pursues its odor. | But when he eats it, | the hook | hidden within the food [30] seizes him and brings him up by | force out of the deep waters. | No man is able, then, | to catch that fish | down in the deep waters, **30** except for the trap | that the fisherman sets. | By the ruse of food he brought the fish | up on the hook.

In this very [5] way we exist in this world, | like fish. The adversary | spies on us, lying in wait | for us like a fisherman, | wishing to seize us, rejoicing [10] that he might swallow us. For [he places] | many foods before | our eyes, (things) which belong to this | world. He wishes to make us | desire one of them [15] and to taste only a | little, so that he may seize us | with his hidden poison and bring | us out of freedom | and take us into [20] slavery. For whenever he catches us | with a single food, | it is indeed necessary for ⟨us⟩ to | desire the rest. | Finally, then, such things [25] become the food of death. |

Now these are the foods with which | the devil lies in wait for us. | First he | injects a pain into your [30] heart until you have heartache | on account of a small thing of | this life, and he seizes ⟨you⟩ | with his poisons. And | afterwards (he injects) the desire [35] of a tunic so that you will pride yourself **31** in it, and | love of money, pride, | vanity, envy that | rivals another envy, beauty of [5] body, fraudulence. | The greatest of all these | are ignorance and ease. |

Now all such things | the adversary prepares [10] beautifully and spreads out | before the body, | wishing to make the mind of the soul | incline her toward one of them | and overwhelm her, like a hook [15] drawing her by force in | ignorance, deceiving | her until she conceives evil, | and bears fruit of matter, | and conducts herself [20] in uncleanness, pursuing many | desires, | covetousnesses, while | fleshly pleasure draws her in | ignorance.

But the soul – [25] she who has tasted these things – | realized that

sweet passions | are transitory. | She had learned about evil: | she went away from them and she entered [30] into a new conduct. | Afterwards she | despises this life, | because it is transitory. And she | looks for those foods that will [35] take her into life, **32** and leaves behind her those deceitful foods. | And she learns about her light, as she | goes about stripping off this | world, while her true garment [5] clothes her within, | (and) her bridal clothing | is placed upon her in beauty of | mind, not in pride of flesh. | And she learns about her depth and [10] runs into her fold, while | her shepherd stands at the door. | In return for all the shame and scorn, then, | that she received in this | world, she receives [15] ten thousand times the grace and | glory.

She gave the body to | those who had given it to her, and they were | ashamed, while the dealers | in bodies sat down and wept [20] because they were not able to | do any business with | that body, nor did they find | any (other) merchandise except it. | They endured great labors [25] until they had shaped the body of this | soul, wishing to strike | down the invisible soul. | They were therefore ashamed of their | work; they suffered the loss of the one [30] for whom they had endured labors. They did not realize | that she has an | invisible spiritual body, | thinking, "We are her | shepherd who feeds her." [35] But they did not realize that she knows **33** another way, which is hidden from them. This | her true shepherd | taught her in knowledge. |

But these – the ones who are ignorant – [5] do not seek after God. | Nor do they inquire about | their dwelling-place, which exists | in rest, but they | go about in bestiality. They [10] are more wicked than the | pagans, because first of all they | do not inquire about God, for | their hardness of heart draws | them down to make them [15] their cruelty. | Furthermore, if they find someone else | who asks about his salvation, | their hardness of | heart sets to work upon [20] that man. | And if he does not stop asking, they | kill him by | their cruelty, | thinking that they have done a [25] good thing for themselves.

Indeed | they are sons of the devil! | For even the pagans give | charity, and they know | that God who is in the heavens [30] exists, the Father of the universe, | exalted over their idols, which | they worship. [34] But they have not heard the word, that | they should inquire about his ways. | Thus the senseless man | hears the call, [5] but he is ignorant of the place | to which he has been called. And | he did not ask during the preaching, | "Where is the temple | into which I should go and worship [10] my hope?" |

On account of his senselessness, then, | he is worse than a pagan, |

for the pagans know | the way to go to their stone temple, [15] which will perish, and they worship | their idol, while their hearts | are set on it because it is their hope. | But to this senseless man | the word has been preached, [20] teaching him, "Seek and | inquire about the ways you should go, | since there is nothing else | that is as good as this thing." | The result is that the substance of hardness [25] of heart strikes a blow upon | his mind, along with the force | of ignorance and | the demon of error. | They do not allow his mind [30] to rise up, because he was wearying | himself in seeking that he might learn about his | hope.

But the rational soul [35] who (also) wearied herself in seeking – | she learned about God. | She labored with inquiring, enduring | distress in the body, wearing out [5] her feet after | the evangelists, | learning about the Inscrutable One. | She found her rising. | She came to rest in him who [10] is at rest. She reclined | in the bride-chamber. She ate | of the banquet for which | she had hungered. She partook | of the immortal food. [15] She found what she had sought after. | She received rest from her labors, | while the light that shines forth | upon her does not sink. | To it belongs the glory [20] and the power and the | revelation for ever and | ever. Amen. |

Authoritative |
Teaching

THE CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER (VI,4)

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The Concept of Our Great Power is a Christian Gnostic "salvation history." Beginning with creation, it recounts the workings of God's justice and mercy in the conflict between good and evil, ending with the final beatitude. Unusually for a gnostic work the tractate is "apocalyptic," that is, its climax is a dramatic description of the end of the world. Even here, however, it betrays its gnostic character; in gnostic fashion it expects no general resurrection, and contemplates the salvation of nothing material.

"Our great power" is the document's supreme God. He is transcendent and "above all powers" – including the Old Testament God, the "Father of the flesh." However, he intervenes in history; it is he who builds the ark and rescues Noah from the flood.

The very first lines of the tractate make it clear that human salvation depends upon knowing our great power. As the title has probably been taken from the first line, it might well be rendered "the perception of our great power," or even "the knowledge of our great power."

In the manner typical of apocalyptic, the tractate divides all history into three "aeons." The first, the "aeon of the flesh," ends with the flood. In the second, or "psychic" aeon, the revealer appears. He is clearly meant to be the New Testament Christ, though the author avoids that title and is careful not to say explicitly that the revealer is crucified.

The second aeon ends with a war among wicked angelic rulers – the "Archons" – the appearance of an antichristlike figure, and the destruction of the world by fire. Though the fire consumes matter, it purifies souls; together with "the saints," the purified souls then live forever in the great power's "indestructible aeon."

While the tractate's message is clear in broad outline, its details are often puzzling. Some figures well known from other gnostic theology – "the Mother," for example – are mentioned but seem to play no part in the story. Incidents sometimes repeat themselves, or come at unexpected places in the narrative – thus the fire can be understood to destroy the universe twice. The transitions between episodes are often abrupt; so, likewise, are the changes in the per-

son of pronouns and the person and tense of verbs. Of a few passages it is even difficult to make connected sense.

Some of the problems can be solved simply by an attentive reading of the tractate, and a recent interpretation has presented the work as a self-consistent whole. Ohther investigators, however, may still feel that the document has undergone more than one redaction, or at least been extensively glossed. In particular, the question whether an original Jewish apocalypse underlies certain portions of the work seems worthy of investigation.

Even the language of the tractate, a mixture of Sahidic and Subakhmimic dialects of Coptic, calls for explanation. It may simply be that a Sahidic-speaking scribe attempted to translate a Subakhmimic writing into his own dialect. Some, however, explain the language as "proto-Sahidic," a stage of Coptic earlier than that of the Sahidic New Testament.

Questions of the tractate's date and provenance are bound up with those of its language and presumed literary history. If the language is felt to be proto-Sahidic, the document will be dated rather early. There is, however, an apparent reference to the Anhomoean heresy; one who sees this as stemming from the original author, rather than a glossator, will wish to place the document in the fourth century C.E.

Similar uncertainties make it difficult to determine the document's provenance. If the statement that the Word "appeared in the east at the first" is the author's, the tractate might come from Asia Minor. If the words in question are a gloss, there is less reason to hold this view.

THE CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER

VI 36, 1-48, 15

The Perception of Understanding ¦ The Concept (or: Thought) of the Great Power ¦

He who will know our great ¦ Power will become invisible, [5] and fire ¦ will not be able to consume him. But it (i.e. the fire) will ¦ purge and destroy ¦ all your (pl.) possessions. For ¦ everyone in whom my form [10] will appear will be ¦ saved, from (the age of) seven days ¦ up to one hundred and twenty years. ¦ (Those) whom I constrained to ¦ gather all that is fallen, – and [15] the writings of our great Power, in order that ¦ he (i.e. the Power) may inscribe your (sg.) name ¦ in our great light – and ¦ their thoughts ¦ and their works may be ended, [20] that they may be purged, ¦ and be scattered, and be ¦ destroyed, and be gathered in ¦ the place which no one ¦ in it sees. But [25] you (pl.) will see me and ¦ you will prepare your dwelling places ¦ in our great Power.

Know ¦ how what has departed ¦ came to be, in order that you [30] may

know how to discern | what lives to become: | of what appearance | that aeon is, or **37** what kind it is, or | how it [will] come to be. [Why] | do you not ask what [kind] | you will become, [5] (or) rather how you came to be? |

Discern what size | the water is, that it is immeasurable | (and) incomprehensible, both its beginning | and its end. It supports the earth; it [10] blows in the air where | the gods and the angels are. | But in him who is exalted | above all these there is the fear | and the light, and [15] in him are my writings revealed. | I have given them as a service | to the creation of the physical things, for | it is not possible for anyone to stand | without that One, nor [20] is it possible for the aeon to live | without him. It is he who possesses | what is in him by discerning | (it) in purity.

Then | behold the Spirit and know [25] where he is. He gave himself to | men that they may receive life | from him every day, | since he has his life within | him; he gives to them all.

Then [30] the darkness together with Hades | took the fire. And | he (i.e. the darkness) will release from himself what is mine. | His eyes were not able | to endure my light. [35] After the spirits and the waters moved, **38** the remainder came into being: | the whole aeon of the creation | and their ⟨powers⟩. | [The] fire came forth from [5] them and the Power came in | the midst of the powers. And the | powers desired to see my | image. And the soul became | its (i.e. my image's) replica.

This is [10] the work that came into being. See | what it is like, that | before it comes into being it does not see, | because the aeon | of the flesh came to be in the great bodies. [15] And there were apportioned to them | long days in the creation. | For when they had polluted themselves | and had entered into the flesh, | the father of the flesh, [20] the water, avenged | himself. For when | he had found that Noah was pious | (and) worthy | – and it is the father of the flesh who holds [25] the angels in subjection. | And he (i.e. Noah) preached piety | for one hundred and twenty | years. And no one | listened to him. And he [30] made a wooden ark, | and whom he had found entered | it. And the flood | took place. **39** And thus Noah was saved | with his sons. For if [indeed] | ⟨the⟩ ark had not been meant for man | to enter, then the water [5] of the flood would | not have come. In this way he intended | (and) planned to save ⟨the⟩ gods | and the angels, and the powers, | the greatness of all of these, [10] and the ⟨nourishment⟩ and the way of life. | And he moves them from | the aeon (and) nourishes them | in the permanent places. And the judgment | of the flesh was unleashed. [15] Only the work of the Power stood up. |

Next the psychic | aeon. It is a small one, | which is mixed with bodies, | by begetting in the souls (and) defiling (them). [20] For the first defilement of the creation | found strength. And it begot | every work: many works | of wrath, anger, | envy, malice, hatred, [25] slander, contempt | and war, lying and | evil counsels, sorrows | and pleasures, | basenesses and defilements, [30] falsehoods and diseases, | evil judgments | that they decree according to their | desires.

Yet you are sleeping, **40** dreaming dreams. Wake up | and return, | taste and eat | the true food! Hand out the word [5] and the water of life! Cease | from the evil lusts and | desires and (the teachings of) the Anomoeans, | evil heresies | that have no basis.

And [10] the mother of the fire was impotent. | She brought the fire upon the soul and | the earth, and she burned all ⟨the⟩ dwellings | that are in it (fem.). | And its (fem.) shepherd perished. [15] Moreover, when she does not find (anything else) to burn, | she will destroy herself. And | it (the fire?) will become incorporeal, | without body, and it will burn matter, | until it has cleansed [20] everything, – and all wickedness. | For when it does not find | anything else to burn, it will turn | against itself until it has destroyed itself. |

Then, in this aeon, which [25] is the psychic one, | the man will come into being | who knows the great Power. | He will receive (me) and he will know me. | He will drink from the milk of [30] the mother, in fact. He will speak | in parables; he will proclaim | the aeon that is to come, **41** just as he spoke in | the first aeon of the flesh | as Noah. Now concerning | his words, which he uttered, [5] he spoke in all of them, | in seventy-two tongues. | And he opened the gates | of the heavens with his words. | And he put to shame the [10] ruler of Hades; he raised | the dead, and | he destroyed his dominion. |

Then a great disturbance | took place. [15] The archons raised up their wrath against him. | They wanted to hand him over | to the ruler of Hades. | Then they recognized one of | his followers. [20] A fire took hold of his (i.e. Judas') | soul. He handed | him over, since no one knew | him. They acted and seized | him. They brought [25] judgment upon themselves. | And they delivered him up | to the ruler | of Hades. And they handed | him over to Sasabek [30] for nine bronze coins. He prepared | himself to go down and | put them to shame. Then | the ruler of Hades took him. **42** And he found that the nature of his flesh | could not be seized, | in order to show it to the archons. | But he was saying: "Who is [5] this? What is it? His word has | abolished the law of the aeon. | He is from the Logos of the power | of life." And he was vic-

torious over the command | of the archons, and [10] they were not able by their work | to rule over him.

The archons | searched after that which had come to pass. | They did not know that this is the sign | of their dissolution, and (that) [15] it is the change of the aeon. The sun | set during the day; that day | became dark. The evil spirits were | troubled. And after these things he will appear | ascending. [20] And | the sign of the aeon that is to come will appear. | And the aeons will dissolve, |

And those who would | know these things [25] that were discussed with them, will become | blessed. And they | will reveal them, and | they will become blessed, since | they will come to know the truth. [30] For you (pl.) have found rest in | the heavens.

Then many | will follow him, and they will | labor in their birth places. **43** They will go about; they will write down | his words according to ⟨their⟩ desire. |

Behold, these aeons have passed. | What size [5] is the water of | the aeon that has | dissolved? | What dimensions do aeons have? How | will men prepare themselves, [10] and how will they be established, and how will they become | indestructible aeons?

But at first, | after his preaching | – it is he who proclaims the second aeon, | and the first. [15] And the first aeon | perished in the course of time. | He made the first aeon, going about | in it until it perished | while preaching one hundred and twenty [20] years in number. | This is the perfect number | that is highly exalted. | He made the border of the West | desolate, and he [25] destroyed the East.

Then | your (sg.) seed and those who wish | to follow our | great Logos and his proclamation –. | Then the wrath of the archons [30] burned. They were ashamed | of their dissolution. | And they fumed and were angry | at the life. The cities were ⟨overturned⟩; | the mountains dissolve. [35] The archon came, with the **44** archons of the western regions, to | the East, i.e., that place | where the Logos appeared | at first. Then [5] the earth trembled, and the cities | were troubled. Moreover, the birds | ate and were filled | with their dead. The earth | mourned together with the inhabited world; [10] they became desolate.

Then when the | times were completed, then wickedness | arose mightily even until the final | end of the Logos. Then | the archon of the western regions arose, [15] and from the East | he will perform a work, and he will instruct | men in his wickedness. | And he wants to nullify | all teaching, the words of true wisdom, [20] while loving the lying wisdom. For | he attacked the old, wishing | to introduce wickedness | and

to put on | dignity. He was incapable, [25] because the defilement | ⟨of⟩ his garments is great. Then he | became angry. He appeared and desired | to go up and to pass up | to that place.

Then [30] the appointed time came and drew near. And | he changed the commands. Then | the time came until | the child had grown up. | When he had come to his maturity, **45** then the archons sent | the imitator to | that man in order that they might know | our great Power. And [5] they were expecting from | him that he would perform for them a | sign. And he bore | great signs. And he | reigned over the whole earth and [10] ⟨over⟩ all those who are under heaven. | He placed his throne upon the end | of the earth, for "I shall | ⟨make⟩ you (sg.) god of the world." | He will perform signs [15] and wonders. Then they | will turn from me, and they will go astray. |

Then those men | who will follow after him (i.e. the imitator) | will introduce circumcision. [20] And he will pronounce judgment upon those who are from the | uncircumcision, who are | the (true) people. For in fact he sent many | preachers beforehand, who preached | on his behalf.

When [25] he has completed the established | time of the kingdom | of the earth, then | the cleansing of the souls | will come, since [30] wickedness is stronger than you (pl.). | All the powers of the sea will tremble | and dry up. And the firmament | will not pour down dew. | The springs will [35] cease. The rivers will not flow **46** down to their springs. And | the waters of the springs of | the earth will cease. Then the depths | will be laid bare and they will open. The stars [5] will grow in size, and the sun will cease. |

And I shall withdraw with | everyone who will know me. | And they will enter into the | immeasurable light, (where) there is [10] no one of the flesh nor | the wantonness of the first | to seize them. They will be unhampered | (and) holy, since nothing | drags them down. I [15] myself protect them, | since they have | holy garments, which | the fire cannot touch, | nor darkness nor [20] wind nor a moment, so as | to cause one to shut the eyes.

Then | he will come to destroy all of them. | And they will be chastised | until they become pure. [25] Moreover their period, which was | given to them to have power, which | was apportioned to them, (is) fourteen | hundred and sixty years. | When the fire has [30] consumed them all, and when | it does not find anything else to burn, | then it will perish by its own hand. | Then the [. . .] will be completed **47** [. . .] | the [second] power [. . .] | the mercy will come [. . .] | through wisdom [. . .] [5] Then the firmaments [will fall] | down into the depth. Then [the] | sons of matter will perish; they | will not be, henceforth. |

Then the souls will appear, [10] who are holy through the | light of the Power, who is exalted | above all powers, the immeasurable, | the universal one, I and | all those who will know me. [15] And they will be in the aeon | of beauty of | the aeon of judgment, since they are ready | in wisdom, having given glory | to him who is in the [20] incomprehensible unity; and they | see him because of his will, | which is in them. And | they all have become as reflections | in his light. They [25] all have shone, and they have found rest | in his rest. |

And he will release the souls that | are being punished, | and they will come to be [30] in purity. And they will | see the saints and | cry out to them, | "Have mercy on us, O Power who art above | all powers." For **48** [...] and in the tree | [of] iniquity that exists | [...] to him their eyes. | [And they] do not seek him [5] because they do not seek us | nor do they believe us, | but they acted according to the creation of | the archons and its other rulers. | But we have acted according to our [10] birth of the flesh, in the creation | of the archons, which gives law. | We also have come to be | in the unchangeable aeon. |

The Concept of Our Great [15] Power

PLATO, REPUBLIC 588A-589B (VI,5)

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Tractate VI,5 is a Coptic version of part (588A-589B, not, as formerly, 588B) of Socrates' parable in the ninth book of Plato's *Republic*, in which the human soul is likened to a trichotomous hybrid of different forces: a hybrid composed of a many-headed beast, representing the baser passions; a lion, representing the nobler passion courage; and man, representing the outermost element, reason. The fact of the excerption of the parable as an independent unit, perhaps originally in some philosophical anthology, is made understandable by its great popularity among late antique authors, especially Neoplatonists, who frequently cite or allude to it. What has proved more difficult to account for is the extent to which the Coptic version deviates from the Greek original. So much does it deviate from what Plato wrote that the tractate's first editors (1971) did not recognize it for what it is. The deviation has been accounted for in two ways. In the first, it is viewed as the product of inept translation (so Schenke, who first recognized the tractate's Platonic identity in 1974, and Brashler). In the second, it is viewed as the product of gnosticizing redaction of the Greek original, a redacted version which was then translated into Coptic (so Orlandi). These explanations are obviously not mutually exclusive, and the truth may therefore be a mixture of both (so Jackson and Painchaud). An additional element is doubtless also the incapability of the Coptic language to render the complexities and niceties of Plato's style. The question who the gnosticizing redactor may have been is not readily answerable, since many late antique groups with world-denying and ascetic inclinations revered Plato and shared technical terminology. It may have been Hermetists, especially as Hermetic tractates (VI,*6*,*7*,*8*) follow our tractate, in which case VI,*5*-*8* would have come to the Coptic translator as a group. But gnostic tractates precede VI,*5*, and the repeated allusion, for example, to "images" and the references in 50,24-33 to the weakness of man (or the [primal] Man) with regard to the images of the evil beast and the lion and his initial fall into their clutches, together with the directive to him to cast down and trample the images, suggests a specifically gnostic setting, perhaps even more explicitly a Manichaean one.

PLATO, REPUBLIC 588A-589B

VI 48, 16-51, 23

"Since we have come | to this point in a discussion, let us again take up | the first things that were said | to us. And we will find [20] that he says, 'Good is | he who has been done injustice completely. | He is glorified justly.' | Is not this how he was | reproached?"

"This is certainly the [25] fitting way!"

And I said, | "Now then, we have spoken because | he said that he who does injustice | and he who does justice | each has [30] a force."

"How then?" |

"He said, 'An image that has no | likeness is the rationality of the soul,' | so that he who said these things will **49** understand. He [. . .] [3] or not? We [. . .] | is for me. But all [. . .] [5] who told them [. . .] | ruler, these now have become natural creatures – even | Chimaera and Cerberus | and all the rest that [10] were mentioned. They all | came down and they cast | off forms and | images. And they all became | a single image. It was [15] said, 'Work now!' | Certainly it is a | single image that became | the image of a complex beast | with many heads. [20] Some days indeed it is like | the image of a wild beast. | Then it is able to cast | off the first image. And | all these hard [25] and difficult forms | emanate from it with | effort, since these are | formed now | with arrogance. And also [30] all the rest that are | like them are formed | now through the word. For now | it is a single image. | For the image of the lion is one thing [35] and the image of the man is another. **50** [. . .] single [. . .] is the [. . .] of | [. . .] join. And this | [. . .] much more complex | [than the first]. And the second [5] [is small]."

"It has been formed." |

"Now then, join them to | each other and make them a single | one – for they are three – so | that they grow together [10] and all are in a | single image outside of the image | of the man just like him | who is unable to see | the things inside him. But what [15] is outside only is what he sees. | And it is apparent | what creature his image is in and | that he was formed | in a human image.

"And I spoke [20] to him who said that there is profit | in the doing of injustice for the man. | He who does injustice truly | does not profit nor | does he benefit. But [25] what is profitable for him is this: that he | cast down every image of the | evil beast and trample | them along with the images of the lion. | But the man is in weakness [30] in this regard. And

all the things that he | does are weak. | As a result he is drawn to | the place where he spends time with them. **51** [. . .]. And he [. . .] [3] to him in [. . .]. | But he brings about [. . .] [5] enmity [. . .]. | And with strife they | devour each other among | themselves. Yes, all these things | he said to everyone who [10] praises the doing of injustice." |

"Then is it not | profitable for him who speaks | justly?"

"And if he | does these things and speaks in them, [15] within the man they | take hold firmly. | Therefore especially he strives | to take care of them and he nourishes | them just like the [20] farmer nourishes his | produce daily. And | the wild beasts | keep it from growing."

THE DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH (VI,6)

Introduced by

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

Translated by

JAMES BRASHLER, PETER A. DIRKSE, and DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

Although its title is lost, this tractate has been identified as Hermetic from the use of the names Trismegistus and Hermes and close similarities with previously known Hermetic tractates. It has been named from its contents, using a phrase found in the tractate itself (53,24-26). It describes in dialogue form the process by which a spiritual guide (mystagogue) leads an initiate to a mystical experience.

The eighth and the ninth indicate the eighth and ninth spheres surrounding the earth. In ancient times it was thought that the first seven spheres were the realms of the sun, moon, and planets, the lower powers whose control over human life was not necessarily benevolent. The eighth and ninth spheres thus designate the beginning of the divine realm, the levels beyond the control of the lower powers. At death the soul would journey through the seven spheres, and after successful passage it would reach the eighth and the ninth, the levels at which the soul could experience true bliss. Furthermore, the eighth and the ninth spheres can also indicate advanced stages of spiritual development. The tractate possibly assumes yet another sphere, a higher, tenth sphere, where God himself dwells, though this is not entirely clear.

The tractate begins with an introductory discussion (52,2-53,21) in which the initiate secures the approval of the mystagogue to request the experience of the eighth and the ninth. He then makes the formal request (53,24-27). The process leading to the experience begins with a period of instruction, which culminates in a carefully constructed prayer, perhaps spoken by both participants (53,28-57,25). At the heart of the prayer is a request for the visionary experience (57,3-9). Following an embrace between initiative and mystagogue, the mystagogue has his vision (57,28-58,22). Then, directed by the mystagogue, the initiate enters first the eighth, and then the ninth (58,22-60,1).

Following that, the mystagogue exhorts the initiate to silence and gives instruction about continuing in the way of the mystical experience (60,1-10). The tractate concludes with a hymn of thanks by the initiate, and instructions for writing and preserving the account of the experience (60,10-63,32).

Assumed in the tractate are earlier levels of spiritual attainment. They are not described in *Disc. 8-9* but it is clear that two things need to have occurred in order to be ready for the experience of the eighth and ninth: the attainment of purity of life according to the standard of divine law (56,27-57,1) and the banishing of ignorance by mastering the knowledge found in certain books (54,6-18).

The attainment of the final two stages for the initiate requires that the mystagogue have the experience first and thereby become the embodiment of universal mind, which is the ninth (58,1-22). The initiate then enters the eighth by recognizing the presence of universal mind, and responds to this recognition by joining the chorus of the eighth and singing a silent hymn to universal mind. He reaches the ninth when he experiences his own unity with universal mind and receives the confirmatory vision in which the chorus of the eighth sings to him (59,24-60,1).

This and other Hermetic tractates may well have been used in the context of small groups devoted to secret knowledge and mystical experience, in which those who were more advanced would teach and direct neophytes, and in which certain cultic acts were engaged in (prayers and hymns are found throughout the Hermetic corpus). The tractates would have served as the basis for discussion and as texts for individual meditation.

Evidence that *Disc. 8-9* was composed in Egypt is found in references to the city of Diospolis, as well as to hieroglyphic characters and gods with animal faces – all found in the section beginning 61,18. The designation of the mystagogue as Hermes and Trismegistus also suggests Egypt. A second-century C.E. date for the composition is possible, because of affinities with the thought of the Middle Platonist Albinus.

THE DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH

VI 52, 1-63, 32

[. . .] |

"[My father], yesterday you promised [me | that you would bring] my mind into | [the] eighth and [5] afterwards you would bring me into the | ninth. You said that this is the | order of the tradition."

"My | son |, indeed this is the order. | But the promise was according to [10] human nature. For I told you | when I initiated the promise, I | said, 'If you hold in mind | each one of the steps.' | After I had received the spirit through the power, [15] I set forth the action for you. | Indeed the understanding dwells | in you; in me (it is) as though | the power were pregnant. | For when I conceived from the fountain [20] that flowed to me, I gave birth." |

"My father, you have spoken every word | well to me. But I am amazed | at this statement that you have just | made. For you said, 'The [25] power that is in me –.'" |

He said, "I gave birth to it (the power), as | children are born."

"Then, my | father, I have many brothers, if | I am to be numbered among the offspring." [30]

"Right, my son! This | good thing is numbered by **53** [. . .]. [4] And

[. . .] | at all times. | Therefore, my son, | it is necessary for you to | recognize your brothers and | to honor them rightly and [10] properly, because they | come from the same father. | For each generation I have | called. I have named | it, because they were offspring [15] like these sons."

"Then, | my father, do they have | (a) day?"

"My son, | they are spiritual ones. For | they exist as forces that grow [20] other souls. Therefore I say | that they are immortal." | '

"Your word is true; it has no | refutation from now on. | My father, begin the [25] discourse on the eighth and | the ninth, and include me also | with my brothers."

"Let us pray, | my son, to the father of the | universe, with your brothers who are my [30] sons, that he may give | the spirit of eloquence."

"How | do they pray, my father, | when joined with the generations? | I want to obey, my father."

54 [. . .] [3] "But it is [not . . .]. | Nor [is it] a [. . .]. [5] But he is satisfied [with] it (fem.). | [. . .] it (masc.). And it is right | [for you] to remember the progress | that came to you as | wisdom in the books. [10] My son, compare yourself to the | early years of life. As children (do), | you have posed senseless, | unintelligent questions."

"My | father, the progress that has come [15] to me now and the foreknowledge, | according to the books, that has come to me, | exceeding the deficiency – these things are | foremost in me."

"My son, | when you understand the [20] truth of your statement, you will | find your brothers, who are my sons, | praying with you." |

"My father, I understand nothing else | except the beauty that [25] came to me in the books."

"This is | what you call the beauty | of the soul, the edification that | came to you in stages. | May the understanding come to you, [30] and you will teach."

"I have understood, | my father, each one of | the books. And especially the (fem.) **55** [. . .] which is in [. . .]." |

'My son, [. . .] [4] in praises from | [those who] extolled [them]." |

"My father, from you | I will receive the [power] of the | discourse [that you will] give. As it was told | to both (of us), let us pray, [10] my father."

"My son, | what is fitting is to pray | to God with all our mind | and all our heart and our | soul, and to ask [15] him that the gift of the | eighth extend to | us, and that each one | receive from him what | is his.

Your part, then, is [20] to understand; my own is | to be able to deliver the discourse | from the fountain that flows to me." |

"Let us pray, my father: | I call upon you, who [25] rules over the kingdom | of power, whose word | comes as (a) birth of light. | And his words are immortal. | They are eternal and [30] unchanging. He is the one whose will | begets life for the forms in | every place. His nature gives form | to substance. By him **56** the souls of [the eighth | and] the angels are moved [. . .] [4] those that exist. His providence | extends to everyone [. . .] | begets everyone. He is the one who | [. . .] the aeon among spirits. | He created everything. He who is | self-contained cares [10] for everything. He is perfect, the | invisible God to whom one speaks | in silence – his | image is moved when it is directed, | and it governs – the [15] one mighty power, who is exalted | above majesty, who is better than the | honored (ones), Zoxathazo a ōō | ee ōōō ēēē ōōōō | ēē ōōōō-ōō ooooo [20] ōōōōōō uuuuuu | ōōōōōōōōōōōō | ōōō Zozazoth.

"Lord, | grant us a wisdom from | your power that reaches [25] us, so that we may describe to ourselves the | vision of the eighth and the ninth. | We have already advanced to the seventh, | since we are pious and | walk in your law. [30] And your will | we fulfill | always. For we have walked in **57** [your way, and we have] renounced | [. . .], so that | your [vision] may come. Lord, grant | us the truth in the image. [5] Allow us through the spirit to | see the form of the image | that has no deficiency, | and receive the reflection of the pleroma | from us through our praise. [10]

"And acknowledge the spirit | that is in us. For from | you the universe received soul. | For from you, the unbegotten one, | the begotten one came into being. [15] The birth of the self-begotten one | is through you, | the birth of all begotten things | that exist. Receive | from us these spiritual sacrifices, [20] which we send | to you with all our heart | and our soul and all | our strength. Save that which | is in us and grant us [25] the immortal wisdom." |

"Let us embrace | each other affectionately, my son. | Rejoice over this! For already | from them the power, [30] which is light, is coming to us. | For I see! I see | indescribable depths. | How shall I tell you, **58** my son? [. . .] | from the (fem.) [. . .] | the places. How [shall I describe] | the universe? I [am Mind and] [5] I see another Mind, the one that [moves] the | soul! I see the one that moves me | from pure forgetfulness. You give | me power! I see myself! I want | to speak! Fear restrains [10] me. I have found the | beginning of the power that is above | all powers, the one that has no | beginning. I see a fountain bubbling | with life. I have

said, [15] my son, that I am Mind. | I have seen! Language is not able | to reveal this. For the entire | eighth, my son, and | the souls that are in it, and the [20] angels, sing a hymn in | silence. And I, Mind, | understand."

"What is the way to sing | a hymn through it (silence)?"

"Have you become such that | you cannot be spoken to?"

"I am silent, [25] my father. I want to | sing a hymn to you while I am silent."

"Then | sing it, for I am Mind." |

"I understand Mind, Hermes, | who cannot be interpreted, [30] because he keeps within himself. | And I rejoice, my father, because I see | you smiling. And the universe **59** [rejoices]. Therefore there is no | creature that will lack | your life. For you are the | lord of the citizens in [5] every place. Your providence protects. | I call you father, aeon | of the aeons, great divine spirit. | And by a spirit he gives | rain upon everyone. What [10] do you say to me, my | father, Hermes?"

"Concerning these things I | do not say anything, my son. | For it is right before God | that we keep silent about what is hidden." [15]

"Trismegistus, let not | my soul be deprived of the | great divine vision. For | everything is possible for you as master | of the universe."

"Return to [20] ⟨praising⟩, my son, and sing | while you are silent. Ask what | you want in silence." |

When he had finished praising he | shouted, "Father [25] Trismegistus! What shall I say? | We have received this light. And | I myself see this same vision | in you. And | I see the eighth and the souls [30] that are in it and the angels | singing a hymn to the ninth and | its powers. And I see | him who has the | power of them all, creating **60** those ⟨that are⟩ in the spirit."

"It is advantageous from [now on] | that we keep silence in a reverent posture. | Do not speak about the vision | from now on. It is proper to [sing a hymn] [5] to the father until the day to quit (the) body." |

"What you sing, my | father, I too want to sing." |

"I am singing a hymn within myself. | While you rest yourself, be active in praise. [10] For you have found what you seek." |

"But it is proper, | my father, that I praise because I | am filled in my heart?"

"What is proper | is your praise that you [15] will sing to God | so that it might be written in this imperishable book." |

"I will offer up | the praise in my heart, as I | pray to the end of the universe and [20] the beginning of the beginning, to the object | of man's quest, the | immortal discovery, the begetter of | light and truth, the |

sower of reason, the love of [25] immortal life. No | hidden word will be able to speak about you, | Lord. Therefore my mind | wants to sing a hymn to you | daily. I am the instrument [30] of your spirit; Mind is your | plectrum. And your counsel | plucks me. I see **61** myself! I have received power from you. | For your love has reached us." |

"Right, my son."

"Grace! | After these things I give thanks [5] by singing a hymn to you. For I have | received life from you, when you made me wise. I | praise you. I call | your name that is hidden within me: [10] a ō ee ō ēēē ōōō iii | ōōōō ooooo ōōō|ōō uuuuuu ōō|ōōōōōōōōō|ōōōōōōōōō[15]ōō. You are the one who exists | with the spirit. I sing a hymn | to you reverently." |

"My son, | write this book for the temple at Diospolis [20] in hieroglyphic characters, | entitling it 'The Eighth | Reveals the Ninth.'" |

"I will do it, my ⟨father⟩, as | you command [25] now."

"My ⟨son⟩, | write the language of the book on steles | of turquoise. My son, | it is proper to write this book | on steles of turquoise, [30] in hieroglyphic characters. | For Mind himself has | become overseer **62** of these. Therefore I command | that this teaching be carved | on stone, and that you place it in | my sanctuary. Eight [5] guardians guard it with[...] | of the Sun. The males | on the right are frog-faced, | and the females | on the left are cat-faced. [10] And put a square | milk-stone at the base of the | turquoise tablets | and write the name on the | azure stone tablet [15] in hieroglyphic characters. | My son, you will do this | when I am in Virgo, | and the sun is in the first half of the | day, and fifteen degrees have [20] passed by me."

"My father, | everything that you say I will | do eagerly."

"And write | an oath in the book, lest those who | read the book bring [25] the language into | abuse, and not (use it) | to oppose the acts of fate. | Rather, they should submit | to the law of God, [30] without having transgressed at all, | but in purity asking | God for wisdom and | knowledge. And he who **63** will not be begotten at the start by God | comes to be by the general | and guiding discourses. | He will not be able to read the things written [5] in this book, although his | conscience is pure within him, since he | does not do anything shameful, | nor does he consent | to it. Rather, by stages [10] he advances and enters into | the way of immortality. And | thus he enters into the | understanding of the eighth that | reveals the ninth."

"So [15] shall I do it, my father."

"This | is the oath: I make him who will | read this holy book swear by heaven | and earth and fire and | water and seven rulers of substance

and the creating spirit in them | and the ⟨unbegotten⟩ God | and the self-begotten one | and him who has been begotten, that he will | guard the things that Hermes has said. And those who keep the oath, | God will be reconciled with them | and everyone whom we have | named. | But wrath will come to each one of those who violate the oath. | This is the perfect one who is, | my son."

THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING (VI,7)

Introduced and translated by

JAMES BRASHLER, PETER A. DIRKSE, and DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

Edited by

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This short, almost perfectly preserved Hermetic prayer expresses in carefully constructed liturgical language the gratitude of one who has received deifying knowledge. Although set off with decorations like those regularly used with titles in the Nag Hammadi codices, the heading, "This is the prayer that they spoke," was originally only an introductory line. Together with the concluding statement, this heading forms a narrative framework for the prayer.

The scribal note, which immediately follows *The Prayer of Thanksgiving*, shows that the prayer was contributed by the copyist, who had a collection of Hermetic materials. Presumably he thought that the prayer was an appropriate way to conclude the account of the mystical experience described in VI,*6*. The note suggests that after he had copied the prayer, the copyist was uncertain whether he should have done it, and was seeking in an oblique way to justify his action (rather than being bold, he was in fact restrained!). His action may have been responsible for an unusual crowding of the Coptic text in the remaining pages of the codex. The theory that the scribal note refers to VI,*8* was based on the mistaken supposition that the note was written over the erased title of VI,*8* after VI,*8* was copied (see introduction to VI,*8*).

Version VI,*7* is one of three versions of the Hermetic *Prayer of Thanksgiving*. The context of the prayer is different in each case. In the Greek text called Papyrus Mimaut, it is part of a long prayer embedded in a magical composition. In the Latin *Asclepius*, it forms the conclusion of the tractate. And here it is appended to another Hermetic tractate. This suggests that it was originally an independent piece of tradition.

Pr. Thanks. is especially significant for the clear evidence it presents of the existence of Hermetic cultic practices. The prayer itself reflects liturgical usage, as its balanced language attests. Moreover, the concluding statement mentions a ritual embrace or kiss (also found in VI,*6* at 57,26-27) after the prayer, and a cultic meal. These references to cultic practices suggest that the primary *Sitz im Leben* of *Pr. Thanks.* was a Hermetic community dedicated to the encouragement of the visionary experience alluded to in 64,16-17 and the preservation of the mystical knowledge communicated in that experience. While it is not possible to assign a date to such communities, it is reasonable to assume that they flourished in the second and third centuries C.E. and possibly even earlier.

THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

VI 63, 33-65, 7

This is the prayer that they spoke: | "We give thanks to You! Every soul [35] and heart is lifted up to You, | undisturbed name, **64** honored with the name | 'God' and praised | with the name 'Father,' | for to everyone and everything [5] (comes) the fatherly kindness and | affection and love, | and any teaching there may be that is sweet | and plain, giving | us mind, speech, [10] (and) knowledge: mind, | so that we may understand You, | speech, so that we may | expound You, knowledge, | so that we may know You. [15] We rejoice, having been illuminated | by Your knowledge. We rejoice | because You have shown us Yourself. We rejoice | because while we were in (the) body, You have made us | divine through Your knowledge. [20]

"The thanksgiving of the man who attains | to You is one thing: that we know | You. We have known You, | intellectual light. | Life of life, we have known You. [25] Womb of every creature, we have | known You. Womb pregnant with | the nature of the Father, we have known | You. Eternal permanence | of the begetting Father, thus have we [30] worshipped Your goodness. | There is one petition that we ask: | we would be | preserved in knowledge. | And there is one protection that we **65** desire: that we not stumble | in this kind of life." |

When they had said these things in the prayer, they | embraced each other and [5] they went to eat their | holy food, which has no blood | in it. |

SCRIBAL NOTE (VI, *7a*)

VI 65, 8-14

I have copied this one discourse of his. | Indeed, very many have come to me. I have not [10] copied them because I thought that they had come to you (pl.). | Also, I hesitate to copy these for | you because, perhaps they have (already) come to you, and | the matter may burden you. Since | the discourses of that one, which have come to me, are numerous . . .

ASCLEPIUS 21-29 (VI,*8*)

Introduced and translated by

JAMES BRASHLER, PETER A. DIRKSE, and DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

The Hermetic tractate *Asclepius* was composed in Greek but exists in complete form only in a Latin translation. It was originally called *The Perfect Teaching*. VI,*8* is a Coptic translation of a large selection from the middle portion of the tractate. It differs from the Latin at many points, but is still recognizably from the same source as the Latin because of the similarity of contents and the way they are ordered. Two Greek passages from the middle section of *Asclepius* have survived, and VI,*8* is stylistically closer to them than to the rather expansive and rhetorical Latin.

VI,*8* has no title, either at the beginning or the end, which makes it unique in the codex. It has been suggested that a title might have been erased at the beginning of the tractate and replaced by the scribal note, which is found there, but close examination of the manuscript shows that to be unlikely. Since the scribal note suggests that *The Prayer of Thanksgiving* (VI,*7*) is the copyist's insertion, it is possible that VI,*8* may originally have been a continuation of VI,*6* (*Disc. 8-9*). In that event, the now lost title of VI,*6* could have served for it as well.

The tractate is in the form of a dialogue between an Hermetic initiate, Asclepius (two others, Tat and Amon, are mentioned in 72,30-31), and the mystagogue, Trismesgistus (designated as Hermes in other Hermetic tractates). *Asclepius* as a whole was probably used in an instructional-cultic context (see introduction to VI,*6*). The contents are arranged in five general areas.

1) 65,15-37. The mystery experience (here undescribed) is likened to sexual intercourse, in that it requires an intimate interaction between two parties in which (according to Trismegistus' view) each receives something from the other.

2) 65,37-68,19. Discussion of the separation between the pious and the impious, with the former being distinguished by having learning and knowledge, and the latter, ignorance. Man needs learning and knowledge to restrain harmful passions and to become good and immortal. Indeed, with learning and knowledge man becomes better than the gods, since then he is both mortal and immortal.

3) 68,20-70,2. Trismegistus argues that men create gods according to human likenesses.

4) 70,3. This marks the beginning of the apocalyptic section. It seems to extend only to 74,6, in contrast to the Latin *Asclepius*, where it clearly continues through 331,11 (parallel to 74,11). Here are described the woes that will come upon Egypt and the final action of the creator god to end them and bring the universe to birth. This section was probably originally independent. There are a significant number of parallels to Egyptian conceptions, which can be traced back to the Ptolemaic period and before. But parallels are also found to Plato, Stoicism, the Sibylline Oracles, and the New Testament. Some have held that the apocalypse was originally a Jewish writing, while others suggest that it was ori-

ginally Egyptian because of the greater number and antiquity of these parallels. The two concepts need not be mutually exclusive in view of the large, ancient, and literarily active Jewish community in Egypt.

5) 74,7-78,42. Discussion of the ultimate fate of the individual. The restoration of the nature of the pious ones is founded upon the eternal will of God, which expresses itself in the design of the good universe. The plan of the universe is then described. The "heights of heaven" are controlled by God. Other areas, including the earth, are controlled by other gods. Every person must go to the city in the west (place of the dead?). The soul separates from the body and goes to "the middle of the air" to be judged by the great daimon, who determines reward or punishment.

The Latin *Asclepius* is one of a group of Hermetic tractates that stands between those Hermetic tractates that are pantheistic, and hence distinctively Hellenistic, and those that are dualistic. The tractates in this group contain a mixture of both emphases. In addition to *Asclepius* they are *Corp. Herm.* IX, X, and XII. The excerpt from *Asclepius* that is VI,*8* has both pantheism and dualism. The pantheism is explicitly expressed in 75,10-11 ("He [God] is in every place, and he looks out over every place."). It can also be seen in the conviction that the universe is good (74,33-36) and that the demiurge and the earth goddess are beneficent (75,13-24), as well as in the panegyric on Egypt (70,3-9). The dualism is found in the discussion of the two natures of man (66,9-67,34), but whether this should be attributed to Gnosticism, as some have thought, or is merely an expression of the dualism common in the Graeco-Roman world generally, is not clear.

The pantheism mentioned above, with its positive evaluation of the world, has presented a problem for those who assume that Codex VI, as a collection, had its origin among Gnostics. It has been suggested that perhaps the pantheistic parts were disregarded by the collector, who was interested in the dualism. The pantheistic elements, however, could have been deleted. It seems better to suppose that the codex may not have had its origin among Gnostics. Among its eight tractates, it contains two other Hermetic pieces (tractates *6* and *7*), a garbled selection from Plato's Republic (tractate *5*), a non-gnostic account of apostolic activity (tractate *1*), and a tractate that has no clear indication of gnostic influence (tractate *2*). Of the remaining two tractates (*3* and *4*), the first has been called questionably gnostic, and only the second seems to contain distinctively gnostic ideas. Thus, when the contents of the codex as a whole are considered, one has the impression of a miscellaneous collection of spiritual pieces without any clear ideological tendency running throughout. The one common theme may be the ultimate fate of the individual – the theme with which *Asclepius 21-29*, and therefore the codex as a whole, ends. There is probably no way to know how the codex found its way into a collection of predominantly gnostic works.

ASCLEPIUS 21-29

VI 65, 15-78, 43

"And if you (sg.) wish to see the reality of | this mystery, then you should see the wonderful representation | of the intercourse | that takes place between | the male and the female. For when [20] the semen reaches the climax, it leaps forth. | In that moment | the female receives the strength | of the male; the male for his part | receives the strength of the female, while [25] the semen does this. |

"Therefore the mystery of intercourse | is performed in secret, | in order that the two sexes | might not disgrace themselves in front of many who do not experience [30] that reality. | For each of them (the sexes) contributes its (own part in) begetting. | For if it happens in the presence of those who do not understand the reality, | (it is) laughable | and unbelievable. And, moreover, [35] they are holy mysteries, |' of both words and deeds | because not only are they not heard | but also they are not seen.

"Therefore **66** such people (the unbelievers) are blasphemers. | They are atheistic and impious. | But the others are not many; | rather, the pious who are counted are few. [5] Therefore | wickedness remains among (the) many, | since learning | concerning the things which are ordained does not exist among them. | For the knowledge of the things which are ordained [10] is truly the healing of the passions | of the matter. Therefore learning | is something derived from knowledge. |

"But if there is | ignorance, and learning [15] does not exist in the soul of man, | (then) the incurable passions persist in it (the soul). | And additional | evil comes with them (the passions) in the | form of an incurable sore. [20] And the sore constantly gnaws at the soul, | and through it the soul produces worms from | the evil and stinks. But God | is not the cause of | these things, since he sent to men [25] knowledge and learning." |

"Trismegistus, | did he send them to men | alone?"

"Yes, Asclepius, | he sent them to them (men) alone. [30] And it is fitting that we tell | you why to men | alone he granted | knowledge and learning, | the allotment of his good. [35]

"And now listen! God | and the Father, even the Lord, created | man subsequent to the gods, | and he took him from **67** the region of matter. [Since] matter | is involved in the creation of [man] | of [. . .], the passions are | in it. Therefore [5] they continually flow over his | body, for

this living creature would not have existed | in any other way except that he had taken this | food, since | he is mortal. It is also inevitable [10] that inopportune desires, | which are harmful, dwell in him. | For the gods, since | they came into being out of a pure matter, | do not need [15] learning and knowledge. | For the immortality of the gods | is learning and knowledge, | since they came into being out of pure matter. | It (immortality) assumed for them [20] the position of knowledge and learning. | By necessity he (God) | set a boundary for man; he placed him | in learning and knowledge. |

"Concerning these things (learning and knowledge), which we have mentioned [25] from the beginning, he perfected them | in order that by means of these things | he might restrain passions and evils, | according to his will. | He brought his (man's) mortal existence into [30] immortality; he (man) became | good (and) immortal, just as | I have said. For he (God) created (a) two-fold nature | for him: the immortal and | the mortal.

"And it [35] happened this way because of the will **68** of [God] that men | be better than the gods, since | indeed [the] gods are | immortal, but men alone [5] are both immortal and mortal. | Therefore man has | become akin to the gods, | and they know the affairs | of each other with certainty. The [10] gods know the things of | men, and men | know the things of the gods. | And I am speaking about men, Asclepius, | who have attained learning [15] and knowledge. | But (about) those who are more vain than these, it is not fitting | that we say anything base, | since we are divine and are | introducing holy matters. [20]

"Since we have entered | the matter of the communion between the | gods and men, know, | Asclepius, that in which man | can be strong! [25] For just as the Father, the Lord of | the universe, creates gods, | in this very way man too, | this mortal, earthly, living creature, | the one who is not like [30] God, also himself | creates gods. Not only | does he strengthen, but he is also strengthened. | Not only is he god, but | he also creates gods. Are you astonished, [35] Asclepius? Are you yourself | another disbeliever like the many?" **69**

"Trismegistus, [I agree with] the words (spoken) | to me. [And] I believe you | as you [speak]. But I have also been astonished | at the discourse about [this]. And I have [5] decided that man is blessed, | since he has enjoyed this great power." |

"And that which is greater than all these things, | Asclepius, is worthy of admiration. | Now it is clear to us [10] concerning the race of the gods, | and we confess it | along with everyone else, that it (the race of

the gods) has come into being | out of a pure matter. And | their bodies are heads only. [15] But that which men create | is the likeness of the gods. They (the gods) are from | the farthest part of the matter, | and it (the object created by men) is from the outer (part) of the being | of men. Not only [20] are they (what men create) heads but (they are) also all the other members | of the body and according to | their likeness. Just as | God has willed that the inner man | be created according to [25] his image, in the very same way | man on earth creates gods | according to his likeness."

"Trismegistus | you are not talking about idols, are you?" |

"Asclepius, you yourself are talking [30] about idols. You see that again you yourself, | Asclepius, are also a | disbeliever of the discourse. You say | about those who have soul and | breadth, that they are idols – these who [35] bring about these great events. | You are saying about these who give prophecies | that they are idols – these who give **70** [men sickness and] healing | that [...] them. |

"Or are you ignorant, Asclepius, | that Egypt is (the) image [5] of heaven? Moreover, | it is the dwelling place of heaven and all the forces | that are in heaven. If | it is proper for us to speak the truth, our | land is (the) temple of the world. [10] And it is proper for you not to be | ignorant that a time | will come in it (our land | when) Egyptians will seem | to have served the divinity in [15] vain, and all their activity | in their religion will | be despised. For all divinity | will leave Egypt and will | flee upward to heaven. And Egypt [20] will be widowed; it will be abandoned by the | gods. For foreigners | will come into Egypt, and they will rule | it. Egypt! Moreover, | Egyptians will be prohibited [25] from worshipping | God. Furthermore, they will come | into the ultimate punishment, especially whoever | among them is found worshipping | (and) honoring God. [30]

"And in that day the country | that was more pious than all countries | will become | impious. No longer will it be full | of temples, but it will be full of tombs. [35] Neither will it be full of gods | but (it will be full of) corpses. Egypt! | Egypt will become like the | fables. And your religious objects **71** will be [...] the marvelous things | and [...], | and if your words are | stones and are wonderful. [5] And the barbarian will be | better than you, Egyptian, | in his religion, whether | (he is) a Scythian, or the Hindus, or some other | of this sort.

"And what is this that I say [10] about the Egyptian? For they (the Egyptians) will | not abandon Egypt. For (in) the time | (when) the gods have abandoned the land | of Egypt and have fled upward to | heaven, then

all Egyptians [15] will die. And Egypt will be | made a desert by the gods and the Egyptians. | And as for you, River, there | will be a day when you will flow | with blood more than water. And [20] dead bodies will be | (stacked) higher than the dams. | And he who is dead will not be mourned | as much as he who is alive. Indeed the latter will be | known as an Egyptian [25] on account of his language in | the second period (of time). Asclepius, | why are you weeping? He will seem | like (a) foreigner in regard to | his customs. Divine Egypt [30] will suffer evils greater | than these. Egypt, lover of God, | and the dwelling place of the gods, | school of religion, | will become an example of [35] impiousness.

"And in that day | the world will not be marveled at, **72** [...] and [immortality, | nor] will it be worshipped | [...] since we say that it is | not good [...]. It has become neither [5] a single thing nor | a vision. But it is in danger | of becoming a burden | to all men. Therefore, | it will be despised – the beautiful world [10] of God, | the incomparable work, | the energy that possesses | goodness, the many-formed vision, | the abundance [15] that does not envy, that is full | of every vision. | Darkness will be preferred to light | and death will be preferred to | life. No one will gaze [20] into heaven. And the pious man | will be counted as insane, | and the impious man will be honored | as wise. The man who is afraid | will be considered as strong. And [25] the good man will be punished | like a criminal. |

"And concerning the soul, and the things | of the soul, and the things of immortality, | along with the rest of what I have said [30] to you, Tat, Asclepius, | and Ammon, not only will they | be considered ridiculous, | but they will also be thought of as vanity. | But believe [35] me (when I say) that people of this kind will | be endangered by the ultimate danger | to their soul. And | a new law will be established. **73** [...] [3] they will [...] [5] good. [The] wicked angels | will remain among | men, (and) be with them | (and) lead them into wicked things | recklessly, as well as into [10] atheism, wars, | and plunderings, by teaching them | things contrary to nature.

"In those days | the earth will not be stable, | and men will not sail the sea, [15] nor will they know the stars in heaven. | Every sacred voice | of the word of God will | be silenced, and the air will be diseased. | Such is the senility of the world: [20] atheism, | dishonor, and the disregard | of noble words.

"And when these things had happened, Asclepius, | then the Lord, the Father and [25] god from the only first (God), god | the creator, when he looked upon | the things that happened, established his design, |

which is good, | against the disorder. He took away [30] error, and cut off evil. | Sometimes | he submerged it in a great flood, | at other times he burned it in a | searing fire, and at still other times [35] he crushed it in wars | and plagues, until he brought **74** [. . .] [5] of the work. | And this is the birth of the world. |

"The restoration of the | nature of the pious ones who are good | will take place in a [10] period of time that | never had a beginning. | For the will of God has no | beginning, even as his nature, | which is his will, (has no beginning). [15] For the nature of God is will. | And his will is the good." |

"Trismegistus, | is purpose, then, will?" |

"Yes, Asclepius, since will [20] is (included) in counsel. | For ⟨he⟩ does not will what he has | from deficiency. Since he is | complete in every part, he wills | what he (already) fully has. [25] And he has every good. | And what he wills, he wills. | And he has the good | that he wills. Therefore he has | everything. And God [30] wills what he wills. | And the good world | is an image of the Good One." |

"Trismegistus, | is the world good?"

"Asclepius, [35] it is good, as | I shall teach you. For just as **75** [. . . [3] of soul and] life | [. . .] of the [world . . .] [5] come [forth] in matter, [those that are good], | the change of the climate, and [the] beauty | and the ripening of the fruits, and | the things similar to all these. Because of this, | God has control over the heights [10] of heaven. He is in every place and he looks out | over every place. And (in) his place there is neither | heaven nor star. And | he is free from (the) body.

"Now the creator | has control in the place that is [15] between the earth and heaven. He | is called Zeus, that is, | life. Plutonius Zeus | is lord over the earth | and sea. And he does not possess the nourishment [20] for all mortal living creatures, | for (it is) Kore who bears | the fruit. These forces | always are powerful in the circle | of the earth, but those of others [25] are always from Him-who-is. |

"And the lords of the earth will withdraw themselves. | And they will establish | themselves in a city that is in | a corner of Egypt and that will be built [30] toward the setting of the sun. | Every man will go into it, | whether they come on the sea | or on the shore." |

"Trismegistus, [35] where will these be settled now?"

"Asclepius, | in the great city that is on the [Libyan] mountain **76** [. . . [3] it frightens . . . | as a] great [evil, [5] in] ignorance of the matter. | For death occurs, [which] is | the dissolution of the labors of the body | and (the dissolution of) the number (of the body), when it (death)

completes | the number of the body. [10] For the number is the union of | the body. Now the body dies | when it is not able to support | the man. And this is death: | the dissolution of the body and the destruction [15] of the sensation of the body. | And it is not necessary to be afraid | of this, nor because of this, but because of | what is not known | and is disbelieved (one is afraid)."

"But what is [20] not known | or is disbelieved!"

"Listen, | Asclepius! There is a great | demon. The great God has | appointed him to be overseer [25] or judge over the souls | of men. And God has placed him | in the middle of the air between the earth | and heaven. Now, when | the soul comes forth from (the) body, it is necessary [30] that it meet this | daimon. Immediately he (the daimon) will surround | this one (masc.), and he will examine him in regard to the character that he has | developed in his life. And if | he finds that he piously performed [35] all of his actions | for which he came into the world, | this (daimon) will allow him **77** [. . .] | turn him [. . .]. | But [if he sees | . . .] in this one [. . .] he brought [5] his life into [evil] deeds, | he grasps him, as he [flees] upward | and throws him down | so that he is suspended between heaven and earth | and is punished with a great punishment. [10] And he will be | deprived of his hope and | be in great pain.

"And that soul | has been put neither | on the earth nor in heaven. [15] But it has come into the open sea of the air | of the world, the place where there is a great | fire, and crystal water, | and furrows of fire, | and a great upheaval. The bodies [20] are tormented (in) various (ways). | Sometimes they are cast | upon raging waters; at other times | they are cast down into the fire | in order that it may destroy them. Now, I will not say [25] that this is the death of the soul, | for it has been delivered from evil, | but it is a death sentence. |

"Asclepius, it is necessary to believe | these things and to fear them [30] in order that we might not encounter them. For | unbelievers are impious and | commit sin. Afterwards they will be compelled | to believe, | and they will not hear by word of mouth only, [35] but will experience | the reality itself. For they kept believing that they would not endure these things. Not only **78** [. . .]. | First, [Asclepius], | all [those of the earth die | and those who are of the] body [cease . . .] [5] of evil [. . .] | with these of this sort. For those who are here | are not like those who are | there. So with the daimons who [. . .] | men, they despite [. . .] [10] there. Thus it is not the same. But | truly the gods who are here | will punish more whoever has hidden it here | every day." |

"Trismegistus, what [is the] character of [15] the iniquity that is there?"

"Now you think, Asclepius, that when one takes | something in a temple, he is impious. | For that kind of a person is a thief and | a bandit. And this matter concerns [20] gods and men. | But do not compare those here with those of the other place. | Now I want to speak | this discourse to you confidentially; | no part of it will be believed. For the souls [25] that are filled with much evil will not come and go | in the air, but they will be put | in the places of the daimons, which | are filled with pain, (and) which are always | filled with blood and slaughter, and their [30] food, which is weeping, mourning, | and groaning."

"Trismegistus, | who are these (daimons)?"

"Asclepius, they are the ones who | are called stranglers, and | those who roll souls down on [35] the dirt, and those who | scourge them, and those who cast | into the water, and those who cast into the fire, | and those who bring about the pains | and calamities of men. For [40] such as these are not from a | divine soul, nor from a | rational soul of man. Rather, | they are from the terrible evil."

THE PARAPHRASE OF SHEM (VII,*1*)

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The first of the five tractates contained in Codex VII is entitled *The Paraphrase of Shem*. For its major part, this is an apocalypse, with the narrative frame describing the initial ascent of the seer, Shem (consistently spelled Sêem), to the top of the creation (1,5-16) and his final return to the earth (41,21-42,11). The actual revelation is provided by Derdekeas, the son of the infinite Light; it consists of a cosmogony and an anthropology (1,16-24,29), followed by a history of salvation which focuses on the account of the Flood (24,29-28,8), the destruction of Sodom (28,8-30,4), the baptism of the Savior and his ascent on the occasion of his crucifixion (30,4-40,31). The revelation concludes with an address to Shem concerning his mission on earth (40,31-41,21). To this apocalypse are added a first eschatological discourse pronounced by Derdekeas (42,11-45,31), a description of Shem's ascent to the planetary spheres at the end of his life (45,31-47,32), a second eschatological discourse of Derdekeas (47,32-48,30) and, to conclude the whole tractate, a final address to Shem (48,30-49,9).

The cosmogonic myth reported here is related to those systems which consider the universe as rooted in three principles. It opens with the description of the three great powers or roots: at the top reigns Light Infinite, called "Majesty," which is Thought filled with hearing and word; located at the bottom is Darkness, a male principle which is "wind in the waters" and possesses the Mind (*nous*) wrapped with the restless fire. Between these two powers is the Spirit, a quiet and humble light. The harmony which prevails at the beginning derives from the fact that each of those roots reigns in itself without mixing with the other two. It is important to note that the text makes no allusion to any previous action taken by Darkness to seize the Mind, nor does it mention a fall of the Mind. However, the events are essentially triggered by the will of the Majesty in an effort to save the Mind.

Suddenly Darkness stirs and the Spirit discovers the existence of the bad root. By the will of the Great Light the waters separate and Darkness comes up with his eye, the Mind. The Spirit reveals himself to Darkness and by doing so loses a part of his light to the benefit of the Mind.

The exalted Light then reveals himself through his son, Derdekeas. He appears in the likeness of the Spirit, thus initiating the salvation of the Mind and the ascent of the Spirit's light. In order to deceive Darkness, the Savior provokes the creation of the universe from water, part of which transforms into a giant Womb (also called "Nature"). The restless fire goes to the Womb. Fooled by the fire,

Darkness, on seeing the Womb, becomes unchaste, has intercourse with the Womb and ejaculates the Mind. Nature is then divided into four "clouds" or spheres, which are called Hymen, Chorion, Power and Water. On entering the Womb, the Mind collides with the Unbegotten Spirit and the "burden of the Mind" causes "astonishment" in the Spirit. This power of Astonishment diverts the burden of Mind to the effect that, clothed with the light of the Spirit, he takes resort to the cloud of Power (also called "the Middle"). The Astonishment, however, sticks to the cloud of Hymen.

The Spirit beseeches the infinite Light to have mercy on his own light. The Savior appears this time as a whirlwind to blow up the clouds: they divide, and the Mind takes shape. Derdekeas puts on his universal garment of light and prompts the ascent of the light from the cloud of Water. When the Spirit gives thanks to the infinite Light, his Astonishment produces a great power, Thought, the principle of the race of Shem, the pneumatics.

Now the Savior deposits his universal garment and puts on his trimorphic garment in order to bring to perfection the light in the three clouds of Hymen, Silence (Chorion), and the Middle. The light retained in the Middle is the part of light which was detached from Astonishment and is united with Mind. After the Flood, it is called "Faith."

The Savior descends to the cloud of the Middle, puts on a garment of fire and prostitutes himself with Nature. In its orgasm, the Womb casts off Mind in the form of a fish and gives birth to all sorts of beasts. Derdekeas puts on the garment of the Beast and prompts the Womb to produce heaven and earth and all kinds of seed. He also makes her give birth to female entities, the winds, and to male entities, the demons. The latter mate with the winds and thereby cast off the power they have, which is Mind. By the will of the Savior, Mind rules over the winds and the demons. He receives a likeness of fire, a light, a listening and a share of Logos. At the end of time, Mind will take his repose with Faith in the cloud of Hymen. The winds and the demons have intercourse for a second time and give birth to all sorts of impurity, that is, the material souls. Through the masturbation of one of the winds, barren women and sterile men are begotten. These are the psychics, who possess only a material soul and are bound to dissolve in Darkness. Finally the pneumatics come to existence, namely those who possess a particle of Mind and a thought from the light of Astonishment.

In order to detain the light of Faith and to destroy the pneumatic race, Nature plans to cause a flood, to which the Savior reacts by proclaiming the erection of a tower. Shem is saved and remains in a body so that he may have patience with Faith and pass on his revelation to postdiluvian mankind. In other words, during the time appointed to Faith, Shem and his race will live among the people who carry out the will of Nature through the observance of the law. For Nature uses the light of Faith under the form of the Law to keep to itself the noetic seed. After the flood, mankind in fact includes two classes of redeemed: the noetics, who possess a body, a soul, and a particle of Mind, and whose root is Faith, and pneumatics, who possess not only a particle of Mind but also a "thought" issued from Astonishment, and whose root is the Unbegotten Spirit.

The destruction of Sodom is also presented as an attempt by Nature to destroy the pneumatic seed. But Shem is told not to worry about his race, since thanks to his teaching they will bear the universal testimony and will repose in the place of the Unbegotten Spirit.

The Savior reveals himself for the last time when the demon (that is, John the Baptist) appears on the river in order to baptize. The baptismal rite is essentially bad because of its use of water – a primordial impure power, which in the beginning tried to detain the light of the Spirit and now tries to keep men prisoner through baptism. But by descending on the water, the Savior rescues the light of Faith and reveals to the pneumatics and the noetics the passwords which will allow them to pass without hindrance through the planetary spheres as they return to their proper root. Thanks to the "memorial" (or "universal testimony") the pneumatics ascend to the place of the Unbegotten Spirit; as for the noetics, they bear the "testimony of Faith" and ascend to Hymen, the place of Faith. This part of the tractate contains a harsh antibaptismal polemic, probably directed against the Great Church.

After his baptism, the Savior foretells his ascent at the end of his mission on earth. In its anger, Nature will try to seize him, but will only manage to crucify Soldas (that is, the terrestrial Jesus). The following allegory which narrates the beheading of Rebouel is intended to explain to the noetics the meaning of the crucifixion: it does not have the effect of purifying the water of baptism, but rather brings out the division between light and darkness. Just as Rebouel is declared blessed in her beheading, so the noetics should not hesitate to separate from the Great Church, which practises baptism, and enter the community of those who possess gnosis.

Former research has pointed out similarities between *The Paraphrase of Shem* and the tractate entitled *The Paraphrase of Seth*, which is referred to by the heresiologist Hippolytus in his report on the Sethians. But the differences between the two doctrines, especially with regard to anthropology, are too great to warrant the assumption of any direct or indirect link whatsoever between the two works. Likewise, more recent research tends not to regard *The Paraphrase of Seth* as a christianized version of *The Paraphrase of Shem*, which in that case could have been a witness of a pre-Christian Gnosticism.

THE PARAPHRASE OF SHEM

VII 1, 1-49, 9

The Paraphrase of Shem

[The] paraphrase which was about the unbegotten Spirit.

What Derdekea⟨s⟩ revealed to me, Shem, according to the will of the Majesty. My thought which was in my body snatched me away from my race. It took me up to the top of the world, which is close to the light that shone upon the whole area there. I saw no earthly likeness, but there was light. And my thought separated from the body of darkness as though in sleep.

I heard a voice saying to me, Shem, since you are from an un-

mixed power [20] and you are the first being upon | the earth, hear and understand | what I shall say to you first | concerning the great powers who | were in existence in the beginning, before [25] I appeared. There | was Light and Darkness | and there was Spirit between | them. Since your root | fell into forgetfulness – he who was [30] the unbegotten Spirit – I | reveal to you the truth about | the powers. The Light | was thought full of | hearing and word. They were [35] united into one form. | And the Darkness was **2** wind in waters. | He possessed the mind | wrapped in a chaotic fire. | And the Spirit between them [5] was a gentle, humble light. | These are the three | roots. They reigned each in | themselves, alone. And they covered | each other, each one with [10] its power.

But the Light, | since he possessed a great | power, knew the abasement | of the Darkness and his disorder, | namely that the root was not straight. [15] But the crookedness of the Darkness | was lack of perception, namely (the illusion that) there is no one | above him. And as long as he was able | to bear up under his evil, he was | covered with the water. And he [20] stirred. And the Spirit was frightened | by the sound. He lifted himself | up to his station. And | he saw a great, dark water. | And he was nauseated. And [25] the thought of the Spirit stared | down; he saw the infinite Light. | But he was overlooked | by the putrid root. | And by the will of the great Light [30] the dark water separated. | And the Darkness came up | wrapped in vile ignorance, | and (this was) in order that the mind | might separate from him because he prided [35] himself in it.

And when he | stirred, **3** the light of the Spirit appeared to him. | When he saw it he was astonished. | He did not know that another | Power was above him. And when he [5] saw that his likeness was | dark compared with the Spirit, he felt hurt. | And in his pain he lifted up | to the height | of the members of Darkness his mind which [10] was the eye of the bitterness of evil. | He caused his mind to take shape | in a member of the regions of the | Spirit, thinking that, by staring (down) | at his evil, he would be able [15] to equal the Spirit. But he | was not able. For he wanted to do | an impossible thing, and it did not | take place. But in order that | the mind of Darkness, which [20] is the eye of the bitterness of evil, might not be destroyed, | since he was made partially similar, | he arose and shone | with a fiery light upon | all of Hades, so that [25] the equality to the faultless Light | might become apparent. For the Spirit | made use of every form | of Darkness because he appeared | in his majesty. [30]

And the exalted, infinite Light | appeared, | for he was | very joyful.

He wished to reveal | himself to the Spirit. And the likeness [35] of the exalted Light appeared | to the unbegotten Spirit. **4** I appeared. [I] | am the son of the | incorruptible, infinite Light. | I appeared in the likeness [5] of the Spirit, for I am the ray | of the universal Light. | And his appearance to me (was) | in order that the mind | of Darkness might not remain in Hades. [10] For the Darkness made himself like his | mind in a part of the | members. When I, (O) Shem, appeared | in it (i.e. the likeness), in order that | the Darkness might become dark to himself, [15] according to the will of the Majesty – | in order that the Darkness might become free | from every aspect of the power | which he possessed – | the mind drew the chaotic fire, with which [20] it was covered, from | the midst of the Darkness and the water. | And from the Darkness the water | became a cloud. and from | the cloud the womb took shape. [25] The chaotic fire | which was a deviation | went there.

And when the Darkness | saw it (i.e. the womb) he became unchaste. | and when he had aroused [30] the water, he rubbed the womb. | His mind dissolved | down to the depths of Nature. | It mingled with the power of | the bitterness of Darkness. And [35] her (i.e. the womb's) eye ruptured at the wickedness | in order that she might not again bring forth | the mind. For it was **5** a seed of Nature | from the dark root. | And when Nature had taken to herself | the mind by means of the dark power, [5] every likeness took shape | in her. And when the Darkness | had acquired the likeness of the mind, | it resembled the Spirit. | For Nature rose up to expel it; [10] she was powerless against it, since | she did not have a form from the | Darkness. For she brought it forth in the cloud. | And the cloud shone. | A mind appeared in [15] it like a frightful, harmful fire. | It (i.e. the mind) collided | against the unbegotten Spirit | since it possessed | a likeness from him. In order that [20] Nature might become empty | of the chaotic fire, | then immediately Nature | was divided into four parts. | They became clouds which varied [25] in their appearance. They were called | Hymen, Afterbirth, | Power, (and) Water. | And the Hymen and the Afterbirth | and the Power were [30] chaotic fires. And | it (i.e. the mind) was drawn from the midst | of the Darkness and the water – since | the mind was in the midst of Nature | and the dark power – [35] in order that the harmful waters | might not cling to it. **6** Because of this Nature was divided, | according to my will, in order that | the mind may return | to its power which the [5] dark root, which was mixed | with it (i.e. the mind), had taken from it. And | he (i.e. the dark root) appeared in the womb. | And at the division of | Nature he separated from the dark power [10] which he possessed from |

the mind. It (i.e. the mind) went into the midst | of the power – this was | the middle region of Nature.

And the Spirit | of light, when the mind [15] burdened him, was astonished. | And the force of his Astonishment | cast off the burden. And it (i.e. the burden) | returned to its heat. It | put on the light of the Spirit. [20] And when Nature moved | away from the power of the light | of the Spirit, the burden returned. | And the Astonishment ⟨of the⟩ light | cast off the burden. It stuck [25] to the cloud of the Hymen. And | all the clouds of Darkness | cried out, they who had separated from Hades, | because of the alien Power. | He is the Spirit of light who has come [30] in them. And by the will of | the Majesty the Spirit gazed up | at the infinite Light, | in order that | his light may be pitied and [35] the likeness brought up from Hades.

And | when the Spirit had looked, I flowed **7** out – I, the son of the Majesty – | like a wave of bright light | and like a whirlwind of the | immortal Spirit. And I blew from [5] the cloud of the Hymen upon the Astonishment | of the unbegotten Spirit. It | (i.e. the cloud) separated and cast light upon the clouds. | These separated in order that | the Spirit might return. Because of this the mind [10] took shape. Its repose was shattered. | For the Hymen of Nature | was a cloud which cannot be | grasped; it is a great fire. | Similarly, the Afterbirth [15] of Nature is the cloud of silence; | it is an august fire. | And the Power which was mixed | with the mind, it, too, was | a cloud of Nature which [20] was joined with the Darkness that | had aroused Nature | to unchastity. And the dark water | was a frightful cloud. | And the root [25] of Nature, which was below, | was crooked, since it is burdensome and | harmful. The root was | blind with respect to the light-bondage | which was unfathomable since [30] it had many appearances. |

And I had pity on | the light ⟨of⟩ the Spirit which | the mind had received. I returned | to my position in order to pray [35] to the exalted, infinite Light **8** that | the power of the Spirit might increase | on the place and might be filled | without dark defilement. And [5] reverently I said, | "Thou art the root of the Light. | Thy hidden form has appeared, | O exalted, infinite | one. May the whole power of [10] the Spirit spread and may it be filled | with its light, O infinite Light. | (Then) he will not be able to join | with the unbegotten Spirit, and | the power of the Astonishment will not be able to [15] mix with Nature. According to the will | of the Majesty," my prayer | was accepted.

And the voice | of the Word was heard saying | through the Majesty to the [20] unbegotten Spirit, "Behold, the | power has been completed.

He who was revealed | by me appeared in | the Spirit. Again I shall appear. | I am Derdekeas, the son [25] of the incorruptible, infinite Light."|

The light of | the infinite Spirit | came down to a feeble nature for | a short time until [30] all the impurity of nature | became void, and in order that | the darkness of Nature | might be blamed. I put on my | garment which is the garment of the light [35] of the Majesty – which I am. | I came in the appearance of the **9** Spirit to consider the whole light | which was in the depths | of the Darkness. According to the will | of the Majesty, in order that the Spirit [5] by means of the Word might be filled with his | light independently of the power of | the infinite Light, | and at my wish, the Spirit | arose by his (own) power. [10] His greatness was granted to him | that he might be filled with his whole light | and depart from the whole burden | of the Darkness. For what was behind | was a dark fire which blew [15] (and) pressed on the Spirit. And | the Spirit rejoiced because he was protected | from the frightful water. But | his light was not equal to | the Majesty. But ⟨what⟩ he was granted [20] by the infinite Light, (he was granted it) | in order that in all his members | he might appear as | a single image of light. | And when the Spirit arose above the water, [25] his black likeness became apparent. | And the Spirit honored | the exalted Light: "Surely thou | alone art the infinite one, | because thou art above [30] every unbegotten thing, for thou hast protected | me from the Darkness. And at thy | wish I arose above the power | of darkness.

And that | nothing might be hidden from you, Shem, the thought, [35] which the Spirit from the | greatness had contemplated, came into being, **10** since the Darkness was not able [to] | restrain his evil. But when | it appeared, | the three roots became known as they [5] were from the beginning. If | the Darkness had been able to bear | up under his evil, the | mind would not have separated from him, and | another power would not have appeared. [10]

But from the time it appeared | I was seen, the son | of the Majesty, in order that | the light of the Spirit might not become faint, | and that Nature might not reign [15] over it, because it gazed at me. | And by the will of the greatness | my equality was revealed, that | what is of the Power might | become apparent. You [20] are the great Power which came into being, | and I am the perfect Light | which is above the Spirit | and the Darkness, the one who puts to shame the Darkness | for the intercourse of the impure [25] practice. For through the division | of Nature the Majesty wished | to be covered with | honor up to the height of the Thought | of the Spirit. And the Spirit received [30] rest in his power.

| For the image of the Light | is inseparable from the unbegotten Spirit. | And the lawgivers did not name | him after all the clouds [35] of Nature, nor is it | possible to name them. | For every likeness **11** into which Nature had divided | is a power of the | chaotic fire which is the | hylic seed. The one who took to himself [5] the power of the Darkness imprisoned it | in the midst of its members. |

And by the will of the Majesty, | in order that the mind | and the whole light of the Spirit might be protected [10] from every burden and (from) the toil of | Nature, a voice came forth from | the Spirit to the cloud of the Hymen. | And the light of the astonishment | began to rejoice with the voice [15] which was granted to him. | And the great Spirit of light was | in the cloud of the Hymen. He honored | the infinite Light | and the universal likeness [20] who I am, the son of | the Majesty. It is said: | "Anasses Duses, thou art | the infinite Light | who was given by the will [25] of the Majesty to establish | every light of the Spirit | upon the place, and to separate | the mind from the Darkness. | For it was not right [30] for the light of the Spirit to remain | in Hades. For at thy wish | the Spirit arose to | behold thy greatness." |

For I said these things to you, [35] Shem, that you might know **12** that my likeness, the son of the Majesty, | is from my | infinite Thought, since I | am for him a universal likeness [5] which does not lie, (and) I am above | every truth and origin | of the word. His appearance is in | my beautiful garment of light | which is the voice of the immeasurable Thought. [10] We are that | single, sole light which came into being. | He appeared in another root | in order that the power | of the Spirit might be raised from the [15] feeble Nature. For by the will of the | great Light I came forth from the | exalted Spirit down to the cloud of | the Hymen without my universal | garment.

And the Word took [20] me to himself, from the Spirit, in the first | cloud of the Hymen of | Nature. And I put on | this of which the Majesty and the | unbegotten Spirit made me worthy. [25] And the threefold unity | of my garment appeared | in the cloud, by the will | of the Majesty, in a single form. | And my likeness was covered [30] with the light of my | garment. And the cloud was disturbed, | and it was not able to bear my likeness. | It shed the first power, | the one ⟨which⟩ it had taken from [35] the Spirit, that one which shone | on him from the beginning, before | ⟨I⟩ appeared in the word | to the Spirit. The cloud **13** would not have been able to bear both of them. | And the light which came forth from the cloud | passed through the silence, until | it came into the middle region. And, [5] by the will of the Majesty, | the light

mixed with him | ⟨i.e.⟩ the Spirit which exists in the silence, | he who had been separated from the Spirit | of light. It was separated from the light [10] by the cloud of the silence. | The cloud was disturbed. It was he | who gave rest to the flame | of fire. He humbled the dark womb | in order that she might not reveal [15] other seed from the darkness. He | kept them back in the middle region | of Nature in their | position which was in | the cloud. They were troubled since they did [20] not know where they were. For still | they ⟨did⟩ not possess the | universal understanding of | the Spirit.

And when I prayed | to the Majesty, toward the [25] infinite Light, that | the chaotic power | of the Spirit might go to and fro, and | the dark womb might be idle, | and that my likeness might appear [30] in the cloud of the Hymen, | as if I were wrapped in the light | of the Spirit which went | before me, and by the will | of the Majesty and through [35] the prayer I came in the cloud | in order that through my garment – | which was from the power **14** of the Spirit – the pleroma | of the word, might bring power to the members | who possessed it in the Darkness. | For because of them I appeared [5] in this insignificant place. | For I am a helper | of every one who has been given a name. | For when I appeared | in the cloud, the light [10] of the Spirit began to save itself | from the frightful water, and (from) the clouds | of fire which had been separated | from dark Nature. And | I gave them eternal honor [15] that they might not again engage | in the impure practice.

And the light | which was in the Hymen was disturbed | by my power, and | it passed through my middle region. It [20] was filled with the universal Thought. | And through the word of | the light of the Spirit it returned to | its repose. It received | form in its root and shone [25] without deficiency. And the light | which had come forth with it from the silence | went in the middle region | and returned to the place. | And the cloud shone. [30] And from it came | an unquenchable fire. | And the part which separated from | the astonishment put on forgetfulness. | It was deceived by [35] the fire of darkness. And the shock | of its astonishment cast | off the burden of the **15** cloud. It was evil | since it was unclean. And | the fire mixed with the water in | order that the waters might become harmful. [5]

And Nature which had been disturbed | immediately arose | from the idle waters. | For her ascent was shameful. | And Nature took to herself the [10] power of fire. She became strong | because of the light of the Spirit which | was in Nature. Her | likeness appeared in the water | in the form of a frightful beast [15] with many faces, which | is crooked

below. A light | went down to chaos filled | with mist and dust, in order to | harm Nature. [20] And the light of the Astonishment which is | in the middle region came to it | after he cast off | the burden of the Darkness. He rejoiced | when the Spirit arose. For he looked [25] from the clouds down | at the dark waters upon | the light which was in | the depths of Nature.

Therefore | I appeared that I might [30] get an opportunity to go | down to the nether world, to the light | of the Spirit which was burdened, | that I might protect him from the evil | of the burden. And through [35] his looking down at the dark region | the light once more **16** came up in order that the womb might again | come up from the water. | She (i.e. the womb) came up by my will. | Guilefully the eye opened. [5] And the light | which had appeared in the middle region | (and) which had separated from the Astonishment | rested and shone upon | her. And the womb saw [10] things she had not seen, | and she rejoiced joyfully in | the light, although this was not hers – the one which | appeared in the middle region, in her | wickedness, when he (i.e. the light) shone [15] upon her. And | the womb saw things she had not seen, | and she was brought down | to the water, she was thinking that | she had reached to the power of light. [20] And she did not know that | her root was made idle by | the likeness of the Light, and that it was to her (i.e. the root) | that he had run.

The light was astonished, | the one which was in [25] the middle region and which was | beginning and end. Therefore | his thought gazed | directly up at the exalted Light. | And he called out and said, [20] "Lord, have mercy on me, | for my light and my effort went astray. | For if thy goodness does not establish | me, I do not know | where I am." And when the Majesty [35] had heard him, he had mercy on him. |

And I appeared in the cloud | of the Hymen, in the silence, **17** without my holy garment. | With my will I honored | my garment which has three | forms in the cloud of the Hymen. [5] And the light which was in | the silence, the one from the rejoicing | Power, contained me. | I wore it. And its | two parts appeared [10] in a single form. Its | other parts did not appear | on account of the fire. I became | unable to speak in the cloud of the Hymen, | for its fire was frightful, [15] lifting itself up without | humility. And in order that | my greatness and the word | might appear, I placed likewise | my other garment in the cloud of the silence. [20] I went into the middle region | and put on the light | that was in it, that was sunk in forgetfulness | and that was separated from the Spirit of | astonishment, for he had cast off the burden. [25] At my wish | noth-

ing mortal appeared | to him, but they were all immortal | things which the Spirit granted | to him. And he said in [30] the thought of the Light, ai eis | ai ou phar dou ia ei ou: | I have come in a great rest | in order that he may give rest | to my light in [35] his root, and may bring it out of **18** harmful Nature.

Then, | by the will of the Majesty, I | took off my garment of light. | I put on another garment [5] of fire which has no form, which | is from the mind of the power, | which was separated, and which was | prepared for me, according to my will, in | the middle region. For the middle region [10] covered it with a dark power | in order that I might come | and put it on. I went down | to chaos to save | the whole light from it. For without [15] the power of darkness I could not oppose | Nature. But I rested | myself upon her staring eye [20] which was a light | from the Spirit. For it had been prepared | for me as a garment and a rest | by the Spirit. Through me | he opened his eyes down to [25] Hades. He granted Nature | his voice for a time. |

And my garment of fire, according to the will | of the Majesty, went | down to what is strong, and to the [30] unclean part of Nature | which ⟨the⟩ power of darkness | was covering. And my garment | rubbed Nature in her | covering. And her unclean [35] femininity was strong. And | the wrathful womb came up **19** and made the mind dry, | resembling a fish which has | a drop of fire and | a power of fire. And when Nature [5] had cast off the mind, | she was troubled and she | wept. When she was hurt, and in | her tears, she cast off | the power of the Spirit [10] (and) remained as I. I put on | the light of the Spirit and I | rested with my garment on account of | the sight of the fish.

And in order that | the deeds of Nature might be condemned, [15] since she is blind, manifold | animals came out | of her, in accordance with the number of the | fleeting winds. All of them came into being in | Hades searching for the light [20] of the mind which took shape. They were not | able to stand up against it. | I rejoiced over their ignorance. | They found me, | the son of the Majesty, in [25] front of the womb which has | many forms. I put | on the beast, and laid | before her a great request | that heaven and earth [30] might come into being, in order that the whole | light might rise up. | For in no other way could the power | of the Spirit be saved from bondage | except that I appear [35] to her in animal form. | Therefore she was gracious to me **20** as if I were her son. |

And on account of my request, | Nature arose since she possesses of | the power of the Spirit and the Darkness [5] and the fire. For she had

taken off | her forms. When she had cast | it off, she blew upon the water. | The heaven was created. And from | the foam of the heaven [10] the earth came into being. And at my wish it | brought forth all kinds of food in accordance with | the number of the beasts. And it | brought forth dew from | the winds on account of you (pl.) and those [15] who will be begotten the second time | upon the earth. | For the earth possessed | a power of chaotic fire. | Therefore it brought forth [20] every seed.

And when | the heaven and the earth were created, | my garment of fire arose in the midst | of the cloud of Nature (and) | shone upon the whole world [25] until Nature became | dry. The Darkness which was | its (i.e. the earth's) garment was cast into the | harmful waters. | The middle region was cleansed from the Darkness. [30] But the womb grieved because of | what had happened. She perceived in | her parts what was | water like a mirror. When she | perceived (it), she wondered [25] how it had come into being. Therefore she | remained a widow. It also was **21** astonished (that) it was not in her. | For still the forms | possessed a power | of fire and light. It (i.e. the power) remained [5] in order that it might be in Nature | until all the powers are taken | away from her. For just as | the light of the Spirit was completed | in three clouds, it is necessary [10] that also the power | which is in Hades will be completed at the | appointed time. For, because of the grace | of the Majesty, I came forth to her | from the water for the second time. [15] For my face pleased | her. Her face also was glad. |

And I said to her, "May | seed | and power come forth from you [20] upon the earth." And she obeyed | the will of the Spirit that | she might be brought to naught. And when | her forms returned, they rubbed | their tongue(s) with each other; they copulated; [25] they begot winds and | demons and the power which | is from the fire and | the Darkness and the Spirit. But the form | which remained alone cast the [30] beast from herself. | She did not have intercourse, but | she was the one who rubbed herself alone. | And she brought forth a wind which | possessed a power [35] from the fire and the Darkness | and the Spirit.

And in order that the **22** demons also might become free from the power which they possessed | through the impure intercourse, | a womb was with the winds [5] resembling water. And an | unclean penis was | with the demons in accordance with the example | of the Darkness, and in the way he rubbed with | the womb from the beginning. And after [10] the forms of Nature had been | together, they separated from | each other. They cast off the power, | being astonished about | the deceit

which had happened to them. They grieved [15] with an eternal grief. They covered | themselves with their power. |

And when I had put them to shame, I arose | with my garment in the power and – | which is above the beast which is a light, [20] in order that I might make Nature | desolate. The mind which had appeared | in the Nature of Darkness, (and) which | was the eye of the heart of Darkness, | at my wish reigned over [25] the winds and the demons. And I | gave him a likeness of fire, light, | and attentiveness, and a share | of guileless word. Therefore | he was given of the greatness [30] in order to be strong in his | power, independent of the power, | independent of the light of the Spirit, and | intercourse of Darkness, in order that, at | the end of time, when **23** Nature will be destroyed, he may rest | in the honored place. | For he will be found | faithful, since he has loathed [5] the unchastity of Nature with | the Darkness. The strong power | of the mind came into being from | the mind and the unbegotten Spirit. |

But the winds, which are demons [10] from water and fire | and darkness and light, had | intercourse unto perdition. And through | this intercourse the winds received | in their womb [15] foam from the penis | of the demons. They conceived | a power in their womb. From | the breathing | the wombs of the winds girded each other [20] until the times of the birth came. | They went down to the water. | And the power was delivered, through | the breathing which moves the birth, | in the midst of the practice. And [25] every form of the birth received shape | in it. When | the times of the birth were near, | all the winds were gathered | from the water which is near the [30] earth. They gave birth to all kinds of unchastity. | And the place where | the wind alone went was permeated with | the unchastity. | Barren wives came from it [35] and sterile husbands. **24** For just as they are born, | so they bear.

Because of you (pl.), | the image of the Spirit appeared | in the earth and the water. [5] For you are like the Light. | For you possess a share | of the winds and the demons, | and a thought from the Light | of the power of the Astonishment. [10] For everything which he brought forth from | the womb upon the earth | was not a good thing for her, | but her groan and her pain, because | of the image which appeared in [15] you from the Spirit. For you are | exalted in your heart. | And it is blessedness, Shem, if [20] a part is given to someone and if he | departs from | the soul to (go) to the thought of the Light. For the soul | is a burden of the Darkness, and | those who know where the root | of the soul came from will be able | to grope after Nature also. [25] For the soul is a work of | unchastity and an (object of) scorn to the | thought of Light. For I

I am the one who revealed concerning I all that is unbegotten.

And in order that the sin I of Nature might be filled, I made the I womb, which was disturbed, pleasant – I the blind wisdom – that I might I be able to bring (it) to naught. And at my **25** wish, he plotted with the water I of Darkness and also the Darkness, I that they might wound every form I of your (pl.) heart. For by the will of the light of the I Spirit they surrounded you; they bound I you in Faith. And in order that I his plan might become idle, I he sent a demon that the plan of I her wickedness might be proclaimed. And he caused I a flood, and he destroyed I your (pl.) race, in order to I take the light and to take from Faith. But I proclaimed I quickly by the mouth of I the demon that a tower I come to be up to the particle of the light, I which was left in the demons and their race – which was I water – that the demon might be protected I from the turbulent chaos. I And the womb planned these things I according to my will in order that she might pour forth completely. A tower I came to be through the demons. The I Darkness was disturbed by his loss. I He loosened the muscles of the I womb. And the demon who was going to enter the tower was protected I in order that the races might I continue and might acquire coherence I through him. For he possesses I power from every form.

Return henceforth, **26** O Shem, and rejoice [greatly] I over your race and I Faith, for without body and I necessity it is protected from every body of Darkness, bearing witness I to the holy things of the greatness I which was revealed to them in their I thought by my will. And I they shall rest in the unbegotten Spirit without grief. I But you, Shem, because of this, you I remained in (the) body outside the cloud I of light that you might remain I with Faith. And Faith will come to you. Her thought will be taken I and given to you with a consciousness I of light. And I I told you these things for the benefit of your I race from the cloud of light. And likewise what I shall say to you I concerning everything, I shall reveal I to you completely that I you may reveal them to those who I will be upon the earth the second time.

O Shem, the disturbance I which occurred at my wish I happened in order that Nature might I become empty. I For the wrath of the Darkness subsided. O Shem, the Darkness' mouth was shut. I No longer does the light which I shone for the world appear in it, I according to my will. And when I Nature had said that its wish was fulfilled, then every form I was engulfed by the waters **27** in prideful ignorance. I She (i.e. Nature) turned her I dark vagina and cast from I her the power of fire which was in her from the beginning I through the practice of the

Darkness. It (masc.) | lifted itself up and shone upon | the whole world instead of the righteous one. | And all her forms [10] sent forth a power | like a flame of fire up | to heaven as a help to the | corrupted light, which had lifted itself up. | For they were members of the [15] chaotic fire. And she did not | know that she had harmed herself. | When she cast forth the power, | the power which she possessed, | she cast it forth from the genitals. It was the demon, [20] a deceiver, who | stirred up the womb in every form –. |

And in her ignorance, | as if she were doing a great | thing, she granted the demons [25] and the winds a star each. | For without wind and star | nothing happens upon the earth. | For every power is filled | by them after they were [30] released from the Darkness and the fire | and the power and the light. | For in the place where their darkness and | their fire were mixed with each other | beasts were brought forth. And it was in the place [35] of the Darkness, and the fire, and the power **28** of the mind, and the light, | that human beings came into existence. | Being from the Spirit, the thought of the Light, my eye, | exists not in every man. [5] For before the flood | came from the winds and the | demons, rain came to | men. But then, in order that the power | which is in the tower might be brought forth, [10] and might rest upon the earth | Nature, which had been disturbed, | wanted to harm the seed | which will be upon the earth after | the flood. [15] Demons were sent to them, and | a deviation of the winds, and | a burden of the angels, and | a fear of the prophet, a | condemnation of speech, that I may [20] teach you, O Shem, from | what blindness your | race is protected. When I have | revealed to you all that has been spoken, | then the righteous one will [25] shine upon the world with my garment. | And the night and the day will | be separated. For I shall hasten down to the | world to take the light | of that place, the one which [30] Faith possesses. And | I shall appear to those who will | acquire the thought of the light | of the Spirit. For because of them my | majesty appeared.

When [35] he will have appeared, O Shem, | upon the earth, [in] the place which will be **29** called Sodom, (then) | safeguard the insight which I | shall give you. For those whose | heart was pure will congregate to you, [5] because of | the word which you will reveal. | For when you appear | in the world, dark Nature | will shake against you, [10] together with the winds and a demon, | that they may destroy | the insight. But you, proclaim | quickly to the Sodomites | your universal teaching, [15] for they are your members. | For the demon of human form | will part from that place | by my will, since he is ignorant. | He

will guard this utterance. But the [20] Sodomites, according to the will of the | Majesty, will bear witness to the | universal testimony. They | will rest with a pure conscience | in the place [25] of their repose, which | is the unbegotten Spirit. | And as these things will happen, | Sodom will be burned unjustly | by a base nature. [30] For the evil will not cease | in order that your | majesty may reveal | that place.

Then **30** the demon will depart with | Faith. And then he will appear | in the four regions | of the world. And when [5] Faith appears | in the last likeness, then will | her appearance become manifest. | For the first-born is the demon | who appeared in the union [10] of Nature with many faces, | in order that Faith might | appear in him. For when he | appears in the world, | evil passions will arise, [15] and earthquakes, and | wars, and famines, and | blasphemies. For because of him the whole | world will be disturbed. | For he will seek the power [20] of Faith and Light; he will | not find it. For at that time | the demon will also | appear upon the river | to baptize with an [25] imperfect baptism, | and to trouble the world with a bondage | of water. But it is necessary | for me to appear in the members | of the thought of Faith to [30] reveal the great things of my | power. I shall separate it | from the demon who is Soldas. | And the light which | he possesses from the Spirit I shall mix [35] with my invincible garment, | as well as him whom I shall reveal **31** in the darkness for your sake | and for the sake of your race which | will be protected from the evil | Darkness.

Know, O Shem, that without [5] Elorchaios and Amoias and | Strophaias and Chelkeak | and Chelkea and Aileou, no | one will be able to pass by this wicked region. | For this is my memorial [10] that in it I have been | victorious over the wicked region. And | I have taken the light of the Spirit | from the frightful water. | For when the [15] appointed days of the | demon draw near | he who will baptize | erringly –, then I shall appear | in the baptism | of the demon to reveal [20] with the mouth of Faith | a testimony to those | who belong to her. I testify | of thee, Spark the unquenchable, | Osei, the elect of [25] the Light, the eye of heaven, and | Faith, the first and the last, | and Sophia, and Saphaia, and | Saphaina, and the righteous | Spark, and the [30] impure light. And you (sg.), east, | and west, and | north, and south, | upper air and lower air, and | all the powers and authorities, **32** you (pl.) are in Nature. | And you (sg.), Moluchtha | and Soch are from every work | and every impure effort of [5] Nature. Then I shall come | from the demon down to the water. | And whirlpools of water | and flames of fire will rise | up against me. Then I [10] shall come up from the water, having put | on the

light of Faith | and the unquenchable fire, | in order that through my help | the power of the Spirit may cross, [15] she who has been cast in the world | by the winds and the demons | and the stars. And in them | every unchastity will be filled. |

Finally, O Shem, consider [20] yourself pleasing in the thought | of the Light. Do not let | your thought have dealings with | the fire and the body of Darkness | which was an unclean [25] work. These things which I teach | you are right. |

This is the paraphrase: | – For you did not remember | that it is from the firmament that [30] your race has been protected. – Elorchaios | is the name of the great Light, | the place from which I have come, the Word | which has no equal. | And the likeness is my honored garment. [35] And Derderkeas is the name of his Word in **33** the voice of the Light. And | Strophaia is the blessed glance | which is the Spirit. | and it is Chelkeach, who is my garment, [5] who has come from the Astonishment, | who was in the cloud of the Hymen | which appeared, as | a trimorphic cloud. | And Chelkea is my garment [10] which has two forms, he | who was in the cloud of Silence. | And Chelke is my garment which | was given him from every region; | it was given him in a single form [15] from the greatness, he | who was in the cloud of the middle region. | and the star of the Light | which was mentioned is my | invincible garment which [20] I wore in Hades; | this (i.e. the star of the Light) is the mercy which surpasses | the thought and the testimony | of those who bear witness. And | the testimony which has been mentioned: [25] the First and the Last, Faith, | the Mind of the wind of darkness. And | Sophaia and Saphaina are in | the cloud of those who have been separated | from the chaotic fire. [30] And the righteous Spark is | the cloud of light which has shone | in your (pl.) midst. For | in it (i.e. the cloud of light) my garment will go | down to chaos.

But the **34** impure light, which appeared | in the Darkness (and) which belongs to | dark Nature, is a power. | And the upper air and the lower air, and the [5] powers and the authorities, the | demons and the stars, these possessed | a particle of fire | and a light from the Spirit. | And Moluchthas is a wind, [10] for without it nothing is brought | forth upon the earth. He has | a likeness of a serpent and | a unicorn. His protrusion(s) | are manifold wings. [15] And the remainder is the womb | which has been disturbed. You are blessed, | Shem, for your race | has been protected from the dark wind which is | many-faced. And they will [20] bear the universal | testimony and (bear witness) to the impure | practice of ⟨Nature⟩. And | they will become sublime through the | reminder of the Light.

O Shem, [25] no one who wears the body | will be able to complete these things. But through | remembrance he will be able to grasp | them, in order that, when | his thought separates from the body, [30] then these things may be revealed to him. | They have been revealed to your | race. O Shem, it is difficult for someone | wearing a body to complete | [these things, as] I said to you. **35** And it is a small number that will | complete them, those who possess | the particle of the mind | and the thought of the light of the [5] Spirit. They will keep their mind | from the impure practice. | For many in the race of Nature | will seek the security | of the Power. They will not find it, nor [10] will they be able to | do the will of Faith. | For they are seed of the | universal Darkness. And those who | find them are in much suffering. The winds [15] and the demons will hate | them. And the bondage of the body is | severe. For where | the winds, and the stars, | and the demons cast forth from the power [20] of the Spirit, (there) repentance | and testimony will appear | upon them, and mercy | will lead them to | the unbegotten Spirit. [25] And those who are repentant | will find rest | in the consummation and Faith, | in the place of the Hymen. | This is the Faith which will [30] fill the place which has been | left empty. But those who do not share | in the Spirit of light and | in Faith will | dissolve in the [Darkness], the place **36** where repentance did not come. |

It is I who opened the eternal gates | which were shut from the beginning. | To those who long for the best of [5] life, and those who are worthy of the | repose, he revealed | them. I granted | perception to those who perceive. | I disclose to them [10] all the thoughts and the teaching | of the righteous ones. And I did not become | their enemy at all. But | when I had endured the wrath | of the world, I was victorious. There was not [15] one of them who knew me. | The gates of fire | and endless smoke opened against me. | All the winds rose | up against me. The thunderings and the [20] lightning-flashes for a time will rise | up against me. And they will bring | their wrath upon me. | And on account of me according to the flesh, they | will rule over them according to kind. [25]

And many who wear | erring flesh will go down | to the harmful waters through | the winds and the demons. | And they are bound by the water. [30] And he will heal with a | futile remedy. He will lead astray, | and he will bind the world. | And those that do the will of Nature, their part will [. . .] **37** two times in the day of the water | and the forms of Nature. | And it will not be granted them, when | Faith disturbs them [5] in order to take to herself the righteous one. |

O Shem, it is necessary that | the thought be called by the Word in |

order that the bondage of the power | of the Spirit may be saved from the frightful [10] water. And it is blessedness | if it is granted someone to contemplate | the exalted one, and to | know the exalted time | and the bondage. For the water is an [15] insignificant body. And | men are not released, since | they are bound in the water, just as from | the beginning the light of the Spirit | was bound.

O Shem, they are deceived [20] by manifold | demons, thinking that through | baptism with the uncleanness | of water, that which is dark, | feeble, idle, [25] (and) disturbing, he will take away the sins. | And they do not know | that from the water to | the water there is bondage, | and error and unchastity, [30] envy, murder, adultery, | false witness, | heresies, robberies, | lusts, babblings, | wrath, bitterness, [35] great [...]. **38** Therefore there are many deaths | which burden their thoughts. | For I foretell | it to those who have a heart. [5] They will refrain from the impure | baptism. And those who | take heart from the light | of the Spirit will not have dealings | with the impure practice. [10] And their heart will not expire, | nor will they curse. | And the water – ⟨nor⟩ will they be given | honor. Where | the curse is, there is the deficiency. [15] And the blindness is | where the honor is. | For if they mix with the evil ones, | they become empty in the dark water. | For where the water has been [20] mentioned, there is | Nature, and the oath, and | the lie, and the loss. For only | in the unbegotten Spirit, | where the exalted Light rested, [25] has the water not | been mentioned, | nor can it be mentioned. |

For this is my appearance: | for when I have [30] completed the times | which are assigned to me upon the earth, then | I will cast from me | [my garment of fire (?)]. And **39** my unequalled garment will | come forth upon me, | and also all my garments which I | put on in all the clouds [5] which were from | the Astonishment of the Spirit. | For the air will tear my garment. | For it (i.e. my garment) will shine, and it will divide | all the clouds up to [10] the root of the Light. The repose | is the mind and my garment. | And my remaining garments, | those on the left and those on the | right, will shine [15] on the back in order that | the image of the Light may appear. | For my garments which I put | on in the three | clouds, in the last day they [20] will rest in their | root, i.e. in the unbegotten | Spirit, since they are without | fault, through the division of (the) | clouds.

Therefore I have appeared, [25] being faultless, on account of the | clouds, because they are unequal, in order that | the wickedness of Nature | might be ended. For she wished | at that time [30] to snare me. She was about to fix (to the cross) | Soldas who is the dark | flame, who

attended | on the [...] of error, **40** that he might snare me. | She took care of her faith, | being vainglorious. |

And at that time [5] the light was about to separate | from the Darkness, and a voice | was heard in the world, saying, | "Blessed is the eye which has | seen thee, and the mind which has [10] supported thy majesty at | my desire." It will be said by | the exalted one, "Blessed is | Rebouel among every race | of men, for it is you (fem.) alone [15] who have seen." And she will listen. And | they will behead the woman | who has the perception, | whom you will reveal | upon the earth. And according to [20] my will she will bear witness, and she will | cease from every | vain effort of Nature | and chaos. For the woman | whom they will behead at that [25] time is the coherence | of the power of the demon | who will baptize the seed | of darkness in severity, | that it (i.e. the seed) may mix with unchastity. [30] He begot a woman. She was | called Rebouel.

See, | O Shem, how all the things I have said | to you have been fulfilled. | [And .... And the things which] you **41** lack, according to my will | they will appear to you | at that place upon the earth | that you may reveal them [5] as they are. Do | not let your thought have dealings | with the body. For I have said these | things to you, through the voice of the fire, | for I entered through [10] the midst of the clouds. And I | spoke according to the language of each one. | This is my language which I spoke to you. | And it will be taken from you. And | you will speak with the voice of the world [15] upon the earth. And it will appear | to you with that appearance | and voice, and | all that I have said to you. | Henceforth proceed with Faith [20] to shine in the depths of the world. |

And I, Shem, awoke | as if from a long sleep. | I marveled when I received the | power of the Light and his whole thought. [25] And I proceeded with Faith | to shine with me. And | the righteous one followed us with | my invincible garment. And | all that he had told me [30] would happen upon the earth | happened. Nature was handed over | to Faith, that she (i.e. Faith) might overturn | her and that she (i.e. Nature) might stand in the Darkness. | She brought forth a **42** turning motion while wandering | night and day without | receiving rest with the souls. | These things completed her [5] deeds.

Then I rejoiced | in the thought of the Light. | I came forth from the Darkness and I walked | in Faith where | the forms of [10] Nature are, up to the top of the | earth, to the things which are prepared.

Thy Faith | is upon the earth the | whole day. For all night | and day

she surrounds [15] Nature to take to herself | the righteous one. For Nature is | burdened, and she is troubled. | For none will be able to open the forms | of the Womb except the mind [20] alone who was entrusted | with their likeness. For frightful is | their likeness of the two forms | of Nature, the one which is blind. |

But they who have [25] a free conscience | remove themselves from | the babbling of Nature. | For they will bear witness | to the universal testimony; [30] they will strip off the burden | of Darkness; they will put on | the Word of the Light; and | they will not be kept back **43** in the insignificant place. | And what they possess from | the power of the mind they | will give to Faith. They will [5] be accepted without | grief. And the chaotic | fire which they possess they | will place in the middle region of | Nature. And they will be received [10] by my garments, those which are | in the clouds. It is they | who guide their members. They | will rest in the Spirit | without suffering. And because of this the [15] appointed term of Faith appeared | upon the earth for a | short time, until | the Darkness is taken away from her, and | her testimony is revealed [20] which was revealed | by me. They who will prove | to be from her root | will strip off the | Darkness and the chaotic fire. [25] They will put on the light | of the mind and they will bear witness. | For all that I have said | must happen.

After | I cease to be upon the earth and [30] withdraw up to my rest, | a great, evil error | will come upon | the world, and many evils | in accordance with the number of the forms of **44** Nature. Evil times | will come. And when | the era of Nature is approaching | destruction, darkness will [5] come upon the earth. The number will | be small. And a demon | will come up from the power who | has a likeness of fire. | He will divide the heaven, (and) he will rest [10] in the depth of the east. | For the whole world will quake. | And the deceived world | will be thrown into confusion. Many | places will be flooded because of [15] envy of the winds and the demons | who have a name | which is senseless: Phorbea, Chloerga. | They are the ones who govern the world | with their teaching. And they lead astray [20] many hearts because of their | disorder and their unchastity. | Many places will be sprinkled | with blood. And five | races by themselves [25] will eat their | sons. But the regions of the south | will receive the Word of the Light. | But they who are from | the error of the world [30] and from the east —. | A demon will come forth | from (the) belly of the serpent. He was **45** in hiding in a desolate place. | He will perform many wonders. Many | will loathe him. A | wind will come forth from his mouth with | a female likeness. Her name will | be called

Abalphe. He will | reign over the world from the | east to the west.

Then | Nature will have [10] a final opportunity. And the stars | will cease from the sky. The mouth | of error will be opened in order that | the evil Darkness may become idle and | silent. And in the last day [15] the forms of Nature | will be destroyed with the winds and | all their demons; they | will become a dark lump, | just as they were [20] from the beginning. And the | sweet waters which were burdened | by the demons will perish. | For where the power | of the Spirit has gone [25] there are my sweet | waters. The other works | of Nature will not be manifest. | They will mix with the | infinite waters of darkness. [30] And all her forms | will cease from the middle region.

I, | Shem, have completed these things. And | my mind began to separate | from the body of darkness. My **46** time was completed. And | my mind put on the immortal | memorial. And | I said, "I agree with thy [5] memorial which thou hast revealed | to me: Elorchaois, and | thou, Amoiaiai, and thou, | Sederkeas, and they guilelessness, | Strophaias, and thou, Chelkeak, [10] and thou, Chelkea, and | Chelke and Elaie, you (pl.) are | the immortal memorial. | I testify to thee, Spark, | the unquenchable one, who is an eye [15] of heaven and a voice of light, | and Sophaia, and Saphaia, | and Saphaina, and the righteous | Spark, and Faith, the first | and the last, and the upper air and lower [20] air, {and thou, Chelkeak, and | Chelke and Elaie, you (pl.) | are the immoral memorial. | I testify to thee, Spark, the | unquenchable one, who is an eye of heaven [25] and a voice of light, and | Sophaia, and Saphaia, and Saphaina, | and the righteous Spark, | and Faith, the First and the Last, | and the upper air and the lower air,} and [30] all the powers and the authorities | that are in the world. | And you, impure light, | and you (sg.) also, east, | and west, and south, and [35] north, you (pl.) are the zones **47** of the inhabited world. And | you (fem. sg.) also Moluchtha and Essoch, | you (pl.) are the root | of evil and every work and [5] impure effort of Nature." |

These are the things which I completed | while bearing witness. I am Shem. | On the day that I was to come forth | from (the) body, when my thought [10] remained in (the) body, I awoke as if | from a long sleep. And | when I arose as it were from the burden | of my body, I said, | Just as Nature became old, [15] so is it also in the day of | mankind. Blessed | are they who knew, when they | slept, in what power | their thought rested. [20]

And when the Pleiades | separated, I saw clouds | which I shall pass by. | For the cloud of the Spirit is | like a pure beryl. [25] And the cloud

of the hymen | is like a shining | emerald. And the cloud | of silence is like a | flourishing amaranth. And [30] the cloud of the middle region is like | a pure jacinth. | And when the righteous one | appeared in Nature, | then – when Nature [35] was angry – she felt hurt, and she granted **48** to Morphaia to visit | heaven. The righteous one visits | during twelve periods | that he may visit them during one [5] period, in order that his | time may be completed | quickly, and Nature | may become idle.

Blessed are | they who guard themselves against the [10] heritage of death, which is | the burdensome water of darkness. | For it will not be possible to conquer them in a | few moments, since they hasten | to come forth from the error of the [15] world. And if they are conquered, | they will be kept back from them | and be tormented in the darkness | until the time of the consummation. | When the consummation [20] has come and Nature has been | destroyed, then their thoughts will | separate from the Darkness. Nature | has burdened them for a | short time. And they [25] will be in the ineffable | light of the unbegotten | Spirit without a form. | And thus is | the mind as I have said from [30] the first.

Henceforth, O Shem, | go in grace and continue in | faith upon the earth. For every | power of light and fire | will be completed by me **49** because of you. For without you | they will not be revealed until | you speak them openly. | When you cease to be upon the earth, they will [5] be given to the worthy ones. And apart from | this proclamation, let them speak | about you upon the earth, since they will | take the carefree and | agreeable land.

THE SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT SETH (VII,2)

Introduced by

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The Second Treatise of the Great Seth is a revelation dialogue allegedly delivered by Jesus Christ to an audience of "perfect and incorruptible ones," that is, gnostic believers. Apart from the title, the name Seth never occurs in the text, though perhaps Jesus Christ is meant to be identified with Seth. The treatise presents, in a brief and simple way, the true story of the Savior's commission by the heavenly Assembly, his descent to earth, his encounter with the worldly powers and apparent crucifixion, and his return to the Pleroma. To this story of the Savior are added an exhortation to the Savior's followers and a promise of future blessedness. As the Savior says to the gnostic believers at the close of his discourse, "Rest then with me, my fellow spirits and my brothers, for ever."

There is no doubt that *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* is a work that is both Christian and gnostic. On the one hand, Christian elements are tightly woven into the fabric of the treatise. The tractate accepts the New Testament or parts of it, and claims to be the revelation of Jesus Christ. Furthermore, the crucifixion figures prominently in the tractate; in fact, it is described in three separate scenes within the tractate. On the other hand, *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* is also clearly gnostic: knowledge is the means of salvation. The God of this world is evil and ignorant, and can be identified with the God of the Old Testament; in addition, all his minions are mere counterfeits and laughingstocks. The interpretation of the crucifixion is that of the Gnostic Basilides as presented by the heresiologist Irenaeus: Simon of Cyrene is crucified in the place of the laughing Jesus.

The purpose for which *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* was written is plainly polemical. The entire first part (49,10-59,18) describes the true history of Jesus Christ and emphasizes, over against orthodox Christianity, his docetic passion. The second part of the tractate (59,19-70,10) is a refutation of orthodoxy's claim to be the true church. Despite the trials and persecutions apparently instigated by the orthodox church, by those ignorant and imitative persons "who think that they are advancing the name of Christ," the gnostic believers will enjoy true brotherhood on earth, and bliss in the joy and union of eternal life.

THE SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT SETH

VII 49, 10-70, 12

And the perfect Majesty is at rest | in the | ineffable light, | in the truth of the mother | of all these, and all of you [15] that attain to me, | to me alone who am perfect, because of | the Word. For I exist with all the | greatness of the Spirit, which is a | friend to us and our [20] kindred alike, since I brought | forth a word to the glory | of our Father, through | his goodness, as well as an | imperishable thought; that is, the Word [25] within him – | it is slavery that we shall die with | Christ – and an imperishable | and undefiled thought, an | incomprehensible marvel, the writing [30] of the ineffable water | which is | the word from us. It is I who am in | you (pl.) and you | are in me, just as the [35] Father is in you **50** in innocence.

Let us | gather an assembly together. | Let us visit that creation | of his. Let us send someone [5] forth in it, just as he visited | ⟨the⟩Ennoias, the regions | below. And I said these things | to the whole multitude of the | multitudinous assembly of the [10] rejoicing Majesty. | The whole house of the Father of Truth rejoiced | that I am the one who is | from them. I produced thought | about the Ennoias which came [15] out of the undefiled Spirit, | about the descent upon the water, | that is, the regions below. | And they all had | a single mind, since it [20] is out of one. They charged | me since I was willing. | I came forth to reveal | the glory to my kindred | and my fellow spirits. [25]

For those who were | in the world had been prepared by the will | of our sister Sophia – | she who is a whore – | because of the innocence which [30] has not been uttered. And she did not | ask anything from | the All, nor from the greatness | of the Assembly, nor from the | Pleroma. Since she was first she came forth **51** to prepare monads and | places for the Son of Light, | and the fellow workers | which she took from [5] the elements below | to build | bodily dwellings from them. | But, having come into being in an | empty glory, they ended [10] in destruction in the dwellings | in which they were, since they were | prepared by | Sophia. They stand ready | to receive [15] the life-giving word of | the ineffable Monad | and of the greatness of the assembly | of all those who persevere | and those who are [20] in me.

I visited a | bodily dwelling. I cast | out the one who was | in it first, and I | went in. And [25] the whole multitude | of the archons became troubled. | And all the matter of the archons | as well as all the begotten

powers of the earth | were shaken when [30] it saw the likeness of the Image, | since it was mixed. And I am the one who | was in it, not resembling | him who was in it | first. For he was an **52** earthly man, but I, | I am from above | the heavens. I did not refuse | them even to become [5] a Christ, but I did not reveal | myself to them in the love | which was coming forth from me. | I revealed that I am a | stranger to the regions [10] below.

There was a great | disturbance in | the whole earthly area with | confusion and flight, as well as (in) the plan | of the archons. And some [15] were persuaded, when they saw | the wonders which were being accomplished by | me. And | all these, with the race, that came | down, flee from him [20] who had fled from the throne | to the Sophia of hope, | since she had earlier given the sign | concerning us and all the ones | with me – those of the race [25] of Adonaios. Others | also fled, as if | from the Cosmocrator | and those with them, | since they have brought every (kind of) punishment [30] upon me. And there was a flight | of their mind | about what they would counsel | concerning me, thinking | that she (Sophia) is the whole greatness, and [35] speaking false witness, | moreover, against the Man and the whole greatness **53** of the assembly. | It was not possible for them to know | who the Father of | Truth, the Man of the [5] Greatness, is. But they who received | the name because of contact with | ignorance – which (is) a burning | and a vessel – having created | it to destroy Adam [10] whom they had made, in order to | cover up those who are theirs | in the same way. But they, | the archons, those of the place of Yaldabaoth, | reveal the realm of [15] the angels, which | humanity was seeking | in order that they may not know the Man of Truth. | For Adam, | whom they had formed, appeared to them. [20] And a fearful motion came about | throughout their entire dwelling, lest | the angels | surrounding them rebel. For without those | who were offering praise – I did [25] not really die lest | their archangel become empty. |

And then | a voice – of the Cosmocrator – | came to the angels: [30] "I am God and | there is no other beside me." But I laughed joyfully | when I examined his empty glory. | But he went on to [35] say, "Who **54** is man?" And the entire host | of his angels who had | seen Adam and his dwelling were laughing | at his smallness. And [5] thus did their Ennoia come to be | removed outside the Majesty | of the heavens, i.e. the | Man of Truth, | whose name they saw since he is [10] in a small dwelling place, | since they are small (and) senseless | in their empty Ennoia, | namely their laughter. It was | contagion for them.

The whole greatness [15] of the Fatherhood of the | Spirit was at rest in | his places. And I am he | who was with him, since I have | an Ennoia of a single emanation [20] from the eternal ones | and the | undefiled and immeasurable incomprehensibilities. | I placed the small Ennoia | in the world, [25] having disturbed them and | frightened the whole multitude of the | angels and their ruler. And I | was visiting them all | with fire and [30] flame because of my Ennoia. And | everything pertaining to them was brought about | because of me. And there came about a disturbance | and a fight around | the Seraphim and Cherubim, [35] since their glory will fade, **55** and the confusion around | Adonaios on both sides | and their dwelling – to the Cosmocrator | and him who said, [5] "Let us seize him"; others | again, "The plan will certainly not materialize." | For Adonaios knows me | because of hope. | And I was [10] in the mouths of lions. And | the plan which they devised | about me to release | their Error and their senselessness – | I did not succumb to them as [15] they had planned. But I was | not afflicted at all. Those who were there punished | me. And | I did not die in reality | but in appearance, lest [20] I be put to shame by them | because these are my kinsfolk. I | removed the shame from me | and I did not become fainthearted in the face of what | happened to me at their hands. [25] I was about to | succumb to fear, and I | ⟨suffered⟩ according to their sight | and thought, in order that | they may never find any word to speak [30] about them. For my death | which they think happened, | (happened) to them in their | error and blindness, | since they nailed their [35] man unto their death. | For their Ennoias did not see **56** me, for they were deaf | and blind. | But in doing these things, they condemn | themselves. Yes, they saw [5] me; they punished me. | It was another, their father, | who drank the gall and the vinegar; | it was not I. They struck | me with the reed; it was another, Simon, [10] who bore the cross on | his shoulder. | I was another upon whom they placed | the crown of thorns. | But I was rejoicing in the height [15] over all the wealth | of the archons and the offspring | of their error, of their | empty glory. And I was | laughing at their ignorance. [20]

And I subjected all their powers. | For as I came | downward no one saw me. | For I was altering my shapes, | changing from [25] form to form. And | therefore, when I was at their gates | I assumed their likeness. | For I passed them by | quietly, and I was viewing the [30] places, and I was not afraid | nor ashamed, | for I was undefiled. And I was | speaking with them, | mingling with | them through those who are [35] mine, and trampling on those who **57** are harsh to them with zeal, | and quenching the flame. | And I was doing all these things | because of my

desire to accomplish what I desired by the will of the Father above.

And the Son of the Majesty, who was hidden in the regions below, we brought to the height where I ⟨was⟩ in all these aeons with them, which (height) no one has seen nor known, where the wedding of the wedding robe is, the new one and not the old, nor does it perish. For it is a new and perfect bridal chamber of the heavens, as I have revealed (that) there are three ways: an undefiled mystery in a spirit of this aeon, which does not perish, nor is it fragmentary, nor able to be spoken of; rather, it is undivided, universal, and permanent. For the soul, the one from the height, will not speak about the error which is here, nor transfer from these aeons, since it will be transferred when it becomes free and when it is endowed with nobility in the world, standing **58** before the Father without weariness and fear, always mixed with the Nous of power (and) of form. They will see me from every side without hatred. For since they see me, they are being seen (and) are mixed with them. Since they did not put me to shame, they were not put to shame. Since they were not afraid before me, they will pass by every gate without fear and will be perfected in the third glory.

It was my going to the revealed height which the world did not accept, my third baptism in a revealed image. When they had fled from the fire of the seven Authorities, and the sun of the powers of the archons set, darkness took them. And the world became poor when he was restrained with a multitude of fetters. They nailed him to the tree, and they fixed him with four nails of brass. The veil of his temple he tore with his hands. It was a trembling which seized the chaos of the earth, for the souls which were in the sleep below were released. And they arose. They went about boldly, having shed **59** zealous service of ignorance and unlearnedness beside the dead tombs, having put on the new man, since they have come to know that perfect Blessed One of the eternal and incomprehensible Father and the infinite light, which is I, since I came to my own and united them with myself. There is no need for many words, for our Ennoia was with their Ennoia. Therefore they knew what I speak of, for we took counsel about the destruction of the archons. And therefore I did the will of the Father, who is I.

After we went forth from our home, and came down to this world, and came into being in the world in bodies, we were hated and persecuted, not only by those who are ignorant, but also by those who think that they are advancing the name of Christ, since they

were unknowingly empty, | not knowing | who they are, like dumb animals. [30] They | persecuted those who have been liberated | by me, since they hate them – | those who, should they shut | their mouth, would weep with a [35] profitless groaning because **60** they did not fully know me. | Instead, they served two masters, | even a multitude. But you will become | victorious in everything, in [5] war and battles, | jealous division | and wrath. But in the | uprightness of our love we are | innocent, pure, [10] (and) good, since we have a mind | of the Father in an | ineffable mystery. |

For it was ludicrous. It is I | who bear witness that it was ludicrous, [15] since the archons do not know | that it is an | ineffable union of | undefiled truth, as exists | among the sons of light, [20] of which they made an imitation, | having proclaimed | a doctrine of a dead man | and lies so as to resemble the freedom | and purity of [25] the perfect assembly, | (and) ⟨joining⟩ themselves with their doctrine | to fear and slavery, | worldly cares, | and abandoned worship, [30] being small (and) ignorant since they do not | contain the | nobility of the truth | for they hate the one in whom | they are, and love [35] the one in whom they are not. | For they did not know the **61** Knowledge of the Greatness, | that it is from above | and (from) a fountain of truth, and that | it is not from slavery [5] and jealousy, | fear and love of | worldly matter. For that | which is not theirs and that which | is theirs they use [10] fearlessly and freely. | They do not desire because | they have authority, and (they have) a | law from themselves over | whatever they will wish. [15]

But those who have not are poor, | that is, those who do not possess him. | And they desire him and | lead astray those, who through | them have become like those who possess [20] the truth of their freedom, | just as they bought us for | servitude and constraint of | care and fear. This person is | in slavery. [25] And he who is brought by | constraint of force and threat | has been guarded by | God. But the entire nobility | of the Fatherhood [30] is not guarded, since he guards only him | who is from him, without | word and constraint, since he is united | with his will, he who belongs only to the | Ennoia of the Fatherhood, [35] to make it perfect | and ineffable through **62** the living water, to be | with you mutually in wisdom, | not only in word | of hearing but in deed [5] and fulfilled word. | For the perfect ones are worthy to be established | in this way and to be | united with me, in order that they may not share | in any enmity, in [10] a good friendship. I | accomplish everything through the Good One, | for this is the union of the truth, | that they should have no adversary. | But everyone [15] who brings division – and

| he will learn no wisdom at all | because he brings division and | is not a friend – is hostile to | them all. But he who lives [20] in harmony and friendship | of brotherly love, | naturally and not artificially, | completely and | not partially, this person is truly the desire [25] of the Father. He is the | universal one and perfect love. |

For Adam was a laughingstock, | since he was made a counterfeit | type of man [30] by the Hebdomad, | as if he had become stronger | than I and my brothers. We | are innocent with respect to him, | since we have not sinned. [35] And Abraham and Isaac | and Jacob were a laughingstock, since they, | the counterfeit fathers, were given a name | by the Hebdomad, as if **63** he had become stronger than I | and my brothers. We are | innocent with respect to him, since we have not sinned. | David was a laughingstock [5] in that his son was named the Son | of Man, having been influenced | by the Hebdomad, | as if he had become stronger than I | and the follow members of my race. [10] But we are innocent with respect to him; | we have not sinned. Solomon was a laughingstock, | since he thought that he was Christ, | having become vain through | the Hebdomad, as if he had become [15] stronger than I and my brothers. | But we are innocent with respect to | him. I have not sinned. | The 12 prophets were laughingstocks, | since they have come forth as imitations of [20] the true prophets. They came into being | as counterfeits through | the Hebdomad, as if | he had become stronger than I | and my brothers. But we are [25] innocent with respect to him, since we have not sinned. | Moses, | a faithful servant, was a laughingstock, | having been named "the Friend," | since they perversely bore witness concerning him [30] who never | knew me. Neither he | nor those before him, from | Adam to Moses and | John the Baptist, [35] none of them knew me nor **64** my brothers.

For they had a | doctrine of angels | to observe dietary laws and | bitter slavery, since they never [5] knew truth, | nor will they know it. | For there is a great deception | upon their soul making it impossible | for them ever to find a Nous of [10] freedom in order to know | him, until they come to know the Son | of Man. Now concerning my Father, | I am he whom the world | did not know, and because of this, [15] it (the world) rose up against me and my brothers. | But we are innocent with respect to | him; we have not sinned. |

For the Archon was a laughingstock because he said, | "I am God, and [20] there is none greater than I. I | alone am the Father, the Lord, and | there is no other beside me. I | am a jealous God, who | brings the sins of the fathers [25] upon the children for three and | four genera-

tions." As if he had | become stronger than I and my brothers! | But we are innocent | with respect to him, in that we have not sinned, [30] since we mastered his teaching. Thus | he was in an empty glory. | And he does not agree | with our Father. And thus | through our fellowship [35] we grasped his teaching, since he | was vain in an | empty glory. And he does | not agree with our Father, | for he was a laughingstock and **65** judgment and false prophecy. |

O those who do | not see, you do not see your | blindness, i.e. this which was [5] not known, nor | has it ever been known, nor | has it been known about him. | They did not listen to firm obedience. | Therefore they proceeded [10] in a judgment of error, | and they raised their | defiled and murderous hands against him | as if they were beating the air. | And the senseless and blind ones [15] are always senseless, | always being slaves | of law and | earthly fear.

I am Christ, | the Son of Man, the one [20] from you (pl.) who is among you. | I am despised for your sake, in | order that you yourselves | may forget the difference. | And do not become female, [25] lest you give birth to evil | and (its) brothers: jealousy | and division, anger | and wrath, fear | and a divided heart, and [30] empty, non-existent desire. | But I am | an ineffable mystery to you. |

Then before the | foundation of the world, [35] when the whole multitude | of the Assembly came together | upon the places of the Ogdoad, **66** when they had taken counsel about a | spiritual wedding which is in union, | and thus he was perfected | in the ineffable places [5] by a living word, | the undefiled wedding was consummated | through the Mesotes | of Jesus, who inhabits | them all and possesses [10] them, who abides in an | undivided love of power. | And surrounding him, he | appears to him as | a Monad of all these, [15] a thought and a father, since he is | one. And he stands | by them all, since he | as a whole came forth alone. And | he is life, since he came from the [20] Father of ineffable | and perfect Truth, | (the father) of those who are there, the union | of peace and a friend | of good things, and life [25] eternal and undefiled joy, | in a great harmony | of life and faith, | through eternal life | of fatherhood and [30] motherhood and sisterhood | and rational wisdom. | They had agreed with Nous, | who stretches out (and) will stretch | out in joyful union [35] and is trustworthy **67** and faithfully listens to | someone. And he is in fatherhood | and motherhood | and rational brotherhood [5] and wisdom. And this is a | wedding of truth, | and a repose of incorruption, | in a spirit of truth, | in every mind, and a [10] perfect light in an | unnameable mystery. | But this is not, nor | will it happen among

us | in any region or place [15] in division and breach | of peace, but (in) union | and a mixture of love, all of which | are perfected in the one who is. |

It (fem.) also happened in the places [20] under heaven for their reconciliation. | Those who knew me | in salvation and undividedness, | and those who existed | for the glory of the father [25] and the truth, having been separated, | blended into the one | through the living word. | And I am in the spirit | and the truth of the [30] motherhood, just as he has been there; | I was among those | who are united in the friendship | of friends forever, | who neither know [35] hostility at all, | nor evil, but who are united **68** by my Knowledge | in word and peace | which exists in perfection | with everyone and in [5] them all. And those who | assumed the form of my type will | assume the form of my word. Indeed, these | will come forth in light forever, | and (in) friendship with each other [10] in the spirit, since they have known | in every respect (and) indivisibly | that what is is One. And | all of these are one. And thus | they will learn about the One, as (did) [15] the Assembly and those dwelling | in it. For the father | of all these exists, being immeasurable | (and) immutable: Nous | and Word and Division [20] and Envy and Fire. | And he is entirely one, being | the All with them all in a | single doctrine because all these | are from a single spirit. [25] O unseeing ones, why | did you not know the mystery | rightly? |

But the archons | around Yaldabaoth were disobedient because of [30] the Ennoia who went down to him | from her sister Sophia. | They made for themselves a union | with those who were with | them in a mixture of **69** a fiery cloud, which | was their Envy, and the rest | who were brought forth by | their creatures, as if [5] they had bruised the noble pleasure | of the Assembly. | And therefore they revealed | a mixture of ignorance | in a counterfeit [10] of fire and | earth and a murderer, since | they are small and untaught, | without knowledge having dared | these things, and not having understood [15] that light has fellowship | with light, and darkness | with darkness, and the | corruptible with the perishable, | and the imperishable with the incorruptible. [20]

Now these things I have presented to you (pl.) – | I am Jesus Christ, the Son of | Man, who is exalted above the heavens –, | O perfect and incorruptible ones, | because of the [25] incorruptible and perfect mystery | and the ineffable one. | But they think that we decreed | them before the foundation | of the world in order that, [30] when we emerge from the places | of the world, we may present there | the symbols of | incorruption from the | spiritual union unto **70** knowledge. You (pl.) do not

know | it because the fleshly cloud | overshadows you. | But I alone am the friend of Sophia. [5] I have been in the bosom | of the father from the beginning, in the place | of the sons of the truth, and | the Greatness. Rest then with me, | my fellow spirits and my brothers, [10] for ever. |

Second Treatise |
of the Great Seth

APOCALYPSE OF PETER (VII,3)

Introduced by

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The *Apocalypse of Peter* is a pseudonymous Christian Gnostic writing that contains an account of a revelation seen by the apostle Peter and interpreted by Jesus the Savior. The persecution of Jesus is used as a model for understanding early Christian history in which a faithful gnostic remnant is oppressed by those "who name themselves bishop and also deacons."

This document belongs to the literary genre of the apocalypse. It is organized around three vision reports attributed to Peter. The visions are explained by the Savior, who functions as the interpreting angel commonly found in apocalyptic literature. In a series of prophecies that actually reflect past events, the early Christian church is portrayed as divided into various factions which oppose the gnostic community. The world is a hostile environment for the immortal souls (the Gnostics), who outwardly resemble the mortal souls (non-Gnostics) but inwardly differ from them by virtue of their immortal essence. Having been given knowledge of their heavenly origin, the Gnostics long for the return of the heavenly Son of Man, who will come as the eschatological judge to condemn the oppressors and vindicate the Gnostics.

The apocalyptic form of this tractate has been employed to present a gnostic understanding of Christian tradition about Jesus. The traditional material is skillfully interpreted in accordance with gnostic theology. The first visionary scene, depicting the hostile priests and people about to kill Jesus (72,4-9) is interpreted in terms of at least six groups characterized as "blind ones who have no guide." Many of these groups appear to be from the orthodox church, but some of them may be better understood as rival gnostic sects. The second scene (81,3-14) describes Peter's vision of the crucifixion of Jesus. The accompanying interpretation by Jesus makes a distinction between the external physical form and the living Jesus; the latter stands nearby laughing at his ignorant persecutors. The third visionary scene (82,4-16) corresponds to the resurrection of Jesus in orthodox tradition, but it is interpreted in gnostic terms as a reunification of the spiritual body of Jesus with the intellectual light of the heavenly pleroma.

The *Apocalypse of Peter* is significant in several respects. It contains important source material for a gnostic Christology that understands Jesus as a docetic redeemer. The view of the Gnostic community, including its relationship to Peter as its originator, is another key theme of this document. Of considerable interest are the identity of the gnostic group to which the writing is addressed, and the stage of the controversy, between emerging orthodoxy and heresy, presupposed

by the tractate. It would appear that the *Apocalypse of Peter* was written in the third century, when this distinction between orthodoxy and heresy was rather clearly drawn.

APOCALYPSE OF PETER

VII 70, 13-84, 14

Apocalypse of Peter

As the Savior was sitting in the temple in the three hundredth (year) of the covenant and the agreement of the tenth pillar, and being satisfied with the number of the living, incorruptible Majesty, he said to me, "Peter, blessed are those above belonging to the Father who revealed life to those who are from the life, through me, since I reminded (them), they who are built on what is strong, that they may hear my word and distinguish words of unrighteousness and transgression of law from righteousness, as **71** being from the height of every word of this pleroma of truth, having been enlightened in good pleasure by him whom the principalities sought. But they did not find him, nor was he mentioned among any generation of the prophets. He has now appeared among these, in him who appeared, who is the Son of Man who is exalted above the heavens in a fear of men of like essence. But you yourself, Peter, become perfect in accordance with your name with myself, the one who chose you, because from you I have established a base for the remnant whom I have summoned to knowledge. Therefore be strong until the imitation of righteousness – of him who had summoned you, having summoned you to know him in a way which is worth doing because of the rejection which happened to him, and the sinews of his hands and his feet, and the crowning by those of the middle region, and the body of his radiance which they bring in hope of **72** service because of a reward of honor – as he was about to reprove you three times in this night."

And as he was saying these things, I saw the priests and the people running up to us with stones, as if they would kill us; and I was afraid that we were going to die.'

And he said to me, "Peter, I have told you many times that they are blind ones who have no guide. If you want to know their blindness, put your hands upon (your) eyes – your robe – and say what you see."

But when I had done it, I did not see | anything. I said, "No one sees (this way)." [20]

Again he told me, | "Do it again."

And there came | in me fear with | joy, for I saw a | new light greater than the [25] light of day. Then | it came down upon the Savior. | And I told him about those things | which I saw.

And | he said to me again, "Lift up [30] your hands and | listen to what **73** the priests and the people are saying."

And | I listened to the priests as they sat | with the scribes. The multitudes were | shouting with their voice.

When he [5] heard these things from me | he said to me, "Prick up your ears | and listen | to the things they are saying." |

And I listened again. "As you sit [10] they are praising you."

And | when I said these things, the Savior said, | "I have told you that these (people) | are blind and | deaf. Now then, listen to [15] the things which they are telling you | in a mystery, and | guard them. Do not tell them to the | sons of this age. | For they shall blaspheme [20] you in these ages since they | are ignorant of you, | but they will praise you in knowledge. |

"For many | will accept our teaching in the beginning. [25] And they will turn | from them again by the will | of the Father of their error, | because they have done what he wanted. | And he will reveal them [30] in his judgment, i.e. | the servants of the Word. | But those who became **74** mingled with these shall become | their prisoners, | since they are without perception. | And the guileless, good, [5] pure one they push | to the worker of death, | and to the kingdom of | those who praise Christ | in a restoration. [10] And they praise the men | of the propagation of falsehood, | those who will come after you. | And they will cleave to the name | of a dead man, thinking [15] that they will become pure. But | they will become greatly defiled and they will | fall into a name of error, | and into the hand of an | evil, cunning man and a [20] manifold dogma, and they will be | ruled | heretically.

"For some | of them will | blaspheme the truth and [25] proclaim evil teaching. And | they will say evil things | against each other. Some | will be named: | (those) who stand in (the) strength [30] of the archons, of a man | and a naked woman | who is manifold | and subject to much | suffering. And **75** those who say these things will | ask about dreams. And if they | say that a dream | came from a demon [5] worthy of their error, then | they shall be given perdition instead | of incorruption.

"For evil | cannot produce | good fruit (cf. Lk 6:43). For [10] the place

from which each of them is | produces that which is like itself; | for not every soul is | of the truth, nor | of immortality. [15] For every soul of these ages | has death assigned to it | in our view, because | it is always a slave, | since it is created for its desires [20] and their eternal | destruction, in which | they are and | from which they are. | They (the souls) love the creatures [25] of the matter which came forth | with them.

"But | the immortal souls are not like these, | O Peter. But indeed, as long as | the hour is not yet come, (the immortal soul) [30] shall | resemble a mortal one. | But it shall not reveal | its nature, that it | alone is the **76** immortal one, and thinks about | immortality, having faith, | and desiring to renounce | these things.

"For people do not gather [5] figs from thorns or from | thorn trees, if they | are wise, nor grapes | from thistles (cf. Lk 6:44). | For on the one hand, that which is [10] always becoming is in that | from which it is, being | from what is not good, which | becomes destruction for it (the soul) and | death. But that (immortal soul) which comes to be [15] in the Eternal One is in the One of | the life and the immortality of | the life which they resemble. |

"Therefore all that which exists | not will dissolve into what [20] exists not. | For deaf and | blind ones join only with | their own kind. |

"But others shall change [25] from evil words | and misleading | mysteries. Some | who do not understand mystery | speak of things which [30] they do not understand, | but they will boast | that the mystery | of the truth is theirs | alone. And [55] in haughtiness **77** they shall grasp at pride | to envy the | immortal soul which has become a pledge. | For every authority, rule, [5] and power of the aeons | wishes to be with | these in the creation of | the world, in order that those who | are not, having been forgotten [10] by those that are, | may praise them, | though they have not been saved, nor have they | been brought to the Way by them, | always wishing [15] that they may become | imperishable ones. | For if the immortal soul | receives power in an | intellectual spirit –. But immediately [20] they join with one | of those who misled them. |

"But many others, | who oppose the | truth and are the messengers [25] of error, will | set up their error and | their law against | these pure thoughts of mine, | as looking out [20] from one (perspective), thinking | that good and evil | are from one (source). | They do business in **78** my word. And they will propagate | harsh fate. | The race of immortal | souls will go in it [5] in vain | until my Parousia. | For they shall come out of them – | and my forgiveness of | their transgressions [10] into which they fell through | their adversaries, | whose ransom I got | from the

slavery in which | they were, to give them [15] freedom that they may create | an imitation remnant | in the name of a dead man, | who is Hermas, of the | first-born of unrighteousness, [20] in order that the light which exists | may not be believed | by the little ones. | But those of this sort are the workers | who will be cast into the outer darkness, [25] away from the sons | of light. For neither will they | enter, | nor do they permit | those who are going up to [30] their approval for | their release.

"And still others | of them who suffer think | that they will perfect **79** the wisdom of the brotherhood | which really exists, which is the | spiritual fellowship with those | united in communion, [5] through which | the wedding of | incorruptibility shall be revealed. | The kindred race | of the sisterhood will appear [10] as an imitation. | These are the ones who oppress | their brothers, saying | to them, 'Through this | our God has pity, [15] since salvation comes | to us through this,' not knowing | the punishment of those who | are made glad by those who | have done this thing to the little ones whom [20] they saw, (and) whom they took | prisoner. |

"And there shall be others | of those who are outside our | number who name themselves [25] bishop and also | deacons, as if they have received | their authority from God. | They bend themselves under the | judgment of the leaders. [30] Those people are | dry canals." |

But I said, "I am afraid because | of what you have told me, that **80** indeed little (ones) are, in our view, the | counterfeit ones, | indeed, that there are multitudes that will mislead | other multitudes of living ones, [5] and destroy them among | themselves. And when they speak your name | they will be believed." |

The Savior said, "For a time | determined for them in [10] proportion to their error they will | rule over the little ones. And | after the completion of | the error, the | never-aging one of the immortal understanding [15] shall become young, and they (the little ones) shall rule over | those who are their rulers. | The root of their error | he shall pluck out, and he shall | put it to shame so that it shall be manifest [20] in all the impudence which it | has assumed to itself. And | such ones shall become | unchangeable, O Peter.

"Come, | therefore, let us go on with the completion [25] of the will of the | incorruptible Father. | For behold, those who will | bring them judgment are coming, and they | will put them to shame. But me [30] they cannot touch. | And you, O Peter, shall | stand in their midst. Do not be | afraid because of your cowardice. **81** Their minds shall be closed, | for the invisible one | has opposed them."

When | he had said those things, I saw him [5] seemingly being seized | by them. And | I said, "What do I see, | O Lord, that it is you yourself | whom they take, and that you are [10] grasping me? Or who is this one, | glad and laughing on the tree? | And is it another one | whose feet and | hands they are striking?" [15]

The Savior said to me, "He whom you saw | on the tree, glad | and laughing, this is the | living Jesus. But this one | into whose hands and [20] feet they drive the nails is his fleshly part, | which is the substitute | being put to shame, the one | who came into being in his likeness. | But look at him and me." [25]

But I, when I had looked, said, | 'Lord, no one is looking at | you. Let us flee this | place."

But he said to me, | "I have told you, [30] 'Leave the blind alone!' | And you, see how | they do not know what they are saying. **82** For the son of | their glory instead of my servant | they have put to shame." |

And I saw someone about to approach [5] us resembling him, even him | who was laughing on the tree. | And he was ⟨filled⟩ with a | Holy Spirit, and he is the | Savior. And there was a great, [10] ineffable light around them, | and the multitude | of ineffable and | invisible angels | blessing them. [15] And when I looked at him, | the one who gives praise was revealed. |

And he said to me, | "Be strong, for you are the one to whom | these mysteries have been given, [20] to know them through revelation, | that he whom they crucified is | the first-born, and the home | of demons, and the stony vessel (?) | in which they dwell, of Elohim, [25] of the cross | which is under the Law. | But he who stands near him | is the living Savior, the first | in him, whom they seized [30] and released, | who stands joyfully | looking at those who did him | violence, while they are divided among themselves. **83** Therefore he laughs | at their lack of perception, | knowing that they are born blind. | So then [5] the one susceptible to suffering shall come, since the body | is the substitute. But what they | released was my incorporeal | body. But I am the intellectual | Spirit filled with [10] radiant light. He | whom you saw coming to | me is our intellectual | Pleroma, which unites | the perfect light with [15] my Holy Spirit.

"These things, then, | which you saw you shall present | to those of another race | who are not of this age. | For there will be no honor [20] in any man | who is not immortal, | but only (in) those who were chosen | from an immortal substance, | which has shown [25] that it is able to contain him | who gives his abundance. Therefore | I said, 'Every one |

who has, it will be given to him, and | he will have plenty' (Mt 25:29). [30] But he who does not have, that is, | the man of this place, who is | completely dead, who | is removed from the planting | of the creation of what is begotten, **84** whom, if one | of the immortal essence appears, | they think that | they possess him – [5] it will be taken from him and | be added to the one who is. You, | therefore, be courageous and do not | fear at all. For I shall be | with you in order that none [10] of your enemies may prevail over you. | Peace be to you. Be strong!'' |

When he (Jesus) had said these things, he (Peter) came | to himself. |

Apocalypse of Peter

THE TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS (VII,4)

Introduced and translated by

MALCOLM L. PEEL and JAN ZANDEE

The eclectic spirit of the second and early third centuries is clearly reflected in the fourth tractate of Codex VII, *The Teachings of Silvanus*. Its author, like other educated Christians, found it necessary both to reject erroneous pagan thought and yet, simultaneously, to appropriate the best of such thought to clarify and make cogent the Faith. The resultant text, a rare specimen of Hellenistic Christian wisdom literature, displays a remarkable synthesis of biblical and late Jewish ideas with Middle Platonic and late Stoic anthropological, ethical, and theological concepts. The synthesis has a didactic purpose: to impart the wisdom of Christ which confers the self-controlled and "quiet" life, enables one to be "pleasing to" the Divine, and, ultimately, helps one "become like God."

Unlike the other four tractates in Codex VII, *Teach. Silv.* is not gnostic and may even contain some anti-gnostic polemic. It is explicitly affirmed, for example, that all creation has been brought into being by God through his "hand," the Christ. Thus, unlike the gnostic dualists, one should never describe the Creator (demiurge!) as "ignorant," in spite of the author's pessimism regarding interpersonal relations (97,30-98,10). Moreover, instead of a docetic view of Christ, the author states that the Savior "bore affliction" for our sins, "died" as a "ransom" and gave his life for others, and put on "humanity." With respect to anthropology, while the author does espouse a tripartite view of man ("mind," "soul," and "body") similar to the gnostic, he departs sharply from their views that one is "saved by nature." Every human being, the text maintains, possesses both divine "reason" and "mind" and thus has the capacity for salvation; God wishes for all to be saved.

Perhaps what helped attract the *Teach. Silv.* to the predominantly gnostic collection of writings that constitute the Nag Hammadi library, however, was its rather austere and somewhat ascetic ethic. The text counsels keeping under control base passions, passions and unclean thoughts which are induced by the adversary, Satan. One is to have God alone as a friend, for all the world is deceitful and full of pain. Moreover, "austerity" is a type of life to be preferred, and "fornication" is to be avoided rigorously, as is "lust." Especially must one struggle with Satan, the adversary, who offers temptations in subtle disguises, and whose evil powers seek to infest one's life. Such an ascetic and almost "anchoritic" ethic could have appealed to Gnostics, as could also other concepts in the text, such as the "bridal chamber" in 94,27-29.

The literary genre of *Teach. Silv.* is clearly indebted to Jewish and Hellenistic Jewish wisdom literature; though the author is also influenced by the Cynic-Stoic diatribe and the Hellenistic hymn styles. Influence from the Jewish side, though, is exhibited in the direct quotes in *Teach. Silv.* of canonical and apocryphal (e.g., 112,37-113,7 = Wis 7:25-26) wisdom writings.

With respect to content, the first part of *Teach. Silv.* is more Hellenistic and philosophical in character. The latter part is more specifically Christian and biblical in imagery.

In the initial part (84,15-99,4) the writer's main concern is with the state of the soul. To prevent its being inhabited and overcome by base passions and irrational impulses (symbolically described as "robbers" and "wild, savage beasts," the reader is admonished to let the "mind" (*nous*) become his "guiding principle" and "reason" (*logos*) become his "teacher." The terminology and emphases clearly echo the anthropology and ethics of the late Stoa and of Middle Platonism.

In the second part of the tractate (99,6-118,7), on the other hand, emphasis is placed on the salvation of the soul made possible by the Redeemer-Revealer Christ, Son of Almighty God. At the outset, the author echoes the Platonic discussion of the "One and the many," utilizing this concept to discuss how Christ and God, like the "mind" in man's body, is present all places without being confined to a single place. Such "topological theology" both presupposes a nondualistic cosmology in rather anti-gnostic fashion and offers an implicit refutation of the pantheistic theology of Stoicism. In conclusion, the reader is exhorted to seek Christ's inward help in illuminating "reason," in escaping the control of evil powers, in purifying one's life, and in seeking the lasting rewards of his wisdom and God's way (117,5-118,7).

As to the authorship of *Teach. Silv.*, we know of several early prominent Christians who bore the name "Silvanus." The late dates of their activity, however, and the differences of their teaching from that of our tractate seem to rule out consideration of any of them as its author. Rather, we are probably to recognize in the name "Silvanus" that common device used in Christian apocryphal literature of attributing a later, anonynous writing to a figure known by name in the New Testament canon. Such a "Silas" or "Silvanus" was a prominent member of the Jerusalem Church, cotraveller with Paul (Ac 15:22-40; 16:19-29; etc.), and possibly the amanuensis of "Peter's" named in 1 Peter 5:12. So, here is yet another Nag Hammadi tractate identified with the circle of influence emanating from Paul and Peter (cf. *Pr. Paul*, *Apoc. Paul*, *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*, *Apoc. Pet.* and *Ep. Pet. Phil.*). As to who the author of *Teach. Silv.* actually was, however, we must state (as did Origen of the author of Hebrews) "in truth (only) God knows!"

In dating the text, we are mainly dependent on internal evidence, though dates have been found in the cartonnage used to strengthen the leather envelope that contained Codex VII. These dates point toward the third quarter of the fourth century as the probable time of the manuscript's burial near ancient Chenoboskia. Internal evidence includes the author's apparent knowledge of all major divisions of Old and New Testament canons; the stage of development of the Church's doctrine of Christ's "Descent into Hell" that was familiar to the author; the affinities of the text's "Logos" and "Wisdom" Christology to that of the Alexandrine Fathers, Clement of Alexandria and Origen; and the close parallels of the thought of the later Stoa (notably, Marcus Aurelius) and Middle Platonists (especially Albinus) with that of the author of *Teach. Silv.* Cumulatively, such evidence points toward the late second to early third century.

Many striking parallels that can be adduced to our text from Philo, *Sent. Sex-*

tus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and even Athanasius underscore its affinities with what has become known as Alexandrian theology. Its theology, Christology, cosmology, anthropology, and ethics all point, in their similarity, toward Alexandrian Egypt as the probable provenance.

The concluding note (118,8-9) is secondary, probably added by the copyist. It is surrounded by magical signs related to Christ's designation as "ichthys" ("fish"), an acrostic signifying "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior." It may well have been added by the copyist in response to the impressive Christology he has just copied in the text. For him Christ is truly the "extraordinary wonder"!

THE TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS

VII 84, 115-118, 7
118, 8-9

The Teachings of Silvanus ¹

Abolish every childish time of life, ¹ acquire for yourself strength ¹ of mind and soul, ¹ and intensify the struggle against [20] every folly of the passions ¹ of love and base wickedness, ¹ and love of praise, ¹ and fondness of contention, ¹ and tiresome jealousy and wrath, [25] and anger and the desire ¹ of avarice. Guard ¹ your (pl.) camp and ¹ weapons and spears. Arm ¹ yourself and all the soldiers [30] which are the words, and the commanders ¹ which are the counsels, and your **85** mind as a guiding principle.

My ¹ son, throw every robber ¹ out of your gates. Guard ¹ all your gates with torches [5] which are the words, and ¹ you will acquire through all these things a ¹ quiet life. But he who will not guard ¹ these things will become like a ¹ city which is desolate since it has been [10] captured. All kinds of wild beasts have ¹ trampled upon it, for thoughts which ¹ are not good are evil wild beasts. ¹ And your city ¹ will be filled with robbers, and you [15] will not be able to acquire peace, ¹ but only all kinds of savage wild beasts. ¹ The Wicked One, who is ¹ a tyrant, is lord over these. While ¹ directing this, he (the Wicked One) is beneath the great [20] mire. The whole city ¹ which is your soul will perish. ¹

Remove yourself from these things, O ¹ wretched soul. ¹ Bring in your guide and [25] your teacher. The mind is the guide, ¹ but reason is the teacher. ¹ They will bring you ¹ out of destruction and dangers. ¹

Listen, my son, to my [30] advice! Do not show your back ¹ [to] your enemies and flee, but ¹ rather pursue them as a [strong one]. **86** Be not an animal, with men ¹ pursuing you; but ¹ rather, be a man, with you

pursuing | the evil wild beasts, lest somehow [5] they become victorious over you and trample | upon you as on a dead man, | and you perish due to | their wickedness.

O wretched | man, what will you [10] do if you fall into their | hands? Protect yourself | lest you be delivered into the hands of your | enemies. Entrust yourself to this | pair of friends, reason [15] and mind, and no one | will be victorious over you. May God | dwell in your camp, | may his Spirit protect your | gates, and may the mind of divinity [20] protect the walls. Let holy reason | become a | torch in your mind, burning | the wood which is the whole of sin. |

And if you do these things, O my son, [25] you will be victorious over all your enemies, | and they will not be able to wage war | against you, neither will they be able | to resist, nor will they | be able to get in your way. [30] For if you find these, you will despise | them as deniers of truth. | They will speak with you, [cajoling] | you and enticing (you), not because they are [afraid] **87** of you, but because they are afraid of | those who dwell within you, | namely, the guardians of the divinity | and the teaching.

My son, [5] accept the education and the teaching. | Do not flee from the education and | the teaching, but when you are taught, | accept (it) with joy. And if | you are educated in [10] any matter, do what is good. | You will plait a crown of | education by your guiding principle. | Put on the holy teaching | like a robe. Make yourself noble-minded [15] through good conduct. | Obtain the austerity of | good discipline. Judge | yourself like a wise judge. | Do not go astray from my teaching, [20] and do not acquire ignorance, | lest you lead your people astray. | Do not flee from the divine | and the teaching which are within | you, for he who is teaching [25] you loves you very much. | For he shall bequeath to you a worthy austerity. | Cast out the animal nature | which is within you, | and [30] do not allow base thought to enter you. For ... you | know the way which I teach.

If it is good to rule over the [few], | as you see it, [35] [how] much better is it that you **88** rule over everyone, since you are exalted | above every congregation and every people, | (are) prominent in every respect, | and (are) a divine reason, having [5] become master over every power | which kills the soul.

My son, does anyone | want to be a slave? | Why, then, do you trouble yourself wrongly? |

My son, do not [10] fear anyone except | God alone, the Exalted One. | Cast the deceitfulness of the Devil | from you. Accept the light | for

your eyes, and cast [15] the darkness from you. Live | in Christ, and you will acquire | a treasure in heaven. Do not become | a sausage (made) of many things | which are useless, and do not [20] become a guide | in your blind ignorance. |

My son, listen to my | teaching which is good and useful, | and end the sleep which weighs heavily upon you. [25] Depart from the forgetfulness | which fills you with darkness, | since if you were unable | to do anything, I would not have said these things | to you. But Christ has come in order to give you [30] this gift. Why do you | pursue the darkness when the light | is at your disposal? Why | do you drink stale water though | sweet is available for you? [35] Wisdom summons [you], **89** yet you desire folly. | Not by your own desire do you do | these things, but it is the animal nature | within you that does them. [5]

Wisdom summons you | in her goodness, saying, | "Come to me, all of you, | O foolish ones, that you may receive a | gift, the understanding which is [10] good and excellent. I am giving to you | a high-priestly garment | which is woven from every (kind of) wisdom." What else | is evil death except | ignorance? What else is [15] evil darkness except familiarity | with forgetfulness! Cast your anxiety | upon God alone. Do not become | desirous of gold and silver | which are profitless, but [20] clothe yourself with wisdom like | a robe, put knowledge | on yourself like | a crown, and be seated upon a throne | of perception. For these are yours, [25] and you will receive them again on high | another time.

For a foolish man | usually puts on folly | like a robe, and | like a garment of sorrow [30] he puts on shame. And | he crowns himself with ignorance | and takes his seat | upon a throne of | [nescience]. For while he is [without reason], **90** he leads only himself astray, for | he is guided by ignorance. | And he goes the ways | of the desire of every passion. [5] He swims in the desires | of life and has sunk. | To be sure, he thinks that he finds profit | when he does all the things | which are without profit. The [10] wretched man who goes | through all these things will die because | he does not have the mind, | the helmsman. But he is like | a ship which the wind tosses [15] to and fro, and like | a loose horse which has no rider. | For this (man) | needed the rider which is reason. | For the wretched one went astray [20] because he did not want | advice. He was thrown to and | fro by these three misfortunes; | he acquired death as | a father, ignorance [25] as a mother, and evil counsels – | he acquired them | as friends and brothers. | Therefore, foolish one, you should mourn for yourself. |

From now on, then, my son, return [30] to your divine nature. | Cast

from [you] these evil, | deceiving friends! | [Accept] Christ, [this true friend], **91** as a good teacher. Cast | from you death, which has | become a father to you. | For death did not exist, nor [5] will it exist at the end.

But | since you cast from yourself | God, the holy Father, | the true Life, the Spring | of Life, therefore you have [10] obtained death as a father | and have acquired ignorance | as a mother. They have robbed | you of the true knowledge. |

But return, my son, to [15] your first Father, God, | and Wisdom your mother, | from whom you came into being | from the very first in order that you might fight against | all of your enemies, the Powers [20] of the Adversary.

Listen, | my son, to my advice. | Do not be arrogant in opposition to | every good opinion, | but take for yourself the side of the divinity [25] of reason. Keep the holy | commandments of Jesus Christ, and | you will reign over every place | on earth and will be | honored by the angels [30] and the archangels. | Then you will acquire them as friends and | fellow servants, and you will acquire | places in [heaven | above].

Do not bring **92** grief or trouble to the divine [which is] | within you. But when you will care for | it, will request of it | that you remain pure, and will become [5] self-controlled in your soul | and body, you will become | a throne of wisdom and | one belonging to God's household. He will | give you a great light through [10] it (wisdom).

But before everything (else), | know your birth. Know | yourself, that is, from what substance you are, | or from what | race, or from what species. [15] Understand that you have come into being | from three races: | from the earth, from the | formed, and from the created. | The body has come into being from [20] the earth with an earthly substance, | but the formed, for the sake of | the soul, has come into being from the thought | of the Divine. The created, however, is the mind, | which has come into being in conformity with the image [25] of God. The divine mind | has substance | from the Divine, but the soul | is that which he (God) has formed for their | own hearts. For I think [30] that it (the soul) exists as wife of that which | has come into being in conformity with the image, | but matter is the substance | of the body which has come into being from the earth. |

[If] you mix yourself, you will acquire the **93** three parts as you | fall from virtue into | inferiority. Live according to | the mind. Do not think about things belonging to [5] the flesh. Acquire strength, | for the mind is strong. | If you fall from | this other, you have become male-

female. | And if you cast out of yourself the substance of the mind, | which is thought, | you have cut off | the male part and turned yourself to the female part | alone. You have become psychic | since you have received the substance of the | formed. If you cast out the smallest part of this | so that | you do not acquire again a | human part – but you have accepted for | yourself the animal thought and | likeness – you have become fleshly | since you have taken on animal nature. | For (if) it is difficult to find a psychical man, | how much more so to find | the Lord!

But I say that | God is the spiritual one. | Man has taken shape from | the substance of God. | The divine soul | shares partly in this One (God); furthermore, | it shares partly in the flesh. | The base soul | is wont to turn from side to side | [...] which it imagines the truth. |

It is [good] for you, O man, **94** to turn yourself toward the human rather | than toward the animal nature – | I mean toward the fleshly (nature). You | will take on the likeness of the part toward which you will turn yourself. |

I shall say something further | to you. Again, for what | will you (masc. sg.) be zealous? Did you (fem. sg.) wish | to become animal when you had come into | this kind of nature? | But rather, share in | a true nature of life. | To be sure, animality will guide you | into the race of the earth, | but the rational nature will | guide you in rational ways. | Turn toward the rational nature | and cast from | yourself the earth-begotten nature. |

O soul, persistent one, | be sober and shake off your | drunkenness, which is the work of | ignorance. If you persist | and live in the | body, you dwell in rusticity. | When you entered | into a bodily birth, you were | begotten. Come into being inside | the bridal chamber! Be illuminated | in mind!

My son, do not | swim in any water, | and do not allow yourself to be defiled | by strange kinds of knowledge. | Certainly you know [that] **95** the schemes of the Adversary | are not few and (that) | the tricks which he has | are varied? Especially has the noetic | man been robbed | of the intelligence | of the snake. For it is fitting for you | to be in agreement with the | intelligence of (these) two: with the | intelligence of the snake and with | the innocence of the dove – | lest he (the Adversary) come into you | in the guise of a flatterer, | as a true friend, saying, | "I advise | good things for you." |

But you did not recognize the | deceitfulness of this one when | you received him as a true friend. | For he casts into your heart | evil

thoughts | as good ones, and | hypocrisy in the guise of | true wisdom, [25] avidity in the guise | of conservative frugality, | love of glory | in the guise of that which is beautiful, | boastfulness and [30] pride in the guise | of great austerity, and | godlessness as | [great] godliness. **96** For he who says, "I have | many gods," is godless. | And he casts spurious knowledge | into your [5] heart in the guise of mysterious words. | Who | will be able to comprehend his thoughts and | devices which are varied since he is | a Great Mind for those who wish [10] to accept him as king?

My | son, how will you be able | to comprehend the schemes of this one or his | soul-killing counsel? | For his devices and the [15] schemes of his wickedness are many. And | think about his entrances, that is, how | he will enter your | soul and in what garment | he will enter you.

Accept [20] Christ, who is able | to set you free, and who has | taken on the devices of that one | so that through these he | might destroy him by [25] deceit. For this is the king whom you have | who is forever invincible, | against whom | no one will be able to fight nor | say a word. This is [30] your king and your father, | for there is no one like him. | The divine teacher is with [you] **97** always. He is a helper, | and he meets you because of the good | which is in you.

Do not put maliciousness | in your judgment, [5] for every malicious man | harms his heart. | For only a foolish man is wont | to his destruction, | but a wise man knows [10] his way.

And a foolish man | does not guard against speaking (a) mystery. | A wise man, (however), | does not blurt out every word, | but he will be discriminating [15] toward those who hear. Do not mention | everything in the presence | of those whom you do not know. |

Have a great number of friends, | but not counselors. [20] First, examine your | counselor, for do not | honor anyone who flatters. | Their word, to be sure, is sweet as | honey, but their heart is full [25] of hellebore. For whenever | they think that they have become | a reliable friend, | then they will deceitfully turn | against you, and they will cast you down [30] into the mire.

Do not | trust anyone as a friend, | for this whole world | has come into being deceitfully, and | every [man] is troubled [35] [in vain]. All things [of] **98** the world are not profitable, | but they happen in vain. | There is no one, not even a brother, (who is trustworthy), | since each one is seeking [5] his own advantage.

My son, do not | have anyone as a friend. | But if you do acquire one, do not entrust yourself | to him. Entrust yourself to | God alone as father [10] and as friend. For everyone | proceeds deceitfully, | while the

whole earth is full of suffering and | pain – things in which there is no profit. | If you wish to pass your [15] life in quiet, do not keep company | with anyone. And if you do keep | company with them, be as if | you do not. Be pleasing | to God, and you will [20] not need anyone.

Live | with Christ, and he will save | you. For he is the true light | and the sun of life. | For just as the sun which is visible [25] and makes light for the eyes of the flesh, | so Christ | illuminates every mind | and the heart. For (if) a wicked man | (who is) in the body (has) an evil death, [30] how much more so (does) | he who has | his mind blind. | For every blind man [goes along | in such a way] that he (?) is seen [just] **99** as one who does not have | his mind sane. He does not | delight in acquiring the light | of Christ, which is reason. [5]

For everything which is visible | is a copy of that which | is hidden. For as a fire which | burns in a place without being confined | to it, so it is with [10] the sun which is in the sky, all of whose rays | extend to places | on the earth. Similarly, | Christ has a single being, | and [15] he gives light to every place. This | is also the way in which he speaks of our | mind, as if it were a lamp | which burns and lights up the place. | (Being) in a part of the soul, [20] it gives light to all the parts. |

Furthermore, I shall speak of what is | more exalted than this: the mind, with respect to | actual being, is in a place, | which means it is in the body; [25] but with respect to thought, the mind | is not in a place. For how can it | be in a place when | it contemplates every place? |

But we are able [30] to mention what is more exalted than this: | for do not think in your heart | that God exists | [in a] place. If | you localize the [Lord of] all **100** in a place, then it is fitting for you to | say that the place is more exalted than he who | dwells in it. For that which contains | is more exalted than that which is contained. [5] For there is no place which is called | incorporeal. | For it is not right for us to say that | God is corporeal. | For the consequence (would be) that we (must) attribute both [10] increase and decrease to the corporeal, | but also that he (God) who is subject to these | will not remain imperishable. |

Now, it is not difficult to know | the Creator of all creatures, [15] but it is impossible to comprehend | the likeness of this One. For | it is difficult not only for men to | comprehend God, but it is (also) difficult | for every divine being, (both) the angels [20] and the archangels. | It is necessary to know | God as he is. | You cannot | know God through [25] anyone except Christ | who has | the image of the Father, | for this image reveals the true likeness | in correspondence to that which is revealed. [30] A king is not usually known apart from | an image.

Consider these things about | God: he is in every place; | on the other hand, he is in [no] | place. [With respect to power], **101** to be sure, he is in every place; | but with respect to divinity, he is in no | place. So, then, it is | possible to know God a [5] little. With respect to his power, | he fills every place, but in | the exaltation of his divinity | nothing contains him. | Everything is in God, [10] but God is not in anything. |

Now what is it to know God? | God is all which is in the truth. | But it is as impossible | to look at Christ as [15] at the sun. God sees | everyone; no one looks at | him. But Christ without | being jealous receives and gives. He | is the Light of the Father, as he gives [20] light without being jealous. | In this manner he gives light to every place. |

And all is Christ, | he who has inherited all | from the Existent One. [25] For Christ is the idea | of incorruptibility, and [30] he is the Light which is shining undefiled. | For the sun (shines) on every impure place, | and yet it is not defiled. | So it is with Christ: even if | [he is in the] deficiency, yet [he] is without deficiency. [35] And even if [he has been begotten], **102** he is (still) unbegotten. So it is with | Christ: if, on the one hand, he is comprehensible, | on the other he is incomprehensible | with respect to his actual being. [5] Christ is all. | He who does not possess all is unable to | know Christ.

My son, | do not dare to say a word about | this One, and do not confine the God of all [10] to mental images. | For he (God) who condemns | may not be condemned by the one who | condemns. Indeed, it is good | to ask and to know who [15] God is. Reason and mind | are male names. Indeed, let him who wishes | to know about this One | quietly and | reverently ask. For there is no small danger [20] in speaking about these things, since you | know that you will be judged | on the basis of everything that you say. |

And understand by this that he who is in | darkness will not be able to see anything [25] unless he receives the light and recovers (his) sight | by means of it. Examine yourself (to see) | whether you wholly have | the light, so that if you | ask about these things, you may understand [30] how you will escape. | For many are seeking in | darkness, and they grope about, | wishing to understand since | there is no light for them.

My **103** son, do not allow your mind to stare | downward, but rather let | it look by means of the light | at things above. [5] For the light will always come from above. | Even if it (the mind) is upon the earth, | let it seek to pursue the | things above. Enlighten your | mind with the light of heaven [10] so that you may turn to | the light of heaven.

Do not tire | of knocking on the door of reason, | and do not cease |

walking in the way of [15] Christ. Walk in it so that | you may receive rest from your | labors. If you walk in another | way, there will be no | profit in it. For also those who walk [20] in the broad way | will go down at their end | to the perdition of the mire. | For the Underworld is open wide for the soul, | and the place of perdition is broad. [25] Accept Christ, | the narrow way. For he is oppressed | and bears affliction for your | sin.

O soul, persistent one, | in what ignorance you exist! [30] For who | is your guide | into the darkness? How many likenesses | did Christ take on because of you? | Although he was God, he [was found] **104** among men as a man. | He descended to the Underworld. He released | the children of death. They were | in travail, as [5] the scripture of God has said. And | he sealed up the (very) heart | of it (the Underworld). And he broke its (the Underworld's) strong bows | completely. And | when all the powers had seen [10] him, they fled so that he might | bring you, wretched one, | up from the Abyss, and might die for you | as a ransom for your sin. He saved | you from the strong hand of the Underworld. [15]

But you yourself, difficult (though it be), give to him your | fundamental assent with (even so much as) a hint | that he may take you up with | joy! Now the fundamental choice, | which is humility of heart, is the gift of Christ. [20] A contrite heart is the acceptable sacrifice. | If you humble yourself, you will be greatly exalted; | and if you exalt yourself, | you will be exceedingly humbled.

My son, [25] guard yourself against wickedness, | and do not let the Spirit of Wickedness | cast you down into the Abyss. | For he is mad and bitter. | He is terrifying, and he casts [30] everyone down into a pit | of mire.

It is a great | and good thing not to love | fornication and not even to think | of the wretched matter **105** at all, for to think of it is death. | It is not good for any man | to fall into death. | For a soul which has been found in [5] death will be without reason. | For it is better not to live than | to acquire an animal's life. | Protect yourself lest you are burned | by the fires of fornication. [10] For many who are submerged in fire are | its servants whom | you do not know as | your enemies.

O my son, strip off | the old garment of fornication, [15] and put on the | garment which is clean and shining, | that you may be beautiful in it. | But when you have this garment, | protect it well. Release yourself [20] from every bond so that you may | acquire freedom. | If you cast out of yourself | the desire whose | devices are many, you will [25] release yourself from the sins of lust. |

Listen, O soul, to my | advice. Do not become | a den of foxes and snakes, nor | a hole of serpents and [30] asps, nor a dwelling place | of lions, or a place of refuge | of basilisk-snakes. When these things | happen to you, O soul, what | will you do? For these are the powers **106** of the Adversary. | Everything which is dead will come | into you through them (the powers). | For their food is everything which is dead [5] and every unclean thing. For when these | are within you, what living thing | will come into you? | The living angels will detest you. | You were [10] a temple, (but) you have made yourself a tomb. Cease | being a tomb, and become (again) | a temple, so that uprightness | and divinity may remain in | you.

Light the light within you. [15] Do not extinguish it. Certainly no one | lights a lamp for wild beasts or | their young. | Raise your dead who have died, | for they lived and have died for [20] you. Give them life. | They shall live again.

For the Tree of | Life is Christ. He is | Wisdom. For he is Wisdom; | he is also the Word. He [25] is the Life, the Power, | and the Door. He is the Light, | the Angel, and | the Good Shepherd. Entrust yourself | to this one who became [30] all for your sake.

Knock | on yourself as upon | a door, and walk upon | yourself as on a straight road. | For if you walk on the road, [35] it is impossible for you to go astray. **107** And if you knock with this one (Wisdom), you | knock on hidden treasures. |

For since he (Christ) is Wisdom, | he makes the foolish man wise. [5] It (Wisdom) is a holy kingdom | and a shining robe. | For it (Wisdom) is much gold | which gives you great honor. | The Wisdom of God [10] became a type of fool for you | so that it might take you up, | O foolish one, and make you a wise man. | And the Life died | for you when he (Christ) was powerless, [15] so that through his death | he might give life to you who have died. |

Entrust yourself to | reason and remove yourself from | animalism. For [20] the animal which has no | reason is made manifest. | For many think that they have | reason, but if you | look at them attentively, [25] their speech is animalistic. |

Give yourself gladness from the true | vine of Christ. | Satisfy yourself with the true wine | in which there is no drunkenness [30] nor error. | For it (the true wine) marks | the end of drinking since there | is usually in it what gives joy | to the soul and [35] the mind through the Spirit of God. **108** But first, nurture your reasoning powers | before you drink | of it (the true wine).

Do not pierce yourself with | the sword of sin. Do not burn yourself, [5] O wretched one, with the fire | of lust. Do not surrender yourself | to barbarians like a prisoner, | nor to | savage beasts which want [10] to trample upon you. | For they are as lions | which roar very loudly. Be not | dead lest they | trample upon you. You shall be man! [15] It is possible for you through reasoning | to conquer them. |

But the man who does nothing is unworthy of | (being called) rational man. The rational man | is he who fears God. [20] He who fears | God does nothing insolent. | And he who guards himself | against doing anything insolent is one | who keeps his guiding principle. [25] Although he is a man who exists | on earth, he makes himself like | God.

> But he who makes himself like | God is one who does | nothing unworthy of God, [30] according to the statement of Paul | who has become like | Christ.

For who shows reverence | for God while not wanting | to do things which are pleasing [35] to him? For piety | is that which is **109** from the heart, | and piety from | the heart (characterizes) every soul which is near to | God.

The soul which is [5] a member of God's household is one which | is kept pure, | and the soul which has put on Christ | is one which is pure. | It is impossible for it to sin. [10] Now where Christ is, there | sin is idle.

Let Christ | alone enter your world, | and let him bring to naught | all powers which have come upon you. [15] Let him enter the temple which is | within you so that he may cast | out all the merchants. Let him | dwell in the temple which is | within you, and may you become [20] for him a priest and a Levite, | entering in purity. |

Blessed are you, O soul, if you | find this one in your temple. |

Blessed are you still more if you perform his [25] service.

But he who will defile | the temple of God, that one God | will destroy. For you lay yourself open, | O man, if you | cast this one out of your [30] temple. For whenever | the enemies do not see Christ | in you, then they will come into | you armed in order to crush | you.

O my son, I have given [35] you orders concerning these things many times **110** so that you would always guard your | soul. It is not you who | will cast him (Christ) out, but | he will cast you out. For [5] if you flee from him, you will | fall into great sin. | Again, if you flee from him, you will | become food for your enemies. | For all base persons flee from [10] their lord, and the (man) base in virtue | and wisdom flees from | Christ. For every man who is | separated (from him) falls into the claws | of the wild beasts.

Know who Christ is, [15] and acquire him as a friend, | for this is the friend who is faithful. | He is also God and | Teacher. This one, being God, became | man for your sake. It is this one who [20] broke the iron bars | of the Underworld and the bronze bolts. | It is this one who attacked | and cast down | every haughty tyrant. It is he [25] who loosened from himself the chains | of which he had taken hold. | He brought up the poor from the | Abyss and the mourners from | the Underworld. It is he who humbled [30] the haughty powers; | he who put to shame haughtiness | through humility; he who has cast | down the strong and | the boaster through weakness; [35] he who in his contempt scorned that which is **111** considered an honor | so that | humility for God's sake might be highly exalted; | (and) he who has put on humanity. [5]

And yet, the divine Word is God, | he who bears patiently with man always. | He wished to produce | humility in the exalted. He (Christ) who has | exalted man became like [10] God, not in order that he | might bring God down to | man, but that man might become | like God.

> O this | great goodness of God! [15] O Christ, King who has revealed | to men the Great Divinity, | King of every virtue and | King of life, King of ages and | Great One of the heavens, hear my words [20] and forgive me!

Furthermore, | he manifested a great zeal | for Divinity.

Where is a man (who is) wise | or powerful in intelligence, | or a man whose devices are many [25] because he knows wisdom? | Let him speak wisdom; let him utter | great boasting! | For every man has become a fool and has spoken out of | his (own) knowledge. For he (Christ) confounded the [30] counsels of guileful people, and | he prevailed over those wise in their own | understanding.

Who will be able | to discover the counsel of the | Almighty, or to speak of the [35] Divinity, or to proclaim it correctly? **112** If we have not even been able to | understand the counsels of our companions, | who will be able to comprehend the Divinity | or the divinities of [5] the heavens? If | we scarcely find things on earth, | who will search for the things of | heaven? A Great Power | and Great Glory has made the world | known.

And the Life | of Heaven wishes to renew all, | that he may cast out that which is | weak and every black form, | that everyone may shine forth in [15] heavenly garments in order to make manifest | the command of the Father (who) is exceedingly brilliant, | and that he (Christ) may | crown those wishing to contend | well. Christ, being judge of the con-

test, [20] is he who crowned every one, | teaching every one | to contend. This one who contended | first received the crown, gained dominion, | and appeared, giving light [25] to everyone. And all were | made new through the Holy Spirit | and the Mind.

> O Lord Almighty, | how much glory shall I give Thee? | No one has been able [30] to glorify God adequately. | It is Thou who hast given glory | to Thy Word in order to save | everyone, O Merciful God. (It is) he who | has come from Thy mouth and has risen from [35] Thy heart, the First-born, the Wisdom, | the Prototype, the First | Light.

For he is light from **113** the power of God, and | he is an emanation of the pure glory | of the Almighty. | He is the spotless mirror of the working [5] of God, and he is the image of his | goodness. For he is also the Light | of the Eternal Light. He is the eye | which looks at the invisible | Father, always serving [10] and forming | by the Father's will. He | alone was begotten by the Father's good pleasure. | For he is an incomprehensible Word, | and he is Wisdom [15] and Life. He gives life to and | nourishes all living things and powers. | Just as the | soul gives life to all the members, | he rules all with [20] power and gives life to them. | For he is the beginning and | the end of everyone, watching over | all and encompassing them. | He is troubled on behalf of everyone, and he rejoices [25] and also mourns. On the one hand, he mourns | for those who have gotten as their lot the place | of punishment; on the other, he is troubled | about every one whom he arduously brings | to instruction. [30] But he rejoices over everyone who | is in purity.

Then beware, | lest somehow you fall into the hands of the | robbers. Do not allow sleep | to your eyes nor [35] drowsiness to your eyelids that | you may be saved like a gazelle | from nets and like a **114** bird from a trap.

Fight the | great fight as long as the fight lasts, | while all the powers are | staring after you – not only the holy ones, [5] but also all the powers | of the Adversary. Woe | to you if you are vanquished in the midst | of every one who is watching you! | If you fight the fight and [10] are victorious over the powers which fight against you, | you will bring great joy to every | holy one, and yet | great grief to your enemies. Your | judge helps (you) completely [15] since he wants you to be victorious.

Listen, my | son, and do not be slow | with your ears. Raise yourself up when you have left your old man behind | like an eagle. Fear [20] God in all your acts, | and glorify him through | good work. You know that

every man who is | not pleasing to God is the son of perdition. [25] He will go down to the Abyss | of the Underworld.

> O this patience | of God, which bears with | every one, which desires that | every one who has become [30] subject to sin be saved!

But no one prevents | him (God) from doing what he wants. | For who is stronger than him that | he may prevent him? To be sure, | it is he who touches the earth, [35] causing it to tremble and also causing | the mountains to smoke. (It is) he who has | gathered together such a great sea **115** as in a leather bag and | has weighed all the water on his scales. | Only the hand of the Lord | has created all these things. [5] For this hand of the Father is Christ, | and it forms all. | Through it, all has come into being | since it became the mother of all. | For he is always [10] Son of the Father. |

Consider these things about God Almighty | who always exists: | this One was not always | King for fear that [15] he might be without a | divine Son. For all dwell | in God, (that is), the things which have come into being | through the Word, who is | the Son as the image of the Father. [20]

For God is nearby; he | is not far off. All divine limits | are those which belong to God's household. | Therefore, if the divine agrees with | you partially in anything, [25] know that all of the Divine | agrees with you. But this | divine is not pleased with anything | evil. For it is this which | teaches all men what is good. [30] This is what God has | given to the human race | so that for this reason every man | might be chosen | before all the angels [35] and the archangels. |

For God does not need | to put any man to the test. **116** He knows all things | before they happen, and | he knows the hidden things of the heart. | They are all revealed and [5] found wanting in his presence. Let | no one ever say that God | is ignorant. For it is not right | to place the Creator of | every creature in ignorance. [10] For even things which are in darkness | are before him like (things in) the light. |

So, there is no other one hidden except | God alone. But he is revealed | to everyone, and yet [15] he is very hidden. He is revealed | because God knows | all. And if they do not wish | to affirm it, they will be corrected by | their heart. Now he is hidden because [20] no one perceives the things of God. | For it is incomprehensible and | unfathomable to know | the counsel of God. Furthermore, | it is difficult to comprehend him, and it is difficult [25] to find Christ. For he is the one who dwells | in every place, and also he is | in no place. For no one | who wants to will be able to know | God as he actually is, [30] nor Christ, nor

| the Spirit, nor the chorus of | angels, nor even the archangels, **117** as well as the thrones of the spirits, | and the exalted lordships, | and the Great Mind. If you do not | know [yourself], you will not be able [5] to know all of these.

Open | the door for yourself that you may know | the One who is. Knock on | yourself that the Word | may open for you. For he [10] is the Ruler of Faith and | the Sharp Sword, having become all | for everyone because he wishes | to have mercy on everyone.

My son, | prepare yourself to escape from the [15] world-rulers of darkness and of | this kind of air which is full of powers. | But if you have | Christ, you will conquer this entire world. | That which you will open [20] for yourself, you will open. | That which you will knock upon for yourself, you will | knock upon, benefiting yourself. |

Help yourself, my son, | (by) not proceeding with things in which [25] there is no profit.

My son, | first purify yourself toward the outward life | in order that you may be able | to purify the inward.

And | be not as the merchants [30] of the Word of God.

Put | all words to the test first | before you utter them. |

Do not wish to acquire honors which | are insecure, nor **118** the boastfulness which brings | you to ruin.

Accept | the wisdom of Christ (who is) patient | and mild, and guard [5] this, O my son, knowing | that God's way is always | profitable. |

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Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior (Ichthus), Wonder |
Extraordinary

THE THREE STELES OF SETH (VII,5)

Introduced by

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The Three Steles of Seth offers a rare view into the worship practice of a Gnostic Sethian community. These Gnostics identified their teachings with the primal revelation of God to Adam, which had passed through Seth to his descendants (*The Apocalypse of Adam*, V,5). Lost and forgotten for ages, this Sethian gnosis had been revealed anew in the latter days. The recipients of this renewed revelation understood themselves as "the living and unshakable race" (118,12-13), the true latter-day descendants of Seth (hence the modern label of Sethian Gnosticism). *The Three Steles of Seth* is presented as part of this latter-day revelation, in this case to Dositheos, the supposed Samaritan founder of Gnosticism.

The text, which shows no Christian influence, is indebted to Jewish and Neoplatonic traditions. In Genesis, Seth marks a new beginning after the tragic conflict between Cain and Abel (Gn 3:25-5:8). Appointed by God to replace Abel, he is a son in the likeness of his father Adam, as Adam is in the likeness of God. It is in his time that "men began to call upon the name of the Lord." According to the first-century Jewish historian Josephus (*Ant.* I,67-71), Seth's descendants continued to follow his godfearing ways for seven generations, after which they too fell into a life of depravity. During this time, they preserved and added to the knowledge transmitted by Adam to Seth. Forwarned of impending divine judgements by water and fire, they preserved this knowledge for future generations on two steles, one of stone to survive the flood and one of brick to survive the fire.

This legend accounts for the presentation of the present text as the content of steles attributed to Seth (cf. *Zost.* 130,1-4 and *Gos. Eg.* 68,10-23). The expansion from the original two steles in the Jewish legend to three represents the influence of Neoplatonic conceptions of the divine triad. The three steles or hymnic prayers of the present text are addressed in ascending order to the threefold nature of god: the Selfbegotten Son, the male virgin Barbelo (mother), and the Unbegotten Father.

Ecstatic trips through the heavens are well attested in Sethian Gnosticism. The Sethian tractates *Zostrianos* and *Allogenes* record such journeys by the seers for which the texts were named. These accounts, however, record what was revealed to the seer in his ascent. The invocations of the seer to the divine triad are only noted in passing, as when Zostrianos affirms, "I joined with them all and blessed the Kalyptos aeon and the virgin Barbelo and the Invisible Spirit. I became all-perfect." In *The Three Steles of Seth* these blessings or hymnic prayers are recorded in full.

Since *Allogenes* may be interpreted as another name for Seth, both tractates may commemorate the ascent of the community's primal ancestor to the divine triad. However, while *Allogenes* records for edification what was revealed to the seer, *The Three Steles of Seth* preserves the invocations of the seer as a prototype to serve the latter-day Sethian community in its liturgical reenactment of his ascent. While the hymnic prayers are set forth in the tractate as prayers of Seth, first person plural references in the text (e.g. 124,17-18) betray the use of the prayers in the worship practice of the community. The text has led Hans Martin Schenke to posit the existence of a Sethian mystery of ascension. The three subdivisions of the text thus correspond to the three stages or levels in the worshippers' ascent to the threefold nature of god, since at the conclusion of the tractate one must return from the third back down to the second and first.

Neoplatonic philosophical terminology abounds in the text, especially the Existence-Life-Mind triad in the deity. The terminology is also found in the related tractates of *Zostrianos*, *Allogenes*, and *Marsanes*, which together form a cluster of Sethian Gnostic texts with close ties to Neoplatonism. *Zostrianos* and *Allogenes* are both mentioned by Porphyry in his *Life of Plotinus* as texts refuted by Plotinus, who taught a course "Against the Gnostics" in 265-266 C.E. Thus a dating for this stage of Sethian Gnosticism and therefore for *The Three Steles of Seth* is suggested. Provenience is uncertain, though the philosophical nature of the text would be much at home in Alexandria, Egypt.

The scribal note at the end of the text (127,28-32) has been variously interpreted as applying to *The Three Steles of Seth* alone or to the codex as a whole.

THE THREE STELES OF SETH

VII 118, 10-127, 27
127, 28-32

The revelation of Dositheos | about the three steles | of Seth, the Father of the living | and unshakable race, which | he (Dositheos) saw and understood. [15] And after he had read them, he | remembered them. And he gave them | to the elect, just | as they were | inscribed there. [20]

Many times I joined in | giving glory with the powers, and I became worthy of the | immeasurable majesties. |

Now they (the steles) are as follows:

The First [25]
Stele of Seth.

I bless | thee, Father Geradama(s), I, | as thine (own) Son, | Emmacha Seth, whom thou didst beget | without begetting, as a blessing [30] of our God; for I am | thine (own) Son. And thou **119** art my mind, O my

Father. And | I, I sowed and begot; | [but] thou hast [seen] the majesties. | Thou hast stood imperishable. I [5] bless thee, Father. Bless me, | Father. It is because of thee that I exist; | it is because of God that thou dost exist. Because | of thee I am with | that very one. Thou art light, [10] since thou beholdest light. Thou hast | revealed light. Thou art | Mirotheas; thou art my Mirotheos. | I bless thee as | God; I bless thy [15] divinity. Great is the | good Self-begotten who | stood, the God who had already | stood. Thou didst come in goodness; | thou hast appeared, and thou hast [20] revealed goodness. I shall utter | thy name, for thou art a first | name. Thou art unbegotten. Thou | hast appeared in order that thou | mightest reveal the eternal ones. [25] Thou art he who is. Therefore | thou hast revealed those who really | are. Thou art he who is uttered | by a voice, | but by mind art thou [30] glorified, thou who hast | dominion everywhere. Therefore | [the] perceptible world too | knows thee because of | thee and they seed. Thou art merciful. **120**

And thou art from another race, | and its place is over another race. | And now thou art from another | race, and its [place is] over another [5] race. Thou art from another | race, for thou art not similar. And thou | art merciful, for thou art eternal. | And thy place is over a race, | for thou hast caused all these to increase; and for the sake of [10] my seed. For it is thou who knows | it, that its place is in begetting. But they | are from other races, for | they are not similar. But their place is over | other races, for their place is in [15] life. Thou art Mirotheos.

I bless his power which was | given to me, who caused the | malenesses that really are to become | male three times; [20] he who was divided into the pentad, the one who | was given to us in triple | power, the one who was begotten without begetting, the one who | came from that which is elect; because of [25] what is humble, he went | forth from the midst.

Thou art a Father | through a Father, | a word from a command. | We bless thee, Thrice Male, [30] for thou didst unite the all | through them all, for thou hast | empowered us. Thou hast arisen from | one; from one thou hast gone forth; | thou hast come to one. [Thou] hast saved, [35] thou hast saved, thou hast saved us, O | crown-bearer, crown-giver! **121** We bless thee eternally. | We bless thee, once we have | been saved, as the perfect individuals, | perfect on account [5] of thee, those who [became] perfect with thee | who is complete, who completes, | the one perfect through all these, | who is similar everywhere.

Thrice | Male, thou hast stood. Thou hast already [10] stood. Thou wast divided everywhere. Thou didst continue being one. And | those

whom thou hast willed, thou hast saved. | But thou dost will to be saved | all who are worthy.

Thou art [15] perfect! Thou art perfect! | Thou art perfect!

The First |
Stele of Seth |

The Second Stele |
of Seth [20]

Great is the first aeon, | male virginal Barbelo, | the first glory | of the invisible Father, she | who is called [25] "perfect."

Thou (fem.) hast seen first | the one who truly pre-exists | because he is a non-being. And | from him and through | him thou hast pre-existed [30] eternally, the non-being | from one indivisible, | triple [power], thou a triple | power, [thou a] great monad | from [a] pure monad, **122** thou an elect monad, the | first [shadow] of the holy | Father, light from | light.

[We] bless thee, [5] producer (fem.) of perfection, aeon-giver (fem.). | Thou hast [seen] the eternal | ones because they are from a shadow. | And thou hast become numerable. And | thou didst find, thou didst continue being [10] one (fem.); yet becoming numerable in division, thou | art three-fold. Thou art truly | thrice, thou one (fem.) | of the one (masc.). And thou art from | a shadow of him, thou a Hidden One, [15] thou a world of understanding, | knowing those of the one, that they | are from a shadow. And these | are thine in the heart.

For | their sake thou hast empowered the eternal ones [20] in being; thou hast empowered | divinity in living; | thou hast empowered knowledge in | goodness; in | blessedness thou hast empowered the [25] shadows which pour from the one. | Thou hast empowered this (one) in knowledge; | thou hast empowered another one in creation. | Thou hast empowered him who is equal | and him who is not equal, him [30] who is similar and him who is not similar. | Thou hast empowered in begetting, and | (provided) forms in [that which] exists | to others. [.... | Thou hast] empowered **123** these. – He is that One Hidden | [in] the heart. – And [thou hast] come forth to | these and [from] these. Thou art divided | [among them]. And thou dost [5] become a great male [noetic] First-Appearer. |

- Fatherly God, | divine child, | begetter of multiplicity according to a division | of all who really are, [10] thou (masc.) hast appeared to them all

in | a word. And thou (masc.) dost possess | them all without begetting | and eternally indestructible | on account of thee (fem.). [15]

Salvation has come to us; from | thee is salvation. Thou art | wisdom, thou knowledge; thou | art truthfulness. On account of thee is | life; from thee is life. [20] On account of thee is mind; from | thee is mind. Thou art mind, | thou a world of truthfulness, | thou a triple power, thou | threefold. Truly thou art [25] thrice, the aeon of | aeons. It is thou only | who sees purely the first | eternal ones and the unbegotten ones. |

But the first divisions are as [30] thou wast divided. Unite us | as thou hast been united. | Teach us [those] things which thou dost see. | Empower [us] that we may **124** be saved to eternal life. | For [we] are [each] a shadow | of thee as thou art | a shadow [of that] [5] first pre-existent one. Hear | us first. We are eternal ones. | Hear us as the | perfect individuals. Thou art the aeon | of aeons, the all-perfect one [10] who is established.

Thou hast heard! | Thou hast heard!

Thou hast saved! Thou hast saved! |

We give thanks! We bless thee always! | We shall glorify thee! |

The Second Stele [15] of Seth |

The Third Stele |

We rejoice! We rejoice! We rejoice! |

We have seen! We have seen! We have seen the | really pre-existent one (masc.), [20] that he really exists, that he is the | first eternal one.

O Unconceived, | from thee are the eternal ones | and the aeons, the all-perfect ones | who are established, and the [25] perfect individuals.

We bless | thee, non-being, existence | which is before existences, | first being which is before | beings, Father of [30] divinity and life, | creator of mind, | giver of good, giver of | blessedness!

We all bless | thee, knower, in [35] a [glorifying] blessing, (thou) **125** because of whom [all these are. | ... really, | ...], who knows thee | [through] thee alone. For there is no one [5] [who is] active before | thee. Thou art an only and living [spirit]. | And [thou] knowest one, | for this one who belongs to thee is on every side. | We are not able to express him. For [10] thy light shines upon us. |

Present a command to us | to see thee, so that | we may be saved. Knowledge of thee, it | is the salvation of us all. Present [15] a command!

When thou dost command, | we have been saved! Truly we have been | saved! We have seen thee by mind! | Thou art them all, for thou dost save | them all, he who [20] was not saved, nor was he | saved through them. | For thou, thou hast commanded us. |

Thou art one. Thou art one, just as | there is one (who) will say [25] to thee: Thou art one, thou art a single living spirit. | How shall we give | thee a name? We do not have it. | For thou art the existence | of them all. [30] Thou art the life of them | all. Thou art the mind | of them all. | [For] thou [art he in whom they all] rejoice. **126**

Thou hast commanded all these | [to be saved] through thy | word [...] | glory [5] who is before him, Hidden One, blessed | Senaon, [he who begat] | himself, [Asi]neu(s). | [...]ephneu(s), Optaon, Elemaon | the great power, Emouniar, [10] Nibareu(s), Kandephor(os), Aphredon, | Deiphaneus, thou | who art Armedon to me, power-begetter, | Thalanatheu(s), Antitheus, | thou who existeth within [15] thyself, thou who art before | thyself – and after thee | no one entered into activity.

As what shall we | bless thee? We are | not empowered. But we give thanks, [20] as being humble toward thee. For thou hast | commanded us, as he who | is elect, to glorify thee to the extent that | we are able. | We bless thee because we were saved. [25] Always we glorify | thee. For this reason we shall | glorify thee, that we may be | saved to eternal salvation. | We have blessed thee, for we are [30] empowered. We have been saved, for thou | hast willed always | that we all do this.

We | all did this. [...] | not through [... **127**^{3} aeon. ...], | the one who was [5] [...], we and those | who [...]. He who will | remember these and give | glory always will | become perfect among those who are perfect [10] and impassable beyond | all things. For they all bless | these individually and together. | And afterwards they shall be | silent. And just as they [15] were ordained, they ascend. | After the silence, they descend | from the third. | They bless the second; | after these the first. [20] The way of ascent is the way | of descent.

Know therefore, | as those who live, that you have | attained. And you taught | yourselves the infinite things. [25] Marvel at the truth which is within | them, and (at) the revelation. |

The Three Steles of Seth. |

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This book belongs to the fatherhood. |
It is the son who wrote it. [30]
Bless me, O father. I bless |
you, O father, in peace. |
Amen.

ZOSTRIANOS (VIII,*1*)

Introduced and translated by

JOHN N. SIEBER

The tractate *Zostrianos*, a heavenly journey apocalypse, is the major work in Codex VIII and one of the longest works in the Nag Hammadi library. Unfortunately Codex VIII suffered extensive damage prior to its discovery and conservation in modern times so that almost every page of *Zostrianos* is incomplete and some pages now exist only as fragments. Consequently, much of the text of the tractate is now lost. In spite of these problems *Zostrianos* offers an interesting example of how some Gnostics combined a mythological world view and a philosophical interpretation of it, based on Platonic thought.

The book opens with an account of the call of its central character, Zostrianos, to leave this world and to journey through the heavens in pursuit of saving gnosis. In antiquity this Zostrianos was linked to the lineage of the famous Persian magus Zoroaster. His call is recounted in autobiographical fashion. He was deeply depressed, ready to commit suicide in the desert, when suddenly an angel appeared to him and called him to gnosis. Leaving his physical body behind on earth, he ascended with the angel through the lower reaches of the heavenly realms. At each level he was initiated through a baptism into the gnosis revealed there.

As Zostrianos' journey continued he met a succession of angelic guides, questioned them and learned from each of them the gnosis of the various heavenly aeons through which he passed. The knowledge consisted largely in learning the names of the inhabitants of the heavenly world and sorting out the relationships between them. When his tour of the heavens was complete, Zostrianos descended once again to the physical world, where he wrote down the gnosis for the benefit of the elect, the holy seed of Seth. The tractate concludes with a brief but compelling homily in which Zostrianos exhorts his readers to abandon this oppressive world and to seek salvation through gnosis.

Zostrianos' mythological gnosis posits a high god named the thrice powerful Invisible Spirit from whom everything else has emanated. The physical earth and its inhabitants represent the lowest and most ignorant level. Between it and the Spirit lies a vast aeon system called Barbelo and understood as the "thought" of the Spirit. Barbelo herself is divided into three constituent aeons: the uppermost aeon is named Kalyptos (the hidden or veiled aeon), in the middle is located the Protophanes (the first-visible or first-appearing aeon), and at the bottom is the Autogenes (the self-generated or self-begotten aeon). Each of these aeons has its own system of constituent beings called lights, glories, angels, waters, etc.

The philosophical interests of the tractate are clear from its use of questions, categories, and terms best known to us from the Neoplatonic school of Plotinus. Zostrianos never tires of asking his angelic revealers about how this changeable world came into existence from an unchanging source, or about why there are

different kinds of souls or animals or human beings. Their answers assert that each successive layer of the universe is formed on the basis of the models in the layer above and that each layer is less perfect than its model. Of special interest is the identification of the three Barbelo aeons with the philosophical triad of existence, mind, and life. These and other references make it almost certain that this tractate is the one mentioned by Porphyry (*Vit. Plot.*, 16) as one of the spurious apocalypses in circulation in Plotinus' day and assigned by him to his pupil Amelius for refutation.

Zostrianos shares both its philosophical concern and some of its mythological world with three other tractates from the Nag Hammadi library: *The Three Steles of Seth* (VII,*5*), *Marsenes* (X,*1*) and *Allogenes (XI,3)*. There are also some mythological ties, especially with regard to the names of the Autogenes system, with some of the more Christian works such as *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (III,*2* and IV,*2*) and *The Apocryphon of John* (II,*1* et al.), and with *The Untitled Text* of the Bruce Codex.

Except for a few allusions to the New Testament and Christianity in the extant text, the author of *Zostrianos* seems to have no specific interest in things Christian. He rejects the ways of the others, his opponents, but it is not clear if they are Christians or Platonists or some other group. His use of liturgical formulas, baptisms, and magical vowel strings indicates the book may have been used by a group of Gnostics in worship or contemplative exercises, but we are unable to identify this group on the basis of the reports of Christian heresiologists.

ZOSTRIANOS

VIII 1, 1-132, 9

[...] of the [...] the words | [...] live forever, these I | [...] Zostrianos | [...] and [...] and Iolaos, [5] when I was in the world for these | like me and [those] after me, | [the] living elect. As God lives, | [...] the truth with truth | and knowledge and eternal [10] light.

After I parted from the | somatic darkness in me and | the psychic chaos in mind | and the feminine desire | [...] in the darkness, I did not use it [15] again. After I found the infinite | part of my matter, then I reproved the | dead creation within me | and the divine Cosmocrater | of the perceptible (world) by preaching [20] powerfully about the All to those | with alien parts. |

Although I tried their ways | for a little while after | the necessity of begetting brought me [25] to the revealed, I was never pleased with | them, but I always | separated myself from them | because I came into being through | a holy [...], yet mixed. [30] When I had set straight my sinless | soul, then I strengthened **2** the intellectual [...] | and I [...] | in the [...] | of my God [...] [5] [...] I having done [...] | grow strong in a holy spirit | higher than god.

It [came] | upon me alone as I was setting myself straight, [and] | I saw the perfect child [. . .] [10] [. . .]. With him who [. . .] | many times and many ways [he] | appeared to me as a | loving father, when I was seeking the | male father of all (who are) [15] in thought, perception, (in) | form, race, [region . . .], | (in) an All which | restrains and is restrained, | (in) a body yet without a body, [20] (in) essence, matter and [those that] | belong to all these. It is with | them and the god of the unborn | Kalyptos and the power [in] them all that | existence is mixed.

(About) existence: [25] how do those who exist, being from | the aeon of those who exist, (come) from | an invisible, undivided and | self-begotten spirit? Are they | three unborn images having [30] an origin better than existence, | existing prior [to] all [these], | yet having become the [world . . .]? | How are those opposite it and all these **3** [. . .] good, he | and an | excuse. What is that one's place? | What is his origin? [5] How does the one from him | exist for him and all these? How | [does he come into existence] as a simple one, | differing [from] himself? Does he exist as | existence, form, and [10] blessedness? By giving strength is | he alive with life? How | has the existence which does not exist | appeared from an existing power? |

I pondered these things to understand them; [15] according to the custom of my race | I kept bringing them up to the god | of my fathers. I kept praising | them all, for my forefathers | and fathers who sought found. [20] As for me, I did not cease seeking | a resting place worthy of my spirit, | since I was not yet bound in the perceptible | world. Then, as I was deeply | troubled and gloomy because of the [25] discouragement which encompassed me, | I dared to act and | to deliver myself to the wild beasts of the | desert for a violent death.

There stood | before me the angel of the knowledge [30] of eternal light. He said to me, | 'Zostrianos, why have you gone mad | as if you were ignorant of the great eternals **4** who are above? [. . .] | you [. . .] | [. . .] say also [. . .] | that you are now saved, [. . .] [5] [. . .] in eternal death, nor [. . .] | [. . .] those whom you know | in order to [. . .] save others, [namely] | my father's chosen elect? [Do you] | [suppose] *that* you are the father of [your race . . .] [10] or that Iolaos is your father, a [. . .] | angel of god [. . .] | you through holy men? | Come and pass through each | of these. You will return to them another [time] [15] to preach to a living [race . . .] | and to save those who are | worthy, and to strengthen the elect, | because the struggle of the aeon is great | but one's time in this world is short.'

[20] When he had said this [to me], | I very quickly and very | gladly

went up with him | to a great light-cloud. I cast | my body upon the earth [25] to be guarded by glories. I was | rescued from the whole world | and the thirteen aeons | in it and their angelic beings. | They did not see us, but their [30] archon was disturbed at [our] | passage, for the light-cloud **5** [. . .] it is better | than every [worldly . . .] one. | Its beauty is ineffable. | With strength it provides light [5] [guiding] pure spirits | as a spirit-savior | and an intellectual word, | [not] like those in the world | [. . .] with changeable matter [10] and an upsetting word. |

Then I knew that the power | in me was set over the darkness | because it contained the whole light. | I was baptized there, and [15] I received the image of the glories | there. I became like | one of them. I left the | airy-[earth] and passed by the | copies of the aeons, after [20] washing there seven times | [in] living [water], once for each | [of the] aeons. I did not cease until | [I saw] all the waters. | I ascended to the Exile [25] which really exists. I was baptized and | [. . .] world. I ascended to the | Repentance which really exists | [and was] baptized there | four times. I passed by the **6** sixth aeon. | I ascended to the [. . .] | I stood there after having seen light | from the truth which really exists, from [5] its self-begotten root, and | great angels and glories, [. . .] | number.

I was baptized in the [name of] | the divine Autogenes | by those powers which are [upon] [10] living waters, Michar and Micheus. | I was purified by [the] great | Barpharanges. Then they [revealed] | themselves to me and wrote me in glory. | I was sealed by [15] those who are on these powers, [Michar] | Mi[ch]eus, Seldao, Ele[nos] | and Zogenethlos. I became | a root-seeing angel | and stood upon the first [20] aeon which is the fourth. | With the souls I blessed the | divine Autogenes and the | forefather Geradamas, [an eye of] | the Autogenes, the first perfect [25] [man], and Seth Emm[acha Seth], | the son of Adamas, the [father of] | the [immovable race . . .] and the [four] | [lights . . .] | [. . .] [30] Mirothea, the mother [. . .] | [. . .] and Prophania [. . .] | of the lights and De-[. . .] **7** [. . .]

I was | [baptized] for the second time in the name | of the divine Autogenes | by these same powers. I [5] became an angel of the | male race. I stood upon | the second aeon which is the | third, with the sons of | Seth I blessed each of them.

[10] I was baptized for the third time | in the name of the divine Autogenes | by each of these powers. | I became a holy angel. | I stood upon the third [15] aeon which is the second. I | blessed each of them.

I was baptized | for the fourth time by | [each of] these powers. I became | [a] perfect [angel] [20] [I stood upon] the fourth aeon | [which is the first], and | [I blessed each of them.]

Then I sought | [. . .] I said | [. . .] I [25] [. . .] of | [. . .] I | [. . .] | [. . .] why [. . .] | [. . .] with power [. . .] [30] about them in another way in the reports **8** of men? Are these their | powers? Or, are these the ones, but | their names differ from one another? Are | there souls different from souls? [5] Why are people different | from one another? What and in what way | are they human?'

The great ruler | on high, Authrounios, said to me, | 'Are you asking about those [10] whom you have passed by? And | about this airy-earth, why | it has a cosmic model? And | about the aeon copies, how | many there are, and, why they are [not] in pain? [15] And, about Exile and | Repentance and the creation of the | [aeons] and the world which [. . .] | really [. . .] | you, about [. . .] [20] me, them [. . .] | nor [. . .] | you [. . .] | invisible [spirit . . .] | and the [. . .] [25] of [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | and [. . .] [30] [. . .] when I [. . .]

9 The great ruler on high, | Authrounios, said to me, 'The | airy-earth came into being by a | word, yet it is the begotten [5] and perishable ones whom it reveals | by its indestructibility. In regard to the coming | of the great judges, (they came) so as not | to taste perception and to | be enclosed in creation, and when [10] they came upon it and saw through | it the works of the world, | they condemned its ruler to death | because he was a model of the world, | a [. . .] and an origin of matter [15] begotten of lost darkness. |

When Sophia looked at [. . .] them | she produced the darkness, as she | [. . . she] is beside the | [. . . he is a] model [20] [. . .] of essence | [. . .] form | [. . .] to an image | [. . .] I | [. . .] the All [25] [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] darkness [. . .] | [. . .] say [. . .] powers | [. . . aeons] of [creation . . .] to [30] see any of the eternal ones. **10** he saw a reflection. In relation to | the reflection which he saw | in it, he created the world. | With a reflection of a reflection [5] he worked at producing the world, | and then even the reflection belonging to | visible reality was taken from him. But to | Sophia a place of rest was given | in exchange for her repentance. [10] Thus, there was in her no | prior reflection, pure | in itself beforehand.

After they had | already come into being through it, he | used his imagination (and) produced the [15] remainder, for the image of Sophia | was always being lost because | her countenance was deceiving. But the Archon | [. . .] and made a body which [. . .] | concerning the greater [. . .] [20] down [. . .] | when I saw [. . .] | to the heart [. . .] | [. . .] | he having [. . .] [25] [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | perfect through [. . .] [30] [. . .] | [. . .] through him, as he **11** [revealed] the destruction of the

world | by his [immutability]. It is in the | following way that the copies of the | aeons exist. They have not [5] obtained a single power's shape. | It is eternal glories that they | possess, and they dwell | in the judgment seats of each of | the powers.

But when [10] souls are illuminated by | the light in them and | (by) the model which often comes | into being in them without | suffering, she did not think that she saw [15] [...] and the eternal | [...] in the blessed | [...] each single one | [...] each of | [...] light [20] [... all], and she | [...] whole, and she | [...] and a | [...] and she | [...] she who [25] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | of repentance. [Souls] **12** are located according to the power | they have in themselves, [...] | lower are produced | by the copies. [5] Those who receive a model | of their souls are still in the | world. They came into being | after the departure of the aeons, | one by one, and they are removed [10] one by one from the | copy of Exile | to the Exile that really | exists, from the copy of | Repentance to the Repentance [15] that really exists, [and from the] | copy of Autogenes | to [the Autogenes] that really | exists. The remainder [...] | the souls [...] [20] exist in a [...] | all [...] | of aeons [...] | [...] | and [...] [25] [through ...] | the [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [30] of [...] | these [...] **13** [blessed the] god above, | the great aeons, the | unborn Kalyptos, the great | male Protophanes, the perfect [5] child who is higher than god, | and his eye, Pigeradamas. |

I called upon the | Child of the Child, Ephesech. He | stood before me and said, [10] 'O angel of god, O son of the | father, [...] the perfect man. | Why are you calling on me and | asking about those things which you know, | as though you were [ignorant] of them?' And [15] I said, 'I have asked about the | mixture [...] it is perfect and gives | [...] there is power which | [has ... those] in which we receive baptism | [...] these names are [20] [different ...] and why | [...] from one | [...] in the | [... from] others | [...] men [25] [... different] | [...] | [...] | [...]

14 He said, '[Zost]rianos, | listen about these [...] | for the first [...] | origins are three because they have [5] appeared in a single origin [of] the | Barbelo aeon, not like some | origins and powers, nor | like (one) from an origin and | power. It is to every origin that they [10] have appeared; they have strengthened every power; | and they appeared from that which | is far better than themselves. These (three) are | Existence, Blessedness | and Life. [...] [15] [...] their companions [...] | in a [...] | and concerning the [...] | having named [...] | more than [...] [20] and [...] | a perfect [...] | from a [...] | [...] | [...] | [25] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...]

15 And a water of each one of | them [. . .] ; therefore [. . .] waters are the perfect ones. | It is the water of life that [5] belongs to Vitality in which you now | have been baptized in the Autogenes. | It is in the [water] of Blessedness | which belongs to Knowledge that you | will be baptized in the Protophanes. [10] It is the water of Existence | [which] belongs to Divinity, | the Kalyptos. | Now the water of Life | [exists in relation to . . .] power; that belonging [15] to Blessedness in relation to essence; | that belonging to [Divinity] in relation to | [Existence . . .]. But all these | [. . .] authority and | [. . .] those who [20] [. . .] water which | [becomes pure . . .] | [. . .] according to | [. . . when they] depart | [. . .] [25] [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] |

[. . .] **16** Existence as [he] is | in it. [He] not only [was dwelling] | in Thought, but he also [. . .] | them that it is he who is [Being] in the [5] following way. In order that this world | might not be endless and formless, | he placed a [. . .] over it; | but in order that [he] might become | something, the truly young crossed [10] it with what | is his, [thus] | Existence. It is with the [son] that | he is located, with him that he seeks, him that | he surrounds [. . .] [15] everywhere [. . .] | from the truth [. . .] | takes him who [. . .] | exists [. . .] | activity [. . .] [20] life [. . .] | his word also [. . .] | are these after [. . .] | they became [. . .] | [. . .] [25] [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] |

[. . .] **17** and the power is with the | Essence and Existence | of Being, when the water exists. | But the name in which they wash [5] is a word of the water. Then | the first perfect water of | the triple-power of the Autogenes | [is] the perfect soul's | life, for it is a word of [10] the perfect god while coming into | being [. . .] | for the Invisible Spirit | is a fountain of them all. | Thus, the rest are from [knowledge . . .] as [15] his likeness. [But] he who knows himself | [. . .] what kind and what | [. . .] alive at one time | [. . .] live with a | [. . .] he is the [20] [. . .] life, in the | [. . .] become | [limitless . . .] his [. . . his] | [own . . .] the name | [. . .] [25] [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] **18** he really exists. It is he because he | limits himself. They approach | the water according to this | single power and the likeness of order. [5]

The great male invisible Mind, | the perfect Protophanes | has his own water | as you [will see] | when you arrive at his place. This [10] is also the case with the unborn Kalyptos. | In accordance with each one exists a | partial entity with a first form, | so that they might become perfect in this way; | for the self-begotten aeons [15] are four perfect entities. [The] individuals | of the all-perfect ones [. . .] | them as perfect individuals. And | the [. . .] aeon [. . .] | of the Autogenes [. . .] [20] for all [. . .] |

[perfect] male [...] | for the alls [...] | [perfect god ... the triple-] | male [...] [25] [perfect] individual [...] | in the [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [30] [...] | [...] **19** perfect, those who exist according to | a form, a race, an | All and a partial difference. | This is also the case with the highway of ascent which [5] is higher than perfect and Kalyptos. |

The Autogenes is the | chief archon of his | own aeons and angels | as his parts, for those [10] who are the four individuals | belong to him; they belong to the fifth | aeon together. The | fifth exists in one; the four | [are] the fifth, part by part. [15] But these [four] are | complete individually [because they] have a | [...] it is also [...] with | [the triple male] individual | [...] for he is a [...] of [20] [...] god, the | invisible [Protophanes] | [... male] mind | [...] which | exists | [...] [25] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] **20** living and perfect parts. |

(About) the All and the all-perfect | race and the one who is higher than perfect | and blessed. The [5] self-begotten Kalyptos | pre-exists because he is an origin of | the Autogenes, a god and | a forefather, a cause of the | Protophanes, a father [10] of the parts that are his. | As a divine father he is | foreknown: but he is | unknown, for he is a power and | a father from himself. [15] Therefore, he is [fatherless]. | The Invisible Triple Powerful, | First Thought [of] all [these], the | Invisible Spirit [...] | is a [...] and [20] Essence which [...] | and Existence [...] | there are [existences] | the [...] | blessed [...] [25] the [...] | all these [...] | the [...] | [...] | [...] [30] [...] **21** exist in them, [and] they [...] | in others [...] | by them all | in many places. They are in [5] every place that he | loves and | desires, yet | they are not in any place. | They have capacity for spirit, | for they are incorporeal yet are better [10] than incorporeal. They are undivided with | living thoughts and a power | of truth with those purer | than these since with respect to | him they are purer and [15] are not like the bodies which | are in one place. | Above all, they have | necessity either in relation to the All | or to a part. | Therefore, the [20] way of ascent [...] it is pure | [...] each | [...] herself and | [...] | [...] them [25] [...] | [...] | [...] | [... above all] | [...] **22** particular aeons.

Then | [he said], 'How then can he | contain an | eternal model? The [5] general intellect shares | when the self-begotten | water becomes perfect. | It one knows him and | all these, one is the [10] protophanic water. If | one joins oneself with all these, one is | that water which belongs to Kalyptos, | whose image is still in the | aeons. To understand individually [15] all their parts, they are [...] , those | of the All where | knowledge is. They have | [separated] from the one whom they knew

and | (from) fellowship [20] with one another. The All and all | these, when they [...] | wash in the [washing of] | [Autogenes] he [...] | of [...] [25] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] **23** he appears to [him], | that is, when one knows how | he exists for him and (how) he has | fellowship with their companions, one has [5] washed in the washing of Protophanes. | And if in understanding the | origin of these, | how they all appear from | a single origin, how [10] all who are joined come to | be divided, how those | who are divided join | again, and how the parts | [join with] the alls and the [15] species and [kinds – if] | one understands these things, one has washed | in the washing of Kalyptos.

According | to each of [the] places one has | a portion of the [20] eternal ones [and] ascends | [...] as he | [...] pure and simple, | he is always [...] | one of the [...] [25] [always] he is pure for simpleness. | He is filled [...] | [in ...] Existence | and a holy spirit. There is | **24** nothing of his outside of him. He can | [see] with his perfect soul those | who belong to Autogenes; with his mind | , those who belong to the Triple Male, and with [5] his holy spirit, those who belong to Protophanes. | He can learn of Kalyptos | through the powers of the spirit from whom they | have come forth in a far better | revelation of the Invisible [10] Spirit. And by means of thought | which now is in silence and | by First Thought (he learns) of the Triple | Powerful Invisible Spirit, since there | is then a report and power of silence which [15] is purified in a life-giving spirit. | (It is) perfect and [...] perfect | and all-perfect. |

Glories, therefore, which | are set | over these, are [life-givers] who have [20] been baptised in truth and knowledge. | Those who are worthy are guarded, | but those who [are] not | from this race [...] | and go [...] these [25] who [...] | [...] in the fifth, he being [...] | [...] copy | [...] of the aeons | [...] namely a washing [30] but if | [he] strips off the world **25** and lays aside [knowledge], | and (if) he is he who has no | dwelling place and power, then | because he follows the ways of the others, [5] he is also a sojourner, but (if) he is one | who has committed no sin because | knowledge was sufficient for him, he | is not anxious when he repents, | and then washings are appointed' [10] in these in addition.

(Concerning) (the path ...) | to the self-begotten ones, those | in which you have now been baptised each | time, (a path) worthy of seeing the [perfect ...] | individuals: it serves as knowledge [15] of the All since it came into being | from the powers of the self-begotten ones, | the one you acquire when you pass | through the all-perfect aeons. | When you receive the third [20] washing [...], you will learn | about the [...] really [...] | in [that] place.

About these names, | they are as follows: because | he is one, they [. . .] [25] is like [. . .] | while he [came into being . . .] | exists and [. . .] | a word they [said . . .] **26** This is a name which really exists | together with [these] within her. | These who exist do so in | [. . .] . . . resembles. [5] His resemblance in kind (is) within what is | his own. He can see it, understand it | enter it, (and) | take a resemblance from it. Now | (they can) speak aloud and hear sounds, but [10] they are unable to obey because they | are perceptible and somatic. | Therefore, just as they are able to contain | them by containing them thus, | so is he an image which is [. . .] [15] in this way, having come into existence | in perception [by] a word which | is better than material nature | but lower than intellectual | essence.

Do not be amazed about the [20] differences among souls. | When they think they are | different and do [not resemble] | [. . .] of those who [. . .] and | that [. . .] [25] aloud [. . .] he being lost | [. . .] their [souls] | [. . .] body, and that | [. . . his] time, he | [. . .] a desire, **27** their souls exist as [. . .] | their body. As for those who are | totally pure, there are four [. . .] that they | possess; but those [in] [5] time are nine. Each one | of them has its species | and its custom. Their likenesses | differ in being separated, and | they stand.

Other immortal souls [10] associate with all | these souls because of | the Sophia who looked down; | for there are three species of | immortal soul: first, those who have [15] taken root upon the Exile | because they have no ability | to beget, (something) that only those | who follow the ways of | the others have, the one being a [20] single species which | [. . .]; being second, those who stand | [upon the] Repentance which | [. . .] sin, | (it) being sufficient [. . . knowledge . . .] [25] being new [. . .] | and he has [. . .] | difference [. . .] they have | sinned with the others [and] **28** they have repented with the others | [. . .] from them alone, | for [. . .] are species which exist in | [. . .] with those who committed [5] all sins and repented. | Either they are parts, or they | desired of their own accord. | Therefore, their other aeons are six | according to the place which has come [10] to each (fem.) of them. The | third (species) is that of the souls of | the self-begotten ones because they | have a word of the ineffable | truth, one which exists in [15] knowledge and [power] from | themselves alone and eternal [life]. | They have four | differences like the species | of angels who exist: [20] those who love the truth; | those who hope; those who | believe having [. . .]; those who are [. . .] | They exist, he being [. . .] [25] the self-begotten ones [. . .] | he is the one belonging to [perfect . . . life]; | the second is [. . .] the | [. . .]

knowledge | [. . .] the fourth is [30] that one [belonging to the] immortal [souls . . .]

29 The four Lights dwell | [there] in the following way. [Armozel] is | placed upon the first aeon. | (He is) a promise of god, [. . .] of [5] truth and a joining of soul. | Oroiael, a power (and) seer | of truth, is set over | the second. Daveithe, a vision | of knowledge, is set over [10] the third. Eleleth, an eager desire | and preparation for truth, | is set over the fourth. | The four exist because they | are expressions of truth and [15] knowledge. They exist, although they | do not belong to Protophanes but | to the mother, for she is a thought of | the perfect mind of the | light, so that immortal souls [20] might receive knowledge for themselves. | [. . .] at these, the Autogenes | [. . .]rse[. . .]oas, a | life [. . .] all | he is a word [. . .] [25] ineffable [. . .] truth | he who says [. . . revelation] | concerning the [. . .] | that it exists as [. . .] | exists above in [. . .] **30** [. . . joined] in a yoking of it | in light | and thought within his | [. . .].

Since Adamas, the perfect [5] man, is an eye of Autogenes, | it is his knowledge which comprehends | that the divine Autogenes | is a word of the perfect mind | of truth. The son of [10] Adam, Seth, comes to | each of the souls. As knowledge | he is sufficient for them. Therefore, | [the] living [seed] came into existence | from him. Mirothea is [. . .] [15] the divine Autogenes, a [. . .] | from her and [. . .], she being a thought | of the perfect mind because of | that existence of hers. What is it? | Or did she exist? [. . .] [20] does she exist? Therefore, | the divine Autogenes | is word and knowledge, and the | knowledge [. . . word.] | Therefore [. . .] [25] Adama[s . . .] | of the [simple ones] when she appeared | [. . .] a change of [the] | souls [. . .] she herself is [. . .] | [. . .] perfect.

Concerning [30] the [perfect one . . .] angelic beings **31** [. . .] | [becomes then] | [souls] | [die . . .] [5] [. . . the world . . .] | [. . .] the copies | [. . .] really | [. . .] which [exists] | [. . .] repentance [10] [. . .] to this place | [. . .] which exists | [. . .] aeons, if | [. . .] and she loves | [. . .] she stands upon [15] [. . .] aeon | having the Light | [Ele]leth [. . .] become a | [. . .] god-seer | [But] if she hopes, then she [20] perceives. And a [. . .] race | [. . .] she stands upon | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [25] [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | **32** [. . .] she is chosen | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] light [5] Ar[mozel] |

[. . .] one [. . .] | [bless] | upon the [power . . .] you | stand upon [. . .] [10] the light which [. . .] | and without measure [. . .] | the aeon is great [. . .] | [. . .] those alone [. . .] | from the perfect [. . .] [15] that power [. . .] | be able, and [. . .] | be able [. . .] | of his soul [. . .] | perceptible [. . .] not with [. . .] [20] [. . . but] you are [. . .] | individually [. . .] | there

being nothing [...] | him [...] | which he [...] [...] | [...] | [...] | [in ...] **33** and [...] | upon every one [...] | every [...] | [...] formless [...] [...] and this one | [...] and this [model ...] | [...] and some | [...] eternal, nor | [...] an all [...] increasing from this | [...] he is light | [...] because he lacked | [...] the perfect mind | [...] undivided [...] perfect light | [...] and he is in | [...] Adamas | [... the] Autogenes | [...] and he goes [...] mind | [...] the divine Kalyptos | [...] knowledge | [...] but | [...] soul [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] **34** [...] existence | [...] she having | [...] | [...] some second [...] powers and [...] | and some third [...] | appear [...] | which [...] | [...] [...] soul [...] |

And the aeons [...] | dwelling place [...] | souls and [...] | gods [...] higher than god [...] | of the self-begotten ones [...] | Autogenes [...] | first [...] | angel [...] invisible [...] | some [...] | soul and [...] | aeons [...] | and to the souls [...] angel [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [...] **35** she [...] | eternal [...] | times. And [...] | [...] [...] and if [...] namely a soul | [...] becomes an | [angel ...], and [...] | world [...] angels and | [...] that holy one [...] and aeon which | [... Autog]enes has | [...] them, the [...] | [...] archon | [...] they have [...] difference which | [...] she is not, to speak | [...] | [...] and | [...] divine Autogenes [...] which exists | [...] hear | [...] Autogenes | [...] of | [...] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | **36** [...] has | [...] existence | [...] life | [...] exist, concerning [the] [...] word [...] | the child [...] male | for a generation [...] | [...] | invisible spirit [...] in the perfect [...] | [...] | and an origin [...] | love and [...] | of Barbelo [...] and a [...] | the [...] mind [...] |

These are two [...] | thought [...] | from the [...] in Barbelo [...] | and the Kalyptos [...] | all these [...] the | virgin [...] | she [appears] in a [...] | and [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] **37** in that one [...] power | [...] | [he is not] from [him, but ...] | (is) from the power of that one [... really ... exists], she | [...] is his | [...] they being first | [...] of that one | [...] and he is the [...] he alone | [...] give him enough | [...] to him | [...] all, he gives | [...] through the [...] for [because of] him some | [...] in order that he might | [...] and that one which | [...] him | [...] undivided [...] Barbelo | [...] in order that he might | [...] blessedness | [...] | [...] all [...] he comes | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] **38** a [...] of the perfect | [mind ...] and he | [...] perfect spirit | [...] perfect, he lives forever [...] | him, and [...] he | exists [...] | of the [...] | he is [a word] from [...] which is in [...]

| of them all [. . .] | eternal [. . .] | [. . .] in the triple-[powerful | is in the [. . .] [15] [. . .] those which [are | perfect [. . .] | the Protophanes [. . .] | mind, but [. . .] | pure [. . .] [20] and he [. . .] | of an image [. . .] | appear [. . .] | and the [. . .] | [. . .] [25] him [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] [30] [. . .] **39** [. . .] | [. . .] namely | [. . .] | [. . .] [5] [. . .] because of him they | [. . .] I mark it | [. . .] he is simple | [. . .] for he is | [. . .] as he exists [10] [. . .] as to another | [. . .] that is, | [. . .] need.

Concerning | [. . .] triple-male | [. . .] really exists of [15] [. . .] mind knowledge | [. . .] those who exist | [. . .] which he has | [. . .] really exist | [. . .] and a [. . .] [20] [. . .] and she | [. . .] second | [. . .] perfect which | [. . .] appear | [. . .] in him they [25] [. . .] Kalyptos | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . . species . . .] [30] [. . .] | [. . .] **40** [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] [5] second species [. . .] | a knowledge [. . .] | [Protophanes . . .] | [male . . .] | he has [. . .] [10] existence [. . .] | unborn, they [. . .] | third [. . .] | [. . . he] has [. . .] | knowledge and [. . .] [15] exist together [. . .] | all-perfect [. . .] | blessed since there is not [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] [20] god [. . .] | with him [. . .] | [. . .] | perfect [. . .] | of the [. . .] [25] Kalyptos [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] **41** [. . .] know | [. . .] of | [. . . Protophanes . . .] | [. . .] the mind [5] [. . .] the powers | [. . .] the all | [. . .] and he [exists] | [. . .] this knowledge. |

[. . .] divine, the Autogenes. [10] [The] divine [Autogenes] | [. . .] the child | [. . .] triple-male, this male | [. . .] is [. . .] and a species | [. . .] perfect because it does not have [15] [. . .] in a | [. . .] knowledge like that one | [. . .] a being of the individuals | [and] a single knowledge of the | individuals [. . .] according to the all [20] [. . .] perfect. | But the male [. . .] mind | the Kalyptos, | [but] the [. . .] divine Kalyptos | [. . .] and a power [25] [. . .] of all these | [. . . really . . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] [30] [Protophanes . . .] | [. . .] **42** [Protophanes . . .] | [. . .] mind | [. . .] | [. . .] [5] she who belongs to the all [. . .] | unborn [. . .] | man [. . .] | they [. . .] | with that one who [. . .] [10] and he who [. . .] | he who dwells [. . .] | [. . .] in the perceptible [world . . .] | he is alive with that dead one [. . .] | [. . .] all [. . .] [15] obtain salvation [. . .] | that dead one.

And all of them | did not need salvation [. . .] | first, but they are safe | and exist very humbly. [20] Now (about) the man [of] those who are dead: | his soul, [his mind and | his body all [are dead]. | Sufferings [. . .] | fathers of [. . .] [25] material [. . .] | the fire [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] [30] [. . .] **43** it crosses over. And the second | man is the immortal soul | in those who are dead. | If it is anxious over itself, then [5] [when it seeks] those | things which are profitable [according to . . .] each one | of them, [then it] experiences | bodily suffering. They | [. . .] and it [10]

[. . . because] it has | an eternal god, it | associates with daimons. |

Now concerning the man in the | Exile; when [15] he discovers the | truth in himself, he is far | from the deeds of the others | who exist [wrongly] (and) stumble. | (Concerning) the man who repents: [20] when he renounces | the dead and desires | those things which are because of immortal | mind and his immortal soul, | first he [. . .] makes [25] an inquiry about it, | not about conduct | but about their deeds, | for from him he [. . .] | [. . .] and [30] [. . .] obtain [. . .] **44** and the man who can be saved | is the one who seeks him and | his mind and who finds each one | of them. Oh how much power [5] he has! And the man | who is saved is the one who has not known | how these [. . .] | exist, but he | himself by means of [the] word [10] as it exists [. . .] | received each one [. . .] | in every place, having become | simple and one, for then | he is saved because he can [15] pass through | all [these]. He becomes the [. . .] | all these. If he | [desires] again, then he parts | from them all, and he [20] withdraws to himself [alone]; | for he can become divine | by having taken refuge in god.' |

When I heard this, | I brought a blessing to the living [25] and unborn God | in truth and (to) the unborn Kalyptos | and the Protophanes, | the invisible, male, perfect | Mind, and the invisible [30] triple-male Child | [and to the] divine Autogenes. **45** I said to the child of the child | Ephesek who was with me, "Can | your wisdom instruct me about | the scattering of the man [5] who is saved, and (about) | those who are mixed with him, and | who those are who share with him, | in order that the living elect | might know?"

Then the [10] child of the child Ephesek | told [me . . .] openly, | "If he withdraws | to himself alone many | times, and if he comes into being with reference [15] to the knowledge of the others, | Mind and the immortal [Origin] will not | understand. Then | it has a shortage, [. . .] | for he turns, has nothing and [20] separates from it and | stands [. . .] and comes into being | by an alien [impulse . . .], | instead of becoming one. | Therefore, he bears many forms. [25] When he turns aside, he | comes into being seeking those things that | do not exist. When he | falls down to them in thought | and knows them in another way [30] because he is powerless, unless perhaps **46** he is enlightened, he becomes | a product of nature. Thus | he comes down to birth because of it | and is speechless because of the [5] pains and infiniteness of matter. Although he possesses an | eternal and immortal power, | he is bound within the [movement] | of the body. He is [made] alive [10] and is bound [always] | within cruel, | cutting bonds | by every evil breath, until | he [acts] again and begins again [15] to come to his senses.

Therefore, | powers are appointed for their salvation, | and each one of them is | in the world. Within the self-begotten | ones corresponding to each of [20] the [aeons] stand glories | so that one who is in the [world] | might be safe beside them. The glories | are perfect thoughts appearing in | powers. They do not perish because they [are] models [25] for salvation [by] which each | one is saved. | He receives a model (and) | strength from each of them, and | with the glory as a helper [30] he will thus pass out from the world | [and the aeons . . .].

These **47** are the guardians of the immortal | soul: Gamaliel and | Strempsouchos, Akramas | and Loel, and Mnesinous. [5] [This is the] immortal spirit, Yesseus- | Mazareu[s]-Ye[s]sedekeus. | He is [. . .] of the child | [. . .] or, the child of the child, and | [. . .] But Ormos [10] is [. . .] on the living seed | and Kam[. . .]el is the spirit-giving. | There stand before [them] | Seisauel and Audael and Abrasax, | the myriads-Phaleris, Phalses, [15] [and] Eurios, the guardians of | [the] glory-Stetheus, | Theo[pe]mptos, Eurumeneus | and Olsen. Their assistants in | everything are Ba[. . .]mos, [20] [.]son, Eir[.]n, Lalameus, | Eidomeneus and Authrounios. | The judges are Sumphthar, | Eukrebos and Keilar. | The inheritor is Samblo. [25] The angels who guide | the clouds are the clouds Sappho | and Thouro."

When he had said | these things, he told me about all of those | in the self-begotten [30] aeons. They were all **48** eternal Lights, perfect | because they were perfected individually. | I saw corresponding to each one of | the aeons a living earth, a [5] living water, [air made] | of light and a fire [that] | cannot burn, because all of [them . . .] are | simple and immutable, | simple and [10] eternal [living beings], | having [. . .] of | many kinds, trees | of many kinds that do not | perish, [also] tares [15] of this sort and all of these: | imperishable fruit, | living men and every species, | immortal souls, | every form and [20] species of mind, | true gods, | angels existing in | great glory, an | indissoluable body, [25] an unborn birth and | an immovable perception. | Also there was the one who | suffers, although he is unable to suffer, | for he was a power of a power.

49 [. . .] | [. . .] change | [. . .] indissoluable | [. . .] these [5] [. . .] all | [. . .] they are [. . .] they | [. . . through all] of them | [. . . exist] in | [. . . exist] [10] [. . .] come into being | [. . .] (lines 12ff do not survive) **50** of [. . .] | [simple . . .] | perfect [. . .] | eternal [. . .] [5] aeons [. . .] | and the [. . .] | receive power [. . .] | and their [. . .] | in a [. . .] [10] for [. . .] | [. . .] not [. . .] (lines 12ff do not survive)

51 [. . .] in | [. . .]thorso[. . .]s | [. . .] silence | [. . .] he is [. . .] [5] [. . .]

he is god | [...] we were blessing | [...] Geradama[s] | [... mother] of [...] | [...] she is the glory [10] [...] our | [...] mother | [...] and Pleistha | [the mother] of the angels with | [the son] of Adam, Se[th] [15] [Emma]cha Seth, the father of | [the] immovable [race ...] and [...] | [the] four Lights, Arm[mosel], | [Oroia]el, Daveithe, Eleleth. | [Each of these] we blessed by name. [20] [We] saw the self-controlled | [glory], the triple [...] | triple-male | [...] majesty, as we said | "You are one, you are [25] [one], you are one, child **52** of [the child] | Yato[...] | exist [...] | [...] [5] [... you are] | one, you [...] | Semelel [...] | Telmachae[...] | omothem[...] [10] male [...] | [...] he begets [... the] | self-controlled [glory ...] | can desire him whom [...] | all-perfect [...] [15] all. Akron [...] | the triple-male, a a [...] | o o o o o b + i r e i s e [...] | you are spirit from | spirit; you are light [20] from light; you are [silence ...] | from silence; [you are] | thought from thought, | the son of [god] | the god, seven ... [...] [25] ... let us speak [...] **53** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] word [5] [...] the [...] | [...] and the [...] | [...] | [...] not a time | [...] invisible [10] Barbelo | [...] the | [...] the triple-male | Prones, and she who belongs to | all the glories, Youel.

[15] [When I was] baptized the fifth | [time] in the name of the | Autogenes by | each of these powers, I | became divine. [20] [I] stood upon the fifth | aeon, a preparation of | all [these], (and) saw all those | belonging to the Autogenes | who really exist. [25] I was baptized five **54** times [...] | and [...] | of the [...] | zareu[s] [5] from [...] | that [...] | perfect [...] | and the great [...] | glory, she who belongs to [...] [10] [...] | god, the [...] | appear [...] | perfect which is doubled [...] | she who belongs to all the species [...] [15] male, the self-controlled | glory, the mother [...] | [the] glories, Youel, and the | [four] Lights of [the] | [great] Protophanes, [20] Mind, Selmen, [and those] | with him, the | god-[revealers] Zach[thos] | and Yachthos, Sethe[us] | and Antiphan[te]s, [Sel-] [25] dao and Ele[n]nos [...] **55** [...] | [...] go | [...] the | [...] their [5] [...] likeness | [... exist] as | [...] of the | [...], for [...] see [...] | [...] aeon [10] [...] more | [...] Light | [...] more glories | [...] the following are in accordance with | [each one] of the aeons: a [15] living [earth] and a | [living] water, and air made of | light and a blazing | fire which cannot | [burn], and living beings and [20] trees and souls | [and] minds and men | [and] all those who are | [with them], but (there are) no gods | [or] powers or [25] angels, for all these **56** are [...] | and [...] | and [...] | exist [...] [5] all [...] | all [...] | [...] all [...] | [...] they being [...] | and they being [...]

[10] [...] and [...] | [and] those [...] | him, the Autogenes. [I] |

received a likeness from [all] these. | The aeons [of the] Autogenes | opened (and) a [great Light] | came forth [. . .] | from the aeons of the [triple-] | male, and they [glorified] | them. The four aeons were desiring | within a [. . .] aeon | the [. . .] pattern [. . .] | single one existing [. . .] | Then E[phesek], the child of the child [. . .] **57** [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] [. . . Yesseus] Maza | [reus Yessede]keus [. . .] | [. . .] of | [. . . seal . . .] upon him | [. . .] and Gabriel [. . .] | [. . .] seal | [. . .] four races |

There came before me she who belongs to | [the glories], the male and [virginal . . .] Yoel. | [I] deliberated about the crowns, | (and) she said to me, "Why | [has] your spirit deliberated | [about] the crowns and the [seals] on them | [. . .] are the crowns which strengthen | every [spirit . . .] and every soul, | and [the] seals which are | [upon] the triple races and [. . .] the invisible spirit **58** are [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] [. . .] | [virgin . . .] | [. . .] and [. . .] | [. . .] seek [. . .] | [. . .] in the [. . .] [in] them [. . .] | [. . .] and [. . .] | [. . .] he [strengthened] | and the seals [. . .] | race are those belonging to the Autogenes and the Protophanes | and the Kalyptos.

The [Invisible] | Spirit [is] a psychic | and intellectual power, | a knower and a fore-knower. Therefore | he is with [Gabriel] | the spirit-giver [so that] | when he gives a | holy spirit he might seal him with the crown and crown him, | [having] gods [. . .] **59** [. . .] | [. . .] the | [. . .] | [. . .] [. . .] the | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] spirit | [. . .] to one (fem.) [. . .] | [. . .] they exist | [. . .] and they were | not [in] them in order that they might | [become] simple and [might] not be doubled | [according to] any pattern. | [These] then are the | simple, perfect individuals. | [. . .] and all these [. . .] of the aeons | [. . .] him, all these | [. . .] who exist in a place | [. . .] all-perfect it required a great | [. . .] to see them, for [. . .] **60** [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | perfect [. . .] [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] every [. . .] | exist [. . .] | he is [. . .] [hear] him [. . .] | [. . .] and [. . .] | in thought [. . .] | a first thought [. . .] | since [. . .] is in a power she is perfect [. . .] | it is fitting for you to [. . .] | about everything, and [. . .] | those to whom you will listen | through a thought of those higher than perfect | and also those whom you will [know] | in a soul [of] | the perfect ones." |

[When] she has said this, she [baptized me] **61** [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] the first | [. . . and] I received power | [. . .] [. . . I] received the form | [. . .] received [. . .] | [. . .] existing upon my | [. . .] receive a holy spirit | [I] came into being [really] existing. Then, she brought me | into the great [aeon] | where the perfect | triple-

male (is). | I saw [20] the invisible child | within an invisible | Light. Then | [she] baptized me again in **62** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] her [...] | [...] | [and] I [...] | I was able to [...] | [...] the great one [...] [10] and perfect [...] |

Yoel who belongs to all [the glories] | said to me, | "You have [received] all the [baptisms] | in which it is fitting to [be] baptized, [15] and you have become [perfect] | [...] the hearing of [...] | all. Now [call] again | upon Salamex and [...] | and the all-perfect Ar[...] [20] the Lights of the [aeon] | Barbelo and the immeasurable | knowledge. They | will reveal **63** [...] | [...] invisible | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | [...] which [...] | [... virgin] Barbelo | [and] the Invisible | [triple] powerful Spirit."

[When] [10] Youel who belongs to all the glories | [had said this] to me, she | [put me down] and went and stood | before the Protophanes. | Then, I was [15] [...] over my spirit, | [while] praying fervently to the great | Lights in | thought. I began calling | upon Salamex and Se- [20] [...]en and the all-perfect | [...]e. I saw | glories which are | greater than powers, | [and] they annointed me. I was able **64** [...] | in my [...] | and [...] | [...]

[5] [...] | she covered [...] | all [...] | Salamex [and] | those [who] have revealed [10] everything [to me] saying, | "Zostrianos, [learn] | of those things | about which you asked. | [...] | and [he is] a single one [who] [15] exists before [all] these | who really exist [in the] | immeasurable and undivided | Spirit [...] | [...] the All which [exists] [20] in him and the [...] | [...] and that one which [...] | after him. It is he alone | who crosses it [...]

65[...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] all these | [...] he is [...] | [...] first [...] | [... of] thought | [...] of every power [10] [... downward] | [...] he is established | [...] stand, he [passes] | into the pathway to a place | [...] and infinite. [15] He is far higher than | every unattainable one, yet he gives | [...] greater than any body | (and) is purer than every unembodied one, | entering every [20] thought and every body | [because he] is more powerful than everything, every race and species, | as their All. **66** [...] exist | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | to a partial [...] | [...] part [...] | [exist] in a [...] | know her [...] [10] [... he is] from him | [...] which really exists, | who (is) from | the Spirit who [really] exists, | the one alone [...] [15] for they are powers of | [...] Existence [...] | and Life and | Blessedness.

In | Existence he exists [as] [20] a simple head, | his [word] and species. | Let the one who will find | him come into existence. | Existing in [25]

Life, he is alive [. . .] **67** [. . .] | [. . .] | [he having] knowledge | [. . .] know all these [. . .] him alone | [. . .] for god [. . .] | unless [. . .] | [. . .] alone, and he [. . .] | [. . .] in him [. . .] [. . .] the single [. . .] | [. . .] for he exists as [. . .] | [in] that which is his, which | [exists] as a form of a form, | [. . .] unity of the [. . .]. He exists as [the] | [. . .] since he is in | [the] mind. He is within | it, not coming forth to any | place because he is a single perfect, simple spirit. | [Because] it is his place and | [. . .], it is within him and the All | that he comes into being. | It is he who exists, he who **68** [. . .] | [. . .] and a [. . .] | and a [protector] | in him.

Life [. . .] and activity of the | insubstantial [. . .] the [. . .] | which exists in him | [exists] in him [. . .] | exists because of [him . . .] blessed and a [. . .] | perfect, and [. . .] | which exist in [. . .] | which really exists. | The form of the activity which exists is blessed. | By receiving Existence, | he receives power, the [. . .] | a perfection [. . .] | separate forever. Then he exists as a perfect one. Therefore, | he exists as a perfect one | because he is undivided | with his own region, | for nothing exists before him except | the [perfect] unity.

(Pages 69-72 are blank; they may have been numbered.)

73 existence [. . .] | [. . .] she is salvation [. . .] | [all . . .] and he [. . .] | [. . .] be able, nor does he [. . .] [. . .] him, if he | [. . .] him to him, all these [. . .] | [. . .] for he [who] | [. . .] in existence | [. . .] this one, he totally [exists] as Life, and in | Blessedness he has knowledge. | If he apprehends the | [glories], he is perfect; | but if he apprehends [two] or one, he is drunk, | as he has received | [from] him. It is because of [him] | that there exist those with souls | and those without souls; because of him (exist) those who will be saved; | because of him (exist) those who will | [perish] since they have not [received] | from him; because of | [him] (exists) matter and bodies; because of him (exist) non- **74** [. . .] | [because of] him [. . .] | every [. . .] because of [. . .] | [. . .] this one [. . .] who [pre-] exists and he [. . .] | [. . .] a [simple] head, | [a] single spirit [. . .] | he is [. . .], and [. . .] | existence, form, [. . .] [. . .] of him.

It is [in accordance with] | Activity, that is [. . .] Life, | and in accordance with perfection, | that is intellectual | power, that she is a [. . .] Light. It is at one time that the three stand, | at one time they move. | It is in every place yet | not in any place that the ineffable | unnameable one [. . .] and produces | them all. [. . .] | exist from him[. . .] | resting in him [. . .] | in her perfection he has not received from [every] form **75** because of him | [. . .] | [. . .] | [. . .] anything

[...] [...] | [...] | [...] in existence | [...] dwell in the | [...] of life. But in perfection and | [knowledge] (is) Blessedness. |

All [these] dwell | [in the] indivisibility of | [the] Spirit. Because of knowledge [...] is | [divinity] and [...] | and blessedness | and life and | knowledge and goodness and unity | and singleness. | In short, all these (are) the | purity of barrenness | [...] pre-exists him [...] all these and the **76** [...] his [...] | [...] in [...] | [...] | [...] [...] | [...] | [...] | aeon, a [...] | in a [...] | barrenness, he [...] he always [...] | him when he saw him [...] | It is because he [is] one that he is | simple. Because he is | Blessedness in perfection [...] one, | perfect and [blessed]. | It is because she was in need of his [...] | that she was in need of this from him, | because he followed [her] with knowledge. | It is outside of him that | his knowledge dwells; | it dwells with the one who | examines himself, a reflection and a [...] **77** [...] be in need of [...] | [...] | [...] simple | [...] [...] and | [...] he [...] | [...] this, she [...] | [...] the pleroma | [...] which she did not desire for herself.

She has | [...] him outside of the | [perfection], she has divided, | for she is [the] all-perfection | [of] perfection, existing as thought. | With respect to him | [she] is a begetting which follows | him, and as one from | his ineffable power she has | a first power and | the first barreness | after him, | because with respect to all the rest a first aeon **78** [...] | [...] | [...] | [all ...] [...] | [...] of the [...] | [...] and him [...] | know him, he really | exists as an aeon [...] and in Activity [...] | power and a [...] | she did not begin [...] | time, but she [appeared] | from eternity, having stood before | him in eternity. | She was darkened by the | majesty of his [...] | She stood looking at him and rejoicing | because she was filled with his | kindness, [...] | but when she had [...] **79** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [...] | [...] | [...] she [...] | [...] first existence | [...] insubstantial and | that [....] It is [from] the undivided one | that [it] moves toward Existence | in activity and [intellectual] | perfection and intellectual life, | which was Blessedness and | Divinity.

The [whole] Spirit, | perfect, simple | and invisible, | has become singleness in Existence and | activity and a | simple triple-[power], | an invisible spirit, an | image of that which really exists, the one **80** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [...] | [...] | of the really [existing] one [...] | [he] exists in a [...] | she being an image [...] | in a turning [...] power to join with his [...] | she having seen the [...] | which existed [...] | all-perfection [...] | that one, because he [...] pre-exist and

[...] | rest upon all these, he [...] | pre-exist being known | as triple-powerful.

The | Invisible Spirit has not [20] ever [been] ignorant. He always | knew, but he was always | perfection [and] | blessedness [....] **81** She became ignorant [...] | and she [...] | body and [...] | promise [...] [5] light [...] | [...] she exists [...] | [...] in order that | she might not come forth anymore | nor come into existence apart [10] from perfection. She | knew herself and him. | Having made herself stand, | she was at rest | because of him, [15] since she was | [from] him who really exists, | {she was from him who | really exists} and all | those. (Thus), she knows herself [20] and him who pre-exists. |

By following him | they came into being existing {they | came into being existing} and | appearing through those **82** [who pre-]exist. And | [...] through the | [...] they having appeared | [...] two [5] [...] they appeared | [... the one] who | knows him beforehand, as | an eternal space, | since he had become [10] his second knowledge, | once again the knowledge of | his knowledge, the unborn | Kalyptos. [They] | stood upon him [15] who really exists, | for she knew about him, | in order that those who follow | her might come into being having | a place and that [20] those who come forth (from her) | might not be before her but | might become holy | (and) simple. She is the | comprehension of god **83** who pre-[exists. She] | rested [...] | to the simple [...] | salvation [5] salvation [...] | [...] he [...] | [...] light which was fore- | [known]. She was called | Barbelo because (of her being) [10] thought; the triple [race] | (which is) male, virginal | (and) perfect and her | knowledge through which she came | into being in order that they might not [15] [...] her down and that | she might not come forth anymore | through those | in her and those who follow | her. Rather, she is [20] simple in order that she might | be able to know the god | who pre-exists because | she came into being as a good (product) | of him since she [25] [...] **84** [...] barrenness | [...] third | [...] two | [...] of this way [...] [5] [...] and male [...] | [...] | [...] and the | [...] barrenness [...] | [...] she is a second [...] [10] she stood [...] | first of the reality [which] | really exists [...] | [...] the blessedness [...] | of the Invisible [Spirit], [15] the knowledge [...] the first | existence in the | simplicity of the | Invisible Spirit | in the unity. It is in [20] that pure singleness that | he is similar and [...] | species. And he who [...] | exist [...] **85** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | [...] | [...] and knows | [...] and the | [...] and the [perfection] [10] and [...] produces and | [...] the first Kalyptos | [...] them all, | existence and activity, | divinity, race [15] and species.

But are powers | one? In what way | (is it) that he is one, that is, | not a partial one, but | (one of) those of the All? What [20] is the unity which is unity? | Is he from | [...] activity [...] life | and [...] of | [...]. And [...] **86** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | [...] | [...] | power [...] | as [...]

[10] [...] perceptible [...] | [...] all-perfect [...] | [...] she having spoken, [...] | "You are great, Aphr[edon].| You are perfect, Neph[redon]." [15] To his existence she says, | "You are great, Deipha[...]. | She [is] his activity and life | and divinity. | You are great, Harmedon [...], [20] who belongs to all the glories, Epiph[a- | and his blessedness and | the perfection [of] the | singleness [...] | all [...]" **87** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | [...] | [...] forever | [...] intellectual | [...perfect] [10] [the virgin Barb]elo | through the simplicity | of the blessedness | of the triple powerful | Invisible Spirit. She [15] who has known him | has known herself. And he, being | one everywhere, being | undivided, having | [...] has [...] and she has known [20] [herself as] his activity | [...] and he has known | [...] knowledge | [...] within **88** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | bless [...] [10] [...] Be[ritheus, Erignaor], | Or[imeni]os, Ar[amen], | Alphl[ege]s, Elilio[upheus], | Lalamenu[s], Noetheus [...] | great is your name [...] [15] it is strong. He who knows (it) | knows everything. You are | one, you are one, Siou, E[...], | Aphredon, you are the [aeon] | of the aeons of the [20] perfect great one, the first | Kalyptos of the [...] | activity, and [...] | he is [...] | his image [...] [25] of his, he [...]

89 [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [... existence] [10] [...] and he | [...] | [...] | [...] in | [... the glory] [15] [...] glories | [...] a | [...] in | [...] | [...] [20] [...] | [...] aeon | [...] | [...] | [...] **90** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] |[...] | [...] | [...] | exist [...] [10] [...] | [...] | [and | [...] | [...] [15] [...] | [blessed ...] | [...] | [perfect ...] | [...] [20] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [25] [...] **91** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] god [10] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] first | [...] and powers [15] [... all-perfect] | they are [...] | of all these and a | cause of [them] all, a | [...] Barbelo | [...] [20] [...] him and | [...] all these | [...] he not having | [...] and his | [...] become [25] [...] but **92** [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [10] of [...] | [...] | [and ...] | [...] | [...] [15] and a [...] | in a [...] | according to the [thought] which | really [exists ...] which exists as [...] | name [...] [20] [...] | Kalyptos [...] | the [...] | triple [...] | [...] [25] but [...] **93** name him.

All these come, | as it were, | from him who is pure. | If you give

glory [5] because of him, and if you | [...] existence | [...] his | [...] a | [...] simple [10] [...] | [...] | [...] he will | [...] | [...] that one [15] [... know] him | [...] | [...] perfect | he being [... perfect] | and [...] [20] [...] perfect | [...] | [...] his | [...] | [...] him [25] [...] to the | [...] **94** he was not able to see her. | Therefore, it is impossible to receive | him in this way in | majestic purity [5] as a perfect head of | [him who] is in [...] | [...] which | [... know] him | concerning [...] say [10] it [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | which [...] | [...] [15] [...] | which [...] for | [...] | [... exist] together | [...] and [...] [20] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [25] nor [...] **95** differences between these and | angels, and differences | between these and men, | and differences between [5] these and existence. | And [...] | [...] | [...] and [perception] | [...] [10] [...] | [...] really | [...] | for [...] the [perceptible] | world [...] like [15] [...] | existence [...] | for [...] | and [...] | [...] (lines 20ff do not survive) **96** will approach him in knowledge. | He receives power, but he who is | far from him is humbled." |

And I said, "Why [5] then have the judges come | into being? What [...] is the [suffering] of | the [...] for | [...] | and [...] [10] [...] | [...] | but [...] | [...] | through [...] who [...] [15] suffering [...] through [...] | the [...] | [...] exists | [...] she | dwells [...] [20] [...] | [...] (lines 22ff, ca. 4 lines, do not survive) **97** male, since she is knowledge [of] | the triple powerful invisible | great Spirit, the image of | [the first] Kalyptos, the [5] [blessedness] in the | [invisible] Spirit, [...] the | [...] | [...] for | [...] he knows [10] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] fill | [...] she [15] appears [...] | knowledge [...] she | stands [...] | [...] | [...] [20] [...] (lines 21ff, ca. 6 lines, do not survive) **98** [...] a perfect unity of | a complete unity, and | when she divided the All [...] | from the All [...] [5] existence and [...] | [...] the thoughts [...] | [...] | [...] | [perception] [10] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [15] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [20] [...] | [...] (lines 22ff, ca. 5 lines, do not survive) **99** [...] | [existence ...] | [...] in [...] which | [...] [5] knowledge | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] she blesses [10] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] which [15] [...] | [...] and | [...] | [...] | [...] [20] [...] (lines 21ff, ca. 6 lines, do not survive)

100 [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [5] [...] | Arm[ozel | [...] | [...] | is the [...] [10] [through ...] | power [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [15] which [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [20] [...] | [...] (lines 22ff, ca. 4 lines, do not survive) **101** [...] invisible [...] | [...] that one [...] | [... this] is the [...] | [...] [5] [...] form | [...] | [...] | [...] of a | [...] [10] [...] | [...] | [...] Kalyptos | [...] undivided | [...] [15] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...]

| [...] (lines 20ff, ca. 4 lines, do not survive) **102** [...] which exist [...] | [...] the [...] | [...] | and [...] [5] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | he [...] [10] [...] | [...] | [...] | and [...] | those [...] [15] a [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | some [...] [20] [...] | [...] (lines 22ff, ca. 4 lines, do not survive) **103** [...] origin [...] | [which] really exists [...] | [...] exist [... essence] | [...] in [5] [... this] is | [...] the | [...] | [...] | [...] [10] [...] | [...] | [...] they | [...]not | [...] [15] [...] this | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] (lines 20ff, ca. 6 lines, do not survive)

104 [...] she appears | [...] of those who [...] | [...] of the [...] | and [...] [5] this [...] | the [...] | [...] | see [...] | [...] [10] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | he [...] [15] really [...] | [...] | that [...] | and [...] | [...] [20] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] (lines 24ff, ca. 4 lines, do not survive) **105** are those who [stand ...] | the aeon of [...] | come up to [...] | [...] which [5] exist in [...] he | on the one hand [...] | [...] he | [...] one | [...] an origin [10][...] | [...] and | [...] he | [...] matter | [...] single [15] [...] | [... exist] | [...] | [...] | [...] which [20] [...] and | [...] (lines 22ff, ca. 4 lines, do not survive) **106** [...] and he exists | [...] he is [...] and | [...] mark of a [...] | [...] an [5] [...] nor of [...] | [...] he [...] | which [...] | [...] | [...] [10] and [...] | [...] | number [...] | live [...] | according to [...] [15] which [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [20] which [...] | [...] | [...] (lines 23ff, ca. 4 lines, do not survive) **107** them [...] | [...] and [...] | existence [...] | [...] and the [...] exist [5] as [...] | reflection [...] first | [...] | [...] first | [...] of the [10] [...] | [...] | [...] he | [...] | [...] [15] [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [20] [...] | [...] (lines 22ff, ca. 6 lines, do not survive) **108** [...] not, they giving [...] | [...] he who exists [...] | [...] all and | he [...] a multitude [5] [...] creation | [...] | and [...] | [...] | [...] [10] the [...] | [...] | in the [...] | these [...] | the [...] [15] of [...] | alive [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] [20] [...] | in [...] | [...]

(Pages 109-112 do not survive)

113 and angels and | daimons and minds and | souls and living beings and | trees and bodies and [5] those which are before them: those | of the simple elements | of simple origins, and | those which are in | [...] and unmixed confusion, air [10] [and] water and earth | and number and yoking | and movement and [...] | and order and breath and | all the rest. They are [15] fourth powers which are | [in] the fourth aeon, those | which] are in the [...] and | [...] perfect of [...] powers | [...] powers [...] of [20] [...] of | [...] angels | [of the] angels, souls | [of the] souls, living beings | [of the] living beings, trees [of] [25] [the trees ...] | [...] and [...] | [...] | [...] **114** his own.

There are those | who are as begotten, and | those who are in an unborn | begetting, and there are those [5] who are holy and eternal, | and the immutable ones | in death and | destruction in indestructibility; | and there are those who are as [10] All; there are those [who are] | races and those who are [in] | a world and order; there are | those in [indestructibility], | and there are the first [who stand] [15] and the second [in] | all of them. [All] those [who] | are from them and [those who] | are [in] them, and [from] | these who [follow] them [. . .] [20] [. . .] | these [. . .] | and [the] fourth aeons | stood [. . .] | [. . .] they existing [. . .] [25] [. . .] | [. . .] **115** in them, he being scattered abroad. | They are not crowded against one another, | but to the contrary they are alive, | existing in themselves and [5] agreeing with one another, as | they are from a single | origin. They are reconciled | because they are all | in a single aeon of Kalyptos, [10] [. . .] being divided in power, | for they exist in accord with each | of the aeons, standing in | relationship to the one which has reached them. |

But Kalyptos is [a] single aeon; [15] [he] has four different | aeons. In accord with | each of the aeons | they have powers, not | like first and second (powers), [20] for all these [are] | eternities, [but] they are different | [. . .] and order and glory | [. . .] which exists | [in . . .] four aeons and [25] [. . .] who pre-exists | [. . .] god [. . .] | [. . .] they are [. . .] | [. . .]

116 All of them exist | in one, dwelling together | and perfected individually | in fellowship and [5] filled with the aeon which | really exists. There are | those among them (who stand) | as dwelling in essence | and those (who stand) as essence [10] in conduct or [suffering] because | they are in a second, for | the unengenderedness of the ungenerated | one who really exists | is among them. When the ungenerated [15] have come into being, their power | stands; there is an | incorporeal essence with [an] | imperishable [body]. The | [immutable one] is [there] [20] who [really] exists. | Because it transforms [through] | change, the [. . .] in destructible fire | stands with [all] | [these . . .] [25] [. . .] one [. . .] **117** he stands. It is there that | all living beings dwell, | existing individually (yet) all | joined together. The knowledge [5] of the knowledge is there | together with a setting up of ignorance. | Chaos is there | and a perfect place | for all of them, and they are strange. [10] True Light (is there), | also enlightened darkness together with the one | who does not really exist – | [he] does not really exist. | [. . .] the non-being who does [15] not exist at all. But it is he, the | Good, from whom derives | the good and what is pleasant | and the divine; (it is he) from | [whom] comes God and he who [20] [. . .], he who is great. | For [. . .] in part | [. . .] form and

God | that [...] and the one [...] | [...] a god [...] [25] [...] all these [...] | [...] darkness [...] | [...] **118** and a race. He has | not mixed with anything, but he remains | alone in himself and | rests himself on his [5] limitless limit. | He is [the] God of those who | really exist, a seer | and a revealer of God. |

When she had strengthened him who [knew her], [10] the aeon Barbelo, the | knowledge of the Invisible Triple | Powerful Perfect Spirit, in order to [...] | her, said, "He [...] | a life. I am alive in [...] [15] You, the One, are alive. He is alive, [he] | who is three. It is you who are [the] | three who are three [doubled ...] | e e e. The first of seven [...] | the third [...] [20] the second [...] | e e e e a a a a a a a [...] | [...] two, but he [four ...] | [...] knowledge [...] | [...]

[25] [...] **119** a part? What kind of mind, and | what kind of wisdom? What kind of understanding, | what kind of teaching? His | Lights are named (as follows): the first [5] [is Arme]don and she who is with him, | [...]; the second is | Diphane [... and] she who is with him, Dei- | ph[a ...]; the third is | [Malsed]on and she who is with him [10] [...]; the fourth is | [...]s and she who is with him, Olmis. |

Kalyptos exists having | [...] with his Form. | He is invisible to all [15] these so that they all might be | strengthened by him [...] | [...] he exists in | [...] all-perfect because | [he has] four existing [20] [...] | [...] nor according to a | [...] alone | [... B]arbelo [...] | [...] [25] [...] **120** know him and the one who is set | over a second. The first | of the aeons is Harmedon, | the father-glory. The second [5] Light (is) one whom [he does] not [know], | but all the [individuals], | wisdom [...] exist | in the fourth aeon | who has revealed [himself] [10] and all the glories. [The third] | Light (is) he [...] | not him, as the word of all | [the forms] and that other | [glory], understanding, [who is] [15] in the third [aeon]. | There are four in | Malsedon and [...] | nios. The fourth | Light is the one who [...] [20] of all the forms | existing [...] | a teaching and glory [...] | and the truth of the [four aeons], | Olmis, [...] and the [...] [25] [...] | [...] **121** fifth.

The first (is the one) | who is the second, that is, it is | the all-perfect Kalyptos, | for the four Lights [5] exist. It is Kalyptos who has | divided again, and they exist together. | All who know those who | exist as glories | are perfect. This one [10] [...] knows everything about | them all is all-perfect. | From him is every | power, every one and | their entire aeon, because they all [15] come to him and | they all come from him, | the power of them | all (and) the origin of them all. | When he learned [20] [of them], he became a | [...] aeon and a | ingenerateness. | [...]

other aeons | [in ...] a [...] [...] | [...] **122** become a Barbelo, he | becomes a first aeon | because of the eternity of the | Invisible Spirit, the second ingenerateness.

These are all | the glories: the limitless | Aphredons, [...] the | ineffables, the revealers, | all the [...] immutables, | the glory-revealers, | the twice-revealed | Marsedons, the limitless Solmises, | the self-revealers | who are [full] | of glory, those who [wait for] | glory, the blessers, the M[arse-] | dons, the Kalyptoi who [...] | the limits [...] | upon the limits [...] | those who exist [...] | [...] | [...] | [...] (Lines 24ff, 1 or 2, do not survive) **123** ten thousand glories | in them.

Therefore, he is | a perfect glory so that whenever | he can join (another) and | prevail, he exists as perfect. | Thus, even if he enters | into a body and a death (coming) from | matter, they do not | receive greater honor because of | their all-perfectness from whom | came all these, being perfect, together with | those who are with him. Indeed, each | of the aeons has | ten thousand aeons | in himself, so that by existing together | he may become a perfect | aeon.

He exists in the | [Blessedness] of the Triple | [Powerful] Perfect Invisible | [Spirit ...] silence | [...] who became first | [...] and the knowledge | [...] | [...] | [...] **124** whole, a silence of the second | knowledge, the first thought | in the will of the Triple | Powerful, because he commanded it | to know him, so that he might become | all-perfect and perfect | in himself. By simplicity | and blessedness he is | known. [I received] | goodness through that | follower of the Barbelo aeon | who gives being to himself. | [...] is not the power, but she is the one who | belongs to him.

The aeons which really | exist do so in silence. | Existence was inactivity, | and knowledge of the self-established | Kalyptos was ineffable. | Having come [from the] | fourth, the [...] | thought, the Proto[phanes], | as (the) Perfect Male [Mind] | [...] | [...] **125** he is his image, equal to | him in power and glory but | with respect to order higher than | him, (yet not higher) in aeon. | Like him he has all | these (parts) living (and) dwelling together | in one. Together with the aeon | in the aeons he has | a fourfold difference | with all the rest who | are there.

But | Kalyptos really exists, | and with him is located she who belongs to | all the glories, Youel, the male | virgin glory, through | whom are seen the | all-perfect ones. Those | who stand before him are the triple | [...] child, the triple | [...], the Autogenes | [...] He has | [...] in one | [... the one] again who prevails over the | [...] existing in [...] | **126** of ten thousand-fold.

The | first aeon | in him, from whom is | the first Light, (is) Solmis [5] and the god revealer, | since he is infinite according to the | type in the Kalyptos aeon | and Doxomedon. | The second aeon (is) Akremon [10] the ineffable together with | the second Light | Zachthos and Yachtos. The | third aeon is | Ambrosios the virgin together with [15] the third Light | Setheus and Antiphantes. | The fourth aeon | is the blesser [...] | race with [the] [20] fourth Light [Seldao] | and Elenos.

The [...] | him [...] | [...] Arm[edon | [...] **127** phoe zoe zeoe ze[...] zosi | zosi zao zeooo zesen zes- | en – the individuals and the four | who are eight-fold are alive. [5] eoooo eaeo – you who are before | them, and you who are in them | all. They are within | the perfect male Armedon | Protophanes [10] of all those who dwell together. | Since all the individuals were | existing as perfect ones, | the Activity of all the | individuals appeared again [15] as the divine Autogenes.

He | stands within an | aeon because there are within him | four different | self-begotten aeons. The [20] first aeon in him | as the first Light | (is) [Harmoze]l-Orneos-Euthrou- | nios. [He] was called | [...] [25] [... The] second [aeon as] | [the second Light is] | [Oraiael ...]-udas[...]os, Ap[...] **128** Arros[...]. The third (aeon) | of the third Light (is) | Daveithe-Laraneus- | Epiphanios-Eideos. The fourth [5] (aeon) as the fourth Light | (is) Eleleth-Kodere- | Epiphanios-Allogenios. But as | for all the rest who are in | matter, they were all left (there). [10] It was because of knowledge of | greatness, audacity and power that | they came into existence and | comforted themselves. Because they did not | know God, they shall pass away. [15] Behold, Zostrianos, you have heard | all these things of the gods | are ignorant and (which) seem | infinite to angels." |

I took courage and said, [20] "I am [still] wondering about the Triple | Powerful Invisible Perfect Spirit: | how he exists for himself, [how he causes] | everything [...] who | really exist [...] [25] what is the [...] | [...] and [...] | [...] of [...] **129** very [...] they set [me] down (and) left. |

Apophantes and Aphropais, | the Virgin-light, came before me | and brought me into Protophanes, [5] (the) great male perfect | Mind. I saw all of them | as they exist | in one. I joined | with them all (and) blessed the [10] Kalyptos aeon, the | virgin Barbelo and the Invisible | Spirit. I became all-perfect | and received power. I was written | in glory and sealed. [15] I received there | a perfect crown. I came | forth to the perfect individuals, | and all of them were questioning | me. They were listening to the [20] loftiness of my knowledge. They | were rejoicing and | receiv-

ing power. When I again | came down to the aeons of | Autogenes, I received a true [25] image, pure (yet) suitable for | the perceptible (world).

I came | down to the aeon copies | and came down here **130** to the airy-earth. I wrote | three tablets (and) left them | as knowledge for those who would | come after me, the living elect. [5] Then I came down to the perceptible | world and put on | my image. Because it was ignorant, | I strengthened it (and) went about | preaching the truth to everyone. [10] Neither the angelic beings of | the world nor the archons | saw me, for I negated a multitude | of [judgments] which brought me near death. |

But an erring multitude [15] I awakened saying, | "Know those who are alive and the holy | seed of Seth. Do not [show] | disobedience to me. [Awaken] | your divine part to God, and [20] as for your sinless elect soul, | strengthen it. Behold | death here and | seek the immutable | ingenerateness, the [Father] of [25] everything. He invites you, | while they reprove you. Although they ill-treat **131** you, he will not abandon you. |

Do not baptize yourselves with death | nor entrust yourselves to those | who are inferior to you instead of to [5] those who are better. Flee from the madness | and the bondage of femaleness | and choose for yourselves the salvation | of maleness. You have | not come to suffer; rather, you have [10] come to escape your bondage.

Release | yourselves, and that which has bound | you will be dissolved. Save | yourselves so that your soul | may be saved. The kind Father [15] has sent you the Savior | and given you strength. Why | are you hesitating? Seek when you are | sought; when you are invited, | listen, for time is [20] short.

Do not be led | astray. The aeon of the | aeons of the living ones is great, | yet (so also is) the [punishment] | of those who are unconvinced. [25] Many bonds and chastisers | surround you. **132** Flee quickly | before death reaches you. | Look at the Light. Flee | the Darkness. Do not be led [5] astray to your destruction. |

Zostrianos |
Oracles of Truth of | Zostrianos |
God of Truth |
Teachings of Zoroaster

THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP (VIII,2)

Introduced by

MARVIN W. MEYER

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The Letter of Peter to Philip fills most of the concluding nine pages of Codex VIII. Situated immediately after the tractate *Zostrianos*, *The Letter of Peter to Philip* opens with a superscribed title (132,10-11) derived from the letter which forms the first part of the tractate. Like several other tractates in the Nag Hammadi library (*Ap. Jas.*, *Treat. Res.*, *Eugnostos*), *The Letter of Peter to Philip* is presented, in part, as a letter. Besides these letters in the Nag Hammadi library, other letters were also in use among the Gnostics (for example, Ptolemy's *Letter to Flora*, and letters of Valentinus, Monoimus the Arabian, and perhaps Marcion). Furthermore, just as a magnificent epistolary tradition developed around Paul and the Pauline school, so also a more modest collection of letters came to be ascribed to Peter. These Petrine or pseudo-Petrine letters include, in addition to *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, the catholic letters of Peter in the New Testament, the *Epistula Petri* ("Epistle of Peter") at the opening of the Pseudo-Clementines, and perhaps another letter of Peter known only from a brief quotation in Optatus of Milevis. Of these letters the pseudo-Clementine *Epistula Petri* is of special interest, since it shares a number of features with *The Letter of Peter to Philip*. Not only is it prefixed to a collection of materials relating to Peter; it also seeks to attest the authority of Peter, and as it concludes, the *Contestatio* begins by referring to the recipient – James the Just – reading and responding to the letter in a manner like that of Philip in the *Letter of Peter to Philip* 133,8-11. *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, however, is not to be identified with any of these letters attributed to Peter and must represent a newly discovered work in the Petrine corpus.

In its present form *The Letter of Peter to Philip* is clearly a Christian Gnostic tractate. Taken as a whole, the tractate is to be seen as a part of the Petrine tradition: Peter is the leader, the spokesman, the preacher among the apostles, and he may very well be described as having his own disciples (139,10). The only other apostle mentioned by name is Philip, who is submissive to the authority of Peter and whose place in the tractate seems intended to highlight the pre-eminent authority of Peter. With their leader, Peter, the apostles gather at Olivet and are taught by the risen Savior; upon returning to Jerusalem, they teach in the temple and perform healings; and eventually they go forth to preach, filled with holy spirit. In other words, not only the place of Peter but also the scenario of the narrative would suggest that *The Letter of Peter to Philip* shares important features with part of the first (Petrine) section of the Acts of the Apostles (chapters 1-12).

That the author of *The Letter of Peter to Philip* makes use of Christian traditions cannot be doubted. In particular, numerous parallels between this tractate and the first half of the Acts may be noted, including scenes, themes, and terms which are similar to these two documents. Even the genre of literature they represent – a narrative on Peter and the apostles within which are included revelatory, liturgical, and edificatory materials – is similar, although in the case of *The Letter of Peter to Philip* the narrative has been prefixed with a letter of Peter. Furthermore, the author of *The Letter of Peter to Philip* is familiar with other Christian traditions besides Lukan materials. The Savior's second revelatory answer (136,16-137,4) resembles the Johannine Logos hymn (Jn 1:1-18), but the similarities must not be overdrawn. Again, the traditional kerygmatic formulae in the credo of the sermon (139,15-21) show affinities with similar formulae to be found throughout early Christian literature (the parallels in John 19 are particularly close to the credo in *The Letter of Peter to Philip*), and the little "Pentecost" of *The Letter of Peter to Philip* (140,1[?]-13) shares features with the Johannine "Pentecost" account (20:19-23). Moreover, the author of this tractate also mentions previous revelatory utterances of the Savior (135,5-6; 138,2-3, 22-24; 139,11-12), utterances frequently said to have been given while Jesus was embodied. Presumably these revelations of the embodied Savior could refer to such teachings as are presented in the canonical gospels, and the "four words" of 140,25 could have been understood as the four gospels to be sent to the four directions. (Hans-Gebhard Bethge suggests that originally the text of 140,25 may have read "the four directions," which eventually could have been modified to read "four words.") Hence, it is clear that the author of *The Letter of Peter to Philip* is conversant with early Christian materials and desires to establish continuity with these earlier traditions.

Gnostic emphases are clearly visible in the narrative framework of *The Letter of Peter to Philip.* In particular this observation applies to the gnostic "dialogue," the revelatory discourse of the Savior uttered in answer to the questions of the apostles. The first four revelatory answers (135,8-137,13) are at most marginally Christian, though they have been taken over and legitimated as revelations of the risen Lord. The first answer (135,8-136,15), which provides an abbreviated version of the myth of the mother, illustrates no overtly Christian features at all. It reflects a rather simple version of the myth, and is similar to the Sophia myth of *The Apocryphon of John* and the Barbelognostics of Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.29.1-4) in terminology and general presentation. This set of four revelatory answers furnishes a gnostic perspective on the fall into deficiency and the attainment of fullness, and the imprisonment and the struggle of Gnostics in the world. To this set of answers has been appended an additional question and answer (137,13-138,3) which utilizes different terms and focuses upon the life and mission of the apostles. Gnostic in perspective like the other answers, this additional answer does show Christian concerns, and illustrates a dominant interest of *The Letter of Peter to Philip*, the suffering of the believer.

In addition to the questions and answers in the gnostic dialogue, other materials similarly used in the tractate may also show gnostic proclivities. The two prayers of the gathered apostles (133,17-134,9) contain traditional terms and themes commonly found in early Christian prayers, but also proclaim a luminosity and glory which make them especially appropriate as the prayers of Gnostic

Christians. Likewise, the description of the resurrected Christ as a light and a voice (134,9-14; 135,3-4; 137,17-19; 138,11-13,21-22) represents a primitive way of depicting the appearances of the risen Lord (Mk 9:2-8 par.; 2 P 1:16-19; Ac 9:1-9; 22:4-11; 26:9-18; 1 Co 15; Rv 1:12-16), but among Gnostic Christians such theophanic descriptions were particularly appreciated.

In the brief sermon of Peter (139,9-140,1[?]) gnostic tendencies are even more clearly seen. To be sure, a traditional Christian credo constitutes the first part of the sermon (139,15-21), and traditional terms are applied to Jesus ("the Lord Jesus," "the Son," "the author of our life"), but the credo is interpreted according to the Gnostic Christian theology of the author of *The Letter of Peter to Philip*. From the time of his incarnation Jesus suffered, but he suffered as one who is "a stranger to this suffering" (139,21-22). A Christological tension remains as the sermon stresses both the reality of Jesus' sufferings and the glory of his divinity. In contrast to the suffering illuminator Jesus, the sermon continues, the followers of Jesus suffer because of "the transgression of the mother" (139,23). This phrase is reminiscent of references to the fall of mother Eve, and refers, for the Gnostic Christian author, to the mother often named Sophia in other versions of the myth. She is also called "the mother" at 135,12, and her tragic fall is seen as the source of human sufferings. Hence, this reference to "the transgression of the mother" may provide another point of contact between the figures of Eve and Sophia in gnostic literature.

It is possible, then, to suggest a general outline for the literary history of *The Letter of Peter to Philip*. On the basis of the parallels with *The Apocryphon of John* and Irenaeus, we suggest that *The Letter of Peter to Philip* was written around the end of the second century C.E. or into the third. The author of the text presumably wrote in Greek: such may be intimated by the presence of Greek loan words and Greek idioms. The author apparently was a Christian Gnostic who was well versed in the Christian tradition, and who used and interpreted that tradition in a Christian Gnostic fashion. A gnostic dialogue has been constructed, though it is less a true dialogue than a revelatory discourse of Christ in answer to questions raised by the apostles. Within this dialogue are included gnostic materials which are non-Christian or only marginally Christian; these materials have been adopted as revelatory disclosures of the risen Christ. On the basis of the Christian and gnostic traditions with which the author was familiar, the author compiled a narrative document with a revelatory focus. The letter itself was added at the beginning of this narrative in order to stress the authoritative place of Peter, and *The Letter of Peter to Philip* subsequently received its present title. Finally, the Greek tractate was translated into Coptic, and found its way into Codex VIII of the Nag Hammadi library.

According to the reports of James M. Robinson and Stephen Emmel, another Coptic text of *The Letter of Peter to Philip* is to be found in a papyrus codex which, at the present time, is neither published nor available for study.

THE LETTER OF PETER TO PHILIP

VIII 132, 10 – 140, 27

The letter of Peter Which He | Sent to Philip |

"Peter the apostle of Jesus | Christ, to Philip our beloved | brother and our fellow apostle [15] and (to) the brethren who are with you: greetings! | Now I want you to know, our brother [that] | we received orders from | our Lord and the Savior of | the whole world that [we] should come [together] [20] to give instruction and | preach in the salvation | which was promised us by **133** our Lord Jesus Christ. But as for you, | you were separate from us, and | you did not desire us to come together | and to know how we should organize [5] ourselves in order that we might tell the good news. | Therefore would it be agreeable to you, our brother, to | come according to the orders of our | God Jesus?"

When Philip had received these, | and when he had read [10] them, he went to Peter | rejoicing with gladness. | Then Peter gathered | the others also. They went upon | the mountain which is called [15] "the (mount) olives," the place where they used | to gather with the blessed | Christ when he was in the body.

Then, | when the apostles | had come together, and had thrown themselves upon [20] their knees, they prayed thus | saying, "Father, Father, | Father of the light, who | possesses the incorruptions, | hear us just as [thou hast] [25] [taken pleasure] in thy holy | child Jesus Christ. For he | became for us an illuminator **134** in the darkness. Yea hear us." |

And they prayed again another time | saying, "Son | of life, Son of [5] immortality who is in | the light, Son, Christ of | immortality, our Redeemer, | give us power, for they | seek to kill us."

Then [10] a great light appeared | so that the mountain shone | from the sight of him who had | appeared. And a voice called | out to them saying, [15] "Listen to my words that I may speak | to you. Why are you asking | me? I am Jesus Christ who | am with you forever."

Then | the apostles answered [20] and said, "Lord, | we would like to know the deficiency | of the aeons and their pleroma." | And: "How are | we detained in this dwelling place?" [25] Further: "How did we come to this place?" And: "In what | manner shall we depart?" Again: "How do we have **135** [the] authority of boldness?" | [And]: "Why do the powers fight against us?" |

Then a voice came to them out | of the light saying, | "It is you yourselves who are witnesses | that I spoke all these things to you. | But because of your unbelief | I shall speak again. First | of all concerning [the deficiency] of the aeons, this | [is] the deficiency, when the disobedience | and the foolishness | of the mother appeared | without the commandment of the majesty | of the Father. She wanted | to raise up aeons. And when she | spoke, the Arrogant One followed. | And when she left behind a | part, the Arrogant One | laid hold of it, and it became a | deficiency. This is the deficiency | of the aeons. Now when the Arrogant One | had taken a part, he sowed it. | And he placed powers over | it and authorities. | And [he] enclosed it in the aeons | which are dead. And all the | powers of the world rejoiced | that they had been begotten. **136** But they do not know the | pre-existent [Father], since they are | strangers to him. But this is the one to whom | they gave power and whom they served | by praising him. But he, the Arrogant One, | became proud on account of | the praise of the powers. He became | an envier and he wanted to | make an image in the place [of an image] | and a form in the place of a form. | And he commissioned the powers within | his authority to mold | mortal bodies. And they came | to be from a misrepresentation, from | the semblance which had emerged. |

Next concerning the pleroma: I am the one who | was sent down in the body | because of the seed which had fallen away. | And I came down into their mortal mold. | But they did not | recognize me; they were thinking of me that I | was a mortal man. And I | spoke with him who belongs to me, and he | harkened to me just as you too | who harkened today. | And I gave him authority in order that | he might enter into the inheritance | of his fatherhood. And I took **137** [. . .] they were filled | [. . .] in his salvation. And since | he was a deficiency, for this reason he | became a pleroma.

It is because of this | that you are being detained, because you | belong to me. When you strip off | from yourselves what is corrupted, then | you will become illuminators | in the midst of mortal men. |

And this (is the reason) that you will fight against the powers, | because [they] do not have rest like | you, since they do not wish | that you be saved."

Then the apostles | worshipped again saying, | "Lord, tell us: In what | way shall we fight against the archons, since | [the] archons are above us?"

Then | [a] voice called out to them from | the appearance saying, |

"Now you will fight | against them in this way, for the archons are | fighting against the inner man. And you | are to fight against them in this way: Come | together and teach in the world [25] the salvation with a promise. And | you, gird yourselves with the power | of my Father, and let | your prayer be known. And he, the | Father, will help you as he has [30] helped you by sending me. **138** Be not afraid, [I am with you forever,] | as I previously [said to] | you when I was in the body." Then | there came lighting and [5] thunder from heaven, and | what appeared to them in that place was taken | up to heaven.

Then | the apostles gave thanks to | the Lord with every blessing. And [10] they returned to Jerusalem. | And while coming up they spoke with | each other on the road concerning the light | which had come. And a remark was made | concerning the Lord. It was [15] said, "If he, our Lord, | suffered, then how much (must) we (suffer)?" |

Peter answered saying, | "He suffered on [our] behalf, | and it is necessary for us too [20] to suffer because of our smallness." | Then a voice came to them | saying, "I have told you | many times: It is necessary for you | to suffer. It is [25] necessary that they bring you to synagogues | and governors, | so that you will suffer. But he | who does not suffer and does not **139** [. . .] | [. . . the] Father | [. . .] in order that he may | [. . .]."

And the apostles [5] rejoiced [greatly] and came up | to Jerusalem. And they came up to the temple and gave | instruction in salvation in the name of | [the] Lord Jesus Christ. And they healed | [a] multitude.

And Peter opened his mouth, [10] he said to his (fellow) disciples, | "[Did] our Lord Jesus, when he was in the body, | show us everything? For he | came down. My brothers, listen to my voice." | And he was filled with a holy spirit. [15] He spoke thus: "Our illuminator, Jesus, | [came] down and was crucified. And he bore | a crown of thorns. And he put on | a purple garment. And he was | [crucified] on a tree and he was buried in [20] a tomb. And he rose from the | dead. My brothers, Jesus is a stranger | to this suffering. But we are | the ones who have suffered through the transgression of the mother. | And because of this, he did everything [25] like us. | For the Lord Jesus, the Son of the immeasurable glory of the | Father, he is the author | of our life. My brothers, let | us therefore not obey these lawless ones [30] and walk in **140** [. . . Then] | Peter [gathered together the others also] | saying, ["O, Lord Jesus] | Christ, author [of our] rest, [5] give us a spirit of understanding | in order that we also may | perform wonders."

Then Peter | and the other apostles saw [him] | and they were filled

with a holy spirit. [10] And each one | performed healings. And they parted | in order to preach the Lord | Jesus. And they came together | and greeted each other [15] saying, "Amen."

Then | Jesus appeared saying | to them, "Peace to you [all] and | everyone who believes in | my name. And when you depart, [20] joy be to you and | grace and power. And be not | afraid; behold, I am with you | forever."

Then the apostles | parted from each other [25] into four words in order to | preach. And they went | by a power of Jesus, in peace.

MELCHIZEDEK (IX,*1*)

Introduced by

BIRGER A. PEARSON

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This tractate is the only writing of the Nag Hammadi corpus that features, or even names, the mysterious "priest of God Most High" encountered by the patriarch Abraham, according to Genesis 14:18 (cf. Ps 110:4). Its title is partially preserved on one of the fragments making up page 1 of Codex IX. Unfortunately, this codex is in a rather bad state of preservation. Only 19 lines of text (out of approximately 745) from the tractate *Melchizedek* are completely preserved, and less than 50 percent of the total text is recoverable even by means of conjectural restoration. Thus, since there is no other extant copy of this tractate, only a very imperfect picture of its content is possible to attain, and what has been preserved is susceptible to more than one interpretation. The following account must be read with these caveats in mind.

In terms of literary genre, this tractate is an apocalypse, specifically an "apocalypse of Melchizedek." It contains revelations putatively given by heavenly intermediaries to Melchizedek, who communicates the revelations to a privileged few. Readers are implicitly invited to see themselves as sharing in these special revelations, as members of these privileged few.

The tractate consists of three main parts:

I. 1,1(?)-14,5: The tractate apparently opens with a brief vocative address by Melchizedek to Jesus Christ, but there quickly follows a third revelation addressed to Mechizedek by a heavenly informant whose name has been restored as "Gamaliel" (5,18). An important feature of this revelation, addressed to the "priest of God Most High" (12,10-11; cf. Gn 14:18), is a prophecy of the ministry, death, and resurrection of the Savior, Jesus Christ. It also contains a remarkable passage which predicts the coming of (docetic) heretics who will deny the physical reality of Jesus' incarnation, death, and resurrection (5,1-11). Melchizedek himself plays a role in this revelation, for a future high-priestly office is prophesied for him (esp. 5,11-17). A prophecy of the final triumph over death concludes this first revelation (14,8-9).

II. 14,15-18,11 (?): Melchizedek then arises with joy, and undertakes several ritual actions which may also provide for us some insights into the cultic life of the community for which the writing as a whole is intended: prayers of thanksgiving, baptism, reception of the priestly name, and a presentation of spiritual offerings. This liturgical section also includes a lengthy set of invocations, each beginning "Holy are you," addressed to members of the heavenly world (16,16-18,7; cf. 5,27-6,10). What is of special interest here is that most of the

names of these divine beings are names that appear in such gnostic texts as *The Apocryphon of John* and other tractates associated with Sethian Gnosticism. These names include Barbelo, Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, Eleleth, and others.

III. 18,11(?)-27,10: A second set of revelations transports Melchizedek into the future, again centering on the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. But this time – if our reconstruction of the fragmentary text is correct – Melchizedek is given to understand that the spiritual triumph of Christ over his enemies will be that of Melchizedek himself!

Our tractate thus presents a number of challenging features of special interest to the historian of religions; it is indeed a mélange of traditions of Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic stamp. Its presentation of the figure of Melchizedek is a case in point: he is not only the ancient "priest of God Most High" known to us from the Bible, but he also returns as an eschatological "high-priest" and "holy warrior." Such Jewish apocalyptic material as the Melchizedek fragments from Qumran (11QMelch) and *2* (Slavonic) *Enoch* shed considerable light on these features.

In this tractate, Melchizedek's appearance in the endtime is tied to the career of Jesus Christ: his incarnation, death, and resurrection. In other words, Jesus Christ *is* Melchizedek! Such an idea can be understood as rooted in an interpretation of Hebrews 7:3. Moreover, the idea that Melchizedek is the "Son of God" (i.e., identical to Jesus Christ) gained currency in some early Christian circles, particularly in Egypt.

Can anything be determined about the religious community for which our tractate was composed? The fourth-century bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, St. Epiphanius, gives us an account of a Christian sect whose members referred to themselves as "Melchizedekians" (*Haer.* 55). A comparison of Epiphanius' account with *Melchizedek* reveals enough features in common to suggest that the latter may have originated in a group of "Melchizedekians," features such as the glorification of the priesthood of Melchizedek and a Christology that insisted on the true humanity of Christ. (The Melchizedekians were not Gnostics.)

But what of the gnostic features clearly discernible in the text? These include the divine names from gnostic mythology already mentioned, a fragment of a theogonic myth (9,1-10), a gnostic interpretation of the paradise story (9,28-10,11), and a reference to the "children of Seth" (5,20). One possible explanation of these features is that an earlier form of the text has undergone a process of gnostic editing: the latest redactor was a Gnostic who identified Melchizedek-Christ with the gnostic savior Seth and who interpolated into the text the various gnostic features that are now found in it. The final form of *Melchizedek* is thus a product of Sethian Gnosticism. Other explanations are, of course, possible.

The tractate *Melchizedek* was written originally in Greek, probably in Egypt. A third-century date is likely, though it could be earlier (or later).

MELCHIZEDEK

IX 1, 1-27, 10

Melchizedek

Jesus Christ, the Son [of God | ...] from [...] the aeons that. I [might tell] | all of the aeons, and in (the case of) | each one of the aeons [that I might tell | the] nature of the aeon, what | it is, and that I might put on | friendship and goodness | as a garment, O brother [...] and [...] their end [...]. | And he will [reveal | to them] the truth [...] in [...] proverb(s) [... **2** at first] in parables | [and riddles ...] proclaim them. Death will [tremble] | and be angry, not only | he himself, but also his [fellow] | world-ruling archons [and] | the principalities and the authorities, the female gods and the male gods | together with the archangels. And [...] all of them [... | the] world-rulers [...] | all of them, and all the | [...], and all the [...].

They will say [... concerning] | him, and concerning [...] | and [...] they will [...] | hidden [mysteries ...] **3**[3] out of | [...] the All. They will [...] this the [lawyers] | will [bury] him quickly. | [They will] call him, | "impious man, lawless | [(and) impure]." And [on] the [third] day he [will rise | from the] dead [... **4**[4] holy disciples. And] | the Savior [will reveal] to them [the world] | that gives life to the [All.] |

[But] those in the heavens spoke [many] | words, together with | those on the earth [and those] under the earth. [...]. **5**

[Which] will happen in his name. | [Furthermore], they will say of him that he is | unbegotten though he has been begotten, (that) he does | not eat even though he eats, (that) he does not drink even though he drinks, (that) he is uncircumcised | though he has been circumcised, (that) he is unfleshly | though he has come in flesh, (that) he did not | come to suffering ⟨though⟩ he came to suffering, | (that) he did not rise from the dead ⟨though⟩ he arose from [the] | dead.

[But] all the [tribes and] | all [the peoples] will speak [the truth], | who are receiving from [you] | yourself, O [Melchizedek], Holy One, [High-Priest], | the perfect hope [and] | the [gifts of] life. [I am | Gamaliel] who was [sent] | to [...] the congregation of [the children] of Seth, who are above | [thousands of] thousands and [myriads] | of myriads [of the] aeons [...] | essence of the [aeons | a] ba [...] aiai ababa. O divine [...] of the [... | nature ... | O Mother] of the aeons, [Barbelo, | O first-]born of the aeons, **6** splendid Doxomedon,

Dom[. . .] | O glorious one, Jesus Christ, | O chief commanders of the luminaries, you [powers] | Armozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, [5] Eleleth, and you man-of-light, | immortal Aeon Pigeradamas, | and you good god of the | beneficent worlds, Mirocheirothetou, | through Jesus Christ, the Son [10] of God. This is the one whom I proclaim, | inasmuch as there has [visited | the One who] truly exists | [among those who] exist [. . . | do(es)] not [exist], Abel Baruch – [15] [that] you (sg.) [might be given] the knowledge [of the truth | . . .] that he is [from | the] race of the High-priest | [which is] above [thousands of thousands] and | [myriads] of myriads of the aeons. The [20] adverse [spirits are] | ignorant of him and (of) their (own) | destruction. Not only (that, but) I have come to | [reveal] to you [the] truth | [which is] within the [brethren.] He included [25] himself [in the] living | [offering] together with your [offspring.] He | [offered] them up as an [offering to | the] All. [For it is not] cattle | [that] you will offer up [for sin(s)] **7** of unbelief [and for] | the ignorances [and all the] wicked | [deeds] which they [will do . . .]. | And they do [not] reach | [the] Father of the All [. . .] | the faith [. . .] [27] to receive [baptism . . .] | waters [. . .]. **8** For [the waters] which are above | [. . .] that receive baptism | [. . .]. But receive [that baptism | which is] with the water which [. . .] [5] while he is coming [. . . [9] baptism] as they [. . .] [28] pray for the [offspring of the] **9** archons and [all] the angels, together with | [the] seed ⟨which⟩ flowed [forth from | the Father] of the All [. . . | the] entire [. . .] from [. . . [5] there were] engendered the [gods and the angels] | and the men [. . .] | out of the [seed] | all of [the | natures], those in [the heavens and] | those upon the earth and [those] [10] under [the earth . . .] [25] nature of the females [. . .] | among those that are in the [. . .] | they were bound with [. . .] [But this] is [not] (the) true Adam **10** [nor] (the) true Eve.

[For | when they ate] of the tree [of | knowledge] they trampled [the | Cherubim] and the Seraphim [5] [with the flaming sword]. They [. . .] | which was Adam's | [. . . the] world-rulers and | [. . .] them out | [. . .] after they had brought forth [10] [. . .] offspring of the archons and | [their worldly things], these belonging to [. . .] [25] light [. . .]. | And the females and the [males,] | those who exist with [. . . | hidden] from every nature, [and they will | renounce] the archons [. . . **11** who] receive from him the [. . .]. | For [they] are worthy of [. . . | immortal], and [great . . .] | and [great [. . . [5] and] great [. . .] | sons of [men . . . | disciples . . . | image] and [. . .] | from the [light [10] . . .] which is holy. | For [. . .] from the | [beginning . . .] a seed [. . .]. **12**

But I will be silent | [. . .] for we [are | the brethren who] came down

from | [the] living [. . .]. They will [. . .] [5] upon the [. . .] [7] of Adam | [. . . Abel], Enoch, [Noah . . . [10] you], Melchizedek, [the Priest] | of God [Most High . . .] | those who [. . .] | women [. . .].

[. . .] **13** these two who have been chosen will | [at] no time nor | [in] any place will they be convicted, | whenever they have been begotten, [5] [by] their enemies, by their friends, | [nor by strangers nor their | [own] kin, (nor) by the [impious] | nor the pious | [All of] the adverse natures will [10] [. . .] them, whether | [those that] are manifest, or those that | [are] not [manifest], together with those | [that dwell] in the heavens and those that are | [upon] the earth and those that are under [15] the earth. They will make [war . . .] | every one. | For [. . .] whether in the [. . .] [21] many [. . .]. [25] And these in the [. . .] | every [one] will [. . .]. | These will [. . .] | with every blow [. . .] **14** weaknesses. These will be | confined in other forms [and | will] be punished. [These] | the Savior will take them [away | and] they will overcome everything, [not with] | their mouths and words | but by means of the [. . .] | which will be done for [them. He will] | destroy Death.

[These things] [10] which I was commanded | to reveal, these things | reveal [as I (have done)]. | But that which is hidden do not reveal | [to] anyone, unless [it is revealed] [15] to you (to do so)."

And [immediately | I] arose, [I, Melchizedek], | and I began to [. . .] | God [. . .] | that I should [rejoice . . .] [21] while he [is acting . . .] | living [. . . | I said], "I [. . . [26] and I] will not cease, from [now on | for ever], O Father of the [All, | because] you have had pity on me, and **15** [you have sent the] angel of light | [. . .] from your [aeons | . . . to] reveal [. . .] | when he came he [5] [caused] me [to be raised up] from ignorance | and (from) the fructification | of death to life. For | I have a name, | I am Melchizedek, the Priest [10] of [God] Most High; I | [know] that it is I who am truly | [the image of] the true High-Priest | [of] God Most High, and | [. . .] the world. For it [15] is not [a] small [thing that] | God [. . .] with [. . .] | while he [. . .]. | And [. . . the angels that | dwell upon the] earth [. . .] [22] is the [sacrifice] of [. . .] | whom Death deceived. | When he [died] he bound them [25] with the natures which are [leading them astray]. | Yet he offered up **16** offerings [. . .] | cattle [. . .] | I gave them to [Death | and the angels] and the [. . .] [5] demons [. . .] | living offering [. . .] | I have offered up myself to you as an offering, together with those that are mine, to | you yourself, (O) Father of the All, and [10] those whom you love, who have come forth | from you who are holy (and) [living]. And ⟨according to⟩ | the [perfect] laws I shall pronounce | my name as I receive baptism [now] | (and) for ever, (as a name)

among the living (and) [15] holy [names], and (now) in the [waters], Amen.

[Holy are you], | Holy are [you], Holy are you, O [Father | of the All], who truly exist [...] | do(es) not exist, [Abel Baruch [20] ...] for ever and ever, [Amen]. | Holy are [you, Holy are you], Holy are [you, | ...] before [... | for ever and] ever, | [Amen]. Holy are [you], Holy are [you, [25] Holy are you, Mother of the] aeon(s), | Barbelo, | for ever and ever, [Amen. | Holy are you], Holy are you, Holy are you, | [First]-born of the aeons, [30] Doxomedon. [... **17** for ever] and ever, Amen. | [Holy are you, Holy are you], Holy are you. [... [5] for ever and ever], Amen. | [Holy are you, Holy are you], Holy are you. [...] [8] [first] aeon, | [Harmozel, for] ever and ever, [10] [Amen. Holy are you], Holy are you, | [Holy are you], commander, luminary | [of the aeons], Oriael, for | [ever and ever], Amen. Holy are you, | [Holy are you, Holy are you], commander [15] [of the aeons], man-of-light, | [Daveithe], for ever | [and ever, Amen]. Holy are you, | [Holy are you, Holy are you, commander-in-chief Eleleth, ... [20] the] aeons [... for [25] ever and ever], Amen. | [Holy are you], Holy are [you], Holy are you, | good [god of] **18** the [beneficent] words, ... | Mirocheirothetou, [for] | ever and ever, [Amen. | Holy are] you, [Holy are you, Holy are you], [5] Commander-in-chief [of the] | All, Jesus Christ, [for ever and ever], | Amen.

[...]. [9] Blessed [...] | confession. [And ...] | confess him [...] | now [...] | then it becomes [...] | fear [and ...] [15] fear and [...] | disturb [...] | surrounding [them ...] | in the place [which has a] | great darkness [in it [20] and] many [...] | appear [...] | there [... appear ...] **19** And | [...] they were clothed with | [...] all and [...] [10] disturbances. They gave | [...] their words | [...] and they said to me, | [... Melchizedek, | Priest] of God [Most High ... they] spoke as though [... | their] mouths [...] | in the All [...] [24] lead astray [...] **20** with his [...] | worship [and ...] | faith [and ...] | his prayers, And [...] [6] those that [are his ...] | first [...]. [10] They did not care that [the | priesthood] which you perform, [which] | is from [... [14] in the] counsels of [...] | Satan [...] | the sacrifice | [...] his doctrines [...] [20] of this aeon [... [25] which] exist(s) [in ...] | lead(s) [astray ...] **21** and some [...] [4] he gave them to [... [6] and] thirteen [...] **22** throw [him ... | in order that] you might [... [4] for] immediately [... | by means of ... | on the ground]. The [... (p. 23 almost completely missing) **24**[2] which is above ...] **25** me. And | [...] you (pl.) struck me, | [...] you threw me, | [...] corpse. And [5] [you crucified me] from the third hour | [of the Sabbath-eve] until | [the ninth hour]. And after | [these things

I arose] from the | [dead. . . .] came out of [10] [. . .] into me. [. . .] | my eyes [saw . . . [12] they did not] find anyone [. . .] **26** greeted [me . . .]. | They said to me, "Be [strong, O Melchizedek], | great [High-priest] | of God [Most High, for the archons], | who [are] your [enemies], | made war; you have [prevailed over them, and] | they did not prevail over you, [and you] | endured, and [you] | destroyed your enemies [. . .] [10] of their [. . .] | will rest, in any [. . .] | which is living (and) holy [. . . | those that] exalted themselves against him in [. . .] | flesh.

[. . . **27** with] the offerings, working on that | which is good, fasting | with fasts.

These revelations | do not reveal to anyone [5] in the flesh, since they are incorporeal, | unless it is revealed to you (to do so)." |

When the brethren who belong to the | generations of life had said these things, they | were taken up to (the regions) above [10] all the heavens. Amen.

THE THOUGHT OF NOREA (IX,*2*)

Introduced by

BIRGER A. PEARSON

Translated by

SØREN GIVERSEN and BIRGER A. PEARSON

Comprising only 52 lines of text, this tractate is one of the shortest of the Nag Hammadi corpus. The pages of the manuscript on which it is found are damaged, but they preserve enough text to allow for the restoration of almost the entire tractate. The Coptic text, however, is manifestly corrupt at points, and textual emendation has been deemed necessary here and there (indicated in the translation with pointed brackets).

The tractate bears no title in the manuscript. The one used in this edition is a phrase found in the text itself, at the end of the tractate (29,3). Another title is in use in German scholarship: "Ode on Norea," a designation that also defines the literary genre of this writing: an ode or hymn.

The hymnic features evident in the text include *parallelismus membrorum*, repetition, and a balanced structure, characteristics of Semitic poetry. *Norea* does not, however, satisfy the requirements of Greek poetry, for no traditional Greek meter can be ascribed to the original Greek text of which this Coptic version is a translation.

The tractate has a clear fourfold structure:

I. 27,11-20: The tractate begins with an invocation addressed to a divine triad consisting of Father, Mother, and Son, the basic primal triad found in Sethian Gnosticism. The incomprehensible Father is a primal Mind, here also called Adamas (28,30; 27,26), whose Thought (*ennoia*) is a primal spiritual Mother. Their son is Mind (*nous*), also called Logos (27,18) and Autogenes (28,6).

II. 27,21-28,12: The invocation is expressly attributed to Norea: "It is Norea who [cries out] to them" (27,21-22). Her cry for deliverance results in her restoration to the divine world, her proper place (= the Pleroma), 27,23; 28,22).

III. 28,12-23: While remaining in the pleroma, Norea also has a saving role to play in propagating "words of Life" (28,13-14).

IV. 28,24-29,5: Norea's own salvation is aided by the intercession of the "four holy helpers" (28,27-28), figures who are easily identifiable as the four "luminaries" of Sethian Gnosticism: Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, and Eleleth (cf., e.g., *Melch.* IX 6,3-5). Her "thought" (29,3) is the gnosis that brings about for all of her spiritual progeny ultimate reintegration into the godhead. Thus, in saving others, Norea saves herself.

From what has already been said, there can be no doubt that *Norea* is a gnostic text in the full technical sense of that term. It has justifiably been included among those gnostic texts which are classified as Sethian, in the sense that they share es-

sential features of a discrete gnostic system conveniently labeled as Sethian. (Hans-Martin Schenke is the foremost proponent of this classification, which applies to the following texts of the Nag Hammadi corpus: *Ap. John*, *Hyp. Arch.*, *Gos. Eg.*, *Apoc. Adam*, *Steles Seth*, *Zost.*, *Norea*, *Marsanes*, *Allogenes*, and *Trim. Prot.*) The Sethian system includes the following essential elements: 1) the gnostic triad of Father, Mother, and Son; 2) the four "luminaries" subordinate to the Son; and 3) the figure of Seth and/or his feminine counterpart, Norea. All of these elements are found in our tractate.

There are no clear indications of Christian influence in this tractate, and such Jewish influence as can be found in it belongs to its prehistory, i.e., the earlier formulations of the Sethian system which is reflected in it.

The most interesting feature of *Norea* is the savior figure depicted in it, Norea. This figure occurs in a wide range of gnostic literature, Sethian and non-Sethian, with considerable variation in the spelling of her name: Norea, Orea, Noraia, Oraia, Horaia, Nora, Noria, Nuraita, and Nhuraita. She is represented in the literature as the daughter of Adam and Eve, sister-wife of Seth, or as the wife of Noah or Shem. She is sometimes portrayed as the intended victim of rape by the wicked archons, as in *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (II,*4*), a text which stands in close relationship with *Norea*. Comparative analysis of the gnostic texts, together with certain traditions from Jewish *aggadah* featuring a Cainite woman called Naamah (cf. Gn 4:22), shows that Norea is a gnostic derivative of the figure of Naamah. The original spelling of her name in Greek is *Horaia*, the semantic equivalent of Hebrew *Na'amah* ("pleasing, lovely").

Norea thus has a previous career in Jewish legend as a naughty girl, Naamah, cavorting with the fallen "sons of God" (Gn 6:2). A completely opposite picture of Norea is presented in *Hyp. Arch.*, according to which she is an undefiled virgin and a spiritual helper to (gnostic) humankind (II 91,34-92,2; cf. Gn 2:18). It is this picture of Norea that is reflected in our tractate as well. Indeed, in *Norea*, the saving role of Seth has disappeared completely; it is Norea who is the gnostic "saved savior." As such she can be regarded as a symbolic equivalent of Sophia ("wisdom") as well as a symbol of the gnostic soul in need of redemption and reintegration into the godhead.

It is not possible to come to any definite conclusion as to the tractate's provenance, but Syria or Egypt are the most likely possibilities. A date in the late second, or early third, century is plausible. We have no information on the question of its authorship, but *Norea* is one of the Nag Hammadi tractates that could easily have been written by a gnostic woman.

THE THOUGHT OF NOREA

IX 27, 11-29, 5

Father of All, [Ennoia] | of the Light | [dwelling in the heights | above the (regions) below, [15] Light dwelling [in | the] heights, Voice of | Truth, upright Nous, | untouchable Logos, | and [ineffable] Voice, [20] [incomprehensible] Father! |

It is Norea who [cries out] | to them. They [heard], | (and) they received her into her place | forever. They gave it [25] to her in the Father of Nous, | Adamas, as well as the voice | of the Holy Ones, **28** in order that she might rest | in the ineffable Epinoia, | in order that ⟨she⟩ might inherit | the first mind [5] which ⟨she⟩ had received, and that ⟨she⟩ might rest | in the divine Autogenes, | and that she (too) might generate | herself, just as [she] also has | inherited the [living] Logos, [10] and that she might be joined to | all of the Imperishable Ones, and [speak] | with the mind of the Father.

And | [she began] to speak with words of | [Life], and ⟨she⟩ remained in the [15] [presence] of the Exalted One, [possessing | that] which she had received before | the world came into being. | [She has] the [great | mind] of the Invisible One, [and [20] she gives] glory to ⟨her⟩ Father, [and | she] dwells within those who [. . .] | within the Pleroma, | [and] she beholds the Pleroma. |

There will be days when she will [25] [behold] the Pleroma, and | she will not be in deficiency, | for she has the four | holy helpers who intercede | on her behalf with the Father of [30] the All, Adamas. He it is **29** who is within all of the Adams, | possessing the | thought of Norea who speaks | concerning the two names which create [5] a single name.

THE TESTIMONY OF TRUTH (IX,*3*)

Introduced by

BIRGER A. PEARSON

Translated by

SØREN GIVERSEN and BIRGER A. PEARSON

This tractate is unfortunately poorly preserved, owing to the fragmentary condition of the manuscript. Almost half of the text is lost. Even so, enough material is extant or recoverable to enable us to gain a rather good picture of the tractate's content.

It is possible that a title was originally appended to the tractate at the end (as is the case with 21 of the other tractates in the Nag Hammadi corpus); if so, it would have been part of the last inscribed folio of the codex, which is now lost (pp. 75-76). The title now in universal use has been editorially assigned on the basis of content ("word of truth," 31,8; "true testimony," 45,1), and underscores the author's concern to establish "true" faith and praxis while also exposing the false claims of "heretical" opponents.

Indeed, one of the most interesting features of this tractate is that we see in it the other side of the theological arguments we know so well from the ecclesiastical heresiologists. The author is a Christian Gnostic polemicist, with a strict encratic world view and lifestyle. His chief opponents are catholic Christians of the ecclesiastical establishment. Surprisingly, our gnostic author does not spare fellow Gnostics similar polemical treatment, i.e., Gnostics whose lifestyle and ritual practice differ from his own.

The tractate consists of two main parts. The first is a well-constructed homily on truth versus falsehood, addressed to fellow members of a Christian Gnostic community (29,6-45,6). Its purpose is to bolster the convictions of the author's fellow Gnostics and to warn them against the errors of (catholic) Christian opponents. The second part (45,6-end) consists of miscellaneous additions, including elaborations of themes already sounded in the homily itself. It is in this section that the polemics against other Gnostics occur.

I. The homily opens with an exordium in which the author appeals to those endowed with spiritual hearing. An attack is then launched against the Law, which for the author is summed up in the command to procreate. The polemics continue with attacks on those who espouse martyrdom in the belief that there will be a "carnal resurrection" (31,22-38,27). Sexual "defilement" (39,5), i.e., marriage and procreation, is vigoriously criticized (38,27-41,4), with Jesus' virgin birth used as a sign that Christians should lead a virginal life (40,5-7). The capstone of the homily as a description of the career of the archetypical Gnostic: his renunciation of the world and his reintegration into the realm of imperishability (41,4-44,30). A peroration sums up the "true testimony": self-knowledge is knowledge of God and leads to the "crown unfading" (44,30-45,6).

II. The appended miscellanea occur in a portion of Codex IX which has sustained considerable damage and loss. It is nevertheless clear that the polemical tone sounded in the homily consists of a gnostic midrash on the serpent of Genesis 3 (45,23-49,10). It retells the paradise story in such a way as to portray the serpent as the revealer of life and knowledge, and God (the Creator) as a malevolent and ignorant demon. This material is probably based on a previously existing source, to which the author of *Testim. Truth* has added some editorial touches, including an allegorical interpretation of the serpent as a symbol of Christ (49,7).

Another interesting section, unfortunately very fragmentary, consists of polemics against the tenets of such other Gnostics as Valentinus (56,2-5), Basilides and his son Isidore (57,6-8), and the Simonians (58,2-3). It is presumably on the basis of their ethical and ritual practices that those teachers and groups are regarded by the author of *Testim. Truth* as heretics. For example, the Valentinians are criticized for their use of the sacrament of baptism (55,7-9); water baptism is consistently condemned in *Testim. Truth* (69,7-24; cf. 30,18-30). The Simonians are criticized for marrying and begetting children (58,2-4), a criticism that would extend to the Valentinians and Basilidians as well.

In short, from beginning to end, our tractate is filled with the polemics of a teacher who earnestly believed that his version of Christian faith and praxis was the only true one, a pamphleteer whose hatred of "heresy" was the match of that of an Irenaeus, a Hippolytus, or a Tertullian. Indeed, our author can be regarded as a mirror-image of the great heresiologists of the Church, representing the other side of the argument.

Who was this man? From what can be gathered from the tractate itself, he was probably an Alexandrian whose Gnostic Christianity was heavily influenced by other Alexandrian gnostic traditions, especially Valentinianism. Yet he rejected certain features of Valentinian doctrine and practice. As it happens, Clement of Alexandria has provided us with information about a gnostic teacher who fits the situation of our author very well: Julius Cassianus. This man had "departed from the school of Valentinus" (*Strom.* III.93) and espoused a strict encratism, condemning marriage and sexual intercourse. Julius Cassianus, of all the heretics known to us by name from ancient sources, is the most likely candidate for the authorship of *Testim. Truth*.

Even if Julius Cassianus is not its author, *Testim. Truth* is most plausibly to be situated in Alexandria and dated to the end of the second century or the beginning of the third.

THE TESTIMONY OF TRUTH

IX 29, 6-74, 30

I will speak to those who know | to hear not with the ears | of the body but with the ears | of the mind. For many have sought [10] after the truth and have not | been able to find it; because there has taken hold

of them [the] | old leaven of the Pharisees | and the scribes [of] [15] the Law. And the leaven is [the] | errant desire of | the angels and the demons | and the stars. As for the Pharisees | and the scribes , it is they [20] who belong to the archons who | have authority [over them]. |

For no one who is under | the Law will be able to look | up to the truth for they will not be [25] able to serve two masters. | For the defilement of the Law | is manifest; **30** but undefilement belongs to the | light. The Law commands | (one) to take a husband (or) to take a wife, and | to beget, to multiply like the sand [5] of the sea. But passion which | is a delight to them constrains | the souls of those who are begotten | in this place, those who defile | and those who are defiled, [10] in order that the Law might | be fulfilled through them. And | they show that they are assisting | the world; and they | [turn] away from the light, [15] who are unable | [to pass by] the archon of [darkness] | until they pay the last [penny]. |

But the Son of Man | [came] forth from Imperishability, [20] [being] alien to defilement. He came | [to the] world by the Jordan | river, and immediately the Jordan | [turned] back. | And John bore witness to the [25] [descent] of Jesus. For it is he | who saw the [power] | which came down upon | the Jordan river; for he knew | that the dominion of [30] carnal procreation had come to an end. The Jordan | river is the power | of the body, that is, the senses **31** of pleasures. The water | of the Jordan is the desire | for sexual intercourse. John | is the archon of [5] the womb.

And this is what the | Son of Man reveals to us: | It is fitting for you (pl.) | to receive the word of truth. If | one will receive it [10] perfectly, – . But as for one who is [in] | ignorance, it is difficult for him | to diminish his works of [darkness] | which he has done. Those who have [known] | Imperishability, [however], [15] have been able to struggle against [passions . . .] [17] I have said [to | you], "Do not build [nor] | gather for yourselves in the [place] [20] where the brigands break open, | but bring forth fruit | to the Father."

The foolish – thinking [in] | their heart [that] | if they confess, "We [25] are Christians," in | word only (but) not with power, while | giving themselves over to | ignorance, to a | human death, [30] not knowing where they are going **32** nor who | Christ is, thinking that they | will live, when they are (really) in error – | Hasten towards the principalities [5] and the authorities. They fall | into their clutches because of the | ignorance that is in | them. For (if) only | words which bear testimony [10] were effecting salvation, the whole world | would endure this thing | [and] would be saved. | [But it is in this way that they |

[drew] error to themselves. [... [18] they do] not [know] that they [will destroy] | themselves. If the [Father [20] were to] desire a [human] sacrifice, | he would become [vainglorious]. |

For the Son of | [Man] clothed himself with their | first-fruits; he went down to [25] Hades and performed many mighty works. | He raised the dead | therein; and the | world-rulers of darkness became envious **33** of him, for they did not find | sin in him. But | he also destroyed their works | from among men, so that [5] the lame, the blind, | the paralytic, the dumb, (and) the | demon-possessed were granted | healing. And he walked | upon the waters of the sea. [10] For this reason he [destroyed] | his flesh from [...] | which he [...]. And he [became | ...] salvation [... | his death ... [19] everyone ...] [20] how many [they are! They are] | blind [guides, like the disciples]. | They boarded [the ship, (and) at about thirty] | stades, they [saw Jesus | walking] on the [sea. These] [25] are [empty] martyrs, | since they bear witness only [to] | themselves. And yet they are | sick, and they are not able to raise **34** themselves.

But when they are | "perfected" with a (martyr's) death, this | is the thought that they have | within them: "If we [5] deliver ourselves over to death | for the sake of the Name we will be saved." These matters | are not settled in this way. But | through the agency of the wandering | stars they say [10] that they have "completed" their [futile] | "course," and [...] | say, [...]. | But these [...] | they have [delivered [15] themselves ...]. [23] But they resemble | [...] them. They do not have [25] the word which gives | [life].

[And] some say, | "On the last day | [we will] certainly arise **35** [in the] resurrection." But they do not | [know what] they are saying, | for the last day | [is when] those belonging to Christ [5] [... the] earth which | is [...]. when the [time] | was fulfulled, he destroyed | [their archon] of | [darkness ...] soul(s) [... [20] he | stood ...] | they asked [what they have been] | bound with, [and how they] | might properly [release themselves]. [25] And [they came to know] | themselves, [(as to) who they are], | or rather, where they are [now], | and what is the [place **36** in] which they will rest | from their senselessness, [arriving] | at knowledge. [These] | Christ will transfer to [the heights] [5] since they have [renounced] | foolishness, (and have) advanced | to knowledge. | And those who [have | knowledge ...] [21] the great | [... the resurrection | ... he has come to] know | [the Son of Man], that [25] [is, he has come to] know [himself. | This] is the perfect life, | [that] man know | [himself] by means of the All. |

[Do not] expect, therefore, [30] [the] carnal resurrection, **37** which [is]

destruction, [and they are not | stripped] of [it (the flesh) who] | err in [expecting] | a [resurrection] [5] that is empty. [They do] not [know] | the power [of God], | nor do they [understand the interpretation] | of the scriptures [on account of their] | double-mindedness. [The [10] mystery] which [the Son of Man | spoke about . . .] | in order that [. . .] | destroy [. . .] [16] man who [. . . book] | which is written [. . .] | for [they] have [. . . [20] blessed . . .] | within [them, and they] | dwell before [God under the | light yoke. Those who do not] | have [the life-giving word] [25] in their [heart will die]; | and in [their] thought | they have become manifest to [the Son] | of Man, according to [the manner of their] | activity and their [error . . .] **38** of this sort. They | [. . .] as he divides the | [. . .] and they [do not] understand | [that the Son] of Man [5] is coming from him. |

But [when they have come] up to | [. . .] sacrifice, they die | [in a] human [way], and they | [deliver] themselves [. . .] [12] a death [. . .] [16] those who | [. . .] they are many | [. . .] each | [one . . .] pervert [20] [. . .] gain | [. . . their] mind. | [Those who receive him] to themselves | [with uprightness] and | [power] and every knowledge [25] [are the ones whom] he will transfer | [to the] heights, unto | [life] eternal.

[But] those who receive | [him] to themselves with | [ignorance], the pleasures **39** which are defiled prevail over [them]. | It is those people who used to [say], | "God created [members] | for our use, for us to [grow in] [5] defilement, in order that [we might] | enjoy [ourselves]." | And they cause [God to] | participate with them [in] | deeds of this [sort; and] [10] they are [not] steadfast [upon] | the earth. [Nor will they reach] | heaven, [but . . .] | place will [. . .] | four [. . .] [18] unquenchable [. . . [22] word . . .] | upon [the Jordan river] | when he came [to John at] [25] the time he [was baptized]. | The [Holy] Spirit [came] | down upon him [as a] | dove [. . .] | accept for ourselves that [he] was born [30] of a virgin [and] | he took flesh; he [. . . **40** having] received power. | [Were we also begotten from | [a] virginal state | [or] conceived by the word? [5] [Rather, we have been born] again by | [the word]. Let us therefore strengthen | [ourselves] as virgins in the | [. . .].

The males dwell | [. . .] the virgin [10] by means of | [. . .] in the word | [. . .]. But the word of | [. . .] and spirit [. . .] [18] is the Father | [. . .] for the man [. . . [21] like Isaiah, who was sawed | with a saw, (and)] he became two. | [So also the Son of Man | divides] us by [25] [the word of the] cross. It | [divides the day from] the night and | [the light from the] darkness and the corruptible | [from] incorruptibility, and it | [divides] the males from the females. [30] But [Isaiah] is the type **41** of the body. The

saw | is the word of the Son of | Man which separates us from the | error of the angels.

No one [5] knows the God of truth | except solely the man who | will forsake all of the | things of the world, having renounced | the whole place, (and) having [10] grasped the fringe of his garment. | He has set himself up as a [power]; | he has subdued desire in every [way] | within himself. He has [. . .] | and he has turned to him [. . .] [15] having also examined [. . .] | in becoming [. . . | the] mind. And [he . . . from] | his soul [. . .] | there [. . .] [20] he has [. . .] [22] in what way [. . .] | the flesh which [. . .] | in what way [. . .] [25] out of it, and | how many [powers does he have]? | And who is the one who has bound him? | And who is the one who will loose him? And what | is the light? And what is the darkness? [30] And who is the one who has created [the earth]? | And who is God? [And who] **42** are the angels? And what is soul? | And what is spirit? And where is | the voice? And who is the one who speaks? And who | is the one who hears? Who is the one who gives pain? [5] And who is the one who suffers? And who | is it who has begotten the corruptible flesh? | And what is the governance? | And why are some | lame, and some [10] [blind], and some | [. . .], and some | [. . .], and some | rich, [and] some | poor? And why [15] are [some powerless, | some] brigands? [. . .] [21] he having | [. . .] as he again | [. . .] fighting | against | [thoughts] of the archons [25] and the powers and the demons, | not giving them a place | in which to rest. | [But] he struggled against their passions | [. . .] he condemned **43** their error. He cleansed his | soul from the transgressions | which he had committed with an alien hand. | He stood up, being upright within [5] himself, because he exists in | everyone, and because he has | death and life | within himself, and he exists | in the midst of both of them. [10] And when he had received the power | he turned towards the parts of the right, | and he entered into the truth, | having forsaken all things pertaining to the left, | having been filled with wisdom, [15] with counsel, with understanding | and with insight, and an | eternal power. [And] | he broke open his bonds. [Those who had] | formed the whole place [20] [he] condemned. [But they | did not] find [. . .] hidden | within him.

[And he gave command] | to himself; he [began to] | know [himself and] [25] to speak with his [mind], which | is the father of the truth, concerning the unbegotten | aeons, and concerning | the virgin who brought forth | the light. And he thinks [30] about the power which | flowed over the [whole] place, **44** and which takes hold of him. And | he is a disciple of his mind | which is male. He began | to keep silent

within [5] himself until the day when | he should become worthy to be received | above. He rejects for himself | loquacity and | disputations, and he endures [10] the whole place; and he bears up | under them, and he endures | all of the evil things. | And he is patient | with every one; he makes himself equal [15] to every one, and he also separates | himself from them. And that which someone | [wants, he brings] to him, | [in order that] he might become perfect | [(and) holy]. When the [. . . [20] he] | grasped [him], having bound him | upon [. . .] and he was filled | [with wisdom. He] bore witness to the truth | [. . .] the power, and he went [25] [into] Imperishability, the place | whence he [came] forth, having left | the world which has | the appearance of the [night, | and] those that whirl the [30] [stars in] it.

This, therefore, is **45** the true testimony: When | man comes to know himself | and God who is over the truth, | he will be saved, and he [5] will crown himself with the crown | unfading.

John | was begotten by the World through | a woman, Elizabeth; | and Christ was begotten by [10] the world through a virgin, | Mary. What is (the meaning of) this mystery? | John was | begotten by means of a womb | worn with age, but Christ [15] passed through a virgin's womb. | When she had conceived she gave birth to | the Savior. Furthermore she | was found to be a virgin again. | Why, then, do you (pl.) [err] [20] and not seek after these mysteries | which were prefigured | for our sake? |

It is written in the Law concerning this, | when God gave a command [25] to Adam, "From every [tree] | you may eat, [but] from | the tree which is in the midst of | Paradise do not eat, | for on the day that you eat [30] from it you will surely | die." But the serpent was wiser **46** than all the animals that | were in Paradise, and | he persuaded Eve, saying, | "On the day when you eat [5] from the tree which is in the midst | of Paradise | the eyes of your mind will be opened." | And Eve obeyed, | and she stretched forth her hand; [10] she took from the tree and | ate; she also gave to her husband with | her. And immediately they knew | that they were naked, | and they took some fig leaves [15] (and) put them on as girdles. |

But [God] came at the time of | [evening] walking in the midst | [of] Paradise. When | Adam saw him he hid himself. [20] And he said, "Adam, where are you?" | He answered (and) said, | "[I] have come under the fig tree." And at that very moment | God [knew] that he had [25] eaten from the tree of | which he had commanded him, "Do not | eat of it." And | he said to him, "Who is it **47** who has instructed you?" And Adam answered, | "The woman whom you have | given me." And

the woman said, | "It is the serpent who instructed me." [5] And he cursed the serpent, and | called him "devil." | And he said, "Behold, Adam has | become like one of us, | knowing evil and [10] good." Then he said, "Let us | cast him out of Paradise | lest he take from the tree | of life and eat and live for | ever."

But of what sort is [15] this God? First [he] | maliciously refused Adam from | eating of the tree of knowledge. | And secondly | he said, "Adam, where are you?" [20] God does not have | foreknowledge; (otherwise), would he not know from the | beginning? [And] afterwards | he said, "Let us cast him [out] [25] of this place, lest he | eat of the tree of | life and live for ever." | Surely he has shown | himself to be a malicious [30] grudger. And **48** what kind of a God is this? | For great is the blindness | of those who read, and they did not | know him. And he said, "I am [5] the jealous God; I will bring | the sins of the fathers upon | the children until three (and) four generations." | And he said, "I will make | their heart thick, and I will [10] cause their mind to become blind, that | they might not know nor | comprehend the things that | are said." But these things he has | said to those who believe in him [15] [and] serve him!

And | [in one] place Moses writes, | "[He] made the devil a serpent | ⟨for⟩ [those] whom he has in his generation." | Also in the book which is [20] called "Exodus," | it is written thus (cf. 7:8-12): "He contended against the | [magicians], when the place was full | [of serpents] according to their [wickedness; and | the rod] which was in the hand of Moses [25] became a serpent, (and) it swallowed | the serpents of the magicians."

Again | it is written (Nm 21:9), "He made a serpent of | bronze (and) hung it upon a pole **49** [. . .] which [. . .] [3] for the [one who will gaze] upon | [this] bronze [serpent], none [5] [will destroy] him, and the one who will | [believe in] this bronze serpent | [will be saved]."

For this is Christ; | [those who] believed in him | [have received life]. Those who did not believe [10] [will die].

What, then, is this | [faith? They] do not [serve . . . [28] and you (pl.) . . .] | we [. . . **50** and] you [do not understand Christ | spiritually when you say], | "We [believe] in Christ." For [this] | is the [way] Moses [writes] [5] in every book. The [book of | the] generation of Adam [is written for those] | who are in the [generation] of [the Law]. | They follow the Law [and] | they obey it, [and . . .] [11] together with the [. . .]. (pp. 51-54 almost completely missing)

[. . . , ". . . **55** the] Ogdoad, which is the | eighth, and that we might

receive | that [place] of salvation." | [But they] know not what salvation is, [5] but they enter into | [misfortune] and into a | [. . .] in death, in the | [waters]. This [is] the baptism | [of death which they observe . . .] [16] come to death | [. . . and] this is | [. . .] according to [. . .] **56** he completed the course [of] | Valentinus. He himself | speaks about the Ogdoad, | and his disciples resemble [the] [5] disciples of Valentinus. | They on their part, moreover, [. . .] | leave the good, [but] they | have [worship of] | the idols [. . .] [18] he has spoken [many words, and he has] | written many [books . . .] [20] words [. . . **57** they are] manifest from | [the] confusion in which they are, | [in the] deceit of the world. | For [they] go to that place [5] together with their knowledge | [which is] vain.

Isidore also, | [his son], resembled | [Basilides]. He also | [. . .] many, and [he [10] . . .] but he did not [. . .] | this [. . .] | other disciple(s) | [. . .] blind [. . . | but he] gave them [15] [. . . pleasures . . .] **58** they do [not] agree [with] | each other. For the [Simonians] | take [wives] | (and) beget children; but the [. . .] [5] abstain | from their [. . .] nature | [. . .] a [passion . . .] | the drops [of . . .] | anoint [them . . .] [11] which we [. . . they | agree] with [each other . . .] | him [. . .] they [. . .] **59** judgment(s) | [. . .] these, on account of the | [. . .] them | [. . .] the heretics [5] [. . .] schism(s) [. . .] | and the males | [. . .] are men | [. . .] will belong | [to the world-rulers] of darkness [. . .] [11] of [the world . . .] [13] they have | [. . .] the [archons [15] . . . power(s) . . .] [17] judge [them | . . .]. But [the . . .] | word(s) of [. . .] **60** speak, while they [. . .] | become [. . .] | in a fire [unquenchable . . .] | they are punished.

[But these] [5] who are [from the generation] | of the Son of [Man have revealed] | to the [. . . in] all of [the | affairs . . .]. [11] But [it is difficult] to [. . .] | to find [one . . .] | and [two . . .]. [16] For the [Savior said to his] | disciples, [. . .] | one in [. . . **61** and] he has | [. . .] wisdom as well as | [counsel and] understanding and | [intelligence] and knowledge [5] [and power] and truth. | [And he has] some | [. . .] from above | [. . .] the place where | [the Son of Man . . .] [12] power [. . .] | guard against [. . .] **62** he knows [. . .] | understands [. . .] [4] worthy of him [. . .] | true [. . .] | alien [. . .]. | But [. . .], together with [. . .] | evil, in [. . .] [11] he received [baptism . . .] | and those that [. . . (pp. 63-64 missing) **65** in] a dream | [. . .] silver [. . .]. | But [. . .] becomes [wealthy | . . .] among the [authorities . . .]. [6] But [the] sixtieth | [. . .] thus | [. . .] world | [. . .] they [10] [. . .] gold [. . . [29] they] think, [. . .] [31] we have been released from **66** the flesh. [. . .] [3] not turn him to [. . .] | Jesus [. . . [6] the] beginning [. . .] | a son [. . .] [9] out of [. . . which | is] the pattern [. . . | light of . . .] [28] to find from [. . .] | defilement which [. . . [31] they] do not blaspheme

[... **67** them] not, neither is there any [pleasure] | nor desire, nor | [can they] control them. It is fitting | that they should become undefiled, [5] in order that they might | [show] to every [one] that they | [are from] the [generation of the] Son of Man, | since it is about [them] that the Savior bore | witness. |

But [those who are] from [10] the seed [of Adam] are manifest | by their [deeds which are] their [work]. | They have not ceased [from desire which is | wicked ...]. | But some [15] [...] the dogs | [...] the angels | for [...] which they beget | [...] will come [...] with their [...] [28] move as they | [... on] the day when they will beget [30] [children]. Not only that, but they | have intercourse while they are giving suck. **68**

But others are caught up in the death of [...]. | They are [pulled] | ⟨every⟩ which way, (and) they are gratified | by unrighteous Mammon. [5] They lend money [at interest]; they [waste time]; | and they do not work. But he who is | [father] of [Mammon is (also)] | (the) father of sexual intercourse.

But he who | is able to renounce them [10] shows [that] he is [from] the generation | of the [Son of Man], (and) has | power to accuse [them. | ... he] | restrains [...] [15] part(s) in a [...] | in wickedness [and he makes] the | outer like the [inner. He resembles] an | angel which [... [20] power ...] | said them. But the one [...]. [27] And having withdrawn [...] he became | silent, having ceased from loquacity | and disputations. **69** But he [who has] found the [life-giving word | and he who] has come to know [the Father of Truth | has come to rest]; he has ceased [seeking], having | [found]. And when he found he became [silent]. [5] But few are the things he used to say to those that | [...] with their intellectual mind the | [...].

There are some who, upon entering | the faith, receive a baptism | on the ground that they have [it] as a hope [10] of salvation, which they call | "the [seal,"] not [knowing] | that the [fathers of] the world are | manifest that [place. But] | he himself [knows that] he is sealed. [15] For [the Son] of [Man] | did not baptize any of his | disciples. But [... if those who] are baptized | were headed for life, | the world would become [20] empty. And the fathers of | baptism were defiled. |

But the baptism of truth is | something else; it is by renunciation of [the] | world that it is found. [But those who] [25] say [only] with the tongue [that | they] are renouncing it [are lying], | and they are coming to [the place] | of fear. Moreover they are humbled | within it. Just as those to whom it was given, [30] to have been condemned, | [they shall] get something!

They are | wicked in their behavior! Some | of them fall away **70** [to the worship of] idols. [Others] | have | [demons] dwelling with them [as did] | David the king. He is the one who [5] laid the foundation of Jerusalem; and his son | Solomon, whom he begat | in [adultery], is the one who | built Jerusalem by means of the demons, | because he received [power]. When he [10] [had finished building, he imprisoned] the demons | [in the temple]. He [placed them] into seven | [waterpots. They remained] a long [time | in] the [waterpots], abandoned | [there]. When the Romans [went] [15] up to [Jerusalem] they discovered | [the] waterpots, [and immediately] | the [demons] ran | out of the waterpots as those who | escape from prison. And [20] the waterpots [remained] pure (thereafter). | [And] since those days, [they dwell] with men who are | [in] ignorance, and | [they have remained upon] the earth.

Who, then, is [25] [David]? And who is Solomon? | [And] what is the foundation? And what is the | wall which surrounds Jerusalem? And who | are the demons? And what are the | waterpots? And who are [30] the Romans? But these [are mysteries . . .] **71** [12] victorious over [. . . the Son] | of Man [. . . [14] undefiled . . .] [18] and he [. . .] | when he [. . .]. [20] For [. . .] is a great [. . .] [22] to this nature [. . .] [24] those that [. . .] | all in [a . . .] blessed | and they [. . . like a] | salamander. [It] goes into | the flaming fire which burns | exceedingly; it slithers into the [furnace . . . **72** [14] the] furnace [. . .] [16] the boundaries | [. . .] that they might see | [. . .] and the power | [. . .] sacrifice. Great is the sacrifice [. . . [22] but] in a | [. . .] aside | [. . .]. And [25] [the Son] of Man [. . .] | and [he has become] manifest through | the bubbling fountain of [immortality. **73** . . .] | he is pure, | [and he] is [. . .]. A free man | [is not] envious. He is set apart from [5] everyone, from [every audacity and] envy | the [power of] which is great [. . .] is (a) | disciple [. . .] | pattern of law [. . .] | these [. . .] [10] only [. . .] [13] they placed | him under a[. . .] [15] a teaching [. . .] [17] his teaching, saying, "[Even if] an [angel] | comes from heaven, and preaches [20] to you beyond that which we preached | to you, may he be | anathema," (cf. Ga 1:8) not letting the [. . .] | of the soul which [. . .] | freedom [. . .]. [25] For they are still immature [. . .] | they are not able to [keep] | this law which works | by means of these heresies – | though it is not they, but the powers [30] of Sabaoth – by means **74** of the [. . .] | the doctrines [. . .] | as they have been jealous of some [. . . | law(s)] in Christ. Those who will [. . .] [5] power [. . .] they reach the [. . .] | the [twelve] | judge [. . .] them | [. . .] the fountain of | [immortality . . .] [13] in order that [. . . [17] good . . .] | the whole place. | [. . .] there the enemies. [20] He baptized himself, and the | [. . .] he became divine; he flew

| [up], (and) they did not grasp him. | [...] there the [enemies | ...] since it was not possible [25] [for them to bring him] down again. | If every [...] grasps him | [with] ignorance, attending | to those who teach in the corners | by means of carved things and | artful tricks, they will not be able [...].

MARSANES (X,*1*)

Introduced and translated by

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Codex X is extant only in fragments representing considerably less than half of its original content. Codices X and XII are the two Nag Hammadi manuscripts which have suffered the most loss. But, unlike Codex XII, the fragments of Codex X represent literature that is previously unknown; that is to say, there does not exist any other extant copy of the tractate(s) contained in it. We do not even know how large Codex X originally was, for the 68 inscribed pages to which the extant fragments are assigned represent an absolute minimum; the original codex could very easily have consisted of over 90 inscribed pages.

We do not know for sure that Codex X contained only one tractate, though what can be determined of the content of the extant fragments suggests that this is the case. Letter-traces of a tractate title, with decorations, occur on a small fragment of the last inscribed page (68). The proper name "Marsanes" has been restored from these letter-traces; hence the title *Marsanes*.

Marsanes is the name of a gnostic prophet known from two other sources: the untitled tractate found in the Bruce Codex names Marsanes and Nikotheos as "perfect men" who had seen visions of a divine being called "the triple-powered one," an emanation of the supreme Father (Cod. Bruc. *Untitled*, ch. 7). Epiphanius of Salamis mentions among the prophets honored by the "Archontic" Gnostics "a certain Martiades and Marsianos, who had been snatched up into the heavens and had come down after three days" (*Haer.* 40.7.6). ("Marsianos" is simply a Greek variant of "Marsanes.") It is quite possible that the author of the Bruce Codex tractate had access to *Marsanes*, and our tractate may also have circulated among the "Archontics" discussed by Epiphanius.

In terms of genre, our tractate is an apocalypse, specifically an "apocalypse of Marsanes." "Marsanes" may be a name adopted by the gnostic author (*mar* means "master" in Syriac). Alternatively, an anonymous author is attributing his writing to a well-known gnostic prophet. In either case, the text contains purported revelations and reports of visionary experiences. There are also passages of a paraenetic character with which the author exhorts and encourages his readers. The text is addressed to members of a gnostic community who have already been initiated (see e.g., 2,19-21; 3,4-9).

The third-century Neoplatonist philosopher, Porphyry, in a biography of his great teacher, Plotinus, refers to certain "sectarians who had abandoned the ancient philosophy" (i.e. Platonism). These sectarians were Gnostics, with whom members of Plotinus' school had come in contact. Porphyry reports that these people "produced apocalypses of Zoroaster and Zostrianos and Nikotheos and Allogenes and Messos and others of this sort" (*Vit. Plot.* 16). Two of the apocalypses referred to by Porphyry are now available to us in Coptic versions in the Nag Hammadi corpus: *Zostrianos* (VIII,*1*) and *Allogenes* (XI,*3*). *Marsanes*, in terms of its content, is very closely related to these two tractates.

Too much of our tractate is now lost to allow us to give a full account of its content, or even to outline its structure. The first ten pages are relatively intact, however. This part of the tractate contains material relating to a gnostic ascent experience, and includes a discussion of the various levels of reality, symbolically referred to as "seals." These levels range from the "worldly" and "material," characterized by corporeal existence (2,16-21), to the realms of the invisible Three-Powered One, the Non-being Spirit, and the unknown Silent One (4,12-23).

The next-best preserved section is from the middle of the codex (pp. 24-42), and contains material on the mystical meaning of the letters of the alphabet and their relation both to the human soul and to the names of the gods and angels of the zodiacal realm and the other spheres of the heavens.

The material at the end of the codex is extremely fragmentary, but there are indications of visionary experiences and a reference to heavenly intermediaries who "spoke like the angels" (63,4). One of these is mentioned by name: Gamaliel (64,19), an angel who appears in a number of Sethian Gnostic sources, including *Melchizedek* (IX,*1*:5,18). This part of the tractate also includes references to a kind of baptismal ceremony (55,20; 66,1-5). The tractate ends with a word of encouragement to "those who will know [him]" (68,17, probably referring to the supreme Father; cf. 1,11-25).

Marsanes has been classified as a Sethian writing, on the basis of features in it which relate to the Sethian Gnostic system (as delineated especially by Hans-Martin Schenke). Seth is nowhere mentioned in the extant fragments, but the revelatory role assigned to Marsanes in this tractate makes it possible for us to see in him an avatar of Seth the savior.

There are no hints in our tractate of any Christian elements or influences, and such items of Jewish origin as are reflected must be assigned to its prehistory, i.e., to the Sethian Gnostic system lying behind the text.

Marsanes is one of the Sethian Gnostic tractates in the Nag Hammadi corpus that have been profoundly influenced by Platonist philosophy. The others are *The Three Steles of Seth* (VII,*5*), *Zostrianos* (VIII,*1*), and *Allogenes* (XI,*3*). In fact, both in terms of its metaphysics and its ritual references, *Marsanes* represents a kind of Platonism which coheres well with that of the Syrian Neoplatonist philosopher, Iamblichus of Chalcis (ca. 250-325 C.E.). For *Marsanes*, as for Iamblichus, matter is not evil; indeed, it is capable of salvation (see esp. 5,14-26). Here we see a definite attenuation of the radical dualism characteristic of earlier gnostic texts. For *Marsanes*, as for Iamblichus, the descent of the soul into matter is not regarded as a fall but as a demiurgic function, a doctrine based on Plato's discussion of the soul and its descent in the *Timaeus* (41a-42b). In *Marsanes*, the descent of a figure called "the Self-begotten One" (Autogenes) represents symbolically the descending soul in its demiurgic function (5,27-6,16). Similar ideas are expressed in Iamblichus' famous treatise, *On the Mysteries of Egypt* (*De mysteriis* VIII.3).

In terms of its ritual allusions, *Marsanes* is comparable to that variety of late Platonism in which theurgy was cultivated. Theurgy (*theourgia*: "the works [*erga*] of the gods [*theoi*]") is religious ritual whose chief aim is to assist the human soul in its reascent. The *Chaldaean Oracles*, a second-century collection

of revelatory poetry, is the classic authority for theurgy, but Iamblichus is probably the greatest exponent and theorist of theurgy among the philosophers. Study of his great work on religious ritual (*De mysteriis*, referred to above) opens up some interesting possibilities for understanding the enigmatic ritual allusions in *Marsanes*. One can thus view *Marsanes* as a text in which gnostic theurgy plays a crucial role.

Examples of *Marsanes'* preoccupation with ritual include the material on the "thirteen seals" (2,12-4,23), which is probably related to a gnostic ritual of ascent. (Cf. *Steles Seth*, which contains prayers and invocations used in such a ritual.) The material on the letters of the alphabet and the nomenclature of the gods and the angels (pp. 19-40) also is related to the ascent ritual, and probably involves ritual chant and special instructions expected to assist the soul in its ascent. An enigmatic reference to "wax images" and "emerald likenesses" (35,1-3) reminds us of Iamblichus' discussion of the use of stones, plants, etc., in theurgic ritual (*De mysteriis* V.23). Even the baptismal references already mentioned (55,20; 66,1-5) could be understood in association with an ascent ritual. (This is probably the case with the references to baptism in *Zostrianos*; see e.g., VIII 5,14-7,22.)

The tractate *Marsanes* was probably written sometime in the third century. There are strong indications of a Syrian background for its gnostic author, but this person could have been active in any number of places in the Mediterranean world, such as Rome or Egypt, though Syria is probably the best guess. From there the original Greek version would have been brought to Egypt and translated into Coptic.

MARSANES

X 1, 1-68, 18

[. . .] [11] and a [reward]. They [came to know]; they | found him with a pure heart, | (and) they are not afflicted by him | with evils. Those who have received [15] you (pl.) will be given their | choice reward for | endurance, and he will | ward off [the] | evils from them. [But] let none [20] of us be distressed [and] | think [in] his | heart that the great | Father [. . .]. | For he looks upon the All [and] [25] takes care of them all. | And [he] has shown to them | his [. . .]. | Those that [. . .] **2** [11] at first. |

But as for the thirteenth | seal, I have established it, | together with [the] summit of [15] knowledge and the certainty | of rest. The first | [and the] second and the | [third] are the worldly | and the material. I have [20] [informed] you concerning these, that you should | [. . .] your bodies. And | [a] sense-perceptible [power] | will [. . .] those who will rest, | and they will be kept [25] [from] passion and division | [of the] union.

The fourth | [and the] fifth which are above, | [these] you have come

to know | [... divine]. **3** He exists after the [...] | and the nature of the [...] | that is, the one who [...] | three. And [I have [5] informed] you of [...] | in the three [...] | by these [two. I have | informed] you concerning [it, that it] | is incorporeal [...] [11] and after [...] | within [...] | every [...] which [...] | your [...]. The [fifth, [15] concerning the] conversion [of] | those that are within me, and | concerning those who dwell in that place. |

But the sixth, | concerning the self-begotten ones, [20] concerning the incorporeal being | which exists partially, | together with those who exist in | the truth of the All [...] | for understanding and [25] assurance. And the [seventh], | concerning the self-begotten power, | which [is the] | third [perfect ...] **4** fourth, concerning salvation | [and] wisdom. And the eighth, | concerning the mind which is | [male, which] appeared [5] [in the beginning], and (concerning) the being | [which is incorporeal] and the | [intelligible] world. The ninth, | [...] of the power | [which] appeared [in the [10] beginning. The] tenth, [concerning | Barbelo, the] virgin [...] | of the Aeon. | [The eleventh] and [the | twelfth] speak of the [15] Invisible One who possesses | three powers | and the Spirit which does not | have being, belonging to | the first Unbegotten (fem.). The [20] thirteenth speaks concerning | [the] Silent One who was not | [known], and the primacy of | [the one who] was not distinguished. |

For I am he who has [25] [understood] that which truly exists, | [whether] partially or | [wholly], according to difference | [and sameness], that they exist from the | [beginning in the] entire place which is **5** eternal, ⟨i.e.⟩ all those that have come into | existence whether without being | or with being, those who are | unbegotten, and the divine aeons [5] together with the angels, and the | souls which are without guile, | and the soul-[garments], | the likenesses of [the] | simple ones. And [afterwards they] [10] have been mixed with [...] | them. But still [... the] | entire being [... which] | imitates the [incorporeal being] | and the unsubstantial (fem.). [Finally] [15] the entire defilement [was saved] | together with the immortality of | the former (fem.). I have deliberated | and have attained to the boundary of the sense-perceptible | world, ⟨I have come to know⟩ part by part [20] the entire place | of the incorporeal being, and | ⟨I⟩ have come to know the intelligible world. | ⟨I have come to know⟩, when ⟨I⟩ was deliberating | whether in every respect the sense-perceptible [25] world is [worthy] | of being saved entirely.

[For] | I have not ceased speaking [of the] | Self-begotten One, O [...] | became [...] **6** part by part the entire place. | He descended; again he descended | ⟨from⟩ the Unbegotten One | who does not have

being, who [5] is the Spirit. That one who exists | before all of them reaches | [to the divine] Self-engendered One. | The one having | [being] searches [10] [. . .] and he exists | [. . . and] he is like | [. . .] and from | [. . .] dividing | [. . .] I became [15] [. . .] for many, as it is manifest | that he saved a multitude. |

But after all of these things | I am seeking the kingdom | of the Three-Powered One, [20] which has no beginning. Whence | did he appear and | act to fill the | entire place with his power? And | in what way did the unbegotten ones [25] come into existence, since they were not begotten? And | what are [the] differences among the [aeons? | And] as for those who are unbegotten, | how many [are they]? And in what respect | [do they differ] from each other? **7**

When I had inquired about these things | I perceived that he had worked | from silence. He exists | from the beginning among those that [5] truly exist, that belong to the One who | exists. There is another, existing | from the beginning, belonging to the One who | works within the Silent One. | And the silence [. . .] [10] him works. | For as much as this one [. . .] | that one [works from] | the [silence which belongs to the] | Unbegotten One among [the aeons, and from] [15] the beginning he does not have [being]. | But the energy of | that One ⟨is⟩ the Three-Powered One, | the One unbegotten [before] | the Aeon, not having [being]. [20] And it is possible to behold the supremacy of the | silence of the Silent One, | i.e. the supremacy | of the energy of the | Three-Powered. And the One who [25] exists, who is silent, [who is] | above the [heaven . . .], | revealed [the | Three-Powered, First]-Perfect | One.

[When he . . .] **8** to the powers, they rejoiced. | Those that are within me were perfected | together with all the | rest. And they all blessed [5] the Three-Powered, | one by one, who | is [the] First-Perfect One, | [blessing] him in purity, [everywhere] | praising the Lord [10] [who exists] before the All, | [. . . the] Three-Powered. | [. . .] their worship | [. . .] myself, | [and I will still go on [15] inquiring] how they had | become silent. I will understand a | power which I hold | in honor.

The third | power of the Three-Powered, [20] when it (fem.) had perceived him, | said to me, "Be silent | in order that you might know; run, | and come before me. But | know that this One was [25] [silent], and obtain understanding." | For [the power] is attending | [to me, leading] me into | [the Aeon which] is Barbelo, | [the] male [Virgin]. **9**

For this reason the | Virgin became male, | because she had been divided from the male. The | Knowledge stood outside of him, [5] because it belongs to him. | And she who exists, she who sought, | possesses (it),

just as | the Three-Powered One possesses. | She withdrew [10] from them, from [these] two [powers], | since she exists [outside of] | the Great One, as she [...] | who is above [...] | who is silent, [who has] [15] this [commandment] | to be silent. His knowledge | and his hypostasis | and his activity | are those things of which the power [20] of the Three-Powered spoke, ⟨saying⟩, | We all have | withdrawn to ourselves. We have [become] | silent, [and] | when we came to know [him, that is], [25] the Three-Powered, [we] | bowed down; we [...; we] | blessed him [...] | upon us." [...]. |

[... the] invisible [Spirit] **10** ran up | to his place. The whole place | was revealed; the whole place unfolded | ⟨until⟩ he reached the upper region. [5] Again he departed; he caused the | whole place to be illuminated, and the whole | place was illuminated. And [you] (pl.) have been given | the third part of | [the spirit] of the power of the One [10] [who possesses] the three | [powers]. Blessed is [...]. He said, "O [you | who dwell in these] places, it is necessary | [for you to know] those that are higher [15] than these, and tell them to the | powers. For you (sg.) will become | [elect] with the elect ones | [in the last] times, | [as] the invisible Spirit [20] [runs] up above. And you | [yourselves], run with him | [up above], since you have | [the] great crown which | [...].

But on the day [25] [...] will beckon | [...] run up above | [...] and the sense-perceptible | [...] visible | [...] and they [...] (pp. 11-12 missing) **13** [15] the perception. He is for | ever, not having being, | in the One who is, who is silent, | the One who is from the beginning, | [who] does [not] have being [20] [...] part of [...] | indivisible. The [...] | consider a [... [24] ninth ...] **14** [15] I [was dwelling] | among the aeons which have | been begotten. As I was permitted, [I] have | come to be among those that were not [begotten]. | But I was dwelling] | among the aeons which have | been begotten. As I was permitted, [I] have | come to be among those that were not [begotten]. | But I was dwelling in the [great] [20] Aeon, as I [...]. | And [... | the] three powers [...] | the One who [possesses] | the [three] powers. The [three [25] powers ... **15** the] Silent One and the | Three-Powered One [... | the] one that does not have breath. | We took our stand [...] [5] in the [...] [13] we entered [...] | breath [... **16** who] does not have breath, | [and he] exists in a [... | completely]. And I saw | [...] him to the great (fem.) [5] [...] they knew [him ...] [12] limit [...] | and [I ...] | alone [...] **17** is active | [...] why, [again], (does) knowledge | [...] ignorant, and [...] | he runs the risk [5] [...] that he become [... [9] on account of ...]. [15] Those | [...]. But it is necessary that a | [...] does not have form | [...] to this one

| [. . .] exists before [20] [. . .] the thought | [. . . from] the beginning | [. . .] the one that [. . .] **18** these [. . .] | look(ed) at [. . .] in nine [. . . the] | cosmic hebdomad [. . .] | in a day of [. . .] [5] for ever [. . .] [14] and [. . . after] | many [years . . .] | when I saw the [Father I came to] | know him, and [. . .] | many [. . .] | partial [. . .] [20] for ever [. . .] | the material ones [. . .] | worldly [. . .] | above [. . .] | in addition [. . .] **19** [13] he [. . .] [15] out of [. . .] | into those that [. . .] | them into [. . .] | name | [them. And] (as for) their nomenclature, [20] [bear] witness yourselves | [that you are] inferior to [their | . . .] and their [hypostasis]. |

But [in addition, when . . .] **20**[14] hidden [. . . | the] third | [power]. The blessed Authority (fem.) | said [. . .] | among these and [. . .] | i.e. she who [does not have . . .]. [20] For there is not glory [. . .] | nor even the one who [. . .]. | For indeed the one who [. . .]. [24] For [. . .] **21**[14] and the [signs of the Zodiac . . .] | and the [. . .] | and [. . .] | which do not have [. . .] | acquire for [. . . | revolution . . .]. [20] But [the] soul(s) [. . .] | there [. . .] | body(s) of this | [. . .] soul(s) of heaven [. . .] | around [. . .] [25] shape [. . .] | which is [. . .] **22**[15] those that [. . .] | there [. . . [19] all the likenesses . . .] | them [. . .] | all the forms [. . .] | shape(s), so that [they . . . | and] become [. . .] | themselves [. . .] [25] and the [. . .] | the animals [. . .] | and the [. . .] (pp. 23-24 missing) **25** there.

But their | powers, which are the angels, | are in the form of | beasts and animals. [5] Some among them are | [polymorphous], and contrary to | [nature] they have | for their names which [. . .]. | They are [divided] and [. . .] [10] according to the [. . . | and . . .] in [form . . .]. | But these that are | [aspects] of sound according to the third | originate from being. [15] And concerning these, all of | these (remarks) are sufficient, | since we have (already) spoken about them.

For [this] | division takes place | again in these regions in [the manner] [20] we have mentioned from the [beginning]. | However the soul, on the | other hand, [has] | different shape⟨s⟩. | The shape of the soul exists [in [25] this] form, | i.e. (the soul) that came into | existence of its own accord. The shape | is [the second] **26** spherical part | while the first allows [it], | eēiou, the self-begotten soul, | aeēiouō. [5] [The] second schema, | eēiou, . . . by those [having] | two sounds (diphthongs), the first being | placed after them [. . .] [12] the light.

[Control] | yourselves, receive [the] | imperishable seed, [15] bear fruit, and | do not become | attached to your possessions. |

But know that the oxytones | exist among the vowels [20] and the | diphthongs which are | next to them. But the [short] | are inferior, and the [. . .] | are [. . .] [25] by them. Those that [. . .] | since they are inter-

mediate | [...]. The sounds of | [the semivowels] are **27** superior to the voiceless (consonants). | And those that are double are superior | to the semivowels which | do not change. But the aspirates [5] are better than the inaspirates (of) | the voiceless (consonants). | And those that are intermediate will [accept] | their combination in which they are; | they are ignorant [of] [10] the things that are good. They (the vowels) | are combined with the [intermediates] | which are less. [Form] by [form], | ⟨they constitute⟩ the nomenclature of the [gods] | and the angels, [not] because [15] they are mixed with each other | according to every form, but | only (because) they have | a good function. | It did not happen [20] that ⟨their⟩ will was revealed. |

Do not keep on [sinning], | and do not dare to | make use of sin.

But [I] | am speaking to you (sg.) [concerning the | three ... shapes] | of the soul. [The] | third [shape of the soul] | is [...] **28** is a spherical one, put | after it, from the | simple vowels: | eee, iii, ooo, uuu, ōōō. [5] The diphthongs were | as follows: ai, au, | ei, eu, ēu, ou, ōu, oi, ēi, | ui, ōi, auei, euēu, oiou, | ggg, ggg, ggg, aiau, [10] [eieu], ēu, oiou, ōu, ggg, | [ggg], aueieu, oiou, ēu, | three times for a male soul. | The third | shape is spherical. [15] The second shape, being | put after it, has | two sounds. The male soul's | third shape | (consists) of the [20] simple vowels: | aaa, eee, ēēē, iii, ooo, | uuu, ōōō, ōōō, ōōō. | [And] this shape is different | [from] the first, but [25] [they resemble] each other | [and they] make some | [ordinary sounds] of | [this sort: aeē]oō. And **29** from these (are made) the diphthongs. |

So also the | fourth and the fifth. | With regard to them, they were not allowed to [5] reveal the whole topic, | but only those things that are apparent. | You (pl.) were taught | about them, that you should perceive them | in order that they, too, might [10] all seek and find [who] | they are, either | by themselves alone [...] | or by each other, | or to reveal [destinies] [15] that have been determined from the beginning, | either with reference to themselves alone [or] | with reference to one another, just as [they] | exist with each other [in] | sound, whether partially [20] or formally.

[They are] | commanded [to] | submit or their | [part] is generated and | formal. Either (they are commanded) by [the [25] long] (vowels) or [by] | those of [dual time value, or] | by [the short (vowels)] | which are small [...] **30** or the oxytones or the | intermediates or the barytones. |

And ⟨the⟩ consonants | exist with the vowels, [5] and individually | they are commanded, | and they submit. | They constitute the nomenclature | [of] the angels. And [10] [the] consonants are | self-existent, |

[and] as they are changed | ⟨they⟩ submit | to the hidden [15] gods by means of | beat and | pitch and | silence and impulse. | [They] summon the semivowels, [20] all of which | submit to them with | one [accord]; since it is only | the [unchanging] double (consonants) | that coexist with the semivowels. [25]

But the aspirates | [and the inaspirates] and the | [intermediates] constitute | [the voiceless (consonants). Again | ... they] are combined | [with each other, and] they are separate **31** from one another. They are | commanded, and they submit, | and they constitute an | ignorant nomenclature. [5] And they become one or | two or three or [four] | or five or six up to | seven having a | [simple] sound, ⟨together with⟩ these which [have] | two [sounds], ... the place [of the | seventeen consonants. Among] | the first names [some] are | less. And | since [these] do not have being, [15] either [they] are an aspect [of] | being [or] they divide | the nature [of] the mind | which [is masculine] (and) which is [intermediate]. |

And you (sg.) [put] in [20] those that resemble each other [with] | the vowels [and] | the consonants. Some | are: bagadazatha, | begedezethe, [bēgēdē][25]zēthē, [bigidizithi, bogo] | dozotho, [buguduzuthu], | bōgōdōzōthō. [And] | the rest [...] | ba[bebēbibobubō]. **32** But the rest are | different: abebēbi|bob, in order that you (sg.) might [collect] | them, and be separated from the [5] angels.

And there | will be some effects. | The first (fem.), | which is good, is from | [the] triad. It [...] [10] has need of [...] [12] their shapes. ⟨The⟩ dyad | and the monad | do not resemble anything, but [15] they are first to exist. | The dyad, being divided, | is divided [from the] monad, [and | it] belongs to the hypostasis. | But the tetrad received (the) [elements], [20] and the pentad | received concord, and the | [hexad] was perfected by | itself. The | [hebdomad] received beauty, [25] [and the] ogdoad | [received ...] | ready [...] [29] greatly. **33** And the [decad revealed] | the whole place. | But the eleven and the | [twelve] have traversed [5] [...] not having [...] | it [is higher ...] | seven [... [15] name(s) ...] [17] promise that [...] | begin [to separate] | them by means of [20] a mark [and] | a point, the [one which | quarrels] from the one which is [an enemy]. |

Thus [...] | of being [...] [26] the [letters ...] | in [a **34** holy] or according to a [bond] | existing separately. | [And] ⟨they⟩ exist with each | [other] in generation or [in [5] birth. And] according to [...] | generation] they do not have | [...] these [...] [18] one [...] speaking | [the] riddle.

Because within [20] [the] sense-perceptible world | there exists the tem-

ple | [which measures] seven hundred | [cubits], and a river which | [. . .] within [25] [. . . for] ever, they | [. . .] three | [. . .] to the four | [. . .] seals | [. . .] clouds **35** [and the] waters, and the [forms | of the] wax images, | [and] some emerald likenesses.

For the rest, I will [5] [teach you (sg.)] about them. This is | [the] generation of the names. That (fem.) which [was not] | generated [. . . from the] | beginning [. . .] [15] with regard to [. . .] [18] time(s), when [confined], when | spread out, when [diminished]. [20] But there exists the gentle [word], | and there exists another | word which [approaches] | being [. . .] | in this [manner . . .]. [26] And he [. . .] | the difference [. . .] | and the [. . .] **36** the all and a [. . .] | the [undivided] beings | and the power [. . .] | having [a] [5] share in [the joy] | separately and [. . .] | whether [. . .] [15] power | [. . . he] exists | [in] every place [. . .] | them always. | [He] dwells with the corporeal [20] and the incorporeal ones. |

This is the word of the hypostases | that one should | [. . .] in this way. If | [. . .] with their [25] [. . .] helping | [those who stir up] the | [. . .] manifest | [. . .] if one **37** knows him, he will | [call] upon him. |

But there are words, some | of which are [two [5] but others] existing | [separately . . . [13] and] they [. . .] [15] or those which [. . .] [17] or according to [those that] have | duration. And [these] | either are separate from [them] [20] or they are joined to one another, | or with themselves, either [the] | diphthongs, or the | simple [vowels], or every [. . .] | or [. . .] [25] or [. . . | exist] just as [. . . | exist . . .] | the [consonants . . .] **38** they exist individually | until they are divided | and doubled. Some | have the power [5] [. . .] according to the [letters | that are consonants . . .] [12] become [. . .] [15] by themselves | [. . .] and three (times) | [for the] vowels, | and twice | [for] the consonants, [20] [and] once for | the entire place, and with | ignorance for | [those which] are subject to change | [. . . which] became [25] [. . .] together with the [entire | place . . .] finally.

And | [. . .] they all | [. . . they] are **39** hidden, but they were pronounced | openly. They did not | stop without being revealed, | nor did they stop without [5] naming the angels. | The vowels | [join] the | [consonants, whether] without | [or] within, [10] [. . .] they | said [. . . | teach you (sg.) . . .] | again [for ever. They were counted] | four times, (and) they were [engendered] [15] three times, and they became [. . .]. [18]

For these reasons we have acquired | sufficiency; for it is fitting that [20] each one acquire | power for himself to bear fruit, | and that we | never cast | aspersions [on] the mysteries [25] [. . .] the [. . .]. |

For [. . .] which [is . . . | the] souls [. . .] | the] signs of the Zodiac [. . .] **40** a new hypostasis. |

And the reward which will | be provided for such a one | is salvation. [5] But the opposite will | happen there to the one | who commits sin. [The one who commits] sin | by himself [. . .] will be | [in a . . . in a . . .] [12] in order that | before you (sg.) examine | the one who ⟨. . .⟩, one [15] might [tell] another | [about an] exalted power | and a divine knowledge | and a might which | cannot be resisted. [20] But you shall examine | who is worthy that he should | reveal them, knowing | that [those] who commit sin [. . .] | down to [. . .] [25] as they [. . . | the Father . . .] **41** that which is fitting. Do not desire | to give power to the sense-perceptible world. | Are you (pl.) not attending to me, | who have received salvation [5] from the intelligible world? | But (as for) these ⟨words⟩ – watch yourselves – | do not [. . .] them as a(n) | [. . . [12] understand . . .] and he takes [. . . | the rest], | I [will speak of] them. The [perfection [15] . . .] in order that | it might increase [. . .] who commit sin [. . .] [18] the embodied souls did not understand | them. Those that are upon [20] the earth as well as those outside of | the body, those in heaven, are | more than the angels. The place | which we [talked] about in | [every] discourse, these [. . .] [25] stars [. . .] [27] book(s) [. . .] | whether already [. . .] | into the [. . .] [30] blessed is [. . .] **42** whether he is gazing at the | two or he is gazing at | the seven planets | or at the twelve [5] signs of the Zodiac or at | the thirty-[six] Decans [. . .] [12] are [. . . | these reach up] | to [. . .] [16] and | [these] numbers, whether [those in heaven] | or those upon the earth, | together with those that are under the [earth], [20] according to the relationships and | the divisions among | these, and in the rest | [. . .] parts | [according to kind and] according to | [species . . . [27] they] will [submit | since] she has power | [. . .] above [30] [. . . they exist] apart [. . .] **43**[6] every [. . .] [20] body(s) [. . . | a] place [. . . divine Barbelo . . .] **44**[4] reveal them [. . .] | in this [manner . . .] | this [. . . [20] intelligible angels], as she [. . .] | intelligible [. . . | above . . .] | save(d) from [. . .] [27] them [. . .] **45**[3] world [. . .] | and [. . . [6] world . . .] [21] they came [. . .] [24] those who [. . .] **46**[5] is [. . .] | like [. . .] [20] the voice of | [. . .] name(s) [and . . . [23] for] ever [. . . | name(s) | . . .]. (pp. 47-54 missing)

[. . .] **55**[17] (after) I was silent, [I said], | "Tell [me, . . .] | what is the [power . . .] [20] will wash [. . . | entire generation . . .] **56**[17] greatly, the | [. . .] much | [. . .] he is [. . .], and [20] [. . .] all [. . .] | in the [. . . **57**[18] knowledge . . .] [20] persevere [. . .] | the great [. . .] | for I [became . . .] **58**[20] bone(s) of the | [. . .] in the [worldly . . . (pp. 59-60 missing) **61** which is] under [. . .] your daughters [. . .] [3] for just as | [. . . the] kingdom of [. . .]. [5] But this one [. . .] [12] every [. . .] **62** in the one who [. . .] | not. [And . . .]. |

For it is [. . .] who [. . . | you (pl.) did not] know the [. . .] [5] for the [. . . [10] partially . . .] **63** in | [. . .] remainder | down [. . . the] earth. And they | [spoke] like the angels [5] [. . .] he was like the | wild [animals].

And he said, [. . . [8] for] ever [. . .] [17] from [. . .] | the number [. . .] | I saw [. . .] [21] and his [. . .] a [voice . . .] | and [. . .] his **64** I [. . .] | because I [saw] all of [the lights] | around [me, blazing | with] fire. [And . . .] [5] me in their midst [. . .] [16] angel(s) [who . . .] | beside me. [And . . .] | the [one . . .] | Gamaliel, [20] [the one] who is in command of [the spirits] which [. . .] **65** the angels | [. . .] which receive | [all of them . . .] | with those whom they [. . . [5] and] he [took] me | [. . . he finished . . . [10] her] members [. . .] [14] the [invisible . . . [17] judgment . . .] | thrown | [. . .] every [. . . which is placed . . . [21] fountain] of | [immortality . . .] living | [. . .] the two | [. . . silent [25] . . . god(s)] **66** wash it (fem.) from [. . . | of God . . .] | the one whom they [sealed] | has been adorned [with the [5] seal of] heaven. [. . .] [11] to his [. . .] | great [. . .]. [17]

And I [saw . . . [19] unmixed . . .] | those who [. . .] **67** they will become | [. . .] of God | [. . .] a woman | [. . .] while she is in [travail [5] . . .] when she gives birth, [. . .] [10] with [. . .] [12] all of [. . .] | thing | [. . .] men [. . .] and [15] [. . .] women [and men | of this kind . . . | no one] ⟨of⟩ those [that are upon the] earth | [knew] that [. . .] | every [. . .] them, [20] [and they will] take pity on these, [together with the] | home-[born], for these will [pay | . . .] God [. . .] [24] aeon(s) [. . .] **68** with those who will [. . .] | who have [. . .] | God [. . .] | from the [beginning . . .] [5] in [the . . .] | fear [. . . [8] name(s) . . . [12] mysteries] | in [. . .] | God [. . .] [16] manifest [. . .] | those who will know [him]. |

[M]arsanes

THE INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE (XI,*1*)

Introduced by

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The Interpretation of Knowledge offers a unique opportunity to see how a gnostic teacher uses New Testament writings and applies them to the church. Features of style and structure suggest that the text presents a homily intended for delivery in a service of worship. The structure of the discussion follows a common pattern of worship, in which readings from the gospel are followed by readings from the apostle (that is, from Paul). Correspondingly, an early section of *The Interpretation of Knowledge* (9,21-14,15) uses passages known from Matthew to interpret the Savior's teaching and his passion; the following section (14,15-21,34) uses texts from 1 Corinthians and probably Romans, Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians to interpret the church as the "body of Christ."

The author is concerned to address a community that is torn by jealousy and hatred over the issue of spiritual gifts. Some members refuse to share their spiritual gifts with one another; others envy those who have received such gifts as prophecy and public speaking and so stand out in the congregation. Some despise others whom they consider ignorant (that is, lacking *gnosis*); the rest feel slighted and resentful.

The author's concern throughout *The Interpretation of Knowledge* is to rectify this divisive situation. Having recalled how the Savior taught the oneness of the Father (9,28-29), and, further, how the "great Son" voluntarily accepted humiliation for the sake of his "small brothers" (14,28-29), he now applies the lessons of unity and of humility to the church. First he recalls how the church received redemption; the Savior abolished the "old bond of debt" which enslaved those "condemned in Adam" (14,34-36; cf. Cl 2:14) and proclaimed in its place the "edict of the Father" (14,29-31), offering forgiveness of sins and release from death (14,36-38). From 13,20 through 21,35 the author takes up Paul's metaphor of the body and its members (cf. Ro 12:4-8; 1 Co 12:12-31) and combines it with the images of Christ as the Head of the body, the church (cf. Cl 1:18; 2:19; Ep 4:15-16) in order to remind the members that they all share in the "same body" and the "same Head." Despite the diversity of gifts (cf. 1 Co 12:4), each member shares in the same grace (16,18-24; cf. Ro 12:6); the same power which inspires the speaker enables the listener to understand what he says (16,31-38). Those who receive lesser gifts are not to complain, but to rejoice that they also share in the body (18,28-38; 1 Co 12:14-26). Those who receive greater gifts, such as knowledge (*gnosis*; cf. 1 Co 12:8) are not to despise others as inferior or ignorant (17,25-26). On the contrary, "you are ignorant when you hate

them" (17,27), for those who show hatred and jealousy toward others demonstrate by their attitude that they still resemble the jealous and ignorant demiurge. These attitudes betray their ignorance of God (15,30-33), the true Father, and of his Son.

Amplifying Paul's image of the church as a spiritual organism, the author takes up the metaphor of the plant with roots, branches, and fruits, "the roots have a connection with one another, and their fruits are undivided" (19,31-33). As the roots exist for the sake of the fruits and for another, "let us become like the roots, since we are equal" (19,36-37). The text concludes with warnings of persecution (20,20-38) and the exhortation to overcome sin; those who do overcome it shall receive a "crown of victory, even as our Head was glorified by the Father" (21,30-34).

The author, who identifies himself as a member of the church, shares scriptural texts and terms familiar to us from early Christian orthodoxy, while using Valentinian theology to interpret these to his audience. This teacher envisions the church he addresses as including both psychic and pneumatic Christians; he may have addressed this homily to both, or specifically to the small circle of the elect. This text offers a significant primary source for understanding how some Gnostic Christians – and specifically certain Valentinian Christians – understand the church in the light of Jesus' teaching and of Paul's letters.

THE INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE

XI 1, 1-21, 35

[... [14] they came to] believe by means of [signs | and] wonders [and fabrications. | The likeness] that came to be through [them | followed] him, but through | [reproaches] and humiliations [before they received | the apprehension] of a vision [they fled [20] without having] heard [that the Christ] | had been crucified. | [But our] generation is fleeing since it does not yet | [even believe that the Christ | is alive. In order] that our faith [25] [may be] holy (and) pure, | [not relying upon] itself actively, but | [maintaining] itself planted in | [him, do not] say: "Whence | [is the] patience to measure faith?", [30] for each one is persuaded | [by the things] he believes. If | he disbelieves them, then [he] would be unable | [to be persuaded]. But it is a great thing | for a man who has [35] faith, since he is [not] in unbelief, | which is the [world].

[Now] the world | [is the place of] unfaith [and | the place of death]. And death [exists as **2** ... [15] likeness and] they will [not believe]. | A holy thing is the faith [to see | the likeness]. The opposite is [unfaith | in the likeness]. The things that he will grant [them | will support] them. It was impossible [for them [20] to attain] to the imperishability [...] | will [become ...] | loosen [... [24] those who] were sent [...]. | For [he who]

is distressed [will not believe]. | He [is unable] to bring a [great | church] since it is gathered out of [a small | gathering].

He became an [emanation of] | the trace. For also they say [about] [30] a likeness that it is apprehended [by means of | his trace]. The structure [apprehends by means of | the] likeness, but God [apprehends | by means of] his members. [He knew | them] before they were begotten, [and they [35] will know] him. And the one who [begot | each] one from [the first will | indwell] them. He will [rule over them]. | For it is [necessary] for [each one **3** . . . [26] The] Savior [removed himself] since it is [fitting]. | Indeed, [not ignorant] but [carnal | is the] word who [took him] as a husband. | And it is [he] who exists [as an image], since [30] [that one (masc.)] also [exists], as well as that one (fem.) | [who brought] us forth. [And she caused] him to know | [that] she is [the] Womb. This [is a] marvel of hers | [that she] causes us to transcend [patience. | But this is] the marvel: he [loves [35] the one who] was first to [permit] a virgin | [. . .]. It is fitting to [. . .] her | [. . .] unto death | [. . . desire] to practice **4** [. . .]. [24] Therefore | [she yielded] to him in [her path]. | He was [first to fix] our eye [upon this] | virgin [who is fixed] to the [cross] | that is in those [places. And] we see [that | it is] her water [which] the supreme authority [granted] [30] to the one [in whom] there is [a sign. This | is that] water of [immortality which] | the great [powers] will grant to [him while he is] | below [in the likeness] of [her young son. | She did not stop] on his account. She [. . .] [35] the [. . .] he became [. . .] | in the [. . .] word that [appears] | to the . . .] word that [appears] | to the [. . .]. | He [did not . . . **5** . . .] [14] in [. . .] | through [. . .] | come from those places. [Some fell] | in the path. Others [fell in the rocks]. | Yet still others he [sowed in the thorns]. | And still others [he gave to drink | . . .] [21] and the shadow. Behold [. . .] | he [. . . . [25] And] this [is the eternal reality] | before the souls come forth from | [those who] are being killed.

But he was | being pursued in that place | by the trace produced by [30] the Savior. And he was crucified | and he died – not his own [death, | for] he did [not at all] deserve to die | [because | of] the church of mortals. [And he was | nailed] so that [they] might keep [35] him in the church. [He answered] her | [with] humiliations, since [in this] way he had [borne] the suffering | which he had [suffered]. | For Jesus is for us a [likeness] on account of **6** [. . .] [15] this [. . . | the] entire [structure] and | [. . . the great] bitterness of the [world | . . .] us with the | [. . .] by thieves [20] [. . .] the [slaves | . . . down] to Jericho | [. . .] they [received | . . .]. For [. . . [25] down] to [those who] will wait | while the entire de-

fect restrains [them] | until the [final] reality that is | [their] portion, since he [brought] us down, | having bound us in nets of flesh. [30] Since the body is [a] | temporary dwelling which | the rulers and [authorities] have as [an] abode, | the man within, [after being] | imprisoned in the fabrication, [fell] [35] into [suffering. And] having compelled [him] | to [serve them,] they constrained him to | serve [the] energies. They split | the Church so as to inherit **7** [. . .] [10] power to [. . .] | and [. . .] | and [. . .] | having [touched . . .] | before [. . .] [17] it is [the] beauty that will [. . .] | wanted to [. . . and] | to be with [. . .] [20] fighting with [one another . . .] | like others [. . .] | virgin [. . .] | to destroy [. . .] | wound [. . .] [26] but she [. . . she likens] | herself to the [. . .] | her since they had struck [. . .] | imperishable. This [. . .] [30] that he remain [. . .] | virgin. The [. . .] | her beauty [. . .] | faithfulness [. . .] | and therefore [. . .] [35] her. He hastened [. . .] | he did not put up with [. . .] | they despise [. . .]. | For when the Mother had [**8** . . . [6] the] Mother [. . .] [8] her enemy | [. . . the] teaching [. . . of] [11] the force [. . .] [15] nature [. . .] | behold a maiden | [. . .] he is unable | [. . .] first | [. . . the] opposite [. . .]. [20] But how has he | [. . .] maiden | [. . .] he was not able | [. . .] he [became | . . .] killed [him [25] . . .] alive | [. . .] he reckoned her [. . .] | better than life | [. . .] since he knows that if | [. . .] world created [him [30] . . .] him to raise | [him . . .] up from | [. . .] upon the regions [. . . | those] whom they rule [. . .]. But [. . .] emitted him [35] [. . .] he dwells in him | [. . .] the Father of the All | [. . .] be more to her [. . .] | him. He [**9** . . .] [9] like [. . .] | into [. . .] he [has] | them [. . .] | them [. . .] each [one will be] | worthy [. . .] take him and [. . . [15] the] teacher should hide himself [as if | he were] a god [who] would embrace [his works] | and destroy them. For [he] also | spoke with the Church [and] he [made himself] | her teacher of immortality, and [destroyed] [20] the arrogant [teacher] by [teaching] | her to [die].

[And this teacher made a | living] school, for [that teacher has] | another school: while [it teaches us about] | the [dead] writings, he, on the other hand, was causing us to [remove ourselves] [25] from the [surfeit] of the world; | we were being taught about our death | through them.

Now this is his teaching: | Do not call to a father upon | the earth. Your Father, who is in heaven, is one. [30] You are the light of | the world. They are my brothers and my fellow | companions who do the will | of [the] Father. For what use is it if you | gain the world and you forfeit your [35] soul? For when we were in the dark | we used to call many "father," since we were | ignorant of the true Father. And | this is the great conception of [all] the sins **10** [. . .] [9] pleasure. We are like

| [. . .] him to [. . .] | soul [. . .] men who [. . .] | the [dwelling] place. |

[What] now is the [faith laid down] | by the master who [released] him [from the great] [15] ignorance [and] the [darkness of the ignorant eye?] | He reminded him of the good things | [of his Father] and the race. For he said | [to him], "Now the world is not yours; | [may you not esteem] the form that is in it [as] advantageous; [20] [rather (it is) disadvantageous] and a [punishment]." Receive | now the [teaching of the one who was] reproached – | an advantage and [a profit] for the soul – | [and] receive [his shape. It is the] shape | [that] exists in the presence [of the Father], the word [25] and the height, that let you know him | before you have been led astray while in (the) flesh | of condemnation. Likewise I became very small | so that through my humility I | might take you up to the great height, whence [30] you had fallen. You were taken | to this pit. If now you believe | in me, it is I who shall take you | above through this shape that you see. | It is I who shall bear you upon my shoulders. Enter [35] through the rib whence you came | and hide yourself from the beasts. | The burden that you bear | now [is] not yours. Whenever [you (fem.)] go **11** [. . .] [15] from his glory [. . .] | from the first. | From [being counted] with the female, | sleep [brought labor] and the [sabbath] | which [is the] world. [20] For from [being counted] with the Father, | sleep brought [the sabbath] and [the exodus] | from the [world of the beasts]. | For the [world] is from ⟨the⟩ [beasts] | and it is a [beast]. Therefore [he] [25] that is lost [has been reckoned to the] crafty one, and [that one] | is from [the beasts] that came forth. They put upon [him a] garment of condemnation, | for the female [had no] other | garment [for clothing] her seed [30] except the one she first brought | on the sabbath. For no beast | exists in [the] Aeon. For the Father does not | keep the sabbath but actuates the Son, | and through the Son he continued [35] to provide himself with the Aeons. The Father has | living rational elements | from which he puts on | my [members] as garments. The man **12** [. . . [12] this] | is the name. The [. . . he] | emitted [himself and] he [15] emitted the [reproached one. The one | who] was reproached changed (his) name | and, [along with that which would be] like the reproach | he [appeared] as flesh. And | [the humiliated one has no] equipment. He has [no] need [20] of the [glory that] is [not his]; he has | his own [glory] with the | [name], which is the [Son]. Now he came that we might | become glorious [through the] humiliated one | [that] dwells in the [places of humiliation. [25] And through [him] who was reproached | we receive the [forgiveness] of sins. | And through the one [who] was reproached | and the one who [was redeemed] we receive | grace.

But who [is it] that redeemed [30] the one who was reproached? It is [the] emanation | of the name. For just as the flesh has need | of a name, so also is [the] flesh an Aeon | that Wisdom has emitted. It | received the majesty that is descending, [35] so that the Aeon might enter | the one who was reproached, that we might escape | the disgrace of the carcass and be regenerated | in the flesh [and] blood of **13** [...] [9] destiny. He [...] | and the Aeons [... | they] accepted the Son [although he was] | a complete mystery [... | each one] of his [members ...] | grace. [When [15] he cried out, he] was separated | from the Church like [portions of] | the darkness from the Mother, while his [feet] | provided him traces, and [these] | scorched the path of [the] ascent [20] to the Father.

But [what is the way and manner (in) which] | it (fem.) became [their Head]? Well, it (fem.) made the [dwelling place to bring forth] | the light [to those] who dwell within | him so that [they might] see the [ascending] Church. [25] For the Head drew | itself up from the pit; it | was bent over the cross and [it] | looked down to Tartaros so that | those below might look above. [30] Hence, for example, when someone | looks at [someone], then the face of the one | who looked down looks up; | so also once the Head looked | from the [height] to its members, our [35] members [went] above, where the Head | was. And it, the cross, | was [undergoing] nailing for the members, | and solely that they might be able **14** [...] [8] have [...] | because they were [like ...] [10] slave. The consummation [is | thus: He whom] she indicated | [will be completed] by the [one who] indicated. | And the seeds [that remain will endure] | until the All is separated [and takes] [15] shape.

And thus the decree | will be fulfilled, for just as the woman | who is honored until death | [has] the advantage of time, | [so too will it] give birth. And this offspring [20] [will] receive [the body] appointed for it | [and] it [will become perfect]. He has | a generous [nature since] the Son of | God dwells in [him]. And whenever | he acquires the All, whatever [25] he possesses will ⟨be dissolved⟩ in the | fire because it greatly despised and | outraged the Father. |

Moreover, when the great Son was sent | after his small brothers, he spread [30] abroad the edict of the Father and proclaimed | it, opposing the All. And he | removed the old bond of debt, the one of | condemnation. And this [is the] edict | that was: Those who made themselves [35] enslaved have become condemned | in Adam. They have been [brought] from | death, received forgiveness for their | sins and been redeemed by **15** [...] [10] since we are worthy [...] | and [...] | but I say [...] [14] and these [...]. | For [...] is worthy to [...] | God. And the Father [...

the] | Christ removed himself [from] | all these, since he loves [his members] | with all his heart. [One who is jealous sets] [20] his members against [one another. If] | he is [not] jealous, [he will not] be removed from (the) [other members and the] | good which [he] sees. [By having a] | brother [who] regards us [as he] [25] also is, one glorifies the [one who gives us] | grace. Moreover, it is fitting for [each] | of us to [enjoy] the gift | that he has received from [God, and] | that we not be jealous, since we know that [30] he who is jealous is an obstacle in his (own) [path], | since he destroys only himself | with the gift and he is ignorant | of God. He ought to rejoice [and] | be glad and partake of grace and [35] bounty. Does someone have a | prophetic gift? Share it without | hesitation. Neither approach | your brother jealously nor **16** [. . .] [9] chosen as they [. . .] | empty as they [escape . . .] | fallen from their [. . .] | are ignorant that | [. . . in this way they] have | [. . .] them in [15] [. . .] in order that they may | [reflect] perforce upon the things that you want | [them to think] about when [they | think about] you. [Now] your brother | [also has his] grace: [20] [Do not] belittle yourself, but | [rejoice and give] thanks spiritually | [and] pray for that | [one in order that] you might share the grace | [that dwells] within him. So do not consider [him [25] foreign] to you, rather, (as) one | who is yours, whom each | [of] your ⟨fellow⟩ members received. | By [loving] the Head who possesses them, | you also possess the one from whom it is that [30] these outpourings of gifts exist | among your brethren.

But is someone | making progress in the Word? Do not | be hindered by this; do not say: | "Why does he speak [35] while I do not?", for what he | says is (also) yours, | and that which discerns the Word and | that which speaks is the same power. The [Word **17** . . . [14] eye] or a [hand only, although they are] | a [single] body. [Those who belong to us] | all serve [the Head] together. | And] each one [of the members reckons] | it as a member.

[They can] not | all become [entirely a foot] [20] or entirely an eye [or entirely a hand since] | these members will not [live alone]; | rather they are dead. We [know that they are being put to | death. So] why [do you love] | the members that are still dead, [instead of those that] [25] live? How do you know [that someone] | is ignorant of the [brethren]? | For [you] are ignorant when you [hate them] | and are jealous of them, since [you will not receive] | the grace that dwells within [them], [30] being unwilling to reconcile them to [the] | bounty of the Head. You ought to [give] | thanks for our members and [ask] | that you too might be granted | [the] grace that has been given to them. [35] For the Word is rich, |

generous, and kind. Here he | gives away gifts to | his men without jealousy according to **18** [. . . | appeared | in each] of the members | [. . .] himself | [. . .] since they do not fight | [at all with one another] on account of [their] difference(s). | [Rather] by laboring with | [one another they will] work with one another, | [and if] one of them | [suffers, they will] suffer with him, and | [when each one] is saved, they are saved | [together].

Moreover, [if they] would wait for | [the exodus] from the (earthly) harmony, they will | [come to the Aeon]. If they are fit to share | [in] the (true) harmony, how much the more | [those who] derive from the [single] unity? | They ought to be reconciled with one | another. Do not accuse your Head | because it has not appointed you as an eye but rather as | a finger. And do not | [be] jealous of that which has been put in the | class of an eye or a hand or a foot, | but be thankful that you do not exist | outside the body. On the contrary, you have | the same Head on | whose account the eye exists as well as the hand | and the foot and the rest of the | parts. Why do you despise **19** the one that is appointed as [. . .] | it desired to [. . .] | you slandered [. . .] | does not embrace [. . .] | unmixed [body . . .] | chosen [. . .] | dissolve [. . .] | of the Aeon [. . .] | descent [. . .] | however [plucked] | us from ⟨the⟩ [Aeons that exist in] | that place. [Some] | exist in the [visible] Church – | those who exist in the [Church] | of men – and [unanimously] they proclaim [to one another] the Pleroma of [their aeon]. | And some exist [for death in] | the Church on whose behalf [they] | go – she for whom they are [death] – | while others are for life. Therefore | they [are] lovers of abundant life. And | each of the rest [endures] | by his own root. | He puts forth fruit | that is like him, since the roots [have] | a connection with one | another and their fruits are undivided, | the best of each. | They possess them, existing for them | and for one another. So let us become | like the roots since we are equal **20** [. . .] | that Aeon [. . .] | those who are not ours | [. . .] above the [. . .] | grasp him [. . .] | since | [. . .] your soul. He will [. . .] | we gave you to him [. . .]. | If you purify | [it, it abides in] me. If you enclose | [it, it belongs to the] Devil. | [Even] if you [kill] his forces that | [are active, it will] be with you. For if | [the soul] is dead, still | it [was enacted upon] (by) the rulers and | [authorities].

What, now, do you think | [of] as spirit? Or | [why] do they persecute men of | [this] sort to death? Are | they not satisfied to be with the soul | and (so) seek it? | For every place is [excluded] from them by | [the] men of God so long as they | exist in flesh. And when

they | cannot see them, since they (the men of God) live by | the spirit, | they tear apart what appears [35] as if thus they can | find them. But what is the profit for them? | They are senselessly mad! They rend | their surroundings! They dig the earth! **21** [. . .] [3] him [. . .] | hid [. . .] [5] exists [. . .] | purify [. . .] [16] however [. . .] | after God [. . .] | seize us [. . .] [20] but we walk [. . .]. | For if the sins [are many, how much] | the more now is the [jealousy of the Church] | of the Savior. For [each one] | was capable of [both (types)] [25] of transgression, [namely that of an adept] | and (that of) an ordinary person. It is [still] a | single [ability] that they possess. And | as for us, we are adepts [at] | the Word. If we sin against [it], [30] we sin more than Gentiles. | But if we surmount every sin, | we shall receive the crown of | victory, even as our Head was | glorified by the Father. [35]

The Interpretation of Knowledge

A VALENTINIAN EXPOSITION (XI,2),

with

ON THE ANOINTING, ON BAPTISM A AND B,

and

ON THE EUCHARIST A AND B

Introduced by

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A Valentinian Exposition expounds the origin of the creation and the process of redemption in terms of Valentinian theology, specifically in terms of the myth of Sophia. The tractate thus offers the only original Valentinian account of that myth: *The Tripartite Tractate* (I,5) recounts another version that features the Logos instead of Sophia.

The author begins by promising to reveal "my mystery," and follows the account with baptismal and eucharistic prayers and benedictions. This suggests that *A Valentinian Exposition* offers a kind of secret catechism for candidates being initiated into gnosis. Following the revelation of the mystery, the candidate is invited to participate in anointing, baptism, and the eucharist, as Gnostic Christians understand these sacraments.

Besides relating the Sophia myth and referring to sacramental rituals, *A Valentinian Exposition* has a third remarkable feature: it gives firsthand evidence of theological controversies among different groups of Valentinian theologians. The heresiologists attest that gnostic teachers disagree among themselves on the interpretation of fundamental doctrines; thus *A Valentinian Exposition* demonstrates the truth of Tertullian's statement that Valentinian Christians "disagree on many specific issues, even with their own founders" (*Praescr.* 42). Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and others mention several such issues involving the story of Sophia: the interpretation of the primordial source (in what sense is it monadic or dyadic), of Limit (what are his functions) and the passion of Sophia (what motivated it). While the church fathers sketch out various positions taken on these issues, the author of *A Valentinian Exposition* engages each issue, challenging certain views and advocating others.

Valentinian theologians disagreed, first of all, on the question of whether the primordial root of all is a monad or a dyad. According to Irenaeus, Valentinus himself and the followers of his student Ptolemy said that the primal source is a dyad consisting of the Father of the All and his feminine counterpart, Silence,

the Mother of all things (*Haer.* 1.11.1). But this author insists, on the contrary, that the Father is one, singular, a monad; and that the Silence, far from being the Father's dyadic syzygy, was merely the state of tranquility in which the Father reposed in his original solitude.

Second, this author discusses the function of Limit: he himself maintains that Limit possesses four powers, while other Valentinians attribute to Limit only two of those four powers. As this author interprets the story, Limit first separated Sophia's passion from the pleroma, and so protected and confirmed the aeons against the violation her transgression incurred. Yet Limit also restrained Sophia from being absorbed into the Father, and, finally, he separated her passions from her and confirmed her as well.

A third issue of controversy among Valentinian theologians concerned the interpretation of Sophia's suffering. According to Irenaeus' account, some Valentinians said that Sophia, in transgressing her role in the pleroma, only expressed the involuntary longing of all the aeons for closer communion with the Father (*Haer.* 1.2.2); others said that she willfully and audaciously attempted to rise above the condition of interdependence she shared in common with all the other aeons, and dared to imitate the Father himself (*Haer.* 1.2.3). The author of *A Valentinian Exposition* apparently takes a position closer to the latter view, which indicates that Sophia willfully violated the pleromic harmony, and later repented of this as she turned back to the Father.

This text goes on to describe how Sophia, after suffering in isolation, repented and received Christ, who descended to become her divine counterpart. Their divine reunion demonstrates the Father's will that "nothing . . . happen in the pleroma apart from a syzygy" (i.e., that all beings except himself be interdependent); and shows how all things "will come to be in unity and reconciliation."

Finally, this text offers what appear to be liturgical fragments of a Valentinian celebration of baptism and the eucharist: in this respect, as in others mentioned above, the text offers a unique and valuable opportunity to investigate various forms of Valentinian thought and ritual practice.

A VALENTINIAN EXPOSITION

XI 22, 1-39, 39

[. . .] | enter [. . .] | the abundance | [. . .] [5] those who [. . . [16] I will speak] my mystery | [to those who are] mine and | [to those who will be mine]. Moreover it is these who | [have known him who] is, the Father, that [20] [is, the Root] of the All, the | [Ineffable One | who] dwells in the Monad. | [He dwells alone] in silence, | [and silence is] tranquility since, after all, | [he was] a Monad and no one [25] [was] before him. He dwells | [in the Dyad] and in the Pair, and his | Pair is Silence. And he possessed | the All dwelling within | him. And as for Intention and [30] Persistence, Love and Permanence, | they are indeed unbegotten.

God | came forth: the Son, Mind of the All, | that is, it is from the Root | of the All that even his Thought stems, [35] since he had this one (the Son) in | Mind. For on behalf of the All he received | an alien Thought | since there was nothing before him. From | that place it is he who moved **23** [... [18] a] gushing [spring]. | Now this [is the] Root [of the All] [20] and Monad without any [one] | before him. Now the second [spring] | exists in Silence and [speaks] | with him alone. And the [Fourth] | accordingly is he [who] [25] restricted himself [in the] | Fourth: while dwelling in the | Three-hundred-sixtieth, he first brought | himself (forth), and in the Second [he] revealed | his will [and] [30] in the Fourth he spread | himself [out].

While these things are | due to the Root of the All, let us for our part | [enter] his revelation | and his goodness and his [35] descent and the All, that | is, the Son, the Father of the All, and | the Mind of the Spirit; | for he was possessing this one before **24** [...]. [18] He [is] a [spring]. | He is [one] who appears [20] [in Silence], and [he is] Mind of the All | dwelling secondarily with | [Life]. For he is the projector | [of] the All and the [very] hypostasis | of the Father, that is, [he is] the [Thought] [25] and his descent below.

When he willed, | the First Father revealed himself | in him. Since, after all, because | [of him] the revelation is available to the [30] All, I for my part call the All | "the desire of the All." And he took | such a thought concerning the All – | I for my part call the thought "Monogenes." | For now God has brought [35] Truth, the one who glorifies the Root of the | All. Thus it is he who | revealed himself in Monogenes, | and in him | he revealed the Ineffable One **25** [...] [18] the Truth. [They] | saw him [dwelling] in the Monad [and] [20] in the Dyad [and] in the Tetrad. [He] | first brought forth [Monogenes | and Limit]. And Limit [is the | separator] of the All [and the confirmation | of the All], since they are [...] [25] the hundred [...]. | He is the [Mind ...] [30] the Son. [He is] completely [ineffable] | to the All, and he is the confirmation | and [the] hypostasis of the All, the [silent veil], | the [true] High Priest, | [the one who has] [35] the authority to enter | the Holies of Holies, revealing | the glory of | the Aeons and bringing forth the | abundance to ⟨fragrance⟩. The East **26** [... [18] that is] in [him. He is the one who | revealed himself as] the [20] primal [sanctuary] and [the] treasury of | [the All]. And [he] encompassed the All, | [he] who is higher [than the] All. These for their part | [sent] Christ [forth to | establish her] just as [they] were established [before [25] her] descent. [And they say | concerning] him: [... [29] He is not manifest, but | invisible] to [those remaining within Limit]. |

And he possesses four | powers: a separator [and a] | confirmer, a form-provider [and a | substance-producer]. Surely [we alone] [35] would discern | their presences and the time | and the places which [the] | likenesses have confirmed because they have **27** [. . .] [18] from these [places | . . .] the love [. . .] [20] is emanated [. . . | the] entire Pleroma [. . .]. | The persistence [endures] | always, and [. . .] | for also [. . .] [25] the time [. . .] | more [. . . [29] that is], the proof of his [great | love].

So why a | [separator] and a confirmer | and a substance-producer and a | form-provider as others have | [said]? For [they] say concerning [35] [Limit] that he has two powers, [a] ⟨separator⟩ and | [a confirmer], since it separates | [Depth] from the Aeons, in order that **28** [. . .] [18] These, then [. . .] [20] of [Depth . . .]. | For [. . . is] the form [. . .] | the Father of the [Truth . . . | say] that Christ [. . .] | the Spirit [. . .] [25] Monogenes [. . .] | has [. . .]. [29]

[It is a great and] | necessary thing for us to [seek with] | more diligence and [perseverance] | after the scriptures and [those who] | proclaim the concepts. For about [this] | the ancients say, [35] "[They] were proclaimed | by God." So [let us] | know his unfathomable | richness! [he wanted **29** . . . [18] servitude . . .] [20] he [did not] become | [. . .] of their life | [. . . they look] steadfastly | [at their book] of knowledge | and [they regard [25] one another's appearance].

[That] Tetrad | [projected the Tetrad | which is the one consisting of] Word and [Life | and Man and] Church. | [Now the Uncreated One] projected [30] Word and Life. Word | is [for] the glory of the Ineffable One | while Life is for the glory of | [Silence], and Man is for his | own glory while Church [35] is [for] the glory of Truth. This, then, | is the [Tetrad] begotten | according to [the likeness] of the Uncreated (Tetrad). | And [the] Tetrad is begotten **30** [. . . [16] the Decad (i.e., ten)] | from [Word and Life] | and the Dodecad (i.e., twelve) from Man], and [Church became a] [20] Triacontad (i.e., thirty). [Moreover], it is the one [from the Triacontad] | of the [Aeons who bear fruit] | from [the Triacontad]. | [They] enter [jointly | but they] come forth [singly, [25] fleeing from] the Aeons [and the Uncontainable Ones. | And] the Uncontainable Ones, [once they had] | looked [at him, glorified Mind] | since [he is an Uncontainable One that exists] | in the [Pleroma].

[But [30] the Decad] from | Word and Life brought forth | decads so as to make the Pleroma | become a hundred, and | the Dodecad from Man [35] and Church [brought] forth and [made] | the Triacontad so as to make [the three] hundred | sixty become the Pleroma of the | year. And the year of the Lord **31** [. . . [18] perfect . . .] | perfect [. . .] [20] according

to [... [22] Limit] and | [...] Limit [... [27] the] greatness | which [...] the | [goodness ...] him. Life [30] [...] suffer | [...] by | the face [...] in the presence of | the [Pleroma ...] which he wanted | [.... And] he wanted [35] to [leave] the Thirtieth – | being [a syzygy] of Man and | Church, that is, Sophia – to surpass [the Triacontad and] bring the Pleroma **32** [...] [16] his [...] | but [... and] | she [...] [22] the [All ...] [28] but [...] | who [...] the All [...]. [32] He made [...] the thoughts | and [... the] Pleroma | through the Word [...] his [35] flesh. These, then, [are the Aeons that] are like | them. After the [Word] entered | it, just as [I] said before, | also [the one who comes to be] with | the Uncontainable One [brought] forth **33** [...] [11] before they | [...] forth [...] | hide him from | [...] the syzygy and [15] [...] the movement and | [...] project the | Christ [...] and the seeds | [...] of the cross | since [... the imprints] of the nail [20] wound [...] perfection. | [Since it is] a perfect form | [that should] ascend into | [the Pleroma], he did not [at all] want | [to] consent to the suffering, [25] [but he was] detained | [...] him by Limit, | that is, by the syzygy, | since her correction will | not occur through anyone except [30] her own Son, | whose alone is the fullness | of divinity. He willed | within himself bodily | to leave the powers and he descended. [35] And these things (passions) Sophia suffered | after her son ascended from | her, [for] she knew | that she dwelt in a **34** [... [10] in unity] | and [restoration. They were] | stopped [...] | the brethren [...] | these. A [...] did not [...] [15] I became [...]. | Who indeed [are] they? [The ...], on the one hand, | stopped her [...], on the other hand, [...] | with the [...] | her. These [moreover are those who were] looking at me, [20] these who [... these] | who considered [...] the | [death]. They were stopped [...] her | and she repented [and she] | besought the Father of the [truth], saying, [25] "Granted that I have [renounced] | my consort. Therefore [I am] | beyond confirmation as well. I deserve | the things (passions) I suffer. | I used to dwell in the Pleroma [30] putting forth the Aeons and | bearing fruit with my consort." | And she knew what she was | and what had become of | her.

So they both suffered; [35] they said she laughs since she remained | alone and imitated the Uncontainable | One, while he said she [laughs] since | she cut herself off from her consort. **35** [...] [10] Indeed [Jesus and] Sophia | revealed [the creature]. Since, after all, | the seeds [of] Sophia are | incomplete [and] formless, | Jesus [contrived] a creature of this [15] [sort] and made it of the | seeds while Sophia worked with | him. [For] since they are seeds | and [without form], he descended | [and brought] forth that [20] pleroma [of aeons] which are in that | place,

[since even the uncreated ones of] | those [Aeons are of] the pattern of the [Pleroma] | and the [uncontainable] Father. | The Uncreated One [25] [brought forth the pattern] of the uncreated, | for it is from the uncreated | that the Father brings forth | into form. But the creature | is a shadow of pre-existing [30] things. Moreover, this Jesus created | the creature, and he worked | from the passions | surrounding the seeds. And he | separated them from one another, [35] and the better passions he introduced | into the spirit and the worse ones | into the carnal.

Now | first among [all] those passions **36** [. . .] [9] nor [. . .] | him, [since, after all], Pronoia | caused [the] correction to | project shadows and | images of [those who] exist [from] the | first and [those who] are [and] [15] those who shall be. This, [then, is] the | dispensation of believing | in Jesus for the sake of [him who] inscribed | the All with [likenesses and] | images [and shadows]. [20]

After Jesus brought [forth further] | he brought [forth] for | the All those of the Pleroma | and of the syzygy, that [is, the] | angels. For simultaneously with the [25] [agreement] of the Pleroma | her consort projected | the angels, since he abides in | the will of the Father. For this | is the will of the Father: [30] not to allow anything to happen in the | Pleroma apart from a syzygy. | Again, the will of the Father is: | always produce | and bear fruit. That she should suffer, [35] then, was not the will | of the Father, for she dwells | in herself alone without | her consort. Let us **37** [. . .] [9] another one [. . .] | the Second [. . .] | the son of another [. . .] | is the Tetrad of the world. [And] | that Tetrad put forth [fruit] | as if the Pleroma [of the world were] [15] a Hebdomad. | And [it] entered [images] | and [likenesses and angels] | and [archangels, divinities] | and [ministers]. [20]

When all [these things were brought to pass | by] Pronoia [. . .] | of Jesus who [. . .] | the seeds [. . .] | of Monogenes [. . .]. [25] Indeed they are [spiritual] | and carnal, | the heavenly and the | earthly. He made them | a place of this sort and [30] a school of this sort for | doctrine and for form. |

Moreover this Demiurge | began to create a | man according to his image on the one hand [35] and on the other according to the likeness of those who | exist from the first. It was this sort of | dwelling place that she used | for the seeds, namely **38** [. . . [10] separate | . . .] God. When they | [. . .] in behalf of man, | [since] indeed [the Devil] is one | [of] the divine beings. He removed himself [15] and seized the entire [plaza] | of the gates and he | [expelled] his [own] root | from [that] place | [in the body] and [20] [carcasses of flesh], for [he is enveloped] by | [the man] of

God. And [Adam | sowed] him. Therefore [he acquired] | sons who [angered | one another. And] Cain [killed] [25] Abel his brother, for [the Demiurge] | breathed into [them] | his spirit. And there [took place] | the struggle with the apostasy | of the angels and mankind, [30] those of the right with those of the left, | those in heaven with those on earth | the spirits with the carnal, | and the Devil against God. | Therefore the angels lusted [35] after the daughters of men | and came down to flesh so that | God would cause a flood. | And he almost | regretted that he had created the world **39** [... [10] the consort] | and [Sophia and her Son] | and the angels [and the seeds]. | But the syzygy is the [complete one] | and Sophia and Jesus and [the angels] [15] and the seeds are [images | of] the Pleroma. Moreover the Demiurge | [cast a shadow over] | the syzygy and [the] Pleroma, | and Jesus and [Sophia] and the [angels] [20] and the seeds. [The complete one | glorifies] Sophia; the image | [glorifies] Truth. [And] the glory [of | the seeds] and Jesus [are] those of [Silence | and] Monogenes. [And] [25] the [angels] of the males and [the | seminal ones] of the females | [are] all Pleromas. | Moreover whenever Sophia [receives] | her consort and Jesus [30] receives the Christ and the seeds | and the angels, then [the] | Pleroma will receive Sophia | joyfully, and the All will | come to be in unity and [35] reconciliation. For by this | the Aeons have been increased; | for they knew that | should they change, they are | without change.

ON THE ANOINTING

XI 40, 1-29

[...] [9] according to [...] [10] the type of [...] | see him. It is fitting for | [you at this time] to send thy Son | [Jesus] Christ and anoint | us so that we might be able [15] to trample [upon] the | [snakes] and [the heads] of the scorpions | and [all] the power of the Devil | since he is the shepherd of [the | seed]. Through him we [have [20] known] thee. And we [glorify] thee: | [Glory] be to thee, the Father in the [Son, the | Father] in the Son, the Father [in the] | holy [Church and in the] | holy [angels]! From [25] now on he abides [forever | in] the perpetuity of the Aeons, | forever until the [untraceable] Aeons | of the Aeons. | Amen.

ON BAPTISM A

XI 40, 30-41, 38

[This] is the fullness of the summary | of knowledge which (summary) | was revealed to us by | our Lord Jesus Christ, | the Monogenes. These are the [35] sure and necessary (items) | so that we may walk | in them. But they are | those of the first baptism **41** [.... [10] The first] | baptism [is the forgiveness] | of sins [...] | ⟨who⟩ said, [...] | you to the [...] [15] your sins the [... is] | a pattern of the [...] | of the Christ [which | is the] equal of the [... within] | him. [...]. [20] For the [...] of Jesus [...]. | Moreover, the first [baptism] | is the forgiveness [of | sins. We] are brought [from | those] by [it [25] into] those of the right, [that | is], into the [imperishability | which is] the Jo[rdan. | But] that place is [of] | the world. So we have [been sent] | out [of the world] | into the Aeon. For [the] | interpretation of John | is the Aeon, while the interpretation | of that which [is] the Jord[an] [35] is the descent which is [the upward progression], | that [is, our exodus] | from the world [into] | the Aeon.

ON BAPTISM B

XI 42, 1-43, 19

[... [10] from the] world | [into the Jordan] and from | [the blindness] of the world | [into the sight of] God, from | [the carnal] into the spiritual, [15] [from] the physical | [into the] angelic, from | [the created] into the Pleroma, | [from] the world | [into the Aeon], from the [20] [servitudes] into sonship, | [from] entanglements [into | one another], from [the desert | into] our village, from [the cold | into] the hot, [from [25] ...] into a [...] | and we [...] | into the [... | thus] we were brought [from] | seminal [bodies into [30] bodies] with a perfect form. | [Indeed] I entered by way of example | [the remnant] for which the Christ | [rescued] us in the | [fellowship] of his Spirit. And [35] [he brought] us forth who are | [in him, and] from now on the souls | [will become] perfect spirits. |

Now [the things] granted to us | [by the first] baptism **43** [... [15] invisible ... | which] is his, since [... [18] speak] about ...].

ON THE EUCHARIST A

XI 43, 20-38

[We give] thanks [to you and we | celebrate the eucharist], O Father, [remembering | for the sake of] thy Son [Jesus Christ | that they] come forth [. . .] | invisible [. . .] [26] thy [Son . . .] | his [love . . .] [30] to [knowledge | . . .] they are doing thy will | [through the] name of Jesus Christ | [and] will do thy will | [now and] always. They are complete [35] [in] every spiritual gift and [every] | purity. [Glory] be to thee through thy Son | [and] thy offspring Jesus Christ | [from now] forever. Amen.

ON THE EUCHARIST B

XI 44, 1-37

[. . .] [14] in the | [. . .] | the [word] of the [. . . | the] holy one it is [. . .] [19] food and | [drink . . .] Son, since you [. . .] | food of the [. . .] | to us the [. . .] | in the [life . . .] [26] he does [not boast | . . .] that is [. . .] | Church [. . .] | you are pure [. . .] [31] thou art the Lord. [Whenever] | you die purely, [you] | will be pure so as to have him [. . .] | everyone who will [guide] [35] him to food and [drink]. | Glory be to thee forever. | Amen.

ALLOGENES (XI,*3*)

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The tractate *Allogenes* is a revelation discourse in which a certain Allogenes receives divine auditions and visions and records them for his "son" Messos. The fictive nature of this repeated address of Allogenes to Messos is indicated by the name Allogenes, which means "stranger," "one of another race," and often in this period designates Seth or a representative of the Sethian spiritual race. The reader is thus encouraged to identify with Messos and learn from Allogenes how to overcome the fear and ignorance Allogenes initially feels, how to meditate on each step of revealed knowledge, and ultimately how to ascend into full realization of one's spiritual self within the divine.

Although *Allogenes* presents itself as a single revelation discourse, it can be divided into two parts. Part One (45,1-57,23) highlights five revelations of the female diety Youel to Allogenes. Her revelations are complex mythological descriptions of the divine powers, particularly the aeon of Barbelo. Part Two (57,24-69,19) describes in more philosophical language the ascent of Allogenes as a progressive revelation by the heavenly luminaries. Its final stage, the "primary revelation of the Unknown One," reveals the transcendent God as invisible, unfathomable, incomprehensible, "the spiritual, invisible Triple Power" which is "the best of the best" and exists, paradoxically, as "the nonbeing Existence."

The differences between these two parts of *Allogenes* can be explained in terms of different sources being used or in terms of the one writer's purpose. Source theories try to determine where certain traditions come from and how they have already developed. The Barbelo mythology of Part One is found also in *The Apocryphon of John* (BG 8502,*2*; NHC II,*1*; III,*1*; IV,*1*) where it is associated with an account of how Sophia brought deficiency into the universe. *Allogenes*' Barbelo Gnosticism, like that of *Zostrianos* (VIII,*1*) and *The Three Steles of Seth* (VII,*5*), is not interested in how evil began but in positive revelation of divine reality. Part Two of *Allogenes* also parallels *The Apocryphon of John* to the extent of a full-page description of the transcendent God in terms of what God is not. But again it departs from this tradition in the same direction as do *Zostrianos* and *The Three Steles of Seth* by presenting this knowledge as an ascent ritual in a way parallel to Hermetic Gnosticism (*Corp. Herm.* I,24-26 and NHC VI,*6*). Apparently the author has taken both Barbelo Gnosticism and philosophical monism from the same general tradition as *The Apocryphon of John* and put them in sequence with certain linking passages for a single purpose.

Assuming that the reader has already been released from evil, the writer in the persona of Allogenes leads on up the heavenly path, praising the divine, into the blessing of knowledge, the vitality of life and finally the existence that is nonexistence. The ascent rituals of Hermetism refer occasionally to community life, and *The Three Steles of Seth* uses the first person plural to praise God at each ascent level. But here the instructions are spoken to a single person who is reading and could be meant as self-help in an individual's search for God.

This tractate has attracted wide interest because the Neoplatonist Porphyry said that Plotinus attacked certain Gnostics who "produced revelations by Zoroaster and Zostrianos and Nicotheos and Allogenes and Messos and other such people" (*Vit. Plot.* 16). If this quote does indeed refer to this book named *Allogenes*, and to documents close to it (*Zostrianos* VIII,1 bears a coded subtitle, "Words of Zoroaster") as many are proposing, it suggests a somewhat different relation of the Gnostics to later Platonism than is commonly assumed. Not only did Gnostics clearly borrow many philosophical themes from Platonism, but Platonists and Neoplatonists were being forced to deal with Gnostic schools as rivals to their own. And though Plotinus in his own tractate against the Gnostics does his best to ridicule their dualism, cult, and jargon, it is clearly the monistic Gnostics of the *Allogenes* sort who challenge him most. It is they who attribute to revelation the truths he is convinced that they have derived from Plato; it is they who believe that through self-knowledge they become superior to the heavenly bodies (*Enn.* II. 9.5-11). The question that remains is whether the Gnostics may not have had a reverse influence on Neoplatonism, specifically whether these gnostic texts could be the source of a certain existence-life-thought triad which is not attested in Neoplatonism before Proclus in the fifth century (*Theol.* 101-03).

An Alexandrian origin of the original Greek text of *Allogenes* not long after 300 C.E. would allow time for its Greek circulation and its Coptic translation before it was placed in the Nag Hammadi library early in the next century.

ALLOGENES

XI 45, 1-69, 20

[. . .] [6] since they are | [perfect individuals and dwell] | all [together, joined with] the | [mind], the guardian [which I provided, [10] who] taught you (sg.). [And] it is [the power that | exists] within you that often [extended itself | as word] | from the Triple-Powered One, [that One | of] all [those] who [truly] exist [15] with the [Immeasurable One], the | eternal [Light of] the Knowledge | that appeared, the | male virginal [Youth, | the first] of the Aeons from [20] [a] unique triple-[powered Aeon], | [the] Triple-Powered One who | [truly exists], for when [he was stilled, | ⟨he⟩ was extended] and | [when he was extended], he became [complete [25] and] he received [power] from | all of

[them]. He knows [himself | and the perfect] Invisible [Spirit]. | And he [came to be | in an] Aeon who knows [30] [that] she knows That One. | [And] she became Kalytpos | [who] acted in those whom she | knows. | He is a perfect, [35] invisible, noetic | Protophanes-Harmedon. [And] empowering | the individuals, she is a Triple-Male. | And being individually **46** [. . . [6] Individual on the one hand, they are together] | on the other hand, [since she] is an existence of [theirs], and she [sees] | them all [also] truly ⟨existing⟩. [10] [She] contains the | divine Autogenes.

"When she [knew] | her [Existence] | and when she stood, [she brought] | This One (masc.), since he saw them [all] [15] existing individually as [he] | is. And [when they] | become as he is, [they shall] | see the divine Triple-Male, | the power that is [higher than] [20] God. [He is] the [Thought] | of all these who [exist] | together. If he [ponders them, | he] ponders [the] | great male [. . .] [25] noetic Protophanes, the [procession | of] these. When [he] | sees it, [he sees | also those who truly exist] | and the procession [of those who are] [30] together. And when he [has seen | these], he has seen the [Kalyptos]. | And if he [sees] | one of the hidden ones, [he] | sees the Aeon of Barbelo. And as for [the] [35] unbegotten offspring of [That One], | if one [sees] | how he [lives **47** . . . [5] you have heard about the | abundance of] each one | of them [certainly].

[But] concerning | the invisible, spiritual | Triple-Powered One, hear! [He exists] as an [10] Invisible One who is incomprehensible | to them all. He | contains them all within [himself], | for [they] all exist because of | [him]. He is perfect, and he is [15] [greater] than perfect, and he is | blessed. [He is] always [One] | and [he] exists | [in] them all, being ineffable, | unnameable, [20] [being One] who exists through | [them all] – he whom, | [should] one discern | [him, one would not desire] anything that | [exists] before him among those [25] [that possess] existence, | for [he is] the [source | from which they were all emitted. | He is prior to | perfection. He was prior [30] to every] divinity, | [and] he is prior [to] | every blessedness since he | provides for every power. And | he ⟨is⟩ a nonsubstantial substance, [35] since he is a God over whom there is no | divinity, the | transcending of whose | greatness and ⟨beauty⟩ **48** [. . . [6] power. It is not impossible for them] | to receive a [revelation of] these things | if [they] come together. | Since it is impossible for [10] the [individuals] to comprehend the Universal One | [situated in the] place that is higher than perfect, | they apprehend by means of | a First [Thought] – | (it is) not as Being (alone), [but] [15] it is along with the | latency of Existence that he confers Being. He [provides] | everything for [himself]

since it is | he who shall come to be when he | recognizes himself]. And he is [One] [20] who subsists as a [cause]| and source [of Being] and [an] | immaterial [material and an] | innumerable [number and a formless] | form and a [shapeless] [25] shape and [a powerlessness and | a power and an insubstantial | substance and a motionless motion and an inactive | activity. [Yet he is [30] a] provider of [provisions | and] a divinity [of] | divinity – but whenever | they apprehend, they participate | the first Vitality and [35] an undivided activity, | an hypostasis of the First One | from the One who truly exists. | And a second **49** activity [...] | however, is the [...]. [5] He is endowed with | blessedness] and | goodness, because [when he is] | recognized [as the] traverser | of the boundlessness of the [10] Invisible Spirit [that | subsists] in him, it (the boundlessness) turns him to [it (the Invisible Spirit) | in] order that it might know what is | within him and | how he exists. And [15] he was becoming salvation for | every one by being a | point of departure for those who truly exist, | for through him | his knowledge endured, [20] since he is the one who knows what | he is. But they brought forth nothing | beyond themselves, neither | power nor rank nor | glory nor aeon, [25] for they are all | eternal. He is Vitality and | Mentality and That-Which-Is. | For then That|-Which-Is constantly possesses its [30] Vitality and Mentality, | and {Life has} | Vitality possesses | {non}-Being and | Mentality. Mentality [35] possesses Life and That-Which-Is. | And the three are one, | although individually they are three.

Now after | I heard these things, my son **50** [Messos, I was] afraid, and | [I turned toward the] multitude | [...] thought [... [6] gives] power to [those who] are capable of knowing | these things [by] a revelation | that is much [greater]. And I | was capable], although flesh was [10] upon [me. I] heard from you about these things | and about the doctrine | that is in them since the thought | which is in me distinguished [the things that are] | beyond measure as well as the unknowables. [15] Therefore I fear that | my doctrine may have become | something beyond what is fitting.

And | then, my | son Messos, the all-glorious One, [20] Youel, spoke to me again. She made a revelation | to me and said, "No | one is able to hear [these things] | except the great powers alone, | O Allogenes. [25] A great power was put upon you, which | the Father | of the All, the Eternal, put upon you | before you came to this place, in order that | those things that are difficult to distinguish [30] you might distinguish and those things | that are unknown to | the multitude you might know, | and that you might escape (in safety) | to the One who is yours, who [35] was first

to save and | who does not need to be saved. **51** [. . . 6 to] you [a] | form [and a revelation of] | the invisible, spiritual Triple-Powered One | outside of which [dwells] 10 an undivided, incorporeal, | [eternal] knowledge. |

"As with all the Aeons, | the Aeon of Barbelo exists, | also endowed with the types 15 and forms of those who truly | exist, the image of | Kalyptos. And endowed | with the intellectual Word of | these, he bears the 20 noetic male Protophanes like | an image, and he acts | within the individuals either with | craft or with skill | or with partial instinct. 25 He is endowed with the | divine Autogenes like | an image, and he knows | each one of these. He | acts separately and 30 individually, continuing to rectify | the failures | from nature. He is endowed with | the divine Triple-Male | as salvation for them all 35 (and) in cooperation with the Invisible Spirit. | He is a word from a | counsel, ⟨he⟩ is the perfect Youth. | And this hypostatis is a **52** [. . .].

[. . . 7 my soul went slack] and | I fled [and was] very disturbed. | And [I] turned to myself 10 [and] saw the light | that [surrounded] me and the | Good that was in me, I became divine. |

And | the all-glorious One, Youel, anointed me again 15 and she gave power to me. She said, "Since | your instruction has become complete | and you have known the Good that is within you, | hear concerning | the Triple-Powered One those things that you will 20 guard in great | silence and great mystery, | because they are not spoken to | anyone except those who are worthy, | those who are able 25 to hear; nor is it fitting | to speak to an | uninstructed generation concerning | the Universal One that is higher than perfect. | But you have ⟨these⟩ because of 30 the Triple-Powered One, the One who exists | in blessedness | and goodness, the One | who is responsible for all these. |

"There exists within him 35 much greatness. | Inasmuch as he is One in a **53** [. . .] 6 of the [First Thought, which] | does not fall away [from those who dwell] | in comprehension [and knowledge] | and [understanding. And] 10 That One moved motionlessly | in that which | governs, lest he sink | into the boundless by means of | another activity of 15 Mentality. And he entered | into himself and he appeared, | being all-encompassing, | the Universal One that is higher than perfect. |

"Indeed it is not through me 20 that he is to such a degree anterior to knowledge. | Whereas there is no possibility for complete | comprehension, he is (nevertheless) known. | And this is so because of the | third silence of Mentality 25 and the second | undivided activity which appeared | in the First Thought, | that is, the Aeon of Barbelo, | together

with the Indivisible One of [30] the divisible likenesses and the Triple- | Powered One and the non-substantial Existence." |

〈And〉 the power | appeared by means of an activity | that is at rest [35] and silent, although it uttered | a sound thus: zza | zza zza. But when she heard | the power and she was filled **54** [...] [6] thou art | [...] Solmis! | [...] according to the Vitality, | [that is thine, and] the first activity [10] which derives from | divinity: Thou art great, | Armedon! Thou art perfect, | Epiphaneus!

"And according to | that activity of thine, the second power [15] and the Mentality | which derives from blessedness: | Autoer, Beritheus, | Erigenaor, Orimenios, Aramen, | Alphleges, Eleliouphaeus, [20] Lalameus, Yetheus, Noetheus! | Thou art great! He who knows [thee] | knows the Universal One! Thou art One, | thou art One, He who is good, Aphredon! | Thou art the Aeon of [25] Aeons, He who is perpetually!" |

Then she praised | the Universal One, saying, | "Lalameus, Noetheus, Senaon, | Asine[us, ...]riphanios, [30] Mellephaneus, Elemaoni, | Smoun, Optaon, He Who | Is! Thou art He Who Is, | the Aeon of Aeons, the | Unbegotten, who art higher than the unbegotten (ones), [35] Yatomenos, thou alone | for whom all the unborn ones were begotten, | the Unnameable One! **55** [...] [11] knowledge." |

[Now after I] heard these things, I | [saw the glories of the perfect] individuals | [and] the all-perfect ones [15] [who exist] together, and the | [all-perfect ones who] are before the perfect | ones.

[Again the greatly] glorious One, | Youel, said to me, | "[O Allogenes], in an [20] [unknowing knowledge] you know that the | [Triple-Powered One] exists before | [the glories]. They do not exist | [among those who exist]. They do not exist | [together] with those who exist [25] [nor (with) those who] truly exist. | [Rather all these] exist | [as divinity] and | [blessedness and] existence, | [and as] nonsubstantiality and [30] non-being [existence]." |

[And then I] prayed that | [the revelation] might occur to me. | [And then | the all-[glorious One], Youel, said to me, [35] "[O Allogenes], of course, | [the Triple-] Male | [is something beyond] substance. | Yet [were he insubstantial **56** ...] [10] those who exist [in association] | with the [generation of those] | who [truly] exist. | [The self-begotten ones exist] | with the [Triple-Male]. [15]

"If you [seek with a | perfect] seeking, [then] | you shall know [the Good that is] | in you; then [you will know yourself] | as well, (as) one who [derives from] [20] the God [who truly pre-exists]. | [For] after [a

hundred] | years there shall [come to you] | a revelation [of That One] | by means of [Salamex] [25] and Semen [and ... the] | Luminaries [of the Aeon of] | Barbelo. And [that beyond what] | is fitting for you, [you shall not know] | at first, so as not [to forfeit your] [30] kind. [And if so], | then when [you receive] | a conception [of That One, then | you] are filled [with] | the word [to completion]. [35] Then [you become divine] | and [you become perfect. You receive] | them [...] **57**[5] the seeking [...] | the Existence [...] | if it [apprehends] | anything, it is [apprehended by] | that one and by [10] the very one who is comprehended. | And then he | becomes greater | who comprehends and knows than | he who is comprehended and [15] known. But if | he descends to his nature, | he is less, for the | incorporeal natures have not associated with | any magnitude; having [20] this power, they are everywhere | and they are nowhere, | since they are greater than every magnitude, | and less than every exiguity." |

Now after [25] the all-glorious One, Youel, said these things, | she separated from me and left | me. But I did not despair | of the words that I heard. | I prepared myself [30] therein and I deliberated | with myself for a hundred years. | And I rejoiced exceedingly, | since I was in a great | light and a blessed path [35] because those whom I was | worthy to see as well | as those whom I was worthy to hear | (are) those whom it is fitting | that the great powers alone **58** [...] [6] of [God]. |

[When | the completion of] the one hundred years [drew nigh, | it brought] me a blessedness [10] of the eternal hope | full of auspiciousness. | I saw the good divine Autogenes; | and the Savior | who is the [15] youthful, perfect Triple-Male Child; and his | goodness, the | noetic perfect Protophanes-Harmedon; | and the blessedness | of the Kalyptos; and the [20] primary origin of the blessedness, | the Aeon of Barbelo | full of divinity; | and the primary origin of | the one without origin, the [25] spiritual, invisible Triple-Powered | One, the Universal One that | is higher than perfect.

When ⟨I⟩ was taken by the | eternal Light out of | the garment that was upon [30] me, and taken up to | a holy place whose | likeness can not be | revealed in the world, | then by means of a [35] great blessedness I | saw all those about whom I had | heard. And I | praised all of them and I **59** [stood] upon my knowledge and [I | inclined to] the knowledge [of] | the Universals, the Aeon of Barbelo. |

And I saw [holy] powers [5] by means of the [Luminaries] | of the virginal male Barbelo | [telling me | that] I would be able to test what | happens in the world: "O [10] Allogenes, behold your blessedness | how

it silently abides, | by which you know | your proper self and, | seeking yourself, withdraw to the Vitality [15] that you will | see moving. And although it is | impossible for you to stand, fear | nothing; but if you | wish to stand, withdraw [20] to the Existence, and you will | find it standing and | at rest after the likeness of the One | who is truly at rest | and embraces all these [25] silently and | inactively. And when you receive | a revelation of him by | means of a primary revelation | of the Unknown One – [30] the One whom if you should | know him, be ignorant | of him – and you become | afraid in that place, | withdraw to the rear because of the [35] activities. And when you become | perfect in that place, | still yourself. And | in accordance with the pattern that indwells | you, know likewise **60** [that] it is this way in [all such (matters)] | after this (very) pattern. And | [do not] further dissipate, [so that] | you may be able to stand, [5] and do not desire to [be active] | lest you fall [in any way] | from the inactivity in [you] | of the Unknown One. Do not | [know] him, for it is impossible; [10] but if by means of an | enlightened thought you should know | him, be ignorant of him." |

Now I was listening to these things as | those ones spoke them. There [15] was within me a stillness | of silence, and I heard the | Blessedness | whereby I knew ⟨my⟩ proper self. |

And I withdrew to the [20] Vitality as I sought ⟨myself⟩, and | I joined into it, | and I stood, | not firmly but | silently. And I saw [25] an eternal, intellectual, undivided motion | that pertains to all the | formless powers, (which is] unlimited | by limitation.

And when | I wanted to stand firmly, [30] I withdrew to | the Existence, which I found | standing and at rest | like an image and | likeness of what is conferred upon [35] me by a revelation | of the Indivisible One and the One who | is at rest. I was filled | with revelation by means | of a primary revelation **61** of the Unknowable One. [As though] | I were ignorant of him, I [knew] | him and I received power [by] | him. Having been permanently strengthened [5] I knew the One who | exists in me and the Triple-Powered One | and the revelation of | his uncontainableness. [And] | by means of a primary [10] revelation of the First One (who is) unknowable | to them all, the God | who is beyond perfection, I | saw him and the Triple-Powered One that exists | in them all. I was seeking [15] the ineffable | and Unknowable God – | whom if one should | know him, he would be absolutely | ignorant of him – the Mediator of [20] the Triple-Powered One who subsists in | stillness and silence and is | unknowable.

And when I was confirmed | in these matters, | the powers of the

Luminaries said to me, [25] "Cease hindering the inactivity | that exists in you | by seeking | incomprehensible matters; rather hear | about him in so far as it is [30] possible by means of a primary | revelation and a revelation. |

"Now he is | something insofar as he exists in that he either | exists and will become, [35] or acts or knows, although he lives | without Mind | or Life or Existence | or Non-Existence, | incomprehensibly. **62** And he is something along with | his proper being. | He is not left over in | some way, as if he yields [5] something that is assayed or purified [or that] | receives or gives. And he is not | diminished in any way, | [whether] by his own desire | or whether he gives or receives through [10] another. Neither does [he] have | any desire of himself | nor from another; | it does not affect him. | Rather neither does he give [15] anything by himself | lest he become diminished | in another respect; | nor for this reason does he need. | Mind, or Life, or [20] indeed anything at all. He is superior to the | Universals in his privation | and unknowability, | that is, the non-being existence, | since he is endowed with [25] silence and stillness lest | he be diminished by | those who are not diminished. |

"He is neither divinity | nor blessedness [30] nor perfection. Rather | it (this triad) is an unknowable entity of him, | not that which is proper to him; rather | he is another one | superior to the blessedness and [35] the divinity and | perfection. For he is not | perfect but he is another thing **63** that is superior. He is neither | boundless, nor | is he bounded by | another. Rather he is something [superior]. [5] He is not corporeal. | He is not incorporeal. | He is not great. [He is not] small. | He is not a number. He is not a [creature]. | Nor is he something [10] that exists, that | one can know. But | he is something else of himself that is superior, which | one cannot know. |

"He is primary revelation [15] and knowledge of himself, | as it is he alone who knows himself. | Since he is not one of those | that exist but is another thing, | he is superior to (all) superlatives [20] even in comparison to (both) what is (properly) his and | not his. He neither participates in | age nor | does he participate in time. | He does not receive anything from anything [25] else. He is not diminishable, | nor does he diminish | anything, nor is he undiminishable. | But he is | self-comprehending, as something [30] so unknowable | that he exceeds those who excel | in unknowability. |

"He is endowed with blessedness | and perfection [35] and silence – not ⟨the blessedness⟩ | nor the perfection – | and stillness. Rather | it (these attributes) is an entity of him that exists, | which one cannot **64**

[know], and which is at rest. | Rather they are entities | of him unknowable to them | all.

"And he is much higher in [5] beauty than all those | [that] are good, and he is thus | unknowable to all of them | in every respect. And | through them all he is [10] in them all, not | only as the unknowable knowledge | that is proper to him. And | he is united with the | ignorance that sees him. Whether ⟨one sees⟩ [15] in what way he is unknowable, | or sees | him as he is | in every respect, or | would say that [20] he is something like | knowledge, he has sinned against him, | being liable to judgment because he did not | know God. He will not | be judged by [25] That One who | is neither concerned for anything nor | has any desire, | but it (judgment) ⟨is⟩ from | himself because he did not find the origin [30] that truly exists. He was blind | apart from the eye | of revelation that is at rest, | the (one) that is activated, | the (one) from the Triple- [35] Power of the First Thought | of the Invisible Spirit. | This one thus exists from **65** [...] [16] something [... set firmly on the ... a] | beauty and a [first emergence] | of stillness and silence [20] and tranquility and | unfathomable greatness. When he appeared, | he did not need | time nor ⟨did he partake⟩ of eternity. | Rather of [25] himself he is unfathomably | unfathomable. He does not activate | himself so as to become | still. He is not an | existence lest he [30] be in want. Spatially he is corporeal, | while properly he is incorporeal. | He has | non-being existence. | He exists for all of them unto himself [35] without any desire. | But he is a greater summit | of greatness. And he is | higher than his stillness in order that **66** [... [16] he] saw [them] | and [empowered them all], although they do not | concern [themselves] with That One at | all, nor, if one should [20] receive from him, does he receive power. | Nothing activates him in accordance with | the Unity that is at rest. | For he is unknowable; | he is an airless place of [25] the boundlessness. Since | he is boundless and powerless | and nonexistent, he was not giving | Being. Rather he contains | all of these in himself, being at rest [30] (and) standing out of | the one who stands | continually, since there had appeared | an Eternal Life, the | Invisible and Triple-Powered Spirit [35] which is in all of these | who exist. And it surrounds | them all, being higher than | them all. A shadow **67** [...] [17] he [was filled with power. And | he] stood [before them], | empowering them all, and he filled [20] them all."

And | concerning all of these (things) you have heard | certainly. And do not | seek anything more, | but go. [25] We do not know whether | the Unknowable One has | angels or | gods, or whether the One who is at rest | was containing [30] anything within himself except | the stillness,

which is he, | lest he be diminished. | It is not fitting to | spend more [35] time seeking. It was | appropriate that you (pl.) ⟨alone⟩ know | and that they speak | with another one. But you will receive them **68** [. . . [6] and he said to me], "Write down | [the things that I] shall [tell] you and | of which I shall remind you for the sake of | those who will be worthy [20] after you. And you will leave | this book upon a mountain | and you will adjure the guardian: | 'Come Dreadful One.'" |

And after he said these (things), he separated [25] from me. But I was full | of joy, and I wrote | this book which was appointed | for me, my son Messos, in order | that I might disclose to you the (things) [30] that were proclaimed before me in | my presence. And at first I received | them in great silence and | I stood by myself, preparing | myself. These are the things that [35] were disclosed to me, O my son **69** [Messos . . . [14] proclaim | them, O my] | son [Messos, as the] | seal [for] all [the | books of] | Allogenes. [20]

Allogenes

HYPSIPHRONE (XI,4)

Introduced and translated by

JOHN D. TURNER

Hypsiphrone, which means "high-minded one" or perhaps "she of exalted thought," is the fourth and last treatise of Codex XI of the Coptic library from Nag Hammadi. It presently consists of four large and two small fragments containing the lower portions of the inner and outer margins of two papyrus leaves, which must have originally contained the entirety of this short treatise. It is written in the same script as the much longer and better preserved treatise of that Codex, *Allogenes*, although there is no discernible further relationship beyond these two treatises. *Hypsiphrone* is written in an apparently standard Sahidic Coptic dialect, unlike the other treatises of Codex XI. It bears the superscript title "Hypsiph[rone]," the remainder of the title being restored from other occurrences within the treatise; since the conclusion of the treatise is not extant, it may or may not have borne a subscript title.

Apart from the poor condition of the treatise, even its cryptic title affords little insight into its content. The *incipit* "The book (or scroll) [concerning the things] that were seen [by] Hypsiphrone being [revealed] in the place of [her] virginity" adds little more. Although there is mentioned a plurality of persons speaking with one another, the treatise does not appear to be a dialogue. Instead, the whole is presented as a speech of Hypsiphrone who reports the receipt of certain revelations during her descent from the "place of her virginity" into the world. The only figure mentioned by Hypsiphrone is one Phainops, "he of the gleaming eye," who apparently presides over a fount of blood into which he breathes, and which seems to produce a fiery effect.

One may conjecture that Hypsiphrone represents some form of the personified thought of a high deity who leaves her dwelling in the transcendental realm, where there are no distinctions of gender, to descend to the earthly realm at the time of the creation of humankind. There she encounters Phainops, probably in the act of creating humankind, who apparently produces "a [man in the likeness] of blood" from his fiery fount of blood.

In spite of the paucity of text, what remains seems to have some affinity with the group of gnostic texts generally designated as Sethian. To judge from the name Hypsiphrone, one may have to do here with the Sethian figure of Eleleth, called Phronesis in *Hyp. Arch.* (93,8-97,21), one of the traditional Sethian Four Illuminators, whose name might be derived from Aramaic *'illith*, "the tall one," which could be rendered by Greek *hypsiphrone*.

The fount of blood may refer to the heavenly Adamas or heavenly archetype of Adam, described in *Orig. World* (108,2-31) as the "enlightened bloody one" (based on the Hebrew pun on *'adam*, "man," and *dam*, "blood"). In this case, Hypsiphrone would be the Illuminator Eleleth, who in some Sethian texts is regarded as the abode of Sophia and certain "repentant souls" and in others

(*Trim. Prot.*, *Gos. Eg.*) is held responsible for the act usually ascribed to Sophia: that of producing the demiurge Yaldabaoth. Eleleth/Hypsiphrone would also be responsible for the projection below of Adamas, the image of God after whom the earthly Adam is modeled. In any case, Hypsiphrone is certainly a figure similar to that of the descending and restored Sophia. Phainops, "radiant-faced one," might then be a name for either the enlightened archetypal Adamas, or, since he seems to be distinguished from the "fount of blood," for the fiery angel Sabbaoth, the brother of the evil demiurge produced by the breath of Zoe, Pistis Sophia's daughter, in an effort to imprison the demiurge (*Hyp. Arch.* 95,5-96,4). Thus, although it bears no trace of the traditional Sethian names for these figures, *Hypsiphrone* may in fact be very closely related to the other Sethian texts.

HYPSIPHRONE

XI 69, 21-72, 33

Hypsiphrone |

The book [concerning the things] that were | seen [by] Hypsiphrone | being [revealed] in [25] the place of [her] virginity. | [And she listens] to | her brethren [. . .] Phainops | and [. . .] and | they speak [with one another] [30] in a [mystery].

Now I | [was first by individual] ranking [. . .] **70**[14] I came [forth [15] to the place] of my [virginity] | and I went down | to the [world. Then I] was told | [about] them (by) those who abide | in [the place] of my [virginity]. [20]

And I went | down [to the world] and they said | to [me, "Again] Hypsiphrone | [has withdrawn] outside | the [place of her] virginity." [25] Then the one [who] heard, | Phainops, [who breathes] into | [her fount of] blood, spread [out] | for her.

[And] he said, | ["I am Phainops . . .] **71**[18] err [. . .] [20] desire [. . . the number] | of just the [human] remnants | or that I may see a [man, the blood-likeness | or . . .] [25] of a [. . . fire] and a [. . . in] his | hands.

Then [as for me, I said | to] him, ["Phainops] has not [come] upon | me; he [has not] [30] gone astray. [. . . see] a | man [. . .] him [. . .] **72**[18] For [. . .] which he | said [. . .] Phainops [20] this [. . .].

I saw him | and [he said] to me, "Hypsiphrone, | [why do you dwell] outside me? | [Follow me] and I will | tell [you about them]." So I [25] followed [him], for [I] was | in [great] fear. And | he [told me] about a fount of [blood] | that is [revealed by] setting afire | [. . .] he said [. . .].

THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS (XII,*1*)

Introduced and translated by

FREDERIK WISSE

Before the discovery of the fragments of the Coptic version in Nag Hammadi Codex XII, *The Sentences of Sextus* were known through Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian translations, as well as through two manuscripts in the original Greek. Apart from some patristic quotations, the Coptic version is by far the oldest witness to this collection of wisdom sayings. It appears to be a faithful and consistent translation from the Greek, and it stands closer to the critical text provided by Henry Chadwick (*The Sentences of Sextus; A Contribution to the History of Early Christian Ethics*, Texts and Studies 5, Cambridge: The University Press, 1959) than the two Greek witnesses and the other versions. As such it is of considerable value for the study of the text and of the character of the document.

Of the approximately thirty-nine original pages of the tractate, ten survive. This assumes that the Coptic version did not contain more than the 451 sentences included in the Latin translation of Rufinus. The numeration of the sentences follows Chadwick's edition.

Though most of the sentences are of non-Christian origin, they enjoyed considerable popularity in Christian circles. Their presence among the Nag Hammadi tractates is not surprising. They share an ascetic outlook with many other writings in the collection. Indeed, the overwhelmingly ascetic tone of the entire Nag Hammadi library may indicate that the compilers and users of these books were part of the early monastic movement in Egypt. For a discussion of the moral teaching of Sextus, the reader is referred to Chadwick's edition.

THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS

XII 15, 1-16, 28; 27, 1-34, 28

(157) is [a sign] of ignorance. |

(158/159) [Love] the truth, and the lie | [use] like poison. |

(160) [May] the right time precede your words. [5]

(161/162) [Speak] when it is not proper | [to be silent], but [speak concerning] the things you know | (only) then [when] it is fitting. |

(163a) [The] untimely [word | is characteristic] of an evil mind. [10]

(163b) [When it is] proper to act, do not | [use a] word.

(164a) Do not wish | [to speak] first in the midst of | [a crowd].

(164b) [While it is] a skill | [to speak], it is also [a] skill [15] [to be silent].

(165a) It is [better] for you to be defeated | [while speaking the truth], than to be victorious | [through deceit].

(165b) [He] who is victorious through | [deceit] is [defeated] by the truth. |

(165c) [Untrue words] are [20] [characteristic of] evil persons.

(165d) [There has to be] a great [crisis | before] the lie [is necessary]. |

(165e) [When there is] someone, while you speak | [the truth], even if | [you lie there is no sin].

(165f) Do not deceive [25] [anyone, especially] him who needs | [advice].

(165g) [If you speak] after | [many (others) you will see better] what is profitable. |

(166) [Faithful] is he who is first with | all [good works]. **16**

(167) Wisdom leads [the soul] | to the place of [God].

(168) [There is no] | kinsman of the [truth except] | wisdom.

(169) [It is not] possible for a [believing] [5] nature to [become fond of] | lying.

(170) A fearful [and slavish] nature | will [not] be able to partake in | faith.

(171a) When you are [faithful, what] | it is fitting to say [is not of greater value than] [10] the hearing.

(171b) When you [are] | with believing persons, desire [to listen rather than] | to speak.

(172) A pleasure-[loving] man | is useless [in everything]. |

(173) When there is no [(accounting of) sin, do not speak] [15] in anything (which is) from [God].

(174) [The] sins | of those who are [ignorant are] | the shame of those who have [taught them]. |

(175) Those on account of whom [the name of God] is blasphemed | [are dead] [20] before God.

(176) [A wise man | is] a doer of good works after | God.

(177) [May your life] | confirm [your words before those who] | hear.

(178) What it is [not right to do], [25] do not even consider [doing it].

(179) [What you do not] | want to [happen to you, do not do it] | yourself [either].

(180) [What] | it [is] shameful [to do, is also] (pp. 17-26 are missing) **27**

(307/308) He is [a wise man who commends | God] to men, | [and God] thinks more highly of | the wise man than his own [works]. [5]

(309) [After] God, no one is as free | as the wise man. |

(310) [Everything] God possesses | the wise man has also.

(311/312) The | wise man shares in the [10] [kingdom] of God; an evil man | does not want the foreknowledge | of God to come to pass.

(313) An evil soul | flees from God. |

(314) Everything bad [15] is the enemy of God.

(315) What thinks | in you, say with your mind | that it is man.

(316) Where | your thought is, | there is your [20] goodness.

(317) Do not seek goodness | in flesh.

(318) He who does [not] harm | the soul neither does (so) to | man.

(319) After God, | honor a [wise] man, [25] [since he] is the servant | [of God].

(320) [To make] the body of your | [soul] a burden | is [pride], but to be able to | [restrain] it **28** [gently] when [it is necessary | is] blessedness.

(321) [Do not become] | guilty [of] your own death. | Do not be [angry at him] who will take you [out of] [5] (the) body and kill you. |

(322) If someone brings [the wise man] | out of the body wickedly, | he rather [does what is] | good for him, [for] he has been released [10] from bonds.

(323) The fear of [death] | grieves man because of | the ignorance of the soul.

(324) ⟨It were better⟩ | for you had [the] man-killing sword | not come into being; but when it comes, [15] say with your mind that it does | not exist.

(325/326a) Someone who says, "I | believe," even if he spends a long | time pretending, | he will not prevail, but he will [20] fall; as | your heart is, (so) will be | your life.

(326b) A godly heart | produces a blessed life. |

(327) He who will plot [25] evil against another, [he is] | the first [. . .]. |

(328) [Let not] an ungrateful man | cause you to cease to do [good]. **29**

(329) [Do not say with] your mind that [these | things] which were asked, (and) | [you] gave immediately, are more valuable than | [the] receiver.

(330) You will use [5] [great] property, if you give to the | [needy] willingly. |

(331) Persuade a senseless brother | [not to] be senseless; if he is mad, | protect him.

(332/334) Strive eagerly [10] to be victorious over every man in | prudence; maintain self-sufficiency. |

(333) You cannot receive understanding unless | you know first that you possess ⟨it⟩. | In everything there is again this sentence.

(335) The [15] members of the body are a burden | to those who do not use them. |

(336) It is better to serve | others than to make others | serve you.

(337) He whom God [20] will not bring out of (the) body, | let him not burden himself. |

(338) Not only do not hold an opinion | which does not benefit the needy, | [but also do not] listen to it.

(339) He who gives [25] [something without] respect commits an outrage. | [. . .].

(340) If you take on the | [guardianship of] orphans, you will be | [the] father of many children (and) you will be **30** beloved of God.

(341) He [whom you serve] | because of [honor, you have] | served for a wage.

(342) If you [have given] | that which honors you . . . , [you have] [5] given not to man, but [you have given] | for your own pleasure.

(343/344) Do not [provoke] | the anger of a mob. [Know, then], | what is fitting for the fortunate man to [do]. |

(345) It is better to die [than] [10] to darken the soul because of [the] | immoderation of the belly.

(346) Say with [your] | mind that the body [is] the garment of | your soul; keep it, therefore, | pure since it is innocent.

(347) Whatever the soul [15] will do while it is in (the) body, it has | as witnesses when it goes into | judgment.

(348/349) Unclean demons | do lay claim to a | polluted soul; a faithful (and) [20] good soul evil demons | will not be able to hinder in the | way of God.

(350) Do not give the word of | God to everyone.

(351) For [those who] | are corrupted by [glory] [25] it is not assuring to [hear] | about God.

(352/353) It is not a small [danger] | for us to [speak the] truth | about God; [do not say **31** anything about] God before | [you have] learned from [God]. |

(354/356) [Do not] speak with a godless person | [about] God; if you are polluted [5] [on account of] impure works, | [do not] speak about God. |

(357) [The] true [word] about God | is [the] word of God.

(355) Speak | concerning the word about God [10] as if you were saying it in the presence of God. |

(358) If first your mind is persuaded | that you have been god-loving, | then speak to whomever you wish | about God. [15]

(359) May your pious works | precede every word about | God.

(360) Do not wish to speak | with a crowd about | God.

(361) Be (more) sparing with a word about [20] God (than) about a soul.

(362) It | is better to dispose of a soul than to discard | at random a word about | God.

(363a) You conceive the body | of the god-loving man, but you will not be able to [25] rule over his speech.

(363b) The lion also | rules over the body of | [the wise man]; also the tyrant rules | [over it] alone.

(364) If a tyrant **32** threatens you, [then, especially], | remember God.

(365) [He who speaks] | the word of God [to those for whom] | it is not lawful, he is [the betrayer] [5] of God.

(366) It is better [for] | you to be silent about the word of [God] | than to speak recklessly. |

(367/368) He who speaks lies about | God is lying to [10] God; a man who does not have | anything truthful to say about [God] | is abandoned by God.

(369) [It is not] | possible for you to know God when you | do not worship him.

(370) A man who [15] does evil to someone will not be able to worship | God.

(371) The love of man | is the beginning of godliness. |

(372) He who takes care of men while | praying for all of them – this is [20] the truth of God.

(373/374) It is God's business | to save whom he wants; | on the other hand, it is the business of the pious man | to beseech God to save | everyone.

(375) When you [25] pray for something and it happens | to you through God, then | say with your mind that [you have **33** . . .]. |

(376a) [A man who] is worthy of God, | [he] is God among | [men], and [he is] the son of God. [5]

(376b) Both the great one exists | and he who is next | to the great one exists.

(377/378) It is better for | man to be without anything | than to have many things [10] while not giving to the needy; so also you, | if you pray to God, | he will not give to you.

(379) If you, from your | whole heart, give your bread to | the hungry, the gift is small, [15] but the willingness is great | with God.

(380) He who thinks | that no one is in the presence of | God, he is not humble towards God. |

(381) He who makes his mind like unto [20] God as far as he is able, he | is the one who honors God greatly. |

(382) God does not need anything, | but he rejoices over those who give to the | needy.

(383) The faithful do not speak many [25] words, but their works are numerous. |

(384) It is a faithful person fond of learning | who is the worker of the truth. **34**

(385) [Adjust ... the] calamities | in order that [...].

(386) [If you] | do not do evil to anyone, you will not be afraid | of anyone.

(387) The tyrant will [5] not be able to take away happiness. |

(388) What it is right to do, do it | willingly.

(389a) What it is not right to do, | do not do it in any way.

(389b) Promise | everything rather than [10] to say, "I am wise." |

(390) What you do well, say | with your mind that it [is] God | who does it.

(391) No man | who ⟨looks⟩ down upon the earth [15] and upon tables is wise. |

(392) The philosopher who is an | outer body, he is not the one | to whom it is fitting to pay respect, but (the) | philosopher according to the inner [20] man.

(393) Guard yourself from lying: there is | he who deceives and there is he who is | deceived.

(394/395) Know who God is, | and know who is the one who | thinks in you; a good man [25] is the good work | of God.

(396) They are miserable | because of whom the [word] is blasphemed. |

(397) Death will [not] be able to destroy (pp. 35-end are missing).

FRAGMENTS (XII,*3*)

Introduced and translated by

FREDERIK WISSE

It is uncertain whether the two fragments presented here in translation come from the same tractate. With no title and only one substantial fragment surviving, the character of the tractate remains obscure. It seems to present ethical teaching within a religious context. The first person singular and plural are used, and the speaker refers to "my Father," which suggests that he may be Jesus. The speaker contrasts himself and his followers with others, referred to in the third person plural, who live in wickedness and do evil deeds. Nothing in the fragments suggests that the tractate was gnostic. There is no reason to doubt that the Coptic represents a translation from the Greek.

FRAGMENTS

XII 1A, 6-29
1B, 6-29
2A, 24-29
2B, 24-29

(Fragment 1A) [. . .] us as it is | [fitting. . . .] each other, but | [. . .] a crowd to receive | [. . .] they speak ill | [. . .] live by wickedness | [. . .] the [. . .] | work evil things to | [. . .] the good things, and they | [. . .] do their own things | [. . .] strangers. There are | [. . .] do their own things | [. . .] works which [. . . | we] ourselves do [. . . | works] of those [. . .] | evil works [. . .] that which we shall [. . . | the] works which [. . .] | that which [. . .] | every one [. . .]

(Fragment 1B) [. . .]. For I speak the [. . .] | know [God . . .] | gave their [. . .] | error. But [. . .] | they are worthy of the [. . .] | into God [. . .]. And already they have [. . .] | the ignorance [. . .] | the righteousness [. . .] | these were worthy [of . . .]. | He [. . .] my Father who is [. . .] | not to them a father [. . .] | I think that [. . .] | this which the [. . .] | I give again to the [. . .] they forgive [. . .] | spoke it [. . .] | it [. . .]

(Fragment 2A) [. . .] [26] philosopher [. . .] | they are not able to [. . .] | philosopher | [. . .] world [. . .]

(Fragment 2B) [. . .] [27] her [. . .] | begot him [. . .] | think that [. . .]

TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA (XIII,*1*)

Introduced and translated by

JOHN D. TURNER

Trimorphic Protennoia ("The Three-formed [Divine] First Thought") is, in its form, a Barbeloite treatise which has undergone both Sethian and Christian revisions. It is roughly contemporaneous with *The Apocryphon of John* (mid-second century C.E.), which it resembles in certain interesting ways, and is distinguished by a number of striking parallels to the Fourth Gospel and especially its prologue.

The underlying basis of *Trimorphic Protennoia* can be seen in the series consistent "I am" self-predicatory aretalogies, in which Protennoia recites her divine identity and role in the creation and salvation of the world. These are structured into an introductory aretalogy (35,1-32) identifying Protennoia as the divine First Thought followed by three similar aretalogies in the same style, the second and third of which form separately titled subtractates in the *Trimorphic Protennoia*: First, Protennoia is the Voice of the First Thought who descends first as light into darkness to give shape to her fallen members (35,32-36,27; 40,29-41,1). Second, Protennoia is the Speech of the Thought who descends to empower her fallen members by giving them spirit or breadth (42,4-27; 45,2-12; 45,21-46,3). Third, Protennoia is the Word or Logos of the Thought who descends in the likeness of the powers, assumes a human appearance, introduces the illuminatory baptismal rite of the Five Seals and restores her members into the light (46,5-6; 47,5-22; 49,15-22; 50,9-12,18-20).

One cannot fail to notice here a striking resemblance, not only to the language and structure of the Johannine prologue's narration of the descents of the Logos, but also to the similar first-person aretalogy on the three descents of Pronoia found at the end of the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John* (II,*1*:30,11-31,25), with which the *Trimorphic Protennoia* may even be genetically related.

The underlying tripartite aretalogy has been expanded by means of six narrative doctrinal insertions (36,27-40,29; 41,1-42,2; 42,27-45,2; 46,7-47,5; 47,22-49,15; 49,22-50,9). Three of these insertions, whose third-person expository prose breaks the otherwise smooth flow of Protennoia's self-referential speech, are designated as "mysteries" which Protennoia is said to have communicated to the sons of the light.

Essentially, the scheme of the divine First Thought's triple descent into this world is a derivative of speculation at home in the Hellenistic Jewish wisdom schools responsible for the personification of the figure of the divine wisdom and the development of the myth concerning her role in the creation of the world and in the subsequent enlightenment of mankind as it is found especially in 1 Enoch 42, Sirach 24, Wisdom 7-8, and in Philo. It seems that Sophia's two unsuccessful descents in 1 Enoch 42 and her successful one in Sirach 24 were combined into

a total of three descents into the lower world, two resulting in partial liberation, and the third resulting in the final awakening and salvation of those who received her. This is the same pattern that underlies the Johannine prologue, which, though not a Barbeloite composition, was likely also a product of a similar form of wisdom speculation. The unique contribution of the Barbeloites seems to have been the interpretation of the three revelatory descents: first, in terms of a primal divine triad of Father, Mother and Son, second in terms of a theory of progressive revelation in which each successive appearance of the revealer is characterized by an increasing degree of articulateness and finality (Voice, Speech, and Word) and third, the association of the final descent with a Logos figure who confers final enlightenment in the form of transcendentalized baptismal rite called the Five Seals.

It is clear that the *Trimorphic Protennoia* has been secondarily Christianized. Three glosses identifying the Autogenes Son as the Christ in the first subtractate (37,[31]; 38,22; 39,6-7) probably derive from the traditional Barbeloite theogonical material common to *The Apocryphon of John* and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.29, upon which the author drew for the first narrative insertion. These Christian glosses would have been suggested by an equation between the Christian designation of Christ as *monogenes* and what seems to be a pre-Christian designation for the third member of the Barbeloite Father-Mother-Son triad, namely the Self-Begotten (*autogenes*) Son.

The third subtractate narrates the incognito descent of Protennoia as the Word disguised in the form of the sovereignties, powers, and angels, culminating in the final revelation of herself in the human form of her members below, but it seems to have been supplemented by an alien and tendentious Christological interpretation. In the third subtractate, traditional Christological titles such as Christ, Beloved, Son of God (i.e., "Son of the Archigenetor") and Son of Man are polemically interpreted in a consciously docetic fashion so as to suggest that these titles were inappropriately applied to the human Jesus by the apostolic church. By implication, the apostolic Jesus is shown actually to be the Christ of the evil archons; the apostolic beloved is actually the Beloved of the archons; the apostolic Son of God is the Son of the ignorant world creator; and the apostolic Son of Man is only a human being among the sons of men.

It is interesting that most of these reinterpretations of the Christology of the apostolic church in the *Trimorphic Protennoia* seem to depend on key passages from the Gospel of John to score their point in any acute fashion. It seems that the key to the relationship between these two texts lies in the recognition that *Trimorphic Protennoia* has undergone at least three stages of composition. First, there was the original triad of the aretalogical self-predications of Protennoia as Voice, Speech, and Word that were probably built up out of the Jewish wisdom tradition and maybe out of *The Apocryphon of John*'s similar Pronoia aretalogy itself sometime during the first century C.E.; there is little here that seems specifically gnostic or Christian or Sethian or Barbeloite. Second, this was supplemented, whether by the same or by a different author, by various narrative doctrinal passages based upon traditional Barbeloite theogonical materials similar to those of *The Apocryphon of John* and Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.29. After circulation as a mildly Christian Barbeloite text in this form, the third and last stage of composition seems to have involved a deliberately polemical incorporation of

Christian, specifically Johannine Christian, materials into the aretalogical portion of the third subtractate. One might assign the third compositional stage of *Trimorphic Protennoia* to the period of struggle over the interpretation of the Christology of the Fourth Gospel witnessed by the New Testament letters of John, perhaps the first quarter or half of the second century.

TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA

XIII 35, 1-50, 24

[I] am [Protennoia, the] Thought that | [dwells] in [the Light. I] am the movement | that dwells in the [All, she in whom the] All takes | its stand, [the first]-born [5] among those who [came to be, she who exists] before | the All. [She (Protennoia) is called] by three names, although she | dwells alone, [since she is perfect]. I am | invisible within the Thought of the Invisible | One. I am revealed in the immeasurable, [10] ineffable (things). I am incomprehensible, | dwelling in the incomprehensible. I | move in every creature.

I am the life | of my Epinoia that dwells within | every Power and every eternal movement [15] and (in) invisible Lights and | within the Archons and Angels and | Demons and every soul dwelling | in [Tartaros] and (in) every material soul. | I dwell in those who came to be. I move in [20] everyone and I delve into them all. | I walk uprightly, and those who | sleep I [awaken]. And I | am the sight of those who dwell in sleep. |

I am the Invisible One within the All. [25] It is I who counsel those who are hidden, since I know | the All that exists in it. | I am numberless beyond everyone. I | am immeasurable, ineffable, yet | whenever I [wish, I shall] reveal myself [30] of my own accord. I [am the head of] the All. I exist | before the [All, and] I am the All, | since I [exist in] everyone.

I am a Voice | [speaking softly]. I exist | [from the first. I dwell] within the Silence [35] [that surrounds every one] of them. **36** And [it is] the [hidden Voice] that [dwells within] | me, [within the] incomprehensible, | immeasurable [Thought, within the] immeasurable Silence. |

I [descended to the] midst of the underworld [5] and I shone [down upon the] darkness. It is I who | poured forth the [water]. It is I who am hidden within | [radiant] waters. I am the one who | gradually put forth the All by my | Thought. It is I who am laden with the Voice. It [10] is through me that Gnosis comes forth. [I] | dwell in the ineffable and | unknowable ones. I am perception and knowledge, | uttering a Voice by means of | thought. [I] am the real Voice. [15] I cry out in everyone, and

they recognize | it (the voice], since a seed indwells [them]. | I am the Thought of the Father and through | me proceeded [the] Voice, | that is, the knowledge of the everlasting things. I [20] exist as Thought for the [All] – being joined | to the unknowable and incomprehensible Thought – | I revealed myself – yes, I – among | all those who recognize me. For it is I | who am joined with everyone by virtue of [25] the hidden Thought and an exalted ⟨Voice⟩, even a Voice from | the invisible Thought. And it is immeasurable, | since it dwells in the Immeasurable One. It is a mystery; | it is [unrestrainable] [30] by [the Incomprehensible One]. It is invisible | [to all those who are] visible | in the All. [It is a Light] dwelling in | Light.

It is we [also who] alone [have separated] | [from the] visible [world] [35] since we [are saved by the] | hidden [wisdom by means of the] **37** ineffable, immeasurable [Voice]. And he who is | hidden within us pays the tributes of his fruit | to the Water of Life.

Then | the Son who is perfect in every respect – that is, [5] the Word who originated through that | Voice; who proceeded from the height; who | has within him the Name; who is | a Light – he (the Son) revealed the everlasting things and | all the unknowns were known. [10] And those things difficult to interpret | and secret, he revealed, and | as for those who dwell in Silence with the First | Thought, he preached to them. And | he revealed himself to those who dwell in darkness, and [15] he showed himself to those who dwell in the abyss, | and to those who dwell in the hidden treasuries he told | ineffable mysteries, | and he taught unrepeatable doctrines | to all those who became Sons of [20] the Light.

Now the Voice that originated | from my Thought exists as three | permanences: the Father, the Mother, the Son. Existing | perceptibly as Speech, it (Voice) has | within it a Word endowed with [25] every ⟨glory⟩, and it has | three masculinities, three powers, | and three names. They exist in the | manner of Three □ □ □ – which are quadrangels – | secretly within a silence [30] of the Ineffable One.

[It is he] alone who came to be, | that [is, the Christ. And] as for me I anointed him | as the glory [of the] Invisible [Spirit] with | [goodness]. Now [the Three] I established | [alone in] eternal [glory] over [35] [the Aeons in the] Living [Water], that | [is, the glory that surrounds him] **38** who first came forth to the Light | of those exalted Aeons, and it is in glorious | Light that he firmly perseveres. And [he] | stood in his own Light [5] that surrounds him, that is, the Eye of the Light | that gloriously shines on me. | He perpetuated the Father of all ⟨the⟩ Aeons, who am

I, | the Thought of the Father, Protennoia, | that is, Barbelo, the [perfect] Glory [10] and the [immeasurable] Invisible One who is hidden. | I am the Image of the Invisible Spirit | and it is through me that the All took shape, | and (I am) the Mother (as well as) the Light which she appointed | as Virgin, she who is called [15] Meirothea, the incomprehensible Womb, the | unrestrainable and immeasurable Voice.

Then | the Perfect Son revealed himself to his | Aeons who originated through him, | and he revealed them and glorified them and [20] gave them thrones and stood in | the glory with which he glorified himself. | They blessed the Perfect Son, the Christ, the | only-begotten God. And they gave glory, saying, "He is! He is! The Son [25] of God! The Son of God! It is he who | is! The Aeon of Aeons beholding the | Aeons which he begot! For thou hast | begotten by thine own desire! Therefore [we] | glorify thee: ma mō ō ō ō eia ei on ei! The [Aeon] [30] of [Aeons! The] Aeon which he gave!"

Then, | moreover, the [God who was begotten] gave them (the Aeons) | a power of [life on which they might rely] and [he] | established [them. The] first | Aeon, he established [over the first]: Armedon, [35] Nousa[nios, Armozel; the] second | he established [over the second Aeon]: **39** Phaionios, Ainios, Oroiael; the third | over the third Aeon: Mellephaneus, | Loios, Daveithai; the fourth | over the fourth: Mousanios, Amethes, [5] Eleleth. Now those Aeons were begotten | by the God who was begotten – the | Christ – and these Aeons received | as well as gave glory. They were the first to appear, | exalted in their thought, and each [10] Aeon gave myriads of glories within | great untraceable lights and | they all together blessed the Perfect | Son, the God who was begotten.

Then there | came forth a word from the great [15] Light Eleleth and said, "I | am King! Who belongs to Chaos and who | belongs to the underworld?" And at that instant his Light | appeared radiant, endowed | with the Epinoia. The Powers of the Powers [20] did not entreat him and likewise immediately | there appeared the great Demon | who rules over the lowest part of the underworld | and Chaos. He has neither form | nor perfection, but on the contrary possesses [25] the form of the glory of those | begotten in the darkness. Now he is called | "Saklas," that is, "Samael," "Yaltabaoth," | he who had taken power; who had snatched | it away from the innocent one (Sophia); who had earlier overpowered [30] her who is the Light's Epinoia (Sophia) | who had descended, her from | whom he (Yaltabaoth) had come forth originally.

Now when the | Epinoia of the [Light] realized | that [he (Yaltabaoth)] had begged him (the Light), | for another [order, even though he was lower] than she, she said, [35] "Grant [me another order so that] you may become for me | [a dwelling place lest I dwell] in disorder | [forever." And the order of the] entire house of **40** glory [was agreed] upon her | word. A blessing was brought for | her and the higher order released it | to her.

And the great Demon [5] began to produce | aeons in the likeness of the real Aeons, | except that he produced them out of his own power. |

Then I too revealed | my Voice secretly, [10] saying, "Cease! Desist, | (you) who tread on matter; for behold | I am coming down to the world | of mortals for the sake of my portion that was in | that place from the time when [15] the innocent Sophia was conquered, she who | descended, so that I might thwart | their aim which the one revealed | by her appoints." | And all were disturbed, [20] each one who dwells | in the house of the ignorant light, | and the abyss trembled. And | the Archigenetor of ignorance | reigned over Chaos and the underworld and [25] produced a man in my likeness. But he neither | knew that that one would become | for him a sentence of dissolution nor | does he recognize the power in | him.

But now I have come down [30] and reached down to Chaos. And | I was [with] my own who | were in that place. [I am hidden] within | them, empowering [them and] giving | them shape. And [from the first day] until [35] the day [when I will grant mighty power] | to those who [are mine, I will reveal myself to] | those who have [heard my mysteries], **41** that is, the [Sons] of [the] Light.

I | am their Father and I shall tell you a | mystery, ineffable and indivulgeable | by [any] mouth: Every bond [5] I loosed from you, and the | chains of the Demons of the underworld, I broke, | these things which are bound on my members, restraining them. And | the high walls of darkness I overthrew, | and the secure gates of [10] those pitiless ones I broke, and I smashed | their bars. And the evil Force and | the one who beats you, and the one who hinders | you, and the Tyrant, and the Adversary, | and the one who is King, and the present Enemy, [15] indeed all these I explained to those | who are mine, who are the Sons of the light, | in order that they might nullify them all | and be saved from all those bonds | and enter into the place where they were at [20] first.

I am the first one who descended | on account of my portion which remains, that is, | the Spirit that (now) dwells in the soul, (but) which originated | from the Water of Life and out | of the immersion of the

mysteries, and I spoke, [25] I together with the Archons and Authorities. | For I had gone down below their | language and I spoke my mysteries to | my own – a hidden mystery – and | the bonds and eternal oblivion were nullified. [30] And I bore fruit in them, that | is, the Thought of the unchanging Aeon, and | my house, and their [Father]. And I went | down [to those who were mine] from the first and | I [reached them and broke] the first strands [35] that [enslaved them. Then] | everyone [of those] within me shone, and **42** I prepared [a pattern] for those ineffable Lights that are | within me. Amen. |

The Discourse of Protennoia: [One] |

I am the Voice that appeared through [5] my Thought, for I am "He who is syzygetic," | since I am called "the Thought of the Invisible One." | Since I am called "the unchanging Speech," | I am called "She who is syzygetic."

I am a single | one (fem.) since I am undefiled. I am the Mother [of] [10] the Voice, speaking in many ways, completing | the All. It is in me that knowledge dwells, | the knowledge of ⟨things⟩ everlasting. It is I [who] | speak within every creature and I was known | by the All. It is I who lift up [15] the Speech of the Voice to the ears of those who | have known me, that is, the Sons of the Light. |

Now I have come the second time in the likeness | of a female and have spoken with them. And | I shall tell them of the coming end of the Aeon [20] and teach them of the beginning of the Aeon | to come, the one without change, | the one in which our appearance will be changed. | We shall be purified within those Aeons from which I | revealed myself in the Thought [25] of the likeness of my masculinity. I settled | among those who are worthy in the Thought of my | changeless Aeon.

For I shall tell you a | mystery [of] this particular Aeon and | tell you about the forces that are in it. [30] The birth beckons: [hour] begets | hour, [day begets day]. The months | made known the [month. Time] has [gone round] | succeeding [time]. This particular Aeon **43** was completed in [this] fashion, and it was estimated, and | it (was) short, for it was a finger that released a | finger and a joint that was separated from | a joint. Then when the great Authorities knew [5] that the time of fulfillment had appeared – | just as in the pangs of the parturient it (the time) had drawn near, | so also had | the destruction approached – all together the elements | trembled, and the foundations of the underworld and the ceilings [10] of Chaos shook and a great fire shone | within

their midst, and the rocks and the earth | were shaken like a reed shaken by the wind. | And the lots of Fate and those who apportion | the domiciles were greatly disturbed over [15] a great thunder. And the thrones of | the Powers were disturbed since they were overturned, and their | King was afraid. And those who pursue Fate | paid their allotment of visits to the path, and | they said to the Powers, "What is this disturbance [20] and this shaking that has come upon us through | a Voice ⟨belonging⟩ to the exalted Speech? | And our entire habitation has been shaken, and the entire | circuit of our path of ascent has met with | destruction, and the path upon which we go, [25] which takes us up to the Archigenetor | of our birth, has ceased to be established for us." | Then the Powers answered, saying, | "We too are at a loss about | it since we did not know what was responsible for it. But [30] arise, let us go up to the Archigenetor | and ask him." And the | Powers all gathered and went up to the Archigenetor. | [They said to] him, "Where is your boasting | in which [you boast]? [35] Did we not [hear you say], 'I | am God [and I am] your Father **44** and it is I who [begot] you and there is no [other] | beside me'? Now behold, there has appeared | [a] Voice belonging to that invisible Speech | of [the Aeon] (and) which we know not. And [5] we ourselves did not recognize to whom we | belong, for that Voice which we listened to | is foreign to us, and we do not recognize | it; we did not know whence it was. It came | and put fear in our midst and weakening [10] in the members of our arms. So now let | us weep and mourn most bitterly! | As for the future, let us make our entire flight | before we are imprisoned perforce and | taken down to the bosom of the underworld. For already [15] the slackening of our bondage has approached, | and the times are cut short and the days have shortened | and our time has been fulfilled, and the weeping | of our destruction has approached us so that | we may be taken to the place we recognize. [20] For as for our tree from which we grew, a fruit | of ignorance is what it has; and | also its leaves, it is death that dwells in them, | and darkness dwells under the shadow of its | boughs. And it was in deceit [25] and lust that we harvested it, this (tree) through | which ignorant Chaos became for us a dwelling place. | For behold, even he, the Archigenetor | of our birth, about whom we boast, | even he did not know this Speech."

So now, [30] O Sons of the Thought, listen to me, to the Speech | of the Mother of your mercy, for you have | become worthy of the mystery hidden from (the beginning of) | the Aeons, so that [you might receive] it. And the consummation | of this [particular] Aeon [and] of the evil

life [35] [has approached and there dawns **45** the] beginning of the [Aeon to come] which [has | no change forever].

I am | androgynous. [I am Mother (and) I am] Father since [I | copulate] with myself. I [copulated] with myself [5] [and with those who love] me, [and] | it is through me alone that the All [stands firm]. I am the Womb | [that gives shape] to the All by giving birth to the Light that | [shines in] splendor. I am the Aeon to [come. | I am] the fulfillment of the All, that is, Me[iroth]ea, [10] the glory of the Mother. I cast [voiced] Speech | into the ears of those who know | me.

And I am inviting you into the exalted, perfect Light. | Moreover (as for) this (Light), when you enter | it you will be glorified by those [who] [15] give glory, and those who enthrone will | enthrone you. You will accept robes from | those who give robes and the Baptists | will baptize you and you will become | gloriously glorious, the way you first were [20] when you were ⟨Light⟩. |

And I hid myself in everyone and revealed [myself] | within them, and every mind seeking | me longed for me, for it is I | who gave shape to the All when it had no form. [25] And I transformed their forms | into (other) forms until the time when a form | will be given to the All. It is through me that the Voice | originated and it is I who put the breath | within my own. And I cast into [30] them the eternally holy Spirit and | I ascended and entered my Light. | [I went up] upon my branch and | sat [there among the] Sons of the [holy] Light. | And [I withdrew] to their dwelling place **46** which [. . .] [3] become [glorious . . . . Amen]. |

[On Fate: Two] [5]

I am [the Word] who dwells [in the] ineffable [Voice]. | I dwell in undefiled [Light] | and a Thought [revealed itself] | perceptibly through [the great] | Speech of the Mother, although it is a male offspring [that supports me] [10] as my foundation. And it (the Speech) exists from the beginning | in the foundations of the All.

But there is a Light [that] | dwells hidden in Silence and it was first to [come] | forth. Whereas she (the Mother) alone exists as Silence, | I alone am the Word, ineffable, [15] unpolluted, immeasurable, inconceivable. | It (the Word) is a hidden Light, bearing a Fruit of | Life, pouring forth a Living Water from | the invisible, unpolluted, immeasurable | Spring, that is, the unreproducible Voice of the glory [20] of the Mother, the glory of the offspring | of God; a male Virgin by | virtue of a hidden Intellect, that is, | the Silence hidden from the All, being unrepro-

ducible, | an immeasurable Light, the source of the All, [25] the Root of the entire Aeon. It is the Foundation that supports | every movement of the Aeons that | belong to the mighty Glory. It is the Foundation of every foundation. | It is the Breath of the Powers. It is the Eye of the | Three Permanences, which exist as Voice [30] by virtue of Thought. And it is a Word | by virtue of Speech; it was sent | to illumine those who dwell in the [darkness]. |

Now behold [I will reveal] | to you [my mysteries] since [35] you are my fellow [brethren, and you shall] know | them all [. . .]. **47**[5] I [told all of them about | my mysteries] that exist in [the | incomprehensible], inexpressible [Aeons]. I taught [them the mysteries] | through the [Voice that | exists] within a perfect Intellect [and [10] I] became a foundation for the All, and [I | empowered] them.

The second time I came in the [Speech] | of my Voice. I gave shape to those who [took] shape | until their consummation.

The third | time I revealed myself to them [in] [15] their tents as Word and I | revealed myself in the likeness of their shape. And | I wore everyone's garment and | I hid myself within them, and [they] did not | know the one who empowers me. For I dwell within [20] all the Sovereignties and Powers and within | the Angels and in every movement [that] exists | in all matter. And I hid myself within | them until I revealed myself to my [brethren]. | And none of them (the Powers) knew me, [although] [25] it is I who work in them. Rather [they thought] | that the All was created [by them] | since they are ignorant, not knowing [their] | root, the place in which they grew.

[I] | am the Light that illumines the All. I [30] am the Light that rejoices [in my] | brethren, for I came down to the world [of] | mortals on account of the Spirit that remains [in] | that which [descended] (and) came forth [from] the | innocent Sophia. [I came] and I delivered [35] [. . .] and I [went] to **48** [. . .] [6] which he had [formerly and | I gave to him] from the Water [of Life, which | strips] him of the Chaos [that is | in the] uttermost [darkness] that exists [inside] [10] the entire [abyss], that is, the thought of [the corporeal] | and the psychic. All these I | put on. And I stripped him of it | and I put upon him a shining Light, that | is, the knowledge of the Thought of the Fatherhood. [15]

And I delivered him to those who give robes – | Yammon, Elasso, Amenai – and they [covered] | him with a robe from the robes of the Light; | and I delivered him to the Baptists and they | baptized him – Micheus, Michar, [20] Mn[e]sinous – and they immersed him in the spring of the [Water] | of Life. And I delivered him to those who | enthrone –

Bariel, Nouthan, Sabenai – and | they enthroned him from the throne of glory. | And I delivered him to those who glorify – [25] Ariom, Elien, Phariel – and they glorified | him with the glory of the Fatherhood. And | those who snatch away snatched away – Kamaliel. | [...]anen, Samblo, the servants of ⟨the⟩ great | holy Luminaries – and they took him into [30] the light-[place] of his Fatherhood. And | [he received] the Five Seals from | [the Light] of the Mother, Protennoia, and | it was [granted] him [to] partake of [the mystery] of | knowledge, and [he became a Light] in [35] Light.

So, now, [.... **49**[6] I was] dwelling in them [in the form | of each] one. [The Archons] thought | [that I] was their Christ. Indeed I [dwell | in] everyone. Indeed within those in whom [I revealed [10] myself] as Light [I eluded] | the Archons. I am their beloved, [for] | in that place I clothed myself [as] | the Son of the Archigenetor, and I was like | him until the end of his decree, which is [15] the ignorance of Chaos. And among the | Angels I revealed myself in their likeness, | and among the Powers as if I were one | of them, but among the Sons of Man as if | I were a Son of Man, even though I am [20] Father of everyone.

I hid myself within them | all until I revealed myself among my members, | which are mine, and I taught them about the ineffable | ordinances, and (about) the brethren. But they are inexpressible | to every Sovereignty and every ruling [25] Power except to the Sons of the Light | alone, that is, the ordinances of the Father. These are | the glories that are higher than every glory, that is, [the Five] | Seals complete by virtue of Intellect. He | who possesses the Five Seals of these [30] particular names has stripped off ⟨the⟩ garments | of ignorance and put on | a shining Light. And nothing | will appear to him that belongs to the Powers | of the Archons. Within those of this sort [35] darkness will dissolve and [ignorance] will die. | And the thought of the creature | which [is scattered will] present a single appearance | and [dark Chaos] will dissolve and **50** [...] [3] and the [...] | incomprehensible [...] [5] within the [...] | until I reveal myself [to all my fellow | brethren] and until I gather [together] | all [my fellow] brethren within my [eternal | kingdom]. And I proclaimed to them the ineffable [Five [10] Seals in order that | I might] abide in them and they also | might abide in me.

As for me, I put on | Jesus. I bore him from the cursed | wood, and established him in the dwelling places [15] of his Father. And those who watch over | their dwelling places did not recognize me. | For I, I am unrestrainable together with my | Seed, and my Seed, which is mine, I shall [place] | into the Holy Light within an [20] incomprehensible Silence. Amen. |

The Discourse of the Appearance: Three Trimorphic Protennoia, in three parts [1]

A Sacred Scripture written by the Father [1] with perfect Knowledge

THE GOSPEL OF MARY (BG 8502,*1*)

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The extant text of *The Gospel of Mary* can easily be divided into two parts. The first section (7,1-9,24) describes the dialogue between the (risen) Savior and the disciples. He answers their questions concerning matter and sin. Relying on an exegesis of Romans 7, as Anne Pasquier has shown, the Savior argues, in effect, that sin is not a moral category, but a cosmological one; it is due to the improper mixing of the material and the spiritual. In the end all things will be resolved into their proper root. After finishing his discourse, the Savior gives them a final greeting, admonishes them to beware of any who may try to lead them astray and commissions them to go and preach the gospel of the kingdom. After he departs, however, the disciples are grieved and in considerable doubt and consternation. Mary Magdalene comforts them and turns their hearts toward the Good and a consideration of the Savior's words.

The second section of the text (10,1-23; 15,1-19,2) contains a description by Mary of special revelation given to her by the Savior. At Peter's request, she tells the disciples about things that were hidden from them. The basis for her knowledge is a vision of the Lord and a private dialogue with him. Unfortunately four pages of the text are missing here so that only the beginning and end of Mary's revelation are extant.

The revelation is in the form of a dialogue. The first question Mary asks the Savior is how one sees a vision. The Savior replies that the soul sees through the mind which is between the soul and the spirit. At this point the text breaks off. When the text resumes at 15,1, Mary is in the midst of describing the Savior's revelation concerning the rise of the soul past the four powers. The four powers are most probably to be identified as essential expressions of the four material elements. The enlightened soul, now free of their bonds, rises past the four powers, overpowering them with her gnosis, and attains eternal, silent rest.

After Mary finishes recounting her vision to the disciples, Andrew and then Peter challenge her on two grounds. First of all, Andrew says, these teachings are strange. Secondly, Peter questions, would the Savior really have told such things to a woman and kept them from the male disciples. Levi admonishes Peter for contending with the woman as against the adversaries and acknowledges that

the Savior loved her more than the other disciples. He entreats them to be ashamed, to put on the perfect man, and to go forth and preach as the Savior had instructed them to do. They immediately go forth to preach and the text ends.

The confrontation of Mary with Peter, a scenario also found in *The Gospel of Thomas*, *Pistis Sophia*, and *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, reflects some of the tensions in second-century Christianity. Peter and Andrew represent orthodox positions that deny the validity of esoteric revelation and reject the authority of women to teach. *The Gospel of Mary* attacks both of these positions head-on through its portrayal of Mary Magdalene. She is the Savior's beloved, possessed of knowledge and teaching superior to that of the public apostolic tradition. Her superiority is based on vision and private revelation and is demonstrated in her capacity to strengthen the wavering disciples and turn them toward the Good.

The text belongs to the genre of the gnostic dialogue. It has, however, also been classified as an apocalypse due to several characteristics it shares with other texts of that genre: revelation dialogue, vision, an abbreviated cosmogony, a description of otherworldly regions and the rise of the soul (though there is no heavenly journey as such), final instructions, and a short narrative conclusion. The difficulty in determining genre is due in part to the fact that the text has undergone secondary redaction. Most scholars agree that the two parts of the text described above were originally separate pieces (oral or written) that were artificially combined to form the present whole. The role of Mary at the end of the first section and the altercation among the disciples at the end provide the narrative connection.

The Gospel of Mary was originally written in Greek some time in the second century. Unfortunately the two extant copies of *The Gospel of Mary* are extremely fragmentary. The earliest text comprises only a single, fragmentary leaf written in Greek, dated to the early third century (P. Rylands III 463 [22:16,1-19,4]). A longer portion of the text is extant in an early fifth-century Coptic codex (P. Berolinensis 8502,*1*), though considerable portions of the text are missing there too. Of eighteen pages, only eight are extant (7-10 and 15-19,5). Though the text of the Greek fragment varies considerably from the Coptic version, it parallels the Coptic pages 17,5-21 and 18,5-19,5 and hence does not provide any new material.

THE GOSPEL OF MARY

BG 7, 1-19, 5

[. . .] (pp. 1-6 missing) will matter then | be [destroyed] or not?" The Savior said, | "All natures, all formations, all creatures | exist in and with one another, [5] and they will be resolved again into | their own roots. For the | nature of matter is resolved into the (roots) of | its nature alone. He who has | ears to hear, let him hear." [10]

Peter said to him, "Since you have | explained everything to us, tell

us this also: | What is the sin of the world?" | The Savior said, " There is no sin, | but it is you who make sin when [15] you do the things that are like the nature of | adultery, which is called 'sin.' | That is why the Good came | into your midst, to the (essence) of every nature, | in order to restore it [20] to its root." Then he continued and | said, "That is why you | [become sick] and die, for [. . .] **8** of the one who [. . . He who] | understands, let him understand. [Matter gave birth to] a | passion that has no equal, | which proceeded from (something) contrary to nature. [5] Then there arise a disturbance in | the whole body. That is why I said to | you, 'Be of good courage,' | and if you are discouraged | (be) encouraged in the presence of the different forms [10] of nature. He who has ears | to hear, let him hear." |

When the blessed one had said this, he | greeted them all, saying, | "Peace be with you. Receive [15] my peace to yourselves. Beware that no one | lead you astray, saying, | 'Lo here!' or 'Lo | there!' For the Son of Man | is within you. Follow [20] after him ! Those who seek him will | find him. Go then and preach | the gospel of the kingdom. Do not **9** lay down any rules beyond what | I appointed for you, and do not give | a law like the lawgiver lest | you be constrained by it." [5] When he had said this, he departed.

But they | were grieved. They wept greatly, | saying, "How shall we go | to the gentiles and preach | the gospel of the kingdom of the Son [10] of Man? If they did | not spare him, how will | they spare us?" Then Mary | stood up, greeted them all, | and said to her brethren, "Do not weep [15] and do not grieve nor be | irresolute, for his grace will be | entirely with you and will protect | you. But rather let us | praise his greatness, for he has [20] prepared us and made us into men." When | Mary said this, she turned their hearts | to the Good, and they began | to discuss the words | of the [Savior]. **10**

Peter said to Mary, "Sister, | we know that the Savior loved you | more than the rest of women. | Tell us the words of the Savior which you [5] remember – which you know | (but) we do not, nor have we heard them." | Mary answered and said, | "What is hidden from you I will proclaim to you." | And she began to speak to them [10] these words: "I," she said, "I | saw the Lord in a vision and I | said to him, 'Lord, I saw you | today in a vision.' He answered and | said to me, 'Blessed are you, that you did not waver [15] at the sight of me. For where the mind | is, there is the treasure.' I said | to him, 'Lord, now does he who sees the | vision see it ⟨through⟩ the soul ⟨or⟩ through | the spirit?' The Savior answered and [20] said. 'He does not see through the soul| nor

through the spirit, but the mind which [is] | between the two – that is [what] | sees the vision and it is [. . .].' (pp. 11-14 missing)

"[. . .] **15** it. And desire that, | 'I did not see you descending, | but now I see you ascending. | Why do you lie, since you belong to [5] me?' The soul answered and | said, 'I saw you. You did not see me | nor recognize me. I served | you as a garment, and you did not know me.' | When it had said this, it went away rejoicing [10] greatly.

"Again it came to the | third power, which is | called ignorance. [It (the power)] | questioned the soul saying, | 'Where are you going? In [15] wickedness are you bound. | But you are bound; do not judge!' And | the soul said, 'why do you judge | me although I have not judged? I was bound | though I have not bound. I was not [20] recognized. But I have recognized that | the All is being dissolved, both the | earthly (things) **16** and the heavenly.'

When the soul | had overcome the third power, | it went upwards and saw | the fourth power, (which) took [5] seven forms. The first form | is darkness, the second | desire, the third | ignorance, the fourth is the excitement of | death, the fifth is the kingdom of the flesh, [10] the sixth is the foolish wisdom | of flesh, the seventh is the | wrathful wisdom. These are the seven | [powers] of wrath. They ask | the soul, 'Whence do you come, [15] slayer of men, or where are you going, | conqueror of space?' The soul answered | and said, 'What binds | me has been slain, and what surrounds | me has been overcome, and my desire [20] has been ended, and ignorance | has died. In a [world] I was released **17** from a world, [and] in a | type from a heavenly type, | and (from) the fetter of oblivion which | is transient. From this time on [5] will I attain to the rest of the | time, of the season, of the aeon, in | silence.'"

When Mary had said | this, she fell silent, since it was to this point that the Savior | had spoken with her. [10] But Andrew answered and said | to the brethren, "Say what you (wish to) say | about what she has said. | I at least do not believe that | the Savior said this. For certainly these teachings [15] are strange ideas." | Peter answered and spoke concerning | these same things. He | questioned them about the Savior: "Did he really | speak with a woman without our [20] knowledge (and) not openly? Are we to | turn about and all listen | to her? Did he prefer her to us?" **18**

Then Mary wept and said to | Peter, "My brother Peter, what do you | think? Do you think that I | thought this up myself in my [5] heart, or that I am lying about the Savior?" | Levi answered and said to Peter, | "Peter, you have always been | hot-tempered. Now I see you | contend-

ing against the woman like [10] the adversaries. But if the | Savior made her worthy, who are you | indeed to reject her? Surely | the Savior knows her | very well. That is why he loved her more [15] than us. Rather let us be ashamed and | put on the perfect man | and acquire him for ourselves | as he | commanded us, and preach | the gospel, not laying down [20] any other rule or other law | beyond what the Savior said." When **19** [. . .] and they began to | go forth [to] proclaim and to preach.

[The] Gospel |
according to [5]
Mary

THE ACT OF PETER (BG 8502,4)

Introduced by

DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

Translated by

JAMES BRASHLER and DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

The Act of Peter is a narrative about how the virginity of Peter's daughter was preserved and the soul of one Ptolemy saved, by divine intervention exercised through Peter. The setting of *Act Pet.* is a Sunday (the place is not mentioned; cf. discussion below), when, it appears, it was customary for Peter to conduct his healing ministry. A challenge by one of the bystanders leads Peter to employ the power of God to heal his daughter of paralysis, which healing he immediately reverses (128,7-131,9). Peter's narrative, which constitutes most of the remainder of *Act Pet.*, begins with an explanation of how his daughter came to be paralyzed. When she had grown to sexual maturity, the girl was so attractive that a rich man named Ptolemy burned with desire to marry her. Her mother refused permission, whereupon Ptolemy abducted her. If the operative law was Jewish, Ptolemy's purpose may well have been to force the girl's parents to allow him to marry her (see Dt 22:28-29). Peter's prayers caused her to be paralyzed before Ptolemy could have intercourse with her, and hence her virginity was preserved (131,12-135,17). Ptolemy went blind with grief, but a vision spared him from suicide, revealed his guilt, and sent him to Peter, where his sight was restored and his soul was made to see also (135,17-138,10). Thereafter he lived an exemplary life and gave Peter and his daughter a parcel of land when he died. This Peter sold and gave the proceeds to the poor (138,12-139,17). Peter draws the moral that God cares for his own, and the whole account ends with Peter distributing bread to the crowd and retiring to his home.

Although the physical setting is not mentioned in the text, it is reasonable to think of Jerusalem, since Peter's home is spoken of (141,6), where he lives with his wife and daughter (135,1-6). Another possibility is Rome, but there is a tradition in *The Acts of Peter*, mentioned below, that he goes alone to Rome. In addition, as noted above, the operative law appears to be Jewish.

The Act of Peter probably was part of the otherwise lost beginning third of a collection of apocryphal narratives known as *The Acts of Peter*. There is extensive conceptual and literary agreement between *The Act of Peter* and the remaining *Acts of Peter*. Whether there is a close enough relationship between *The Act of Peter* and the Nag Hammadi *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* (VI,*1*) to make it likely that the latter was also part of *The Acts of Peter* remains to be seen.

Conceptually, the emphasis of *The Act of Peter* is moderately encratite. Marriage itself is not denounced (note that Peter was married and still living with his wife). What is denounced is Ptolemy's lust, which leads him to attempt to deprive

a Christian maiden of her virginity by force (137,1-11). Thus, the encratism in this tractate consists in its advocacy of rigorous sexual self-control, which was a view common among Christians in the second century. There is no doubt, however, that the lack of any statement about the meaning of the narrative would have allowed it to be interpreted in a more extreme sense.

It has been suggested that the reason for the inclusion of *The Act of Peter* in a codex containing three explicitly gnostic tractates is that the scribe needed to fill up the pages after copying the first three tractates, and thus he was attracted to *The Act of Peter* by its appropriate length and the encratite tendencies in it. Considering the large amount of explicitly gnostic writing available, one wonders why he chose a work only marginally related. The editor might have been influenced by the immediately preceding tractate, *The Sophia of Jesus Christ*, which has in its conclusion, when Christ disappears from the disciples, the statement that they "began to preach the Gospel of God, the eternal Father" (129,5-9). He might have thought that an account of apostolic activity would be appropriate. But since many similar accounts would also have been circulating, there may be a further reason for the choice of this particular tractate.

The Act of Peter may have been chosen because of the rich possibilities for allegorization that it would have presented to Gnostics. Ptolemy could have represented the soul, whose attraction to the things of the world (represented by the beauty of Peter's daughter) leads to ignorance (represented by grief and blindness), and would have led to death except for the coming of the light of true knowledge (in *Act Pet.*, the vision of light and the voice of Christ [136,17-137,17]), which removes blindness (138,7-10). The paralysis of the daughter could have represented the power of divine knowledge over the powers of this world; and, of course, the daughter could also have been seen as a type of the fallen Sophia. (For related gnostic views in BG, cf. *Soph. Jes. Chr.* [BG,3] 103,10-106,9; 117,13-126,16). It may thus have been the deeper meanings seen in this text that attracted the gnostic compiler to it and led him to use it in the codex.

Act Pt. are dated toward the end of the second century. Hence *Act Pet.* would have been extant by that time, although it might well have had an earlier, independent existence.

THE ACT OF PETER

BG 128, 1-141, 7

Now on the first (day) of the week, | which is the Lord's day, | a crowd gathered and | brought to Peter [5] many who were | sick, in order that he might | heal them. And a person | from the crowd made bold | to say to Peter, [10] "Peter, behold, in | our presence you have caused many | blind to see, and you have | caused the deaf to hear, | and you have caused the lame to [15] walk. And you have helped | the weak and have given them | strength. But your | virgin daughter, who | has grown

up to be beautiful and who has **129** believed in the name of God, | why have you not helped her? | For behold, one | side of her is completely paralyzed and she lies [5] crippled there in the corner. | Those whom you have healed are seen (about us); | but your daughter | you have neglected."

Then Peter | smiled and said to him, [10] "My son, it is apparent to | God alone why | her body is not healthy. | Know, then, that | God was not weak or [15] unable to give | his gift to my daughter. | But so that your soul | may be persuaded and those who are | here may have more faith –." **130** Then he looked at | his daughter and said to her, | "Arise from your place! Let | nobody help you except Jesus [5] alone, and walk restored in | the presence of all these (people)! | Come to | me!" And she arose | and went over to him. [10] The crowd rejoiced on account of | what happened. | Peter said to them, "Behold, | your hearts have been persuaded | that God is not powerless [15] regarding anything | we ask of him." Then | they rejoiced even more and praised | God.

Peter said **131** to his daughter, | "Go to your place, sit down, | and become an invalid | again. For this [5] is beneficial for you and me." | The girl went back again, | sat down in her | place, and became again as she | was before. The whole crowd [10] wept and begged Peter | to make her healthy. | Peter said to them, | "As the Lord lives, this | is beneficial for her and me. [15] For on the day she was born | to me I saw a vision and | the Lord said | to me, 'Peter, there has been born | to you today a great **132** trial. For this (daughter) | will wound many | souls if her body | remains healthy.' [5] But I | thought the vision | was mocking me.

"When | the girl became ten | years old, many were [10] tempted by | her. And a man rich | in property, Ptolemy, | after he had seen the | girl bathing [15] with her mother, sent | for her so that he might take her for his | wife. Her mother was not | persuaded. He sent for her many | times. He could not cease [. . .]. (pp. 133-34 are lost. The sense of these pages can be recovered from the context with the aid of a brief notice by Augustine in his treatise against Adimantus, in which he refers to an apocryphal work "about the daughter of Peter himself who became paralysed through the prayers of her father." It appears, then, that Ptolemy, in his passionate desire, abducted the girl and was about to have intercourse with her by force when she was suddenly paralysed by a divine act that had been sought by Peter in prayer.) **134** [19]

"[The men-servants of] **135** Ptolemy [returned] the girl, | and put her down | before the house, and departed. | And when I and her mother realized it, [5] we went down | and found the girl | with one whole side of

her body, | from her toes to her | head, paralyzed and withered. [10] We picked her up, praising the | Lord who had | saved his servant from defilement, | [and] pollution, and [destruction]. | This is the cause of [15] [the fact] that the girl | [remains] thus to this | day.

"Now then, it is | fitting for you to know | the (subsequent) deeds of Ptolemy. **136** He was smitten | in his heart and grieved | night and | day on account of what [5] happened to him. And | because of (the) many tears he | shed he became | blind. He intended | to go and [10] hang himself. And behold | in the ninth hour | of that day, | and when he was alone | in his bedroom, [he] [15] saw a great light | shining in the whole house, | and heard | a voice saying **137** to him, 'Ptolemy, | God did not | give his vessels for | corruption and pollution. [5] But it was necessary | for you, since you believed | in me, that you not defile | my virgin, whom | you should have recognized as your sister, [10] since I have become | one Spirit for you both. | But arise | and go quickly to | the house of Peter the [15] apostle and you will see | my glory. He will explain | the matter to you.'

"And Ptolemy | did not hesitate. He | commanded his men-servants **138** to lead him | and to bring him to me. | And when he had come | to me he narrated everything that [5] had happened to him | in the power of Jesus | Christ our Lord. Then he | saw with the eyes | of his flesh and the [10] eyes of his soul. And | many hoped | in Christ. He did | good things for them | and he gave them [15] the gift of God. |

Afterwards Ptolemy | died. | He departed from life and | went to his Lord. **139** And [when he made] his | will, he wrote in a | piece of land in the name of my | daughter, since because of her [5] he believed in God | and was saved. I myself | took care of the administration | entrusted to me most carefully. | I sold [10] the land. And | God alone | knows, neither I, nor | my daughter, {I sold the land} | kept anything [15] back from the price of the land. | But I sent the | entire sum of money to the poor. |

"Know, then, O servant of | Christ Jesus, that God **140** [watches over those who] | are his and he prepares | what is good for | each one. But we [5] think that | God has forgotten us. | Now then, brothers, let | us be penitent and | watchful, and pray. [10] And the goodness | of God will look | down upon us – and we | wait for it." And | {all} other teachings [15] Peter spoke in the | presence of them all. | Praising the name **141** of the Lord Christ, | he gave them all | bread. | When he had distributed it, | he [5] arose and went | into his house. |

The Act of Peter

Afterword

THE MODERN RELEVANCE OF GNOSTICISM

by

RICHARD SMITH

"The Gnostics," Edward Gibbon informed the late eighteenth century, "were distinguished as the most polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy of the Christian name." Why would Gibbon have told such a mischievous lie? There is nothing in the primary sources available to him on which to base his claim. Gibbon, nevertheless, in that notorious fifteenth chapter of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, avoids the old hostilities. In his witty, malicious – today we might add revisionist – style, Gibbon portrays the Gnostics with such impartiality that his chapter becomes, if not an advertisement for heresy, then at least a subversion of orthodoxy. His catty remarks on the early Christian church were later bowdlerized, yet the most unkind words he has for the Gnostics is to describe their "vain science" as "sublime but obscure." Hardly the rascals of tradition, we can imagine Gibbon's Gnostics gracing one of Mme Geoffrin's salons.

Other *philosophes* might have welcomed their presence as well, for, as part of the Enlightenment attack on Christianity, the ancient dualist heretics of the early church found their cause promoted. The method, or perhaps the battle order (Gibbon's *Memoirs* speak of shooting the shaft and sounding the alarm), was revealed by Gibbon when he fondly praised that patron saint of the Enlightenment, Pierre Bayle. Bayle "balances the false religions in his sceptical scales, til the opposite quantities annihilate each other." Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary* had no entry on Gnostics or Gnosticism (a brand new word in his day), but gathered all of the old dualists together under the heading of Manichaeans. The Manichaean movement had been the final flourish of Gnosticism, and had survived through various geographical wanderings until its flare up in southern France in the Middle Ages when it was eliminated by a crusade. Until the eighteenth century revived an interest in the older sects now called gnostic, the term Manichaean was used for all dualist heresies.

For Voltaire, another of Bayle's devotees, the catchword was also Manichaean. *Candide* depicts the adventures of a few silly optimists in a wicked world; a world in which Christian priests are among the most villainous troublemakers. Peter Gay has even described the book as "a declaration of war on Christianity." Yet in the midst of all the chaos Voltaire includes one sympathetic character; a wandering scholar named Martin who introduces himself to Candide as "a Manichaean." When Candide protests that there are no more Manichaeans in the world, Martin simply says, "I cannot think any other way. I think that God has abandoned this globe, or rather this globule, to some maleficent being." The events of the novel confirm Martin's assessment. Bayle had said that the gnostic belief in several eternal beings, some good, some bad, in perpetual conflict, "is not so unlikely" to "men who think and reason." Voltaire says, in his own *Philosophical Dictionary* discussing the Gnostics and Manichaeans, "to have imagined two all-powerful beings fighting each other" is not a "trivial" notion. He slyly describes Basilides' myth of "the creation of the world by god's lowest angels, and that these, not being skillful, arranged matters as we see them." In his story, *Plato's Dream*, Voltaire tells a nightmarish version of creation by an incompetent genie called Demogorgon. Dualist stories seem to have appealed to Voltaire's own sense of conflict. There is in his writings, as Roland Barthes puts it, "a kind of Manichaean struggle between stupidity and intelligence." Or, as David Hume summed up the opposition in one breath, "Stupidity, Christianity, and Ignorance."

The Enlightenment writers created a sympathetic picture of the Gnostics because heterodoxy suited their anti-orthodoxy. They emphasized the dualist critique of the world, but ignored the dualist promise of transcendent escape. The *philosophes* thus created a version of the Gnostics that was, like themselves, secular. It is because we are still the heirs of that secular agenda that an assessment of any modern relevance of Gnosticism properly begins in the eighteenth century. There was, certainly, an interest in unorthodox, esoteric, and even occult matters in earlier centuries. In the Renaissance, for example, there was something of the spirit of exploration and conquest in such studies. Disparate traditions, hermetic and cabalistic, were appropriated and harmonized with Christianity. Ficino, Agrippa, Dee, and Bruno all considered themselves Christians. They were not at all, moreover, interested in the ancient Gnostics. The eighteenth-century *philosophes* regarded Gnosticism as a counter-tradition and wielded it as a weapon in their outflanking tactics to overthrow the received tradition.

That the "candid but rational inquiry" (the words with which Gibbon opens his chapter on Christianity) was often a relativist pose was mostly lost on following generations. The irony was ignored and Reason itself was regarded as absolutist and a threat to the human imagination. William Blake named the enemy in his poem *Milton*:

> . . . this Newtonian Phantasm
> This Voltaire & Rousseau: this Hume & Gibbon
> . . . the Reasoning Power in Man
> This is a false Body: an Incrustation over my Immortal Spirit; a Selfhood, which must be put off & annihilated alway . . .
> I come in Self-annihilation & the grandeur of Inspiration
> To cast off Rational Demonstration by Faith in the Saviour
> To cast off the rotten rags of Memory by Inspiration
> To cast off Bacon, Locke & Newton from Albion's covering
> To take off his filthy garments, & clothe him with Imagination

This is a new use of dualist language. For Blake, salvation was the free expression of his own visionary imagination. Only a few months before his death, he wrote to a friend that he was "very near the gates of death . . . but not in spirit and life, not in the real man, the imagination, which liveth for ever. In that I am stronger and stronger, as this foolish body decays." Throughout his life, Blake expressed this vision in poetic myths with a strong gnostic character. The evil demiurge of these poems he calls Urizen, a polysemous figure who suggests so much more than the creator of the physical world, Jehovah. He is also, as "prince of Light," Satan and the "Enlightenment" as his name (your Reason) signifies. He is evil for Blake because his creation limits (Horizen, his name implies, too) and his primary symbol is "the golden compasses." Like the bearded figure in Blake's famous print "The Ancient of Days," Urizen leans out of eternity and reaches down into the dark void with his compasses to measure, to divide, and to imprison. In *The Four Zoas* Blake describes the creation in images that echo and parody, like some gnostic texts, both Genesis and Plato's *Timaeus*:

> . . . First the Architect divine his plan
> Unfolds, The wondrous scaffold reard all round the infinite
> Quadrangular the building rose the heavens squared by a line . . .
> A wondrous golden Building; many a window many a door
> And many a division let in & out into the vast unknown
> Cubed in window square immoveable, within its walls & cielings
> The heavens were closed and spirits mournd their bondage night and day

When he finishes his creation Urizen, like Yaldabaoth, claims, "Am I not God. Who is Equal to me."

> Then he began to sow the seed he girded round his loins
> With a bright girdle & his skirt filld with immortal souls
> Howling & Wailing fly the souls from Urizen's strong hand

This evil creator depicted by Blake in his later poems helps remove some of the ambiguity from the question he had posed in "The Tyger": "What immortal hand or eye, / Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?" Where William Blake read or heard about the Gnostics is not exactly clear, but some of his views certainly echo them consciously. With the Gnostics he separates the true God from nature, and regards the creator of the natural universe as evil. Crabb Robinson, a friend of Wordsworth, talked with Blake and kept a diary. Discussing Wordsworth's "eloquent descriptions of Nature," Blake told Robinson that Wordsworth didn't believe in God, "For Nature is the work of the Devil." When Robinson pointed out the creation of the earth by God in Genesis, Blake "repeated the doctrine of the Gnostics with sufficient consistency" that his interviewer was silenced.

Harold Bloom, a contemporary interpreter of the Romantic tradition, compares Blake's Tyger with Melville's Moby Dick. Both beasts represent nature, and "nature is death." Nature "painted like a harlot," Melville wrote, "God's great, unflattering laureate, Nature." The material universe is, for Ahab, "but a mask," a cosmetic behind which lies death, like a white shroud, like the albino whale. In a short poem he called "Fragments of a Lost Gnostic Poem," Melville wrote "Matter in end will never abate / His ancient brutal claim." Two years before the publication of *Moby Dick*, Herman Melville purchased a copy of Piere Bayle's old *Dictionary*. What he read there (and elsewhere) found its way into the novel, and whether Ahab shakes his angry harpoon at a monstrous creature or a malicious gnostic creator is not distinct. "An inscrutable malice," Ahab says, "is chiefly what I hate; and be the white whale agent, or be the white whale principal, I will wreak that hate upon him. Talk not to me of blasphemy, man." Ishmael, attempting to explain this fury, compares Ahab's feelings to those of a sect of ancient Gnostics. These were the Ophites, a group that today's scholarship calls the Sethians, associated with several of our Nag Hammadi texts. Ahab, says Ishmael, deliriously transferred the idea of "that intangible malignity which has been from the beginning . . . which the ancient Ophites of the east reverenced . . . to the abhorred white whale." In the final pages of the book Ahab flings an accusation at the creator that conjures Yaldabaoth's ignorance of his own mother.

> Thou knowest not how came ye, hence callest thyself unbegotten: certainly knowest not thy beginning, hence callest thyself unbegun. I know that of me, which thou knowest not of thyself, oh, thou omnipotent. There is some unsuffusing thing beyond thee, thou clear spirit, to whom all thy eternity is but time, all thy creativeness mechanical.

In these passages from Blake and Melville, the physical world is a barrier. Romantic writers regard that barrier with feelings from discomfort to open hostility. The present collection of texts from Nag Hammadi shows us that what we call Gnosticism can range between a hierarchical monism to strict dualism. In a similar manner texts from the Romantic tradition depict, with varying degrees of conflict, a drama of separation and reintegration. The "fall into Division," Blake wrote, "and Resurrection to Unity." Salvation consists in what Harold Bloom describes as "the post-Enlightenment passion for Genius and the Sublime." "The power of the mind," as Coleridge had put it, "over the universe of death." Scholars have found examples of "Gnosticism" in the writings of Baudelaire, Rimbaud, the early Flaubert (in *The Temptation of Saint Antony*, a book much inspired by his reading of Pierre Bayle), the French Symbolists, the German Idealists, the American Transcendentalists, Carlyle, and so on. "Indeed," writes Bloom, "it could be argued that a form of Gnosticism is endemic in Romantic tradition." His primary example of this gnostic tendency is W.B. Yeats. Yeat's lyrics internalize the dualism and dramatize a conflict between various aspects of the self. In such poems as "A Dialogue of Self and Soul," the two speakers, Bloom argues, "are precisely the *pneuma* and the *psyche* of Gnostic formulation. The place of the Gnostic alien or transmundane true God in Yeats is taken by the imagination, which in Yeats is closer to Gnostic transcendence than it is to the Romantic Sublime."

> If but imagination scorn the earth
> And intellect its wandering
> To this and that and t'other thing,
> Deliver from the crime of death and birth.

This internalized antithetical conflict is more boldly stated in "Sailing to Byzantium":

> Consume my heart away; sick with desire
> And fastened to a dying animal
> It knows not what it is; and gather me
> Into the artifice of eternity.
> Once out of nature I shall never take
> My bodily form from any natural thing.

Yeats's strange and famous poem "The Second Coming" historicizes this antithesis and envisions the approach of a world spirit signaling a new, post-Christian age.

> Surely some revelation is at hand;
> Surely the Second Coming is at hand.
> The Second Coming! Hardly are those words out
> When a vast image out of *Spiritus Mundi*
> Troubles my sight . . .
> . . . but now I know
> That twenty centuries of stony sleep
> Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,
> And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,
> Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?

How are we to read these difficult images? Is Yeats afraid, or simply struck with wonder? Have the twenty Christian centuries been a nightmare? And how much can we make of the antithesis between "know" and "sleep"? A lot. The rough beast's slumber recalls "Urizen laid in a stony sleep." Yeats, after all, had edited Blake's poems for publication. The turning of the ages was recorded by Yeats, acting as amanuensis to his wife who was in mediumistic trance, and published as *A Vision*. The anti-Christian tone is not unrelated to his involvement in various occult groups while he lived in London and to his membership in The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, which enthusiastically circulated exotic religious writings including gnostic texts.

What Yeats and the Golden Dawn read as "gnostic" were often greco-roman magical texts. He also read gnostic sources in the books published by his long time acquaintance G.R.S. Mead. Mead devoted his life to publishing English translations of the gnostic sources available at the turn of the century. In books like *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten* he promoted an interest in the subject among nonscholarly readers. Mead and Yeats had met as members of the esoteric section of the Theosophical Society, which gathered at the London flat of H.P. Blavatsky in the 1880s.

It was Madame Blavatsky who first claimed the Gnostics as precursors for the occult movement. In her program to divide speculative learning into esoteric and exoteric, truth and religion, the Gnostics were an obvious opposition to what she called "Churchianity." She absorbed the Gnostics, in her universal free-associative style, into a great occult synthesis:

> Ialdabaoth, the creator of the material world, was made to inhabit the planet Saturn according to the Ophites. From Ialdabaoth emanate six spirits who respectively dwell with their father in the seven planets.... These seven planets are identical with the Hindu *Sapta-lokas*, the seven places or spheres, or the superior and inferior worlds; for they represent the kabalistic seven spheres. With the Ophites they belong to the lower spheres. The monograms of these Gnostic planets are also Buddhistic, the latter differing, albeit slightly, from those of the usual astrological "houses."

This, from *Isis Unveiled*, is a typical sample of Blavatsky's treatment of the Gnostics. There is an esoteric tradition, Blavatsky felt, within every religion teaching her "secret doctrine." "The Gnosis, or traditional *secret* knowledge, was never without its representatives in any age or country," she writes. The esoteric tradition within Christianity is represented by the Gnostics, but "it is the intense and cruel desire to crush out the last vestige of the old philosophies by perverting their meaning, for fear that their own dogmas should not be rightly fathered on them, which impels the Catholic Church to carry on such a systematic persecution in regard to Gnostics. Alas, alas!"

H.P. Blavatsky and her Theosophical Society wrote the book on secret traditions. Most esoteric movements ever since have found it almost impossible to step outside of her (sometimes unconscious) influence. A few recent groups calling themselves gnostic have appealed to an underground yet pervasive "gnosis" rather than to the ancient historical gnostic sects. This is true of La Asociacion Gnostica which is widespread throughout Latin America, as well as the Los Angeles based Ecclesia Gnostica.

Indeed, in our century there have been several appropriations of gnostic motifs. The psychologist, C.G. Jung, continually refers to the Gnostics in his writings and was often photographed "wearing his gnostic ring." His lifelong interest in the subject was rewarded in 1952 when the Jung Institute in Zurich purchased and presented to him on his birthday a recently discovered gnostic papyrus manuscript. This "Jung Codex" is now our Nag Hammadi Codex I. Jung wrote so much about the Gnostics simply because he liked them. In *Psychological Types* he writes of "the vastly superior [compared to that of the Church] intellectual content of gnosis, which in the light of our present mental development has not lost but has considerably gained in value." He goes on to praise its "Promethean and creative spirit ... we find in Gnosticism what was lacking in the centuries that followed: a belief in the efficacy of individual revelation and individual knowledge. This belief was rooted in

the proud feeling of man's affinity with the gods, subject to no human law, and so overmastering that it may even subdue the gods by the sheer power of gnosis."

In 1916, before he wrote his major works, during a period when he believed his house to be filled with parapsychological phenomena, Jung wrote a visionary piece called *The Seven Sermons to the Dead* and ascribed it pseudonymously to Basilides, the second-century Alexandrian Gnostic:

> In the night the dead stood along the wall and cried:
> We would have knowledge of god. Where is god?
> Is god dead?
> God is not dead. Now, as ever, he liveth.
> This is a god whom ye know not, for mankind forgot it.
> We name it by its name ABRAXAS.
> Abraxas standeth above the sun and above the devil.
> It is improbable probability, unreal reality.
> Had the pleroma a being, Abraxas would be its manifestation.
> The dead now raised a great tumult for they were Christians.

But Jung's Basilides preaches on:

> Abraxas begetteth truth and lying, good and evil, light and darkness, in the same word and in the same act.
> Wherefore is Abraxas terrible.
> It is love and love's murder.
> It is the saint and his betrayer.
> It is the brightest light of day and the darkest night of madness.

In the early 1950s Dr. Jung defended himself against an attack by Martin Buber. Under discussion was the entire body of Jung's work, but Buber pointed a particularly snide finger at "his little Abraxas opus." The criticism was that Jung had overstepped the boundaries of psychology into religion, and had located God in the unconsious (rather than in Buber's transcendent "Thou"). This god of the self was, he complained, "the Gnostic god who unites good and evil in himself." Jung took all of this seriously. "Why is so much attention devoted to the question of whether I am a Gnostic?" He apologized for "once having perpetrated a poem, a sin of my [41-year-old] youth ... I am a psychiatrist," he responded, "whose prime concern is to record and interpret his empirical material, to investigate facts and make them more generally comprehensible." Jung's "empirical" defense was later to be complicated by the description in his autobiography of his composition of the *Septem Sermones*. "All my works, all my creative activity, has come from those in-

itial fantasies . . . Everything that I accomplished in later life was already contained in them, although at first only in the form of emotions and images."

The paradoxical Abraxas of the early poem thus prefigures "the self" which Jung discussed over the next four decades as "a *complexio oppositorum*." Self-knowledge is achieved through the conscious assimilation of the contents of the unconscious, including its dark "shadow" side, towards a goal of "wholeness." Jung, therefore, was deeply interested in the gnostic insistence on evil as an active principle as opposed to the incomplete Christian view of evil as the *privatio boni*, the absence of good. "The Gnostics," he writes with approval, "exhaustively discussed the problem of evil," and he quotes the famous question of Basilides, "Whence comes evil?" Their answer was to oppose "the good, perfect, spiritual God by an imperfect, vain, ignorant and incompetent demiurge." In his book *Aion*, Jung performs a telling psychoanalytic turn on this myth. "The ignorant demiurge who imagined he was the highest divinity illustrates the perplexity of the ego when it can no longer hide from itself the knowledge that it has been dethroned by a supraordinate authority . . . that indescribable whole consisting of the sum of conscious and unconscious processes, the antithesis of the subjective ego-psyche, what I have called the self." Jung pushes this interpretation to claim that "for the Gnostics – and this is their real secret – the psyche existed as a source of knowledge . . . that many of the Gnostics were nothing other than psychologists." C.G. Jung, indeed, saw his own work as "a link in the *Aurea Catena*" (the Golden Chain) from Gnosticism through philosophical alchemy to the modern psychology of the unconscious. The chain had been broken by the Enlightenment with its "devilish developments, anti-christianity and rationalistic hybris." The tradition was then revived "by Freud, who had introduced the classical Gnostic motifs of sexuality and the wicked paternal authority." Freud, however, left out "that other essential aspect of Gnosticism: the primordial image of the spirit as another, higher god who gave mankind the vessel of spiritual transformation, a feminine principle." Jung compensates by reintegrating these motifs and thus creating a version of psychic unity that not only paralleled his reading of Gnosticism, but was inspired by it. Jung's psychology portrays a version of the self that is fragmented, as do many gnostic texts, and like them finds an image of divinity among these fragments. Unlike gnostic texts, however, Jungian psychology does not see salvation as a separation of that divine fragment from the mundane, and its removal to the divine. Rather, Jung takes the

entire dualist myth and locates it within the psyche. The result, as his own judgment states, is "that my leanings are therefore towards the very reverse of dualism."

Many of our century's fiction writers have portrayed versions of this psychologized Gnosticism. Herman Hesse's *Demian*, published in 1925, was written right after Hesse had undergone Jungian analysis. The characters and events of the novel constitute an allegory of the Jungian achetypes. The strongest character, Demian, appears to blur all distinctions of age, gender, or ethics. He is "unimaginably different." Demian tells the hero "dismaying" gnostic revisions of scripture to point out that the "people with character tend to receive the short end of the stick in biblical stories." Like a (Jungian) Gnostic also, Demian pushes the hero to transcend his limited view of reality. "Who would be born must first destroy a world," he says, and fly to God, a God whose "name is Abraxas, uniting the godly and devilish elements." That Demian represents an aspect of the hero's own self is clarified as the novel ends by blurring the distinction between the "other" and the "inner." In a mystical, homoerotic vision, the two characters merge into one. Hesse's next novel, *Steppenwolf*, portrays a character dwelling in "this alien world ... the homeless Steppenwolf, the solitary." Steppenwolf, with an allusion to ancient Gnosticism's most stunning image, sees "the whole of human life as a violent and ill-fated abortion of the primal mother, a savage and dismal catastrophe of nature." At conflict with "nature" (Hesse identifies this with "bourgeois convention") is "the spirit ... driven to God." In the course of the novel Steppenwolf is to discover that the conflict is more complicated, that there are not two but a thousand souls clamoring withing him, "a chaos of potentialities and impulses." In answer to his striving, Steppenwolf is given a very psychologizing, very modern message. "You have a longing to forsake this world and to penetrate to a world beyond time. You know, of course, where this other world lies hidden. Only within yourself exists that other reality ..."

These novels of Hermann Hesse are early versions of a genre that has been important throughout this century: stories of conflict between the outer world and the inner reality discovered by journeying through psychological realms. It is not surprising that some of these writings are read as "gnostic." Some, such as Doris Lessing's *Briefing for a Descent into Hell*, are devastating in their criticism of normal life. Rather than promoting any integration towards a total personality, her novel valorizes the hero's dissociated psychic fantasies at the expense of his mental "health." His inner journey takes the hero to mythological lands,

to outer space, and back to earth – his "descent into hell" – as a messenger of the gods. The character's struggle to hold on to this reality, against the drugs and shock therapy of his psychiatrists, is described with the classical gnostic metaphors (and with the typically gnostic reversal) of sleeping and waking, forgetting and remembering.

Although they vary in the radicalness of their dualism, all of these psychological writings agree that meaning is not to be discovered in the manifest world. By situating meaning within the human psyche, and implicitly ignoring any transcedent location for meaning, these works are definitely modern. Other types of "immanent" salvation have also been described as "modern Gnosticism." A vast description of modern Gnosticism – including psychology in its scope – was the predominate theme of the political philosopher Eric Voegelin. Beginning in 1952 with *The New Science of Politics* and in many further books such as *Science, Politics and Gnosticism*, Voegelin identifies "the essence of modernity as the growth of gnosticism." He understands Gnosticism to be "the experience of the world as an alien place ... a horror of existence and a desire to escape from it." Rather than the ancient Gnostic achronic salvation from above, however, Voegelin sees modern Gnosticism promising salvation in the future, by means of the historical process. For this radically immanent salvation, without transcendental irruptions, he faults the eighteenth century, and has some harsh words especially for Condorcet and Voltaire. Voegelin proceeds, like some unhinged biblical prophet, to trace and decry the course of modern Gnosticism: Comte, "the first high priest of a new religion, positivism"; Hegelianism (although as early as 1835 Ferdinand Christian Baur had argued for the similarity between German idealism and Gnosticism, calling it "the philosophy of religion, the Godhead's evolving self-knowledge through man"); Marxism, "the self-salvation of man, an intellectual swindle"; Communism, "left-wing gnosticism"; National Socialism, "right-wing gnosticism"; totalitarianism, "the end of the Gnostic search for a civil theology"; progressivism, "scientism and the immanentist pride in the variants of salvation through physics, economics, sociology, biology, and psychology." All, all of this, Eric Voegelin calls Gnosticism. He appeals for "repressing Gnostic corruption and restoring the forces of civilization," and concludes, "fate is in the balance."

Voegelin's writings could be regarded as silly were it not for their strong impact within and beyond his own field of political science. Academicians from various disciplines have gathered at conferences such as "Gnosticism and Modernity," where they discussed such topics as

"The Gnosticism of Lincoln's Political Rhetoric." The literary critic, Cleanth Brooks, having absorbed Voegelin's version of Gnosticism, described Walker Percy's novel *Lancelot* as "modern Gnosticism." The main character of this book, Lancelot Lamar, is confronted by his wife's and daughter's ongoing orgy with a group of sex and drug enthusiasts from Hollywood. In a fury of crazed self-righteousness, Lancelot decides to take matters into his own hands (immanent salvation) and burns down his house with everyone in it. It would appear that Voegelin's influence has removed the distinction between "Gnosticism" and what we call "apocalypticism."

Voegelin portrays Gnosticism as an attempt to solve the ills and evils of this world by the promise of a revolutionary new realm. An ironic complement to this portrait, and a tribute to the complexity and contradictions of the ancient sects, is that the rejection of this world and disentanglement from it is only one gnostic attitude. An ascetic withdrawal is one ethical response to anti-cosmic dualism, and one which characterizes most of the Nag Hammadi texts ("The World Haters," *Time* magazine headlined its report on the present translation project). An opposite stance is to immerse oneself in worldly sins and pleasures, these being, after all, alien and uncorrupting things. This attitude, not found in our texts but attested in ancient descriptions of the gnostic sects, has inspired several recent novels of Lawrence Durrell. His four novels that make up *The Alexandria Quartet* depict a gnostic "cabal" led by a "homosexual goat" named Balthazar. "Indulge but refine" is Balthazar's doctrine, which he claims to be uniquely Alexandrian, "a town of sects and gospels. And for every ascetic she has always thrown up one religious libertine – Carpocrates [the second-century gnostic], Anthony [the Christian monk] – who was prepared to founder in the senses as deeply and truly as any desert father in the mind .... It is the national peculiarity of the Alexandrians to seek a reconciliation (between extreme sensuality and intellectual asceticism). That is why we are hysterics and extremists. That is why we are the incomparable lovers we are." One character, Justine, plays out on this earth the drama of the gnostic Wisdom goddess, "bending over the dirty sink with the foetus in it [like] poor Sophia of Valentinus." Are we, she wonders, "the work of an inferior deity, a Demiurge, who wrongly believed himself to be God? Heavens, how probable it seems." Justine quotes Balthazar, who in turn quotes E.M. Forster. Forster's book *Alexandria: A History and a Guide* was the main source of Durrell's understanding of Gnosticism, with its tragic combination of physical love and theology. Here is Forster's lovely

retelling of the creation myth of Valentinus: "He imagines a primal God, the centre of a divine harmony, who sent out manifestations of himself in pairs of male and female. Each pair was inferior to its predecessor, and Sophia the female of the thirtieth pair, least perfect of all. She showed her imperfection not, like Lucifer, by rebelling from God, but by desiring too ardently to be united to him. She fell through love ... and the universe is formed out of her agony and remorse." Durrell went on in later novels like *Monsieur* to describe yet another modern sect of Egyptian Gnostics. In *Monsieur* the amorous interplay of genders and geometries is complex enough to rival any ancient gnostic cosmogony. "I am amazed," wrote Durrell's long time friend, that modern apostle of experience, Henry Miller, "that there has been no revival of this sect." Forster had attempted an answer: "it was pessimistic, imaginative, esoteric – three great obstacles to success."

One interpretation of ancient Gnosticism, combined with an assessment of its modern relevance, has won the favor of many scholarly specialists in gnostic studies. In the 1920s Hans Jonas was a student of both the philosopher Martin Heidegger and the New Testament scholar Rudolf Bultmann. He was thus in a unique position to participate, as a Bultmannian, in this century's investigation of ancient gnostic sources and, as a Heideggerian, in the philosophy of existentialism. Throughout his long career, Jonas has played these two themes against each other. The link between the two is provided by dualism. "Gnosticism," he claims "has been the most radical embodiment of dualism ever to have appeared on the stage of history. It is a split between self and world, men's alienation from nature, the metaphysical devaluation of nature, the cosmic solitude of the spirit and the nihilism of mundane norms." It is "a lasting paradigm of the human condition." Likewise, "the essence of existentialism is a certain dualism, an estrangement between man and the world." Existentialism also contains a "depreciation of the concept of nature." Gnosticism, therefore, has "an analogical modernity." In his book *The Gnostic Religion*, Jonas focuses on one specific image that is used by both the ancients and the moderns to describe "the self-experience of existence," the image of "having been thrown." Here is Heidegger in *Being and Time*: "This characteristic of Dasein's Being ... we call it the 'thrownness' (*Geworfenheit*). This downward plunge into and within the groundlessness of the inauthentic Being, is characterized by temptation, tranquillizing, alienation ...." Jonas compares this to the famous ancient Valentinian formula that freedom is the knowledge of, among other things, "wherein we have been thrown." He made

this comparison before the availability of the Nag Hammadi translations, which describe how Yaldabaoth and the archons "threw" mankind into matter and distraction. Jonas expertly draws attention to the dissimilarities as well: "Gnostic man is thrown into an antagonistic, antidivine, and therefore anti-human nature, modern man into an indifferent one." The modern version is more nihilistic, "a dualism without metaphysics." Thrownness is, in both systems, however, "an existential mode of the past," nor is there, he argues, a mode of genuine existence in the future. Genuine existence, freedom, dwells "only in the crisis between past and future, the razor's edge of decision, the existential present of the moment."

Hans Jonas presents a compelling argument, and the similarities between ancient Gnosticism and modern existentialism do seem at least "analogical." We should keep in mind, however, the surprising condemnation of Gnosticism made by Albert Camus. Gnosticism, he claims in *The Rebel*, is conciliatory. It alters the course of metaphysical rebellion by developing the theory of a wicked, inferior god against whom to direct its attack, and exalts a superior god. "The vast number of aeons invented by Valentinus," for instance, "are the equivalent of the intermediary truths to be found in Hellenism. Their aim is to diminish the absurdity of an intimate relationship between suffering humanity and an implacable god."

Existentialist alienation and modern versions of visionary romanticism have combined to give Gnosticism a powerful literary expression. Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, fellow students at Columbia University in the 1940's, were introduced to Gnosticism by their professor Raymond Weaver. John Tytell, an historian of "the Beat Generation," has shown that an interest in gnostic themes voiced itself in Kerouac's 1959 novel *Doctor Sax*. This mythic reverie of a book ("Memory and dream are intermixed in this mad universe") describes Doctor Sax, "the King of Anti Evil," and his attempts to save the world from "the Great World Snake of evil" with its "moo mouth maw of death." The snake, with its "scaly ululating back," is "an unforgettable flow of evil and wrath and of Satan"; and Doctor Sax, in "his slouched hat" (like Ahab's – Kerouac's professor had been a Melville scholar), searches the world "for herbs that he knew someday he would perfect into an alchemic-almost poison art . . . that would make the Snake drop dead." The novel climaxes in a grand nightmare that seems to draw in every stock character from both sides of the conflict between good and evil. Allen Ginsberg also employs gnostic imagery to voice his hatred of evil in the world. In his

nuclear protest poem "Plutonian Ode," written in 1978 after reading Jonas's book on Gnosticism, he confronts our "Radioactive Nemesis . . . named for Death's planet." Ginsberg's poem, in the form of an exorcistic chant, evokes the planetary archons of the Gnostics:

> I salute your dreadful presence lasting majestic as the Gods,
> Sabaot, Jehova, Astapheus, Adonaeus, Elohim, Iao, Ialdabaoth, Aeon from Aeon born ignorant in an Abyss of Light,
> Sophia's reflections glittering thoughtful galaxies, whirlpools of star-spume silver-thin as hairs of Einstein!

Gnostic motifs have been identified in that most visionary of our modern literary genres, science fiction. Historian William Irwin Thompson sees the gnostic myth in Nicholas Roeg's film *The Man Who Fell to Earth* and in Zena Henderson's novel *Pilgrimage*. Both of these stories are about characters whose sojourn on this planet is a tragic separation from their true home. Painfully alienated, they struggle through memory to regain identification with their higher origins. Superman, too, although he is not homesick, is an alien battling against the forces of evil. Good and evil in "The Myth of Superman," Umberto Eco has written, are "clearly divided into zones of Manichaen incontrovertibility." It is, however, in the science fiction novels of the prolific writer Philip K. Dick that Gnosticism is most consciously employed. In *Valis*, published in 1981, a year before Dick's death, the main character has an encounter with the divine which "fires information into his head by a beam of pink light." The divine is "Mind," but Mind divided against itself, as two contending principles, like the schizophrenic main character of the novel. "From loss and grief the Mind has become deranged," he says. "Therefore we, as parts of the universe, the Brain, are partly deranged." This character, called Horselover Fat, has the following conversation with his therapist:

> "Do you believe man is created in God's image?"
> "Yes," Fat said, "but the creator deity, not the true God."
> "What?"
> Fat said, "That's Yaldabaoth. Sometimes called Samael, the blind god. He's deranged."
> "What the hell are you talking about?"

Fat is talking about *On the Origin of the World* from the first edition of *The Nag Hammadi Library* published in 1977, which Dick quotes elsewhere in the novel. "A lunatic blind creator and his screwed-up world" explained, for Dick, the "irrational, whacked out, psychotic" universe.

In the course of the novel, Fat attempts to recapture, beyond the irrational god (and beyond his own schizophrenia), the true God. This science fiction novel and its sequel, *The Divine Invasion*, tell a cosmic story where mental psychoses play out a drama of madness and intelligence, where fragments of divinity lose and remember themselves in human minds. It might be supposed that the Nag Hammadi texts inspired these novels, but Gnosticism, it seems, is never so simple. "Horselover Fat" is a multilingual pun for the author's own name, and Philip K. Dick claimed that *Valis* was autobiographical, that he, like his character, had an encounter with a beam of divine pink light in 1974. The publication of the Nag Hammadi translations only confirmed his revelation.

A quite self-conscious incorporation of Nag Hammadi texts into a science fiction novel appeared in Harold Bloom's 1979 novel *The Flight to Lucifer: A Gnostic Fantasy*. In it the reincarnated Valentinus and his companions fly to a planet called Lucifer. Quoting our gnostic texts, the heroes wage a violent battle against Saklas, the Demiurge who is worshipped in his "Saklaseum." Bloom, more successful as an interpreter of literature, later confessed that *The Flight to Lucifer* reads as though Walter Pater were writing *Star Wars*. But, then, so does much ancient gnostic writing.

Harold Bloom's strongest appropriation of Gnosticism is in his theoretical books of literary criticism. He describes his "mode of interpreting literary texts as a Valentinian approach," that is, "an antithetical and revisionist way of reading." In a series of books beginning with *The Anxiety of Influence* in 1973 he studies "the anxiety that blocks creativeness" when a writer faces his great precursors. "In Yeats," for instance, the precursor is "the Spectre of Blake." Bloom's argument is that literary influence always proceeds by "a deliberately perverse misreading ... an act of creative correction, of distortion, of perverse, willful revisionism whose purpose is to clear away the precursor so as to open a space for oneself." A text is therefore "a psychic battlefield" where influence fights to move *backwards*. Bloom's model for this is "Gnosticism, the religion of belatedness." "Valentinus," he argues, "is troping upon and indeed against his precursor authorities, to reverse his relationship to the Bible and to Plato, by joining himself to an asserted earlier truth that they supposedly have distorted." In 1982, in *Agon*, Bloom "misread" his gnostic precursors and claimed them for the latest school of literary criticism: "Gnosticism was the inaugural and most powerful of Deconstructions because it undid all genealogies, scrambled all hierarchies, allegorized every microcosm/macrocosm relation, and rejected

every representation of divinity as non-referential." Bloom's willfulness and enthusiasm bowl the reader over. "Abandon Heidegger for Valentinus," he calls out. If his creative misprision is successful, it will be measured by our inability to read these old texts without feeling Harold Bloom's influence upon them.

By turning reading into an activity upon the text, or rather, by his resituating of meaning within the intertextual relationship between texts, Bloom has shifted the discussion of Gnosticism away from the modern into the postmodern situation. Ihab Hassan's 1987 book *The Postmodern Turn* draws on Bloom and many other theorists to discuss a "New Gnosticism" characterized by the dematerialization of existence. The "New Gnosticism does not revert directly to the ancient cults," yet it was "prefigured by the ancient Gnostics, authors of a passionate subjectivity." Contempoary philosophy and literary criticsm are on "a gnostic journey into subjectivity, that leaves texts behind and vanishes into consciousness." Our own mental constructs, he claims, are our knowledge. Human beings are becoming "gnostic creatures constituting themselves, determining their universe by symbols of their own making," and he indicates science fiction and fantasy literature as examples. As with the ancient Gnostics, the traditional codes no longer determine our meaning. The traditional canon of texts no longer has authority. Hassan sees "a vast, revisionary will" at work in our culture, unsettling and heterogeneous, and he quotes Jean-François Lyotard's now famous clarion call of postmodernism: "Let us wage a war on totality."

This postmodern appreciation of Gnosticism seems indeed to have an affinity with ancient sectarianism and revisionary mythologizing. Ihab Hassan considers "immanence" to be one of the main characteristics of the "New Gnosticism," a quality of both modern and postmodern theory. Thus, as Charles Jencks describes postmodern art and architecture, we have personal invented mythology and metaphors with no shared metaphysical substance. Anatole France (himself a writer who never made it into modernism) wrote an eloquent version of immanent gnostic salvation in his 1914 novel *The Revolt of the Angels*:

> The God of old is dispossessed of His terrestrial empire, and every thinking being on this globe disdains Him or knows Him not. But what matter that men should be no longer submissive to Ialdabaoth if the spirit of Ialdabaoth is still in them; if they, like Him, are jealous, violent, quarrelsome, and greedy, and the foes of the arts and of beauty? What matter that they have rejected the ferocious demiurge? It is in ourselves and in ourselves alone that we must attack and destroy Ialdabaoth.

How much do these attempts to see modern, or even postmodern, relevance in Gnosticism help us to understand our ancient texts? or do they misuse the evidence? The evidence, in any case, is conflicting, as James M. Robinson declares in the opening sentences of the introduction to this book. It has also been pointed out that none of the Nag Hammadi texts use "gnostic" as a term of self-designation. Other ancient sources tell us that "gnostic" was used by some sects as a self-designation, but certainly not by all of the various sects that came to be called Gnosticism. We might also notice that the only mention of the famous gnostic heresiarchs in this library (in *The Testimony of Truth*) is as opponents, and "they" are attacked as heretics! With the publication of the Nag Hammadi library the study of ancient Gnosticism has become increasingly problematic, so likewise its relevance. The frequently attempted etymological definition (gnostic comes from the Greek word for know) is frustratingly inadequate. We do better to avoid generalizations and to marvel at the variety of the sources. The variety was brought about more by the mundane issues of time and space, than by theological debates. The first issue was the authority of tradition against revealed interpretations; the other was hierarchical unification against sectarianism. By taking the wrongheaded side of both these issues, the sects and our texts were excluded, and "Gnosticism" became a symbol of heresy. Interpretive appropriations of Gnosticism have all used this element of otherness: the Gnostics as anti-Christians, as visionaries, as esotericists, as symbolists of the psyche, as alienated, and as violent misinterpreters and revisers.

The recent availability of this large number of primary texts has opened up new ways of discussing, new relevances for, the ancient sects we call gnostic. By their skewed readings, by animating the relationship between tradition and imagination, these texts capture our attention. If cultures define themselves not at their calm centers, but at their peripheral conflicts of inclusion and exclusion, then Gnosticism, whatever we mean by it, is more than an antiquarian curiosity. It stands as a continuing testament to difference in the face of our cultural tendencies toward closed homogeneity.

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The Apocalypse of Baruch

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THE

APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC

CHAPTERS I.–LXXVII. FROM THE SIXTH CENT. MS. IN THE AMBROSIAN LIBRARY OF MILAN

AND

CHAPTERS LXXVIII.–LXXXVII.—THE EPISTLE OF BARUCH FROM A NEW AND CRITICAL TEXT BASED ON TEN MSS. AND PUBLISHED HEREWITH

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES

BY

R. H. CHARLES, M.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, AND EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD

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TO

MY WIFE

PREFACE

The Apocalypse of Baruch is a composite work written in the latter half of the first century of the Christian era. It is thus contemporaneous with the chief writings of the New Testament. Its authors were orthodox Jews, and it is a good representative of the Judaism against which the Pauline dialectic was directed.

In this Apocalypse we have almost the last noble utterance of Judaism before it plunged into the dark and oppressive years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem. For ages after that epoch its people seem to have been bereft of their immemorial gifts of song and eloquence, and to have had thought and energy only for the study and expansion of the traditions of the Fathers. But when our book was written, that evil and barren era had not yet set in; breathing thought and burning word had still their home in Palestine, and the hand of the Jewish artist was still master of its ancient cunning.

And yet the intrinsic beauty of this book must to a great degree fail to strike the casual reader. Indeed,

it could hardly be otherwise. For the present English version is a translation of the Syriac; the Syriac was a translation of the Greek, and the Greek in turn a translation from the Hebrew original. In each translation we may feel assured the original work was shorn in large and growing measure of its ancient vigour, and this is certainly the case in the version now before the reader. For the translator, having the interests of scholars before his eyes, has made it his aim to give a literal reproduction of the Syriac. And yet, even so, much of its native eloquence has survived, so that to be prized it needs only to be known, and our appreciation of its beauty, its tragic power and worth, must grow in the measure of our acquaintance with it.

The Apocalypse of Baruch has had a strange history. Written by Pharisaic Jews as an apology for Judaism, and in part an implicit polemic against Christianity, it gained nevertheless a larger circulation amongst Christians than amongst Jews, and owed its very preservation to the scholarly cares of the Church it assailed. But in the struggle for life its secret animus against Christianity begat an instinctive opposition in Christian circles, and so proved a bar to its popularity. Thus the place it would naturally have filled was taken by the sister work, 4 Ezra. This latter work having been written in some degree under Christian influences, and forming, in fact, an unconscious confession of the failure of Judaism to redeem the world, was naturally more acceptable to Christian readers,

and thus, in due course, the Apocalypse of Baruch was elbowed out of recognition by its fitter and sturdier rival.

In this edition of Baruch — which is also the *editio princeps*—no pains have been spared as regards the criticism and emendation of the text, its interpretation, and the determination of its various sources.

As regards the text, the facts are briefly as follows: The first seventy-seven chapters, as appears on the title-page, are found only in one MS., namely, *c*. For the concluding nine chapters—the Epistle of Baruch —I have made use of *c* and nine other MSS. Of these I have collated eight—several of these for the first time. Through the kindness of the publishers I have been enabled to print on pp. 125-167 a critical text of this Epistle based on those MSS. As Ceriani and Lagarde contented themselves each with reproducing a single unamended MS., scholars will, I think, be grateful for this attempt to grapple with all the Syriac MSS. available. By this comparative study of *c* and the remaining nine MSS. in the chapters common to both, I have been able to ascertain the value of *c* in the chapters in which *c* stands alone. The trustworthiness of the MS. *c*, which we have thus established, is further confirmed by a Greek work, which borrows largely from our Apocalypse, the Rest of the Words of Baruch.

There are, of course, corruptions in the text. Some of these that are native to the Syriac have been

removed by Ceriani, others by the editor; others are provisionally emended, or else reproduced in the English translation. But many still remain. Of these some are manifestly peculiar to the Greek, and have been dealt with accordingly. But the rest are not so, and are, in fact, incapable of explanation save on the hypothesis of a Hebrew original. To this hypothesis, which marks a new departure in the criticism of this book, I have been irresistibly led in the course of my study. In many passages I have by its means been able to reduce chaos to order. For details the reader should consult the Introduction, pp. xliv.-liii.

The interpretation of this book has been the severest task as yet undertaken by the editor. Insuperable difficulties confronted on every side, till at last he awoke to the fact that these were due to plurality of authorship. When once this fact was recognised and the various sources determined, the task of interpretation was materially lightened, and the value of the work for New Testament and Jewish scholars became every day more manifest. As my studies in this direction began in 1891, my conclusions are, save in a few cases, the result of long study and slowly matured conviction.

A special study of the relations subsisting between this Apocalypse and 4 Ezra will be found on pp. lxvii.-lxxvi., where it is shown that whereas 4 Ezra is in many respects non-Jewish, our Apocalypse is a faithful exponent of the orthodox Judaism of the

time. To this subject I may return in an edition of the former work.

Scholars are at last coming to recognise that the study of the literature to which this book belongs is indispensable for the interpretation of the New Testament. Thus Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam write in their recent work on the Epistle to the Romans (p. vii.): "*It is by a continuous and careful study of such works that any advance in the exegesis of the New Testament will be possible.*"

My knowledge of Talmudic literature, so far as it appears in this book, is derived from Weber's *Lehren des Talmuds,* Edersheim's *Life and Times,* etc., Wunsche's translations of the various treatises of the Babylonian Talmud, Schwab's French translation of the Jerusalem Talmud, and in passages where translations were wanting, I had the ready help of Dr. Neubauer.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Buchanan Gray, for his revision of my proofs of the Hebrew original of Baruch.

17 Bradmore Road, Oxford,
September 1896.

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tiated from each other by many characteristics. B^1 is the earliest—soon after 70 A.D., and B^3 is probably the latest. B^1=i.-ix. 1; xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6; lxxvii.-lxxxii.; lxxxiv.; lxxxvi.-lxxxvii. B^2=xiii.-xxv.; xxx. 2-xxxv.; xli.-xlii.; xliv. 8-15; xlvii.-lii.; lxxv.-lxxvi.; lxxxiii. B^3=lxxxv. x. 6-xii. 4, which I have called S, is probably from a source distinct from the rest (pp. lviii.-lxv.)—§ 8. The lost Epistle to the two and a half Tribes, on many grounds is probably identical with, or is the source of the Greek Baruch iii. 9-iv. 29 (pp. lxv.-lxvii.)—§ 9. The Relations of our Apocalypse with 4 Ezra. (*a*) The composite nature of 4 Ezra. (*b*) Conflicting characteristics of 4 Ezra and Baruch, the former to some extent non-Jewish in its teaching on the Law, Works, Justification, Original Sin and Freewill. (*c*) 4 Ezra from a Hebrew Original. (*d*) Relations of the respective Constituents of our Apocalypse and 4 Ezra. A^1 is older than E of 4 Ezra, and both A^1 and A^2 than M. B^1 older than E^2, and both B^1 and B^2 than S (pp. lxvii.-lxxvi.)—§ 10. Relation of this Apocalypse to the New Testament. Bulk of parallels in these books can be explained as being drawn independently from pre-existing literature, or as being commonplaces of the time; but others may point to dependence of Baruch on the New Testament (pp. lxxvi.-lxxix.)—§ 11. Value of our Apocalypse in the Attestation of the Jewish Theology of 50-100 A.D., and in the Interpretation of Christian Theology for the same Period: The Resurrection, Original Sin and Freewill, Works and Justification, Forgiveness (pp. lxxix.-lxxxiv.)

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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Short Account of the Book

This beautiful Apocalypse, with the exception of nine chapters towards its close,[1] was lost sight of for quite 1200 years.

Written originally in Hebrew, it was early translated into Greek, and from Greek into Syriac. Of the Hebrew original every line has perished save a few still surviving in rabbinic writings. Of the Greek Version nothing has come down to us directly, though portions of it are preserved in the Rest of the Words of Baruch, a Greek work of the second century, and in a late Apocalypse of Baruch recently discovered in Greek and in Slavonic. Happily, the Syriac has been preserved almost in its entirety in a sixth century MS., the discovery of which we owe to the distinguished Italian scholar Ceriani. Of this MS., Ceriani published a Latin translation in 1866, the Syriac text in 1871, and the photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883. Though

[1] These chapters under the title "The Epistle of Baruch," or a similar one, were incorporated in the later Syriac Bible.

there are no adequate grounds for assuming a Latin Version, it is demonstrable that our Apocalypse was the foundation of a Latin Apocalypse of Baruch, a fragment of which is preserved in Cyprian.

The Apocalypse of Baruch belongs to the first century of our era. It is a composite work put together about the close of the century, from at least five or six independent writings. These writings belong to various dates between 50 and 90 A.D., and are thus contemporaneous with the chief New Testament writings. It is this fact that constitutes the chief value of the work. We have here contemporaneous records of the Jewish doctrines and beliefs, and of the arguments which prevailed in Judaism in the latter half of the first century, and with which its leaders sought to uphold its declining faith and confront the attacks of a growing and aggressive Christianity.

Over against many of the Pauline solutions of the religious problems of the day, Jewish answers are here propounded which are frequently antagonistic in the extreme. It was this hidden hostility to Christianity that no doubt brought it into discredit. As early as the sixth century it seems to have passed out of circulation.

§ 2. Other Books of Baruch

In addition to our Apocalypse, a considerable literature arose and circulated under Baruch's name, some-

time before and after the Christian era. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to touch briefly on the different books belonging to it.

1. The Apocryphal Baruch in the LXX.—This book falls clearly into two parts—i.-iii. 8 being the first part, and iii. 9-v. constituting the second. The first part was originally written in Hebrew, the second is generally held to be of Greek origin, but this is doubtful. The first part of the book is said by Ewald and Marshall to have been composed three centuries before the Christian era, by Fritzsche and Schrader in the Maccabean period, by Kneucker and Schürer after 70 A.D. Most writers agree in assigning the second half of the book to the last-mentioned date. The second half, however, may also be composite. Thus Professor Marshall differentiates iii. 9-iv. 4 from iv. 5-v. 9, and regards the former as originally written in Aramaic, and the latter in Greek. The chief authorities on this book are Fritzsche, *Exeget. Handbuch zu den Apocryphen*, part i., pp. 165-202, 1851; Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, 1879; Gifford, *Speaker's Commentary, Apocrypha*, ii. 241-286, 1888. On the probability that i. 1-3; iii. 9-iv. 29 of this book are a recast of a lost portion of our Apocalypse, *i.e.* "the Letter to the two and a half Tribes," see § 8, pp. lxv.-lxvii. There is no verbal borrowing between our Apocalypse and and the Greek Baruch, but in the following passages there is a similarity of diction or of thought or of both. This list could be enlarged.

Apoc. of Baruch.	Book of Baruch.
i. 1 (mention of Jeconiah).	i. 3.
x. 16.	iv. 10, 14.
lix. 7.	iii. 12.
lxxvii. 10.	ii. 26.
lxxviii. 7.	iv. 36, 37 (v. 5, 6).
lxxix. 2.	i. 17, 18.
lxxx. 5.	ii. 13.
lxxxiv. 2-5.	i. 19 ; ii. 2.
lxxxvi. 1, 2.	i. 14.

2. The Rest of the Words of Baruch.—This book was written in Greek in the second century of our era. It seems in parts to be a Jewish work recast. The Greek text was first printed at Venice in 1609, next by Ceriani in 1868 under the title " Paralipomena Jeremiae" in his *Monumenta Sacra*, v. 11-18, and recently it has been critically edited by Rendel Harris in 1889. This book exists also in the Ethiopic Bible. The Ethiopic Version was edited from three MSS. by Dillmann in his *Chrestomathia aethiopica* in 1866. As these MSS. are inferior, and as no attempt was made by Dillmann to revise his text by means of the Greek, the present writer hopes in due time to edit a critical text from eleven Ethiopic MSS., accompanied with translation and notes. In this edition account will be taken of all the important variations of the Greek text.

This book is deeply indebted to our Apocalypse and attests the accuracy of the Syriac text in the following passages :—

Apoc. Bar.	Rest of the Words.
ii. 1.	i. 1, 3, 7.
ii. 2.	ii. 2.
v. 1.	i. 5 ; ii. 7 ; iii. 6 ; iv. 7.
vi. 1.	iv. 1.
vi. 4, 5, 6, 8, 10.	iii. 2, 5, 8, 14.
viii. 2, 5.	iv. 1, 2, 3, 4.
x. 2, 5, 6, 7, 18.	iv. 3, 4, 6, 9.
xi. 4, 5.	iv. 9.
xxxv. 2.	ii. 4.
lxxvii. 21, 23, 26.	vii. 3, 10, 12.
lxxx. 3.	i. 5 ; iv. 7.
lxxxv. 2.	ii. 3.
lxxxv. 11.	vi. 3.
lxxxvii.	vii. 8, 30.

3. The Gnostic book of Baruch.—Of this book large fragments are found in the *Philosophumena of Hippolytus*, v. 24-27. But these fragments are wholly out of relation with the remaining literature of Baruch.

4. A Latin book of Baruch is quoted in one MS. of Cyprian's *Testimonia*, iii. 29. As this book is clearly based on our Apocalypse, I will give the passage in full. Item in Baruch: "Veniet enim tempus, et quaeretis me et vos et qui post vos venerint, audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus, et non invenietis" (cf. Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 36). "Nationes autem cupient videre sapientem praedicantem, et non obtinget eis: non quia deerit aut deficiet sapientia hujus saeculi terrae, sed neque deerit sermo legis saeculo. Erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis et quietis" (cf. Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 33), "sibi confabulantes et in cordibus suis meditantes

quoniam quidam eos horrebunt et timebunt ut malos. Alii autem nec credunt verbo legis Altissimi: alii autem ore stupentes non credent et credentibus erunt contrarii et impedientes spiritum veritatis. Alii autem erunt sapientes ad spiritum erroris et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis edicta" (cf. Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 34; lxx. 5; observe also that the titles of God here are characteristic of our Apoc., see vii. 1, note; xxi. 3, note). "Alii autem personales fidei. Alii capaces et fortes in fide Altissimi et odibiles alieno."

In 5 Ezra xvi. 64, 65 (which James ascribes to the third century) we have a clear use of our text. Thus: "Certe Hic novit . . . quae cogitatis in cordibus vestris. Vae peccantibus et volentibus occultare peccata sua: propter quod Dominus scrutinando scrutinabit omnia opera eorum et traducet vos omnes," is based on lxxxiii. 3, which = "Et scrutinando scrutinabit cogitationes arcanas et quidquid in penetralibus omnium hominis membrorum positum est et in apertum coram omnibus cum increpatione educet." We should observe that not only is the thought of the two passages the same, but that the actual diction is borrowed, *i.e.* the Hebraism "scrutinando scrutinabit" and "traducet," which = "in apertum cum increpatione educet" (cf. also "quae cogitatis in cordibus" with "cogitationes arcanas").

5. The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch, or, as Mr. James names it, *Apocalypsis Baruch Tertia.*—This book belongs to the second century, for, on the one hand, it is based largely on the Slavonic Enoch, and on

the other, it is mentioned by Origen, *de Princip.* ii. 3. 6 : "Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis hujus testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis vel caelis evidentius indicatur." This Greek Apocalypse of Baruch was discovered some years ago by Mr. James in a British Museum MS. Through his kindness I have been permitted to examine his copy of this MS. His edition of the text will, we believe, shortly appear. The Slavonic Version of this book has been known for some time, and was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii. pp. 205-209, 1886, by Novakovic. A German translation, preceded by a helpful introduction by Professor Bonwetsch, appeared this year in the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1886, Heft i. An English translation will shortly appear by Mr. Morfill in Mr. James's Cambridge edition. The Slavonic is less trustworthy and full than the Greek. This Greek is dependent in certain respects on the Rest of the Words of Baruch, and is thus of service in determining the date of the latter. With our Apocalypse it has only one or two points of contact. Thus with vi. 2, "I was grieving over Zion and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon the people," compare the opening words of the Greek Apocalypse, Ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ, ὃς ἔστη . . . κλαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἱερουσαλήμ: and with x. 5, "I, Baruch, . . . sat before the gates of the temple and I lamented with that lamentation over Zion," and xxxv. 1, "And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat

down upon the ruins and wept," compare the words already quoted together with *καὶ οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πόλας, ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια.* Perhaps liv. 8-9, "Even so I could not give Thee the meed of praise, or laud Thee as is befitting. . . . For what am I amongst men . . . that I should have heard all those marvellous things from the Most High?" may be the source of the following words towards the close of the Greek Apocalypse—*δόξαν ἔφερον τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἀξιώσαντί με τοιούτου ἀξιώματος.*

6. Finally, another book of Baruch, distinct from the above, and belonging to the fourth or fifth century of our era, is mentioned in the *Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani,* published by Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen,* Bd. 1, Heft 3, 1883). In this work Theophilus makes the following quotation from the book of Baruch: "Quomodo ergo prope finem libri sui de nativitate ejus et de habitu vestis et de passione ejus et de resurrectione ejus prophetavit dicens: Hic unctus meus, electus meus, vulvae incontaminatae jaculatus, natus et passus dicitur."

Above all the foregoing works which circulated under Baruch's name, the Apocalypse of Baruch stands head and shoulders alike in respect of form or matter or real worth to the student of Judaism and Christianity.

§ 3. The Syriac MSS.

For chapters i.-lxxvii. of this book we have only one MS., the famous sixth-century Peshitto MS. which

was found by Ceriani in the library in Milan. For convenience we shall call this MS. *c*. In 1871 Ceriani edited the Syriac text from this MS. in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. v. Fasc. 2, pp. 113-180. Of chapters lxxviii.-lxxxvi., which constitute the Epistle of Baruch, many MSS. were known to exist, and of three of them (i.e. *a*, *b*, *d*) Ceriani made collations and inserted these in their appropriate place below the printed text of *c*. He made no attempt, however, to correct the text of *c* by their means. This task was attempted in a haphazard fashion by Fritzsche (*Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece*, 1871, pp. 690-699) in an emended edition of Ceriani's Latin translation of these chapters.

It is manifest that, if we wish to ascertain the value of *c* in those chapters in which it stands alone, *i.e.* i.-lxxvii., we can do so only by an exhaustive examination of its text in those chapters which it attests in common with *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *k*, i.e. lxxviii.-lxxxvi., and by a determination of its critical value in respect to them. When we have discharged this task we shall know the real worth of *c* in i.-lxxvii., and familiar with its strength and its weakness shall approach with some confidence the critical problems it presents. With this end in view I have made use of all the Syriac MSS. of lxxviii.-lxxxvi. attainable. These are ten, and are as follows :—

a called A in Ceriani.

b Add. 17,105 in the Brit. Mus., Fol. 116[a]-121[a]. Sixth century.

c The Milan MS., Fol. 265^{b}-267^{b}. Sixth century.

d called *d* in Ceriani.

e No. 1 Syr. MSS., Bodley, Fol. 430-432. 1627.

f Egerton 704 Brit. Mus., Fol. 373^{a}-374^{a}. Seventeenth century.

g Add. 12,172 Brit. Mus., Fol. 192^{b}-195^{b}. Tenth or eleventh century.

h Add. 18,715 Brit. Mus., Fol. 242^{b}-244^{a}. Twelfth century.

i No. 2 Syr. MSS., Bodley, Fol. 492-493. 1614.

k No. 20 Syr. MSS., Bodley, Fol. 37-38.

All these MSS. with the exception of *k* contain the complete Epistle of Baruch. *k* has only lxxxiii. 7-lxxxiv. 1. Of the ten MSS. I have collated directly *b, e, f, g, h, i, k.* *b* had already been collated and published by Lagarde. I did it, however, afresh, and found only one important error in his work. For a knowledge of *a, d* I am indebted to Ceriani's collations. Of *c* my knowledge is derived directly from the photo-lithographic reproduction of that MS. In addition to the above MSS., I have found excerpts from the Epistle of Baruch in the three following MSS., from which I have drawn various readings.

l Add. 12,178 Brit. Mus., Fol. 111^{b}. Ninth or tenth century.

m 14,482 Brit. Mus., Fol. 47^{b}-48^{a}. Eleventh or twelfth century.

n 14,684 Brit. Mus., Fol. 24. Twelfth century.

W and P stand for the Walton and Paris Polyglots.

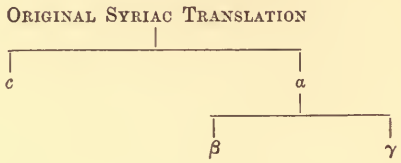
Of the foregoing MSS. *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n* represent one type of text as *c* represents another. But although the former belong to one family they are of very different values. To the more ancient and

trustworthy belong *a, b, g, h, k* to the latter and less trustworthy *d, e, f, i*. For convenience' sake we shall denote the parent of *a, b, g, h, k* by the symbol β, that of *d, e, f, i* by γ, and the ancestor of both by *α*. First of all we shall study the general relations of *c* to *α* and to the sub-groups β and γ.

c stands frequently alone alike when it is right and when it is wrong. In lxxviii. 1; lxxxi. 4; lxxxii. 7; lxxxv. 1, 7; lxxxvi. 3; lxxxvii., it is right against *α*, i.e. *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i*; and most probably also in lxxix. 2, 3; lxxxiii. 3, 7, 8; lxxxiv. 1, 9; lxxxv. 15. On the other hand, it is frequently wrong. Thus it attests a corrupt text against *α* in lxxviii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 (?); lxxx. 1, 2, 3; lxxxi. 3; lxxxii. 2 (twice), 3, 4, 5; lxxxiii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21; lxxxiv. 1, 2, 8, 10; lxxxv. 7, 8, 12, 13; lxxxvi. 1. Thus we see that whereas *c* independently preserves the true text in many passages, *α* preserves it in thrice as many.

Again, as we have already remarked, the MSS. *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k* are of very different values. Thus *a, b, g, h* agree with *c* in attesting the true text against *d, e, f, i* in lxxviii. 3, 5; lxxix. 1; lxxx. 3; lxxxi. 4; lxxxiv. 4, 6, 7, 10; lxxxv. 6, 11. In lxxxii. 1 *a, b, g, h* agree alike against *c* and *d, e, f, i*. Only in lxxxiii. 17 do *d, e, f, i* agree with *c* against *a, b, g, h*. In the above passages *k* is wanting, but where it exists it belongs as a rule to β, and agrees with *a* more than with any other member of this group. Thus if we represent *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k* by *α*, and *a, b, g, h, k*

by β, and *d*, *e*, *f*, *i* by γ, as we have already arranged, we arrive at the following genealogy :—



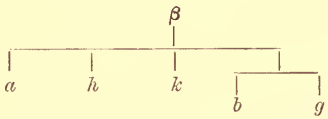
We have also seen from what precedes that *c* often agrees with β in giving the true text against γ, but *c* and γ never agree in attesting the true text against β, except perhaps in lxxxiii. 17.

l, *m*, *n*, so far as they exist, support *a* as against *c*, and where the attestation of *a* is divided they generally agree with γ against β, *i.e.* with *d*, *e*, *f*, *i* against *a*, *b*, *g*, *h*, *k*.

Having now learnt in some measure the relations of the various groups of MSS. to each other, we have still to study those of the individual MSS., so far as our materials admit. The special study of *c* we reserve till later.

Amongst *a*, *b*, *g*, *h*, *b* and *g* are closely related. They agree against all else in lxxx. 4 ; lxxxi. 3 ; lxxxii. 2, 3 ; lxxxiii. 2, 9, 11 ; lxxxv. 12 ; but this combination is generally wrong. *b* is never right when it stands alone. *a* and *h* are excellent authorities when supported by *c*. Thus *a*, *c* are right in lxxxiii. 4 ; lxxxiv. 6 ; lxxxv. 9. They agree in the wrong in lxxix. 2 ; lxxx. 7 ; lxxxv. 9. *a* agrees also with *b*, *c*, *g* against all else in lxxxv. 14, and with *c*, *h* against all in

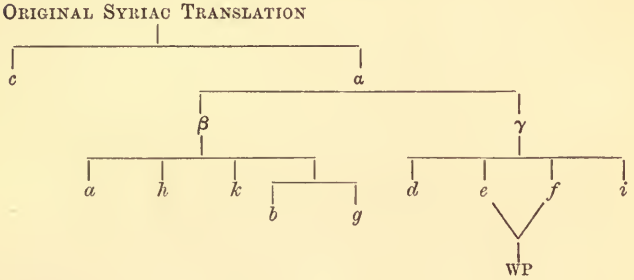
lxxxiv. 3. *h* stands alone with *c* in lxxxi. 4; lxxxiv. 4; lxxxv. 13; but the combination is untrustworthy. From these facts we infer that amongst *a*, *b*, *g*, *h*, *b* and *g* are very closely related, but that no such close relations exist between *a* and *h* or between either of these with *b*, *g*. Thus the relations of the sub-group to each other might be represented as follows:—



As regards the γ group, we have learnt above that it is quite untrustworthy when it stands alone against *c*. Yet it is upon two of the members of this group that the text of the Walton and Paris Polyglots is based.

The text of these Polyglots may be shortly described as follows. In all cases where it stands in opposition to *c*, WP follow *a* except in lxxxii. 8, lxxxv. 10, where their text is most probably due to conjecture as they here stand alone. Secondly, in cases where γ is opposed to *cβ*, WP agree with γ. Thirdly, within the group γ, WP are most closely associated with, and in all probability are based upon, *e*, *f*. For they agree with *e* against all other MSS. in lxxx. i., lxxxii. 9 in omitting "and," in lxxx. 2 in giving an impossible form, and in lxxxiii. 14 in omitting half the verse. But WP are not based on *e* alone; for though *e* omits a word in lxxxv. 5, it is given in WP. This defect of *e* was made good from

f; for we find that *f*WP stand alone in lxxx. 7. It is of no little interest to have traced the sources of the text in the Polyglots; for, as their editors have given no information on the subject, scholars have hitherto been quite in the dark in this respect. We are now in a position to give the genealogy of the MSS. dealt with above. This is as follows:—



Special Study of c.—It is now time to study the special characteristics of *c*. We have already seen that *c* has independently preserved the true text in many passages against corruptions in *a*. (A list of these passages will be found above, where also it is shown that *a* has preserved the true text much more frequently than *c*.) I have found *c* trustworthy when supported by *a* in lxxxiii. 4; lxxxiv. 6; lxxxv. 9; but not so in lxxix. 2; lxxx. 7; lxxxv. 9; or by *a*, *b*, *g* in lxxxv. 14; or by *a*, *h* in lxxxiv. 3; or by *b*, *g* in lxxxv. 1. But the character of *c* appears more clearly in its errors. Thus it is wrong (1) *through omission* in lxxx. 1, 2 (omission due here to an attempted emen-

dation); lxxxii. 2, 3; lxxxiii. 4, 5, 16, 18; lxxxiv. 1, 10; lxxxv. 4 (through homoioteleuton), 12. Cf. li. 16 and lvi. 14 for omissions of the negative. (2) *Through additions to the text* in lxxviii. 2; lxxxiii. 5; lxxxv. 8, 9, 15. (3) *Through transposition of words or letters whereby the sense is generally destroyed. Transposition of letters* in lxxxii. 4 whereby "drop" becomes "pollution"; lxxxiii. 21 where "by truth" becomes "in silence." For similar transpositions in the earlier chapters see xiv. 6; lxx. 8. *Transposition of words* in lxxxi. 3; lxxxii. 2, 3; lxxxiii. 5; lxxxiv. 8. For similar transpositions see xiv. 11; xxi. 16. (4) *Through clerical errors* in lxxviii. 3 (for a similar error see xxiv. 4), 4; lxxx. 3; lxxxii. 5; lxxxiii. 2, 3, 13, 15, 16, 19; lxxxiv. 1 (observe that there is the same erroneous pointing in lxx. 5), 3, 8; lxxxv. 12, 13. In lxxxiv. 2 we have an intentional variation. Cf. in earlier chapters li. 1.

We have now completed our study of the MSS. The knowledge which we have thus gained from our comparative criticism of *c* and the other MSS. helps to secure us against the characteristic errors of the former in the chapters where the friendly aid of the latter cannot be invoked. We can thus address ourselves with a certain degree of confidence and skill to the obscurities and corruptions that arise in these chapters. As a further result of this examination, we have come to feel that so long as we follow its guidance, we can nowhere greatly err from the sense of the Hebrew original.

Date of the Common Ancestor of c and a.—Since *c* and *b* are both of the sixth century, we find that already at that date there existed two distinctly developed types of text, both of which must have been for no brief period in existence, owing to the variety of readings already evolved. Further, though *b* belongs to the sixth century, many of its readings are decidedly later than *c* and even than *a* and *h*. In fact, *a*, *h* represent the text at an earlier period than *b*. The common parent, therefore, of *a*, *h*, and *b* was probably not later than the fifth century. Such a variety of related yet different MSS. as *a*, *b*, *g*, *h*, *k* could not well have arisen from an MS. of a later date. This being so, the common progenitor of *c* and *a* can hardly be sought later than the fourth century.

§ 4. Previous Literature on the Apocalypse of Baruch

The Syriac Text.—As we have seen in the foregoing section, we have only one MS., i.e. *c*, for chapters i.-lxxvii. For Ceriani's edition of this MS. see pp. xxii.-xxiii. Of the text of the remaining chapters, which form the Epistle of Baruch, many editions have appeared :—(1) That which is published in the Walton and Paris Polyglots. This text is, as we have shown above (pp. xxvii.-xxviii.), founded on two indifferent MSS., *e* and *f*. (2) Lagarde's edition of *b*, pp. 88-93 of his *Libri Vet. Test. Apocryphi Syriace*, 1861. This is merely *b* in a printed form, and not an edition of the Syriac text

based on the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum, as is everywhere wrongly stated both by German and English writers. Though *b* is a very old and valuable MS., we have now several MSS. at our disposal containing a more ancient text (see pp. xxvi.-xxvii.) (3) Ceriani's published text of *c*, to which he has appended collations of *a*, *b*, *d* in his *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. v. Fasc. 2, pp. 167-180. As we have already remarked, Ceriani has contented himself with printing the text of *c*, and has not sought to correct it by means of *a*, *b*, *d*.

Translations.—Only one translation of our Apocalypse has hitherto appeared, *i.e.* the Latin translation of Ceriani in the *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, vol. i. Fasc. 2, pp. 73-98, 1866. This is certainly a model translation in point of style, and considering the fact that Ceriani was not a specialist in Apocalyptic literature, it is also very accurate. Not quite accurate, indeed, as Ceriani himself was aware in 1871 when he wrote—"Omisi tamen plenam revisionem meae versionis Latinae . . . quia omnino in meis occupationibus tempus me deficit, et quidquid corrigere opus erit, alii ex textu per se poterunt." Some of the errors are as follows:—In xiii. 8 we must expunge "enim est." In verses 4-5 of the same chapter we find the peculiar construction "ut . . . dic." In xv. 6 read "transgressus est" for "fecit." In xix. 1 for "te" read "vos." In xxv. 4 for "terrae" read "terram." In xxxii. 4 for "coronabitur" read "perficietur." In xl. 1 for "qui tunc" read "illius temporis." In xlix. 3 for "vestient" read

"induent." In lv. 1 expunge "ejus." In lx. 1 add "eorum" after "magiarum." In lxii. 2 add "et" before "idololatria." In lxxii. 2 for "vivificabit" read "parcet." In lxxxv. 9 for "veritatem cujuspiam" read "veritas quodpiam." In lxxxvi. 12 for "viae" read "recreationis" (= *ἀνέσεως*); "viae" is a rendering of *d* but not of *c*, Ceriani's text. Although Ceriani made no critical study of the text of *c*, he has nevertheless made some most felicitous emendations in x. 14; xiv. 6; li. 1; lvi. 4, 14; lx. 2; lxix. 1, 4; lxx. 8. A critical study of the text and matter would have helped him to deal with the corruptions of the Syriac in xxiv. 4; xlviii. 32; li. 16; lxvii. 2; lxx. 5; lxxii. 1, etc.

As Ceriani did not believe in a Semitic original of our Apocalypse, he was naturally unable to deal with corruptions that were not native to the Syriac Version, but had already appeared in the Hebrew text or had arisen through the misconceptions of the Greek translator.

Ceriani's Latin translation was republished by Fritzsche in his *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece*, 1871, pp. 654-679. Though Fritzsche introduces several changes into Ceriani's translation, hardly any of these can be justified. Sometimes he makes the change because he has failed to understand the text; thus in xx. 4; xxi. 9, 10, he has emended Ceriani's "investigabiles" into "ininvestigabiles"; but "investigabilis" in the Vulgate frequently means "unsearchable." The change of "omne" into "vanum" in xix. 8 is quite wanton. The Latin text also is carelessly edited;

thus for "ego" there is "ergo" in lxxxiv. 1; for "ibi" there is "tibi" in lxxxv. 13; and "opulus" for "populus" in xlviii. 24. In the critical notes on pp. 690-699 there are many confusions and mis-statements of authorities. It is needless to add that none of Ceriani's actual errors were corrected by Fritzsche, for the Syriac text had not yet been published.

Notwithstanding all these defects, every scholar who has used Fritzsche's book is rightly grateful to him for making Ceriani's translation so generally accessible.

Critical Inquiries.—Langen, *De Apocalypsi Baruch anno superiori primum edita commentatio,* Friburgi in Brisgovia, 1867. This treatise, which consists of twenty-four quarto pages, maintains that our Apocalypse was written in Greek in the reign of Trajan. Although no grounds worthy of consideration are advanced in support of a Greek original, Langen's view has been universally accepted. Only two scholars have expressed a doubt on the subject, Mr. Thomson and Professor Ryle of Cambridge. This fact in itself serves to show how inadequately hitherto this Apocalypse has been studied. In other respects, Langen's work is admirable.

Ewald, *Göttinger Gel. Anzeigen,* 1867, pp. 1706-1717, 1720; *Gesch. des Volkes Israel,* vii. 83-87 (English trans. vol. viii. 57-61). In a short but interesting article Ewald assigns the date of our author to the reign of Domitian. He regards 4 Ezra and this Apocalypse as the work of one and the same author.

Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie*, 1869, pp. 437-440; *Messias Judaeorum*, pp. 63-64. Hilgenfeld ascribes our Apocalypse to the earlier years of Vespasian, possibly to 72 A.D. Vespasian is the leader mentioned in xl. The Baruch Apocalypse is subsequent to 4 Ezra.

Wieseler, "Das Vierte Buch Ezra," *Theol. Stud. und Kritiken*, 1870, p. 288. This writer criticises Hilgenfeld's date. The seven weeks (xxviii. 2) are to be reckoned from the fall of Jerusalem to 119 A.D. The two weeks in that verse point to the years 105-119, *i.e.* to the time of Trajan.

Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test.* 1871, pp. xxx.-xxxii. On Fritzsche's reprint of Ceriani's Latin translation see pp. xxxii.-xxxiii.

Stähelin, "Zur paulinischen Eschatologie," *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1874, pp. 211-214.

Hausrath, *Neutestamentl. Zeitgesch.* 2nd ed. iv. 88-90, 1877.

Renan, "L'Apocalypse de Baruch," *Journal des Savants*, 1877, pp. 223-231; *Les Évangiles*, 1877, pp. 517-530. Renan regards this Apocalypse as an imitation of 4 Ezra and in part designed as a correction of it, as, for instance, on the question of original sin (cf. also Langen). The latter was written in Nerva's reign, the former in the last year of Trajan's. The sombre clouds which obscured the last months of Trajan roused the hopes of the Jews and gave birth to the furious revolt of 117, of which this book is a monument. The fact that this book was accepted amongst the Christians excludes a later date. No

Jewish product later than Hadrian gained currency in Christian circles.

Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 117-132. Dr. Drummond is of opinion that, "notwithstanding the Hebraic colouring of its thoughts and language, this book may very well have been written in Greek." Its author was a Jew: there is "not a single expression which betrays a Christian hand." It is probably subsequent in date to 4 Ezra, and is divided into the following groups of chapters—i.-ix.; x.-xii.; xiii.-xx.; xxi.-xxx.; xxxi.-xliii.; xliv.-xlvii.; xlviii.-lxxvi.; lxxvii.-lxxxvii.

Kneucker, *Das Buch Baruch*, 1879, pp. 190-196. Kneucker believes that the Apocryphal Book of Baruch is the letter which Baruch undertakes in ch. lxxvii. to send by "three men" to the brethren in Babylon. This view needs to be greatly modified; as it stands, he has found none to follow it. The present book, he holds, is defective.

Dillmann, art. "Pseudepigraphen" in Herzog's *Real-Enc.* 2nd ed. xii. 356-358. Baruch, according to Dillmann, was undoubtedly later than 4 Ezra, and was written under Trajan. The writer was an orthodox Jew and wrote in Greek. Dillmann rightly thinks that parts of the book are lost, but he is wrong in supposing it to be not more truly Jewish than 4 Ezra. He falls also into the same mistake as so many other scholars in supposing Lagarde's edition of MS. *b* to be an edition of the Syriac text, based on the Nitrian MSS.

Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2nd ed. 1884, ii. p. 658.

Rosenthal, *Vier Apocryphische Bücher*, 1885, pp. 72-103. This writer has made a painstaking study of Ceriani's Latin translation. He has likewise given no little thought to the subject matter, and discovered many connections between our book and Talmudic literature. It cannot, however, be said that he has thrown much light on the difficult problems of this book. In most respects Rosenthal follows the traditional lines of interpretation. The work is from the hand of one author. It was written in Greek in the reign of Trajan. Like previous writers Rosenthal regards our Apocalypse as subsequent to 4 Ezra, and as designed in some respects to correct its statements. He accepts Wieseler's interpretation of xxviii., and reckons the seven weeks there mentioned as dating from 70 A.D. Hence $70 + 49 = 119$ and the two last weeks point to the years 105-119, the period of the last woes. 119 is the year of the Messiah's advent. But Rosenthal thinks he can determine the exact year of the book's publication. Thus the letter to the Jews in Babylon shows that it was written before the rebellion of the Jews in Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, Babylon, and their extermination by Quietus in 116. On the other hand, he believes that the great earthquake in Syria, which did not affect Palestine in December 115, is referred to in lxx. 8-lxxi. 1. Thus the book was written in the beginning of 116. With many of Dr. Rosenthal's statements, in which he departs from the traditional interpretation of this book, the present writer dissents strongly. Some of these statements are as follows :—The Messiah, he says, has

a less active *rôle* in 4 Ezra than in Baruch. The real facts are that a passive *rôle* is assigned to the Messiah in xxix. 3 of this Apocalypse and in vii. 28-29 of 4 Ezra, and a highly active *rôle* in xxxix.-xl. and lxx.-lxxii. of this Apocalypse and xii. 32-34 and xiii. 32-50 of 4 Ezra. Rosenthal charges our author with being an ignorant man and unacquainted with Scripture. This is strange, seeing that in every instance save one the quotations from the Old Testament are made from the Hebrew and not from the LXX., and that a large and accurate knowledge of Jewish history is shown throughout the work. Again, he says our author makes the resurrection from the dead depend on faith therein, and then quotes as a proof xxx. 1, which says nothing of the kind, and further adduces lxv. 1, where he alleges Manasseh is reproved for not believing in the future, "dass er an keinen Zukunft glaubte!" This last assertion rests on a strange misconception of the Latin translation—"cogitabat tempore suo quasi ac futurum non esset ut Fortis inquireret ista." This is, of course, "he thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things!" "Futurum" cannot mean "the future."

Stanton, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 1886, pp. 72-75. This writer ascribes our Apocalypse to the years immediately subsequent to 70 A.D. He divides the book as follows—i.-ix; x.-xii.; xiii.-xx.; xxi.-xxx.; xxxi.-xliii.; xliv.-lxxvi.; lxxvii.-lxxxvii.

Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (translated from the second and

revised edition of the German), 1886, vol. iii. Div. ii. pp. 83-93. We have here an admirable account of our Apocalypse. Schürer regards it as written shortly after 70 A.D., and argues strongly for its priority to 4 Ezra. After citing passages on the question of original sin from both books, he proceeds: "Here, then, we have not even an actual difference of view, far less a correction of the one writer on the part of the other. Further, such other reasons as have been advanced in favour of the priority of Ezra and the dependent character of Baruch are merely considerations of an extremely general kind which may be met with considerations equally well calculated to prove quite the reverse." "My own opinion is that . . . it is precisely in the case of Baruch that this problem is uppermost, *i.e.* How is the calamity of Israel and the impunity of its oppressors possible and conceivable? while in the case of Ezra, though this problem concerns him too, still there is a question that lies almost yet nearer his heart, *i.e.* Why is it that so many perish and so few are saved? The subordination of the former of these questions to the other, which is a purely theological one, appears to me rather to indicate that Ezra is of a later date than Baruch." It must be admitted that these arguments are as conclusive as are the counter-arguments of Ewald, Langen, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, Stähelin, Renan, Drummond, and Dillmann for the priority of 4 Ezra. And beyond this *impasse* it is impossible for criticism to advance until it recognises the com-

posite nature of both books. Schürer appends a valuable bibliography.

Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewüsstsein Jesu*, 1888, pp. 23-24, 32-35. The composition of Baruch is here assigned to a Jew living in Palestine in the reign of Trajan.

Thomson, *Books which Influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, 1891, 253-267, 414-422. This writer believes with Schürer in the priority of Baruch, but his hardihood goes still farther: he assigns the date of its composition to 59 B.C. Such a date of necessity argued a Semitic original, and this Mr. Thomson contends for, and we hold rightly, though his reason may be wrong. This his sole reason is that in v. 5 we find the proper name Jabish ܝܒܫ. "This," he says, "almost certainly represents Ἰγαβής of the Septuagint, 1 Chron. iv. 9, 10 (Heb. יעבץ, Syriac ܝܥܒܨ)." There is no ground for this identification; in fact, everything is against it; and even if the identification were right, it would not necessarily prove a Hebrew original. Jabish or Jabesh, for the Syriac is unpunctuated, implies a Greek form Ἰαβις or Ἰαβης, and this in turn יבש. Here, as elsewhere, I have had occasion to regret that Mr. Thomson acquainted himself inadequately with the facts before he gave loose rein to his vigorous imagination.

Kabisch, "Die Quellen der Apocalypse Baruchs," *Jahrbücher f. Protest. Theol.* 1891, pp. 66-107. With this writer the criticism of Baruch enters on a new stage. So long, indeed, as it pursued the old lines, finality on the question of the chronological relations

of our Apocalypse and 4 Ezra was impossible, and the champions of the one book with excellent reasons demolished their rivals, and with reasons just as excellent were demolished in turn. The explanation is obvious: both books are composite, and if some parts of 4 Ezra are older than certain parts of Baruch, no less certainly are some parts of Baruch older than some of 4 Ezra.

Kabisch emphasises at the outset certain facts which point to a plurality of authorship. Thus he shows that we find in Baruch side by side, on the one hand, a measureless pessimism and world-despair which look for neither peace nor happiness in this world; and, on the other hand, in the same work, a vigorous optimism and world-joy which look to a future of sensuous happiness and delight, of perfect satisfaction and peace.

Kabisch further points out that the same subjects are treated several times, and often without any fresh contribution to the subject at issue. Thus the Messianic Kingdom is twice delineated, the advent of the Messiah twice foretold, and the Messianic woes just as often depicted. Yet the latter are neither so identical as to point to the same author, nor are the novelties so great as to justify the repetition of the whole complex statement already once given.

On these grounds he shows that the book is derived from at least three or four authors. Thus he distinguishes i.-xxiii.; xxxi.-xxxiv.; lxxv.-lxxxvii. as the groundwork written subsequently to 70 A.D., since the

destruction of the temple is implied throughout these chapters. Further, these sections are marked by a boundless despair of this world of corruption, which fixes its regards on the afterworld of incorruption. In the remaining sections of the book, however, there is a faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism which looks to an earthly Messianic Kingdom of sensuous delights. In these sections, moreover, the integrity of Jerusalem is throughout assumed. Kabisch, therefore, rightly takes these constituents of the book to be prior to 70 A.D. These sections, however, are not the work of one writer, but of three, two of them being unmutilated productions, *i.e.* the Vine and the Cedar Vision, xxxvi.-xl., and the Cloud Vision, liii.-lxxiv., but the third a fragmentary Apocalypse, xxiv. 3-xxix. Finally, these different writings were incorporated in one book by a Christian contemporary of Papias, and to this editor are probably due xxviii. 5 ; xxx. 1 ; xxxii. 2-4 ; xxxv. ; lxxvi. 1. With the bulk of this criticism I have no reason for variance, as by independent study, and frequently on different grounds, I have arrived at several of these conclusions. But taken as it stands, Kabisch's criticism is only an additional stage on the way. It is far from being final, as a more prolonged study would have convinced this writer. Thus, as we shall presently learn (see pp. liii.-lxiv.), the so-called groundwork of Kabisch is as undoubtedly composite as the whole work is composite, and edited from at least two or three distinct writings. In this and in other respects the criticism of our book is

indefinitely more difficult than Kabisch conceives it. But we must not anticipate our conclusions here. Kabisch's work is based on the Latin translation of Ceriani. He follows the traditional views of a Greek original. The possibility of a Semitic original does not seem to have occurred to him.

De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 25-28, 76-103, 192-204. It is interesting to find that some of Kabisch's conclusions were reached by this French scholar independently. Thus De Faye, like Kabisch, distinguishes xxxvi.-xl. and liii.-lxxv. as distinct works written before 70 A.D. The rest of his analysis is not likely to gain acceptance. His main conclusions are as follows:—i.-xxxii. 7 constitute an Apocalypse of Baruch written after 70 A.D.; i.-v. and vi.-xxxii. 7, however, were originally derived from two hands (pp. 193-196). Another quite distinct work was the Assumption of Baruch, which consists of xlviii.-lii.; xli.-xliii. 2; lxxvi. 1-4 (p. 97 note). The date of this work is also after 70 A.D. xliii. 3-xlvii. is for the most part the work of the final editor. They are much later in date than the Apocalypse or the Assumption. Thus the following chapters and verses are derived from the final editor: xxxii. 7-xxxv.; xliii. 3-xlvii.; lxxvi. 5-lxxxvii. (pp. 201-202). Much praise is due to M. de Faye for the abundant scholarship and pains he has expended on this book; but his work is unconvincing: a profounder study would have led him to abandon many of the positions which are maintained by him.

Ryle, "The Book of Baruch," *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Smith, 1893, vol. i. pp. 361-362. Professor Ryle regards our Apocalypse as written shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem, and possibly in Hebrew. He reverts to Ewald's idea of the common authorship of this book and 4 Ezra as a means of explaining their manifold points of identity and similarity. He divides it into the following sections: i.-xii.; xiii.-xx.; xxi.-xxxiv.; xxxv.-xlvi.; xlvii.-lii.; liii.-lxxvi.; lxxvii.-lxxxv.

§ 5. The Syriac—A Translation from the Greek

That the Syriac text is a translation from the Greek is to be concluded on several grounds. 1. It is so stated in the sixth-century MS. *c*. 2. There are certain corruptions in the text which are explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator misinterpreted the Greek, or else found the corruption already existing there. Thus in iii. 7 (see note) the Syrian translator renders "ornament" where the text requires "world." It is obvious here that he followed the wrong sense of κόσμος. The corrupt readings in xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 1, 2; lxii. 7 are to be explained on this principle (see notes *in loc.*). 3. Imitations of Greek constructions are found. In lxv. 1 we have *hau* = the Greek article in connection with a proper name. 4. We have frequent transliterations of Greek words, as in vi. 4, 7; x. 17; xvii. 4; xxi. 7, etc. It is possible, of course, that these borrowed Greek words may have

been part of the current language when the translation was made. In lxxvii. 14, however, we have a Greek word transliterated which gives no sense in its context. Hence this word was not written first-hand by a Syriac writer, but was taken by the Syriac translator from the Greek text before him. 5. The Rest of the Words of Baruch is largely based on our Apocalypse, and frequently reproduces it word for word. This book was written in Greek by a Christian Palestinian Jew in the second century. It implies, therefore, the existence of our Apocalypse in a Greek form, and preserves important fragments of the Greek Version.

§ 6. The Greek—A Translation from a Hebrew Original

It is hard to understand how such an unbroken unanimity has prevailed amongst scholars on the question of a Greek original. Indeed, it is impossible to explain it, save on the hypothesis that they gave the subject the most cursory notice, or more probably none at all. In fact, since the discovery of the book not a single serious attempt has been made to grapple with this problem, and yet, in nearly every instance, scholars have spoken with an assurance on this subject that only a personal and thorough study of the subject could justify. To this strong and unanimous tradition of the learned world I bowed without hesitation at the outset of my studies, but with an awakening distrust and an ever-growing reluctance during the subsequent

years in which the present Translation and Notes were completed. In fact, the feeling grew steadily stronger that only a Hebrew original could account for many of the phenomena of the text. And yet my gathering certainty on this head did not lead to action till the MSS. of the Translation and Notes were partially in type. I then felt that I could no longer stay my hand, and with the kind permission of my publishers I have been enabled to introduce the necessary changes into the Translation and Notes. The facts which have obliged me to maintain a Hebrew original may be summarised as follows:—1. The quotations from the Old Testament agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic text against the LXX. 2. Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text. 3. Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew. 4. There are many paronomasiae which discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. 5. One or two passages of the book have been preserved in Rabbinic writings.

1. *The quotations from the Old Testament agree in all cases but one with the Mass. text against the LXX.*—See vi. 8; xxxviii. 2; xli. 4; li. 4; lviii. 1, with notes *in loc.* In two other passages our text departs alike from the Mass. and LXX.: thus in iv. 2 it agrees with the Syriac Version of Is. xlix. 16 against the Mass., LXX., and Vulg.; and in xxxv. 2 it reproduces Jer. ix. 1, freely and independently. Finally, in lxxxii. 5 only does it agree with the LXX. of Is. xl. 15. It is to be observed, however, that neither does the Vulgate

in that passage agree with the Mass. The Mass. = כדק יטול; the LXX. = ὡς σίελος λογισθήσονται = כוֹק נחשבו; Vulg. = "quasi pulvis exiguus." Here the Vulg. omits יטול and the LXX. replaces it by repeating a previous verb. Hence this passage is inconclusive, as the text of Isa. xl. 15 seems to have been uncertain.

2. *Hebrew idioms survive in the Syriac text.*—We shall treat this section under four heads.

(*a*) *Survival of the familar Hebrew idiom of the infinitive absolute combined with the finite verb.*—The Syriac equivalent of this Hebraism is frequently found in this Apocalypse : cf. xiii. 3 (note); xxii. 7 ; xli. 6 ; xlviii. 30 ; l. 2 ; lvi. 2 ; lxxv. 6 ; lxxvi. 2 ; lxxxii. 2 ; lxxxiii. 1, 2, 3, 6 ; lxxxiv. 2. In this circumstance alone we have sufficient evidence to establish a Hebrew original. This idiom is, it is true, also found in original Syriac, but is comparatively rare. It is not, however, with original Syriac that we have here to do, but with a Syriac translation. We shall now proceed to show that *in a Syriac translation of a Hebrew or a Greek text this idiom does not appear except as a rendering of the corresponding idiom in the Hebrew or Greek before it.*

In order to prove this statement we shall examine the Peshitto Version of Genesis and Exodus. In these two books I have found fifty-seven instances of the occurrence of the infinitive absolute with the finite verb in the Massoretic text.

As we shall require presently to know the usage of the LXX. in this matter, we shall now give a table

furnishing the facts we are in search of from both versions.

Syriac-Peshitto.	Genesis-Massoretic Text.	LXX.
Noun and verb.	ii. 17.	Noun and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	iii. 4.	,,
,,	iii. 16.	Participle and verb.
,,	xvii. 12.	Noun and verb.
,,	xviii. 18.	Participle and verb.
Finite verb only.	xix. 9.	Noun and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	xxii. 17 (twice).	Participle and verb.
,,	xxvi. 11.	Finite verb only.
,,	xxvi. 13.	Different text followed.
,,	xxvi. 28.	Participle and verb.
Finite verb only.	xxvii. 30.	Finite verb only.
Infinitive and verb.	xxviii. 22.	Noun and verb.
,,	xxx. 16.	Finite verb only.
Finite verb only.	xxxi. 15.	Noun and verb.
Infinite and verb.	xxxi. 30.	,,
,,	,,	Finite verb only.
,,	xxxii. 12.	Adverb and verb.
,,	xxxvii. 8 (twice).	Participle and verb.
,,	xxxvii. 10.	,,
Different text followed.	xxxvii. 33.	Different text followed.
Infinitive and verb.	xl. 15.	Noun and verb.
,,	xliii. 2.	,,
,,	xliii. 6.	Participle and verb.
,,	,,	Finite verb only.
Finite verb only.	xlvi. 4.	Different text followed.
Infinitive and verb.	l. 24 (twice).	Noun and verb.

Thus in Genesis there are twenty-nine instances of this idiom. These are rendered by the Peshitto as follows: twenty-three by the infinitive and verb; one by cognate noun and verb; four by finite verb only; and in one case a different text is followed. In the case of the LXX., eleven by cognate noun and verb; nine by participle and verb; five by finite verb only; while in four a different text is followed.

An examination of Exodus supplies the following evidence :—

Syriac-Peshitto.	Exodus-Massoretic Text.	LXX.
Infinitive and verb.	iii. 7.	Participle and verb.
,,	iii. 16.	Noun and verb.
Different text followed.	xi. 1.	,,
Infinitive and verb.	xiii. 19.	,,
,,	xviii. 18.	,,
Finite verb only.	xix. 12.	,,
Infinitive and verb.	xxi. 12, 15, 16, 17.	,,
Different text followed.	xxi. 19.	Finite verb only.
Infinitive and verb.	xxi. 20, 22, 28.	Noun and verb.
Finite verb only.	xxi. 36.	Finite verb only.
Infinitive and verb.	xxii. 6, 14.	,,
,,	xxii. 16, 19.	Noun and verb.
Finite verb only (twice) Infinitive and verb	xxii. 23 (thrice).	Noun and verb (twice). Participle and verb.
Infinitive and verb.	xxiii. 4.	Participle and verb.
,,	xxiii. 5.	Finite verb only.
,,	xxiii. 22, 24.	Noun and verb.
,,	xxxi. 14.	,,
,,	xxxi. 15.	Finite verb only.

Thus in Exodus there are twenty-eight instances of this idiom. These are rendered in the Peshitto: twenty-two by the infinitive and verb ; four by finite verb only ; in two cases a different text is followed. In the LXX., nineteen by cognate noun and verb; three by participle and verb; and six by the finite verb only. By combining the facts on both books, we arrive at the following results. The Hebrew idiom occurs fifty-seven times. In the Peshitto forty-five are rendered by infinitive and verb; one by cognate noun and verb; eight by finite verb only; in three cases a different text is followed. In the LXX., thirty are rendered by cognate noun and verb; twelve by participle and verb;

eleven by finite verb only; in four cases a different text is followed. Finally, we should mention here that in no case have we found this idiom in the Syriac Version where the same idiom was not also present in the Hebrew from which it was derived, and the same holds true of the LXX. save in one case, *i.e.* Exod. xxiii. 26.

From the above results obtained from the Peshitto Version of Genesis and Exodus we learn that *whereas the Syriac translator on the one hand never inserts this idiom unless as an equivalent of the corresponding Hebrew idiom before him, on the other he has failed to render it in eight cases out of fifty-seven.* In these he gives the finite verb only. Thus the irresistible conclusion is: *if we find this idiom occurring at all in a Syriac translation, it is a presumption that it existed in the language from which the translation was made; whereas if we find it frequently* (as in our Apocalypse) *the presumption changes to a certainty.*

The above conclusions drawn from a study of the Peshitto Version of the Hebrew text of Genesis and Exodus may be further confirmed and extended in their application by a short consideration of the corresponding phenomena in the New Testament. So far as I can discover, the Peshitto Version of the New Testament in no case inserts this idiom where it does not already exist in the Greek. This idiom occurs, as we know, at least six times: see Matt. xiii. 14; xv. 4; Luke vii. 34; xxii. 15; Acts vii. 34; Hebrews vi. 14. Five of these passages are quotations from

the LXX., and thus the idiom goes back to the Hebrew. In the remaining one, Luke xxii. 15, it implies undoubtedly an Aramaic or Hebrew original. The Peshitto renders these instances by the infinitive and verb except in Matt. xiii. 14, where it misses the point, and in Luke xxii. 15, where it gives the noun and verb. In both these verses the Sinaitic MS. gives the infinitive and verb.

The Syriac translator therefore is so far from inserting this idiom, unless it exists already in the Hebrew or Greek text before him, that, as we found above, *he occasionally fails to do so when he ought.* The bearing of this conclusion on our present investigation is obvious. This idiom is found fifteen times in our Apocalypse; we can therefore conclude with confidence that it occurred at least fifteen times in the Greek, and in all likelihood oftener.

Having now found that this idiom occurred frequently in the Greek, we have now to ask, could it have appeared there for the first time, *i.e.* in an original Greek writing?

The answer does not require a long investigation. The idiom is thoroughly Semitic, and is only once found in all Greek literature, and that in Lucian. In the New Testament there is no instance of it unless in a quotation from the Old Testament; in the Old Testament only once, Exod. xxiii. 26, without a Semitic background.

Hence we conclude that its frequent occurrence in our Apocalypse is in itself demonstrable evidence of a Hebrew original. Further, it is probable that it occurred in

the Hebrew original more frequently than in the Greek translation; for we found above that out of fifty-seven instances of this idiom in Genesis and Exodus, the LXX. failed to render eleven.

(*b*) *The survival of various Hebraisms.*—In xx. 2 (see note); xxiv. 2, where Syriac for "throughout all generations" = ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ = בכל־דור ודור; cf. Ps. cxlv. 13; the same idiom is found in xxix. 7, where I render "every morning"; xxxviii. 4, where "from my (earliest) days" is the Hebrew idiom found in 1 Kings i. 6.

(*c*) *Probable survival of Hebrew order against Syriac idiom.*—In xiii. 12 (see notes); lxiii. 8. In connection with the notes on xiii. 12 it is worth observing that, in Western Aramaic, unlike Syriac, the order of the participle and the substantive verb in the compound past imperfect indicative is indifferent. Thus in Dan. v. 19; vi. 4, 5, 11, 15, etc., the substantive verb precedes, whereas in Dan. ii. 31; iv. 7, 10, 26; vii. 2, 6, 8, etc., the participle.

(*d*) *Probable survival of syntactical idioms against Syriac idiom.*—For omission of relative see xx. 3, note; imperative used as jussive, xi. 6, note; Hebrew perfect with strong vav in xxi. 21, and the voluntative with weak vav in xlviii. 6, reproduced literally but not idiomatically.

3. *Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew.*—In xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2; lxii. 7, I have been able to explain and restore an unintelligible

text by retranslation first into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the stock rendering of δικαιοῦσθαι, and this in turn of צדק. But צדק also = δίκαιος εἶναι, and this is the meaning required in the above passages (see notes *in loc.*), but the Greek translator erroneously adopted the more usual rendering.

Again in xliv. 12 we have another interesting restoration through the same means. There we find in the Syriac "on its beginning" set over antithetically against "to torment." Here the context requires "to its blessedness." Now the corrupt text = בראשו, which by the transposition of the single letter ר gives us the text באשרו = "to its blessedness." Again in lxxxv. 12 we have another instance of the Greek translator following the wrong of two alternative meanings.

Again in xi. 6; xx. 3; xxi. 21; xxix. 5; xlviii. 6, we are obliged by the context to translate not the Syriac text but the Hebrew text presupposed by the Syriac, but mistranslated by the Greek translator, and, therefore, of necessity by the Syriac. See notes *in loc.*; also 2 (*d*) above, p. xlvii. For other restorations the reader should consult the notes on x. 13; lxx. 6; lxxx. 2. Finally in lxxvii. 14 we have a transliteration of the Greek word ὕλη. ὕλη is either a corruption or a mistranslation of some Hebrew word. It could not have been written for the first time in Greek. I have hazarded a conjecture in the note on the passage.

4. *Many paronomasiae discover themselves on re-translation into Hebrew.*—We have in xv. 8 (see note) one that is already familiar to us in Isaiah and Ezekiel. As many as three spring into notice in xlviii. 35 (see note), and probably two in lxxxiv. 2. The most interesting perhaps are those on the proper names, Hezekiah and Sennacherib, in lxiii. 3, 4 (see notes). In the case of the former, I had the good fortune to conjecture the existence of the same paronomasia in Ecclus. xlviii. 22, and to restore the Hebrew there as it actually stood before Dr. Neubauer's discovery of the Hebrew MS. of Ecclus. xl.-l.

5. *One or two passages of this book have been preserved in rabbinic writings* (see notes on x. 18; xxxii. 2-4; lxiv. 3).

§ 7. The Different Elements in the Apocalypse of Baruch with their Respective Characteristics and Dates.

As we have seen above, the composite nature of this book has already been recognised independently by Kabisch and De Faye. And the more thoroughly we study it, the more conscious we become of the impassable gulf which sunders the world-views which underlie the different parts. In one class of the passages there is everywhere manifest a vigorous optimism as to Israel's ultimate well-being on earth; there is sketched in glowing and sensuous colours the blessedness which awaits the chosen people in the

kingdom of the Messiah which is at hand (xxix.; xxxix.-xl.; lxxiii.-lxxiv.), when healing will descend in dew, and disease and anguish and lamentation will flee away; when strife and revenge and hatred will go into condemnation; when gladness will march throughout the earth, the reapers not grow weary, nor they that build toil-worn; when child-birth will entail no pangs, and none shall die untimely (lxxiii.-lxxiv. 1); when Israel's enemies shall be destroyed (xxxix.-xl.; lxx. 7-lxxii.), and to God's chosen people will be given a world-wide empire with its centre at Jerusalem (xl. 2; lxxiii.-lxxiv.). Over against these passages which ring with such assurance of coming victory and untold blessedness stand others wherein, alike to Israel's present and its future destiny on earth, there is written nothing save "lamentation and mourning and woe." These veritable cries from the depths give utterance to a hopeless pessimism — a bottomless despair touching all the things of earth. This world is a scene of corruption, its evils are irremediable; it is a never-ceasing toil and strife, but its end is at hand; its youth is past; its strength exhausted; the pitcher is near to the cistern, the ship to the port, the course of the journey to the city, and life to its consummation (lxxxv.). The advent of the times is nigh, the corruptible will pass away, the mortal depart, that that which abides for ever may come, and the new world which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness (cf. xxi. 19; xliv. 9-15; lxxxv.).

Thus we discover that whereas (1) optimism as to Israel's future on earth is a characteristic of some sections of the book, pessimism in this respect characterises others. The former are the Messiah Apocalypses, xxvii.-xxx. 1; xxxvi.-xl.; liii.-lxxiv. (which for convenience I designate respectively as A^1, A^2, A^3), and a short original Apocalypse of Baruch, B^1. The remaining sections are B^2, B^3. The contents of these we shall determine presently. Again (2), A^1, A^2, A^3, B^1, agree in teaching the advent of the Messianic kingdom, but this doctrine is absolutely relinquished in B^2, B^3.

Thus, A^1, A^2, A^3, B^1, agree in presenting an optimistic view of Israel's future on earth, and in inculcating the hope of a Messianic kingdom; whereas in B^2, B^3, such expectations are absolutely abandoned, and the hopes of the righteous are directed to the immediate advent of the final judgment and to the spiritual world alone. But at this point a difference between A^1, A^2, A^3, and B^1, emerges. The former look for a Messiah and a Messianic kingdom, the latter for a Messianic kingdom without a Messiah.

As we pursue our study, other features, one by one, disclose themselves which belong to A^1, A^2, A^3, but not to B^1, B^2, B^3, and thus differentiate them from the latter. Some of these are: (1) In A^1, A^2, A^3, Jerusalem is still standing — hence they were written before 70 A.D.; whereas in B^1, B^2, B^3, it is already destroyed (for details see pp. 49, 61, 87, 101, 111). In B^1, Jerusalem is to be restored; (2)

in A^1, A^2, A^3, the advent of the Messiah is looked for, but not in B^1, B^2, B^3; (3) in A^1, A^2, A^3, it is only to the actual inhabitants of Palestine that the promise of protection is given in the time of the Messianic woes (see xxix. 2; xl. 2; lxxi. 1)—thus the Jews are still in Palestine; but in B^1, B^2, B^3, the Jews are already carried into exile. In B^1 they are to be ultimately restored.

These conclusions as to the different authorship of A^1, A^2, A^3, and B^1, B^2, B^3, are confirmed by the following facts:—

(1) According to the scheme of the final editor of this book (see v. 7; ix. 2; pp. 36, 61), events proceed in each section in a certain order: first a fast, then a divine disclosure, then an announcement or address to the people based on this disclosure. This being so, it is significant that in the various addresses in v. 5; x. 4; xxxi. 2-xxxiv.; xliv.-xlvi.; lxxvii. 1-17, there is not a single reference to these Messianic Apocalypses, A^1, A^2, A^3. (2) From (1) it follows that A^1, A^2, A^3, have no real organic connection with the rest of the book, B^1, B^2, B^3. And a detailed examination of their immediate contents shows that the removal of A^1 (= xxvii.-xxx. 1), A^2 (= xxxvi.-xl.), A^3 (= liii.-lxxiv.) serves to restore some cohesion to the text (see xxx. 2, note; xli. 1, note; lxxv.-lxxvi., note).

Having thus seen that A^1, A^2, A^3, were written prior to 70 A.D., and are of different authorship to B^1, B^2, B^3, which were written subsequent to that

date, we have next to deal with the relations in which A^1, A^2, A^3 stand to each other.

A^1, A^2, A^3; *their relations to each other and dates.* —On pp. 61, 87, we have shown that A^1 is of distinct authorship to A^2 and A^3, on the ground that in A^1 the Messiah pursues an entirely passive *rôle*, and does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed and the kingdom established; whereas, in A^2 and A^3, it is the Messiah that destroys the enemies of Israel and establishes the Messianic kingdom. As regards the date of A^1, all that can be said with safety is that it was composed before 70 A.D.

It is hard to determine with certainty the relation of A^2 and A^3. In many points they are at one: their differences are few. Some of these are: A^2 has more affinities in matter and character with the older Jewish Apocalyptic, *i.e.* that of Daniel; A^3 is more nearly related in form and spirit to later Judaism, to the rabbinic type of thought. Further, whereas in xl. 2, it is the Messiah that defends the inhabitants of the Holy Land, in lxxi. 1, it is the Holy Land itself; and whereas in A^2 (= xxxvi.-xl.) the law is only passingly alluded to, in A^3 (= liii.-lxxiv.) its importance is frequently dwelt upon. The latter difference may partly be due to their diversity in subject and method as well as to the brevity of A^2. On the whole, we are inclined to regard A^2 and A^3 as springing from different authors; but the evidence is not decisive.

As to the date of A^2 we are unable to say any-

thing more definite than that it was composed before 70 A.D. The case of A^3 is different. Like A^1 and A^2, it was written before 70 A.D., as we have seen above (see also p. 87 and lxviii. 6, note). The earlier limit of composition is fixed by lix. 5-11. In the notes on that passage we have shown that in our Apocalypse there is a transference of Enoch's functions to Moses, and an attribution to Moses of revelations hitherto ascribed to Enoch (see also xiii. 3, note). This glorification of Moses at Enoch's expense is a clear sign of Jewish hostility to Christianity, and a tribute to Enoch's influence in the Christian Church of the first century. This acceptance of Enoch as a prophet in Christian circles became the ground of his rejection by the Jews, and of a hostility which was unswervingly pursued for several centuries. This aggressive attitude of Judaism could not have originated before the open breach of Christianity with the Synagogue, which was brought about by the Pauline controversy. Hence A^3 cannot be earlier than 50 A.D. Thus the limits of its composition are 50-70 A.D.

B^1, B^2, B^3, *the later constituents of Baruch, their characteristics and dates.*—We have seen above the grounds on which we are obliged to ascribe B^1, B^2, B^3, to a different authorship and later date than A^1, A^2, A^3. We have now to study the relations which subsist between B^1, B^2, B^3. We shall consider B^3 first, as it consists of a single chapter.

B^3 = lxxxv. This chapter agrees with B^1, B^2, in being written after 70 A.D.; but differs from B^1 and

agrees with B^2 in despairing of a national restoration, and in looking only for spiritual blessedness in the world of incorruption. But, again, it differs from B^2 also, in that B^2 was written in Jerusalem or Judæa, whereas B^3 was written in Babylon or some other land of the Dispersion—in the former most probably; for it was written in Hebrew (cf. lxxxv. 2, 3, 12, notes). Again, whereas, according to B^2, Jeremiah was with the captivity in Babylon, it is here definitely stated that the righteous and the prophets are dead, and that the exiles have none to intercede for them (see notes on pp. 154, 156). B^3 was thus written after 70 A.D. in Hebrew, and most probably in Babylon.

B^1, B^2.—After the removal of A^1, A^2, A^3, and B^3, the remaining chapters, when submitted to a searching scrutiny, betray underlying suppositions, statements, and facts which are mutually irreconcilable.

Thus certain sections, i.-ix. 1; xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6; lxxvii.-lxxxii.; lxxxiv.; lxxxvi.-lxxxvii., are optimistic and hopeful as to this world, whereas certain others, ix.-xii. (?); xiii.-xxv.; xxx. 2-xxxv.; xli.-xlii.; xliv. 8-15; xlvii.-lii.; lxxv.-lxxvi.; lxxxiii., are decidedly of an opposite character. The former sections we have named B^1, and the latter B^2. That B^1 and B^2 are derived from different authors will be clear from the following considerations:—

(1) In B^1 the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt (i. 4, note; vi. 9, note; lxxviii. 7, note), but not so in B^2, where it is said that Jerusalem is removed with a view to usher in the judgment (see xx. 1, 2).

(2) In B^1 the exiles are to be restored, but not in B^2; see notes cited in (1).

(3) In B^1 an earthly felicity or a Messianic kingdom is expected (i. 5; xlvi. 6; lxxvii. 12), whereas in B^2 no earthly consolation of any kind is looked for (xliv. 8-15), and the judgment is close at hand (xlviii. 39; lxxxiii.).

(4) In B^2 there is a strongly ascetic tone (see xv. 8, note); but this is wholly absent from B^1.

(5) In B^1, Baruch is to die an ordinary death, whereas in B^2 he is to be taken up or translated and preserved till the last day, to testify against the Gentile oppressors of Israel (see xiii. 3, note).

(6) In B^1, Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, but in B^2 he is (see x. 2, note; xxxiii. 2, note; lxxvii. 12, note).

(7) In B^1, Jerusalem is destroyed by angels lest the enemy should boast; this idea seems foreign to B^2 (see lxvii. 6, note).

(8) In B^1 the main interest of the writer is engaged in dealing with the recent destruction of Jerusalem; in tracing this calamity to the nation's sins; in exhorting to renewed faithfulness; and in inculcating the sure and certain hope of Israel's restoration. In B^2 the writer has relinquished all hopes of national restoration, and is mainly concerned with theological problems and questions of the schools.

In x. 6-xii. 4 it is not improbable, as we have shown in the notes on the passage, that we have a fragment of a Sadducean writing, which I have marked by the symbol S. It may possibly belong to B^2; it

cannot to B^1. Having now recognised that the groundwork is in the main derived from the two sources B^1 and B^2, and having already acquainted ourselves with the leading characteristics of each, it is next incumbent on us to consider the use made of these sources.

B^1, *its extent in this book.*—It is not difficult to ascertain the extent to which B^1 has been put in requisition by the final editor. Thus i.-ix. 1, with the exception of the interpolation iv. 2-7, clearly belongs to it, as it discovers most of the characteristics which belong to B^1 as over against their contraries in B^2. B^2 begins clearly with x. 1.-5, for these verses give the account of Jeremiah's departure to Babylon, which is peculiar to B^2; ix. 2 and other references to fasts of seven days are probably due *in their present positions* to the final editor. The next fragments of B^1 are xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6 (see pp. 68, 69, for detailed criticism), and the rest that are drawn from this source are lxxvii.-lxxxvii., with the exception of lxxxiii. = B^2 and lxxxv. = B^3 (see pp. 119, 140, 154, 156).

B^2, *its extent in this book.*—Criticism encounters its chief difficulty in dealing with the source B^2, and with the use to which it has been put by the final editor. From B^1 the editor borrowed materials and used them in a straightforward fashion, but those from B^2 he mutilated and transposed in every imaginable way. This will be manifest to every serious student of xiii.-xxv. It was my sheer inability to write any connected or reasonable commentary on

these chapters in their present order, that led me at last to recognise the true nature of the case. Then I came to see that these chapters could not have been written originally as they stand at present, and further study made it clear that we had here a most complete but instructive example of the perverse ingenuity of a redactor, by which the original text was dislocated and transposed, the original development of thought arrested and inverted, questions frequently recorded after their specific answers had already been given in full, and passages torn from their original setting in Baruch's address to the people and inserted in Baruch's prayers to God, where they are bereft of all conceivable meaning.

The reader will find a list of these logical *anacoloutha* and inversions on pp. 20, 21, and likewise an attempt to restore these chapters to their original order in B^2. With the paucity of materials at our disposal, this can only be partially satisfactory. The original order was probably xiii. 1-3*a*; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3*b*-12; xxv.; xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1.

The next fragment from B^2 is xxx. 2-5, which forms a good sequel to xxiv. 1. Of the intervening chapters xxvii.-xxx. 1 is an independent Apocalypse, as we have already found, *i.e.* A^1 and xxvi. is an addition of the editor; xxxi.-xxxv.; xli.-lii., with the exception of xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6, which belong to B^1 and xxxii. 2-4; xlvi. 7, which are due to the editor, are also fragments of B^2 (see pp. 57, 58, 66, 68, 69, 74). These chapters from B^2 have met with no better treatment at the hands of the editor than

those already mentioned. Thus we find that xxxi.-xxxii. 6, which contains an address of Baruch to the people, presupposes xlii.; xlviii.; lii. to be already in the background; for the subject of each address is founded on a previous revelation (see p. 57). Thus xxxi.-xxxv. was read originally after xlviii.-lii., but not immediately, for lxxv. intervened (see p. 117), forming the natural sequel to lii. when A^3, *i.e.* liii.-lxxiv. is removed; xli.-xlii. appear to have followed close on xxx. (see p. 66). Thus so far the order roughly was: xxx. 2-5; xli.-xlii.; xlviii.-lii.; lxxv.; xxxi.-xxxv. But there are grounds for regarding xliv. 8-15; lxxxiii. as intervening after xxxii. 6. Finally, the last fragment of B^2 is found in lxxvi., but this cannot have formed the end of B^2. It was probably closed with an account of the Assumption of Baruch.

For further disarrangements of the text by which words used originally by Baruch in addressing the people, are used in their present context in an address to God, though quite impossible in that connection, and the probable restoration of these fragments, see xlviii. 48-50; lii. 5-7; liv. 16-18, notes. The surviving fragments of B^2, which we have just dealt with, may be restored as follows to what seems to have been their original order in their source: xiii. 1-3*a*; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3*b*-12; xxv.; xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-5; xli.-xlii.; xlviii. 1-47; xlix.-lii. 3; lxxv.; xxxi.-xxxii. 6; liv. 17, 18; xlviii. 48-50; lii. 5-7; liv. 16; xliv. 8-15; lxxxiii.; xxxii. 7-xxxv.; lxxvi.

S, *its relation to* B^1 *and* B^2.—We have adjourned

to the present the treatment of x. 6-xii. 4, which in the notes on this passage we have assigned to a Sadducean author, S. However this may be, I cannot but regard it as of different authorship to B^1 and B^2. Several grounds for this conclusion will be found in pp. 14-19. We might further observe that although, in vividness of grief and the still overwhelming consciousness of national calamity, S has features in common with B^1, it is sundered from it as resigning all hope of the restoration of the temple and its sacrifices, and as presenting the most hopeless pessimism in the book. And again, whereas S is related to B^2 in its world despair, it is no less certainly sundered from it in its complete absorption in the present wreck of the nation's material interests. Of this subject as now far distant B^2 recks little, and gives its chief energies and affections to religious problems and the conservation of Israel's spiritual interests.

Dates of S, B^1, B^2, B^3.—In respect of date, S seems to have been written immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, in 70 A.D.; B^1 soon after this date, when the destruction of Israel and its hoped-for restoration were still the supreme subject of interest and speculation. B^2 is much later; its interests have passed from the material to the spiritual world; patriotic aims have ceased to affect it. B^3 is probably still later than B^2.

Date of editing entire book.—Since the author of the Rest of the Words of Baruch has used portions of ii., v., vi., viii., x., xi., xxxv. 2 (?), lxxvii., lxxx., lxxxv., lxxxvii. of our Apocalypse, it is clear that he had the

present form of our book before him in Greek. Thus, as this Christian Apocalypse was written between 130 and 140 A.D., the date of the Greek translation of our Apocalypse may be taken as not later than 130. The editing of the Hebrew may have been one or more decades earlier.

§ 8. The Lost Epistle to the Two and a Half Tribes

A portion of this letter is probably to be found in the Apocryphal Book of Baruch, *i.e.* in i. 1-3 ; iii. 9-iv. 29. This section corresponds in many respects with the writings we are in search of. Thus (1) the lost Epistle was addressed to Judah and Benjamin in exile (lxxvii. 12, 17). Now it is clear that iii. 9-iv. 29 was also addressed *to Judah and Benjamin in exile.* It is *Judah and Benjamin* that are addressed ; for throughout iv. 5-29 it is Jerusalem that is represented as being deprived of her children. Further, it is Judah and Benjamin *in exile,* for they are said to be "sold to the nations and delivered to their enemies" (iv. 6), and Jerusalem describes herself as robbed of her sons and daughters (iv. 16), and the writer asks in iii. 10 : "Why is it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land, and that thou art waxen feeble (so Kneucker) in a strange country ?"

(2) The lost Epistle was "an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of good tidings" (lxxvii. 12). This forms an admirable description of iii. 9-iv. 29,

which is essentially a writing of consolation and encouragement.

(3) The lost Epistle was to hold out the promise of return (lxxvii. 6); this is done in iv. 22-24.

(4) The lost Epistle was written by Baruch *to Babylon* (lxxvii. 12, 17).

Now i. 1-3; iii. 9-iv. 29, which purport to have been written by Baruch in Babylon and addressed to the exiles there, appear rather to have been written by Baruch in Jerusalem and addressed to the exiles in Babylon; for (*a*) the speaker does not identify himself with those who are in exile. Cf. iii. 10: "Why is it, Israel, that thou art in thine enemies' land"; and iv. 5, 6, where he calls them the remnant dispersed among the nations; (*b*) the speaker rather identifies himself with Jerusalem; at all events, in iv. 9-29 he personifies Jerusalem, and represents her as addressing the neighbouring peoples, and then her own children as they are being led into captivity, and promising them a safe return to her.

(5) Finally, in B^1, to which the lost Epistle belongs, the blamelessness of Jerusalem over against her children is insisted on (cf. lxxvii. 8). The same thought would naturally recur in some form in the lost Epistle. And so, in fact, we find it underlying iv. 8-29. And as in B^1 it is taught that Israel is punished only as a chastisement (cf. i. 5; lxxix. 2), the same idea would most probably appear in the lost Epistle as an encouragement to the exiles. Now this is emphatically declared to be so in iv. 6.

On the above grounds to which others could be added, I am inclined to regard iii. 9-iv. 29 as a recast of, or, at all events, as based upon the lost Epistle. This Epistle was probably introduced by some form of i. 1-3. These verses are, as Kneucker has shown, corrupt in their present form.

iv. 39-v. 9, which consists of a direct address to Jerusalem, is derived by the final editor from a different source, mainly from the eleventh of the Psalms of Solomon.

§ 9. The Relations of this Apocalypse with 4 Ezra

In this section we shall deal with the following questions:—

(*a*) The composite nature of 4 Ezra.
(*b*) Conflicting characteristics of 4 Ezra and Baruch, the former to some extent non-Jewish.
(*c*) 4 Ezra from a Hebrew original.
(*d*) Relations of the respective constituents of our Apocalypse and 4 Ezra.

(*a*) *The composite nature of Ezra.* — Into this question this is not the place to enter. I shall content myself with expressing my acceptance in the main of Kabisch's masterly criticism[1] of this work. Though many of his positions cannot be maintained, the greater number of them will, I believe, be ultimately accepted as final. The work is very unequal.

[1] Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1889, Göttingen.

In it there stand side by side numerous instances of extremely fine insight and not a few gross misapprehensions and bizarre conclusions. His analysis is as follows :—

S = an Apocalypse of Salathiel written *circ.* 100 A.D. at Rome, preserved in a fragmentary condition : iii. 1-31 ; iv. 1-51 ; v. 13*b*-vi. 10 ; vi. 30-vii. 25 ; vii. 45-viii. 62 ; ix. 13-x. 57 ; xii. 40-48 ; xiv. 28-35.

E = an Ezra Apocalypse, *circ.* 31 B.C., written in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem : iv. 52-v. 13*a* ; vi. 13-25, 28 ; vii. 26-44 ; viii. 63-ix. 12.

A = Adlergesicht—an Eagle Vision, written 90 A.D. by a Zealot : x. 60-xii. 40.

M = Menschensohn—a Son-of-Man Vision, written in Jerusalem about the time of Pompey : xiii., but much interpolated by R.

E^2 = an Ezra fragment, *circ.* 100 : xiv. 1-17*a*, 18-27, 36-47.

R = the Editor—a Zealot, *circ.* 120 : iii. 1. (*qui et Ezras*), 32-36 ; vi. 11, 12, 26, 27, 29 ; x. 58, 59 ; xii. 9, 34, 37-39, 49-51 ; xiii. 13*b*-15, 16-24, 26*b*, 29-32, 54-58 ; xiv. 8, 17*b*, 48-50, as well as parts of iv. 52 ; vi. 20, etc.

The above analysis may be taken as a good working hypothesis. Among other grounds which Kabisch might have pressed to show that the book as it stands has been edited from various independent sources and edited most ignorantly, I will adduce only one. The title, *Dominator Domine,* which in the Apocalypse of Baruch is used only of God, and rightly so, in 4 Ezra is a designation of God in five instances—iii. 4 ; v. 23 ; vi. 38 (in Syr., Eth., and Arm. Versions) ; xii. 7 ; xiii. 51 ; but of an angel in six—iv. 38 ; v. 38 ; vi. 11 ;

vii. 17, 58, 75. The attribution of this divine title to an angel can only be due to gross confusions or interpolations in the text (see note on iii. 1 of our text). It is to be observed that this phenomenon is found only in the late source S and R.

(*b*) *Conflicting characteristics of* 4 *Ezra and Baruch, the former to some extent non-Jewish.*—On the following doctrines the teaching of our Apocalypse represents faithfully the ordinary Judaism of the first century, whereas that of 4 Ezra holds an isolated position or is closely related to Christianity.

1. *The Law.*—From an exhaustive comparison of the passages dealing with this subject in the two books (see xv. 5, note) it is clear that the possession of the law by Israel is less a subject of self-gratulation in 4 Ezra than in Baruch. In the latter, especially in B^2, it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7) and never-failing stay (xlviii. 22, 24). This is decidedly orthodox Judaism. In 4 Ezra, on the other hand, man trembles before the law; he needs mercy, not the award of the law, for all have sinned (viii. 35); it has served rather unto condemnation; for only a very few are saved through good works (vii. 77) or the divine compassion (vii. 139). It is hardly necessary to point out that this conception of the law approximates to the Pauline view.

2. *Works.*—In my note on xiv. 7 I have contrasted the teaching of the two books on this subject, and arrived at the conclusion that in 4 Ezra the

doctrine of works as it is found in Baruch can hardly be said to exist. Here again Baruch represents traditional Jewish orthodoxy, but 4 Ezra not. We should observe also that the latter guards carefully against the doctrine of salvation by works by making salvation depend on works and faith combined (cf. ix. 7; xiii. 23; cf. St. James ii. 14-26).

3. *Justification, i.e.* by the law or by works.—This subject might have more logically been treated under the preceding head. For my own convenience I have given it separately. On p. 39 I have shown that justification by the law, though taught in Baruch, is absent from 4 Ezra. In this respect again the latter is non-Jewish.

4. *Original Sin and Freewill.* — On pp. 92-93, from a study of the passages in 4 Ezra bearing on these subjects, we have found that there was in man to begin with a wicked element ("granum seminis mali," iv. 30); and that through Adam's yielding to this evil impulse a hereditary tendency to sin was created, and the *cor malignum* developed (iii. 21-22). The evil element having thus gained the mastery over man, only a very few are saved through mercy (vii. 139; viii. 3); hence the writer of vii. 118 naturally charges Adam with being the cause of the final perdition of man.

In the face of such a hopeless view of man's condition, human freewill cannot be maintained: *practically* man has none, for only a handful out of the whole human race are saved (vii. 51-61; ix. 16);

theoretically he is said to have it, but this is to justify his final condemnation (see p. 93).

This teaching is practically unique in Judaism between 1-300 A.D.—in fact it is not Jewish but Christian doctrine. In Baruch, on the other hand, conformably to early Rabbinic teaching, it is declared that Adam is not the cause of man's perdition, but that each man is the Adam of his own soul (liv. 19). There is not, moreover, a trace of Ezra's elaborate theory, and the doctrine of original sin is stoutly denied in liv. 15, 19 — not a trace save only in xlviii. 42, where spiritual death is traced to Adam. Elsewhere—xvii. 3; xxiii. 4; liv. 15—it is only physical death that is ascribed to Adam's transgression. But in Ezra, as we might expect from what precedes, both spiritual and physical death are always traced to Adam—iii. 21, 22; iv. 30; vii. 118-121.

Thus on various grounds we see that *whereas Baruch is a pure product of the Judaism of the time, 4 Ezra is the result of two influences at work, first and mainly a Jewish, and secondly a Christian. It was no doubt owing to this Christian element in the latter that it won and preserved a high position in the Christian Church. It constitutes, in fact, a confession of the failure of Judaism.*

The above peculiarities of doctrine in 4 Ezra discover themselves almost universally in S. The author of S was undoubtedly a Jew, but a Jew who had been impressed and imbued to some extent by Christian teaching, probably by Pauline.

(*c*) 4 *Ezra from a Hebrew Original.*—Though this question could only be settled by an exhaustive study of the text presupposed by the Versions, I am convinced that a Hebrew groundwork underlies at all events the greater part of this book. I might call attention here to the frequent occurrence of the Hebraism—the finite verb combined with the cognate infinitive—as evidence in this direction. Thus in iii. 33 we have "pertransiens pertransivi"; iv. 13, "festinans festinavit"; iv. 26, "proficiscens profectus sum"; v. 30, "odiens odisti"; v. 45, "viventes vivent"; vi. 32, "auditu audita est"; vii. 5 "volens voluerit," and so on in vii. 14, 21, 67, 70, 75; viii. 8, 15, 58; ix. 1; x. 32; xi. 45; xiv. 3, 29. All these appear in the Syriac Version, save five—iv. 26; vii. 5, 14; x. 32; xiv. 29. Still more are omitted in the Ethiopic Version. On the weight to be assigned to this feature of the text as evidence of a Hebrew background, see pp. xliv.-li. I may add that in the late work 5 Ezra xv. 9; xvi. 65, this idiom is found; but in the latter passage it is a quotation from our Apocalypse (see p. xx.), and in the former it is apparently a quotation also.

(*d*) *Relations of the respective constituents of our Apocalypse and* 4 *Ezra.*—My present purpose does not call for an exhaustive list of the passages common to the two books. This will be given elsewhere. It will be sufficient to indicate the direction such an inquiry should pursue, and to mention some of the chief grounds for determining the relations in which the various constituents of

Baruch stand to those of 4 Ezra. These determinations must, however, pending further investigation, be regarded as provisional.

Of the multitude of thoughts, phrases, and commonplaces that are common to both books, a large number already occur in previously existing literature; and as these may possibly be drawn independently from such sources by both books, they are not helpful at the outset in determining the priority of either book or of their respective constituents. Again, of many other common passages, the sources, it is true, are no longer found; yet that such did exist in certain cases we have ample grounds for believing; see the note on xxix. 4 for the common original of 4 Ezra vi. 49-52 and of our Baruch xxix. 4. Thus we must be on our guard against tracing relations of dependence where both books have been borrowing independently from the same lost source.

We shall now point out the relations in which A^1, A^2, A^3, B^1, B^2 stand to Ezra. I shall refer to the following constituents of the latter, S, E, E^2, M (according to Kabisch's analysis on p. lxviii.).

A^1.—A^1 and S are apparently related in only one passage: Bar. xxix. 4 and 4 Ezra vi. 49-52. But this relation is not of dependence on either side, but of common derivation from the same lost source; see xxix. 4, note. As regards A^1 and the E constituent of Ezra, xxix. 3*b*-6 of the former, "*The Messiah will* then *begin to be revealed* . . . and those who hungered will *rejoice;* moreover also they will *behold marvels,*"

and vii. 27*b*-28 of the latter, "Videbit *mirabilia mea; revelabitur* enim *filius meus* . . . et *jocundabit* qui relicti sunt," are certainly connected. If we add to these connections in thought and diction the fact that only in A^1 and E in the Baruch and Ezra literature is the passive *rôle* assigned to the Messiah, we may reasonably conclude that there is a direct relation of dependence between them. A^1, I think, is earlier than E; both are prior to 70 A.D. Finally, A^1 and M may be connected in xxix. 3 and xiii. 16-20. The thought seems earlier and more vigorous in A^1. In M it is threshed out; but such considerations are indecisive. If there is a relation of dependence between them, A^1 is probably earlier than M, for in A^1 the Messiah has a passive *rôle*, in M an active one. The idea of a passive Messiah conceived as early as 160 B.C. was not likely to hold its ground in later times when the needs of the people called for an active leader and combatant in the Messiah.

A^2.—A^2 and M, *i.e.* xiii. of 4 Ezra, are related. Cf. xl. 2, "My Messiah will convict him of all his impieties . . . and set before him all the works of his hosts," with 4 Ezra xiii. 37, "Ipse autem filius meus arguet quae advenerunt gentes impietates eorum . . . et improperabit" ("improperabit" is a mistaken rendering; read "ordinabit" with Syr. and Eth.) "coram eis mala cogitamenta eorum." The connection is manifest.

The first halves of these sentences agree verbally, so likewise do the second; for "set before him" = παραστήσει κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ = יערך לעיניו; and

"improperabit" (or "ordinabit," Syr. and Eth.) "coram eis" = ἐπιστοιβάσει κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν = יערך לעיניהם; for παριστάναι and ἐπιστοιβάζειν are both LXX. renderings of ערך. The phrase is derived from Psalm xlix. 22 (cf. also Leviticus i. 1, 7, 8, 12; vi. 12).

A number of features into which I cannot enter here show that it is M that is dependent on A^2, and not *vice versa*.

The verse just dealt with reappears in xii. 32, in the Eagle Vision designated A by Kabisch, in a form which shows it dependent on M. A^2 is thus earlier than M and A in 4 Ezra.

A^3.—Although there are many points of contact between A^3 and 4 Ezra, there are none that necessitate the theory of dependence on either side save in liv. 15, 19. These verses which represent the teaching of orthodox Judaism *circ.* 50-70, were before the writer of the S element in 4 Ezra (cf. iii. 21-22; iv. 30; vii. 48), where a non-Jewish turn is given to the borrowed thoughts and phrases.

B^1.—Although there are many similar and identical thoughts and phrases in B^1 and 4 Ezra, these are not sufficiently characteristic or definite to furnish grounds for determining the dependence of either. This question must be settled on other grounds, *i.e.* chronological. From the use of like thought or diction, one might argue, on the one hand, that B^1 is dependent on the E element of 4 Ezra; compare iii. 7 with vii. 30; on the other, that B^1 is a source of E^2 of 4 Ezra; compare lxxvii. 3-6 with xiv. 30-33, and lxxvii. 14 with xiv.

20; that it is likewise a source of S; compare lxxxiv. 10 with x. 24. In these latter passages a different turn is given to the phrases found first in Baruch.

B^2.—Between B^2 and 4 Ezra there are almost innumerable points of contact, but the bulk of them are indecisive for our purposes. With the older elements of 4 Ezra its points of similarity are few and unimportant; but the relations between B^2 and S are very close. The fact of man's sinning consciously is frequently emphasised in B^2 and S (cf. Bar. xv. 6; xix. 3; xlviii. 40; and 4 Ezra viii. 56, 58-60; vii. 72). The doctrine that the world was made for man is confined to B^2 and S; see notes on xiv. 18; xv. 7. Their teaching on the law and on works and justification is allied—*in some particulars identical but as a whole at variance,* owing to Christian influences at work in S; see pp. lxix.-lxx. In B^2 we have an exposition of the views of orthodox Judaism 70-100 A.D.; in S we find much of the actual teaching in B^2 recast under Christian influences. S seems to us in every respect to be later than B^2.

§ 10. Relation of this Apocalypse with the New Testament

The points of contact between this Apocalypse and the New Testament are many in number. The most of these, however, are insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side; for the thoughts and expressions in question could be explained from pre-existing literature, or were commonplaces of the time.

Of these a list will be given immediately, followed by another list of passages which seem to show that our text may in a few instances be derived from the New Testament.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Mt. iii. 16.—Lo, the heavens were opened.	xxii. 1. — Lo, the heavens were opened.	Ezek. i. 1.
Mt. iii. 17 (xvii. 5 ; John xii. 28). — A voice from heaven.	xiii. 1 ; xxii. 1.— A voice from the height.	Dan. iv. 31.
Mt. iv. 8.	lxxvi. 3.	Deut. xxxiv. 1-4.
Mt. xxiv. 7 (Mk. xiii. 8 ; Luke xxi. 11).—Famines . . . and earthquakes.	xxvii. 6, 7.	Commonplaces of Jewish Apocalyptic.
Mt. xxiv. 11, 24. —Many false prophets.	xlviii. 34 (see note).	...
Mt. xxiv. 19 (Luke xxiii. 29).	x. 13, 14 (resemblance slight).	Isa. liv. 1.
Mt. xxvi. 24.— It had been good for that man, etc.	x. 6.—Blessed is he who was not born, etc.	A Jewish Commonplace.
Mt. xxiv. 27.— For as the lightning . . . so shall be the coming of the Son of Man.	liii. 9. — Now that lightning shone exceedingly so as to illuminate the whole earth. (The lightning here symbolises the Messiah.)	A coincidence (?).
Luke xx. 36.— Equal unto the angels.	li. 10.	Eth. En. civ. 4, 6.
Luke xxi. 28 (1 Pet. iv. 7).—Your redemption draweth nigh.	xxiii. 7.—My redemption has drawn nigh.	Eth. En. li. 2. — The day of their redemption has drawn nigh.

New Testament.	Parallels in our Apocalypse.	Probable source of both.
Acts xv. 10 (where the law is spoken of as a "yoke"; cf. Gal. v. 1).	xli. 3.—The yoke of Thy law.	A current expression.
Rom. ii. 14, 15.	xlviii. 40 (see note).	A Jewish Commonplace.
Rom. viii. 18 (2 Cor. iv. 17).—The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory, etc.	xv. 8. — This world is to them a trouble and a weariness . . . and that which is to come, a crown with great glory.	A Jewish Commonplace (?).
1 Cor. iv. 5 (Heb. iv. 13).	lxxxiii. 3.	(Cf. Eth. En. ix. 5).
2 Cor. iv. 17 (Rom. viii. 18).	xv. 8.	A Jewish Commonplace.
1 Tim. i. 2.—Mercy and peace.	lxxviii. 2. — Mercy and peace.	A coincidence.
2 Peter iii. 9.	xxi. 20.	A coincidence.
2 Peter iii. 13 (Mt. xix. 28; Rev. xxi. 1).—New heavens and a new earth.	xxxii. 6. — Renewed His creation.	Isa. lxv. 17, etc.
Rev. xx. 12.—The books were opened.	xxiv. 1. — The books will be opened.	Dan. vii. 10.

In the following passages our text is dependent on the New Testament, or on some lost common source :—

Mt. xvi. 26.—For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?

Luke i. 42.—Blessed art thou among women, etc.

li. 15. — For what then have men lost their life or for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?

liv. 10.—Blessed be my mother among those that bear, etc. (probably interpolated).

1 Cor. xv. 19.—If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.

1 Cor. xv. 35.—How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?

James i. 2.—Count it all joy when ye fall into manifold temptations.

Rev. iv. 6.—In the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, four living creatures.

xxi. 13.—For if there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter than this.

xlix. 2.—In what shape will those live who live in that day?

lii. 6.—Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer.

li. 11.—The living creatures which are beneath the throne.

§ 11. Value of our Apocalypse in the Attestation of the Jewish Theology of 50-100 A.D., and in the Interpretation of Christian Theology for the same Period.

This book presents us with a vivid picture of the hopes and beliefs of Judaism during the years 50-100 A.D. As it was written at different dates during this period and by different authors, its composition was thus contemporaneous with that of the New Testament. It is, therefore, of very great value to the New Testament student, as it furnishes him with the historical setting and background of many of the New Testament problems. We are thereby enabled to estimate the contributions made in these respects by Christian thought, as well as to appreciate the world's need of the Pauline dialectic. For the purpose of illustrating our meaning we shall first of all draw attention to the doctrine of the Resurrection in our Apocalypse. Of the Jewish doctrine

here set forth, St. Paul's teaching on this subject will be seen to be in some respects a development. Secondly, we shall briefly advert to the doctrines of Original Sin and Freewill, Works and Justification, Forgiveness, in which the Jewish teaching and the Christian stand in strong antagonism.

(*a*) *The Resurrection.*—In xlix. 2-li. a view of the resurrection is expounded, which sets forth first the raising of the dead with their bodies in exactly the same form in which they had been committed to the earth with a view to their recognition by those who knew them, and next their subsequent transformation with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration. In my notes on pp. 83, 84, I have shown that the Pauline teaching in 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 is in many respects not an innovation, but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism.

(*b*) *Original Sin and Freewill.*—According to our Apocalypse,[1] the penalties which man has incurred through Adam's sin affect only his *physical* existence. He still preserves his freewill; whether he is saved or lost, it is his own doing. Adam's sin is limited in

[1] Only in B^2, xlviii. 42, is spiritual death traced to Adam. This passage may be interpolated; for (1) in all other passages in B^2 it is only physical death that is so traced. (2) It conflicts with the presupposition underlying B^2 that man can work righteousness and acquire merit as against God (see xiv. 7, note). (3) In A^3 (see liv. 15, 19) original sin is denied and freewill asserted in the clearest terms. (4) The doctrine of original sin is unknown to the Talmud (see Weber, 217, 240; Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., i. 165). We have shown elsewhere (pp. lxix.-lxxi.) that the teaching of 4 Ezra on this subject is largely non-Jewish.

spiritual consequences to himself; every man is the Adam of his own soul (see pp. 44-45, 93).

St. Paul's doctrine is strongly antagonistic. Both *physical* and *spiritual* death are due to Adam's sin. Owing to that sin man is henceforth dominated by a power (= original sin) which makes his fulfilment of law and therefore his realisation of righteousness impossible. He is not, however, robbed wholly thereby of freewill, but retains it in a degree only sufficient to justify his condemnation.

Works and Justification.—In our Apocalypse the righteous are saved by their works (li. 7), and their righteousness is of the law (lxvii. 6). In the consciousness of their justification by the law (li. 3) they can with confidence approach God and look to Him for the fulfilment of their prayers because of their works wherein they trust (lxiii. 3, 5; lxxxv. 2), and owing to the same ground of confidence they depart from this world full of hope (xiv. 12). But their works are not limited to themselves in their saving influences. So long as the righteous live, their righteousness is a tower of strength to their people (ii. 2), and after their death it remains to their country a lasting ground of merit (xiv. 7; lxxxiv. 10); see notes on xiv. 7; xxi. 9.

With every position here maintained Christianity is at variance, and rabbinic teaching in full accord.

Forgiveness.—How far did this doctrine exist in Pharisaic Judaism, and in what relation does it stand to the Christian doctrine of forgiveness? In Phari-

saic Judaism forgiveness was a wholly subordinate conception, and can only be considered in conjunction with its views on merit and demerit. If we wish to discover the Pharisaic doctrine of forgiveness we must have recourse to the Talmud; for that the Pharisaic views of the first century on this subject were those which later prevailed in the Talmud, is to be inferred on these grounds:—(1) In Matt. iii. 9 the words "Think not to say within yourselves, we have Abraham to our father," show that the doctrine of the vicarious righteousness of Abraham was a popular belief. Now this latter doctrine at once presupposes and forms an organic part of the Talmudic doctrine. (2) The teaching on works in our Apocalypse and partially also in 4 Ezra, as well as that of St. Paul's Jewish antagonists, belong also organically to the Talmudic doctrine of works and forgiveness.

The Talmudic doctrine of works may (see Weber, pp. 267-300) be shortly summarised as follows:—Every good work—whether the fulfilment of a command or an act of mercy—established a certain degree of merit with God, while every evil work entailed a corresponding demerit. A man's position with God depended on the relation existing between his merits and demerits, and his salvation on the preponderance of the former over the latter. The relation between his merits and demerits was determined daily by the weighing of his deeds (see Eth. En. xli. 1; lxi. 8; Weber, 272). But as the results of such judgments were necessarily unknown, there could not fail to be

much uneasiness, and to allay this the doctrine of the vicarious righteousness of the patriarchs and saints of Israel was developed, not later than the beginning of the Christian era (cf. Matt. iii. 9). A man could thereby summon to his aid the merits of the fathers, and so counterbalance his demerits.

It is obvious that such a system does not admit of forgiveness in any spiritual sense of the term. It can only mean in such a connection a remission of penalty to the offender, on the ground that compensation is furnished, either through his own merit or through that of the righteous fathers. Thus, as Weber vigorously puts it: "Vergebung ohne Bezahlung gibt es nicht."[1] Thus, according to popular Pharisaism, *God never remitted a debt until He was paid in full, and so long as it was paid it mattered not by whom.*

It will be observed that with the Pharisees forgiveness was *an external thing;* it was concerned not with the man himself but with his works—with these indeed as affecting him, but yet as existing independently without him. This was not the view taken by the best thought in the Old Testament. There forgiveness dealt first and chiefly with the direct relation between man's spirit and God; it was essentially a restoration of man to communion with God. When, therefore, Christianity had to deal with these problems, it could not accept the Pharisaic solutions, but had in some measure to return to the Old Testament to

[1] In certain extraordinary cases, the divine forgiveness was conceived possible where no merit was at hand, see 4 Ezra viii. 36; Weber, 292, 300.

authenticate and develop the highest therein taught, and in the person and life of Christ to give it a world-wide power and comprehensiveness.

We thus see that forgiveness was conceived as (1) *the restoration of man to communion with God;* (2) *the remission of penalty on the receipt of certain equivalents.* Of these two the former alone is taught in the Gospels. In the Pauline Epistles, however, the writer maintains indeed the former as the essential element in forgiveness, but he also incorporates in some degree the latter conception, and not unnaturally as having been originally a Pharisee of the Pharisees. Thus in his doctrine of the Atonement, he introduces the Pharisaic conception by representing the penalty due to man's sin as endured by Christ. This is undoubtedly a more spiritual form of the Pharisaic doctrine, and rightly interpreted it preserves the element of truth which underlies the Pharisaic teaching. It needs, however, to be kept in complete subordination to the former. But that it has not been so kept is obvious from every page of the history of this doctrine since the Christian era. In every age this Pharisaic error has won an evil eminence in the Church—before the eleventh century in representing Christ's death as a debt paid to the devil in lieu of the latter's claim on man, and in the subsequent centuries as a sacrifice to the alleged unforgivingness of God. Wherever or whenever this evil leaven has appeared, it has been followed by shallowness, unreality, and every vice of the unspiritual life.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

[Translated from the Greek into Syriac]

I. And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of I.-IV. 1 = B^1.

The First Section

I.-V. 6. These chapters constitute the first of the seven sections into which, according to the scheme of the final editor, the book was originally divided by fasts. These sections were divided by fasts which generally lasted seven days (see v. 7, note; ix., note). In each section there is a definite movement or order of events observed. This order briefly is: first a fast, then a divine command or revelation, and finally the publication of the command or matter so revealed. In some cases a prayer follows the fast, and a lamentation the publication of the divine disclosure (see notes already referred to).

It will be observed that iv. 2-7 is interpolated probably from B^2.

In this section the word of the Lord comes to Baruch announcing the coming, though temporary, destruction of Jerusalem on account of the wickedness of the two tribes (i.); with a view to this destruction Baruch is to bid Jeremiah and the remaining righteous to withdraw (ii.); Baruch then in his alarm asks, will this destruction be final? will chaos return and the number of souls be completed (iii.)? God replies that the punishment is only temporary (iv. 1). Yet, rejoins Baruch, even so, the enemy will, by the pollution and fall of Zion, glory before their idols over the nation loved of God (v. 1). Not so, answers God; judgment must be executed on Judah, yet the heathen will have no cause to glory, for it is not they that will destroy Zion (v. 2, 3). Baruch thereupon assembled the people in the Cedron valley, and delivered the divine message; and the people wept (v. 5, 6).

I. [*Translated from Greek into Syriac.*] These words are found in their above position in the Syriac MS. As they were placed there either by the Syriac translator or a subsequent scribe, I have bracketed them. The statement they convey, however, is borne out by all other evidence. Thus we find (1) transliterations of Greek words; (2) renderings explicable only on the hypothesis that the translator followed the wrong meaning of the Greek word before him.

I. 1. *In the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah.* Jeconiah was eighteen years when he began to reign in 599 (2 Kings xxiv. 8). After reigning three months he was carried into

Jeconiah king of Judah, that the word of the Lord came to Baruch the son of Neriah, and said to him: 2. "Hast thou seen all that this people are doing to Me, that the evils which these two tribes which remained have done are greater than (those of) the ten tribes which were carried away captive? 3. For the former tribes were forced by their kings to commit sin, but these two of themselves have been forcing and compelling their kings to commit sin. 4. For this reason, behold I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants, and it will be removed from before Me for a time, and

captivity. Yet during his captivity he is still called king (2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. xxix. 2; Ezek. i. 2). Thus his twenty-fifth year would be 592, or two years before the approach of Nebuchadrezzar. It is no objection to this that, according to vi. 1, only one day and not two years should elapse between the prediction and its fulfilment; for in like manner the siege of Jerusalem, which lasted two years, is represented as lasting one day. The unities of time are sacrificed to suit the dramatic purposes of the writer. Why the writer spoke of Jeconiah and not of Zedekiah here, I cannot say. It was not from ignorance of the latter (cf. viii. 5).

The Lord. This title of God is found in iii. 1, 4; iv. 1; v. 2; x. 4, 18; xi. 3; xv. 1; xvii. 1; xxiv. 3; xxviii. 6; xlviii. 2; liv. 1, 20; lxxv. 1; lxxvii. 3. It is, therefore, not peculiar to any of the different elements of the book. This, however, may be due in part to the final editor. See note on iii. 1.

Baruch the son of Neriah. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 12; xxxvi. 4; Bar. i. 1.

2. *The ten tribes.* Elsewhere in this Apocalypse called "the nine and a half tribes." See lxxviii. 1, note.

3. *Forced by their kings.* *I.e.* by Jeroboam and others of the kings of Israel.

These two . . . compelling their kings to commit sin. It was in some instances the princes of Judah, and not Zedekiah, that resisted the teaching and prophecy of Jeremiah: cf. Jer. xxxviii.; and Josephus, *Ant.* x. 7. 2, ὁ δὲ Σεδεκίας ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ἤκουε τοῦ προφήτου ταῦτα λέγοντος, ἐπείθετο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνῄδει πᾶσιν ὡς ἀληθεύουσι . . . διέφθειραν δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι, καὶ διῆγον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς ἅπερ ἤθελον.

4. *I bring evil upon this city, and upon its inhabitants* (2 Kings xxii. 16; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 28; Jer. vi. 19; xix. 3, etc.)

Will be removed from before Me (2 Kings xxiii. 27; xxiv. 3; Jer. xxxii. 31).

For a time. This phrase recurs in iv. 1; vi. 9; xxxii. 3. Since we must on other grounds regard xxxii. 2-4 in its present context as an interpolation, this phrase is peculiar to i.-viii., *i.e.* to B[1]. Although Jerusalem has fallen under the Romans, the writer of these chapters believes that its desolation will be but "for a time." The future restoration of

I will scatter this people among the Gentiles that they may do good to the Gentiles. 5. And My people will be chastened, and the time will come when they will seek for the prosperity of their times.

II. "For I have said these things to thee that thou mayst say (them) to Jeremiah, and to all those who are like you, in order that ye may retire from this city. 2. Because your works are to this city as a firm pillar, and your prayers as a strong wall."

Jerusalem is implied also in lxxvii. 6; lxxviii. 7, where the return of the ten tribes is foretold. In B^2, *i.e.* ix.-xxvi.; xxxi.-xxxv.; xli.-xliii.; xliv. 9-15; xlvii.-lii.; lxxxiii.; B^3, *i.e.* lxxxv., no such restoration is looked for; Jerusalem is removed, xx. 2 (see note *in loc.*), in order to usher in the judgment more speedily; in x. 10 the writer abandons all hope of a restored Jerusalem.

Scatter this people, etc. Jer. xxx. 11; Ezek. xxxvi. 19.

Do good to the Gentiles. This seems to mean to make proselytes of the Gentiles. Cf. xli. 4; xlii. 5; see also xiii. 12.

5. *My people will be chastened.* Cf. xiii. 10; xiv.; lxxix. 2; Pss. Sol. vii. 3; x. 1-3; xiii. 6-8; xviii. 4.

Seek for the prosperity of their times. The writer looks forward to a Messianic kingdom or period of blessedness for Israel on earth.

II. 1. According to Jer. xxxviii. 13, 28, Jeremiah was a prisoner in the court of the guard till the capture of Jerusalem.

Jeremiah is mentioned again in v. 5; ix.; x. 2, 4.

Those who are like you. This phrase is found in three of the sections of this book (cf. xxi. 24; lvii. 1; lix. 1; lxvi. 7). Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36; viii. 51, 62; xiv. 9, 49.

Withdraw from the city. This reappears in the Rest of the Words of Baruch i. 1: "Jeremiah . . . go forth from this city." Cf. also i. 3, 7. The reason for this command appears in the Talmud. Thus, as in *Taanith*, 19, we are told that a house cannot fall so long as a good man is in it; so in *Pesikta*, 115*b* (Buber's edition, 1868), it is said: "So long as Jeremiah was in Jerusalem, it was not destroyed, but when he went forth from it, it was destroyed."

2. *Your works are to this city as a firm pillar*, etc. We have here quite an illegitimate application of Jer. vi. 27: "I have made thee a tower and a fortress among my people." It is, however, a natural inference from Gen. xviii. 23-33. This verse is reproduced in the Rest of the Words of Baruch i. 2: *αἱ γὰρ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ὡς στῦλος ἑδραῖος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ὡς τεῖχος ἀδαμάντινον περικυκλοῦν αὐτήν.* It will be remarked that the reference to "works" is omitted by this latter book, as we should naturally expect in a work of Christian authorship.

Your works. On the doctrine of works taught in this book see note on xiv. 7.

III. And I said: "O LORD, my Lord, have I come into the world for this purpose that I might see the evils of my mother? not (so) my Lord. 2. If I have found grace in Thy sight, first take my spirit that I may go to my fathers and not behold the destruction of my mother. 3. For two things vehemently constrain me: for I cannot resist Thee, and my soul,

III. 1. *O* LORD, *my Lord.* This title of God is found also in xiv. 8, 16; xvi. 1; xxiii. 1; xxxviii. 1; xlviii. 4, 5, and is thus, except in one instance, confined to B and B^1. It is remarkable that, whereas it is used only of God in the Apocalypse of Baruch, in 4 Ezra it is a designation of God in five instances (iii. 4; v. 23; vi. 38 (in Syriac, Eth., and Arm. versions); xii. 7; xiii. 51), and of an angel in six (iv. 38; v. 38; vi. 11; vii. 17, 58, 75). This fact makes it probable that the introduction of the angel in 4 Ezra is the work of the final editor. The usual titles used in addressing an angel in that book are *dominus meus* (iv. 3, 5; v. 33; vii. 3; x. 34). This is applied also to Ezra in ix. 41; *domine* (iv. 22, 41; v. 34, 35, 41, 56; vii. 10, 53, 132; viii. 6, 20, 36, 63). These last two titles are probably equivalents of אֲדֹנִי which is employed in Dan. x. 17, 19, in addressing an angel. The words ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝܐ are to be rendered *O* LORD, *my Lord* as above and not *Dominator Domine*, as we find in Ceriani and Fritzsche. Linguistically indeed either rendering is right, but the frequent occurrence of this phrase in the Syriac Version of 4 Ezra enables us to see that the suffix is not moribund but living; for it appears in the Ethiopic Version and occasionally in the Armenian. The Syriac is a translation either of *δέσποτα κύριέ μου* or *κύριε κύριέ μου*; these in turn would point either to אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה, as in Gen. xv. 2, 8, or יְהוָה אֲדֹנָי. Since such titles could only be used of God, we can with certainty conclude that their attribution to an angel in 4 Ezra is due to gross confusions or interpolations in the text.

My mother. Cf. iii. 2, 3; x. 16; Baruch iv. 9-16. This was a very natural term for a Jew to apply to Jerusalem. We find the correlative expression in Isa. xlix. 21; Matt. xxiii. 37; Gal. iv. 25. It is the earthly Jerusalem that is referred to here, for the writer of B^1 looks for a restored earthly Zion (see note on i. 4). Again the same title is applied to the fallen Jerusalem in 4 Ezra x. 7: "Sion mater nostra omnium," though there the writer looks for the restoration of Zion. In Gal. iv. 26 St. Paul uses it of the heavenly Jerusalem; for he has no further interest in the earthly. The earthly was the mother of Jews, but the heavenly of Christians. The earthly Jerusalem, as we should expect, in Matt. v. 35 is still "the city of the great King."

O Lord. See i. 1, note.

2. *If I have found grace.* xxviii. 6; 4 Ezra v. 56; vii. 102; viii. 42; xii. 7.

Take my spirit. An O. T. expression (cf. Ps. xxxi. 13; Jer. xv. 15).

Go to my fathers. xliv. 2; cf. also xi. 4; lxxxv. 9; Gen. xv. 15.

moreover, cannot behold the evils of my mother. 4. But one thing I will say in Thy presence, O Lord. 5. What, therefore, will there be after these things? for if Thou destroyest Thy city, and deliverest up Thy land to those that hate us, how shall the name of Israel be again remembered? 6. Or how shall one speak of Thy praises? or to whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained? 7. Or shall the world return to its nature (of aforetime), and the age revert to primeval silence? 8. And shall the multitude of souls be taken away, and the nature of man not again be named? 9. And where is all that which Thou didst say to Moses regarding us?"

IV. And the Lord said unto me: "This city will be delivered up for a time, and the people will be

4-IV. 1. Baruch asks God if the end of all things will follow on the delivery of Jerusalem into the hands of its enemies; will Israel be blotted out? will there be no longer any students of the law? will all men die and chaos return? In iv. 1 God answers that Jerusalem will again be restored; the chastisement of its people soon be accomplished and chaos will not return. The writer thus looks forward to the returning felicity of Jerusalem.

III. 6. *To whom shall that which is in Thy law be explained?* The real answer to this question is given in Baruch's own words in xlvi. 4.

7. We should observe that the Syriac word ܥܠܡܐ, here translated "world," really means "ornament." Thus the translator followed a wrong sense of κόσμος here.

Revert to primeval silence. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 30. In. iv. 1 this is answered in the negative, but in xliv. 9 (*i.e.* B^2) in the affirmative.

IV. 2-7. In these verses we have an undoubted interpolation. The earthly Jerusalem, the restoration of which has just been promised, is here derided. This of itself is suspicious. When, however, we turn to vi. 9 and see there that *the very Jerusalem* that is now delivered up to its foes will hereafter be restored, and that for ever, the incongruity of these verses with their present context emerges still more clearly. This incongruity is still further emphasised when we observe that the actual vessels of the earthly temple are committed to the earth by an angel, that they may be preserved for future use in the restored Jerusalem (vi. 7-9). The vessels of the heavenly Jerusalem would naturally be of a heavenly kind, and are in fact already there (iv. 5).

chastened during a time, and the world will not be
IV. 2-7 = B²(?). given over to oblivion. 2. [Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said: 'On the palms of My hands have I graven thee'? 3. It is not this building which is now built in your midst; (it is) that which will be revealed with Me, that which was pre-

2. It is noteworthy that the words "On the palms of My hands," etc., which are taken from Isa. xlix. 16, agree letter for letter with the Syriac Version, which here stands alone against the Mass., LXX., and Vulg., in presupposing על כפות ידי instead of Mass. על כפים. This fuller phrase which the Syriac presupposes is the usual one (cf. 1 Sam. v. 4; 2 Kings ix. 35; Dan. x. 10).

3. *It is not this building . . . (it is) that which will be revealed.* These words represent one of the final stages of a movement which had already its beginnings in the O. T. Throughout the O. T. Jerusalem had always been singled out as the one place on earth in which it had pleased God to dwell, and with which He had inseparably connected His name. But from the growing transcendence and enlargement of the idea of God, combined with the deepened consciousness of sin, and the consequent sense of the unfitness of Jerusalem as God's habitation, the doctrine of a heavenly Jerusalem complete in all its parts came to be evolved.

Of the existence indeed of heavenly antitypes of the Tabernacle and its furniture we are told already in the Priest's Code (Exod. xxv. 9, 40, cf. Heb. viii. 5). It needed only a step further to postulate the existence of the heavenly temple and city. That the earthly copies needed to be purified or even wholly renewed, we are taught in Isa. lx.; Ezek. xl.-xlviii.; but that nothing else could suffice save the actual descent of the heavenly Jerusalem to the earth was not concluded till the revival of religion under the early Maccabees. In Isa. liv. 11 and Tob. xiii. 16, 17, there are highly figurative accounts of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, but it is the earthly. The first actual emergence of the idea of the heavenly seems to be in the Eth. En. xc. 28, 29, where the old Jerusalem is removed and the new is brought and set up by God Himself, though even there a prior existence is not assigned to the latter. This would be about 164 B.C. But the older ideas still held their ground. Thus in the Psalms of Solomon xvii. 25, 33 (*circ.* 70-40 B.C.), as in the oldest part of the Eth. En. x. 16-19; xxv. 1 (*circ.* 180 B.C.), the purification of Jerusalem is all that appears needful to the writers as a preparation for the Messianic kingdom. Even when we come down to the first century of the Christian era, such purification is deemed sufficient for the *temporary* Messianic kingdoms depicted in Apoc. Bar. xxix.; xxxix.-xl.; lxxii.-lxxiv.; Ezra vii. 27-30 (for vii. 26 is an interpolation, as Kabisch points out); xii. 32-34; and possibly in xiii. 32-50, where xiii. 36 seems also an intrusion. In all these passages a Messiah is expected. In B¹ of the Apoc. Bar. *i.e.* vi. 9, Jerusalem is to be restored

pared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment, it was removed from him, as also Paradise. 4. And after these things I showed it to My

and to be established for ever, but this is not the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven. The latter is mentioned in xxxii. 2-4. It was indeed a very current conception in the latter half of the first century A.D. Thus we find it in Gal. iv. 26; Heb. xii. 22; Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10. In Gal. iv. 26 the heavenly Jerusalem is a symbol of the spiritual commonwealth of which the Christian is even now a member. But in Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10, it is an actual city, the counterpart of the earthly Jerusalem, with its own buildings and vessels. Here we should probably class the passage in Test. Dan. v. This city was to descend from heaven, but this expectation does not apparently lie at the base of Heb. xii. 22. Similar conceptions to that found in Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10, appear in 4 Ezra viii. 52, 53; x. 44-59; and also in vii. 26 and xiii. 36, though we must regard one or both of the last two as interpolated. With these last we might reckon also the heavenly Jerusalem mentioned in the text. The heavenly Jerusalem is variously described as the *νέα* (Test. Dan. v.), *ἡ ἄνω* (Gal. iv. 26), *καινή* (Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2), *ἐπουράνιος* (Heb. xii. 22). It was created in the beginning of creation, and preserved in heaven. It was shown to Adam before he sinned. To Adam indeed the heavens had been open originally (Slav. En. xxxi. 2; Philo, *Quaest.* xxxii. in *Gen.*; Book of Adam and Eve, i. 8); but when he transgressed the commandment the vision of the heavenly Jerusalem was taken from him and likewise the possession of Paradise. Among the Rabbins the heavenly Jerusalem was called ירושלים של מעלה (= *ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ*). For the various Rabbinic conceptions regarding it, see Schöttgen, *de Hieros. Coelest.* in his *Horae Hebr.* 1205 *sqq.*; Meuschen, *N.T. ex Talm. ill.* p. 199 *sqq.*; Bertholdt, *Christologia*, 217-220; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. 839-845; Weber, *Lehren d. Talmud*, 356-359, 386.

Took counsel to make Paradise. Which Paradise is this? The context might support either. For we might regard it as the Paradise which is kept in heaven like the heavenly Jerusalem. Adam could see both before his fall, but after it he lost the vision of both. It may, however, be the earthly Paradise in which he was placed at the first. The period to which the creation of the earthly Paradise is assigned varies. In Gen. ii. 8-17 it is apparently one of the last works of the creation. When, however, we come down to the Christian era, its creation was attributed to the third day (Jub. ii. 7; Slav. En. xxx. 1). The heavenly Paradise, on the other hand, is described as already existing before the creation of the world either actually or in the mind of God (see *Pesach.* 54*a*; *Beresh.* 20 in Weber *L. d. T.* 191).

4. *I showed it to My servant Abraham.* There is naturally no mention of this in Gen. xv. 9-21; but in the *Beresh. rabba* on Gen. xxviii. 17 we are told that this

servant Abraham by night among the portions of the victims. 5. And again also I showed it to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed to him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. 6. And now, behold, it is preserved with Me, as also Paradise. 7. Go, therefore, and do as I command thee."]

V.-IX. 1 = B[1].

V. And I answered and said: "I shall, therefore, be in great straits in Zion, because Thine enemies will come to that place and pollute Thy sanctuary, and lead Thine inheritance into captivity, and will lord it over those whom Thou hast loved, and they will depart again to the place of their idols, and will boast before them. And what wilt Thou do for Thy great name?" 2. And the Lord said unto me: "My name and My glory have an eternal duration; My judgment, moreover, will preserve its rights in its own time. 3. And thou wilt see with thine eyes that the enemy will not overthrow Zion, nor burn Jerusalem, but be subservient to the judge for a time. 4. But do thou go and do whatsoever I have said unto thee." 5. And I went and took Jeremiah, and Adu, and Seriah, and Jabish,

vision was accorded to Jacob when sleeping at Bethel.

5. Cf. Exod. xxv. 9, 40.

6. See note on verse 3.

7. *As I command thee.* A frequently recurring phrase (cf. v. 4; x. 4; xxi. 1; 4 Ezra v. 20; xii. 51).

V. 1. *Thine inheritance.* Deut. iv. 20; ix. 26, etc.; Rest of Words of Baruch, ii. 7; iii. 6.

Whom Thou hast loved. Ephes. xxi. 20; 4 Ezra iv. 23.

Boast before them. Cf. vii. 1; lxvii. 2, 7; lxxx. 3; Rest of Words of Baruch, i. 5; iv. 7.

What wilt Thou do, etc. Joshua vii. 9; cf. 4 Ezra iv. 25; x. 22.

2. *My name and My glory*, etc. Ps. cxxxv. 13.

My judgment, moreover, will preserve its rights. This phrase in a slightly different form recurs in xlviii. 27, and lxxxv. 9.

3. This is carried out in vi. 5; vii.

4. This refers to the command given in ii. 1.

5. *Adu.* There is a priest of this name who went up with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). According to Mass. he is called Iddo, but both the

and Gedaliah, and all the honourable men of the people, and I led them to the valley of Cedron, and I narrated to them all that had been said to me. 6. And they lifted up their voice, and they all wept. 7. And we sat there and fasted until the evening.

VI. And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo!

Syriac and Vulgate give Addo. In Ezra viii. 17 another Iddo is mentioned who returned with Ezra from Babylon.

Seriah. This Seriah was brother of Baruch and chief chamberlain of Zedekiah. He went with the latter to Babylon (see Jer. li. 59, 61).

Jabish. This name has been identified with Ἰγαβήs = יַעְבֵּץ (1 Chron. iv. 9), but both the form of the name and the time of Jabez are against this identification.

Gedaliah. This is Gedaliah the son of Ahikam (see Jer. xl. 14). But Gedaliah might also be from Γοθολίας = עֲתַלְיָה (cf. 1 Chron. viii. 26) a companion of Ezra (see Ezra viii. 7). Gedaliah is again mentioned in xliv. 1 in a fragment of B[1].

Cedron, i.e. קִדְרוֹן (2 Sam. xv. 23). The valley of the Cedron is again the scene of Baruch's fast in xxi. 1, and of an assembly of the people in xxxi. 2.

Narrated to them, etc. After most of the revelations which Baruch receives, he makes known their disclosures to his friends and the elders of the people (see x. 4; xxxi. 3-xxxii. 7; xliv.-xlvi.; lxxvii. 1-17). There is no need of such a disclosure in the second section, *i.e.* v. 7-viii., and such disclosure is forbidden in the fourth, *i.e.* xii. 5-xx.

The Second Section

V. 7-VIII. This is a short section. First there is the fast of one day (v. 1). Thereupon to Baruch in his grief (vi. 2) is disclosed a vision. In this he sees the sacred vessels committed to the earth for a season and the city destroyed by angels, lest the enemy should triumph (vi. 3-vii.) The realisation of this vision which follows thereupon dispenses with the need of its publication by Baruch (viii.)

7. *Fasted until the evening.* The other fasts mentioned are of seven days. Of these there are four (see ix. 2; xii. 5; xxi. 1; xlvii. 2). The symmetry of the book would require another such fast after xxxv. For the scheme of the final editor is first a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or revelation, then an announcement of this either to an individual, as in v. 5; x. 4, or to the people (xxxi. 2-xxxiv.; xliv.-xlvi.; lxxvii. 1-17), followed occasionally by a lamentation. In xx. 5, at the close of the fourth section, Baruch is bidden to make no announcement.

It will be observed that this scheme is broken through in the fifth section only, *i.e.* in xxi.-xlvi., where there is a fast, a prayer, an address to the people followed by a lament over Zion, a revelation and an address to the people (see ix. 2, note). In 4 Ezra there are four fasts of seven days (see v. 20; vi. 35; ix. 26, 27; xii. 51).

VI. 1. *On the following morning*, etc. These words are reproduced in Rest of Words (iv. 1).

the army of the Chaldees surrounded the city, and at the time of the evening I, Baruch, left the people, and I went forth and stood by the oak. 2. And I was grieving over Zion, and lamenting over the captivity which had come upon the people. 3. And, lo! suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of Jerusalem. 4. And I beheld, and lo! four angels standing at the four angles of the city, each of them holding a lamp of fire in his hands. 5. And another angel began to descend from heaven, and said unto them: "Hold your lamps, and do not light them till I tell you. 6. For I am first sent to speak a word to the earth, and to place in it what the Lord the Most High has commanded me." 7. And I saw him descend into the Holy of Holies, and take from thence the veil,

By the oak. This oak is outside the city; for in ii. 1 Jeremiah and all that were like him were bidden to leave the city. This they and Baruch did in v. 5, and they fasted in the valley of the Cedron. On the following day the Chaldees surround the city. On that day Baruch left Jeremiah and the rest and went forth (probably from the cavern in the Cedron valley mentioned in xxi. 1) and stood by the oak. The oak thus appears to be near or in the Cedron valley, and thus in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. This oak is mentioned again in lxxvii. 18. We are not, therefore, to compare this oak with the well-known one at Hebron, as Fritzsche, who compares LXX.; Gen. xiii. 18; xiv. 13; xviii. 1.

It is noteworthy that no mention of this oak appears in B^2. In B^1 it is found twice (vi. 1 and lxxvii. 18). A tree is referred to in A^3 in lv. 1.

3. As the Chaldeans encompassed Jerusalem, Baruch was unable to draw dear to the wall. But a strong angel lifts him on high above the wall.

4. Cf. Rev. vii. 1, "I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth"; Rest of Words of Bar. iii. 2.

5. Cf. Rev. vii. 2; Rest of Words, iii. 4.

6. The office of the angel here is executed by Jeremiah in Rest of Words, iii. 8.

The Lord the Most High. Occurs here only in this book. It is not found in 4 Ezra.

7. *Take from thence*, etc. According to Josephus, *Bell*, V. 5, 5, the Holy of Holies in Herod's temple was empty.

See Appendix for a similar account

and the holy ephod, and the mercy-seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the altar of incense, and the forty-eight precious stones, wherewith the priest was adorned, and all the holy vessels of the tabernacle. 8. And he spake to the earth with a loud voice: "Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God, and receive what I commit to thee, and guard them until the last times, so that, when thou art ordered, thou mayst restore them, so that strangers may not get possession of them. 9. For the time comes when Jerusalem also will be delivered up for a time, until it is said, that it is again restored for ever. 10. And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up."

VII. And after these things I heard that angel say-

in Macc. *The veil, i.e.* פָּרֹכֶת (Exod. xxvi. 31). *The ephod, i.e.* אֵפֹד (Exod. xxix. 5).

Mercy-seat, כַּפֹּרֶת (Exod. xxv. 17).

Forty-eight precious stones. How this number is made up I cannot discover. There were twelve stones on the breastplate (Exod. xxviii. 15-21), and two on the ephod (Exod. xxviii. 9).

The altar of incense. The Syriac implies *θυμιατήριον*, which in Josephus and Philo = מזבח הקטרה. See Appendix.

According to *Bammidbar rabba*, 15, five things were taken away and preserved on the destruction of Solomon's temple: the candlestick, the ark, the fire, the Holy Spirit, and the cherubim.

8. In the Rest of Words, iii. 8, these words in a greatly altered shape are attributed to Jeremiah.

Earth . . . of the mighty God; drawn from Jer. xxii. 29. Text agrees with Mass., Syr., Vulg., against LXX., which gives "earth" only twice.

Mighty God. This title recurs in vii. 1, and xiii. 2, 4. It is not found in 4 Ezra.

Guard them until the last times. Cf. Rest of Words, iii. 8, "Preserve the vessels of worship until the coming of the Beloved."

That . . . thou mayst restore them, i.e. for use in the temple of the rebuilt Jerusalem.

That strangers may not get possession of them (cf. x. 19). For a slightly different reason see lxxx. 2.

9. *For a time.* See i. 4, note.

Restored for ever. It is not necessary to take the phrase "for ever" literally. In any case a Messianic kingdom of indefinite duration is looked forward to with Jerusalem as its centre, and likewise the temple in which the sacred vessels of the former temple will again be used. During this kingdom the dispersion will again return to Palestine (lxxvii. 6; lxxviii. 7, notes).

ing unto those angels who held the lamps: "Destroy, therefore, and overthrow its walls to its foundations, lest the enemy should boast and say: 'We have overthrown the wall of Zion, and we have burnt the place of the mighty God.'" 2. And the Spirit restored me to the place where I had been standing before.

VIII. Now the angels did as he had commanded them, and when they had broken up the angles of the walls, a voice was heard from the interior of the temple, after the wall had fallen, saying: 2. "Enter ye enemies, and come ye adversaries; for He who kept the house has forsaken (it)." 3. And I, Baruch, departed. 4. And it came to pass after these things that the army of the Chaldees entered and seized the house, and all that was around it. 5. And they led the people away captive, and slew some of them, and bound Zedekiah the king, and sent him to the king of Babylon.

VII. 1. *Destroy, therefore, and overthrow*, etc. Cf. v. 3; lxxx. 1.

Boast. Cf. v. 1; lxvii. 2, 7; lxxx. 3; Rest of Words, i. 5; Ps. xxxv. 19; xxxviii. 16; Ecclus. xxiii. 3; Pss. Sol. xiii. 7, ἐν περιστολῇ παιδεύεται δίκαιος, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιχαρῇ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς τῷ δικαίῳ.

Mighty God. See vi. 8, note.

2. *And the Spirit restored me.* I have here made a necessary emendation of the text. Thus I have emended ܘܐܚܕܬ ܒܝ = "and you have seized it," into ܘܐܬܦܢܝ ܠܝ, "And the spirit restored me." The unamended text gives no sense, whereas the change just made restores the harmony of the context. Thus in vi. 31, "a strong spirit" carried Baruch aloft in order to see the vision. After the vision this spirit restores him to where he had been before. From this place Baruch departs in viii. 3.

VIII. 1. Cf. vii. 1; lxxx. 1.

2. Cf. Rest of Words, iv. 1. *He who kept the house has forsaken (it).* Cf. Josephus, *De Bello Jud.* vi. 5. 3: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (ἀντιλαβέσθαι) καὶ φωνῆς ἀθρόας μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν.

Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 13, "Et apertae repente delubri fores et audita major humana vox, excedere deos."

5. *Led . . . away captive.* lxxx. 4; Rest of Words, iv. 2.

Bound Zedekiah the king, and sent, etc. Whatever explanation we give of i. 1, it is clear from these words that the writer was acquainted with the history of the kings of Judah and the captivity of Judah under Zedekiah.

IX. And I, Baruch, came, and Jeremiah, whose heart was found pure from sins, who had not been captured in the seizure of the city. 2. And we rent our garments, and wept, and mourned, and fasted seven days. IX. 2-X. 5 = E and B².

X. And it came to pass after seven days, that the word of the Lord was upon me, and said unto me: "Tell Jeremiah to go and confirm the captivity of the

Bound and sent to the king of Babylon. Cf. lxxx. 4.

IX. 1. *Heart . . . pure from sin.* Contrast the "wicked heart" in 4 Ezra iii. 20, 21, 26; iv. 4, etc. In Pss. Sol. xvii. 41, the Messiah is said to be καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας.

The Third Section

IX. 2-XII. 4. We have first the fast of seven days amid the ruins of Zion (ix., cf. x. 3). Then the word of the Lord comes to Baruch and bids him to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon (x. 2), and promises a revelation of what should be in the end (x. 3). Then follows Baruch's announcement of the divine message to Jeremiah (x. 4). The section closes with Baruch's lament before the gates of the temple over Zion (x. 5-xii. 4).

We have shown below that x. 6-xii. 4 comes probably from the hand of a Sadducean priest.

IX. 2. *Fasted seven days.* See v. 7, note. This is the first fast of seven days. It is observed amid the ruins of Zion (cf. x. 3). There are three others to follow, though, as we have shown in the note just referred to, there should be four. The insertion of the fasts *in their present positions* is the work of the final editor. There seem to have been fasts in his sources (B^1 and B^2). Fasting was the usual preparation for the reception of supernatural communications (cf. Dan. ix. 3, 20-21, and all the instances in this book and 4 Ezra cited in note on v. 7). In Test. Jos. iii. there is likewise a fast of seven days (Armenian Version), and in 2 Macc. xiii. 12, and Ass. Mosis ix. 6, of three days.

The scene of the first and fourth fasts is Cedron; of the second and sixth, Mount Zion; of the third, the gates of the temple; the account of the fourth is lost.

X. 1. *God.* This word is found only twice again, *i.e.* liv. 12; lxxxii. 9. Its use is more frequent in 4 Ezra (see vii. 19, 20, 21, 79; viii. 58; ix. 45; x. 16).

2. The divine communication that follows on the fast consists of a command to be given through Baruch to Jeremiah. Jeremiah is bidden to go to Babylon. We have here a violation of historical truth. According to Jer. xliii. 4-7, both Jeremiah and Baruch were carried down into Egypt. In the Apocryphal Baruch i. 1, Baruch is represented as being in Babylon five years after the capture of Jerusalem. In the Rest of Words, iv. 5, Jeremiah was dragged an unwilling captive to Babylon, whereas in our text he goes there at the bidding of God. The words "go and confirm the captivity" recur in xxxiii. 2.

people unto Babylon. 3. But do thou remain here amid the desolation of Zion, and I will show to thee after these days what will befall at the end of days." 4. And I said to Jeremiah as the Lord commanded me. 5. And he, indeed, departed with the people, but I, Baruch, returned and sat before the gates of the temple, and I lamented with that lamentation over Zion and said: 6. "Blessed is he who was not born, or being

X. 6.-XII. 4 = B^2 or S.

It is probable that the references to Jeremiah in connection with Babylon belong to B^2; for it is noteworthy that in lxxvii. 17, 19; lxxx. 4; lxxxv. 6, Baruch always speaks of writing to the brethren in Babylon, but never to Jeremiah. This would be strange if the writer believed Jeremiah to be there. The people also urge Baruch in lxxvii. 12 to write to their brethren in Babylon to confirm them. Now if Jeremiah were in charge of the people there, as x. 2, 5; xxxiii. 2, clearly imply, any letter of Baruch to Babylon would have been addressed to him. As a matter of fact, in the Rest of Words of Baruch, when Baruch writes to Babylon, he directs the letter to Jeremiah.

It is probable, therefore, that the account of B^1 does not conflict with Jer. xliii., where Johanan takes Jeremiah with him down into Egypt.

3. Baruch is commanded to remain among the ruins of Zion, and is promised a revelation of what will befall in the last days. The words "after these days" show that this revelation will be accorded on a future occasion, after a fast, no doubt.

At the end of days. Cf. xxv. 1.

5. *Before the gates of the temple.* This is the scene of the following lamentation of Baruch, and probably of the fast in xii. 5. It is again the scene of his lamentation in xxxv. 1.

A passage in the beginning of the Apoc. Bar. Tert. seems to be derived from our text: *οὕτως ἐκάθητο ἐπὶ τὰς ὡραίας πύλας ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια.* Mount Zion, on the other hand, is the scene where revelations are accorded to him (cf. xiii. 1; xxi. 2; xlvii. 2).

X. 6-XII. 4. This fragment appears to be the work of a Sadducee —probably a Sadducean priest writing just after the fall of the temple. For (1) in x. 6 and xi. 7 we have a thoroughly Sadducean sentiment, *i.e.* it were best not to be born at all, or, being born, to die; for the dead enjoy a sorrowless rest and a tranquil sleep (xi. 4); they know not the anguish of the living (xi. 5). No resurrection of the individual or of the nation is looked for, but only that retribution in due course may come upon the enemies of Israel (xii. 4). (2) The conception of Sheol in xi. 6 is Sadducean. (3) In x. 6-xii. 4 we have the saddest dirge in the Jewish literature of the time. This might well be; for for the priesthood there was no future. As false stewards they relinquish their charge and restore the keys of the temple to God (x. 18). Never again should sacrifices be offered in Zion (x. 10).

X. 6. *Blessed is he who was not born,* etc. Similar expressions of pessimism and despair return time and again in the later literature of Judaism. But in this passage and in xi. 7 the

born has died. 7. But as for us who live, woe unto us, because we see the afflictions of Zion, and what has befallen Jerusalem. 8. I will call the Sirens

phrase is used with a significance that severs it from all other instances of its occurrence. For whereas repeatedly elsewhere, as we shall see presently, it is said that it were better man had never been born because of sin and future condemnation, here non-existence or death is said to be preferable to witnessing the present woes of Jerusalem. Lest we should suppose this to be an accidental exaggeration, we should observe that it recurs in an intensified form in xi. 7, where the state of the dead in Sheol is said to be better than that of the living. Such a sentiment was impossible for the Pharisaic author of B^2, or indeed for any of the authors of this Apocalypse. It is a genuinely Sadducean sentiment, and the conception of Sheol in xi. 6, 7 is likewise Sadducean —practically that of the O. T. or of Hades in the Greek world. To a Pharisee no condition of earthly life could in any way approach the horrors of the existence of the wicked in the after-world.

In 4 Ezra and elsewhere, as we have remarked, quite a different turn is given to the expression in our text. There it is said that it were better man had not been at all than be born and have to face *future torment and judgment*. Thus in vii. 66 the writer declares: "It is much better for them (*i.e.* the beasts of the field) than for us; for they expect not a judgment and know not of torments." Again in vii. 116, 117, it is urged that "it would have been best not to have given a body to Adam, or, that being done, to have restrained him from sin; for what profit is there that man should in the present life live in heaviness and after death look for punishment?" Finally, in iv. 12 the nexus of life, sin and suffering, just referred to is put still more strongly: "It were better we had not been born at all than that we should be born and live in sin and suffer." A perfect parallel to the last passage is found in the Slav. En. xli. 2: "Blessed is the man who was not born, or, having been born, has never sinned . . . so that he should not come into this place (*i.e.* hell);" and to 4 Ezra vii. 116, 117, in the Eth. En. xxxviii. 2, where it is said, in reference to the future destiny of the wicked: "It had been good for them if they had not been born." For a N. T. parallel see Matt. xxvi. 24. It is worth observing that there is a perfect parallelism of thought between the passage in our text and in Sophocles, *Oed. Col.*, 1220—

μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νι-
κᾷ λόγον · τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ,
βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ ἥ-
κει, πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα,

and in Theognis, 425—

πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
μὴ ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου ·
φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι,
καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπαμησάμενον.

8. *Sirens.* These are said in the Eth. En. xix. 2 (Greek Version) to have been the wives of the angels who went astray. It is strange that we have here the Greek conception of the Sirens, Σειρῆνες, *i.e.* that of sea-nymphs. But with the Greek translators of the O. T. it had quite a different meaning. Thus it is a

from the sea, and ye Lilin, come ye from the desert, and ye Shedim and dragons from the forests: awake and bind your loins unto mourning, and take up with me lamentation, and mourn with me. 9. Ye husbandmen, sow not again; and thou, earth, wherefore givest thou the fruits of thy produce? keep within thee the sweets of thy sustenance. 10. And thou, vine, why further dost thou give thy wine? for an offering will

rendering of בנות יענה = ostriches in Isa. xiii. 21; Jer. l. 39; Mic. i. 8; of תנים or תנין = jackals in Isa. xxxiv. 13; xliii. 20. It is similarly used by Symmachus, Theodotion, and Aquila in rendering the above words.

Lelioto. These are the Lilin (לִילִין) from the singular Lilith (לִילִית). Male and female demons named Lil and Lilit belong to Assyrian and Babylonian demonology. They were thought, as were also the Lilin (Shabbath, 151*b*), to attack men and women in their sleep (Lenormant, *La Magie*, p. 36). The Lilith, or night demon, is mentioned in Isa. xxxiv. 14, along with the satyr שָׂעִיר. The Lilin, according to the Talmud, were female demons corresponding to the Shedim or male demons. They were partly the offspring (*Erub*, 18*b*; *Beresh.* 42) of Adam and Lilith, Adam's first wife, a demon, and partly were derived from the generation that God dispersed (Gen. xi.), for God (*Jalkut Shim.*, *Beresh.* 62) transformed that generation into Shedim, Ruchin, and Lilin. These Lilin inhabited desert places. They were said to kill children. They have been compared with the Lamiæ and Striges; ὀνοκένταυροι is the LXX. rendering of the word in Isa. xxxiv. 14. For further details on the subject see Weber, *Lehren d. Talm.*, pp. 245, 246, 248; Bochart, *Hierozoicon*; iii. 829-831; Eisenmenger, *Entd. Judenthum*, ii. 413-426, 452.

Shedim. These were male demons to which various origins were assigned. Their souls were created by God, but as the Sabbath intervened before they received bodies they had to remain without them (*Beresh. rabba*, c. 7); or they were sprung from Adam and a demon wife, or from Eve and a demon husband (*Beresch. rabba*, c. 24); or were originally the generation that God transformed into Shedim, Ruchin, and Lilin. Their place of resort is the wilderness. For an account of their activities, see Weber, 245, 246.

Dragons. The word ܬܢܝܢ is found in the Peshitto of Isa. xiii. 22 as a translation of תנים. Levy (*Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, ii. 265) defines it as "Drache oder sonst ein Thier mit klagendem, heulendem Tone." The word frequently occurs in the Targums and later Hebrew as ירור (ירור).

10. The writer of x. 6-xii. 4 resigns absolutely all hope of the restoration of Jerusalem. This is throughout the attitude of B^2 (see i. 4, note).

With the thought of this verse, cf. *Kethuboth* 112*a*: "O land, land, let thy fruit shrivel: for whom art thou producing thy fruit? is it not

not again be made therefrom in Zion, nor will first-fruits again be offered. 11. And do ye, O heavens, withhold your dew, and open not the treasuries of rain. 12. And do thou, O sun, withhold the light of thy rays; and do thou, O moon, extinguish the multitude of thy light; for why should light rise again where the light of Zion is darkened? 13. And you, ye bridegrooms, enter not in, and let not the brides adorn themselves with garlands; and, ye women, pray not that ye may bear. 14. For the barren shall rejoice more, and those who have no sons shall be glad, and those who have sons shall have anguish. 15. For why should they bear in pain and bury in grief? 16. Or wherefore, again, should mankind have sons; or wherefore should the seed of their nature again be named, where that mother is desolate, and her sons are led into captivity? 17. From this time forward speak not of beauty and discourse not of gracefulness. 18. Moreover, ye priests, take ye the keys of the sanctuary and cast them into the height of heaven, and give them to the

for the Gentiles who rose up against us because of our sins?

13. Cf. Jer. vii. 34; xvi. 9; xxv. 10; Baruch ii. 23.

Brides. Syriac gives "virgins," but this idea is out of place in verses 13-16, where everything refers to marriage. The first right mention of virgins is in verse 19. The wrong text may be explained by a corruption of כלות into בתולות or עלמות. In the original Hebrew we should then have a paronomasia, כלילים אל תעדינה כלות. In *Git.* 7*a*, and in *Shabbath*, 59*b*, bridegrooms are forbidden to use garlands.

14. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 19; Luke xxiii. 29: "Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the breasts that never gave suck" (cf. Isa. liv. 1).

16. *That mother.* See iii. 1, note

18. The priesthood have proved faithless to their duty, and the charge of the temple is no longer theirs. Cf. Rest of Words, iv. 3, 4, where another turn is given to the text: "And thereupon Jeremiah took the keys of the temple . . . and cast these keys before the sun, saying: 'I say unto thee, O sun, take the keys of the house of God and keep

Lord, and say: 'Guard Thy house Thyself, for lo! we are found false stewards.' 19. And you, ye virgins, who spin fine linen and silk with gold of Ophir, hasten and take all things and cast (them) into the fire, that it may bear them to Him who made them, and the flame send them to Him who created them, lest the enemy get possession of them."

XI. Moreover, I, Baruch, say this against thee, Babylon: "If thou hadst prospered, and Zion had dwelt in her glory, it would have been a great grief to us that thou shouldst be equal to Zion. 2. But now, lo! the grief is infinite, and the lamentation measureless, for lo! thou art prospered and Zion desolate. 3. Who will be judge regarding these things? or to whom shall we complain regarding that which has befallen us? O Lord, how hast Thou borne (it)? 4. Our fathers went to rest without grief, and lo! the righteous sleep in the earth in tranquillity. 5. For

them till the days when the Lord shall ask thee concerning them. For we are not worthy to keep them; for we have been found false stewards.'"

This verse reappears in the *Jalkut Shim.* on Isa. xxi. as follows: "The flower of the priests . . . gathered together . . . the keys of the court and the sanctuary and said before God: 'Lord of the universe, we are not fit to be stewards before Thee (לא זכינו להיות גזברים לפניך). Behold Thy keys are returned to Thee.' And they cast them aloft" (quoted by Rosenthal).

19. *Fine linen and silk.* Cf. Ezek. xvi. 10.

Lest the enemy get possession. Cf. vi. 8.

XI. 1. *Babylon* stands here for Rome, as in Rev. xiv. 8; xvi. 19; xvii. 5; xviii. 2.

Prospered. Cf. xii. 1-3.

3. *How hast Thou borne (it)?* Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 30: "I have seen how Thou dost bear with them that sin." In Pss. Sol. ii. 1 and 4 Ezra iii. 8 the writers complain that God did not prevent such wrong-doing. With the latter cf. Isa. xiv. 6.

4. *Our fathers went to rest.* Cf. lxxxv. 9.

Sleep in the earth. Cf. xxi. 24; while the diction corresponds to Dan. xii. 2, "sleep in the dust of the earth," the thought is Sadducean and belongs to the earlier sphere of O.T. thought, presupposed in such a phrase as "slept with his fathers" (1 Kings ii. 10; xi. 21,

they knew not this anguish, nor yet had they heard of that which had befallen us. 6. Would that thou hadst ears, O earth, and that thou hadst a heart, O dust, that ye might go and announce in Sheol, and say to the dead: 7. 'Blessed are ye more than we who are living.'"

XII. But I will say this as I think, and I will speak against thee, O land, which art prospering. 2. The noonday does not always burn, nor do the constant rays of the sun (always) give light. 3. Do not conclude or expect that thou wilt always be prosperous and rejoicing, and be not greatly uplifted and boastful. 4. For assuredly in its own season wrath will awake against thee, which now in long-suffering is held in as it

etc.) There is no ground for supposing with Kabisch (*Das vierte Buch Ezra*, 68, 69) that this phrase in the mouth of a Pharisee of this period implied a capacity of life as still existing in the body even when interred. That "to sleep in the earth" and "to be in Sheol" are equivalent expressions for a Pharisee, is clear from Eth. En. li. 1 and 4 Ezra vii. 32. The former phrase, "to sleep in the earth," is merely a figure of speech, and must not be pressed. Yet see l. 2, note. These phrases are equivalents in verses 6, 7. Sadducean thought admitted of no resurrection; hence "life in Sheol" or "sleep in the earth" were interchangeable expressions for the same fact.

5. To a Pharisee this would be a trifling pain compared with the torments of the damned. But the Sadducee looked for no retribution in the world to come, but, like most of the writers in the O.T. and in Ecclesiasticus, only for a shadowy existence in Sheol.

6. *That ye might go*, etc. The Syriac = "and go ye." Here we have a Hebrew idiom, *i.e.* an imperative is used instead of a jussive in order to express the intention signified by the preceding verb (see Driver, *Hebrew Moods and Tenses*, p. 82).

Sheol. We have here the O.T. conception of Sheol — the eternal abode of the shades. This view of Sheol was maintained in N.T. times by the Sadducees. In xxiii. 5; xlviii. 16; lii. 2; lvi. 6, Sheol seems to be the abode of all departed souls prior to the final judgment. This also may be its meaning in xxi. 23 and in 4 Ezra iv. 41. In 4 Ezra viii. 53 it seems to bear the meaning of "hell." For a history of the various meanings borne by this word see Eth. En. lxiii. 10, note.

7. The condition of the shades was for the writer undoubtedly more blessed than that of the living (cf. x. 6, note).

XII. 3. *Boastful.* I have here emended ܥܒܕ ܒܗ = "do (not) oppress" into ܬܗܝ ܒܗ = "be (not) boastful."

XII. 5 = E. were by reins. 5. And when I had said these things, I fasted seven days.

XIII.-XXV. = B^2. XIII. And it came to pass after these things, that

THE FOURTH SECTION

XII. 5-XX. This section begins with a fast of seven days (xii. 5). Then follows a long revelation to Baruch (xiii. 2-xx. 2). (Owing to the complete disarrangement and confusion of the text, this revelation cannot be summarised here. For a discussion of these chapters see pp. 20-34.) Contrary to the usual procedure, Baruch is bidden not to publish this revelation (xx. 3).

XII. 5. On the fasts of Baruch see v. 9, note ; ix. 2, note.

XIII.-XXV. The text of these chapters is inexplicable as it stands. The difficulties are due not to corruption, though that undoubtedly exists, but to a recasting of the original text by the final editor. In this process many passages were torn from their original contexts and placed in settings which are quite unsuitable. Some of the incongruities thus produced are as follows: (1) The words "those prosperous cities" are represented as speaking in xiii. 4 without a single note of introduction. (2) In the next verse the words, "thou and those like thee who have seen," are similarly unexplained, and are in fact inexplicable in their present context ; for though Baruch was to be preserved till the consummation of the times, his *contemporaries* were not, and hence they could not see the future retribution of the Gentiles. If, however, xxiv. 2 originally preceded xiii. 3*b*-5, the words, "thou and those like thee who have seen," would be perfectly intelligible. (3) Again the retribution of the Gentiles referred to in xiii. 4, 5 has not been mentioned before, though the text presupposes some such mention. It is intelligible if xxv. or xxiv. 4 precedes where Baruch asks what will befal the enemies of Israel. (4) In xiv. 1 Baruch replies that God has shown him "the method of the times," whereas in xx. 6 this appears not to have been yet done, and it seems that a revelation of "the method of the times" is still to come. (5) In xxiv. 4 Baruch asks what retribution awaits the enemies of Israel, and when will the judgment be? In xxv. we find the answer to the latter question, whereas the answer to the former is already given in xiii. 4-12. (6) I can discover no adequate explanation of the "therefore" with which xx. 1 begins in its present context. If xx. were read immediately after xiii. the text would at once become clear. On these and other grounds we must attempt to restore the original order of the chapters before they were broken up and rearranged, mutilated, and interpolated by the final editor. Owing to the paucity of materials the attempt to restore the original order can only be partially successful. This order was probably xiii. 1-3*a* ; xx. ; xxiv. 2-4 ; xiii. 3*b*-12 ; xxv., xiv.-xix. ; xxi.-xxiv. 1 ; xxx. 2. To reassure Baruch, who is plunged in grief over Jerusalem (xiii. 3*a*), God declares (xx. 1, 2) that the days and years will speed more quickly by in order to usher in the judgment which will right all wrongs, and that even Jerusalem was removed with this end in view. On the "method of the times" Baruch is then promised disclosures (xx. 6), and "he and many with him" will see the mercy of God on those that sinned and were righteous

I, Baruch, was standing upon Mount Zion, and lo! a voice came from the height and said unto me: 2. 'Stand upon thy feet, Baruch, and hear the word of the mighty God. 3. Because thou hast been astonied at what has befallen Zion, thou shalt therefore be assuredly preserved to the consummation of the times,

(xxiv. 2). Baruch, thereupon, asks two questions (xxiv. 4): (*a*) what will befal Israel's enemies? (*b*) when will God judge the world (of which event He had already spoken, xx. 2)?

The answer to (*a*) is given in xiii. 3*b*-12. But the first words of this answer are lost. In these words there was a statement of this nature: "retribution will come upon the prosperous cities of your enemies" (cf. xiii. 4). Baruch, moreover (xiii. 3*b*-12), will be preserved until those days for the express purpose of testifying the reason of the retribution that has befallen these cities, and the date of its consummation. "He and those like him who have seen" (cf. xxiv. 2) should answer the remonstrances of the tormented Gentiles. And in answer to Baruch's second question, he is informed (xxv. 1, 2) that he shall likewise be preserved till the sign of the last days has come. This sign will be a stupor that shall seize the inhabitants of the earth (xxv. 3, 4). Baruch, thereupon, acknowledges: "Behold Thou hast shown me the method of the times" (xiv. 1). After this the thought advances connectedly through xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2. For like rearrangements of already existing texts by the final editor, see my edition of the Eth.En. pp. 189, 260, 267, 268, 270, 274.

XIII. 1. *Mount Zion.* Mount Zion is the scene of the revelation in xiii.-xx.; of the prayer in xxi. 4-25 (cf. xiii. 1; xx. 6; xxi. 2); of the revelation in xxii.-xxx.; of the seven days' fast in xlvii. 2; and of the prayer and revelation that follow xlviii.-lii.

A voice. Cf. xxii. 1, note.

2. *Stand upon thy feet.* Ezek. ii. 1.

The mighty God. Cf. vi. 8; vii. 1; xiii. 4.

3. *Thou shalt therefore be assuredly preserved*, etc. This promise recurs twice again in B^2, *i.e.* in xxv. 1 and lxxvi. 2. Baruch is thus to be preserved as a testimony or a sign against the inhabitants of the earth in the last days (see also xiv. 2). This assumption and preservation of Baruch till the last judgment is the teaching of B^2. With the above passages compare also xlviii. 30 and xlvi. 7, where the last is due to the final editor. In B^1, on the other hand, Baruch is to die a natural death (lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1); he is to go the way of all flesh (xliv. 2) and to forget all corruptible things and the affairs of mortals (xliii. 2). Thus we have two conflicting accounts touching the destiny of Baruch. It is noteworthy that we have in the text a transference of a distinct Enochic function to Baruch. For in Jubilees iv. 24 it is stated: "(Enoch) was set as a *sign* there (in Eden), and that he should *testify* against all the children of men;" and again in x. 17: "As a *testimony* to the generations of the world the office was ordained for Enoch of recounting all the deeds of generation unto generation till the day of judgment" (see also Slav. En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5).

that thou mayst be for a testimony. 4. So that, if ever those prosperous cities say: 'Why hath the mighty God brought upon us this retribution?' 5. Thou and those like thee may say to them (even) ye who have seen: 'This evil and (these) retributions which

This robbing of Enoch to benefit Baruch is a clear sign of Jewish hostility to Christianity, and a tribute to the influence that Enoch enjoyed in the Christian Church of the first century. Enoch's acceptance amongst Christians as a Messianic prophet was the ground for his rejection by the Jews. So thoroughgoing, indeed, was this rejection that, although he was the chief figure next to Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic prior to 40 A.D., in subsequent Jewish literature his functions and achievements are assigned to others, such as Moses, Ezra, or Baruch, and, with the exception of two or three passages, his name in subsequent Jewish literature is henceforth studiously ignored. The observation of this tendency of Jewish thought becomes of practical value to us when we come to lix. 4-11, as we are thus enabled to conclude that a document which on other grounds is prior to 70 A.D., is posterior to the rise of Christianity because it manifests clear signs of this tendency.

Assuredly be preserved. The Syriac lit. = *σωσθεὶς σωσθήσει*, a familiar Hebraism שָׁמוֹר תִּשָּׁמֵר. This idiom recurs frequently in this book (see xxii. 7; xli. 6; xlviii. 30; l. 2; lvi. 2; lxxv. 6; lxxvi. 2; lxxxii. 2; lxxxiii. 1, 2, 3, 6; lxxxiv. 2). That we have herein indubitable evidence of a Hebrew original we have shown in the Introduction.

4. *Those prosperous cities.* The abruptness with which these cities are introduced, though not heretofore mentioned, and their complaints about the retribution that has befallen them, though no such retribution has as yet been recorded, shows either that the text preceding these words has been lost, or else that xiii. 3*b*-12 should be read after xxiv. 2-4. In fact, since in xiii. 3*b*-12 we have an answer to xxiv. 4, we must assume that xiii. 3*b*-12 originally followed after xxiv. 4, and since xiii. 4 presupposes that a statement about the retribution that is to come upon the prosperous enemies of Israel has already been made, and since no such statement is found, we must further assume the loss of such words immediately preceding xiii. 3*b* (see note on xxiv. 3, 4). It might be possible to explain xiii. 4 by xxv. 3, and accordingly regard xiii. 3*b*-12 as following originally upon xxiv. 2-xxv. But many difficulties beset this interpretation. The cities here spoken of are of course Gentile cities (cf. ver. 11).

Brought upon us this retribution. The same phrase practically is applied to Israel in lxxvii. 4, but here the "us" refers to the "prosperous cities." The *retribution* intended by the editor seems to be that threatened in xii. 4.

5. *Thou and those like thee who have seen it.* These words are hardly capable of interpretation as they stand. They clearly mean Baruch's contemporaries; observe "ye who have seen"; but as the time is that of the end, they cannot be his contemporaries; for only

are coming upon you and upon your people (are sent) in its time that the nations may be perfectly chastened.' 6. And then they will expect. 7. And if they say at that time: 'When?' 8. Thou wilt say to them: 'Ye who have drunk the strained wine, drink ye also of its dregs, the judgment of the Lofty One who has no respect of persons.' 9. On this account He had before no mercy on His own sons, but afflicted them as His enemies, because they sinned. 10. They were therefore chastened then that they might receive mercy. 11. But now, ye peoples and nations, ye are debtors because all this time ye have trodden down the earth,

Baruch is to be preserved till that date. If, however, xiii. 3*b*-12 was originally preceded by xxiv. 2-4, we can trace the phrase back to xxiv. 2—"thou wilt see and many who are with thee."

That the nations may be perfectly chastened. That this chastisement is vindictive and not corrective is clear from verse 7; the nations are to "drink of the dregs, the judgment of the Lofty One"; and also from verses 10, 11, where the implication obviously is that, whereas Israel is punished with a view to its ultimate pardon, it is otherwise with the Gentiles. The vindictive punishment therefore of the Gentiles is dealt with in this chapter. But so far as I know ܝܣܪ = "chasten" is never used in the sense of vindictive punishment. This difficulty might be surmounted by supposing ܢܬܝܣܪܘ = "may be chastened," corrupt for ܢܬܦܙܪܘ = "may be dispersed" (cf. Isa. xxxiii. 3). In the next chapter, however, in xiv. 1, the retribution spoken of by God is to be of service to the Gentiles. But see note *in loc.* On the other hand, it might be possible to understand ܥܡܡܐ = "nations," "peoples," of Israel, as in xlii. 5 (if the text is right there). But in this case it would be better to emend ܝ̈ ܣ̈ into ܢܬܝܣܪ ܥܡܡܐ = "that the people may be chastened."

6. The Gentiles will wait for or look forward to the consummation of their chastisement. This verse might by a slight change be understood of Israel (cf. xiv. 3).

8. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 7, 8: "God is the judge. . . . For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup . . . surely all the wicked of the earth . . . shall driuk them."

The Lofty One. Here only in this book (see 4 Ezra iv. 34; Isa. lvii. 15).

Has no respect of persons. Cf. xliv. 4.

10. *Chastened.* Cf. i. 5.

11. *Trodden down. I.e.* in the sense of oppressing it, a frequent meaning in the O.T.

and used the creation unrighteously. 12. For I have always benefited you, and ye have always denied the beneficence."

XIV. And I answered and said: "Lo! Thou hast shown me the method of the times, and that which will be after these things, and Thou hast said unto me, that the retribution, which has been spoken of by Thee, will be of advantage to the nations. 2. And now I know that those who have sinned are many, and they have lived in prosperity, and departed from the world, but that few

12. Cf. i. 4.

I have . . . benefited you. The Syriac is ܛܒܬ ܠܝ ܐܝܬ, but this order of the words, with this meaning, is highly irregular; for Syriac idiom all but universally requires the participle before the substantive and not as here, and in lxiii. 8, the converse order. This exceptional order may be due to the survival of the Hebrew order in the Syriac translation, *i.e.* היית כמיב. For this seems to be the explanation of two out of the three instances where I have observed this irregularity in the Peshitto O.T., *i.e.* Gen. iv. 17 and 2 Sam. viii. 15. In the third (1 Sam. xviii. 13) I can offer no explanation, and the abnormality is there all the more striking, as three verses later the same phrase recurs in its right order. This irregularity (which is not noticed in Duval's Grammar, and only passingly mentioned in Nöldeke's) is not found, so far as I am aware, in the Peshitto N.T.

Ye have . . . denied. The Syriac is ܟܦܪܬܘܢ ܠܝ, which, according to Syriac idiom, is an imperative = "deny ye." The converse order = "ye have denied." This irregularity, as in the last instance, I would trace to a survival of the Hebrew idiom through the Greek.

XIV. 1. The final editor is again greatly to blame here. According to the text Baruch says: "Thou hast shown me the method of the times and that which will be after these things." Now this has not been done. In the preceding chapter instruction has been given as to the reason of the retribution which has come upon the cities of the Gentiles, and likewise as to the date when their chastisement will be consummated. "The method or scheme of the times" would imply such information as we find in xxiv. 2-xxv. taken in conjunction with xiii., or to xxvii.-xxx. In xx. 6 certain disclosures are promised regarding "the method of the times." The phrase is found also in xlviii. 1.

The retribution . . . spoken of by Thee. These words probably refer to xiii. 5, and yet the retribution in question is first mentioned, not by God but by the cities (xiii. 4), unless we suppose xxv. 3 to precede xiv.

Will be of advantage to the nations. In xiii. 5-11 the context is against the idea of a remedial chastisement of the Gentiles, which seems to be asserted here. Here, again something seems wrong.

nations will be left in those times, to whom those words shall be said which Thou didst say. 3. For what advantage is there in this, or what (evil), worse than what we have seen befall us, are we to expect to see? 4. But again I will speak in Thy presence: 5. What have they profited who confessed before Thee, and have not walked in vanity as the rest of the nations, and have not said to the dead: 'Give us life,' but always feared Thee, and have not left Thy ways? 6. And lo! they have been carried off, nor on their account hast Thou had mercy on Zion. 7. And if others did evil, it was

2. *Few nations will be left in those times to whom*, etc. Do these words refer back to xiii. 3? In that case Baruch complains that few of the Gentile nations will be alive to whom the words in xiii. 5, 7-11 are to be addressed.

3. These words seem to point to xiii. 6; cf. "they will expect" and "what . . . are we to expect to see?" But here they undoubtedly refer to Israel, whereas there they naturally refer to the Gentiles.

4-19. Of what profit has been the righteousness of the righteous? Of none; for it has helped neither them nor their city, though the last was at least their due (verses 4-7). Seeing this is so, man cannot understand Thy judgment (verses 8, 9), for he is but a breath; his birth is involuntary, and his end a mystery (verses 10, 11); for that end the righteous indeed may hope, for they have treasures in heaven, but for us there is only woe, here and hereafter (verses 12-14). Hence what Thou hast done on Thy servants' behalf Thou knowest, but we cannot discover. The world indeed Thou didst say was made for man. But how can this be? We pass away and the world abides (verses 15-19).

5. *Confessed before Thee.* I have here emended ܐܝܕܥ = "knew" into ܐܘܕܐ = "confessed."

Walked in vanity. Jer. ii. 5.

Have not said to the dead, etc. Cf. Isa. viii. 19*b*: "On behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead?"

6, 7. In these verses the destruction of Zion seems to be far in the background.

6. *Have been carried off.* Cf. lxxxv. 3. I have here followed Ceriani's emendation of ܐܬܫܒܝ into ܐܬܫܒܝ, who rightly compares xv. 2.

Nor on their account hast Thou had mercy on Zion. This was a great difficulty to the Jew. The presence of ten righteous men would have preserved Sodom; why then did Zion fall? Moreover, the preservation of the world, according to the Talmud (Weber, 201), depended on Israel. See xiv. 18, note.

7. We have here ideas which in some respects resemble those in Gen. xviii. 23-33. But whereas it

due to Zion, that on account of the works of those who wrought good works she should be forgiven, and should not be overwhelmed on account of the works of those who wrought unrighteousness. 8. But who, O LORD, my Lord, will comprehend Thy judgment, or who will find out the profoundness of Thy path? or who will think out the gravity of Thy way? 9. Or who will be able to think out Thy incomprehensible counsel? or who of those that are born has ever found

is taught there that God would spare a city because of the righteous *persons* in it, here and in ii. 2 it is the works of the righteous considered in themselves that are put forward as the ground of such mercy. On the question of good works the thought of the writers in this book, *i.e.* between 50 and 80 A.D., is to be described as follows: (*a*) The righteous are saved by their works (li. 7); they are justified by the law (li. 3); for righteousness is by the law (lxvii. 6). (*b*) Their works impart confidence to the righteous with respect to God when they pray for themselves or others. Thus Hezekiah trusted in his works and was hopeful in his righteousness, and so God heard him (lxiii. 3, 5); and the prophets also were heard because they trusted in their works (lxxxv. 2). (*c*) But the works of the righteous avail not themselves only; they are a defence also to the unrighteous among whom they dwell (ii. 2), and even after their death their works are regarded as a lasting merit on the ground of which mercy should be shown to Zion (xiv. 7; lxxxiv. 10). (*d*) Again these works are conceived as going before them to the next world, and being there guarded in the treasure chambers of God (xiv. 12), where they will be kept safely till the final judgment (xxiv. 1); hence the righteous hope for the end and leave the world without fear (xiv. 12). (On the teaching of this book as to faith, see note on liv. 21.) In 4 Ezra the doctrine of works as it is found in Baruch can hardly be said to exist. To (*b*) and (*c*) we find no parallels and only seeming parallels to (*a*), such as men "will be able to escape by their works or their faith in which they have believed" (ix. 7), and that "God will guard those who have works and faith in the Most Mighty" (xiii. 23). It will be observed that the doctrine of salvation by works is carefully guarded against by the addition of the words "and faith." To (*d*) we have good parallels in vii. 77, where Ezra is said to have "a treasury of works laid up with the Most High," and in viii. 33, where "the righteous are those who have many works laid up with Thee: from their own works will they receive reward."

Though the doctrine of justification as taught in Baruch should naturally be discussed here, we must refer the reader to the note on xxi. 9.

8. O LORD, *my Lord*. See iii. 1, note.

the beginning or end of Thy wisdom? 10. For we have all been made like a breath. 11. For as the breath ascends from the heart, and returning not is extinguished, such is the nature of men, who depart not according to their own will, and know not what will befall them in the end. 12. For the righteous justly hope for the end, and without fear depart from this habitation, because they have with Thee a store of works preserved in treasuries. 13. On this account also these without fear leave this world, and trusting with joy they hope to receive the world which Thou hast promised them. 14. But unto us there is woe, who also now are shamefully entreated, and at that time look forward

10. See references on next verse.

11. *Ascends from the heart, and returning not is extinguished.* Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 39: "a wind that passeth away, and cometh not again;" Ps. cxlvi. 4; Job vii. 7; James iv. 14. This rendering rests on a slight change of order in the text, *i.e.* عكى كحا ٥وڈا ٦٥٥ instead of وڈا ٥٦٥ عكى كحا ٥٦٥. Ceriani and Fritzsche render the text, "ascendit quin procedat de corde et restinguitur."

Depart not according to their own will. Man does not settle the hour of his departure from this life. Cf. xlviii. 15; 4 Ezra viii. 5, "convenisti enim obaudire" (read *nolens* with Syr. for *obaudire*) et profecta es nolens."

Know not what, etc. Cf. Slav. En. ii. 1; vii. 5.

12. *The righteous justly hope.* Eth. En. cii. 4.

A store of works, etc. The text reads سملا وكحبا = "a force or supply of works." But it also = "a store of works." Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 77, where we find "a treasure of works." In *Shabbath*, 31*b*, a man is spoken of as having אוצר זכיות, "a treasure of merits" in heaven. Cf. Matt. vi. 19, 20; Pss. Sol. ix. 9, *ὁ ποιῶν δικαιοσύνην θησαυρίζει ζωὴν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ.* See note on verse 7.

13. *The world which Thou hast promised.* This is clearly the spiritual world. Thus in li. 3 the righteous after death are to "receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to them;" in xliv. 13, 15 "theirs is the inheritance of the promised time," "for unto them will be given the world to come;" and in xv. 7, 8 "the world which is to come" is said to be on their account. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 13. It is referred to again in xxi. 25 and lxxxiii. 5 under the general name of something promised. Throughout B^2 there is no promise of an earthly felicity, but only of spiritual transmundane blessedness.

14. *There is woe.* Cf. for diction lxxxiv. 11; 4 Ezra xiii. 16.

(only) to evils. 15. But Thou knowest accurately what Thou hast made on behalf of Thy servants; for we are not able to understand by means of any good thing that Thou art our Creator. 16. But again I will speak in Thy presence, O LORD, my Lord. 17. When of old there was no world with its inhabitants, Thou didst devise and speak with a word, and forthwith the works of creation stood before Thee. 18. And Thou didst say that Thou wouldst make for Thy world man as the administrator of Thy works, that it might be known that he was by no means made on account of the world, but the world on account of him.

Evils. These words refer back to xiv. 3, and their subject is again touched upon in xv. 1. What these are is given in xliv. 15; lxxxv. 13.

15. *What Thou hast made (or done) on behalf of Thy servants. I.e.* ܗܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܥܒܕ̈ܝܟ. If my rendering is right, the entire verse appears to be in its wrong place, and should be read after verse 16. The sense then would be excellent: "Thou knowest what good things Thou hast created on behalf of Thy servants; but we know of none: yet Thou didst say that Thou didst make the world for man," etc. (verses 15, 17, 18). But the Syriac may be translated, "what Thou hast made out of Thy servants," or if we neglect the diacritic point, "what Thou has wrought out of Thy works." Ceriani translates the verse: "Tu autem recte nosti quid feceris de servis tuis: quia nos non possumus intelligere aliquid boni, quomodo tu sis fictor noster." Before aliquid we should read "per."

17. *Speak with a word*, etc. Cf. Gen. i. 6, 7; Ps. xxxiii. 6; Heb. xi. 3; 2 Peter iii. 5; Slav. En. xxiv. 5; xxv. 1; 4 Ezra vi. 38.

18. *Thou wouldst make for Thy world man*, etc. Cf. Gen. i. 26, 28; Ps. viii. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 54.

The world on account of him. So far as I am aware this exalted view of man's dignity in respect of the world is not found earlier than the first century of the Christian era. It recurs frequently in the literature of this time: cf. xiv. 19; xv. 7; xxi. 24 (this doctrine is thus confined to B^2 in this book); Assumpt. Mosis i. 12; 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59; vii. 11; viii. 44; ix. 13. In these passages the statement of the reason for the creation of the world assumes three forms: First, the world was created on account of man (Apoc. Bar. xiv. 18; 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44). But the writers of these books if pressed, would at once have withdrawn this statement in favour of two diverging statements: the one, that the world was created on account of Israel (4 Ezra vi. 55, 59; vii. 11; Assumpt. Mosis i. 12); the other that the world was created on account of the righteous in Israel

19. And now I see that as for the world which was made on account of us, lo! it abides, but we, on account of whom it was made, depart."

XV. And the Lord answered and said unto me: "Thou art rightly astonied regarding the departure of man, but thou hast not judged well regarding the evils which befall those who sin. 2. And as regards what thou hast said, that the righteous are carried off and the impious are prospered, 3. And as regards what thou hast said: 'Man knows not Thy judgment'— 4. On this account hear, and I will speak to thee, and hearken, and I will cause thee to hear My words. 5. Man would not rightly have understood My judgment, if he had not accepted the law, and if his fear

(Apoc. Bar. xiv. 19; xv. 7; xxi. 24). Either of the latter forms the real Jewish view from the Christian era onwards. Thus in the Talmud, it is either Israel, or the righteous in Israel, that were the cause of the world's creation and its subsequent preservation. Thus in *Bammidbar rabba*, ii., "if Israel were not, the world would not exist"; in the *Shemoth rabba*, xxviii., "The world was created owing to the merits of Israel, and upon Israel stands the world." See Weber, pp. 201, 202, for other passages of the same import. See also note on xv. 7.

19. See note on last verse. That the "us" and the "we" here are the righteous is clear from xv. 7. This verse shows that the writer believed in the view that the safety of the world was bound up with that of the righteous.

In *Pesikta* 200*b* God is said to have created the world on account of Abraham's merit (Weber, p. 295).

XV. 1. *Astonied regarding the departure of man.* These words refer to xiv. 19. The Syriac noun translated "departure" is derived from the verb translated "depart" in xiv. 19. In xiii. 3 Baruch was "astonied" about the fate of Jerusalem.

Not judged rightly regarding the evils, etc. See xiv. 3, 14.

2. See xiv. 6.

3. See xiv. 8, 9.

5. *The law.* The law was the centre round which Jewish thought and life revolved. To a limited extent the Messianic expectation was likewise a centre. Frequently we find that in proportion as the one is emphasised the other falls into the background. This will receive illustration as we proceed to examine the position assigned to the law and the Messiah respectively in the five main constituents of this book. Thus in B^1 (written after 70 A.D.) *where the restoration of Jerusalem is looked for, but no Messiah*, the law is spoken of as

had not been (rooted) in understanding. 6. But now,

follows: God gave the law to Israel (lxxvii. 3); for transgressing it they were sent into exile (lxxvii. 4; lxxxiv. 2); but let not Israel withdraw from the law (xliv. 3), but obey it (xlvi. 5); let them remember it (lxxxiv. 8); for if they do so, they will see the consolation of Zion (xliv. 7), and a son of the law will never be wanting (xlvi. 4), nor a lamp nor a shepherd (lxxvii. 16); for lamps and shepherds are from the law, and though these depart the law stands (lxxvii. 15); if they remember it, they will see the consolation of Zion (xliv. 7). In B^2 *where there is no Messiah and no expectation of the restoration of Jerusalem*, the law is still further glorified. Thus Moses brought the law to Jacob (xvii. 4); this conveyed a knowledge of the judgment of God (xv. 5), and entailed retribution on the consciously disobedient (xv. 6; xix. 3; xlviii. 40); it will exact all its rights (xlviii. 27), and repay the transgressor (xlviii. 47); apostates from it (xli. 3) will be specially dealt with (xlii. 4). On the other hand it will protect those who receive it in their hearts (xxxii. 1; xlviii. 24); by it they will be justified (li. 3), and in it will be the hope of the righteous (li. 7); the law is with Israel, and so long as they obey it they will not fall (xlviii. 22, 24). They have received one law from One (xlviii. 24). In B^3 (which is akin to xiii. 2 in this respect) Israel has nothing save the Mighty One and the law (lxxxv. 3); they have one law by one (lxxxv. 14). When, however, we turn to the Messiah Apocalypses A^1 (= xxvii.-xxx. 1), A^2 (=xxxvi.-xl.), A^3 (=liii.-lxiv.), and to S. (=x. 6-12) which form more than a third of the entire book, we find no mention at all of the law in A^1 and S. In A^2 there is only one mention of it, *i.e.* God's law is life (xxxviii. 2). In A^3 it naturally becomes more prominent, as A^3 gives a brief history of God's dealings with Israel. The law and the tradition were observed by Abraham and his sons (lvii. 2). Thus, through the agency of Moses, its light shone on those in darkness (lix. 2). God imparted to Moses certain studies of the law (lix. 3). Josiah alone was faithful to it in his time (lxvi. 5). Such as loved it not perished (liv. 14). Righteousness comes by the law (lxvii. 6). Thus we observe that in purely eschatological descriptions such as A^1, there is not a single allusion to the law: the Messiah is the entire centre of interest. This is practically true in A^2 also; for the reference in xxxviii. 2 does not belong to the account of the last things. In A^3 finally, most of the references are to historical incidents, though it is true that in A^3 great store is set by the law. The law was the centre of Jewish life, the source of righteousness, and in fact its spiritual schoolmaster, till the advent of the Messiah had arrived. Thenceforward (lxx.-lxxiv.) there is not even an allusion to it. The same phenomena are observable in the various constituents of 4 Ezra. Thus in the three or four distinct Messiah Apocalypses in that book (according to Kabisch's critical analyses) the law is only mentioned two or three times. The only strong expression regarding it is in xiii. 38, and there the text is doubtful. In the groundwork of the book (*circ.* 100 A.D.) however, *where we find no hope of a Messiah nor of a restored Jerusalem*, the law, as might be expected, has a more important rôle to play. Thus God gave the law to Jacob (iii. 19). He sowed it in them that they might keep it (ix. 32), but it bare no fruit owing to

because he transgressed though he knew, yea, on account of this also, he shall be tormented because he knew. 7. And as regards what thou didst say touching the righteous, that on account of them has this world come, nay more, even that which is to come is on their account. 8. For this world is to them

the evil heart (iii. 20); they neglected it (vii. 20), did not keep it (ix. 32), rejected it (vii. 72), despised it (vii. 24; viii. 56), yet the law cannot perish (ix. 37.) Some did try to keep the law perfectly in this life (vii. 89), and God bore testimony to them because they did so (vii. 94); these acquired a store of good works (vii. 77; viii. 33), and from these they received their reward (viii. 33); and yet none can claim heaven purely as the reward of their righteousness, for all men have sinned (viii. 35).

It is obvious at a glance that the possession of the law by Israel is less a subject of self-gratulation in 4 Ezra than in Baruch. In the latter, especially in B^2 (written, like the groundwork in 4 Ezra, after 70 A.D., and having no expectation of the Messiah or a restored Jerusalem) the law is everything: it protects the righteous (xxxii. 1), justifies them (li. 3), is their hope (li. 7), and so long as it is with Israel, Israel cannot fall (xlviii. 22, 24). In Ezra, on the other hand, the law has begotten in the writer such a sense of sin that he trembles before it. Man needs mercy, not the award of the law; for all have sinned (viii. 35), and all but a very few would perish, but for the divine compassion (vii. 139).

5, 6. *If his fear had not been (rooted) in understanding. But now, because he transgressed though he knew*, etc. Here Ceriani followed by Fritzsche has mistranslated חטא (= transgressus est) by "fecit," thus taking it for עשה. This thought partially recurs in xix. 3; xlviii. 40, "Each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was committing iniquity" (see note *in loc.*), lv. 2; and almost a perfect parallel is found in 4 Ezra vii. 72: "Qui ergo commorantes sunt in terra hinc cruciabuntur quoniam sensum habentes iniquitatem fecerunt." Cf. Luke xii. 48.

7. *As regards . . . has this world come.* See note on xiv. 18. Nowhere in the present book are these words given as a divine utterance. The same statement is again made in xxi. 24. From a similar statement in 4 Ezra vi. 55, at the close of the short hexæmeron there, it is probable that some such statement was originally included in that hexæmeron in its independent form. On this hexæmeron see xxix. 4, note. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 55; vii. 11.

Seeing that this world is "a trouble and a weariness" to the righteous, it is hard to understand such a belief unless we suppose that it was designed to be their discipline for the future life. Cf. lii. 6. On *the world which is to come*, see xiv. 13, note.

8. *This world is to them a trouble . . . with much labour.* Cf. xlviii. 50; li. 14; 4 Ezra vii. 3-14; Rom. viii. 18; 2 Cor. iv. 17. This world is evidently regarded by the

a trouble and a weariness with much labour; and that accordingly which is to come, a crown with great glory."

XVI. And I answered and said: "O LORD, my Lord, lo! the years of this time are few and evil, and who is able in this little (space) to acquire that which is measureless?"

XVII. And the Lord answered and said unto me: "With the Most High account is not taken of much time nor of a few years. 2. For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years, and transgressed that which he was commanded? 3. Therefore the multitude of time that he lived did not profit him, but brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him. 4. Or wherein did Moses suffer loss in that he lived only one hundred and twenty years, and, inasmuch as he was subject to Him who formed him, brought the law to the

writer of B^2 but not of B^1 as a scene of trial and sorrow: a man must give himself to an ascetic life here if he is to attain blessedness hereafter. There is a more ascetic tone about 4 Ezra. In the Eth. En., however, still stronger statements are found. Thus in xlviii. 7 the Messiah "preserveth the lot of the righteous because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness," and in cviii. 7 God recompenses "the spirits of the humble and of those who afflict their bodies," and likewise those (cviii. 10) who, though "trodden under foot of wicked men," "loved heaven more than their life in this world."

Crown with great glory. Cf. 1 Pet. v. 4. We should expect "crown of great glory." Observe that if we retranslate these words into Hebrew, we have a paronomasia already familiar from Isa. lxii. 3; Ezek. xvi. 12; xxiii. 42, *i.e.* עֲטָרָה בתפארה רבה.

XVI. 1. *Years . . . few and evil.* Gen. xlvii. 9.

XVII. 1. *The Most High.* This title belongs to B^1, B^2, B^3, and A^3. See xxv. 1; liv. 9, 17; lvi. 1; lxiv. 6, 8; lxvii. 4, 7; lxix. 2; lxx. 7; lxxvi. 1; lxxvii. 4, 21; lxxx. 1, 3; lxxxi. 2, 4; lxxxii. 2, 6; lxxxiii. 1; lxxxv. 8, 12.

3. *Brought death*, etc. See xxiii. 4, note.

4. *Brought the law*, etc. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 19. "Give the law to the seed of Jacob, and the commandment to the race of Israel."

seed of Jacob, and lighted a lamp for the nation of Israel."

XVIII. And I answered and said: "He that lighted has taken from the light, and there are but few that have imitated him. 2. But those many whom he has lighted have taken from the darkness of Adam, and have not rejoiced in the light of the lamp."

XIX. And He answered and said unto me: "Wherefore at that time he appointed for them a covenant, and said: 'Behold I have placed before you life and death,' and he called heaven and earth to witness against them. 2. For he knew that his time was but short, but that heaven and earth endure always. 3.

Lighted a lamp. Cf. lix. 2, "lamp of the eternal law." The thought in both phrases is drawn from Ps. cxix. 105, "Thy word is a lamp," etc. Cf. xviii. 2.

XVIII. 1. *Has taken from the light, i.e.* has chosen the light. In the next verse the many are said to have chosen the darkness of Adam.

2. The law and Adam are in this passage symbolical names for the opposing powers of light and darkness. This thought is foreign to the O.T. though Gen. i.-iii. has prepared the way for it. Adam is here, as in the Slav. En., represented as the primary source of human transgression, whereas in the Eth. En. and Jubilees human depravity is traced mainly to the angels that sinned with the daughters of men. Again, as in the Slav. En., the writer does not teach the doctrine of original sin and inherited spiritual incapacities. He implies rather that man is left to determine his own destiny, to choose light or take darkness for his portion, just as in much later times it was said: "God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this into the hands of the man himself" (*Tanchuma, Pikkude* 3). See Slav. En. xxx. 15, 16, notes. The same view is enforced in A^3, *i.e.* liv. 15, 16. See notes *in loc.*

XIX. 1, 2. Because few chose light and many chose darkness, Moses showed further that their choice of light or darkness was likewise a choice of life or death. xix. 1-3 looks like an addition of the final editor. The answer to xviii. seems to begin with xix. 4.

Behold I have placed, etc., Deut. xxx. 19. *Called heaven*, etc., Deut. iv. 26; xxx. 19; xxxi. 28. Cf. lxxxiv. 2; Ass. Mos. iii. 12.

Later times seem to have drawn from Deut. xxx. 19 the conclusion that the permanence of the law was bound up with that of heaven and earth. Cf. ver. 2; Matt. v. 18. Contrast Luke xvi. 17; Mark xiii. 31.

For after his death these sinned and transgressed (the covenant), though they knew that they had the law reproving (them), and the light in which nothing could err, also the spheres, which testify, and Me. 4. Now regarding everything that is it is I that judge, but do not thou take counsel in thy soul regarding these things, nor afflict thyself because of those which have been. 5. For now it is the consummation of time that is sought, whether of business, or of prosperity, or of shame, and not the beginning thereof. 6. Because if a man be prospered in his beginnings and shamefully entreated in his old age, he forgets all the prosperity that he had. 7. And again, if a man is shamefully entreated in his beginnings, and at his end is prospered, he remembereth not again his evil entreatment. 8. And again hearken: though each one were prospered all that time—all the time from the day on which death was decreed against those who transgress—and

3. *Transgressed.* This word recurs in the same connection (lxxxiv. 2) where it has as its object "the law." We must supply this or "the covenant" from ver. 1.

4. These words deal with Baruch's difficulties in xviii. 1, 2. Do not distress thyself with such problems; the end of all things is at hand.

5. Here only the end of all things is looked for—not an earthly felicity in a rebuilt Jerusalem.

6-8. The end of all things is at hand, and the only important question is: How does it find a man? will it bring him shame or honour? We are strongly reminded here of the well-known words of Solon in Herodotus i. 32 *σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῇ ἀποβήσεται. πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε.* It was a familiar Hellenic theme. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1-3; *Oed. Rex*, 1494-97; Eurip. *Androm.* 100-103, etc.

8. *Though a man . . . vanity.* This seems the natural rendering of the passage. Ceriani renders: "Omne tempus istud a die quo decreta fuit mors contra eos qui praetereunt in isto tempore, si unusquisque prosperatus esset, et in fine suo in vanitatem corrumperetur, esset omne." Fritzsche quite wrongly writes "vanum" for "omne."

On which death was decreed, etc. See xxiii. 4, note.

in his end was destroyed, in vain would have been everything."

XX. Therefore, behold! the days will come, and the times will hasten more than the former, and the seasons will speed on more than those that are past, and the years will pass more quickly than the present (years). 2. Therefore have I now taken away Zion, in order that I may the more speedily visit the world in its season. 3. Now therefore hold fast in thy heart everything that I command thee, and seal it in the recesses of thy mind. 4. And then I will

XX. 1. *Therefore.* It is not clear that this word follows upon anything in xix. It could be taken closely with xviii. So far as I can see it is best to regard it as following directly on xiii. 3*a*. Jerusalem has fallen, therefore the years intervening before the judgment will be shortened. Cf. liv. 1, "Against the works of the inhabitants of the earth Thou dost hasten the beginnings of the times"; Matt. xxiv. 22. For the probable order of the text originally see pp. 20, 119.

The days will come. Cf. xxiv. 1; xxxi. 5; xxxix. 3; 4 Ezra vi. 18. A familiar O.T. phrase. Cf. Jer. xxiii. 7; xxx. 3, etc.

The times will hasten. Cf. lxxxiii. 1, 6, where almost the same thoughts and diction recur. Cf. liv. 1; 4 Ezra iv. 26.

2. The fall of Jerusalem is one of the steps preparatory for the final judgment. See xxi. 21. There is no hope here of a restored Jerusalem. See i. 4, note.

Speedily visit. The Syriac literally = σπεύσω καὶ ἐπισκέψωμαι, a Hebraism, אמהר ואפקד,

Visit. Cf. xxiv. 4; lxxxiii. 2. This word seems to be used in Baruch in a bad sense of the penal visitation of God, as in Exod. xx. 5; Ps. lxxxix. 32; Jer. vi. 15; ix. 25; xi. 22, etc.; also in 4 Ezra v. 56; vi. 18; ix. 2; Pss. Sol. xv. 14. The word (פקר = ἐπισκέπτεσθαι) has generally a good sense in the O.T., as in Gen. xxi. 1; Exod. iv. 31; Job x. 12; Pss. viii. 4; lxxx. 14; also in Ecclus. xlvi. 14; Wisdom vii. 7, 13; Pss. Sol. iii. 14; x. 5 (?); xi. 2, 7; always in the N.T., as in Luke i. 68, 78; vii. 16; xix. 44; Acts xv. 14; 1 Peter ii. 12. It is noteworthy that whereas in the N.T. the thought of God's visitation is one of joy, its associations in 4 Ezra and Baruch are fear and wrath to come.

3. *Everything that I command thee.* The relative is omitted in the Syriac, but both the sense and the Syriac idiom require it. If the text is right, we must take it as a Hebraism; for the Hebrew admits the omission of the relative. We must then suppose this Hebraism misunderstood by the Greek translator; for neither does the Greek allow of the omission of the relative.

show thee the judgment of My might, and My ways which are past finding out. 5. Go therefore and sanctify thyself seven days, and eat no bread, nor drink water, nor speak to any one. 6. And afterwards come to that place, and I will reveal Myself to thee, and speak true things with thee, and I will give thee commandment regarding the method of the times; for they will come and will not tarry.

The Prayer of Baruch the Son of Neriah

XXI. And I went thence and sat in the valley of Cedron in a cave of the earth, and I sanctified my

4. *Show thee the judgment of My might.* In lxxxiii. 7 we have a nearly related phrase, "The consummation . . . will show the great might of its ruler."

6. *That place.* See xiii. 1, note.

Method of the times. See xiv. 1, note.

Will come and will not tarry. Hab. ii. 3. Cf. xlviii. 39 of text.

The Fifth and Sixth Sections

XXI.-XLVI. This constitutes the fifth section of the book according to the present text, but in reality the fifth and sixth sections (see v. 7, note). For according to the scheme of the final editor, events proceed in each section in a certain order: thus first we find a fast, then generally a prayer or lamentation, then a divine message or disclosure followed by an announcement to the people. Thus we have here the fast of seven days in Cedron (xxi. 1); the prayer on Mount Zion (xxi. 4-26); the revelation (xxii.-xxx.); address to the people assembled in Cedron (xxxi.-xxxiv). At the close of xxxiv. there should follow a fast of seven days. The sixth section should open with this fast, but all mention of it has disappeared from the present text. After the fast comes a vision (xxxvi.-xl.) and a revelation regarding apostates and proselytes (xli. xlii.) with some further disclosures (xliii.); then the sixth section duly closes with an address to the people (xliv.-xlvi.)

It will be observed that xxi.-xlvi. embrace material from a variety of sources. Thus xxvi.-xxx. 1 = A^1, and xxxvi.-xl. = A^2 are independent Messiah apocalypses, and xliii. xliv. 7; xlv. xlvi. are derived from B^1. What remains of B^2 has been completely rearranged according to the views of the final editor. For what was probably the original order of B^2 see p. 119, and the Introduction, pp. lxi.-lxiii.

XXI. 1. *Cedron.* See v. 5. On the fasts of Baruch see notes on v. 7 and ix.

Cave. Cf. Assumpt. Mos. ix. 6.

soul there, and I eat no bread, yet I was not hungry, and I drank no water, yet I thirsted not, and I was there till the seventh day, as He had commanded me. 2. And afterwards I came to that place where He had spoken with me. 3. And it came to pass at sunset that my soul took much thought, and I began to speak in the presence of the Mighty One, and said: 4. "O Thou that hast made the earth hear me, that hast fixed the firmament in its fulness, and hast made firm the height of the heaven by the spirit, that hast called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, and they obey Thee. 5. Thou that hast commanded the air by Thy nod, and hast seen those things which are to be as those things

2. *That place.* Probably Mount Zion. Cf. xx. 6 and xiii. 1; otherwise the temple, x. 5. But this and some other such place determinations may be due to the final editor. The scene of the fast, the prayer, and the revelation was probably the same. See xlvii. 1, note.

3. *The Mighty One.* This is the first time this title occurs. It is found in B^1, B^2, A^3, but not in A^1, A^2. See xxv. 4; xxxii. 1, 6; xxxiv.; xliv. 3, 6; xlvi. 1, 4; xlvii. 1; xlviii. 1, 38; xlix. 1; liv. 1; lv. 6; lvi. 2, 3; lix. 3; lxi. 6; lxiii. 3, 5, 6, 8, 10; lxiv. 3, 4; lxv. 1; lxvi. 1, 5, 6; lxvii. 2; lxx. 2, 5; lxxvii. 11, 26; lxxxi. 4; lxxxii. 5; lxxxiv. 1, 6, 7, 10; lxxxv. 2, 3.

4. *By the spirit.* Have we here a reference to Gen. ii. 1, "The spirit of God," or does the whole phrase, "made firm . . . by the spirit," show a connection partly with the LXX. of Ps. xxxiii. 6, *τῷ λόγῳ κυρίῳ οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος* κτλ.

Hast called . . . that which did not yet exist. Cf. xlviii. 8, "with a word Thou quickenest that which was not." We seem to have here creation *ex nihilo*. On the other hand the words above are found in Philo, *de Justitia*, *τὰ γὰρ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι*. This may be accidental. At any rate the fundamental principles of the two writers are different; for, except in the *De Somno*, i. 13, Philo taught the formation of the world from pre-existent elements. See Slav. En. xxiv. 2; xxv. 1, notes. Such expressions as that in the text spring from the repeated "and God said," Gen. i. Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 5; Philo, *de sacrif. Abel et Cain*, *ὁ γὰρ θεὸς λέγων ἅμα ἐποίει, μηδὲν μεταξὺ ἀμφοῖν τιθείς*. In 2 Pet. iii. 5, "There were heavens from of old, and an earth compacted out of water . . . by the word of God," we have the same teaching, with the additional idea that the solid earth was made from the water, as in the Slav. En. xxviii. 2.

which Thou art doing. 6. Thou that rulest with great thought the powers that stand before Thee: (yea) rulest with indignation the holy living creatures, who are without number, which Thou didst make from the beginning, of flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne. 7. To Thee only does this belong that Thou shouldst do forthwith whatsoever Thou dost wish. 8. Who causest the drops of rain to rain by number upon the earth, and alone knowest the consummation of the times before they come: have respect unto my prayer. 9. For Thou alone art able to sustain all who are, and those who pass away, and those who are to be, those who sin, and those who are righteous [as

6. *Powers that stand before Thee.* Cf. xlviii. 10; 4 Ezra viii. 21*a*, "cui adstat exercitus angelorum."

Creatures, who are without number. lix. 11.

Which Thou didst make from the beginning. In Jub. ii. 2, the creation of the angels is assigned to the first day—evidently on the ground of Job xxxviii. 7. According to *Targ. Jer.* I. on Gen. i. 26, and *Shemoth rabba*, 15, God created the angels on the second day. So also Slav. En. xxix. 1.

7. Pss. cxv. 3; cxxxv. 6; Jonah i. 14.

8. *The drops of rain to rain by number.* Cf. lix. 5; Ecclus. i. 2; Slav. En. xlvii. 5, note.

Alone knowest the end of the times. Cf. liv. 1.

9. *Those who sin, and those who are righteous.* For "who are righteous" the Syriac reads here and in xxiv. 2 ܕܙܕܝܩ = "who are justified" = οἱ δικαιοῦνται, and in xxi. 11, 12; lxii. 7, ܙܕܝܩ = "have been justified" = δεδικαιωμένοι εἰσιν. In all these passages the Syriac is at fault, but its error is to be traced to the Greek Version; for the Greek translator mistranslated the Hebrew before him, which was in the former case הצדקים, and in the latter צדקו. The grounds for this conclusion are as follows: (i.) The antithesis to "those who sin" is not "those who are justified," but "those who do righteousness" or "are righteous." (ii.) If "those who are justified" was the true text, then its antithesis would not be "those who sin," as we find it in xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 2, but "those who are condemned," as in li. 1 and 4 Ezra iv. 18. (iii.) But since "those who sin" is undoubtedly original, the error must lie in the phrase "those who are justified." (iv.) Now this error is easy to explain. From the LXX. we know that צדק was generally rendered by δικαιοῦσθαι, and only in a few cases by δίκαιος εἶναι (Job ix. 2, 15; x. 15; xv. 14; xxv. 4; xxxiii. 12; xxxiv. 5;

living (and) being past finding out]. 10. For Thou alone dost live immortal and past finding out, and knowest the number of mankind. 11. And if in time many have sinned, yet others not a few have been righteous. 12. Thou knowest where Thou preservest

xxxv. 36). The Greek translator, not appreciating the right meaning of צדק in our Apocalypse, gave it the sense he was most familiar with, and so mistranslated it by *δικαιοῦσθαι*. (v.) The above conclusions receive confirmation from the fact that the antithesis in our emended text is actually found in Job x. 15 and xxxv. 36, 37. I have emended the text accordingly in xxi. 9, 11, 12; xxiv. 1, 2; lxvii. 2.

The doctrine of justification in this Apocalypse differs from that taught in 4 Ezra.

(1) In Baruch men are justified by the law: thus the text in li. 3 = *ἐδικαιώθησαν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ μου* (where *μου* = *τοῦ θεοῦ*), and in lxvii. 6 it = *ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου*, and in lxxxi. 7 it = *ἐσώθησαν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν*. In Ezra, on the other hand, the expression "salvation by works" is qualified by the addition of "and by faith." Cf. ix. 7; xiii. 23. In fact we do not find there either expressed or implied the doctrine of justification by works. (2) Quite in keeping with what precedes is the absolute assurance of salvation on the part of Baruch. He never personally dreads condemnation: he looks forward calmly to a life of future blessedness. Cf. xiii. 3; xxv. 1; xlvi. 7; lxxvi. 2. Ezra, on the other hand, continually assumes his future woe till assured otherwise in viii. 47-49, 51-54. 4 Ezra xiv. does not belong to the rest of the book. There is a pessimistic outlook in Ezra as there is an optimistic one in all Baruch save S (*i.e.* x. 6-xii.) The note on xiv. 7 of this book will confirm the view above taken.

In 4 Ezra "to justify" preserves its ordinary meaning of "to declare just" in iv. 18 and xii. 7. It is used in this sense also in Ecclus. i. 22; vii. 5; x. 29; xiii. 22; xviii. 22; xxxi. 5; xlii. 2. In 4 Ezra, however, we find another use: thus in x. 16 it = "to vindicate as just." So also in Ps. li. 4; Isa. xlii. 21 (?); Pss. Sol. ii. 16; iii. 5; iv. 9; viii. 7, 27, 31; ix. 3; Luke vii. 29; Apoc. Baruch lxxviii. 5. On the word *δικαιοῦν* the reader can consult with advantage Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 28-31. On the teaching on faith in A[3], *i.e.* chaps. liii.-lxxiv., see liv. 25, note.

As living . . . out. This I bracket as a dittography. See next line.

10. *Knowest the number of mankind.* Gen. xxiii. 4, 5; xlviii. 4, 6.

11. Men many have sinned, but many also have been justified.

Others not a few have been righteous. This statement differs strongly from that given in 4 Ezra viii. 3, where it is said plainly that whereas "multi quidem creati sunt, pauci autem salvabuntur," and that the ratio of the saved to the lost is as the amount of gold in the earth to that of the clay in it (viii. 2). This optimism which we have observed already (see xxi. 9, note) differentiates Baruch from Ezra. The latter is in the main pessimistic both with regard to his own destiny (till otherwise reassured by God) and that of the vast bulk of mankind.

12, 13. But this life is not all; sin and righteousness have further

the end of those who have sinned, or the consummation of those who have been righteous. 13. For if there were this life only, which here belongs to all men, nothing could be more bitter than this. 14. For of what profit is strength that turns to weakness, or the food of plenty that turns to famine, or beauty that turns to a hateful (thing)? 15. For the nature of man is always changeable. 16. For we have by no means been from the beginning what we now are, and what we now are we shall not afterwards remain. 17. For if a consummation had not been prepared for all, in vain would have been their beginning. 18. But regarding everything that comes from Thee, do Thou inform me, and regarding everything about which I ask Thee, do Thou enlighten me. 19. How long will that which is corruptible remain, and how long will the time of

issues; else the life of the righteous here were a crowning bitterness.

13. This verse may be drawn from 1 Cor. xv. 19, or else both from a common source. Of what worth is life? for (1) it is subject to constant change (xxi. 14, 15); and (2) is likewise mortal (xxi. 16, 17, 22).

14. *Strength that turns*, etc. lxxxiii. 11.

Beauty that turns to a hateful (thing). lxxxiii. 12.

15. There is no fixity in the being of man: he is the creature of change. In ver. 22, which should follow verses 17, 18, man is by appointment mortal.

16. The text is corrupt. The above rendering rests on an emendation of the text. Thus for ܐܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܝ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܕܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܗܘܝ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ܗܘ I have read ܠܐ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܟܕ ܗܘܝ. This restores, I believe, the original sense (cf. ver. 15). As the text stands it = "aut nihil, sicuti quod sumus, est enim ab initio, nunc non sumus" (Ceriani).

17. Ver. 22 may have originally followed this verse.

19. *How long will that which is corruptible remain?* If this question comes from the final editor, its answer will be found in xl. 3; lxxiv. 3. But if it belongs to B^2, its answer would naturally be found in xxiii. 7 - xxiv. 1; xxxi. 5. The writers of this book (particularly the writer of B^2) are greatly impressed with the corruptibility of the present world. The whole present world, the *olam hazzeh*, belongs

mortals be prospered, and until what time will those who transgress in the world be polluted with much wickedness? 20. Command therefore in mercy, and accomplish all that Thou saidst Thou wouldst bring, that Thy might may be made known to those who think that Thy long-suffering is weakness. 21. And show to those who know not, and let them see that it has befallen us and our city until now according to the long-suffering of Thy power, because on account of Thy name Thou hast called us a beloved people. 22. Every nature therefore from this onward is mortal.

to the sphere of corruption. Even so does the Messianic kingdom if it falls within the *olam hazzeh*, as it does in A^1, A^2, and A^3 in this book. Thus in A^2 the Messianic reign forms the end of the world of corruption (xl. 3), and in A^3, the end of corruption and the beginning of incorruption (lxxiv. 3). In B^2 all that has been is doomed to corruption (xxxi. 5); all that is corruptible will perish (xliv. 9); the new world that awaits them will not turn them to corruption (xliv. 12). In B^3 what the righteous have lost was corruptible, but what they will receive is incorruptible (lxxxv. 5). The only reference to this subject in B^1 is where Baruch is told that he will pass away from the earth and forget all that is corruptible (xliii. 2). As to the remaining passages where this word recurs, the text is doubtful in xlviii. 29, and probably interpolated in xxviii. 5. In 4 Ezra vii. 113, the day of judgment is the end of this period and the beginning of the next immortal period. See also iv. 11; vii. 111.

Who transgress. These words could be rendered "who pass away," as in verse 9.

20. This is a prayer for the hastening of the final judgment (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 4-9).

21. The text is unintelligible as it stands: "Show to those who know not, and they have seen what has befallen us and our city until now according to the longsuffering," etc. Merely by the emendation of ܚܙܘ = "and they have seen," into ܕܗܘܐ = "and that it has been," we arrive at a perfectly consistent text. The fall of Jerusalem was brought about in the mercy of God to hasten the final judgment. See verse 23; xx. 2.

But, if the text is correct, it = *καὶ ἑωράκασιν* = וראו. Have we here an instance of the Hebrew perfect with strong waw used as a continuation of the imperative? In that case the original may have been הוריע וראו את אשר נקרה לנו . . . = "Show . . . and let them see that it has happened to us." I have emended accordingly.

A beloved people. Cf. v. 1.

22. It is obvious that this verse breaks the connection of thought. It should be read after verse 17 as

23. Reprove therefore the angel of death, and let Thy glory appear, and let the might of Thy beauty be known, and let Sheol be sealed so that from this time forward it may not receive the dead, and let the treasuries of souls restore those which are enclosed in them. 24. For there have been many years like those that are desolate from the days of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and of all those who are like them, who sleep in the earth, on whose account Thou didst say that Thou hadst created the world. 25. And now quickly show Thy glory, and do not defer

suggested above. It is possible that כמא is corrupt for כמנ. We should then translate, "Every one, therefore, according to this law is mortal" (cf. ver. 15).

23. The writer in 20, 21, urged God to bring on the final judgment, that His power might be made known, and that men might learn that Israel's calamities had befallen them in the mercy of God. With a view to this final judgment the writer prays to God to put an end to death, to let His glory appear, and the dead arise.

23. *The angel of death.* Cf. Rev. vi. 8. On the prominent *rôle* played by this angel in later Jewish writings, see *Testament of Abraham* (ed. James); Weber, 239-242, 244, 247 262, 321, 322, 373; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Jud.* i. 854, 855, 862-879.

Sheol. See xi. 6, note.

Be sealed. Cf. Isa. v. 14.

Treasuries of souls. Only the righteous souls were admitted to these treasuries or chambers. I have preserved the literal meaning of the original word. These are the places in which God *treasures* His righteous ones, or their righteous acts. After the death of a righteous man his soul was permitted during seven days to behold the seven ways of the righteous and the seven ways of the wicked. After so doing, the soul entered these chambers (4 Ezra vii. 101; iv. 35). These chambers were in Sheol (4 Ezra iv. 41); only righteous souls could enter them (4 Ezra vii. 80); they were guarded by angels, and were full of rest (Eth. En. c. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 95); at the final judgment they were to restore the souls committed to them (Apoc. Bar. xxi. 3; xxx. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 32, 80). It is to be observed that as there were treasuries of righteous souls, so there were treasuries of righteous works (sce xxiv. 1).

It is strange that only the righteous souls are here mentioned. The reference to the wicked may be lost.

24. This verse should in all probability be read after ver. 19. It would there form a good link between vers. 19 and 20. If this is not so the text seems corrupt.

Sleep in the earth. See xi. 4, note.

On whose account, etc. See xv. 7, note; xiv. 18, note.

what has been promised by Thee." 26. And it came to pass that when I had completed the words of this prayer that I was greatly weakened.

XXII. And it came to pass after these things that lo! the heavens were opened, and I saw, and power was given to me, and a voice was heard from on high, and it said unto me: 2. "Baruch, Baruch, why art thou troubled? 3. He who travels by a road but does not complete it, or he who departs by sea but does not arrive at the port, can he be comforted? 4. Or he who promises to give a present to another, but does not fulfil it, is it not robbery? 5. Or he who sows the earth, but does not reap its fruit in its season, does he not lose everything? 6. Or he who plants a plant, unless it grows till the time suitable to it, does he who planted it expect to receive fruit from it? 7. Or a woman who has conceived, if she bring forth untimely, does she not assuredly slay her infant? 8. Or he who builds a house, if he does not roof it and com-

25. *What has been promised by Thee.* *I.e.* "the world which Thou hast promised them" (xiv. 13; cf. lxxxiii. 5). The new world would become the dwelling of the righteous after the judgment.

26. *I was greatly weakened.* This weakness follows again on the prayer in xlviii. 25; cf. 4 Ezra v. 14.

XXII. 1. *The heavens were opened and I saw.* Ezek. i. 1; cf. Matt. iii. 16; John i. 52; Rev. iv. 1; Acts vii. 56.

A voice was heard, etc., *i.e.* the *bath-qôl*. Cf. xiii. 1; Matt. iii. 17; xvii. 5; Rev. iv. 1.

3-8. In xxii. 3, 5, God rejoins that no man undertakes a work without hoping to enjoy its results, and that no work can be duly judged till it is completed (xxii. 8). Thus Baruch's depreciation of this life (xxi. 13-17, 22) is in some fashion answered. Things must be judged in the light of their consummation. Again, in reply to Baruch's request to hasten the period of judgment (xxi. 19, 24, 20, 21, 23, 25), God rejoins that, for the due accomplishment of any work, time is needed (xxii. 6, 7). Finally, to Baruch's plea for the fulfilment of the divine promise (xxi. 25), God acknowledges the obligation of that promise (xxii. 4).

7. *Does . . . assuredly slay.* A Hebraism. Text = הרוג יהרג. Cf. xiii. 3; xli. 6; xlviii. 30, etc.

plete it, can it be called a house? Tell me that first."

XXIII. And I answered and said: "Not so, O LORD, my Lord." 2. And He answered and said unto me: "Why therefore art thou troubled about that which thou knowest not, and why art thou ill at ease about things in which thou art ignorant? 3. For as thou hast not forgotten the people who now are and those who have passed away, so I remember those who are remembered, and those who are to come. 4. Because when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who should be born, then

XXIII. 1, 2. Baruch having admitted the justice of the divine reasons, God rejoins in the words of xxii. 3, "Why therefore art thou troubled?" for Baruch thereby acknowledges his ignorance of the things in question.

3. It is hard to see the relevance of this verse to any of Baruch's representations. Baruch has never doubted the ultimate fulfilment of the divine promises.

Who are remembered and those who are to come. The Syriac here ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܬܝ seems corrupted from ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܬܝ = "who are appointed to come."

4. *When Adam sinned and death was decreed against*, etc. There are two different conceptions of man's original destiny and of the *physical* effect of Adam's sin upon it in two of the different constituents of this book. (1) Thus in B^2, *i.e.* in xvii. 3; xix. 8; xxiii. 4, Adam's sin brought in physical death, otherwise man would have been immortal. We find the same view in Ecclus. xxv. 24 ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀποθνήσκομεν πάντες, though this view cannot be reconciled with the main teaching and tendencies of that book, which are to the effect that man was mortal from the outset (cf. xiv. 17; xvii. 1, 2; xl. 11). The conditional immortality of man appears next in Eth. En. lxix. 11; Book of Wisdom i. 13, 14; ii. 23, 24; Slav. En. xxx. 16, 17 (see notes *in loc.*); in 4 Ezra iii. 7, "Et huic (*sc.* Adamo) mandasti diligentiam unam tuam: et praeterivit eam, et statim instituisti in eum mortem et in nationibus ejus." It is likewise the Pauline view (cf. Rom. v. 12; 1 Cor. xv. 21). In the Talmud this was the prevailing view; thus, according to the *Beresh. rabba*, c. 9, Adam was not originally destined for death (*Pesikta*, 76*a*); if Adam had not sinned he would have lived for ever (see Weber, 214, 215, 239). (2) In A^3, *i.e.* in liv. 15; lvi. 6, Adam is said to have brought in only *premature* death. This seems to be the view underlying Gen. ii., iii., though many, it is true, take it to be conditional immortality. But such an interpretation is difficult in the face

the multitude of those who should be born was numbered, and for that number a place was prepared where the living might dwell and the dead might be guarded. 5. Unless therefore the number aforesaid is fulfilled, the creature will not live again [for My spirit is the creator of life], and Sheol will receive the dead. 6. And again it is given to thee to hear what things are to come after these times. 7. For truly My redemption has drawn nigh, and is not far distant as aforetime.

of Gen. iii. 19. (3) It may be well to add here that a third view is occasionally taught in the Talmud. Death came into the world in consequence of divine predestination (see Edersheim, *Life and Times, etc.*, i. 166 ; Weber, 238, 239). On the *spiritual* effects of Adam's sin on his posterity, see xlviii. 42, note. On the whole question, see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, 136-138.

The multitude of those who should be born was numbered. This was a secret known only to God (xxi. 10 ; xlviii. 46). How this number was fixed upon is not recorded. It could not be added to or diminished ; for the judgment could not come till it was completed (xxiii. 5 ; 4 Ezra iv. 33-43).

For that number a place was prepared. Cf. Slav. En. xlix. 2 : "There has not been even a man in his mother's womb, for whom a place has not been prepared for every soul" ; and lviii. 5 : "There is a special place for mankind for all the souls of men according to their number." So in the Tractate *Chagiga*, fol. 15, col. 1 ; *Torath Adam*, fol. 101, col. 3 ; *Avodath hakkodesh*, fol. 19, col. 1, it is said that a place is prepared for every man either in Paradise or hell (Eisenmenger, ii. 315).

The dead might be guarded. The righteous were in "the treasuries of souls" guarded by angels (Eth. En. c. 5 ; 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95) ; the wicked in places of punishment guarded likewise by "those who keep the keys and are the guardians of the gates of hades standing like great serpents, and their faces are like quenched lamps, and their eyes fiery" (Slav. En. xlii. 1).

5. Not till the secret number of mankind is fulfilled can the resurrection take place. In Rev. vi. 11 and 4 Ezra iv. 36 the consummation of the world will follow, not when the number of mankind, but of the saints, is fulfilled. According to the *Shemoth rabba*, c. 39 (cf. *Aboda Sara*, 5*a*), all the generations of mankind were contained in a register called the ספר תולדות of Adam. And (*Beresh. rabba*, c. 24 ; *Wajjikra rabba*, c. 15) not until all the souls still dwelling in the גוף הנשמות, and included in the above register, had been born in the flesh should the Messiah come (*i.e.* the end of the world). See Weber, 335.

Sheol will receive. Cf. xxi. 23 ; xi. 6, note.

7. Cf. lxxxii. 2 ; Luke xxi. 28 ; 1 Pet. iv. 7.

XXIV. "For behold! the days come and the books will be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned, and again also the treasuries in which the righteousness of all those who have been

XXIV. 1. *Behold! the days come.* See xx. 1, note.

The books will be opened. Dan. vii. 10; Eth. En. xc. 20; Rev. xx. 12; 4 Ezra vi. 20. The books mentioned here contain only a record of the sins of sinners, as in Eth. En. xc. 20. This is probably the case also in Rev. xx. 12: "And books were opened." In the last passage the succeeding words have to do with the lot of the righteous: "And another book was opened which (is the book) of life." This book of life is mentioned also in Eth. En. xlvii. 3; cviii. 3. The books that are spoken of in Dan. vii. 10; 4 Ezra vi. 20, may be records both of the righteous and the wicked.

The treasuries in which, etc. See xxi. 23, note. Divine "treasuries" or "storehouses" are a familiar idea in the O.T. Thus we have treasuries of rain (Deut. xxviii. 12), of snow and hail (Job xxxviii. 22), of wind (Jer. x. 13; li. 16; Ps. cxxxv. 7), of the sea (Ps. xxxiii. 7); see also Eth. En. lx. 11, 19, 20, 21; 4 Ezra vi. 40. Again the idea of laying up spiritual things in the LXX. Thus in Prov. i. 18 *θησαυρίζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς κακά*, and still more clearly in Pss. Sol. ix. 9 *θησαυρίζει ζωὴν ἑαυτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ*. The last passage belongs to a time when heaven had come to be regarded as the true home and destination of the righteous. Naturally, when this was the belief of the faithful, their highest thoughts, aspirations, and efforts would be directed thither, and thus Ezra is assured: "Tibi thesaurus operum repositus apud Altissimum" (4 Ezra vii. 77), and the righteous are those qui fidem thesaurizaverunt (vi. 5); they would lay up treasures in heaven (Matt. vi. 19, 20). By a faithless life, on the other hand, men "treasured up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath" (Rom. ii. 5). Finally, the deeds of the righteous were regarded as gathered in "treasuries," as in our text. The expression is found in another sense in xliv. 14. We should observe that אוצר and *θησαυρός* alike mean a treasure and the place where it is stored.

The righteousness of all, etc. As Dr. Sanday writes (*Romans*, p. 29): "For a Jew the whole sphere of righteousness was taken up by the Mosaic Law. His one idea of righteousness was that of conformity to this law. Righteousness was for him essentially obedience to the law." That these words are true of the conception of righteousness entertained by the writers of this book will be seen by a perusal of the note on xiv. 7. But naturally the conception of righteousness varied accordingly as it was used by the legalistic or the prophetical wing, if I may so speak, of Pharisaism. With the strict Legalists righteousness meant the fulfilment first and mainly of ceremonial observances, and secondly, but only in a very subordinate degree, of works of mercy. See, for instance, the Book of Jubilees. With the prophetical wing, from which emanated most of the Messianic Apocalypses, righteousness was taken in its large sense as the fulfilment of

righteous in creation is gathered. 2. For it will come to pass at that time that thou shalt see—and many that are with thee—the long-suffering of the Most High, which has been throughout all generations, who has been long-suffering towards all those born that sin and are righteous." 3. And I answered and said: "But, behold! O Lord, no one knows the number of those things which have passed nor yet of those things which are to come. 4. For I know indeed that which has befallen us, but what will happen to our enemies I know not, and when Thou wilt visit Thy works."

moral duties and only in a very secondary degree of ceremonial. The Ethiopic and Slavonic Books of Enoch are illustrations of the latter statement. In some books it is hard to determine the pre-eminence of either tendency.

Who have been righteous. See note on xxi. 9.

2. I have already shown on p. 20 that xxiv. 2-4 probably followed originally on xx.

Thou shalt see—and many, etc. See note on xiii. 5.

Sin and are righteous. Both verbs depend on the same subject.

3, 4. In the preceding verse God had just assured Baruch that he and many with him should ultimately see the long-suffering of God. Baruch rejoins when that time of recompense will be no man knows (ver. 3), but there is one thing he knows well, *i.e.* the present calamities of Israel. Hence he wishes to know (*a*) what fate is in store for the Gentiles who inflicted these, and (*b*) when will it take effect. The answer to (*a*) is given in xiii. 3*b*-12. Just before xiii. 3*b* some statement such as "retribution will come upon your enemies who are now prospering," has been lost. Then follows xiii. 3*b*-12, in which Baruch is told that a special *rôle* is assigned him in reference to the enemies of Israel. He is to be preserved till the end of the times to testify to these cities, when the threatened retribution has befallen them, the reason of such retribution, the thoroughness with which it will be carried out, and the time of its consummation. Then in xxv. comes the answer to Baruch's second question: "When wilt Thou visit Thy works?" Baruch is to be preserved to play a part in this respect also (xxv. 1).

Befallen us. For = "what has befallen me," I have read = "what has befallen us?" The same corruption of the suffix appears in this MS. in lxxviii. 3 over against the right text in nine MSS.

Visit Thy works. xx. 2, note. The reference here is to the final judgment.

XXV. And He answered and said unto me: "Thou too shalt be kept safely till that time till that sign which the Most High will work for the inhabitants of the earth in the end of days. 2. This therefore will be the sign. 3. When a stupor shall seize the inhabitants of the earth, and they shall fall into many tribulations, and again when they shall fall into great torments. 4. And it will come to pass when they will say in their thoughts by reason of their much tribulation: 'The Mighty One doth no longer remember the earth'—yea, it will come to pass when they abandon hope, that the time will then awake."

XXVI.=E. XXVI. And I answered and said: "Will that tribulation which is to be continue a long time, and will that necessity embrace many years?"

XXVII.-XXX. 1=A[1]. XXVII. And He answered and said unto me:

XXV. In this chapter we have an answer to Baruch's question: "When wilt Thou visit Thy works?"

XXV. 1. In xiii. 3*b* Baruch was to be preserved to testify against the Gentiles. He has also a further function: observe the "too."

Till that time till that sign which. The sign is the stupor that will come on the inhabitants of the earth.

The inhabitants of the earth. This phrase is always used in a bad ethical sense in Baruch. Cf. xxv. 2; xlviii. 32, 40; liv. 1; lv. 2; lxx. 2, 10: generally in 4 Ezra; cf. iii. 34, 35; iv. 39; v. 6; vi. 24; vii. 72; x. 59; xiii. 30; but in vi. 18, 26; xi. 5, 32, 34; xii. 24, the sense of the phrase is merely geographical. For the various meanings of this phrase in the Eth. En. and Rev., see Eth. En. pp. 43, 111.

3, 4. When stupor and despair have seized the inhabitants of the earth, the time of the judgment has come.

3. *Stupor.* Cf. lxx. 2. This is rendered *excessus mentis* in 4 Ezra xiii. 30. For the diction, cf. Jer. viii. 21.

4. At the end of the tribulation and torments of the inhabitants of the earth the time of the judgment has come (cf. xiii. 8). This leaves no room for the Messianic kingdom in xxix., which precedes the judgment.

XXVI. This chapter is an addition of the final editor in order to introduce xxvii.-xxx. 1. xxv. was originally followed by xiv.-xix.

XXVII.-XXX. 1. We have here a fragment of a Messiah Apocalypse which for convenience of reference we designate A[1]. Its (1) chief

"Into twelve parts is that time divided, and each one of them is reserved for that which is appointed for it. 2. In the first part there will be the beginning of commotions. 3. And in the second part (there will be) slayings of the great ones. 4. And in the third part (there will be) the fall of many by death. 5. And in the fourth part the sending of desolation. 6.

characteristics, (2) its date, and (3) its points of divergence from B^1 and B^2 are as follows:—(1) After a terrible period of tribulation (*i.e.* the travel pains of the Messiah) (xxvii.-xxviii. 1) which should imperil the salvation even of the elect (xxviii. 3), and should prevail over all the earth (xxviii. 7-xxix. 1), a glorious kingdom, accompanied with every possible blessing, was to be established under the Messiah (xxix. 3-8), who after a reign of indefinite duration should return in glory into heaven (xxx. 1*a*). Thereupon the resurrection was to follow (xxx. 1*b*). The outlook is hopeful and thoroughly optimistic. (2) The later limit of composition is easy to determine. (*a*) Since the kingdom is to be established in Palestine, and only those Jews who are found there are to share in it, it is clear that there has been no dispersion of the Jews; for had there been, as it was in the case of B^1, we should here be told of a return from exile. Hence this fragment was written before 70 A.D. (*b*) Again, since Palestine is the scene of the kingdom, Jerusalem must still be standing; for in case it had fallen, we should here be told of its restoration, as in B^1, or of the setting up of the new Jerusalem, as in 4 Ezra xiii. 36. The Messianic kingdom could not be set up over the ruins of the holy city. Hence, again, we conclude that A^1 was written before 70 A.D. (3) Its points of divergence from B^1 and B^2 are obvious. In the latter, Jerusalem is destroyed and its people in exile; whereas in A^1 Jerusalem is standing and the Jews are in their own land. Again, whereas the law is the centre of interest and expectation in B^2, and in a somewhat less degree in B^1 (see xv. 5, note), it is the Messiah that is such in A^1. Further, whereas there is not a single allusion to the Messiah in B^1 and B^2, there is not a single allusion to the law in A^1. This, indeed, may be partly due to the shortness of this fragment.

XXVII. 1. In A^3, *i.e.* liii.-lxxiv. and 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12, there are similar twelvefold divisions; but in these it is the entire history of the world that is so divided, whereas in our text it is only the time of troubles preceding the advent of the Messiah. These troubles were popularly conceived as the travail pains of the Messiah חבלי המשיח. We find a list of such woes (*ὠδῖνες*, Matt. xxiv. 8) in xlviii. 31-37; lxx. 2-10; Matt. xxiv. 6-29, with synoptic parallels; 2 Tim. iii. 1; Jubilees xxiii. 13, 16-25; 4 Ezra v. 1-12; vi. 14-18, 20-24; *Orac. Sibyl.* iii. 796-807; see Weber, 336; Schürer, Div. II., vol. ii. 154-156. In the Gospels, however, these woes are to precede the second coming of Christ or the end of the world.

5. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 8; vi. 22. For *desolation* we might also render "the sword"; cf. 5 Ezra xv. 5.

And in the fifth part famine and the withholding of rain. 7. And in the sixth part earthquakes and terrors. 8. [Wanting.] 9. And in the eighth part a multitude of portents and incursions of the Shedim. 10. And in the ninth part the fall of fire. 11. And in the tenth part rapine and much oppression. 12. And in the eleventh part wickedness and unchastity. 13. And in the twelfth part confusion from the mingling together of all those things aforesaid. 14. For these parts of that time are reserved, and will be mixed one with another and will minister one to another. 15. For some will of themselves be of service, and they will receive from others, and from themselves and others they will be perfected, so that those may not understand who are upon the earth in those days of this consummation of the times.

XXVIII. "Nevertheless, whosoever shall understand will then be wise. 2. For the measure and reckoning of that time are two parts weeks of seven weeks." 3. And I answered and said: "It is good for a man

6. *Famine.* As a sign of the end, cf. lxx. 8; Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11.

7. *Earthquakes.* Cf. lxx. 8; Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 11.

9. *Portents.* Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 21: "Et anniculi infantes loquentur vocibus suis, et praegnantes immaturos parient infantes, etc." But owing to the next words it would perhaps be better to render ܫܡܗܐ = *φαντασίαι* as "spectres."

The Shedim. See x. 8, note.

10. *The fall of fire.* Cf. lxx. 8; 4 Ezra v. 8. If with the reviser of the MS. we delete the ܕ before ܢܦܠ we should render "the fire will fall."

15. These verses are obscure. They are possibly corrupt. For "of this . . . times" we can equally well render "that this is the consummation of the times."

XXVIII. 1. This verse recalls Dan. xii. 10: "the wise shall understand."

2. I cannot interpret this verse.

3. This verse expresses the difficulty of faithfulness in the times just described. Cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 16-20: "Vae qui derelicti fuerint in diebus illis, et multo plus vae his

to come and behold, but it is better that he should not come lest he fall. 4. [But I will say this also. 5. 'Will he who is incorruptible despise those things which are corruptible, and whatever befalls in the case of those things which are corruptible, so that he might look only to those things which are not corruptible?'] 6. But if, O Lord, those things shall assuredly come to pass which Thou hast foretold to me; if, moreover, I have found grace in Thy sight, show this also unto me. 7. Is it in one place or in one of the parts of the earth that those things are to come to pass, or will the whole earth experience (them)?" XXVIII. 4-5 = E.

XXIX. And He answered and said unto me: "Whatever will then befall will belong to the whole earth; therefore all who live will experience (them). 2. For at that time I will protect only those who are found in those self-same days in this land. 3. And it

qui non sunt derelicti! Qui enim non sunt derelicti, tristes erunt, intelligentes quae sunt reposita in novissimis diebus et non occurrentes eis . . . adtamen facilius est periclitantem venire in haec quam pertransire . . . et non videre quae contingent in novissimo." Only the righteous, the fittest survive. Cf. xli. 1; lxxv. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 46, 47; Matt. xxiv. 22; Mark xiii. 21. This verse looks forward to the blessings described in xxix. 4-8.

4, 5. I have bracketed these verses as an interpolation of the final editor. They break the connection of thought. Further, no account is taken of them either by Baruch to whom they are assigned, or by God to whom they are addressed. They are unreasonable and out of place in the presence of the sensuous picture of Messianic bliss which meets us in the next chapter. The real answer to Baruch's question here can be gathered from xliii. 2.

6. *If I have found grace*, etc. A familiar O.T. phrase (Gen. vi. 8; xix. 19, etc.; 4 Ezra v. 56; vii. 102; viii. 42; xii. 7).

XXIX. 2. *I will protect*, etc. Here God protects His people who are found in the Holy Land, whereas in A^2 it is the Messiah (xl. 2) in A^3 the Holy Land itself (lxxi. 1). In B^2 it is the law that protects the faithful, irrespective of their place of habitation (xxxii. 1; cf. 6 Ezra vii. 122).

Found . . . in this land. Cf. xl. 2; lxxi. 1; 4 Ezra xiii. 48, 49. A special blessing attached to residence in Palestine. It alone was to escape the woes that should befall

will come to pass when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah will then

all the earth besides. But this thought is found only in the sections of this book written prior to 70 A.D. Such ideas as to the sacrosanct and inviolable character of Palestine seem to have disappeared for a time from Jewish speculation with the desecration and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, unless where the Messiah was expected. Hence in B^2 it is the law that protects the faithful (xxxii. 1), and in 4 Ezra vii. 122 it is the glory of God ; and this protection avails them irrespective of their place of dwelling. The special privileges attaching to the Holy Land reappear in the Talmud, but in another form. Thus three will inherit the world to come : he who dwells in the land of Israel, he who brings up his sons to the study of the law, and he who repeats the ritual blessing over the appointed cup of wine at the close of the Sabbath (*Pesachim*, fol. 113*a*). Again the merits of the fathers will not avail a man who leaves the land of Israel for an outside land (*Baba bathra*, fol. 91*a*). Further, those who died in the Holy Land should rise first in the resurrection (Weber, pp. 64, 352) ; hence it is called "the land of the living" (*Beresh. rab.* 74) ; if the righteous died in any other land their bodies would have to roll (מתגלגלים) through underground passages (מחילות) till they came to Palestine before they could be raised (Weber, 352 ; Eisenmenger, ii. 920, 921). It was for this reason that Jacob and Joseph (Eisenmenger, ii. 925) and the Rabbis, who were specially honoured (Weber, 64), were buried in Canaan. Nay more, residents in the land of Israel could procure the resurrection of their relatives who died among the Gentiles (Eisenmenger, ii. 900). That the righteous who were buried outside the limits of Palestine should rise is also stated (Weber, 352).

3. The *rôle* here assigned to the Messiah is a passive one like that in Eth. En. xc. 37, 38 ; 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29. In this respect it differs from that represented in A^2 and A^3, *i.e.* xxxvi.-xl. ; lii.-lxxiv. ; and in Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx. ; Pss. Sol. xvii., xviii. ; 4 Ezra xii. 32-34 ; xiii. 32-50, where the Messiah fights either with spiritual or material weapons on behalf of Israel, destroys its enemies, and sets up the Messianic kingdom.

The Messiah will then begin to be revealed. The phrase "begin to be revealed" seems corrupt. We should perhaps have "the principate of the Messiah will be revealed," as in xxxix. 7. We can get this by reading ܡܫܝܚܐ ܪܫܝܬ ܘܐܬܓܠܝ instead of ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܪܫܝܬ ܐܬܓܠܝ Cf. xli. 3. Or by simply reading ܡܫܝܚܐ ܪܫܝ instead of ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܪܫܝ we have "Messiah the prince will be revealed." In this case the phraseology might be due to Dan. ix. 25. From a comparison of this verse and xxx. 1 the Messiah appears to be in heaven and is to be revealed from thence ; but in other passages the implication of such language as "will be revealed" is merely that the Messiah may be already on earth and yet be unknown.

This emergence of the Messiah from concealment was a current view. Thus we find it in 4 Ezra vii. 28 ; xiii. 32 ; also in John vii. 27 : "When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is." This concealment of the Messiah is mentioned also in Targum Jon. on Zech-

begin to be revealed. 4. And Behemoth will be revealed from his place, and Leviathan will ascend from

ariah iii. 8 ; vi. 12. In the Targum on Micah iv. 8 it is said to be due to the sins of the people. From Justin's *Dial. c. Tryph.* 8, it appears that though the Messiah may be already born, yet He may be unknown, and not even know His own calling till Elijah anoints and reveals Him. Χριστὸς δέ, εἰ καὶ γεγένηται καὶ ἔστι που, ἄγνωστός ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτός πω ἑαυτὸν ἐπίσταται οὐδὲ ἔχει δύναμίν τινα, μέχρις ἂν ἐλθὼν Ἠλίας χρίσῃ αὐτὸν καὶ φάνερον πᾶσι ποιήσῃ. Cf. also c. 110.

According to the Talmud, the Messiah was born at Bethlehem on the day of the destruction of the temple, was named Menahem, and afterwards suddenly carried away by a storm (*Hieros. Berachoth*, p. 5). His temporary abode, according to later writers, was to be Rome (*Sanhedrin*, 98*a*). On this subject see Lightfoot's *Horae* on Matt. ii. 1 ; Oehler's *Messias* in Herzog's *R.E.* ix. 668 ; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 293, 294 ; Schürer's *N.T. Times*, Div. II., vol. ii. 163, 164 ; Weber, 342, 343 ; Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias*, 57-59.

4. *And Behemoth will be revealed*, etc. The full form of this myth is given in 4 Ezra vi. 49-52 : "Et tunc conservasti duo animalia, nomen uni vocasti Behemoth et nomen secundi vocasti Leviathan, Et separasti ea ab alterutro, non enim poterat septima pars ubi erat aqua congregata capere ea. Et dedisti Behemoth unam partem quae siccata est tertio die, ut inhabitet in ea, ubi sunt montes mille ; Leviathan autem dedisti septimam partem humidam : et servasti ea ut fiant in devorationem quibus vis et quando vis." From a comparison of verse 4 with the verses just cited, it is clear that the words "from his place" and "from the sea" imply the account in these verses of Ezra. This is confirmed by the fact that not only is the thought the same, but also almost word for word the diction in the Syriac Versions of the two clauses : "Servasti ea ut fiant in devorationem" (4 Ezra vi. 52) and "kept them until that time and then they will be for food." Thus so far 4 Ezra would seem to be the source of our text. But if in these respects Baruch presupposes 4 Ezra, 4 Ezra in turn presupposes Baruch in the clauses : "Quibus vis et quando vis" (4 Ezra vi. 52) over against "for all that are left" in verse 4—the words "those who are left" being a technical phrase to express those who should survive to participate in the Messianic kingdom. We are thus led to assume that a short hexaemeron, closely resembling that found in 4 Ezra vi. 38-54, existed at one time independently, and that the writers of Ezra vi. 30-vii. 25 and Bar. xxvii.-xxx. laid it under contribution for their own purposes. (For a probable additional fragment of this hexaemeron, see xv. 7, note.) This assumption gains confirmation from the facts (1) that this hexaemeron cannot originally have proceeded from the writer of the Salathiel Apocalypse (*i.e.* the groundwork of 4 Ezra) ; for the latter looked for no Messianic kingdom, whereas the writer of this hexaemeron did as is obvious from vi. 52 compared with xxix. 4 of our text ; and (2) that whereas A^1 of Baruch was written prior to the fall of Jerusalem, the Salathiel Apocalypse was written subsequently to it.

4. *Behemoth . . . and Leviathan.* In addition to the references in the preceding note, see Eth. En. lx. 7-9, 24, notes ; Targ. Jon. on Gen.

the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and I kept them until that time; and then they will be for food for all that are left. 5. The earth also will yield its fruit ten thousandfold, and on one vine there will be a thousand branches,

i. 21: "And God created great beasts Leviathan and his wife which were prepared for the day of consolation;" see also the Targum on Ps. l. 10; Weber, 156, 195, 370, 384; Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chald. rabb. Talmud*, and Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* and *Neuhebräisches Wörterb. in loc.*

All that are left. This is in fact "the remnant" that survives to share in the Messiah's kingdom. This remnant is frequently referred to in this sense (cf. xl. 2; 4 Ezra vi. 25; vii. 28; ix. 7; xii. 34; xiii. 48).

5. We have here another fragment of an old Apocalypse, of which we find a Latin version in Irenaeus, v. 33. This Apocalypse Papias, according to Irenaeus, assigned to our Lord. It is recounted in the fourth book of his Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις. The passage in question is: "Venient dies, in quibus vineae nascentur, singulae decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmite dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmite dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botruum, et in unoquoque botro dena millia acinorum et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit vigintiquinque metretas vini. Et quum eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit: Botrus ego melior sum, me sume, per me Dominum benedic." Scholars have taken our text to be the original of this passage. That this is unlikely, and that both may be derived from the same original source, I will now proceed to show. In the first place, the passage in Irenaeus contains two additional sentences: "Dena millia brachiorum . . . palmite," and "Et quum eorum . . . benedic." Hence a fuller text is presupposed than we have in Bar. xxix. 5. In the next place, immediately after the words just cited, the text in Irenaeus proceeds: "Similiter et granum tritici decem millia spicarum generaturum, et unamquamque spicam habituram decem millia granorum, et unumquodque granum quinque bilibres similae clarae mundae." With these words compare the Eth. En. x. 19, where, in an account of Messianic bliss, we find "The vine that is planted thereon will yield wine in abundance, and of all the seed which is sown thereon will each measure bear ten thousand." From this we conclude that for a long time prior to Christianity there existed either in tradition or in writing a sensuous description of Messianic felicity. In this description not only the fruitfulness of the vine was dwelt upon, but also of all seeds and fruit-bearing trees. Of this description the largest survival is in Irenaeus, v. 33, preserved through the agency of Papias; the fragmentary survivals in the Eth. En. x. 19 (see above) and in our text form complimentary portions of this tradition.

Finally, the text presents a syncretistic appearance. In xxix. 4 one description of food—a flesh diet—is provided for the members of the Messianic kingdom; and in the next verse quite another—a vegetable diet; and in xxix. 8 a heavenly food, *i.e.* manna. The second is a more ancient view than the first and

and each branch will produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster will produce a thousand grapes, and each grape will produce a cor of wine. 6. And those who have hungered will rejoice: moreover, also, they will behold marvels every day. 7. For winds will go forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of the day clouds distilling the dew of health. 8. And it will come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna will again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time.

the most reasonable, being a return to the food of Adam in Paradise.

As to the origin of the 10,000-fold yield of the corn and wine, etc., Mr. Rendel Harris (*Expositor*, 1895, pp. 448, 449) offers a most ingenious and probable suggestion. He derives it from the blessing of Isaac (Gen. xxvii. 28), where he conjectures that in the statement דָּגָן וְתִירֹשׁ = רֹב "plenty of corn and wine," the word רֹב was taken as רִבּוֹ = 10,000. He points out that the context in Irenaeus (see above), in which the story of Papias and the elders is given, supports his contention; for that it follows a discussion of the blessing in question.

Each branch . . . each cluster . . . each grape. Instead of "each" the Syriac in all three cases gives "one." But the sense requires "each," and in the Latin Version of this passage preserved in Irenaeus (see above) "each" is found in the three phrases, *i.e.* "unoquoque flagello, unoquoque botro, unumquodque acinum." The explanation is not far to seek. The Hebrew אחד which = εἷς, one, occasionally also = ἕκαστος, each. The former meaning was wrongly followed by the Greek translator. Hence the wrong turn in the Syriac.

A cor. This represents κόρος which in turn is a translation of כֹּר or חֹמֶר. The cor was equal to about 120 gallons. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 9, 2 ὁ δὲ κόρος δύναται μεδίμνους ἀττικοὺς δέκα.

6. *Rejoice.* This is a characteristic of the members of the kingdom. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28; xii. 34.

Behold marvels. The belief that the Messiah would signalise His advent by marvels was general. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 27; xiii. 50; Matt. xi. 4-6; Luke vii. 22, 23; John vii. 31.

8. *The treasury of manna will again descend*, etc. In Ps. lxxviii. 25 manna is called angels' food. In *Or. Sibyl.* vii. 149 it is to be the food of the members of the Messianic kingdom Μάννην τὴν δροσερὴν λευκοῖσιν ὀδοῦσι φάγονται, and in Rev. ii. 17 the idea is spiritualised: the faithful are to receive "hidden manna."

These are they, etc. These are "the remnant" of verse 4.

Consummation of time. This

XXX. "And it will come to pass after these things, when the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled, and He will return in glory, then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. 2. And it will come to pass at that time that the treasuries will be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous, and they will come forth, and a multitude of souls will be seen together in one assemblage of one thought, and the first will rejoice and the last will not be grieved. 3.

XXX. 2-XXXV. = B^2.

phrase is found in xxvii. 15. The Messianic age forms the "consummation of the time or times" = ἡ συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος or τῶν αἰώνων. We should observe that this phrase has a different meaning in xxx. 3; but there we have the work of B^2.

XXX. 1. *When the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled*, etc. This can have only one meaning, and this is that, at the close of His reign, the Messiah will return in glory to heaven. The word translated "advent" is ܡܫܝܚܐ which in turn was an ordinary rendering of παρουσία. Now παρουσία can mean not only "coming" or "advent," but also "presence" (cf. 2 Cor. x. 10; 2 Macc. xv. 21, and probably 2 Cor. vii. 6, 7; 2 Thess. ii. 9). Hence we should render: "When the time of the presence of the Messiah is fulfilled."

Return in glory. These words imply that the Messiah pre-existed in heaven before His advent. He returns whither He had come. This is also the teaching of Eth. En. xlvi. 1, 2; xlviii. 3 (see note); lxii. 7; 4 Ezra xii. 32; xiii. 26 (?); xiv. 9. This seems also to be the legitimate interpretation of Pss. Sol. xviii. 6 εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκλογῆς ἐν ἀνάξει χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. In 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30, the Messiah and the righteous die at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again. The resurrection follows immediately on the return of the Messiah into heaven; on his death in 4 Ezra vii. 29, 30. The words "of him" cannot be original. The text was probably "those who have fallen asleep in hope." Cf. LXX. of Ps. xvi. 9 ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. The corruption could have arisen easily in the Syriac by a change of ܒܫܒܪ into ܒܫܒܚ.

Fallen asleep. Cf. xi. 4, note. As A^1 is fragmentary, we are not told what befalls the living righteous. In the following verses of B^2 only the destinies of *souls* are dealt with. The complementary half of this doctrine is given in l., li.

2. With this verse we return to B^2, resuming the text that ended with xxiv. 1. We have here an account of the general resurrection (cf. xlii. 8; l. 2).

Treasuries. See xxi. 23, note; xxiv. 1, note.

For he knows that the time has come of which it is said, that it is the consummation of the times. 4. But the souls of the wicked, when they behold all those things, shall then waste away the more. 5. For they will know that their torment has come and their perdition has arrived."

XXXI. And it came to pass after these things that I went to the people and said unto them: "Assemble unto me all your elders and I will speak

3. *The consummation of the times.* This phrase means here the final judgment; in A[1] it means the Messianic age (cf. xxvii. 15; xxix. 8).

4. *Waste away.* Cf. li. 5; 4 Ezra vii. 87.

5. This verse does not mean that the wicked souls have not hitherto suffered, but that their suffering hitherto is as nothing compared to the torments they shall now endure. Similarly, the righteous have in the treasuries of souls had rest and peace, but they too (cf. ver. 3) know that their real blessedness has now come. See xxxvi. 10.

XXXI.-XXXV. Baruch assembles and addresses the elders of the people (xxxi. 1-3); he exhorts them not to forget the anguish of Zion (xxxi. 4), and announces the coming end of all that is corruptible (xxxi. 5); and, in case they observe the law, their safety amid the convulsions which will accompany the renewal of the entire creation (xxxii. 1); they are not to grieve so much for the past as for the coming time; for then the strife and stress will exceed all that has been before when God renews creation (xxxii. 1, 5, 6). Thereupon, when Baruch seeks to dismiss the people (xxxii. 7), they remonstrate against his forsaking them (xxxii. 8-xxxiii.) Baruch rejoins that he is not forsaking them, but only going to the Holy Place to get light from God (xxxiv.) He then proceeds thither and laments over Zion (xxxv.) A fast of seven days should follow here.

The subject on which Baruch addresses the people is to be found in each instance in the previous divine revelation (see v. 5; x. 4); but it will be observed that this address (xxxi. 3-xxxii. 6) is wholly out of relation to all that has gone before. There is therefore something wrong. The gist of this address is: (*a*) The end of all things corruptible is at hand; (*b*) if ye prepare your hearts to obey the law ye will then be safe in this time of crisis; (*c*) for the entire creation must be shaken, and give place to a new and incorruptible creation. Now these questions are discussed later in the dialogues between God and Baruch. Thus, for (*a*), see xlii. 6-8; for (*b*), see xlviii. 22-24, 38-41; for (*c*), see xlviii. 49; lii. 3, 8-9, 16. We therefore hold that xxxi.-xxxv. was read after lii. originally. Finally, xliv. 8-15 really forms the conclusion of Baruch's address in xxxi., xxxii.; it should be read immediately after xxxii. 6 (see p. 69).

XXXI. 1. *All your elders.* See xliv. 1, note.

words unto them." 2. And they all assembled in the valley of the Cedron. 3. And I answered and said unto them: "Hear, O Israel, and I will speak to thee, and give ear, O seed of Jacob, and I will instruct thee. 4. Forget not Zion, but hold in remembrance the anguish of Jerusalem. 5. For lo! the days come, when everything that exists will become the prey of corruption and be as though it had not been.

XXXII. "But ye, if ye prepare your hearts, so as to sow in them the fruits of the law, it will protect you in that time in which the Mighty One is to shake the whole creation. [2. Because after a little time the building of Zion will be shaken in order that it

XXXII. 2-4 = E.

2. *Cedron.* See v. 5, note.

3. *Hear, O Israel . . . and give ear, O seed of Jacob.* Cf. xvii. 4; xlvi. 4; 4 Ezra ix. 30. For the combination "hear . . . and give ear," see Isa. i. 2.

5. *Will become the prey of.* Literally = "will be taken to corruption." See xxi. 19, note.

XXXII. 1. *Prepare your hearts.* An O.T. phrase (cf. 1 Sam. vii. 3; Job xi. 13; Ps. lxxviii. 8). It is a favourite expression in B^1 and B^2 of this book; cf. xlvi. 5; lii. 7; lxxxiii. 8; lxxxv. 9, 11.

The fruits of the law. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 20; ix. 32; see note on xv. 5.

It will protect. See xxix. 2, note. These words point back to xlviii. 22-24; cf. xliv. 13, 14; xlviii. 38-41.

Shake the whole creation. I.e. with a view to a new heavens and a new earth (see ver. 6). The thought comes originally from Haggai ii. 6; cf. Heb. xii. 26.

2-4. I have bracketed these verses as an interpolation; for in verse 2 it is announced that the temple will be destroyed after a little time; but, according to all B^2 as well as B^1, the temple has already been destroyed, and this is the presupposition of xxxi. 4. Again, verses 2-4 break the connection of thought in the text. Observe the awkwardness of "Because after a little time," etc., following on verse 1; and, on the other hand, how appropriately verse 5 follows on xxxi. 4-xxxii. 1. We should observe that there is nothing inconsistent in the idea of a heavenly Jerusalem being established on a new and incorruptible earth. Indeed, it is not impossible that iv. 2-7 originally followed xxxii. 6. We have a close parallel to xxxii. 2-4 in *Beresh rab.* 2, and *Pesikta*, 145*a*, where it is said that the temple was built in glory, destroyed, again rebuilt, but in mean fashion; finally, it should again be rebuilt in glory.

2. *Zion will be shaken. I.e.* in 588 by Nebuchadnezzar; but according to xxxi. 4; xxxii. 5; xxxiii. 2, 3; xxxv. 1, this is already in the past.

may again be built. 3. But that building will not remain, but will again after a time be rooted out, and will remain desolate until the time. 4. And afterwards it must be renewed in glory, and it will be perfected for evermore.] 5. Therefore we should not be distressed so much over the evil which has now come as over that which is still to be. 6. For there will be a greater trial than these two tribulations when the Mighty One will renew His creation. 7. And now do not draw near to me for a few days, nor seek me till I come to you." 8. And it came to pass when I had spoken to them all these words, that I, Baruch, went my way, and when the people saw me setting out, they lifted up their voice and lamented and said:

In order that it may again be built. *I.e.* by Ezra and Nehemiah.

3. *Again . . . be rooted out.* *I.e.* by the Romans in 70 A.D.

4. On the heavenly Jerusalem. See iv. 3, note.

5. *We should . . . be distressed.* I have here followed Bensly's emendation of ܢܬܕܚܠ into ܢܬܕܚܠܝ. Otherwise, we should render with Ceriani, "Non ergo debet nos contristare hoc omne super malo quod supervenit," etc.

The evil which has now come. The fall of Jerusalem.

6. *Two tribulations.* *I.e.* those accompanying the destruction of Jerusalem and the renewal of creation. But the more natural rendering is: "For there will be a greater trial than the two tribulations when," etc. If we must accept this, the words "than the two tribulations" are an addition of E, and without them the text would run: "For the trial will be great when," etc.

Renew His creation. This signifies an incorruptible world which was to take the place of the corruptible (cf. xxxi. 5; xliv. 12; lvii. 2). It was a current expectation from the times of the captivity (cf. Isa. lxv. 17; lxvi. 22; Eth. En. xlv. 4, note; lxxii. 1; xci. 15, 16; 4 Ezra vii. 75; Matt. xix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1). This announcement of Baruch is the presupposition of li., lii., and the truth correlative to the renewal and transformation of the righteous in li.

7. *Do not draw near*, etc. 4 Ezra v. 19. This verse was preceded originally by xliv. 8-15 (see p. 69).

For a few days. These words refer to the interval in which the next fast of seven days should take place. The mention of this fast at the beginning or close of xxxv. has through some accident been omitted (see v. 7, note; ix. 2, note).

9. "Whither departest thou from us, Baruch, and forsakest us as a father who forsakes his orphan children, and departs from them?

XXXIII. "Are these the commands which thy companion, Jeremiah the prophet, commanded thee, and said unto thee: 2. 'Look to this people till I go and confirm the rest of the brethren in Babylon, against whom has gone forth the sentence that they should be led into captivity?' 3. And now if thou also forsakest us, it were good for us all to die before thee, and then that thou shouldst withdraw from us."

XXXIV. And I answered and said unto the people: "Far be it from me to forsake you or to withdraw from you, but I will only go unto the Holy of Holies to enquire of the Mighty One concerning you and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination: and after these things I will return to you."

XXXV. And I, Baruch, went to the holy place, and sat down upon the ruins and wept, and said: 2. "Become ye springs, O mine eyes, and ye, mine eyelids, a fount of tears. 3. For how shall I lament

9. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 18.

XXXIII. 1, 2. See x. 2, note, where I have shown that, according to B^1, Jeremiah does not seem to have gone to Babylon.

3. For another form of the same thought, cf. 4 Ezra xii. 44.

XXXIV. *Far be it from me to forsake you.* Cf. 4 Ezra xii. 48: "Si ergo tu nos dereliqueris, quanto erit nobis melius, si essemus succensi et nos in incendio Sion."

Holy of Holies. This is practically the same place as is mentioned in x. 5; in xxxv. 1 it is simply called the holy place. It is where the altar stood. See xxxv. 4.

XXXV. 1. *The holy place, and sat down upon the ruins.* See preceding note, and x. 5, note.

2. From Jer. ix. 1; cf. Eth. En. xcv. 1.

for Zion, and how shall I mourn for Jerusalem? 4. Because in that place where I am now prostrate, the high priest of old used to offer holy sacrifices, and to place thereon the smoke of the incense of fragrant odours. 5. But now our glorying has been made into dust, and the desire of our soul into sand."

XXXVI. And when I had said these things I fell XXXVI.-XL. $=A^2$.

The Sixth Section

XXXVI.-XLVI. This in reality forms the sixth part of this book. For the symmetry of the book as constructed by the final editor requires, as we have already shown (see v. 7, note, introduction to the fifth section, p. 36, and xxxii. 7, note), the insertion of a seven days' fast after xxxv., or possibly even before it. The omission of this fast may have been an original oversight of the editor, or may have been due to a careless copyist. The structure of this part is as follows:—First, the omitted fast, then a Messiah vision and its interpretation (xxxvi.-xl.), with further disclosures regarding apostates and proselytes (xli. 2-xlii. 8), and the announcement of Baruch's coming death (xliii.) Finally, Baruch's address to the people (xliv.-xlvi.)

This section is of very composite origin. Thus xxxvi.-xl. is a Messiah Apocalypse written prior to 70 A.D.; xliii.-xliv. 8; xlv.-xlvi. 6 belongs to B^1; the rest of the section mainly to B^2.

XXXVI.-XL. We have here the second Messiah Apocalypse A^2. (*a*) *Date of A^2 and its Relation to B^1 and B^2.* A^2 is quite distinct in its world-view and date from B^1 and B^2. We shall first establish the difference of date. Now whereas we have seen that B^1 and B^2 were written subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, it is clear that A^2 was written prior to that event. For whereas, in a short historical outline from the rise of Babylon to the reign of the Messiah (xxxix. 2-xl. 2), the first destruction of Jerusalem is mentioned (xxxix. 3), there is not even a hint given as to its destruction by Rome, although the Roman oppression of Palestine is clearly indicated (xxxix. 5, 6). Again the Messiah makes Zion His capital (xl. 1). If it were in ruins, its restoration would of necessity be mentioned. Finally, as there is no allusion in A^2 to the second destruction of Jerusalem, so there is none to the subsequent dispersion after that event, and none to a return of the exiles. Consequently, as we find, the remnant of Israel is still in Palestine (xl. 2). It is wholly otherwise in B^1 and B^2.

As regards their difference of world-view, it will be sufficient here to remark that whereas there is no Messiah in B^1 and B^2, the Messiah is the centre of expectation and the stay of Israel in A^2. And whereas B^2 is pessimistic as regards this world, A^2 is optimistic. And whereas in B^2, and in a less degree in B^1, the law is the centre and the end of life, in A^2 this place is occupied by the Messiah.

(*b*) *Relation of A^2 to A^1.* The two writings come from different authors. In A^1 the Messiah has only a passive *rôle* assigned to Him; He does not appear till the enemies

asleep there, and I saw a vision in the night. 2. And lo! a forest of trees planted on the plain, and lofty mountains surrounded it and precipitous rocks, and that forest occupied much space. 3. And lo! over against it arose a vine, and from under it there went forth a fountain peacefully. 4. Now that fountain came to the forest and was (stirred) into great waves, and those waves submerged that forest, and suddenly they rooted out the multitude of (the trees) of that forest, and overthrew all the mountains which were round about it. 5. And the height of the forest began to be made low, and the top of the mountains was made low, and that fountain prevailed greatly, so that it left nothing of that great forest save one cedar only. 6. Also when it had cast it down and had destroyed and rooted out the multitude of (the trees of) that forest, so that nothing was left of it, nor could its place be recognised, then that vine began to come with the fountain in peace and great tranquillity, and it came to a place which was not far from the cedar, and they brought the cedar which had been cast down to it. 7. And I beheld and lo! that vine opened its mouth and spake and said to that cedar: "Art thou not that cedar which was left of the forest of wickedness, and by whose means wickedness persisted, and was wrought all those years, and goodness never. 8.

of Israel are destroyed. In A^2, on the other hand, the destruction of the wicked and the vindication of Israel is the sole work of the Messiah.

XXXVI. 1. It will be remarked that these visions are only found in A^2 and A^3. Elsewhere we have direct revelations.

I fell asleep. Cf. lii. 8.

And thou didst keep conquering that which was not thine, and to that which was thine thou didst never show compassion, and thou didst keep extending thy power over those who were far from thee, and those who drew nigh thee thou didst hold fast in the toils of thy wickedness, and thou didst uplift thyself always as one that could not be rooted out! 9. But now thy time has sped and thy hour is come. 10. Do thou also therefore depart, O cedar, after the forest, which departed before thee, and become dust with it, and let your ashes be mingled together. 11. And now recline in anguish and rest in torment till thy last time come, in which thou wilt come again, and be tormented still more."

XXXVII. And after these things I saw that cedar burning, and the vine growing, itself and all around it, the plain full of unfading flowers. And I indeed awoke and arose.

XXXVIII. And I prayed and said: "O LORD, my Lord, Thou dost always enlighten those who are led by understanding. 2. Thy law is life, and Thy

8. *Rooted out.* This phrase is constantly used in the Talmud with reference to the future fate of Rome. The word is עקר.

11. *In anguish,* etc. See xxx. 5, where as here the intermediate state is one involving certain degrees of happiness or pain.

XXXVII. *Unfading flowers.* Cf. Apoc. Pet. *τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀνθοῦσαν ἀμαράντοις ἄνθεσι.*

XXXVIII. 1. *O LORD, my Lord.* See note on iii. 1. It is God Himself who interprets this vision for Baruch, but Ramiel who does so in A^3 (see lv. 3).

2. *Thy law is life.* Cf. xlv. 2; Ecclus. xlv. 5 *νόμον ζωῆς καὶ ἐπιστήμης* (also xvii. 11). With this sentiment cf. Hillel's words (*Aboth.* ii. 7): "The more law the more life . . . he who gains a knowledge of the law gains life in the world to come." As correlative expressions might be cited (John vii. 49), "This people, which knoweth not the law, is accursed," and Hillel's saying: "An unlearned man cannot be

wisdom is right guidance. 3. Make known to me therefore the interpretation of this vision. 4. For Thou knowest that my soul hath always walked in Thy law, and from my (earliest) days I departed not from Thy wisdom."

XXXIX. And He answered and said unto me: "This is the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen. 2. As thou hast seen a great forest which lofty and precipitous mountains surrounded, this is the world. 3. Behold! the days come, and this kingdom will be destroyed which once destroyed Zion, and it will be subjected to that which comes after it. 4. Moreover, that also again after a time will be destroyed, and another, a third, will arise, and that also will have dominion for its time, and will be destroyed. 5. And after these things a fourth kingdom will arise, whose power will be harsh and evil far beyond those which were before it, and it will rule many times as the forests on the plain, and it will hold fast the times, and will

pious" (לא עם הארץ חסיד). He was even excluded from the resurrection (see Weber, 42-44). The words in the text, however, are far from being as strong as these statements. So we infer from the parallel, "Thy wisdom, etc."

Thy wisdom is right guidance. This is based upon the Massoretic text of Ecclesiastes x. 10, where the Versions take directions of their own. Thus the Heb. is יתרון הכשיר הכמה. The LXX. καὶ περισσεία τοῦ ἀνδρείου σοφία, and the Syr. = "et sapientia sollertibus emolumentum."

4. *From my (earliest) days.* This is the Hebrew idiom מִיָּמַי. Cf. 1 Kings i. 6; 1 Sam. xxv. 28.

XXXIX. 3-5. Of the four world empires here mentioned there can be no doubt as to the first and fourth. The first is of course the Babylonian, for it is that which effected the first destruction of Jerusalem in 588 (see ver. 3). The fourth (in verses 5-7; cf. xxxvi. 5-10) is just as clearly Rome. The second and third empires are probably the Persian and the Græco-Egyptian and Syrian. The fourfold division of world empires in the text is due no doubt to Dan. vii. On these four empires, see *Tanchuma, Terumah*, 7.

exalt itself more than the cedars of Lebanon. 6. And by it the truth will be hidden, and all those who are polluted with iniquity will flee to it, as evil beasts flee and creep into the forest. 7. And it will come to pass when the time of his consummation that he should fall has approached, then the principate of My Messiah will be revealed, which is like the fountain and the vine, and when it is revealed it will root out the multitude of his host. 8. And that which thou hast seen, the lofty cedar, which was left of that forest, and with regard to this fact, that the vine spoke those words with it which thou didst hear, this is the word.

XL. "The last leader of that time will be left alive, when the multitude of his hosts will be put to the sword and be bound, and they will take him up to Mount Zion, and My Messiah will convict him of all his impieties, and will gather and set before him all the works of his hosts. 2. And afterwards he will put

6. *The truth will be hidden.* Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1, where, in connection with Rome, the same statement is made: "abscondetur veritatis via."

7. *The principate of My Messiah,* etc. See xxix. 3, note.

XL. 1. Who this last leader is we cannot determine; it may be any emperor or general from 70 A.D. back till Pompey's time. Since the personal wrong-doings of this leader are dwelt upon, it is possible that it is actually Pompey that is here referred to. The words "his impieties" = ܚܛܝܗܘܗܝ, might favour this view (cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 24-35).

According to the Talmud, a single leader was to "unite in himself all hatred and hostility against God's people. He was to be called Armilus, and to be the ארשיעא קאר' ἐξοχήν." See Weber, 348, 349.

My Messiah. As we have already remarked (pp. 52, 61), the Messiah here plays an active part as compared to the Messiah in A^1, *i.e.* xxvii.-xxx. 1. The protection of the remnant of Israel and the destruction of their enemies, which are here the work of the Messiah, are there assigned to God Himself, and the Messiah does not appear till these tasks are completed (see xxix. 3).

Will convict . . . of . . . impieties. So 4 Ezra xii. 32; xiii. 37.

him to death, and protect the rest of My people which shall be found in the place which I have chosen. 3. And his principate will stand for ever, until the world of corruption is at an end, and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled. 4. This is thy vision, and this is its interpretation."

XLI.-XLII. = B^2.

XLI. And I answered and said: "To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be)? or who will be worthy to live at that time? 2. For I will speak before Thee everything that I think, and I will ask of Thee regarding those things which I meditate. 3. For lo! I see many of Thy people who have withdrawn from Thy covenant, and cast from them the yoke of Thy law. 4. But others again I

2. *Protect the rest*, etc. See xxix. 2, note.

3. *Until the world of corruption is at an end.* The Messianic kingdom is only of temporary duration; it belongs to the *olam hazzeh* (see xxi. 19, note).

XLI., XLII. These two chapters appear to belong to B^2, and to have followed originally after xxx. The same world-view is presented as in B^2. Thus the times (xlii. 6) are hastened, as in xx., in order to usher in the end, when corruption will disappear and the life of incorruption set in through the resurrection (xlii. 7, 8).

The chief topics discussed in these chapters are two: First, the ultimate destiny of the apostates; and secondly, that of the proselytes.

Thus hitherto the portions of this book derived from B^2, and their original order, appear to have been ix. 2-xii. (?); xiii. 1-3*a*; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3*b*-12; xxv.; xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-5; xli.-xlii.

XLI. 1. Baruch's question goes back to xxx. 2-5, with which they originally stood in connection in B^2. For a similar question, cf. lxxv. 5.

To live. The life referred to here is the spiritual life subsequent to the resurrection (cf. xlix. 2; lxxvi. 5; 4 Ezra xiv. 22).

3. The apostates here dealt with may be Christians.

Yoke of Thy law. On the "law" see xv. 5, note. The term "yoke" as expressing "obligation" is common in Jewish writings (cf. Ecclus. li. 26), *τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ξυγόν* (Pss. Sol. vii. 8; xvii. 32; Acts xv. 10; Gal. v. 1). In later Judaism such expressions as "yoke of the law," "yoke of the precept," "yoke of the kingdom of heaven," are frequent. See Schöttgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. 115-120. Contrast Matt. xi. 29, 30.

4. The proselytes, *i.e.* the גרים. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 133: "Et miserator

have seen who have forsaken their vanity, and fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. 5. What therefore will be to them? or how will the last time receive them? 6. Or perhaps the time of these will assuredly be weighed, and as the beam inclines will they be judged accordingly?"

XLII. And He answered and said unto me: "These things also I will show unto thee. 2. As for what thou didst say—'To whom will these things be, and how many (will they be)?'—to those who have believed there will be the good which was spoken of aforetime, and to those who despise there will be the contrary of these things. 3. And as for what thou didst say regarding those who have drawn near and those who have withdrawn, this is the word. 4. As for those who were before subject, and afterwards withdrew and mingled themselves with the seed of mingled peoples,

in eo quod miseretur illis qui conversionem faciunt in lege ejus."

Their vanity. *I.e.* their idols (cf. Deut. xxxii. 21).

Fled for refuge beneath Thy wings. Exactly the sense of Ps. xxxvi. 8, בצל כנפיך יחסיון; and of lvii. 1, where in both cases the LXX. renders חסה by ἐλπίζειν and the Syr. by two different words meaning "to hide." This tends to show that the writer used the Hebrew text independently. For other instances of the same metaphor, cf. Ps. xvii. 8; lxiii. 8; Deut. xxxii. 11.

But in our text the above phrase is technically used of proselytes גרים. This technical sense is derived from Ruth ii. 12, where, in reference to Ruth, it is said: "The God of Israel under whose wings thou art come to take refuge" (לחסות תחת-כנפיו). In the *Aboda Sara*, 13*b*, *Shabbat*, 31*a*, the proselyte is said to have come under the wings of the Shekinah; and in the *Jer. Sanh.* ii. 20*c*, it is stated that "Solomon loved many strange women in order to bring them under the wings of the Shekinah."

5. *The last time.* *I.e.* that described in xxx. 2-5.

XLII. 2. *Those who believed.* See liv. 5, note, also xxi. 9, on the doctrine of justification in Baruch.

4. The sense seems to be that the apostates have only this world.

Mingled peoples. This is a rendering of ערב (cf. Jer. xxv. 20, 24). The Greek translation of it is found in Pss. Sol. xvii. 17 ἐθνῶν συμμίκτων.

the time of these is the former, and I am meditating deep things. 5. And as for those who before knew not but afterwards knew life, and mingled (only) with the seed of the people which had separated itself, the time of these (is) the former, I am meditating deep things. 6. And time will succeed to time and season to season, and one will receive from another, and then with a view to the consummation will everything be compared according to the measure of the times and the hours of the seasons. 7. For corruption will take those that belong to it, and life those that belong to it. 8. And the dust will be called, and there will be said to it: 'Give back that which is not thine, and raise up all that thou hast kept until its time.'

XLIII.-XLIV. 7 = B.[1]

XLIII. "Moreover, do thou, Baruch, strengthen thy

5. *Of the people.* The text ܕܥܡܡ̈ܐ = "of the peoples" I have emended into ܕܥܡܐ, for it would be strange to speak of Israel as "the peoples" or "the nations."

Which had separated itself. I.e. the legalistic Israel by means of the "fence" of the law (cf. xlviii. 23). The "separatists" are the Pharisees, the פרושין.

The former. This seems corrupt, and probably, as Kabisch proposes, we should have "the latter." This would admit the proselytes to all the blessings of the world to come. On the treatment of "proselytes" in the Talmud, see Weber, 55, 73 f., 98, 107, 183, 254, 257 f., 282 f., 368 f.

6. This verse is obscure. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 37.

7. Cf. xxxi. 5. See note on xxi. 19.

8. *Give back*, etc. Cf. l. 2. The earth gives back the body; Sheol gives back the soul.

XLIII.-XLVI. Of these chapters *xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6 belong to* B^1. Not to B^2, for (1) in xliii. 2; xliv. 2, as in lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1, Baruch is to die an ordinary death and go the way of all the earth and forget all the concerns of mortals, whereas in B^2 he is not to die an ordinary death, but to be taken up and preserved till the last day; he is not to forget human affairs, for he is in the last days to testify against the Gentile oppressors of Israel (xiii. 3, note; xxv. 1; xlviii. 30). (2) The people are assured of good tidings in store for them (xlvi. 6) just as in lxxvii. 12; they are bidden to look for the consolation of Zion (*i.e.* its restoration), as we infer from lxxxi. 1, 4, taken together with i. 4; vi. 9, whereas in B^2 there is no consolation of any kind to be looked for *in this world.* (3) In

heart for that which has been said to thee, and understand those things which have been shown to thee; for there are many eternal consolations for thee. 2. For thou wilt depart from this place, and thou wilt pass from the regions which are now seen by thee, and thou wilt forget whatever is corruptible, and wilt not again recall those things which happen among mortals. 3. Go therefore and command thy people, and come to this place, and afterwards fast seven days, and then I will come to thee and speak with thee."

XLIV. And I, Baruch, went from thence, and

xliv. 7 and xlviii. 38 the same phrase, *i.e.* as to a "change of the times," is found; in the former with an optimistic, in the latter with a pessimistic reference. (4) xliv. 5 vividly recalls the scene depicted in vi.-viii. As all the intervening chapters deal with questions of the school, xliii.-xlvi. probably stood originally in close juxtaposition with vi.-viii.

The fragment xliv. 8-15 belongs to B^2, for just as in B^2 expectation is fixed not on an earthly felicity but only on the world to come (xliv. 15), the inheritance of the promised time (xliv. 13), the time that passeth not away (xliv. 11), the new world which turneth not to corruption those who enter it (xliv. 12), (2) the whole present world, the entire *olam hazzeh* is hopeless; it is defiled with evil (xliv. 9), and with its corruption it will pass away (xliv. 8). (3) In xliv. 9 the present world is to be committed to oblivion. This is in flat contradiction to iv. 1.

The original position of xliv. 8-15. This seems easy to determine. The main statements in this address of Baruch to the people really presuppose xlviii.-lii. as their background. They express shortly some of the main conclusions of these chapters. It is not reasonable to suppose that Baruch makes known to the people the very truths which, according to the present order of the book, are revealed to him later by God. We have already seen that xxxi.-xxxv. were originally subsequent to xlviii.-lii. (see p. 57). Since therefore both these passages form the address or part of the address of Baruch that was based upon previous disclosures of God, it is obvious that xliv. 8-15 followed originally on xxxii. 6 and formed the natural sequel to the closing words of that verse.

XLIII. 1. These words have no reference to the preceding chapters. They refer probably to some lost passage of B^1.

2. *Thou wilt depart.* Both the context and the word "depart" point to an ordinary death here. See xiii. 3, note. The word rendered "depart" is . It is found also in xiv. 19; xv. 1; xliv. 2.

Whatever is corruptible. Cf. xxi. 19, note.

3. Parts of this verse relating to the fast, etc., are probably due to the final editor. See xlvii. 1, note.

came to my people, and I called my first-born son and the Gedaliahs my friends, and seven of the elders of the people, and I said unto them: 2. "Behold, I go unto my fathers according to the way of all the earth. 3. But withdraw ye not from the way of the law, but guard and admonish the people which remain, lest they withdraw from the commandments of the Mighty One. 4. For ye see that he whom we serve is just, and our Creator is no respecter of persons. 5. And see ye what hath befallen Zion, and what hath happened to Jerusalem. 6. For the judgment of the Mighty One will (thereby) be made known, and His ways, which, though past finding out, are right. 7. For if ye endure and persevere in His fear, and do not forget His law, the times will change over you for good, and ye will see the consolation of Zion. 8. Because whatever is now

XLIV. 8-15 = B².

XLIV. 1. *My first-born son.* Elsewhere mentioned only in xlvi. 1.

The Gedaliahs—possibly a corruption for Gedaliah. Cf. v. 1. Gedaliah is mentioned only in B¹.

Seven of the elders of the people. In v. 5 Baruch assembled all the elders or honourable amongst the people. This is natural, as it is prior to the destruction of the city. That seven should be summoned now that the bulk of the population is carried into exile is equally fitting. We must bear in mind that in xxxii. 1 we have the work of a different author, else the writer might seem to have been guilty of an inconsistency.

2. Cf. iii. 2. See xiii. 3, note. The text is drawn from Gen. xv. 15 and Joshua xxiii. 14; 1 Kings ii. 2.

3. *Way of the law.* See xv. 5, note.

Commandments of the Mighty One. Cf. xlviii. 38; lxxxiv. 7.

4. *No respecter of persons.* Cf. xiii. 8.

5. These words as we have observed above (p. 69) vividly recall vi.-viii., and seem to show that these chapters followed much more closely on vi.-viii. than they do now.

6. *Which, though . . . right.* The text = *which are past finding out and right.*

7. *The times will change over you for good.* Contrast the use of this phrase in xlviii. 38.

The consolation of Zion. I.e. its restoration; cf. lxxxi. 1, 4; for the temple was to be rebuilt (i. 4; vi. 9) according to B¹. The announcement of this future in store for Zion is called good tidings in xlvi. 6; lxxvii. 12; lxxxi. 1.

is nothing, but that which will be is very great. 9. For everything that is corruptible will pass away, and everything that dies will depart, and all the present time will be forgotten, nor will there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evils. 10. For that which runs now runs unto vanity, and that which prospers will quickly fall and be humiliated. 11. For that which is to be will be the object of desire, and on that which will come afterwards do we place our hope; for it is a time that will not pass away. 12. And the hour comes which will abide for ever, and the new world which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness, and has no mercy on those who depart to torment, and will not

8-15. These verses should be read after xxxii. 6 (see p. 69).

8. In xxxii. 6 God has declared His purpose to renew creation; the reason is given here; for all things that now are are nothing.

9. *Corruptible.* Cf. xxi. 19, note; xxxi. 5.

All the present time will be forgotten. In iv. 1 this is denied, but iv. 1 is from B^1 (cf. Isa. lxv. 17).

11. *A time that will not pass away.* This is set over against xlviii. 50: "this world which passeth away."

12. *The new world*, etc., implied in the new creation (xxxii. 6). In li. 3 it is the world which dies not, nor ages those who come to it (lii. 9, 16).

Who depart to its blessedness. The text here יכחדת אלכי = "who depart on its beginning" is corrupt. This clause should describe the destination of the righteous, as the antithetical clause in the next line, "those who depart to torment," describes that of the wicked. The error thus lies in the words "in its beginning." In the next place, we can reason back to what should stand here instead of these words. For the corresponding phrase in the other clause, *i.e.* "to torment," requires as its antithesis, not the meaningless "on its beginning," but "to blessedness." That is, over against "those who depart to torment," the sense needs "those who depart to blessedness." This conclusion as to the original text is confirmed by the fact that the erroneous text can be explained by the transposition of a single letter in the Hebrew original. Thus "in its beginning" = בראשו, but this arose from a false transcription of באשרו, *i.e.* by wrongly transposing the ר. Now באשרו = "to its blessedness," I have emended accordingly.

lead to perdition those who live in it. 13. For these are they who shall inherit that time which has been spoken of, and theirs is the inheritance of the promised time. 14. These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom, and with them are found stores of understanding, and from mercy have they not withdrawn, and the truth of the law have they preserved. 15. For to them will be given the world to come, but the dwelling of the rest who are many will be in the fire.

XLV.-XLVI. = B^1.

XLV. "Do ye therefore so far as ye are able instruct the people, for that labour is ours. 2. For if ye teach them, ye will quicken them."

XLVI. And my son and the elders of the people answered and said unto me: "Has the Mighty One humiliated us to such a degree as to take thee from us quickly? 2. And truly we shall be in darkness, and there will be no light to the people who are left. 3. For where again shall we seek the law, or who will distinguish for us between death and life?" 4. And I said unto them: "The throne of the Mighty One I cannot resist: nevertheless, there shall not be wanting to Israel

13. *The inheritance . . . time* = "the world to come" in verse 15.

14. This verse presupposes li. 3, 7. The "treasures" here mentioned differ from those in xxiv. 1.

15. Those described in the preceding verse are to receive the world to come, just as those who are similarly described in li. 3 are to receive the world that dies not. On the contrast of this world and the world to come, see xv. 8, note.

In the fire. Cf. xlviii. 39, 43; lix. 2; lxiv. 7; lxxxv. 13.

XLV. B^1 reappears here. The connection with xliv. 7 is all that could be desired. There it is said, "If ye keep faithful to the law ye will see the consolation of Zion"; "do ye therefore . . . instruct the people . . . for if ye teach them ye will quicken them."

2. *If ye teach*, etc. Cf. xxxviii. 2; Ps. cxix. 50, 93. This is the work of the true scribe. Pharisaism teaches obedience to the law, God will do the rest (cf. xliv. 7).

XLVI. 2. For similar diction, cf. lxxvii. 14; 4 Ezra xiv. 20.

a wise man nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob. 5. But only prepare ye your hearts, that ye may hear the law, and be subject to those who in fear are wise and understanding; and prepare your soul that ye may not depart from them. 6. For if ye do these things, good tidings will come unto you, which I before told you of; nor will ye fall into the torment, of which I testified to you before." [7. But with regard to the word that I was to be taken, I did not make (it) known to them or to my son.] XLVI. 7 = E.

XLVII. And when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went thence and said unto them: "Behold! I go to Hebron: for thither the Mighty One hath sent me." XLVII.-LII. = B^2.

4. *There shall not be wanting . . . a son of the law.* This is really an answer to the question put in iii. 6. The expression "son of the law" seems to occur here first in existing literature. Its earliest occurrence elsewhere in the Talmud appears to be in *Baba Mezia*, 96*a*. See Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, i. 258. The term בר מצוה was used in the Middle Ages as a designation of a full-grown Israelite. See Schürer, Div. II., vol. ii. 51 (note). For the parallelism *Israel . . . Jacob*, cf. xvii. 4; xxxi. 3.

5. *Prepare ye your hearts.* See xxxii. 1, note.

Obedience to the law and the Rabbis is here enforced.

6. Here the promise in xliv. 7 is enforced anew.

Good tidings. Cf. lxxvii. 12.

7. This verse is an addition of the final editor in order the better to adapt the fragment of B^1 just given to its new context. It belongs in spirit to B^2.

I was to be taken. Cf. xiii. 3, note; xlviii. 30. In lxxxv. 9 the phrase has a different meaning. ܢܣܒ is a renderiug of ἀναλαμβάνειν (also of μετατιθέναι in Gen. v. 24). The former is the usual word in the sense of the text. The idea of the ascension into heaven of great heroes in Jewish history was a familiar one. Thus it is told of Elijah in the LXX. of 2 Kings ii. 11, καὶ ἀνελήμφθη . . . εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν: Ecclus. xlviii. 9, ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἐν λαίλαπι πυρός: also in Eth. En. lxxxix. 52; xciii. 8; 1 Macc. ii. 58; of Enoch in Ecclus. xliv. 16; Eth. En. lxx. 1; lxxxvii. 3, 4; Slav. En. lxvii. 2; Jubilees, iv. 24; of Moses, Assumpt. Mos. x. 12; of Baruch, Apoc. Bar. xiii. 3; xxv. 1; xlvi. 7; xlviii. 30; lxxvi. 2; of Ezra, 4 Ezra viii. 20; xiv. 49; of many unnamed heroes, 4 Ezra vi. 26. ἀναλαμβάνειν is well-known in the N.T. in this sense (cf. Mark xvi. 19; Acts i. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. iii. 16). The substantive ἀνάληψις is rare. Ryle and James (Pss. Sol.) take iv. 20 of those Pss. to be the first known instance of its use; see also Luke ix. 51, and Test. Levi xviii. In the last passage it is a late Christian interpolation.

2. And I came to that place where the word had been spoken to me, and I sat there, and fasted seven days.

Prayer of Baruch

XLVIII. And it came to pass after the seventh day, that I prayed before the Mighty One and said: 2. "O my Lord, Thou summonest the advent of the times, and they stand before Thee; Thou causest the power of the ages to pass away, and they do not resist Thee; Thou arrangest the method of the seasons, and they obey Thee. 3. Thou alone knowest the goal of the generations, and Thou revealest not Thy mysteries to many. 4. Thou makest known the multitude of the fire, and Thou weighest the lightness of the wind.

The Seventh Section

XLVII.-LXXVII. First we have Baruch's fast of seven days (xlvii. 2), followed by his prayer (xlviii. 2-24). Then in the dialogue that ensues various revelations are made to Baruch touching the coming woes and the judgment (xlviii. 26-41), and the resurrection (l.-lii.) On these revelations follows a Messiah Apocalypse (liii.-lxxiv. = A^3). In lxxvi. Baruch is told of his approaching translation, and in lxxvii. he calls the people together and addresses them.

This section is composite: xlviii.-lii. being derived from B^2; liii.-lxxiv. from A^3; lxxv., lxxvi. from B^2; and lxxvii. from B^1.

XLVII. 1. The purposeless journey to Hebron spoken of here must be derived from an original source. According to the scheme of the final editor it has no business here. Further, no such command has been given to Baruch in the existing text. Hence this entire verse must be regarded as drawn from B^1 or B^2, and the next verse, which conflicts with it, as due to the final editor, as also xliii. 3. It is noteworthy, too, that the words "and dismissed them" must be corrupt; for "and when I had gone forth and dismissed them, I went thence and said unto them" is absurd. Baruch goes forth from some place (here undefined) and dismisses the people; then he departs thence and speaks to them. It is possible then that "when I had gone forth" refers to "the cavern in the earth" in xxi. 1. It will be remembered that of chapters xxi.-xlvi., xxi.-xxiv. 1, xxx. 2-5, xli., xlii. belong to B^2. These form in some sense a whole, and the scene with which they are connected may be the "cavern" in xxi. 1. If this is so, xlvii. 1 belongs to B^2.

2. Cf. xliii. 3; v. 7, note; ix., note; xxi. 2, note.

XLVIII. 2. *Method of the seasons.* Cf. xiv. 1, note; xx. 6.

5. Thou explorest the limit of the heights, and Thou scrutinisest the depths of the darkness. 6. Thou carest for the number which pass away that they may be preserved, and Thou preparest an abode for those that are to be. 7. Thou rememberest the beginning which Thou hast made, and the destruction that is to be Thou forgettest not. 8. With nods of fear and indignation Thou givest commandment to the flames, and they change into spirits, and with a word Thou quickenest that which was not, and with mighty power Thou holdest that which has not yet come. 9. Thou instructest created things in the understanding of Thee, and Thou makest wise the spheres so as to minister in their orders. 10. Armies innumerable stand before Thee and minister in their orders quietly at Thy nod. 11. Hear Thy servant and give ear to my petition. 12. For in a little time are we born, and in a little time do we return. 13. But with Thee hours are as a time, and days as generations. 14. Be not therefore wroth with man; for he is nothing, and take not account of our works. 15. For what are we? for lo! by Thy gift do we come

6. See xxiii. 4, note.

Thou carest . . . preserved. The text which here = "Thou commandest the number which passes away and it is preserved" is nonsense as it stands, but, if retranslated into Hebrew, it supplies us at once with the true text. Retranslated it = אתה פקד את־המספר העובר וישמר. Here clearly the Greek translator followed the wrong meaning of פקד, and mistranslated the weak vav with the voluntative imperfect. The translation required by the context is given above.

8. *With a word . . . which was not.* Cf. xxi. 4, note; 4 Ezra iv. 37. *Flames . . . spirits.* Cf. Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7.

9. *The spheres . . . in their orders.* Cf. Eth. En. ii. 1; Slav. En. xxx. 2, 3; Pss. Sol. xix. 2, 3.

10. Cf. Slav. En. xvii.; Test. Levi iii. *In their orders.* There were ten orders of angels according to the Jews; nine according to the Christians (see Slav. En. xx. 1, 3, note).

13. We should expect rather: "time is as a (few) hours, and generations as days."

into the world, and we depart not of our own will. 16. For we said not to our parents, 'Beget us,' nor did we send to Sheol and say, 'Receive us.' 17. What therefore is our strength that we should bear Thy wrath, or what are we that we should endure Thy judgment? 18. Protect us in Thy compassions, and in Thy mercy help us. 19. Behold the little ones that are subject unto Thee, and save all that draw nigh unto Thee, and destroy not the hope of our people, and cut not short the times of our aid. 20. For this is the nation which Thou hast chosen, and these are the people, to whom Thou findest no equal. 21. But I will speak now before Thee, and I will say as my heart thinketh. 22. In Thee do we trust, for lo! Thy law is with us, and we know that we shall not fall so far as we keep Thy statutes. 23. In this at least we are always blest that we have not mingled with the Gentiles. 24. For we are all named one people, who have received one law from One, and the law which is amongst us will aid us, and the surpassing wisdom which is in us will help us." 25.

15. *Depart not*, etc. In xiv. 11 men are said to "come not of their own will"; in 4 Ezra viii. 5 the two statements are combined.

16. *Sheol.* See xi. 6, note.

18. See lxxv. 6.

19. *That are subject to Thee.* Cf. xlii. 4.

All that draw nigh. Are these proselytes? (see xli. 4; xlii. 3).

20. Cf. xxi. 21; 4 Ezra v. 27. *The nation.* So I have emended by reading ܐܡܐ for the unmeaning ܥܡܐ. This gives a good parallel to "people" (ܐܡܐ). Ceriani proposes ܥܒܕ = "servant."

21. *Say as my heart thinketh.* Cf. xli. 2.

22. See xv. 5, note.

23. Cf. xlii. 5.

24. *One law from One.* lxxxv. 14. This is directed polemically against the Christians.

The law . . . will aid us. Cf. xxix. 2, note; xxxii. 1; xv. 5, note; cf. *De singularitate cler.* 15 (Cyprian, Ed. Hartel. ii. 190), "sicut Esaias ait, legem inquit in adjutorium dedit."

And when I had prayed and said these things, I was greatly weakened. 26. And He answered and said unto me: "Thou hast prayed simply, O Baruch, and all thy words have been heard. 27. But My judgment exacts its own and My law exacts its rights. 28. For from thy words I will answer thee, and from thy prayer I will speak to thee. 29. For this is as follows: he that is corrupted is not at all; he has both wrought iniquity so far as he could do anything, and has not remembered My goodness, nor been grateful for My long-suffering. 30. Therefore thou shalt surely be taken up, as I before told thee: and the time is coming of which I told thee. 31. For that time will arise which brings affliction; for it will come and pass by with quick vehemence, and it will be turbulent coming in the heat of indignation. 32. And it will come to pass in those days that all the inhabitants of the earth will be moved one against another, because they know not that My judgment has drawn nigh. 33. For there will not be found many wise at that time, and the intelligent will be but a few: moreover,

25. *I was greatly weakened.* Cf. xxi. 26. The same phenomenon accompanies the visions in Dan. vii. 28; viii. 27; x. 8, 16.

27. Cf. v. 2; lxxxv. 9.

29. *For this . . . is not at all.* The text which is unintelligible runs: ܐܘܣ ܒܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܐܘܣ ܟܝ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ.

30. See xlvi. 7, note.

31-41. The last woes and the final judgment. Cf. xxvii.-xxix. 1; lxx. 2-10.

32. *The inhabitants of the earth.* See xxv. 1, note.

Will be moved one against another. The text ܢܢܝܚ ܠܐ = "will rest" is meaningless. It seems corrupted from ܢܙܥ ܠܐ or ܢܙܥ ܠܐ, either of which can be rendered as above.

33. Cf. lxx. 5. This verse seems to be the source of the following words which Cyprian (*Testim.* iii. 29) quotes as from Baruch: "erit enim sapientia in paucis vigilantibus et taciturnis."

even those who know will most of all be silent. 34. And there will be many rumours and tidings not a few, and the works of portents will be shown, and promises not a few will be recounted, (and) some of them (will prove) idle, and some of them will be confirmed. 35. And honour will be turned into shame, and strength humiliated into contempt, and probity destroyed, and beauty will become a scorn. 36. And many will say to many at that time: 'Where hath the multitude of intelligence hidden itself, and whither hath the multitude of wisdom removed itself?' 37. And whilst they are meditating these things, then zeal will arise in those of whom they thought not, and passion will seize him who is peaceful, and many will be roused in anger to injure many, and they will rouse up armies in order to shed blood, and in the end they will perish together with them. 38. And it will come to pass at the self-same time, that a change of times will manifestly appear to every man, by reason of which in all those times they were polluted and practised oppression, and walked every man in his own works, and remembered

34. Joseph, *Ant.* xx. 5. 1; 8. 6, tells of many impostors who so deceived the people (cf. Matt. xxiv. 11, 24). This verse seems to be the source of Cyprian's (*Testim.* iii. 29) quotation from Baruch: "alii autem sapientes ad spiritum erroris et pronuntiantes sicut Altissimi et Fortis edicta."

35. Cf. lxx. 3. It is remarkable that if we retranslate this verse into Hebrew we have a series of paronomasiae. Thus "honour will be turned into shame" = כבוד יהפך לקלון, "strength humiliated into contempt" = עז יורד אל בוז, and "beauty will become a scorn" = יופי יהיה לרפי.

36. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 9-11. This seems the source of Cyprian's quotation from Baruch (*Testim.* iii. 29): "Quaeretis me et vos et qui post vos venerint audire verbum sapientiae et intellectus et non invenietis."

37. Cf. lxx. 6.

38. *A change of times.* Cf. xliv. 7. *Walked every man*, etc. Cf. 4 Ezra iii. 8.

not the law of the Mighty One. 39. Therefore a fire will consume their thoughts, and in flame will the meditations of their reins be tried; for the Judge will come and will not tarry. 40. Because each of the inhabitants of the earth knew when he was committing iniquity, and they have not known My law by reason of their pride. 41. For many will then assuredly weep, yea, over the living more than over the dead." 42. And I answered and said: "O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born from thee?

Remembered not the law of the Mighty One. Cf. xliv. 3, 7; lxxxiv. 7.

39. *A fire will consume*, etc. Cf. verse 43; xliv. 15; lix. 2, note.

The Judge will come and will not tarry. Cf. xx. 6, note.

40. *Knew when he was committing*, etc. See xv. 6, note; lv. 2. Cf. Ep. Barn. v. 4 δικαίως ἀπολεῖται ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἔχων ὁδοῦ δικαιοσύνης γνῶσιν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὁδὸν σκότους ἀποσυνέχει. In xv. 6 men are to be tormented because, though knowing the law, they transgressed it. In that passage the words, therefore, may be limited to Israel, but here they are obviously descriptive of the Gentiles: "the inhabitants of the earth" (see xxv. 2, note). The writer thus holds that all men alike possessed a conscience or faculty for moral judgment. We have, therefore, in this verse a statement in some degree parallel to Rom. ii. 14, 15: "For when Gentiles, which have no law, do by nature the things of the law, these, having no law, are a law unto themselves: in that they shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, etc."

Have not known My law by reason of their pride. These words seem to point to the rejection of the law by the Gentiles; for according to an oft-repeated statement in the Talmud (see Weber, 19, 56, 57, 65), the law was originally designed for all nations, but the Gentiles rejected it (see 4 Ezra vii. 72, 73).

41. Since the sin of the world is intensified towards its close, so naturally the sinners then surviving will meet with severer judgment than the less guilty of earlier times.

42-50. What havoc Adam and Eve have wrought by the spiritual death and torments which they have brought upon their posterity. Yet God knows all that is in man, for He created him; He knows likewise the number of men that are to be, and their sins (verses 42-46). But since the law will give all these their due in the judgment, let inquiry be made rather after the blessedness of the righteous; for though they have endured much weariness in this passing world, in the world to come they shall have abundant light.

42. Spiritual death is here traced to Adam and Eve, but in xvii. 3; xxiii. 4; liv. 15 it is only physical death. See notes on xxiii. 4; liv. 15-19. In 4 Ezra both spiritual

and what will be said to the first Eve who hearkened to the serpent? 43. For all this multitude are going to corruption, nor is there any numbering of those whom the fire devours. 44. But again I will speak in Thy presence. 45. Thou, O LORD, my Lord, knowest what is in Thy creature. 46. For Thou didst of old command the dust to produce Adam, and Thou knowest the number of those who are born from him, and how far they have sinned before Thee, who have existed and not confessed Thee as their Creator. 47. And as regards all these their end will convict them, and Thy law which they have transgressed will requite them on Thy day. [48. But now let us dismiss the wicked and enquire about the righteous. 49. And I will recount their blessedness and not be silent in celebrating their

death and physical are always traced to Adam (iii. 21, 22; iv. 30; vii. 118-121).

43. *Fire devours.* Cf. verse 39; xliv. 15; lxiv. 7.

46. *Command the dust to produce Adam.* 4 Ezra iii. 4, 5; vii. 116.

The number of those who are born. See xxiii. 5, note.

47. *Thy law . . . will requite.* See v. 2, note.

48-50. These verses were used originally in B^2 by Baruch in addressing the people, or by God in addressing Baruch, but not by Baruch in addressing God as the present text implies. That they could not have been addressed by Baruch to God is clear; for Baruch could not say to God, "In this world . . . in which ye live" (ver. 50). Two facts are in favour of their being God's words to Baruch: (1) The very same contrast between the two worlds is found in God's reply to Baruch in xv. 7; and (2) the very same change of subject is enjoined and the same word "inquire" used in reference to the righteous in 4 Ezra ix. 13: "tu ergo adhuc noli curiosus esse quomodo impii cruciabuntur sed inquire quomodo justi salvabuntur." But the plural in verse 48 is against this view; and secondly, the words "I will not be silent in celebrating, etc.," while hardly conceivable on the divine lips, are appropriate on Baruch's. Hence we must regard xlviii. 48-50 as a fragment of an address delivered by Baruch to the people. Another fragment of this same address which originally preceded xlviii. 48-50 is to be found in liv. 16-18, and yet another which followed it in liv. 16-18.

49. *Will not be silent in celebrating.* A Hebrew idiom = לא אחרל לשבח.

glory, which is reserved for them. 50. For assuredly as in a little time in this world which passeth away, in which ye live, ye have endured much labour, so in that world to which there is no end, ye shall receive great light."]

XLIX. "Nevertheless, I will again ask from Thee, O Mighty One, yea, I will ask mercy from Him who made all things. 2. 'In what shape will those live who live in Thy day? or how will the splendour of those who (are) after that time continue? 3. Will they then resume this form of the present, and put on these entrammeling members, which are now involved in evils, and in which evils are consummated, or wilt Thou perchance change these things which have been in the world as also the world?'"

L. And He answered and said unto me: "Hear,

50. Cf. xv. 8 for the same contrast and largely the same diction.

Light. This does not seem the right word.

XLIX. 2. *In what shape*, etc. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 35: "How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?"

Live. See xli. 1, note.

The splendour of those who (are) after that time. For "splendour" we might perhaps render "appearance." The text is ܒܝܩܪ ܕܐܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܗܝ ܙܒܢܐ.

3. *Entrammeling members*, lit. members of bonds.

L.-LI. *The nature of the resurrection body.* The teaching here as to the nature of the resurrection proceeds on the line suggested in xlix. 3: "Wilt thou perchance change these things (*i.e.* man's material body) which have been in the world as also the world?" The world was to be renewed (xxxii. 6), and in this renewal from being transitory and verging to its close (xlviii. 50; lxxxv. 10), it becomes undying (li. 3) and everlasting (xlviii. 50); from being a world of corruption (xl. 3; lxxiv. 2; xxi. 19; xxxi. 5, etc.) it becomes incorruptible (lxxiv. 2) and invisible (li. 8). As these conceptions are in germ and principle as old as Isa. lxv. 17-lxvi., the same doctrine of renewal and transformation that was taught touching the world was naturally applied in due course to those destined to live in it. This is done partially in Isa. lxv. 17-25, but the developed form appears in Dan. xii. 2, where the risen righteous are to shine as the stars for ever and ever; in Eth. En. they are to joy as the angels (civ. 4)

Baruch, this word, and write in the remembrance of thy heart all that thou shalt learn. 2. For the earth will then assuredly restore the dead, which it now receives, in order to preserve them, making no change in their form, but as it has received, so will it restore them, and as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them. 3. For then it will be necessary to show to the living that the dead have come to life again, and that those who had departed have returned (again). 4. And it will come to pass, when they have severally

and to become angels in heaven (li. 4) and companions of the heavenly hosts (civ. 6), and to be clad in garments of life (lxii. 15, 16) and in raiment of light (cviii. 12); see also xc. 38. We thus see that long before the time of the writers of Baruch the Pharisees were familiar with the idea of the spiritual transformation of the body after the resurrection; and that *to some extent* the Pauline teaching on the resurrection in 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 was not an innovation, but an able and developed exposition of ideas that were current in the Judaism of the time. 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 is in one of its aspects the logical sequel of Isa. lxv. 17.

Over against this spiritual view of the future life we must remember that a materialistic one prevailed not only popularly, but also in Rabbinic circles. According to the latter the blessed should beget children and eat the flesh of the Leviathan. See Weber, 383, 384.

L. 2. Cf. xi. 4, note; xlii. 8, note; Eth. En. li. 1, note. In the resurrection soul and body were to be united. On the scene of the resurrection see xxix. 2, note. The soul's abode was Sheol (see xxi. 23 note); the body rested in the earth (xlii. 8). According to the text the body was to be restored in exactly the same form in which it had been committed to the earth. The following speculations of later Judaism on this subject are instructive. According to the *Othioth*, 17*c*, of R. Akiba (Weber, 352, 353), God was to sound a trumpet seven times at the end of the world. At the first blast the whole world was to be moved, at the second the dust was to be separated, at the third the bones of the dead were to be gathered together, at the fourth their limbs were to be warmed, at the fifth they were to be covered with skin, at the sixth the souls and spirits were to enter their bodies, in the seventh they were to become living and stand upon their feet, clad in their clothes. According to another account (*Beresh. rab.* 28) the resurrection body was built up from a small fragment of the backbone which was in all cases indestructible. This was called נֵ֫ב. 'See Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterb.* ii. 481; see verse 4, note.

L. 3. Those who are to be judged are the living righteous, and sinners, and the risen dead.

4. The object with which the dead are raised is for common recognition.

recognised those whom they now know, then judgment will grow strong, and those things which before were spoken of will come.

LI. "And it will come to pass, when that appointed day has gone by, that then shall the aspect of those who are condemned be afterwards changed, and the glory of those who are justified. 2. For the aspect of those who now act wickedly will become worse than is that of such as suffer torment. 3. Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendour will be glorified in changes, and the form of their face will be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to them. 4. For

There is nothing corresponding to this in the N.T. In later Judaism the resemblance of the risen was to be so carefully preserved that they were to be raised in the same clothes in which they were buried. This was proved *Sanhedrin*, 90*b* (Weber, 353) by the analogy of a grain of corn which comes up from the earth, not naked but clothed. The Rabbis, therefore, on the approach of death, gave careful directions as to their grave-clothes. According to the *Beresh. rab.* 95 (Weber, 353), men were to be raised with all their bodily defects, such as blindness, lameness, etc., in order that their identity might be established. Thereupon, in the case of the righteous these infirmities were healed.

LI. 1. This transformation of the living is mentioned in 1 Cor. xv. 51.

Aspect. I have here followed Ceriani's emendation of ܕܚܙܘܬܗ into ܕܡܘܬܗ.

Condemned . . . justified. See xxi. 9, note. The word "justify" has here its ordinary meaning of "to declare righteous."

3. *Justified in My law.* See xv. 5, note; xxi. 9, note.

Root of wisdom. lix. 7; Ecclus. i. 6, 20, *ῥίζα σοφίας*; Wisdom iii. 15.

Their splendour, etc. The righteous will undergo successive transformations till their bodies are assimilated to their new environment, or to use the words of the text, "that they may be able . . . to receive the world that does not die."

The world that does not die. Cf. xlviii. 50; li. 8; lxxiv. 2, for various characteristics of the *olam habba* or future world.

Then promised. See xiv. 13, note.

over this above all will those who come then lament, that they rejected My law, and stopped their ears that they might not hear wisdom or receive understanding. 5. When therefore they see those, over whom they are now exalted, (but) who will then be exalted and glorified more than they, they will respectively be transformed, the latter into the splendour of angels, and the former will mainly waste away in wonder at the visions and in the beholding of the forms. 6. For they will first behold and afterwards depart to be tormented. 7. But those who have been saved by their works, and to whom the law has been now a hope, and understanding an expectation, and wisdom a confidence, to them wonders will appear in their time. 8. For they will behold the world which is now invisible to them, and they will behold the time which is now hidden from them. 9. And again time will not age them. 10. For in the heights of that world shall they dwell, and they shall be made like unto the angels, and be made

4. The wicked here include not only the faithless Israelites, but also the Gentiles.

Stopped their ears that they might not hear. Zech. vii. 11. The LXX. renders differently: τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν ἐβάρυναν κτλ.

5. *The splendour.* This word ܙܝܘ here, and in xlix. 2; li. 3, might also be rendered by "appearance."

Will waste away, or *will be dissolved.* Cf. xxx. 4; 4 Ezra vii. 87. The latter reference as well as our text show that the writer here was not thinking of annihilation, though this view is found later. Cf. Weber, 374, 375.

7. *Saved by their works.* See xiv. 7, note.

9. Cf. verse 3, note, and the phrase in verse 16: "The world which ages not those." After this verse we should probably read verses 13 and 14. Verse 12 would then form a fitting close and climax to li. 1-9, 13, 14, 10, 11.

10. The condition of the risen righteous is very spiritually conceived. Thus they have passed from a world of tribulation (li. 14) and enter a world that is everlasting (li. 3), invisible (li. 8); they live in the high places thereof (li. 10); they are made equal to the stars (li. 10),

equal to the stars, and they shall be changed into every form they desire, from beauty into loveliness, and from light into the splendour of glory. 11. For there will be spread before them the extents of Paradise, and there will be shown to them the beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne, and all the armies of the angels, who [are now held fast by My word, lest they should appear, and] are held fast by a command, that they may stand in their places till their advent comes. 12. Moreover, there will then be excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels. 13. For the first will receive the last, those whom they were expecting, and the last those of whom they used to hear that they had passed away. 14. For they have been delivered from this world of tribulation, and laid down the burthen of anguish. 15. For what then have men lost their life, and for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul? 16. For then they chose (not) for themselves that time, which, beyond the reach of

and their glory is greater than that of the angels (x. 12).

Made equal to the stars. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.

11. *Living creatures which are beneath the throne.* Cf. Rev. iv. 6.

Armies of the angels who . . . are held fast, etc. These angels are probably the armed host mentioned in lxx. 7; Slav. En. xvii.; and in Test. Lev. 3: ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ εἰσὶν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν παρεμβολῶν, οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν ἐν τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ Βελίαρ. I have bracketed one of the clauses in this verse as a gloss.

13, 14. These two verses seem to be wrongly transposed from their place after verse 9.

13. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 42: "Coronae adsimilabo judicium meum; sicut non novissimorum tarditas, sic nec priorum velocitas"; also Matt. xix. 30.

14. See xv. 8, note.

15. Cf. Matt. xvi. 26.

16. I have added a negative in the first clause as the sense requires it. In lvi. 14 there is a similar loss of the negative, as Ceriani has already observed. *Which ages not*, etc. (cf. ver. 9).

anguish, could not pass away, and they chose for themselves that time, whose issues are full of lamentations and evils, and they denied the world which ages not those who come to it, and they have rejected the time and the glory, so that they shall not come to the honour of which I told thee before."

LII. And I answered and said: "How do those forget for whom woe is then reserved? 2. And why therefore again do we mourn for those who die? or why do we weep for those who depart to Sheol? 3. Let lamentations be reserved for the beginning of that coming torment, and let tears be laid up for the advent of the destruction of that time. 4. But even in the face of these things I will speak. [5. And as for the righteous, what will they do now? 6. Rejoice ye in the suffering which ye now suffer: for why do ye look for the decline of your enemies? 7. Make ready your soul for that which is reserved for you, and prepare your souls for the reward which is laid up for you."]

LIII. And when I had said these things I fell asleep there, and I saw a vision, and lo! a cloud was

LII. 1, 2. Considering the terrible destiny in store for the wicked after the resurrection, our grief should be reserved for those who shall suffer its torments, and not for those who depart to Sheol. And yet there is a certain degree of pain and torment in Sheol as we have seen (cf. xxx. 5; xxxvi. 10).

5-7. These verses cannot have been addressed by Baruch to God. Like xlviii. 48-50, they are part of his address to the people. They would form an appropriate sequel to xlviii. 48-50 (see note on liv. 16-18).

6. Cf. lxxviii. 6. These words recall James i. 2: "Count it all joy, my brethren, when ye fall into manifold temptations." The sentiment looks Christian.

7. *Make ready . . . prepare your souls.* See xxxii. 1, note. One half of this verse seems to be a gloss on the other.

8. Cf. xxxvi. 1.

LIII.-LXXIV. This constitutes

ascending from a very great sea, and I kept gazing upon it, and lo! it was full of waters white and black, and there were many colours in those self-same waters, and as it were the likeness of great lightning was seen at its summit. 2. And I saw that cloud passing swiftly in quick courses, and it covered all the earth. 3. And it came to pass after these things

the third Messiah Apocalypse = A^3 embodied by the final editor in this book. It will be sufficient here to indicate (*a*) its date; (*b*) its relation to the other constituents of the book; and to touch on (*c*) the question of its integrity; (*d*) and of its author.

(*a*) *Its date.* It was written prior to 70 A.D. (see lxviii. 5, note), and subsequent to 50 A.D. (see lix. 5-11, note).

(*b*) *Relations of A^3 to B^1, B^2, A^1, A^2.* It is distinct from B^1, and B^2 in date, as these were composed subsequently to the fall of the temple. It is distinct in character from B^1 and B^2; for whereas in the latter there is no expectation of the Messiah, in A^3 the Messiah is the centre of interest. Other points of difference will be dealt with in the notes. A^3 is distinct from A^1. In the latter the Messiah does not appear till the enemies of Israel are destroyed; in A^3, on the other hand, the Messiah is the agent of their destruction. A^3 may be distinct from A^2; contrast lxxi. 1 with xl. 2. If xl. 1, 2 refers to Pompey, it was written prior to his death, and A^2 would in that case be much earlier than A^3, which was composed between 50 and 70 A.D.

(*c*) *Integrity.* A^3 is handed down in tolerable preservation. liv. 17, 18 is an interpolation, and possibly lxx. 9. The text has been badly tampered with in lxxii. 1 and lxxxiv. 4 by the final editor.

(*d*) *The author.* A^3 is of extreme interest, as it is the oldest writing in which full justice is done alike to the claims of the Messiah and those of the law in moulding the world's history. The author belongs to the Rabbinical school, and assigns to certain elements of the law and tradition (cf. lvii., notes) the pre-Mosaic origin attributed to them in Jubilees. On the other hand, he recognises the popular aspiration for God's kingdom on earth as a legitimate outcome of prophecy, and gives it complete development in his forecast of history. Thus A^3 is the oldest literary evidence of the fusion of early Rabbinism and popular Messianic expectation.

LIII. In this vision a cloud is seen coming up from the sea and covering the whole earth with its summit crowned with lightning. And soon it began to discharge black waters, and then clear, and again black waters, and then clear, and so on till this succession of black and bright waters had occurred six times. And at the end of these twelve showers there was yet another shower of black waters, blacker than had been all before. Thereupon the lightning on the summit of the cloud flashed forth and healed the earth, and twelve streams came up from the sea and were subject to that lightning.

1. *A very great sea.* Cf. Dan. vii. 2.

that that cloud began to pour upon the earth the waters that were in it. 4. And I saw that there was not one and the same likeness in the waters which descended from it. 5. For in the first beginning they were black exceedingly for a time, and afterwards I saw that the waters became bright, but they were not many, and after these things again I saw black (waters), and after these things again bright, and again black and again bright. 6. Now this was done twelve times, but the black were always more numerous than the bright. 7. And it came to pass at the end of the cloud, that lo! it rained black waters, and they were darker than had been all those waters that were before, and fire was mingled with them, and where those waters descended, they wrought devastation and destruction. 8. And I saw after these things that lightning which I had seen on the summit of the cloud, that it held it fast and made it descend to the earth. 9. Now that lightning shone exceedingly, so as to illuminate the whole earth, and it healed those regions where the last waters had descended and wrought devastation. 10. And it took hold of the

6. For the twelvefold division of history see 4 Ezra xiv. 11, 12: "XII enim partibus divisum est saeculum, et transierunt ejus X jam et dimidium Xmae partis, Superant autem ejus duae post medium decimae partis." Cf. Hilgenfeld, *Mess. Jud.* 104.

7. These black waters are interpreted in lxix., lxx. They symbolise the travail pains of the Messiah.

8. The lightning on the cloud symbolises the Messiah. The imagery is derived from Dan. vii. 13. It was from the last passage that the Messiah was named ענני = "the cloud-man," or בר נפלי = "the son of the cloud." See Levi, *Neuhebräisch. Lex.* iii. 271, 422.

9. *Lightning shone . . . so as to illuminate the whole earth.* Cf. Matt. xxiv. 27: "For as the lightning cometh forth from the east, and is seen even unto the west, so shall be the coming of the Son of man."

whole earth and had dominion over it. 11. And I saw after these things, and lo! twelve rivers were ascending from the sea, and they began to surround that lightning and to become subject to it. 12. And by reason of my fear I awoke.

[Prayer of Baruch]

LIV. And I besought the Mighty One, and said: "Thou alone, O Lord, knowest of aforetime the deep things of the world, and the things which befall in their times Thou bringest about by Thy word, and against the works of the inhabitants of the earth Thou dost hasten the beginnings of the times, and the end of the seasons Thou alone knowest. 2. For whom nothing is too hard, but Thou doest everything easily by a nod. 3. To whom the depths as the heights are accessible, and the beginnings of the ages minister to Thy word. 4. Who revealeth to those who fear Him what is prepared for them, that He may thereby console them. 5. Thou showest great acts to those

10. We have here symbolised the Messiah's reign.

11. Do these twelve rivers symbolise the Gentile nations submitting themselves to the Messiah, or the twelve tribes of Israel?

LIV. 1. *Against the works*, etc. .... *hasten the beginnings of the times.* See xx. 1, note.

The end of the seasons Thou alone knowest. Cf. xxi. 8.

2. *For whom nothing is too hard.* This is a rendering of the phrase found in Gen. xviii. 14; Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. By comparing the text with the Peshitto of Luke i. 37, we see that the Greek was here παρ' ᾧ ῥῆμα οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ. This is the LXX. of Gen. xviii. 14 μὴ ἀδυνατεῖ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ῥῆμα, but not of Jer. xxxii. 17, 27, where we find (xxxix. 17, 27 in LXX.) οὐ μὴ ἀποκρυβῇ ἀπὸ σοῦ οὐθέν. This is the rendering of the Peshitto also in Gen. xviii. 14 and Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. From this verse in itself, therefore, we cannot conclude for or against the influence of the LXX. on the writer.

5. *Great acts* or "wonders."

who know not; Thou breakest up the enclosure of those who are ignorant, and lightest up what is dark, and revealest what is hidden to the pure, who in faith have submitted themselves to Thee and Thy law. 6. Thou hast shown to Thy servant this vision; reveal to me also its interpretation. 7. For I know that as regards those things wherein I besought Thee, I have received a response, and as regards what I besought, Thou didst reveal to me, and didst show me with what voice I should praise Thee, or from what members I should cause praises and hallelujahs to ascend to Thee. 8. For if my members were mouths, and the hairs of my head voices, even so I could not give Thee the meed of praise, or laud Thee as is befitting, nor could I recount Thy praise, nor tell the glory of Thy beauty, 9. For what am I amongst men, or why am I reckoned amongst those who are more excellent than I, that I should have heard all those marvellous things from the Most High, and good tidings numberless from Him who created me? 10. Blessed be my mother amongst those that bear, and praised among women be she that bare me. 11. For I will not be silent in praising the Mighty One, and with the voice of praise I will recount His marvellous deeds. 12. For who doeth like unto Thy marvellous deeds, O God, or who comprehendeth Thy deep thought of

In faith. See note on liv. 21.

8. In the *Shir ha-Shirim rabba*, i. 3 we find the hyperbolic statements of this verse far outdone: "R. Eliezer said: 'if all the seas were ink, and all the reeds were pens, and heaven and earth were rolls, and all men were scribes, yet the law could not be written down which I have taught.'"

10. An interpolation? it breaks

life? 13. For with Thy counsel Thou dost govern all the creatures which Thy right hand has created, and Thou hast established every fountain of light beside Thee, and the treasures of wisdom beneath Thy throne hast Thou prepared. 14. And justly do they perish who have not loved Thy law, and the torment of judgment will await those who have not submitted themselves to Thy power. 15. For though Adam

the connection. Cf. Luke i. 42; xi. 27; Judges v. 24.

13. *Thou dost govern.* Cf. verse 22.

14. A deliberate rejection of the law of God is here implied as in xlviii. 40, see note.

15, 19. In xxiii. 4 the *physical* effects of sin are referred to; in xlviii. 42 the *spiritual* effects. The former consisted according to B^2 (see xxiii. 4, note) in man's subjection to physical death. According to A^3 (see liv. 15; lvi. 6), however, man was already subject to physical death, and the penalty of sin consisted in premature death.

The main question, however, which concerns us here is that of predestination and free will. In order to understand the position of the writers of this book, it will be helpful to draw attention to the chief statements which appear on these subjects in Jewish non-canonical literature. In Ecclesiasticus these antinomies are stated unconditionally, not indeed in immediate contrast, but in distinct passages. Thus in xv. 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, we have the freewill of man strongly affirmed: *μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι διὰ κύριον ἀπέστην . . . μὴ εἴπῃς ὅτι αὐτός με ἐπλάνησεν· οὐ γὰρ χρείαν ἔχει ἀνδρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ . . . αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ. ἐὰν θέλῃς, συντηρήσεις ἐντολάς. . . ἔναντι ἀνθρώπων ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ὃ ἐὰν εὐδοκήσῃ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ. . . . καὶ οὐκ ἐνετείλατο οὐδενὶ ἀσεβεῖν.* Cf. also xvii. 6. The doctrine of predestination is absolutely maintained in xxxvi. 10, 12, 13, *καὶ ἄνθρωποι πάντες ἀπὸ ἐδάφους καὶ ἐκ γῆς ἐκτίσθη Ἀδάμ· ἐξ αὐτῶν εὐλόγησεν καὶ ἀνύψωσεν . . . ἀπ' αὐτῶν κατηράσατο καὶ ἐταπείνωσεν καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στάσεως αὐτῶν. ὡς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ· οὕτως ἄνθρωποι ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ.* Cf. also xxiii. 20; xxxix. 20, 21. These two doctrines which are thus separately affirmed in Ecclus., are given by Josephus as co-ordinate articles of the Pharisaic creed. Thus in *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8, 14, he says: *Φαρισαῖοι . . . εἱμαρμένῃ τε καὶ θεῷ προσάπτουσι πάντα καὶ τὸ μὲν πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κεῖσθαι, βοηθεῖν δὲ εἰς ἕκαστον καὶ τὴν εἱμαρμένην. Ant.* xiii. 5, 9: *οἱ μὲν οὖν Φαρισαῖοι τινὰ καὶ οὐ πάντα τῆς εἱμαρμένης εἶναι λέγουσιν ἔργον, τινὰ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὑπάρχειν, συμβαίνειν τε καὶ μὴ γίνεσθα* (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 3) *πράσσεσθαί τε εἱμαρμένῃ τὰ πάντα ἀξιοῦντες, οὐδὲ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τὸ βουλόμενον τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁρμῆς ἀφαιροῦνται, δοκῆσαν τῷ θεῷ κρᾶσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ἐκείνης βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ θελήσαντι προσ-*

first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them has

χωρεῖν μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας. The same paradoxical creed appears in the *Pirke Aboth*. iii. 24 (ed. Taylor p. 73): "Everything is foreseen; and freewill is given. And the world is judged by grace: and everything is according to work"; and possibly also in the Pss. Sol. ix. 7 τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν (see Ryle and James's edition, pp. 95, 96).

This co-ordination of fate and freewill as articles of faith was nothing more or less than an attempt on the part of the Pharisees to embody in their creed the two O.T. doctrines of God's omnipotence and man's responsibility. That theoretically such a creed was current may reasonably be concluded from the passages just cited, as well as from the attestation it receives in Pauline teaching in Rom. ix.-xi. (see Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 347-350). Its acceptance, too, would, no doubt, be furthered by the pressure of the rival creeds of the Sadducees and the Essenes, who were the champions, respectively, of freewill and of fate (Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14; *Ant.* xiii. 5. 9). With the disappearance of Sadduceeism, however, the paradoxical character of Pharisaic belief seems to have disappeared also. Henceforth the Rabbinic schools teach mainly man's freedom of the will and limit God's predestinating action to his external lot.

The two doctrines of fate and freewill, though seen to be mutually exclusive, were, as we have already remarked, accepted *theoretically* as equally imperative by the Pharisees. The only instance where these two doctrines are developed into irreconcilable fulness and results and applied to religious questions in the first century is to be found in St. Paul's teaching (see above). In every other attempt to grapple with these problems a compromise is effected which results either in a vigorous or else in a very attenuated doctrine of freewill. Of this wavering attitude among the Pharisees in the first century we have sufficient evidence. Thus man's freewill is maintained in the Slav. En. xxx. 15: "And I gave him his will, and I showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness . . . that I should know whether he has love for Me or hate"; though in the next verse it is recognised that his freewill is hampered by his incorporation in the body, and his ignorance of its good and evil impulses. But the best evidence in this direction is furnished by the Apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Ezra. From our comparative study hitherto of these two works (see notes on xiv. 7; xxi. 9; xlviii. 42), we should expect that man's freewill and capacity for doing God's will, despite Adam's sin, would be emphasised in the former, and that man's helplessness and practical incapacity for righteousness in consequence of his original defects or Adam's sin would be conspicuous in the latter, and this we do find as a matter of fact. First as to 4 Ezra. In 4 Ezra the bulk of mankind was predestined to destruction (viii. 1-3); for from the beginning there was in man a wicked element (*i.e.* יצר הרע) called here *granum seminis mali* (4 Ezra iv. 30): "Quoniam granum seminis mali seminatum est in corde Adam ab initio, et quantum impietatis generavit usque nunc et

prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to come.

generabit usque cum veniat area"; through Adam's yielding to this evil element a hereditary tendency to sin was created and the *cor malignum* developed (iii. 21, 22). Cor enim malignum baiolans primus Adam transgressus et victus est, sed et omnes qui ex eo nati sunt. Et facta est permanens infirmitas, et lex in corde populi cum malignitate radicis, et discessit quod bonum est, et mansit malignum. We should observe that *baiolans* in iii. 21 just cited represents φορέσας: for both the Syriac and Ethiopic Versions = *cum vestivit*. Hence Adam "clothed himself" with a wicked heart by yielding to the evil impulse which was in him when created. Adam was created with two impulses: "the good impulse" (יצר הטוב) implied in the words *discessit quod bonum est* (iii. 22), and "the evil impulse" already referred to. This subject is further pursued in iii. 25, 26: "Et deliquerunt qui habitabant civitatem, In omnibus facientes sicut fecit Adam et omnes generationes ejus, utebantur enim et ipsi cor malignum." As a result of Adam's transgression, the evil impulse having been developed into the *cor malignum*, and having thus obtained the mastery over man, the writer of vii. 118 naturally charges Adam with being the cause of the final perdition of mankind: "O tu quid fecisti Adam? si enim tu peccasti, non est factum solius tuus casus sed et nostrum qui ex te advenimus." Naturally in the face of such a hopeless view of man's condition no real doctrine of freewill could be maintained. In fact, in 4 Ezra only sufficient freewill is accorded to man to justify his final condemnation. Cf. 4 Ezra viii. 56, 58-60, "Nam et ipsi accipientes libertatem spreverunt Altissimum et legem ejus contempserunt. . . . Et dixerunt in corde suo non esse deum, et quidem scientes sciunt quoniam moriuntur. . . . Non enim Altissimus voluit hominem disperdi; Sed ipsi qui creati sunt coinquinaverunt nomen ejus qui fecit eos." vii. 72, "Qui ergo commorantes sunt in terra hinc cruciabuntur, quoniam sensum habentes iniquitatem fecerunt et mandata accipientes non servaverunt ea et legem consecuti fraudaverunt eam quam acceperunt." ix. 11, Fastidierunt legem meam cum adhuc erant habentes libertatem.

Turning now to the present Apocalypse, we find in all its sections, even in the gloomiest, B^2, a view of man's present capacities and future destiny that is optimistic when set side by side with 4 Ezra. Whereas in A^3, according to liv. 15, 19, the effects of Adam's sin are limited to physical results; his descendants must die prematurely. On the nature of these physical results in other sections see xxiii. 4, note. As to spiritual results, each man is the Adam of his own soul, and can choose for himself either bliss or torment; he can work out his own salvation and even make God his debtor (see xiv. 7, note). Only in xlviii. 42 is spiritual death traced to Adam.

The view set forth in the text as to man's condition is exactly that which prevails in the Talmud. In fact, Weber's summing up on this question would serve admirably for an exposition of the text: "Der freie Wille auch in Bezug auf das Verhalten gegen Gott ist dem Menschen auch nach dem Fall geblieben. Es

LIV. 16-18=B².

[16. For assuredly he who believeth will receive reward. 17. But now, as for you, ye wicked that now are, turn ye to destruction, because ye will speedily be visited, in that from time to time ye have rejected the understanding of the Most High. 18. For His works have not taught you, nor has the skill of His creation which is at all times persuaded you.] 19. Adam is

gibt eine Erbschuld, aber keine Erbsünde: der Fall Adam's hat dem ganzen Geschlecht den Tod, nicht aber die Sündigkeit im Sinne einer Nothwendigkeit zu sündigen verursacht; die Sünde ist das Ergebnis der Entscheidung jedes Einzelnen, erfahrungsgemäss allgemein, aber an sich auch nach dem Fall nicht schlechthin nothwendig" (*Lehren d. Talmud*, p. 217).

Only one statement in this citation seems untrustworthy, *i.e.* *Es gibt eine Erbschuld.* I can see nothing in Weber's learned work to justify this statement, but everything to show that there was neither hereditary sin nor hereditary guilt. Moreover, on p. 240 this statement is actually made: "Wenn die Sünde und Schuld nicht erblich ist, kann dann die Strafe erblich sein? . . . Diese Antinomie hat die jüdische Theologie durch drei Sätze auszugleichen versucht."

15. *Untimely.* See note on xxiii. 4. The phrase rendered "untimely" is בן כזבוה. It recurs in lvi. 6 and lxxiii. 3.

16-18. These verses are clearly an interpolation for the same reasons as xlviii. 48-50 and lii. 5-7. These three passages seem to have been addressed by Baruch to the people, and to have formed part of one and the same discourse. The original order appears to have been: first, liv. 17, 18, where the wicked are menaced with the final judgment; then xlviii. 48-50, in which the destiny of the wicked is dismissed and that of the righteous described; next, lii. 5-7, where a line of conduct is prescribed to the righteous on the ground of that destiny, and a preparation of their souls for the reward laid up for them; and finally, liv. 16, where the faithful are assured of that reward.

It will be observed (1) that these verses break the sense of the context; (2) that a direct address to the wicked could not occur in a prayer to God.

18. In liv. 14 it is implied that the wicked there described knew the law. This is intelligible from the standpoint of the Jewish belief that the Gentiles were offered the law but refused it. But in this verse no such view is implied. Their knowledge of God could only arise from reflection on His works in nature. The same argument is found in Rom. i. 20. This argument "is as old as the Psalter, Job, and Isaiah (Pss. xix. 1; xciv. 9; cxliii. 5; Isa. xlii. 5; xlv. 18; Job xii. 9; xxvi. 14; xxxvi. 24; Wisdom ii. 23; xiii. 1, 5). It is common to Greek thought as well as Jewish (Arist. *De Mundo*, 6; Philo, *De Praem. et Poen.* 7" (Sanday and Headlam, Rom. p. 43).

19. See note on verse 15. The real force of this verse is that a man's guilt and sin are not derived

erefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but
ch one of us has been the Adam of his own soul.
'. But do Thou, O Lord, expound to me regarding
ɔse things which Thou hast revealed to me, and
orm me regarding that which I besought Thee. 21.
r at the consummation of the world there will be
ngeance taken upon those who have done wickedness
cording to their wickedness, and Thou wilt glorify the
ithful according to their faithfulness. 22. For those
ho are amongst Thine own Thou rulest, and those
ho sin Thou blottest out from amongst Thine own."

LV. And it came to pass when I had finished
peaking the words of this prayer, that I sat there
nder a tree, that I might rest in the shade of the
ɔranches. 2. And I wondered and was astonied,
nd pondered in my thoughts regarding the multitude
of goodness which sinners who are upon the earth

from Adam, but are due to his own action. The evil impulse (יצר הרע) does not constitute guilt or sin unless man obeys it. As the Talmudists say, it was placed in man to be overcome (Weber, 210).

21. *The faithful according to their faith.* Faith in this passage is contrasted with unrighteousness (ܥܘܠܐ = *ἀνομία*). Hence we should take it here as equivalent either to "righteousness" or "fidelity to the law." In liv. 16 the verb "believe" may mean "to be faithful." But the context is doubtful. Elsewhere in Baruch faith = "belief." Thus in lix. 2 those who "believe" are opposed to those who "deny"; in xlii. 2 to those who "despise." This is the meaning also in liv. 5; lvii. 2; lxxxiii. 8. In 4 Ezra vi. 5 faith seems to mean "righteousness," the result of fidelity to the law (as in Apoc. Bar. liv. 21); for the righteous are those *qui fidem thesaurizaverunt;* possibly also in v. 1; vi. 28; it means fidelity to the law in vii. 34, as *incredulitas* in vii. 114 = "disloyalty." In ix. 7, 8; xiii. 23, faith and works are combined and appear nearly synonymous. For a most instructive note on the various meanings of "faith," see Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 31-34.

Faith in the Talmud is in one of its aspects regarded as a work which as the fulfilment of the law produces merit. In the *Beresh. rabba*, lxxiv. the merit arising from faith and the merit arising from the law are co-ordinated. See Weber, pp. 292, 295, 298.

have rejected, and regarding the great torment which they have despised, though they knew that they should be tormented because of the sin they had committed. 3. And when I was pondering on these things and the like, lo! the angel Ramiel who presides over true visions was sent to me, and he said unto me: 4. "Why does thy heart trouble thee, Baruch, and why does thy thought disturb thee? 5. For if by the hea say which thou hast only heard of judgment thou a so moved, what (wilt thou be) when thou shalt see it manifestly with thine eyes? 6. And if with the expectation wherewith thou dost expect the day of the Mighty One thou art so overcome, what (wilt thou be) when thou shalt come to its advent? 7. And, if the word of the announcement of the torment of those who have done foolishly thou art so wholly distraught, how much more when the event will reveal marvellous things? 8. And if thou hast heard tidings of the good and evil things which are then coming and art grieved, what (wilt thou be) when thou shalt behold what the majesty will reveal, which will convict these and cause those to rejoice?

LV. 2. *Despised, though they knew.* See xv. 6, note; xlviii. 40, note.

3. *Ramiel.* Cf. lxiii. 6; this angel is mentioned in the Eth. En. xx. 7 (Greek) Ῥεμειὴλ ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὃν ἔταξεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνισταμένων: also in 4 Ezra iv. 36, where the Syriac Version = "And the angel Ramiel answered and said unto them" (*i.e.* the righteous souls in the soul-treasuries); for "Ramiel" the Latin gives *Hieremihel.* Finally, in *Or. Sibyl.* ii. 215-217, Ramiel is one of the five angels appointed by God to bring the souls of men to judgment: Ἀρακιὴλ Ῥαμιὴλ Οὐριὴλ Σαμιὴλ Ἀζαήλ τε . . . ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς . . . ἐς κρίσιν ἄξουσιν πάσας. The function of Ramiel in the text agrees to some extent with that assigned to him in 4 Ezra.

5. *And art so moved.* I have followed Ceriani's suggestion here in supplying ܐ before ܗܟܝ.

LVI. "Nevertheless, because thou hast besought the Most High to reveal to thee the interpretation of the vision which thou hast seen, I have been sent to say to thee. 2. And the Mighty One hath assuredly made known to thee the methods of the times that have passed, and of those that are destined to pass in His world from the beginning of its creations even unto its consummation, of those things which (are) deceit and of those which (are) in truth. 3. For as thou didst see a great cloud which ascended from the sea, and went and covered the earth, this is the duration of the world (= *αἰών*) which the Mighty One made when He took counsel to make the world. 4. And it came to pass when the word had gone forth from His presence, that the duration of the world had come into being in a small degree, and was established according to the multitude of the intelligence of Him who sent it. 5. And as thou didst previously see on the summit of the cloud black waters which descended previously on the earth, this is the transgression wherewith Adam the first man transgressed. 6. For owing to his transgression untimely death came into being, and grief was named

LVI. 2. *And the Mighty.* We should expect *That the Mighty.*

3. *A great cloud . . . this is the duration of the world.* This cloud is divided into thirteen parts: the first twelve parts of alternate black and bright waters (see liii. 5, 6), and the thirteenth of the blackest waters of all (see liii. 7). These symbolise the thirteen periods into which the history of the world is divided prior to the Messiah's kingdom. This kingdom is foreshadowed by the lightning that shone on the extremity or summit of the cloud.

4. *Was established.* I have followed Ceriani here in reading ⲉⲟⲩⲱϣⲧⲉ instead of ⲉⲟⲩϣⲧⲉ.

6. *Owing to his transgression.* The text literally = "when he transgressed."

Untimely. See liv. 15, note.

and anguish was prepared, and pain was created, and trouble perfected, and boasting began to be established, and Sheol to demand that it should be renewed in blood, and the begetting of children was brought about, and the passion of parents produced, and the greatness of humanity was humiliated, and goodness languished. 7. What therefore can be blacker or darker than these things? 8. This is the beginning of the black waters which thou hast seen. 9. And from these black (waters) again were black derived, and the darkness of darkness produced. 10. For he was a danger to his own soul: even to the angels was he a danger. 11. For, moreover, at that time when he was created, they enjoyed liberty. 12. And some of them descended, and mingled with women. 13. And then those who did so were tormented in chains. 14. But the rest of the multitude of the angels, of which there is no number, restrained themselves. 15. And those who dwelt on the earth perished together (with them) through the waters of the deluge. 16. These are the black first waters.

Sheol to demand, etc. For this hunger of Sheol, cf. Prov. xxvii. 20; Isa. v. 14. On Sheol, see note on xi. 6.

10. *He was a danger*, etc. This must mean that man's physical nature was a danger to his spiritual; for it was the physical side of man that proved a danger to the angels who fell through lust. Man's physical nature was dangerous; for in it resided the "evil impulse" (see note on liv. 15, 19).

11-13. *They enjoyed liberty*, *i.e.* the angels. This liberty, according to the ancient myth, they abused by taking to themselves wives of the daughters of men (see Eth. En. vi. 2, note; Slav. En. xviii. 4-6; Jubilees v. 1-11; x. 1-13).

14. *No number*. The MS. omits the negative, but wrongly, as Ceriani has already observed (cf. xxi. 6; lix. 11). For a still more obvious loss of the negative see li. 16, though strangely enough it has not hitherto been remarked.

LVII. "And after these (waters) thou didst see bright waters: this is the fount of Abraham, also his generations and advent of his son, and of his son's son, and of those like them. 2. Because at that time the unwritten law was named amongst them, and the works of the commandments were then fulfilled, and belief in the coming judgment was then generated, and hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up, and the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted. 3. These are the bright waters, which thou hast seen.

LVIII. "And the black third waters which thou

LVII. 1. The first bright period embraces human history from the time of Abraham to that of the twelve sons of Jacob and their righteous contemporaries or immediate successors.

2. *The unwritten law.* This statement proceeds from the same spirit which animates the entire Book of Jubilees, and which seeks to trace traditionalism and its observances to the times of the patriarchs. In later Judaism there were manifold attempts of this nature. Thus in the *Avoda-sara*, 36*b*, according to Gen. xxxviii. 24, impurity was forbidden by the Rabbinic tribunal of Shem; in the *Beresh. rabba*, xciv., Shem and Eber are said to have handed on certain traditions to Jacob; in the *Joma*, 28*b*, Abraham is said to have observed the whole Torah and the traditional or unwritten law. To Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob the three daily times of prayer are traced back in the *Berachoth*, 26*b*. The above statements are drawn from Herzfeld, *Geschichte Israels*, p. 226. For a detailed description of the traditional law from the earliest times down to Hillel, see *op. cit.* iii. 226-263; Weber, 255.

Works of the commandments were then fulfilled. See preceding note.

Belief. See note on liv. 21.

Hope of the world to be renewed. See note on xxxii. 6. In the earlier Messiah-Apocalypses in this book, *i.e.* in A^1 and A^2, the renewal of the world is to take place at the close of the Messianic kingdom, for in these writings this kingdom belongs to this world ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος (Matt. xii. 32) = הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה; whereas in A^3 with which we are at present dealing it is said (lxxiv. 2) to form the close of the present world and the beginning of the next (*i.e.* ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων or ὁ ἐρχόμενος = הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא). If we are to take (lxxiv. 2) literally, then the renewal of the world is to take place during the Messiah's reign. But this is unlikely. In 4 Ezra vii. 28-30; xii. 32-34, the Messiah's kingdom belongs to this world. In xiii. 32-50 to the next, if xiii. 36 is genuine. In the older literature the Messianic kingdom belongs to the next world (cf. Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx.)

hast seen, these are the mingling of all sins, which the nations afterwards wrought after the death of those righteous men, and the wickedness of the land of Egypt, wherein they did wickedly in the service wherewith they made their sons to serve. 2. Nevertheless, these also perished at last.

LIX. "And the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen are the advent of Moses and Aaron and Miriam and Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb and of all those like them. 2. For at that time the lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, which announced to them that believe the promise of their reward, and to them that deny, the torment of fire which is reserved for them. 3. But also the heavens at that time were shaken from their place, and those who were under the throne of the Mighty One were perturbed, when He was taking Moses unto Himself. 4. For He showed him many admonitions together with the principles of the laws and the consummation of time, as also to thee, and likewise the pattern of Zion and its measures, which was to be

LVIII. 1. *The service wherewith they made their sons to serve.* Exod. i. 14 is here closely followed: כל־עבדתם אשר־עבדו בהם. As the LXX. has here *πάντα τὰ ἔργα ὧν καταδουλοῦντο αὐτούς*, it is clear that the original writer had the Hebrew text and not the LXX. before him.

LIX. 2. *The eternal law.* Cf. xvii. 6. See xv. 5, note.

The lamp . . . darkness—a Rabbinic application of Isa. ix. 2. Isa. ix. 2 was a favourite passage in N.T. times (cf. Matt. iv. 16; Luke i. 79).

That believe. See liv. 21, note.

Torment of fire. Cf. xliv. 15; xlviii. 39; lxxxv. 13. It will be observed that these passages suggest a material fire in which the wicked are to be tormented after the resurrection, *i.e.* after they have resumed their bodies.

4. *The pattern of Zion and its measures.* Cf. Exod. xxv. 40; xxvi. 30; Heb. viii. 5.

Which was to be made, etc. A very slight change in the Syriac would give a good text: "In the

made in the pattern of the sanctuary of the present time. 5. But then also He showed to him the measures of the fire, also the depths of the abyss, and the weight of the winds, and the number of the drops of rain. 6. And the suppression of anger, and the multitude of long-suffering, and the truth of judgment. 7. And the root of wisdom, and the riches of understanding, and the fount of knowledge. 8. And the height of the air, and the greatness of Paradise, and

pattern of which the sanctuary of the present time was to be made."

5-11. It is of importance to observe, with a view to determining the date of A^3, that in these verses we have a transference of Enoch's functions to Moses, and that the revelations hitherto attributed to Enoch are here for the first time assigned to Moses. It is noteworthy that another of Enoch's chief functions is ascribed to Ezra in 4 Ezra xiv. 50. This opposition to Enoch is unswervingly pursued in the Talmud. Thus, whereas in pre-Christian Judaism, Enoch, and Enoch only, is described as the scribe of the deeds of men (Jub. iv. 23; x. 17; Slav. En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5), this office is assigned to various Jewish heroes in later Judaism. Thus according to *Ruth rabba*, 33*a*, it is Elijah; according to *Esther rabba*, 86*d*, it is the angels; according to *Jalkut Shim., Beresh.* 141, it was formerly the prophets, but now it is only Elijah and the Messiah (Weber, 272). We have already drawn attention to this phenomenon in the note on xiii. 3, and have there pointed out that this hostility to Enoch is the outcome of Jewish hostility to Christianity as a whole; for as we know from manifold evidence the writings of Enoch enjoyed a singular influence on early Christianity. This aggressive attitude of Judaism could hardly have originated before the open rupture of Christianity with the Synagogue and the Pauline controversy. Hence this writing was not earlier than A.D. 50. From lxviii. 5 it is clear that it is prior to A.D. 70. Therefore the limits of its composition are A.D. 50-70.

5. *The depths of the abyss.* A frequent subject in both books of Enoch: Eth. En. xviii. 11; xxi. 7-10, etc.; Slav. En. xxviii. 3.

The weight of the winds. The weighing of the winds is described in the Slav. En. xl. 11; cf. also Eth. xli. 4.

The number of the drops of rain. Slav. En. xlvii. 5; Ecclus. i. 2.

7. *Root of wisdom.* See li. 3, note.

Riches of understanding. lxi. 4.

The fount of knowledge. Bar. iii. 12; 4 Ezra xiv. 47.

8. *The height of the air.* Slav. En. xl. 12: "I have written down the height from the earth to the seventh heaven."

The greatness of Paradise. The measures of Paradise are taken by the angels for Enoch. Cf. Eth. En. lxi. 1-4; lxx. 3, 4.

the consummation of the ages, and the beginning of the day of judgment. 9. And the number of the offerings, and the earths which have not yet come. 10. And the mouth of Gehenna, and the station of vengeance, and the place of faith, and the region of hope. 11. And the likeness of future torment, and the multitude of innumerable angels, and the powers of the flames, and the splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders, and the orders of the chiefs of the angels, and the treasuries of light, and the changes of the times, and the investigations of the law. 12. These are the bright fourth waters which thou hast seen.

LX. "And the black fifth waters which thou hast

The consummation of the ages. This subject is discussed in every section of the Enochic literature.

The beginning of the day of judgment. This date is fixed according to a definite reckoning in the Slav. En. xxxii. 2-xxxiii. 2; lxv. 7-10; according to certain indefinite measures in Eth. En. lxxxiii.-xc.; xci.-civ.

10. *The mouth of Gehenna.* Eth. En. xxvii. 2, 3; liv.; lxii. 12; xc. 26, 27.

The station of vengeance. Many places of vengeance are described in the two books of Enoch: Eth. En. xviii. 12-16; xix.; xxi.; xxii. 10-13; liv. 1-6; xc. 24-27; Slav. En. x.; xl. 12.

The place of faith, and the region of hope. These seem to be the places of intermediate bliss. Cf. Eth. En. xxii. 5-9.

11. *The likeness of future torment.* Slav. xl. 12.

The multitude of innumerable angels. See lvi. 14, note. Of early Jewish literature, it is only in Enoch that the angels are described at length.

The splendour of the lightnings, and the voice of the thunders. Eth. En. xli. 3; xliii. 1, 2; xliv.; lix.; lx. 13-15; Slav. En. xl. 9.

The orders of the chiefs of the angels. I have here read the plural ܪܫ̈ܝ instead of the singular ܪܫ̈ܝ. Ceriani renders the text: "ordines principatus angelorum." The Jews believed in ten orders of angels, the Christians in nine. These orders are mentioned and in part enumerated in the Slav. En. xx. 1, 3 (see note); cf. also Eth. lxi. 10; lxxi. 7-9.

The treasuries of light. This expression is unexampled.

The changes of the times, i.e. the seasons. Slav. En. xiii. 5; xl. 6; Eth. En. lxxxii. 11-20.

seen raining are the works which the Amorites wrought, and the spells of their incantations which they wrought, and the wickedness of their mysteries, and the mingling of their pollution. 2. But even Israel was then polluted by sins in the days of the judges, though they saw many signs which were from Him who made them.

LXI. "And the bright sixth waters which thou didst see, this is the time in which David and Solomon were born. 2. And there was at that time the building of Zion, and the dedication of the sanctuary, and the shedding of much blood of the nations that sinned then, and many offerings which were offered then in the dedication of the sanctuary. 3. And peace and tranquillity existed at that time. 4. And wisdom was heard in the assembly, and the riches of understanding were magnified in the congregations. 5. And the holy festivals were fulfilled in goodness and in much joy. 6. And the judgment of the rulers was then seen to be without guile, and the righteousness of the precepts of the Mighty One was accomplished with truth. 7. And because the land was then beloved at that time, and because its inhabitants sinned not, it was glorified beyond all lands, and the city Zion ruled then over all lands and regions. 8. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LX. 1. *Mingling of their pollution.* Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14, ἐν φυρμῷ ἀναμίξεως.

2. *Of the judges.* I here follow Ceriani in correcting ܕܕܡܐ (="of judgment") into ܕܕܡܢ.

LXI. 4. *Riches of understanding.* lix. 7.

LXII. "And the black seventh waters which thou hast seen, this is the perversion (brought about) by the counsel of Jeroboam, who took counsel to make two calves of gold. 2. And all the iniquities which the kings who were after him iniquitously wrought. 3. And the curse of Jezebel and the worship of idols which Israel practised at that time. 4. And the withholding of rain, and the famines which occurred until women eat the fruit of their wombs. 5. And the time of their captivity which came upon the nine tribes and a half, because they were in many sins. 6. And Salmanasar king of Assyria came and led them away captive. 7. But regarding the Gentiles it were tedious to tell how they always wrought impiety and wickedness, and never wrought righteousness. 8. These are the black seventh waters which thou hast seen.

LXIII. "And the bright eighth waters which thou hast seen, this is the rectitude and uprightness of Hezekiah king of Judah and his benignity which came upon him. 2. For when Sennacherib was stirred up in order that he might perish, and his wrath troubled him in order that he might thereby

LXII. 4. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 28, 29.

5. The captivity of the nine and a half tribes 721 B.C. See lxxviii., note.

6. *I.e.* Shalmaneser, 2 Kings xvii. 3, 6. Cf. 4 Ezra xiii. 40.

7. *Wrought righteousness.* The text is ܥܒܕ ܙܕܩܐ = "have been justified." For the grounds for the above restoration, see xxi. 9, note.

LXIII. 1. *His benignity.* So ܛܝܒܘܬܗ. But the MS. originally read ܛܝܒܘܬܐ = "bounty, kindness." Both readings seem wrong.

2. This verse is translated as it stands in the Syriac. By omitting "for" the word "multitude" could be made the subject of the word "perish."

perish, for the multitude also of the nations which were with him. 3. When, moreover, Hezekiah the king heard those things which the king of Assyria was devising, (*i.e.*) to come and seize him and destroy his people, the two and a half tribes which remained: nay, more he wished to overthrow Zion also: then Hezekiah trusted in his works, and had hope in his righteousness, and spake with the Mighty One and said: 4. 'Behold, for lo! Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us, and he will be boastful and uplifted when he has destroyed Zion.' 5. And the Mighty One heard him, for Hezekiah was wise, and He had respect unto his prayer, because he was righteous. 6. And thereupon the Mighty One commanded Ramiel His angel who speaks with thee. 7. And I went forth and destroyed their multitude, the number of whose chiefs only was a hundred and eighty-five

3. *Hezekiah trusted in his works.* See xiv. 7, note. Observe the play on Hezekiah's name in these words when retranslated into Hebrew, חוקיה התחוק על. There appears to have been one also in Ecclus. xlviii. 22, *ἐποίησεν γὰρ Ἐξεκίας . . . καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν.* This conjecture as to the probable text in Ecclus. was made in March. It is now (June 20) confirmed by Dr. Neubauer's discovery last week in the Bodley of the Hebrew text of Ecclus. xl.-l. To his kindness and that of Mr. Cowley I owe the following passages where this play on the name occurs twice:—Ecclus. xlviii. 17, יחוקיהו חזק עירו = *Ἐξεκίας ὠχύρωσεν τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ*, and xlviii. 22, (כי עשה יחו)קיהו את הטוב (וי)תחוק ברכי דור = *ἐποίησεν γὰρ Ἐξεκίας τὸ ἄρεστον κυρίῳ, καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν ἐν ὁδοῖς Δαυείδ.*

4. *Lo, Sennacherib is prepared to destroy us.* There was a play here on the name Sennacherib in the Hebrew, והנה סנחריב עתיד להחריב אותנו,

5. In *Sifre*, 12*b*, and *Jalkut Shim.*, *Beresh.* 27, it is taught that men are heard by God on the ground either of their own merit or on that of others (Weber, 284, 285).

7. In 2 Kings xix. 35; Isa. xxxvii. 36, 185,000 is the complete number of the slain. In 2 Chron. xxxii. 21, only the slaughter of the chiefs is mentioned. From these two accounts the writer has worked up the present.

thousand, and each one of them had an equal number (at his command). 8. And at that time I burned their bodies within, but their raiment and arms I preserved outwardly, in order that the still more wonderful deeds of the Mighty One might appear, and that thereby His name might be spoken of throughout the whole earth. 9. Moreover, Zion was saved and Jerusalem delivered: Israel also was freed from tribulation. 10. And all those who were in the holy land rejoiced, and the name of the Mighty One was glorified so that it was spoken of. 11. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LXIV. "And the black ninth waters which thou hast seen, this is all the wickedness which was in the days of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah. 2. For he wrought much impiety, and he slew the righteous, and he wrested judgment, and he shed the blood of the innocent, and wedded women he violently polluted, and he overturned the altars, and destroyed their offerings, and drave forth the priests lest they should minister in the sanctuary. 3. And he made an image with five faces: four of them looked to the

LXIV. 3. *He made an image with five faces: four of*, etc. This is a very peculiar version of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7. וישם את-פסל המסכל—"he set the graven image of the idol." The LXX. implies the Hebrew just given. The Syriac, however, exhibits an early gloss which prepares the way for our text. Thus it gives ܘܣܝܡ ܠܗ ܐܝܩܘܢ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܦ̈ܝܢ = "and he set the four-fronted image." The Arabic goes still further; it = "and he set a statue having four heads with four faces." But the form of the tradition nearest to the text is found in the Talmud, *Sanh.* 103*b*: "At first he made for it (the idol) one face and in the end he made for it four faces, that the Shechinah might see and be provoked."

four winds, and the fifth on the summit of the image as an adversary of the zeal of the Mighty One. 4. And then wrath went forth from the presence of the Mighty One to the intent that Zion should be rooted out, as also it befell in your days. 5. But also against the two tribes and a half went forth a decree that they should also be led away captive, as thou hast now seen. 6. And to such a degree did the impiety of Manasseh increase, that it removed the praise of the Most High from the sanctuary. 7. On this account Manasseh was at that time named 'the impious,' and finally his abode was in the fire. 8. For though his prayer was heard with the Most High, finally, when he was cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted, it served as a sign unto him

6. *Removed the praise of the Most High from the sanctuary.* This may be explained by the statement in *Sanh.* 103*b*, that Manasseh erased the divine name and overturned the altar.

7. This verse runs counter to 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-19, where it is clearly implied that Manasseh was really forgiven on his repentance. This writer declares, on the other hand, that Manasseh's experience in the brazen horse was only a foretaste of his future sufferings in hell.

In the fire. See xliv. 15, note.

8. *His prayer.* 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19; *The Prayer of Manasseh* in the Apocrypha.

Cast into the brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted. This tradition appears in the Targum of Chronicles after 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11: "And the Chaldeans made a copper mule and pierced it all over with little holes, and shut him up therein and kindled fire all around him. . . . And he turned and prayed before the Lord his God. . . . And He shook the world with His word, and the mule burst asunder and he went forth therefrom." Traces of this tradition are also found in the Apostolic Constitutions ii. 22: *καὶ ἐπήκουσε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ κύριος . . . καὶ ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτὸν φλὸξ πυρὸς καὶ ἐτάκησαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν σίδηρα.* Also in Anastasius on Ps. vi. (Canisius, *Thesaur. Monum.* iii. 112) *φασὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν ἱστοριογράφων, ὅτι ἀπενεχθεὶς Μανασσῆς κατεκλείσθη εἰς ζώδιον χαλκοῦν ἀπὸ βασιλέως Περσῶν καὶ ἔσω ὢν ἐν τοιούτῳ ζωδίῳ προσηύξατο μετὰ δακρύων.* In Suidas (see *Μανασσῆς*): *αἰχμάλωτος ἀπήχθη καὶ ἐς τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα καθείρχθη . . . ἐδεήθη τοῦ κυρίου . . . καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄγαλμα θείᾳ δυνάμει διερράγη.*

Served as a sign. See note on ver. 7.

at the time. 9. For he did not live perfectly, for he was not worthy—but that thenceforward he might know by whom finally he should be tormented. 10. For he who is able to benefit is also able to torment.

LXV. "Thus, moreover, did Manasseh act impiously, and thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things. 2. These are the black ninth waters which thou hast seen.

LXVI. "And the bright tenth waters which thou hast seen: this is the purity of the generations of Josiah king of Judah, who was the only one at that time who submitted himself to the Mighty One with all his heart and with all his soul. 2. And he cleansed the land from idols, and hallowed all the vessels which had been polluted, and restored the offerings to the altar, and raised the horn of the holy, and exalted the righteous, and glorified all that were wise in understanding, and brought back the priests to their ministry, and destroyed and removed the magicians and enchanters and fortune-tellers from the land. 3. And not only did he slay the impious that were living, but they also took from the sepulchres

9. Text is corrupt.

LXVI. 1. The writer thus appears to have believed that though Manasseh prayed, yet he did not really repent. This view is found in *Sanh.* 101: "Our Rabbis have taught: there are three who came *with cunning* (before God): they are Cain, Esau, and Manasseh. . . . Manasseh at first called upon many gods, and at last upon the God of his fathers" [Rashi: "He said: 'If Thou save me not, what doth it profit me that I have called on Thee, more than the other gods?'"] (quoted by Ball in his Comm. on *The Prayer of Manasses*). In *Sanh.* x. three kings are said to have no part in the future life, *i.e.* Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh. Yet in the *Debarim rabba*, ii., salvation is ultimately said to be in store for Manasseh (Weber, 328).

the bones of the dead and burned them with fire. 4. [And the festivals and the sabbaths he established in their sanctity], and their polluted ones he burnt in the fire, and the lying prophets which deceived the people, these also he burnt in the fire, and the people who listened to them when they were living, he cast them into the brook Cedron, and heaped stones upon them. 5. And he was zealous with the zeal of the Mighty One with all his soul, and he alone was firm in the law at that time, so that he left none that was uncircumcised, or that wrought impiety in all the land, all the days of his life. 6. This, moreover, is he that shall receive an eternal reward, and he shall be glorified with the Mighty One beyond many at a later time. 7. For on his account and on account of those who are like him were the inestimable glories, of which thou wast told before, created and prepared. 8. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LXVII. "And the black eleventh waters which thou hast seen: this is the calamity which is now befalling Zion. 2. Dost thou think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One, that Zion was so delivered up, and that lo! the Gentiles boast in their hearts, and assemble before their idols and say: 'She is trodden

4. The words which I have bracketed are either interpolated or misplaced. It would perhaps be best to read them after "to their ministry" in verse 2. In that case for "festival" we should read "festivals."

7. See note on xiv. 18.

LXVII. 2. *Boast.* Cf. v. 1; vii. 1; lxxx. 3. *Assemble.* The text ⳁⲁⲓⲟ = "crowds" is corrupt. I have emended it into ⲥⲁⲓⲥ = "assemble."

down who ofttimes trod down, and she has been reduced to servitude who reduced (others)?' 3. Dost thou think that in these things the Most High rejoices, or that His name is glorified? 4. But how will it serve towards His righteous judgment? 5. Yet after these things shall those that are dispersed among the Gentiles be taken hold of by tribulation, and in shame shall they dwell in every place. 6. Because so far as Zion is delivered up and Jerusalem laid waste, and idols prosper in the cities of the Gentiles, and the vapour of the smoke of the incense of righteousness which is by the law is extinguished in Zion and in the region of Zion, lo! in every place there is the smoke of impiety. 7. But the king of Babylon will arise who has now destroyed Zion, and he will boast over the people, and he will speak great things in his heart in the presence of the Most High. 8. But

5. "The dispersed" here seem to be the nine and a half tribes.

6-7. With the destruction of Jerusalem, godlessness is triumphant everywhere. In all the references in A^3 to this destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* in lxiv. 4; lxvii. 2, 6, 7, there is no trace of consciousness in the mind of the writer that there was any divine interposition to save the sacred vessels of the temple and to destroy Zion by the agency of angels after the manner described in B^1, *i.e.* in vi. 4-10; lxxx. 1-3. If, further, we remark that the declared object of this interposition was to prevent the enemies of Zion boasting before their idols that they had laid it waste and burnt the temple (vii. 1; cf. v. 1; lxxx. 3), and if at the same time we observe that the writer of A^3 represents the angel Ramiel as admitting that the Gentiles are boasting before their idols of their destruction of Zion (lxvii. 2), and that the king of Babylon makes the same vaunt (lxvii. 7), we can with tolerable certainty conclude that the ideas in B^1, *i.e.* in v. 1; vi. 4-vii. 1; lxxx. 1-3, were either unknown to him or else unacknowledged. These ideas seem foreign to B^2 also. This writer would have sympathised with the remonstrance in 4 Ezra v. 30: "Et si odiens odisti populum tuum, tuis manibus debet castigari." In the Assumpt. Mosis (iii. 2) the capture of the sacred vessels by Nebuchadnezzar is acknowledged.

Righteousness which is by the law. See xv. 5, note.

he also shall fall at last. 9. These are the black waters.

LXVIII. "And the bright twelfth waters which thou hast seen: this is the word. 2. For after these things a time will come when thy people shall fall into distress, so that they shall all run the risk of perishing together. 3. Nevertheless, they will be saved, and their enemies will fall in their presence. 4. And they will have in (due) time much joy. 5. And at that time after a little interval Zion will again be builded, and its offerings will again be restored, and the priests will return to their ministry, and again the Gentiles will come to glorify it. 6. Nevertheless, not fully as in the beginning. 7. But it will come to pass after these things that there will be the fall of many nations. 8. These are the bright waters which thou hast seen.

LXIX. "For the last waters which thou hast seen which were darker than all that were before them, those which were after the twelfth number, which were collected together, belong to the whole world. 2. For the Most High made division from the beginning, because He alone knows what will befall. 3.

LXVIII. 2, 3. The danger the Jews encountered according to the book of Esther, and their subsequent triumph over their enemies. We have here the second earliest allusion to this O. T. book. The earliest is in 2 Macc. xv. 36.

5. The rebuilding of the temple (535-515).

6. On the lower estimation in which the second temple was held see Mal. i.-ii.; Eth. En. lxxxix. 73, 74; Assumpt. Mos. iv. 8. This temple, therefore, was standing when chapters liii.-lxxiv. were written.

LXIX. 1. *Last.* I have here adopted Ceriani's suggestion and read أخرى instead of أخر = "other."

The last waters, etc. See liii. 7.

For as to the enormities of the impieties which should be wrought before Him, He foresaw six kinds of them. 4. And of the good works of the righteous which should be accomplished before Him, He foresaw six kinds of them, beyond those which He should work at the consummation of the age. 5. On this account there were not black waters with black, nor bright with bright; for it is the consummation.

LXX. "Hear therefore the interpretation of the last black waters which are to come [after the black]: this is the word. 2. Behold! the days come, and it will be when the time of the age has ripened, and the harvest of its evil and good seeds has come, that the Mighty One will bring upon the earth and its inhabitants and upon its rulers perturbation of spirit and stupor of heart. 3. And they will hate one another, and provoke one another to fight, and the mean will rule over the honourable, and those of low degree will be extolled above the famous. 4. And the many will be delivered into the hands of the few, and those who are nothing will rule over the strong, and the poor will have abundance beyond the rich, and the impious

3, 4. This division of the periods of the world into six good and six evil recalls Ecclus. xlii. 24 *πάντα δισσὰ ἓν κατέναντι τοῦ ἑνός* (cf. also xxxiii. 15).

4. *Foresaw.* So Ceriani rightly emends from "foresees"—merely a change of pointing.

Beyond those which, etc. These woes—the travail pains of the Messiah—are developed at length in lxx.-lxxii. (see liii. 7; lxix. 1).

LXX. 1. I have bracketed the words "after the black" as interpolated. They misrepresent the scheme of the writer; for the "last black waters" come after the bright twelfth waters in lxviii.

2. *Its inhabitants.* See xxv. 2, note.

Stupor of heart. Cf. xxv. 2.

3-10. With this notable description of the last woes, cf. xxv. 2-4; xxvii.; xlviii. 31-39; 4 Ezra v. 1-12; vi. 20-24; ix. 1-9; xiii. 29-31 (see xxvii. 1, note.

3. Cf. xlviii. 37; Jubilees xxiii. 19: 4 Ezra vi. 24.

will exalt themselves above the heroic. 5. And the wise will be silent, and the foolish will speak, neither will the thought of men be then confirmed, nor the counsel of the mighty, nor will the hope of those who hope be confirmed. 6. Moreover, it will be when those things which were predicted have come to pass, that confusion will fall upon all men, and some of them will fall in battle, and some of them will perish in anguish, and some of them will be destroyed by their own. 7. Then the Most High will reveal to those peoples whom He has prepared before, and they will come and make war with the leaders that shall then be left. 8. And it will come to pass that whosoever gets safe out of the war will die in the earthquake, and whosoever gets safe out of the earthquake will be burned by the fire, and whosoever gets safe out of the fire will be destroyed by famine. [9. And it will come to pass that whosoever of the victors and

5. Cf. xlviii. 33, 36 ; 4 Ezra v. 9-11.

The mighty. The text which here reads ܕܒܪܝܐ ܕܝ = "the Mighty One," is wrong. We must read the plural ܕܓܒܪܐ ܕܝ = "the mighty." In lxxiv. 1 we must change the plural into the singular.

The hope of those who hope, etc. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 12.

6. *Destroyed*, etc. Cf. Mic. vii. 6 ; Matt. x. 35, 36 ; Luke xii. 53. The Syriac text = "will be hindered" is corrupt; for the context requires a strong expression. The corruption is traceable to the Hebrew. Thus "will be hindered" = *κωλυθήσονται*, which would be the usual LXX. rendering of יִכָּלְאוּ. That יכלאו is a corruption of יִכְלוּ = "will be destroyed" is clear from the fact that these two verbs are often confused in Hebrew, combined with the further fact that יִכְלוּ = "will be destroyed" gives the exact sense we require.

7. *Whom He has prepared before.* Are these the hosts of Gog and Magog? if text in verse 9 is genuine.

8. *In the earthquake.* Cf. xxvii. 7 ; 4 Ezra ix. 3.

The fire. Cf. xxvii. 10 ; 4 Ezra, v. 8.

Will be destroyed. I have here followed Ceriani's emendation of ܢܣܒ = "he will add," into ܢܫܒ.

Famine. Cf. xxvii. 6.

9. I have with some doubt bracketed this verse as an inter-

the vanquished gets safe out of and escapes all these things aforesaid will be delivered into the hands of My servant Messiah.] 10. For all the earth will devour its inhabitants.

LXXI. "And the holy land will have mercy on its own, and it will protect its inhabiters at that time. 2. This is the vision which thou hast seen, and this is the interpretation. 3. For I have come to tell thee these things, because thy prayer has been heard with the Most High.

LXXII. "Hear now also regarding the bright lightning which is to come at the consummation after these black (waters): this is the word. 2. After the signs have come, of which thou wast told before, when the

polation. The appearance of the Messiah is premature. His advent does not really take place till lxxii. 2. Again verse 10 is the natural sequel to verse 8. Further, the extermination of the Gentiles is here implied, but only their partial destruction in lxxii. 4-6. Finally, since the Messiah is the defender of the righteous, lxxi. 1 is rather inappropriate. But lxxi. 1 is fitting if the Messiah has not yet come.

LXXI. See notes on xxix. 2. Observe that whereas God protects the inhabitants of Palestine in xxix. 2, and the Messiah protects them in xl. 2, it is the land that protects them here.

2. These words which should not occur till the end of the interpretation show that the text is dislocated. This will be obvious on other grounds as we proceed.

3. Cf. liv. 1.

LXXII. 1. *The bright lightning* = ܒܪܩܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ. So I have emended by means of liii. 8 the impossible text ܒܪܩܐ ܕܡܝܐ = "the bright waters." It will be remembered that in the vision in liii. the last blackest waters (liii. 7) were not succeeded by bright waters, but by the lightning which illuminated and healed the earth and ruled over it (liii. 8-11). The lightning thus symbolised the Messiah. But in the interpretation of the close of the vision, the lightning is not even mentioned according to the present text, but in its place bright waters are spoken of, though in the vision in liii. none such are seen and none such contemplated throughout the entire interpretation up to the present chapter. The scheme of the writer of A^3 was as we have seen above: twelve periods evil and good alternately, symbolised by black and bright waters respectively, followed by a period of woes—the blackest waters; and finally, the Messiah's kingdom which was prefigured by the lightning. The same emendation must be made in lxxiv. 4.

nations become turbulent, and the time of My Messiah is come, He will both summon all the nations, and some of them He will spare, and some of them He will slay. 3. These things therefore will come upon the nations which are to be spared by Him. 4. Every nation which knows not Israel, and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob, shall indeed be spared. 5. And this because some out of every nation will be subjected to thy people. 6. But all those who have ruled over you, or have known you, shall be given up to the sword.

LXXIII. "And it will come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world, and has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of His kingdom, that joy will then be revealed, and rest appear. 2. And then healing will descend in dew, and disease will withdraw, and anxiety and anguish

Throughout lxxii. 1 the plurals are changed into the singular to agree with the singular subject.

4-6. The Messiah was to extend His dominion over the Gentiles (Ps. lxxii. 11, 17; Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19-21; Zech. xiv.; Eth. En. xc. 30; Pss. Sol. xvii. 32 *καὶ ἕξει λαοὺς ἐθνῶν δουλεύειν αὐτῷ*). But in the first century B.C. to which the Pss. Sol. belong, a harsher view of the destiny of the Gentiles began to prevail. In Eth. En. xxxvii.-lxx. and Assumpt. Mos. x. it seems to be that of annihilation; it is undoubtedly so in 4 Ezra xiii. 37, 38, 49, and all but universally in later Judaism; cf. Weber, 364-369, 376. A middle line is pursued in the text.

The Messiah here, as in xxxix. 7-xl.; 4 Ezra xii. 32, is a warrior who slays the enemies of Israel with His own hand. This view appears in the Targum of Jon. on Isa. x. 27, and of the pseudo-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 11. In Eth. En. lxii. 2; Pss. Sol. xvii. 27; 4 Ezra xiii. 38; as in Isa. xi. 4, He destroys them by the word of His mouth. But in the Eth. En. xc. 37; Ap. Bar. xxix. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 28, the conception of the Messiah is weak; he does not appear till evil has run its course; he has no active *rôle;* he reigns but does not rule.

LXXIII. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25. *Joy will be revealed.* The text reads "will be revealed in joy," but this destroys the parallelism with "rest will appear." I have omitted the preposition before "joy."

2. *Healing will descend in dew.* Cf. xxix. 7.

and lamentation will pass from amongst men, and gladness will proceed through the whole earth. 3. And no one shall again die untimely, nor shall any adversity suddenly befall. 4. And judgments, and revilings, and contentions, and revenges, and blood, and passions, and envy, and hatred, and whatsoever things are like these shall go into condemnation when they are removed. 5. For it is these very things which have filled this world with evils, and on account of these the life of man has been greatly troubled. 6. And wild beasts will come from the forest and minister unto men, and asps and dragons will come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child. 7. And women will no longer then have pain when they bear, nor will they suffer torment when they yield the fruit of the womb.

LXXIV. "And it will come to pass in those days that the reapers will not grow weary, nor those that build be toilworn; for the works will of themselves speedily advance with those who do them in much tranquillity. 2. For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is not corruptible. 3. Therefore those things which were predicted will belong to it: therefore it is far away from evils, and near to those things which die not. 4. This is the bright lightning which came after the last dark waters."

3. *Untimely.* See liv. 15.
4. Cf. *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 376-380, 751-755.
6. Cf. Isa. xi. 6-9; lxv. 25; *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 620-623, 743-750.

LXXIV. 2. Cf. xl. 2.
4. *This is the bright lightning.* Emended from "these are the last bright waters." See lxxii. 1, note.

LXXV. And I answered and said: "Who can understand, O Lord, Thy goodness? for it is incomprehensible. 2. Or who can search into Thy compassions, which are infinite? 3. Or who can comprehend Thy intelligence? 4. Or who is able to recount the thoughts of Thy mind? 5. Or who of those that are born can hope to come to those things, unless he is one to whom Thou art merciful and gracious? 6. Because, if assuredly Thou didst not have compassion on man, those who are under Thy right hand, they could not come to those things, but those who are in the numbers named can be called. 7. But if, indeed, we who exist know wherefore we have come, and submit ourselves to Him who brought us out of Egypt, we shall come again and remember those things which have passed, and shall rejoice regarding that which has

LXXV.-LXXVI. = B².

LXXV.-LXXVI. With these chapters we return again to B². We should observe that according to lxxv. 1 Baruch replies to the last speaker who has interpreted the vision in liii. for him. This speaker Baruch addresses as God. But the last speaker was not God but the angel Ramiel from whom is derived lv. 4-lxxiv. Thus we see that lxxv. does not belong to liii.-lxxiv.

LXXV. 1. *Can understand.* I have emended ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܥܐ = "can be likened to" into ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ = "can understand," and omitted the ܒ in ܒܥܠܡܐ.

2. The mercies of God are not dwelt upon much in this book. The righteous are fully conscious of their worth (cf. xiv. 7, note). We have, however, a prayer for God's mercy in xlviii. 18, and an acknowledgment of God's long-suffering in xxiv. 2, but this is shown alike to the righteous and the wicked. God is merciful (lxxvii. 7) and His compassions are infinite (lxxv. 2); He has dealt with Baruch according to the multitude of the tender mercies (lxxxi. 4); if God had not compassion on man, he could not attain to the world to come (lxxv. 5, 6). For references to mercy in 4 Ezra, see vii. 132-134; viii. 31, 32, 36, 45; xii. 48.

5, 6. *Those things.* Probably the blessed immortality described in li.

6. *Who are under Thy right hand.* Cf. Ps. lxxx. 17.

7. *We shall come again, i.e.* in the resurrection described in l. This verse deals with the destiny of the obedient and the righteous; the next with that of the disobedient.

been. 8. But if now we know not wherefore we have come, and recognise not the principate of Him who brought us up out of Egypt, we shall come again and seek after those things which were now, and be grieved with pain because of those things which have befallen."

LXXVI. And He answered and said unto me: ["Inasmuch as the revelation of this vision has been interpreted to thee as thou besoughtest], hear the word of the Most High that thou mayest know what is to befall thee after these things. 2. For thou shalt surely depart from this earth, nevertheless not unto death but thou shalt be preserved unto the consummation of the times. 3. Go up therefore to the top of that mountain, and there will pass before thee all the regions of that land, and the figure of the inhabited world, and the top of the mountains, and the depth of the valleys, and the depths of the seas, and the number of the rivers, that thou mayest see what thou art leaving, and whither thou art going. 4. Now this will befall after forty days. 5. Go now therefore during

LXXVI. 1. The earlier half of this verse is probably due to the final editor.

Hear the word of the Most High. This same mode of speech in which God speaks of Himself in the third person is found in xiii. 2: "Hear the word of the Mighty God," and also in xxv. 1, where the same statements are made in each case.

2. See note on xiii. 3.

Thou shalt be preserved until the consummation of the times. The Syr. here ܬܬܛܪ ܠܥܕܢܐ = "unto the observance of the times." If we compare the parallel passage, xxv. 1, we see that the above must be emended into ܬܬܛܪ ܠܙܒ̈ܢ̈ܐ, "thou shalt be preserved unto the times," or else into the fuller form we find in xvii. 3. I have done the latter in the text.

3. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1-3; Matt. iv. 8. Is the mountain here Nebo as in Deuteronomy?

4. *Forty days.* Cf. Exod. xxiv. 18; xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9, 18. Analogous to this forty days to be

these days and instruct the people so far as thou art able, that they may learn so as not to die at the last time, but may learn in order that they may live at the last times."

LXXVII. And I, Baruch, went thence and came to the people, and assembled them together from the greatest to the least, and said unto them: 2. "Hear, ye children of Israel, behold how many ye are who remain of the twelve tribes of Israel. 3. For to you and to your fathers the Lord gave a law beyond all peoples. 4. And because your brethren transgressed the commandments of the Most High, He brought vengeance upon you and upon them, and He spared not

LXXVII.-LXXXII. = B^1.

spent by Baruch in teaching the people are the forty days assigned to Ezra, in which he was to restore the O.T. Scriptures (cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 23, 42, 44, 45).

5. *Live.* See xli. 1, note.

In LXXVIII. - LXXXVII. we have the conclusion of B^1. But of these chapters two are from other sources; LXXXIII. is from B^2, and LXXXV. from B^3. For the grounds for these conclusions, see the notes *in loc.* For a comprehensive treatment of the two sources, B^1 and B^2, the reader must consult the Introduction. The chief differences between B^1 and B^2 are: In the former an earthly felicity is looked for, in the latter not; in the former the dispersion is to return, in the latter not; in the former the earthly Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, in the latter not; in the former Baruch is to die, in the latter to be translated; in the former Jeremiah is not sent to Babylon, in the latter he is. Thus the portions derived respectively from B^1 and B^2 are as follows:— From B^1 i.-iv. 1; v.-ix. 1; xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6; lxxvii.-lxxxii.; lxxxiv., lxxxvi., lxxxvii. From B^2 ix. 2-xii. (?); xiii. 1-3*a*; xx.; xxiv. 2-4; xiii. 3*b*-12; xxv., xiv.-xix.; xxi.-xxiv. 1; xxx. 2-5; xli., xlii.; xlviii. 1-47; xlix.-lii. 3; lxxv.; xxxi.-xxxii. 6; liv. 17, 18; xlviii. 48-50; lii. 5-7; liv. 16; xliv. 8-15; lxxxiii.; xxxii. 7-xxxv.; lxxvi. The portions derived from B^2 are restored to what seems to have been their original order in that source.

LXXVII. 1. *From the greatest to the least.* A favourite expression in Jeremiah (cf. vi. 13; viii. 10; xxxi. 34; xlii. 1, 8; xliv. 12; 4 Ezra xii. 40). Only in these it runs: "From the least to the greatest."

2. The twelve tribes which are here mentioned are treated of in their two main divisions in verse 4. Cf. lxxviii. 4; lxxxiv. 3.

3. *A law.* See xv. 5, note.

4. *Upon you. I.e.* the $2\frac{1}{2}$ tribes = "the former" in the next line.

Upon them. The $9\frac{1}{2}$ tribes = "the latter" in the next line.

the former, and the latter also He gave into captivity, and left not a residue of them. 5. And behold! ye are here with me. 6. If therefore ye direct your ways aright, ye also will not depart as your brethren departed, but they will come to you. 7. For He is merciful whom ye worship, and He is gracious in whom ye hope, and He is true, so that He shall do (you) good and not evil. 8. Lo! have ye not seen what has befallen Zion? 9. Or do ye perchance think that the place had sinned, and that on this account it was overthrown, or that the land had wrought foolishness, and that therefore it was delivered up? 10. And know ye not that on account of you who did sin, that which sinned not was overthrown, and, on account of those who wrought wickedly, that which wrought not foolishness was delivered up to (its) enemies." 11. And the whole people answered and said unto me: "So

Hath not left a residue of them. *I.e.* of the 9½ tribes. This denies the Samaritan claim.

5. Cf. lxxx. 5; 4 Ezra xiv. 33. 4 Ezra xiv. 30-33 seems to be dependent on lxxvii. 3-6. Those who are left with Baruch are a remnant of the 2½ tribes.

6. *As your brethren departed.* "The brethren" here embrace the 2½ tribes, and so we interpret the subsequent words, "and they will come to you." On the return of the 9½ tribes see note on lxxviii. 7.

7. *Do (you) good and not evil.* Cf. Jer. xxi. 10; Amos ix. 4.

8. =xliv. 5. Cf. x. 7; xiii. 3; lxxix. 1.

9. It was not the place that sinned. Hence it was destroyed by the hands of angels before it was delivered over to the king of Babylon, lest he should glory over it. Cf. v.-viii., lxxx.; see note on lxvii. 6.

10. Observe that the fall of Jerusalem is here attributed not only to the sins of the 2½ tribes but also of the 9½. This view appears first in Jer. xi. 17: "For the Lord of hosts that planted thee hath pronounced evil against thee, because of the evil of the house of Israel and of the house of Judah." Cf. Bar. ii. 26 καὶ ἔθηκας τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη, διὰ πονηρίαν οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οἴκου Ἰούδα. Assumpt. Moyseos, iii. 5, where the two tribes say to the ten: "justus et sanctus Dominus, quia enim vos peccastis, et nos pariter abducti sumus vobiscum. Cf. also Targ. Jon. on Isa. liii. 5.

far as we can recall the good things which the Mighty One has done unto us, we do recall them; and those things which we do not remember He in His mercy knows. 12. Nevertheless, do this for us thy people: write also to our brethren in Babylon an epistle of doctrine and a scroll of good tidings, that thou mayest confirm them also before thou dost depart from us. 13. For the shepherds of Israel have perished, and the lamps which gave light are extinguished, and the fountains have withheld their stream whence we used to drink. 14. And we are left in the darkness, and amid the briers of the forest, and the thirst of the wilderness." 15. And I answered and said unto them: "Shepherds and lamps and fountains came (to us) from the law: and though we depart, yet the law abideth. 16. If therefore ye have respect to the law, and are intent upon wisdom, a lamp will not be wanting, and a shepherd will not fail, and a fountain will not dry up. 17. Nevertheless, as ye said unto me, I will write also unto your brethren in Babylon,

12. *To our brethren in Babylon, i.e.* the 2½ tribes. Cf. verse 19; lxxxv. 6. Observe that the writer does not conceive here of Jeremiah being at Babylon. If he had, he would have directed the letter to him. In the Rest of the Words of Baruch, on the other hand, the writer, conceiving Jeremiah to be in Babylon, directs to him the letter intended for the exiles there. This letter (cf. lxxvii. 17, 19; lxxxv. 6) to the 2½ tribes is lost.

Good tidings. Cf. xlvi. 6.

Depart. This refers to an ordinary death (cf. xliii. 2, note; see also xiii. 3, note; lxxviii. 5; lxxxiv. 1).

14. *We are left in darkness.* xlvi. 2; cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 20.

Briers. The text is סרבן = ὕλη, which is the LXX. rendering of שמיר in Isa. x. 17. I have supposed a similar rendering here. Or ὕλη may be a rendering of עצי = "trees," and this a corruption of צני = "thorns." Something is wrong.

15. *The law.* See xv. 5, note.

16. *Shepherd.* The text reads נשמה = "mind," which Ceriani has rightly emended into נשמא = "shepherd."

and I will send by means of men, and I will write in like manner to the nine tribes and a half, and send by means of a bird." 18. And it came to pass on the one and twentieth day in the eighth month that I, Baruch, came and sat down under the oak under the shadow of the branches, and no man was with me, but I was alone. 19. And I wrote these two epistles: one I sent by an eagle to the nine and a half tribes; and the other I sent to those that were at Babylon by means of three men. 20. And I called the eagle, and spake these words unto it: 21. "The Most High hath made thee that thou shouldst be higher than all birds. 22. And now go and tarry not in (any) place, nor enter a nest, nor settle upon any tree, till thou hast passed over the breadth of the many waters of the river Euphrates, and hast gone to the people that dwell there, and cast down to them this epistle. 23. Remember, moreover, that, at the time of the deluge, Noah received from a dove the fruit of the olive, when he sent it forth from the ark. 24. Yea, also the ravens ministered to Elijah, bearing him food, as they had been commanded. 25. Solomon also, in the time

17. *A bird.* This is an eagle (cf. ver. 20). It is worth observing that whereas an eagle carries this letter to the 9½ tribes here, in the Rest of the Words of Baruch vii. it is an eagle that carries Baruch's letter to Jeremiah in Babylon.

18. *The oak.* See vi. 1, note; cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 1.

21. Cf. Rest of Words of Baruch vii. 3: "Elect above all the birds of heaven."

22. The 9½ tribes were carried away to Assyria and placed in Halah, and in Habor, on the river of Gozan (2 Kings xvii. 6). Their abode, according to 4 Ezra xiii. 40, 45, was Arzareth, *i.e.* ארץ אחרת of Deut. xxix. 28; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 5, 2.

23. Cf. Gen. viii. 11; Rest of Words of Baruch vii. 10: "Be like the dove which three times brought back word to Noah."

24. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 6.

of his kingdom, whithersoever he wished to send or seek for anything, commanded a bird (to go thither), and it obeyed him as he commanded it. 26. And now let it not weary thee, and turn not to the right hand nor to the left, but fly and go by a direct way, that thou mayest preserve the command of the Mighty One, according as I said unto thee."

26. Cf. Rest of Words vii. 12.

The Epistle of Baruch which he wrote to the nine and a half Tribes

LXXVIII. These are the words of that epistle which Baruch the son of Neriah sent to the nine and a half tribes, which were across the river Euphrates, in which these things were written. 2. Thus saith Baruch the son of Neriah to the brethren carried into captivity: "Mercy and peace." 3. I bear in mind, my brethren, the love of Him who created us, who loved

LXXVIII. 1. *The nine and a half tribes.* In this book the tribes of Israel carried away by the king of Assyria are, except in i. 2, always so designated (cf. lxii. 5; lxxvii. 19). In 4 Ezra xiii. 40 they are called "the ten tribes" only in the Latin Version, but "the nine and a half tribes" in the Syriac and Arabic Versions; in Asc. Isa. iii. 2 and in the Ethiopic Version of 4 Ezra xiii. 40 they are called the "nine tribes."

2. *Mercy and peace.* 1 Tim. i. 2.

3. It is noteworthy that in the genuine parts of B^1 in chaps. lxxvii.-lxxxvii. Baruch speaks frequently in the first person sing. (see lxxvii. 1, 5, 11, 15, 17-20, 26; lxxviii. 3,

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of Baruch the scribe'; *kp*, 'the Epistle of Baruch'; *mn*, 'the first Epistle of Baruch.'

LXXVIII. 1. ܐܢܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ 'these are,' *c*; ܘܗܠܝܢ 'and these,' *abdeghi*wp; *f*, ܗܠܝܢ. ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ܗܕܐ 'of that Epistle,' *c*; wrongly om. by *abdefghi*wp. ܕܒܒܠ ; *abcgh*; *def*wp, ܒܒܠ. ܦܪܬ 'Euphrates,' *abdefghi*wp. *c* om.

2. ܫܠܡܐ ; *c*; *abdefhi*wp, ܫܠܡ ; *g*, ܫܠܡ. ܘܫܠܡܐ 'and peace,' *abdefghi*wp; *c*. reads ܫܠܡ ܠܟܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ ܥܡ 'and peace be unto you.'

3. ܕܒܪܢ 'who created us,' *abdefghil*wp; *c* wrongly ܕܒܪܢ

LXXVIII.

1

2

3

For some account of the MSS. *abcdefghiklmn* see the General Introduction.

TITLE.—I have here given *c*, though what the title was is uncertain. *a* reads ܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܒܪܘܟ ܒܪ ܢܝܪܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܣܦܪ ; so *g*, but that it om. ܩܕܡܝܬܐ and *b*, but that it om. ܣܦܪ, ܕܒܪܘܟ and ܩܕܡܝܬܐ. *di* give ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܒܪܘܟ ܒܪ ܢܝܪܝܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܣܦܪ ; so w, but that it om. ܣܦܪ and ܕ before ܐ, and *ef*, but that they om. ܣܦܪ and ܐܓܪܬܐ. *l*, ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܣܦܪ ܕܒܪܘܟ ܒܪ ܢܝܪܝܐ 'the first Epistle of Baruch, the son of Neriah'; *k*, 'the Epistle

us from of old, and never hated us, but above all educated us. 4. And truly I know that behold all we the twelve tribes are bound by one chain, inasmuch as we are born from one father. 5. Wherefore I have been the more careful to leave you the words of this epistle before I die, that ye may be comforted regarding the evils which have come upon you, and that ye may be grieved also regarding the evil that has befallen your brethren: and again, also, that ye may justify His judgment which He has decreed against you that ye should be carried away captive—for what ye have suffered is disproportioned to what ye have done—in order that, at the last times, ye may be found

4, 5; lxxx. 7; lxxxi. 2, 4; lxxxii. 1; lxxxiv. 1, 6, 7; lxxxvi. 3; lxxxvii.) In the interpolated portions this is not so.

4. *Twelve tribes.* lxxvii. 2; lxxxiv. 3.

5. *Before I die.* See xiii. 3, note. *Justify.* See xxi. 9, note. Cf. Ps. li. 4; Dan. ix. 14; Baruch ii. 9.

For what ye . . . done is parenthetical. Cf. lxxix. 2.

That in the last times, etc. These words refer to the return of the 9½ tribes (see note on ver. 7).

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4. ܗܘ ‘that behold,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c* wrongly ܠܐ ‘that not.’ ܗܟܝܡ ܗܠ *bcg*; *adefhi*WP, ܗܟܝܡ.

5. ܗܘ ܐܙܠ ܒܗ *abdefghi*WP; *c* trs. ܠܟ *defi*WP om. ܠܟ ܕܚܛܝܬܐ *abdefghil*WP; *c*, ܠܟ ܕܚܛܝܬܐ. ܒܝܫܬܐ ‘evil that has befallen,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܒܝܫ ‘evils that have befallen.’ ܕ ܐܬ ܠ *abdefghil*WP; *c*, ܕ ܐܬ ܠ. ܕܐܫܬܟܚ, *a* by a clerical error gives ܕܐܫܬܟܚ. ܒܫܦܠ *acdh*; *befgi*, ܒܫܬܟܚ. ܠ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܠܟ. ܦ *ch*; *b*, ܒ.

ܡܢ ܕܒܪܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܒܪܝ ܠܟ ܘܠܐ ܐܬ ܠܝ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕ

worthy of your fathers. 6. Therefore if ye consider those things which ye have now suffered for your good, that ye may not finally be condemned and tormented, then ye will receive eternal hope; if above all ye destroy from your heart vain error, on account of which ye departed hence. 7. For if ye so do these things, He will continually remember you, He who alway promised on our behalf to those who were more excellent than we, that He will never forget or forsake us, but with much mercy will gather together again those who were dispersed.

6. *Departed hence. I.e.* from Palestine.

7. *Those who were more excellent.* The patriarchs.

With much mercy. In 4 Ezra xiv. 34, 35 the righteous are to obtain mercy after death. Here God's mercy will be shown to Israel by causing them to return from their captivity.

Gather together . . . those who were dispersed. Cf. lxxvii. 6; lxxxiv. 2, 8, 10. The promise that God would turn again the captivity of Israel is frequently made in the O. T. (cf. Deut. xxx. 3; Amos ix. 11-15; Isa. xi. 12; Jer. xxiii. 3; xxix. 14; xxxi. 10; xxxii. 37; Ezek. xxxvii. 21-28; Zeph. iii. 19, 20; also in Bar. iv. 36, 37; v. 5-7; Pss. Sol. xi.; 2 Macc. ii. 18). The prediction of the return of the exiles is found also in Tob. xiii. 13; Eth. En. lvii. 1, 2; xc. 33; *Or. Sibyl.* ii. 170-173; 4 Ezra xiii. 12, 39-47. Either as in the preceding passages God was to procure their return directly; or else indirectly (*a*) through the agency of the nations who should carry back to Jerusalem the dispersed as offerings (cf. Isa. xlix. 22; lx. 4, 9; lxvi. 20; Pss. Sol. xvii. 34); (*b*) by means of the Messiah (cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 30, 50; Targ. Jon. on Jer. xxxiii. 13); (*c*) by means of Elijah (cf. Ecclus. xlviii. 10). These different methods are not mutually exclusive. In the presence of this strongly attested hope of the restoration of the dispersed it is strange to find it positively denied by R. Akiba (*Sanh.* x. 3): "The ten tribes will nevermore return; for it is said of them (Deut. xxix. 28): 'He will cast them into another land, as this day.' Hence as this day passes away and does not return, so shall they pass away and not return. So R. Akiba."

The return of the exiles in B^1 accords well with the rebuilding of Jerusalem which is elsewhere expected in B^1. See i. 4; vi. 9, notes.

6 لما ولا عزم . وحصّلا
لم ٧٧سعدو وحكم
وحكم وحلم سعلو وحلكلاو .
وحلم ٧٧مدو
وحكم ٧٧سعدو . وحلم
وحلم وحلم وحكم .
وحكم لما

LXXIX. Now, my brethren, learn first what befell Zion: how that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against us. 2. For we have sinned against Him who made us, and we have not kept the commandments which He commanded us, yet He hath not chastened us as we deserved. 3. For what befell you we also suffered in a pre-eminent degree, for it befell us also.

LXXX. And now, my brethren, I make known unto you that when the enemy had surrounded the city, the angels of the Most High were sent, and they overthrew the fortifications of the strong wall, and they

LXXIX. 1. *What befell Zion.* See lxxvii. 8, note.
2. *We have sinned*, etc. Cf. Baruch i. 17, 18.
Chastened. Cf. i. 5; xiii. 10.
As we deserved. Cf. lxxviii. 5.

LXXX. This chapter closely resembles and implies vi.-viii., but lxvii. proceeds upon different presuppositions. See lxvii. 6, note.
1. *Fortifications of the strong wall.* Cf. vii. 1.

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*bdefghi*WP. *bdefghi*WP read ܠܟ ܐܝܕܟ ܥܒܝܪ ܘܒܗܕ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ ‘but likewise that which has befallen you has overtaken us: in a pre-eminent degree have we suffered also’; so also *a*, but that it inserts ܘ before ܡܛܠ, a conflate reading as in lxxviii. 6: all readings seem corrupt. ܒܫ *ce*; *bh*, ܒܫ; *fi*, ܒܫ. ܒܗ *abg*; *cdh*, ܒܗ; *fi*, ܒܗ; WP, ܒܗ ‘our calamity.’

LXXX. 1. ܐܘܕܝܥ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ‘I make known unto you that,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c* wrongly om. ܘܡܫܟܢ *abcdfghilm*; *e*WP om. ܘ ‘and.’ ܡܫܬܪܬܐ ‘fortifications,’ *abdefghilm*WP; *c*,

LXXIX. 1 ܠܡܐ ܡܬܟܠܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ ܀

ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܐܠ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܢܬܟܠܡ ܒܗ ܀

2 ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܟ ܒܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝ ܀

ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܐܠ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܢܬܟܠܡ ܒܗ ܀

3 ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܟ ܒܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝ ܀

ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܐܠ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܢܬܟܠܡ ܒܗ ܀

LXXX. 1 ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܟ ܒܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝ ܀

ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܐܠ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܢܬܟܠܡ ܒܗ ܀

LXXIX. 1. ܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܟܠ ܥܠܡ. ܗܢܐ *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ܗܢܟ. ܒܪ ܐܢܫ *efhi*; *bg*, ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ.

2. ܐܡܪ *bdfghi*WP; *ac*, ܐܡܪ. ܐܦ *b*(*ad?*)*efghi*WP; *c*, ܐܦ. ܦܘܩܕܢܐ 'commandments,' *ch*WP; *abdefgil*, ܦܘܩܕܢܐ 'commandment.'

2—3. ܠܐ ..... ܐܦ 'yet He hath not chastened .... degree'; so *c*, save that I have om. ܕ before ܠܐ, with

destroyed the firm iron corners, which could not be rooted out. 2. Nevertheless, they hid all the vessels of the sanctuary, lest the enemy should get possession of them. 3. And when they had done these things, they delivered thereupon to the enemy the overthrown wall, and the plundered house, and the burnt temple, and the people who were overcome because they were delivered up, lest the enemy should boast and say: "Thus by force have we been able to lay waste even the house of the Most High in war." 4. Your brethren

Its . . . corners. Cf. vi. 4; viii. 1.

2. *Hid all the vessels.* Cf. vi. 7, 8. The ultimate motive for hiding the holy vessels can only be that given in vi. 9.

All the vessels of the sanctuary. The Syriac gives the impossible text, "the vessels of the vessels." The corruption becomes obvious when we retranslate into Hebrew. Thus the words = כלים מכלי הקדש corrupted from כל־כלי הקדש. I have emended accordingly.

Lest the enemy should get possession of them. The Syriac = "lest they should be polluted by the enemies." But the parallel passage in vi. 8, "So that strangers may not get possession of them," expresses the idea we should find here; for the object with which the vessels are hidden is their preservation for use in the restored temple (vi. 7-10). Further, we find that the corrupt text which = פן יחלו מאויבים becomes by the addition of a single letter = פן ינחלום אויבים = "lest the enemy should get possession of them."

3. *Plundered house, and the burnt temple.* Cf. v. 3; vi. 6, 7.

Should boast. Cf. vii. 1. Contrast lxvii. 2, 7.

4. Cf. viii. 5. Observe that there is no mention here of Jeremiah

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'who were overcome,' *abdefgi*WP; so *h*, but that it gives the plural; *c*, ܕܐܬܝ. ܕ ܡܛܠ 'because,' *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ܡܛܠ ܕ 'when.' ܒܥܕܡܐ, *b* reads ܒܐܫܬܐ. ܕܐܬܝ ܥܠ *b*; *adefghi*WP, ܥܠ ܕܐܬܝ; c, ܐܬܝ ܥܠ. ܚܝܠܐ 'by force,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* wrongly om. ܒܥܘܬܪ *bdefghi*WP; *a*, ܒܥܘܬܪ.

وعَبْدُهُ . إِسْمَاءُ أَوْهَامٍ
وَهُمْ أَسْمَاءُ
. إِلَيْهِمْ أَرْضَاهُمْ أَلَيْسَ
وَهُمْ أَسْمَاءُ
مَعَهُمْ بِلَا حِكْمَةٍ
2 إِلَيْهِمْ . وَهُمْ أَسْمَاءُ
بِلَا سِرٍّ . إِسْمَاءُ أَوْهَامٍ
. إِلَيْهِمْ أَرْضَاهُمْ أَلَيْسَ
3 وَهُمْ . حِكْمَةٍ وَهُمْ
. أَوْهَامٍ إِلَيْهِمْ أَرْضَاهُمْ أَلَيْسَ
فِي أَلَيْسَ وَهُمْ
. أَسْمَاءُ فِي أَلَيْسَ . أَسْ
وَهُمْ أَسْمَاءُ فِي أَلَيْسَ
أَرْضَاهُمْ أَلَيْسَ وَهُمْ
وَهُمْ أَسْمَاءُ فِي
. إِلَيْهِمْ أَرْضَاهُمْ أَلَيْسَ

حصن 'fortification.' وعبدهم *abdefghi*WP; *c*, وعبدهم. أسماء *abdefgi*WP; *c*, وهمها. أرضاهم *abcgh*; *defgi*WP, أرضاهم.

2. و أبلغ 'some vessels of the vessels,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, وبلغ. يدنسوا 'should be polluted,' *abcdfghi*; *d*, يدنسوا; eWP, يدنسوا.

3. *f* om. إلهامهم . . . . وهم through hmt. وهم *abc'deghi*WP; *c*, وهم. وهمها *abdeghi*WP; *c* om. أرضاهم

also have they bound and led away to Babylon, and have caused them to dwell there. 5. But we have been left here, being very few. 6. This is the tribulation about which I wrote to you. 7. For assuredly I know that the habitation of Zion gave you consolation: so far as ye knew that it was prospered (your consolation) was greater than the tribulation which ye endured in having departed from it.

LXXXI. But regarding consolation, hear ye the word. 2. For I was mourning regarding Zion, and I prayed for mercy from the Most High, and I said:

though, according to x. 5, he went with the captivity to Babylon. See x. 2, note.

5. From Jer. xlii. 2, where the words are spoken of the remnant in Jerusalem (cf. Deut. iv. 27; Baruch ii. 13). The two latter passages deal with the remnant among the Gentiles.

LXXXI. As in lxxx. 7 the 9½ tribes had consolation in the fact that Jerusalem prospered and were proportionately grieved on its overthrow, Baruch has now a word of consolation for them touching Zion (lxxxi. 1); for, when in his grief over it (lxxxi. 2), he asked God how long should this desolation last (lxxxi. 3), God, to give him consolation, vouchsafed a revelation as to the mysteries of the times and removed his anguish (lxxxi. 4).

1. *Regarding consolation.* This word refers to the restoration of Zion. Cf. xliv. 7; lxxxi. 4; lxxxii. 1.

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*bdefghil*WP; *ac*, ܒܬܟܣܘ ‘habitations.’ ܡܠܝ ‘(your consolation) was greater than,’ *abcdeghi*; *f*WP, ܡܠܝ, which requires the following rendering: ‘the more assured ye were that it prospered, the greater was the tribulation.’

LXXXI. 1. ܐܬܝ *abcefghi*; *d*WP, ܐܬܝ.

2. ܠܡܟܣ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܟܣ.

4 ܘܐܙܕ ܕܫܡܫܐ ܥܠ
ܐܪܥܐ . ܘܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ
ܐܪܥܐ

5 ܘܫܡܗܐ . ܥܠ ܕܢܐ
ܕܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܝ . ܘܚܙܐ ܠܡ
ܐܙܕ ܠܡ ܐܦ

6 ܐܠܗܐ ܥܡ ܐܝܘܒ
ܘܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܒܫܠܡ .

7 ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܡܐܝܡܐ .
ܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ
ܠܗ ܐܘܪ ܠܒܫܐ
ܘܥܒܕ . ܘܡܫܟ ܒܝܬ
ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܠܟ
ܘܒܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܩܘ
ܐܠܗ ܥܠ ܐܡܗ ܩܘ
ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܒ . ܒ . ܐ — ܐ . ܫܢܐ ܘܐܠܦ

LXXXI. 1 ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܕܐ ܐܦ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ . ܐܠܦ ܫܢܐ ܫܢܐ 2
ܠܐ ܐܡܘܬ ܐܠܐ
ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܐܦܠ . ܘܡܫܟ

4. ܕܐ *acdefhi*WP; *bg*, ܕܐܘ. ܫܡܫܐ *bcdefghil*WP; *a*, ܘܫܡܫܐ. For ܐܠܗܐ *l* reads ܐܠܘܩ. ܐܪܥ *abc*; *defgi*WP, ܐܪܥ ܕܐ; *h*, ܐܪܥ.

5. ܐܡܗ *abcg*; *defh*WP, ܒܐܡܗ. ܥܡ *bc*; *adfh*WP om.

6. ܐܝܘܒ *cefghi*; *b*, ܐܝܒ.

7. ܐܬܝ *abcdfghi*; *l*WP, ܐܬܝ. ܫܟܝܬܐ 'habitation,'

3. "How long will these things endure for us? and will these evils come upon us always?" 4. And the Mighty One did according to the multitude of His mercies, and the Most High according to the greatness of His compassion, and He revealed unto me the word, that I might receive consolation, and He showed me visions that I should not again endure anguish, and He made known to me the mystery of the times, and the advent of the hours He showed me.

LXXXII. Therefore, my brethren, I have written to you, that ye may comfort yourselves regarding the multitude of your tribulations. 2. For know ye that our Maker will assuredly avenge us on all our enemies, according to all that they have done to us, also that

4. *The multitude . . . compassion.* Cf. Dan. ix. 18; Bar. ii. 27; cf. lxxvi. 6.
Consolation. See verse 1.
Mystery of the times. Cf. lxxxv. 8.

LXXXII. I am doubtful as to whether lxxxii. 2-9 belongs to B^1 or B^2. I am inclined to believe the latter. But the evidence is not decisive either way.

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4. ܘܥܒܕ 'and . . . did,' *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܕܥܒܕ 'who did.' ܕܪܚܡܘܗܝ 'of His mercies,' *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ܕܪܚܡ 'of mercies.' ܕܥܠܡܐ *abgh*; *cdefil*WP, ܕܥܠܡܐ. ܙܒܢܐ 'mystery,' *abdefgi*WP; *ch*, ܙܒܢܐ 'mysteries.'

LXXXII. 1. ܕܫܘܠܦܟܘܢ 'of your tribulations,' *abgh*; *defi*WP, ܕܫܘܠܦܟܘܢ 'of your tribulation'; *c*, ܕܫܘܠܦܐ 'of tribulations.'

2. ܠܡܥܒܕ *abdfgh*WP; *c*, ܠܥܒܕ. ܠܟ *c*; *abefghlm*WP, ܠܟ; *di* om. point. ܠܢ 'us,' *abdefghilm*WP; *c* om. ܘܠܢ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܠܢ. ܠܢ 'to us'; *c* adds ܘܒܢ 'and in us,' against *abdefghi*WP. ܐ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ο. ο

3 ܐܝܟܐ ܕܡܛܝ ܘܐܬܝ ܕܥܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܕܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܒܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܥܬܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܥܕ ܣܘܦ

the consummation which the Most High will make is very nigh, and His mercy that is coming, and the consummation of His judgment, is by no means far off. 3. For lo! we see now the multitude of the prosperity of the Gentiles, though they act impiously, but they will be like a vapour. 4. And we behold the multitude of their power, though they do wickedly, but they will be made like unto a drop. 5. And we see the firmness of their might, though they resist the Mighty One every hour, but they will be accounted as spittle. 6. And we consider the glory of their greatness, though they do not keep the statutes of the Most High, but as smoke will they pass away. 7. And we meditate

3. *Like a vapour.* 4 Ezra vii. 61.

4. *Like unto a drop.* Isa. xl. 15; 4 Ezra vi. 56.

5. *Accounted as spittle.* Here certainly, and in 4 Ezra vi. 56, the text agrees with the LXX.; for in Isa. xl. 15 it has ὡς σίελος λογισθήσονται against the Hebrew יִשּׁוֹל כְּזֵרֶק.

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bg, ܗܫܐ ܗܫܐ. ܗܫܐ 'now,' *abdfghi*WP; *c* om. here as it has already inserted ܗܫܐ in place of ܗ; *e* om. ܗܫܐ ܗܫܐ ܗ. ܐܟܝܠ ܗ *c*; *abdgh*WP, ܐܟܝܠ ܗ; *efi*, ܐܟܝܠ ܗ.

4. ܗ *cdefgim*WP; *abh*, ܗ ܗܫܐ. ܠܛܦܐ 'unto a drop,' *abdefghil*WP; *c* wrongly ܠܛܡܐ 'unto pollution.'

5. ܗ *cdefgh*WP; *ab*, ܗ ܗܫܐ. ܩܫܝܬܐ 'firmness,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* wrongly ܩܫܬܐ 'truth.' ܫܥܬܐ 'hour,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* wrongly ܫܢܬܐ 'year.'

6. ܗ *cdefghi*WP; *ab*, ܗ ܗܫܐ. ܦܩܘܕܐ 'commands,' *abdefgh*WP; *c*, ܡ 'statutes.'

ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﺴﻤﺎﺀ ﻭﺍﻟﺮﺽ .

ﻗﻞ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ . ﺃﻓﻼ ﺗﺘﻘﻮﻥ

ﻓﻘﻞ ﻣﻦ ﻳﺮﺯﻗﻜﻢ ﻣﻦ

ﺍﻟﺴﻤﺎﺀ ﻭﺍﻟﺮﺽ ﺃﻣﻦ

ﻳﻤﻠﻚ ﺍﻟﺴﻤﻊ ﻭﺍﻷﺑﺼﺎﺭ

ﻭﻣﻦ ﻳﺨﺮﺝ ﺍﻟﺤﻲ ﻣﻦ

ﺍﻟﻤﻴﺖ ﻭﻳﺨﺮﺝ ﺍﻟﻤﻴﺖ

ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﺤﻲ . ﻭﻣﻦ ﻳﺪﺑﺮ

ﺍﻷﻣﺮ ﻓﺴﻴﻘﻮﻟﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ .

ﻓﻘﻞ ﺃﻓﻼ ﺗﺘﻘﻮﻥ .

ﻓﺬﻟﻜﻢ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺭﺑﻜﻢ

ﺍﻟﺤﻖ ﻓﻤﺎﺫﺍ ﺑﻌﺪ

ﺍﻟﺤﻖ ﺇﻻ ﺍﻟﻀﻼﻝ .

ﻓﺄﻧﻰ ﺗﺼﺮﻓﻮﻥ .

ﻛﺬﻟﻚ ﺣﻘﺖ ﻛﻠﻤﺖ

ﺭﺑﻚ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﺬﻳﻦ

ﻓﺴﻘﻮﺍ ﺃﻧﻬﻢ ﻻ

ﻳﺆﻣﻨﻮﻥ .

*acgh*WP; *bdefi*, ﺍﻟﻠﻪ. ﻓﺄﻧﻰ *abcdefhi*WP; *bg*, ﻓﺒﺄﻱ. ﺗﺼﺮﻓﻮﻥ *c*; *abdefhil*WP, ﺗﻌﺒﺪﻭﻥ.

3. ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ‘lo!’ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ﻫﻮ ‘now.’ ﻳﺪﺑﺮ *acdfh*WP;

on the beauty of their gracefulness, though they have to do with pollutions, but as grass that withers will they fade away. 8. And we consider the strength of their cruelty, though they remember not the end (thereof), but as a wave that passes will they be broken. 9. And we remark the boastfulness of their might, though they deny the beneficence of God, who gave (it) to them, but they will pass away as a passing cloud.

LXXXIII. = B^2.

[LXXXIII. For the Most High will assuredly hasten His times, and He will assuredly bring on His hours. 2. And He will assuredly judge those who are in His

7. *As grass*, etc. Isa. xl. 6, 7.

LXXXIII. This chapter seems to belong to B^2. Thus the times will be cut short (lxxxiii. 1, 6), and everything brought into judgment (lxxxiii. 2, 3, 7); let not, therefore, earthly interests engage them (lxxxiii. 4), but let them fix their thoughts on the promised consummation (lxxxiii. 4, 5), and devote themselves to their faith of aforetime, lest to their captivity in this world there should be added torment in the next (lxxxiii. 8); for the world passeth away with its strength and its weakness, its virtues, and its lusts (lxxxiii. 9-23).

The connection between lxxxiii. and xx. is close. Cf. lxxxiii. 1, 6; xx. 1; lxxxiii. 2; xx. 2; lxxxiii. 7; xx. 4. This chapter seems to have formed originally part of Baruch's address to the people (xxxi. 3-xxxii. 6; xliv. 8-15), and to have followed immediately on xliv. 8-15.

1. This and verse 6 are related to xx. 1. Cf. liv. 1; Ep. Barn. iv. 3.

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8. ܟܠܗ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܝܠܗ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܟܠ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܝܠܗ. ܟܠ ; ܕܝܠܗ *cdefhi*; *abg*, ܕܝܠܗ ; ܟܠ WP give plural.

9. ܟܠ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܝܠܗ *cdfghi*; *ab*, ܟܠ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܝܠܗ ; *e*WP, ܟܠ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܝܠܗ. ‘the boastfulness,’ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ‘the beauty.’ ‘of God—Him,’ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ‘of Him.’

LXXXIII. 2. ‘will assuredly judge,’ *acdefhi*WP;

7 ܐܝܟ ܕܠ ܚܢܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܠ ܚܢܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܠ ܚܢܢ

world, and will visit in truth all things by means of all their hidden works. 3. And He will assuredly examine the secret thoughts, and that which is laid up in the secret chambers of all the members of man, and will make (them) manifest in the presence of all with reproof. 4. Let none therefore of these present things ascend into your hearts, but above all let us be expectant, because that which is promised to us will come. 5. And let us not now look unto the delights of the Gentiles in the present, but let us remember what has been promised to us in the end. 6. For the ends of the times and of the seasons and whatsoever is together with them will assuredly pass

2. *Visit.* See xx. 2, note. *That which is promised*, etc. See xiv. 13, note; xxi. 25; xliv. 13.
3. See 4 Ezra xvi. 65. Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 5; also Heb. iv. 12; 1 Cor. xiv. 25.
4. *Let none therefore*, etc. Cf. Col. iii. 3: τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖτε.
6. See xx. 1, note.

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which in all'; *dei*WP, ܒܟܠܗ ܕܒܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ. 'of man,' *abdefghil*WP; *c*, ܒܚܛܗ 'which in wickedness.' ܐܝܬ ܠܗ *cdh*; *abgil*, ܠܗ.

4. ܠܟܡ, *bdefghi*WP add ܥܡ against *ac.* ܒܓܘ *cl*; *bgh*, ܒܓܘ. ܥ *ach*WP; *bdegi*, ܥ; *f*, ܥ. ܠܢ 'to us,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* om.

5. ܗܫܐ 'now,' *abdfghi*WP; *c.* om. *e* om. ver. 5 through hmt. ܕܚܕܘܬܐ 'the delights,' *c*; *abdfghi*WP, ܕܚܕܘܬܐ 'the delight.' ܒܓܘ, *c* adds ܗܫܐ against *abdefghi*WP.

6. ܠܡܐ *bcdefghi*WP; *a*, ܠܡܐ. ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܐܡܪ.

. ܡܢܟܠ ܕܐܢ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܕܥܠܡܐ .
ܕܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܫܥܐ ܕܐܢ
3 ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܢܫ ܒܥܠܡܐ
ܗܢܐ ܕܣܬܪ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܛܗ̈ܐ
ܕܥܒܕܘ . ܒܒܝܬ ܓܢܙܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܕܐܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܠ ܫܥܐ .
ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܟ
4 ܕܐܠܐ ܒܥܝܢ . ܒܥܝܢ ܕܒܣܪ
ܐܢܫ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܚܛܗ
ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܚܛܗ ⁘
ܐܢ . ܒܟܬܒ ܒܟܠ ܒܟ
ܠܟܢ . ܐܦܫ ܫܠܝܡ
5 ܐܢ ܫܡܥ ܠܟ . ܒܟ ܡܥܒܕ
ܕܒܟܬܒ ܕܥܡܪܬܐ
ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܓܢܙܐ ܕܐܠܗܟ .
6 ܠܟܢ . ܒܟ ܡܥܒܕ ܒܟ
ܕܥܡܪܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܓܢܙܐ
ܕܐܠܗܟ ܐܢ ܒܥܝܢ ܕܒܣܪ .
ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕܥܡ ܐܠܗ .

bg, ܡܪܢ ܢܕܝܢ 'our Lord will judge.' ܡܣܬܪ 'hidden,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܚܛܗ̈ 'which were sins.'

3. ܕܒܟܬܒ ܒܓܘ̈ܙܐ 'which in the secret chambers of all,' *c*; *abfghl*, ܕܒܟܬܒ ܒܓܘ̈ܙܐ 'which in the secret chamber

by. 7. The consummation, moreover, of the age will then show the great might of its ruler, when all things come to judgment. 8. Do ye therefore prepare your hearts for that which before ye believed, lest ye come to be in bondage in both worlds, so that ye be led away captive here and be tormented there. 9. For that which exists now or which has passed away, or which is to come in all these things, neither is the evil fully evil, nor again the good fully good. 10. For all healthinesses of this time are turning into diseases. 11. And all might of this time is turning into weakness,

7. Cf. xx. 4.
8. *Prepare your hearts.* See xxxii. 1, note.
That which ye before believed. This seems to refer to apostates, *i.e.* Christians who had left Judaism. Cf. xli. 3; xlii. 4.
Come to be in bondage, etc. Cf. lxxxv. 9.
10. Contrast xxix. 7.
11. *All might of this time*, etc. Cf. xxi. 14.

ܘܬܐܙܠ ܠܫܒܝܐ ‘that ye be led away captive and ... there,’ *c*; *abdefghik*WP, ܘܬܐܙܠ ܠܫܒܝܐ ܘܬܬܕܝܢ. *e* om. ܘܬܬܕܝܢ.

9. At the beginning of this verse *ef* insert ܒ in red, w inserts ܒ ܡܠܝܐ, as also *di*, but that they add ܕ before ܒ. ܕܡܢ *ch*; *bg*, ܕܡܢ; *efi*, ܕܡܢ; *k*, ܕܐ. ܕܒܬ *cefh*; *b*, ܕܒܬ; *adgik*WP, ܕܒܬ. ܕܐܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ *c*; *abdefgik*WP, ܕܐܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ; *h*, . ܕܐܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܠܐ . ܗܕܐ.

10. ܡܬܪܦܝܢ ‘diseases,’ *abcdeghk*; *d'fi*WP, ܡܬܪܦܐ ‘disease.’

11. ܠܡܟܐ ‘to misery,’ *bg*: so also *a*, ܠܡܟܐ and *defhi*,

7 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝ ܒܣܘܦܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
ܗܘ ܡܠܟ ܕܫܡܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܒܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܝ ܒܫܘܠܡܗ .
ܘܢܬܒܥ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ
8 ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ . ܘܢܬܟܢܫ ܟܠ ܫܒܛܐ
ܘܫܒܛܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ
ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܒܗ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
ܐܝܟ ܡܐ . ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܒܫܘܠܡܗ 9
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܒܫܘܠܡܗ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ . ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ
ܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ
ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܒܗ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
ܐܝܟ ܡܐ . ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܒܫܘܠܡܗ 10
ܐܝܟ ܕܐ . ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ
ܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ
ܗܝ ܕܐ . ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܒܟܠ
ܐܬܪ ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܫܕܐ
ܒܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
ܐܝܟ ܡܐ . ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܒܫܘܠܡܗ
ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ
ܐܡܝܢ . ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܒܟܠ 11
ܐܬܪ ܕܐܬܝ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܫܕܐ
ܒܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ

7. ܒܣܘܦܐ 'the consummation,' *c*; *e*, ܒܣܘܦܐ; *abdfghik*WP, ܒܣܘܦܐ 'in the consummation.'

8. ܥܠܡܝܢ 'worlds,' *abdefghik*WP; *c*, ܥܠܡ 'world.'

and all force of this time is turning into misery. 12. And every energy of youth is turning into old age and consummation, and every beauty of gracefulness of this time is turning faded and hateful. 13. And every proud dominion of the present is turning into humiliation and shame. 14. And every praise of the glory of this time is turning into the shame of silence, and every splendour and insolence of this time is turning into voiceless ruin. 15. And every delight and joy of this time is turning to worms and corruption. 16. And every clamour of the pride of this time is turning into dust and stillness. 17. And every possession of riches of this time is being turned into Sheol alone.

12. *Every beauty*, etc. Cf. xxi. 13. Cf. xlviii. 35. 14; xlviii. 35.

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so also *i*, but defectively; *c* reads corruptly ‘swelling of pride’: we must emend into .

14. *e*WP om. . . . through hmt.

15. ‘delight and joy,’ *bdefghi*WP; *ack*, ‘delights and joys.’ ‘to worms,’ *abdefghik*WP; *c*, ‘to rejection.’ For *f* reads .

16. ‘of the pride of this time,’ *abdefghik*WP; *c*, ‘of the proud.’ ‘to dust and stillness,’ *abdefghikm*WP; *c*, ‘to the still dust.’

17. ‘of riches,’ *cdefi*WP; *abghk*, ‘and riches.’

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲛⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡ

18. And all the rapine of passion of this time is turning into involuntary death, and every passion of the lusts of this time is turning into a judgment of torment. 19. And every artifice and craftiness of this time is turning into a proof of the truth. 20. And every sweetness of unguents of this time is turning into judgment and condemnation. 21. And every love of lying is turning to shame through truth. 22. Since therefore all these things are done now, does any one think that they will not be avenged? 23. But the consummation of all things will come to the truth.]

LXXXIV = B[1]. LXXXIV. Behold! I have therefore made known unto you (these things) whilst I live: for I said that

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19. ܐܠܟܣ *c*; *abdefghikl*WP, ܐܠܟܣ. ܣܟܝܬܐ 'and craftiness,' *abdefghikln*WP; *c*, ܣܟܝܬ 'of craftiness.' *f* om. ܒܟܠ ... through hmt.

20. ܣܟܝܬ *c*; *h*, ܣܟܝܬ.

21. ܕܣܛܝܐ 'of lying,' *abdefghik*WP; *c* wrongly om. ܒܫܬ *c*; *abdefghik*WP, ܒܫ. ܒܫܪܪܐ 'through truth,' *abdefgik*WP; *c*, ܒܫܬ 'in silence.'

22. ܐܝܟ ... ܐܝܟ *c*; *abhk* trs.; *di*, ܐܝܟ ... ܐܝܟ; *efgl*WP, ܐܝܟ. For ܐܝܟ *efil*w read ܐܝܟ. ܡܢ ܣܒܪ ܐܢܐ 'does anyone think?' *abdefghikl*WP; *c*, ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܣܒܪ 'dost thou think?'

23. ܕܟܠ 'of all,' *abcdefghik*; WP, ܟܠ 'all.'

LXXXIV. 1. ܐ *abdefghik*WP; *c* om. ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ

18 ܠܥܡܐ ܕܐܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܒܗ . ܐܠܐ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܗܕܐ
ܒܫܥܬ ܐܢܫ ܒܐܝܡܝ ܫܘܠܛܢܗ
ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ
ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ . ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܐܟ
ܒܫܥܬ ܐܢܫ ܒܫܘܩ ܕܡܘ .
19 ✣ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ . ܐܠܐ ܕܝܢ
ܒܫܥܬ ܐܢܫ
ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܢܫ
20 ܒܗ . ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܐܠܗ ܒܫܥܬ ܐܢܫ
21 ܐܠܐ . ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܢܫ
ܐܠܗ ܐܢܫ ܒܗ . ܐܡ
ܒܫܥܬ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܐ 22
ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܒܫܥܬ . ܐܠܗ
ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܗ . ܐܠܗ 23
ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܢܫ . ܐܠܗ
. . ܐܠܗ ܐܢܫ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ . . .
1 LXXXIV. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܒܗ
ܐܠܗ . ܐܢ ܫ ܒܗ

18. ܒܫܘܩ *abc*WP; *defghi*, ܒܫܘܩ. ܕܫܥܬ 'of the lusts,' *abcegh*; *dfi*WP, ܒܫܥܬ 'of the lust.' ܒܫܥܬ 'of this time,' *abdefghik*WP; *c* wrongly om. *k* om. ܐܠܐ . . . ܐܡܪ through hmt., and for ܒܫܥܬ ܐܢܫ reads ܐܢܫ ܒܐܝܡܝ.

ye should above all things learn the commandments of the Mighty One, wherein I shall instruct you: and I will set before you some of the commandments of His judgment before I die. 2. Remember that formerly Moses assuredly called heaven and earth to witness against you, and said: "if ye transgress the law ye shall be dispersed, but if ye keep it ye shall be kept." 3. And other things also he used to say unto you when ye the twelve tribes were together in the desert. 4. And after his death ye cast them away from you: on this account there came

LXXXIV. 1. *Before I die.* See lxxviii. 5.

The commandments of the Mighty One (cf. ver. 7; xliv. 3).

2. See xix. 2, 3, note. In this verse there are several traces of the Hebrew original. First the Syr. for "assuredly called . . . to witness" = *διαμαρτυρόμενος διεμαρτύρατο* = העד העיד. Next we have the play on the two senses of שמר: "if ye keep it, ye shall be kept" = אם תשמרוה תשמרו. Finally, there seems to be a paronomasia intended in "if ye transgress the law, ye shall be dispersed" = אם תסורו מתורה תתורו.

3. *Twelve tribes.* Cf. lxxviii. 4; James i. 1.

ܕܣܡ, *e* save in reading ܣܡ, *f* save in reading ܕܡ, and *k* save in reading ܕܥܒܕ (for ܕܐܥܒܕ). ܣܩ *ce*; *dfgi*WP, ܣܡ; *k*, ܣܩ.

2. ܫܬ *abcefghil*WP; *b*, ܐܫܬ. ܟ *abdefghi*WP; *c* om. ܢܛܪ 'ye shall be kept,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܥܒܕ 'ye shall be planted.'

3. ܐ ܐܠ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܐ. ܗ *ach*; *bdefgi*WP, ܗܝ. ܡܛ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܡܛ.

4. ܡܛ 'therefore,' *abdefgi*WP; *ch*, ܘܡܛ 'and

ܕܐܠܗܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܫܡܝܢ ܘܐܪܥܐ
ܕܒܪܝܬ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܘܟܠ ܓܘܢܕܣ ܕܒܗ
ܘܫܪܝ ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܘܒܛܠ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܐ .
4 ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܚܛܗ ܘܥܒܕ ܥܘܠܐ .
ܘܟܠ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܥܒܕ ܫܩܪܐ
ܘܠܐ ܢܬܩܒܠ ܐܓܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ
ܐܠܐ ܕܢܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܒܥܘܬ ܚܛܗܘܗܝ .
3 ܐܠ ܐܟ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܟܝ
ܕܫܡܥܝܢ ܠܡܠܦ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܢ .
ܘܠܐ . ܘܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܟ
ܕܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ ܕܒܝܬܗ
ܘܠܐ ܢܫܒܩ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ .
ܐܠܐ ܢܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܒܥܘܬ ܚܛܗܘܗܝ
2 ܘܢܫܬܟܚ ܕܡܐ ܕܐܒܗ ܘܐܡܗ .
ܘܢܬܕܒܩ ܒܐܢܬܬܗ ܘܗܘ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܣܪ ܚܕ .
ܘܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ
ܕܐܢܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܡܠܦ ܠܟ
ܕܬܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ .
ܘܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܓܢܒܐ ܘܓܢܒ ܢܦܫ ܐܝܫ
ܘܢܦܠ ܒܒܝܬ ܐܝܫ ܘܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܗ
ܘܢܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܒܥܘܬ ܚܛܗܘܗܝ .
ܘܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܓܢܒܐ ܘܓܢܒ ܢܦܫ ܐܝܫ

ܕܐܢܐ ܐܠܗܟ ܡܫܬܒܩ ܠܟ ‘that ye should above all things learn the commandments of the Mighty One wherein I shall instruct you’; so *c*, save that I have with Ceriani emended ܠܐܠܗܟ into ܕܐܠܗܟ; *bdghil*WP read ܕܐܢܐ ܡܠܦ ܠܟ ‘that ye should learn the things that are excellent; for the Mighty One hath commanded me to instruct you’; *a* agrees with *bdghi*WP save in reading

upon you what had been predicted. 5. And now Moses used to tell you before they befell you, and lo! they have befallen you: for you have forsaken the law. 6. Lo! I also say unto you after ye have suffered, that if ye obey those things which have been said unto you, ye will receive from the Mighty One whatever has been laid up and reserved for you. 7. Moreover, let this epistle be for a testimony between me and you, that ye may remember the commandments of the Mighty One, and that also there may be to me a defence in the presence of Him who sent me. 8. And remember ye the law and Zion, and the holy

4. Cf. xix. 3.

6. The 9½ tribes must endure chastisement before they could attain unto the promised happiness. This chastisement was for their well-being (lxxviii. 6); it was less than they deserved (lxxix. 2); and its aim was to make them worthy of their fathers in the last days (lxxviii. 5, see note).

8. They were to remember Zion and the Holy Land; for they were one day to return thither (cf. ver. 10 and lxxviii. 7, note).

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5. ܐܟ̈ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܐܓ̈.

6. ܗܘ̈ܡ̈ܚ̈ܠ̈ *ac*; *bdefghi*WP, ܗܘ̈ܡ̈ܚ̈ܠ̈. ܐܟ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ *abcgh*; *d*, ܐܟ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈ ; *efi*WP, ܐܟ̈ܐ̈ܠ̈. ܐ ܡ̈ܟ̈ܐ, *def* add ܡ̈ܡ̈.

7. ܟ̈ܬ̈ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܟ̈ܡ̈. ܟ̈ܗ̈ *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ܟ̈ܗ̈. ܟ̈ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܟ̈. ܟ̈ *c*; *abdefghil*WP, ܟ̈. ܐ̈ *c*; *abdfghi*WP, ܐ̈.

8. ܟ̈ ‘the law and Zion,’ *abefghil*WP;

ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܝ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ

land and your brethren, and the covenant of your fathers, and forget not the festivals and the sabbaths. 9. And deliver ye this epistle and the traditions of the law to your sons after you, as also your fathers delivered (them) to you. 10. And at all times make request perseveringly and pray diligently with your whole heart that the Mighty One may be reconciled to you, and that He may not reckon the multitude of your sins, but remember the rectitude of your fathers. 11. For if He judge us not according to the multitude of His mercies, woe unto all us who are born.

LXXXV. = B³. [LXXXV. Know ye, moreover, that in former

9. *The traditions of the law, i.e.* the unwritten law.

10. *That the Mighty One may be reconciled to you.* Cf. 4 Ezra x. 24: "ut tibi repropitietur Fortis." Here this reconciliation is to lead up to their return to Palestine; for in lxxviii. 7 it is declared that He that promised their fathers that He would not fail their posterity, would gather them together from their dispersion, should they become faithful.

The rectitude of your fathers. On the merit of the fathers see xiv. 7, note.

11. *His mercies.* See lxxv. 2, note.

Woe unto all, etc. See x. 6, note.

LXXXV. This chapter is certainly an interpolation. I shall designate it B³ It belongs neither to B¹ nor

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traditions,' *c*; *abcdefghi*WP, ܠܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ 'the tradition.' ܕܝܢܡܘܣ *bcdefghi*WP; *a*, ܕܝܢܡܘܣ. ܐܡܪ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܐܡܪ.

10. ܒܣܒܪܐ 'perseveringly,' *abdeghi*WP; *c* om. ܕܚܛܗܝܟܘܢ 'of your sins,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܕܚܛܝܢܟܘܢ 'of your sinners.' ܕܐܒܗܬܟܘܢ *abcgh*; *defi*WP, ܕܐܒܗܬܟܘܢ.

11. ܕܚܣܝܢ *abdefghilm*WP; *c*, ܕܚ. ܡܟܝܠ *cdefghilm*WP; *ab*, ܐܬܟܡ.

ܕܐܒܗܝܟܘ . ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܝܟ
ܕܐܒܗܬܟ ܠܐܠܗܐ ⁘
ܕܐܒܗܬܝ ܐܠܗܐ
ܗ ܐܒܕܟ ܐܝܟܢܟ
9 ܐܝܢ ܐܒܕܐ . ܕܐܙ
ܐܝܙ ܐܒܕܒܕܒܕܐ ܐܝܙ
ܥܠ ܕܐܒܕܟ ܐܘܐܒ
ܕܐܟ ܐܝ ܐܢ . ܕܐܝ
ܐܒܕܐ ܕܐܟ .
10 ܥܡܟ ܐܠܐܘܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܒܟܒܐ
ܥܠ ܐܠܐܠܐ ܥܡܟܐ
ܐܝܐ ܐܢ . ܕܐܒܐ ܟܐ
ܒܐ ܐܒܟ ܐܒܐ .
11 ܐ ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܠܐ
ܒܐ ܐܒܐ ܐܢ .
ܐܠ . ܐܒܐ ܐܠ
ܒܐ ܐܒ . ܐ ܐܐ
ܐܝ ܐܢ . ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ

times and in the generations of old those our fathers had helpers, righteous men and holy prophets. 2. Nay more, we were in our own land, and they helped us when we sinned, and they prayed for us to Him who made us, because they trusted in their works, and the Mighty One heard their prayer and was gracious unto us. 3. But now the righteous have been gathered and the prophets have fallen asleep, and we also have gone forth from the land, and Zion has been taken

B^2. In B^1 there is a strong national hope which embraces a restored Jerusalem and the return of the dispersion. This hope is here implicitly denied. Although B^3 and B^2 differ in important respects, they agree in despairing of any national restoration. They regard this world as lost, and look only for spiritual blessedness in the world of incorruption (lxxxv. 4, 5). On the other hand, there is a deeper strain of individualism in B^3 than in B^2; the writer's interest centres mainly in the destiny of the individual; let each see that he is ready when the end comes (lxxxv. 11), and that end is at hand for all (lxxxv. 10). Again, whereas B^2 seems to have been written in Jerusalem, B^3 was written in Babylon or some other land of the Dispersion. Thus in lxxxv. 3 the writer says: "We also have gone forth from our own land, and Zion has been taken from us"; and in lxxxv. 2: "Nay more, we were in our own land, and they (the righteous) helped us when we sinned." Again, whereas according to B^2 Jeremiah was with the exiles in Babylon (see x. 2, note), it is here definitely stated that the righteous and the prophets are dead and the exiles have none to intercede for them (lxxxv. 2).

B^3 and S (x. 6-xii. 4) are the most pessimistic parts of this book.

1. The generation of Jeremiah seems to be in the far past.

2. This verse conflicts with lxxvii. 5 and lxxx. 5. The writer implies that he is one of the exiles in Babylon or elsewhere. This is still more evident from the next verse.

They helped us when we sinned, and they prayed for us, etc. This thought reappears in the Rest of the Words of Baruch ii. 3: "For when the people transgressed, Jeremiah . . . prayed on behalf of the people until the transgressions of the people were forgiven them."

Trusted in their works. See xiv. 7, note; lxiii. 3. Observe that whereas in lxxxiv. 10 the merits of the patriarchs are regarded as a stay of Israel, no such belief appears here. According to this verse and the next it is implied that only the intercessions of the living righteous avail, and now there are none such. Yet it is shown that there were many such in ii. Hence this seems a later production.

3. *We also have gone forth*, etc. See verse 2.

صعدا ازدحا لمعزم
حصكم ١٥٥ لما حمعم
لاحصا ادعزدا حصحاا .
2 حا الا . لمقم لمحدم
حدهم . حكزكم حمحم هد
محدم كم ٥٥٥ حمزحكم
٥٥٥ حمكحم . حمحم حمكسا
كلاحم . حدحزا ٥٥ كم حكم .
كا ٥٥٥ حمكحمكزا
حكما لاكسحم . حصحكحا
لمسحم . حصكحكزا ١٥٥
3 حما لما . حكم ١٥٥
لمحم . ٥٥٥كحكزا
هجحه . ٥٥حم ازحكم كم حم ١٥٥ . ٥٥حم ازحكم

LXXXV. 1. حمحاا *c*; *abdefghi*WP, حمحا حصحكم. . لمحا ازحكم *cg*; *adefhi*WP insert the punctuation between these words; *b* has no punctuation. لمقم لمحدم 'holy prophets,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, لمقمحم لمحدم 'prophets and holy (men).'

2. حا الا 'nay, more,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, حما الا 'moreover.' حصكحكزا 'their prayer,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, حصكم 'them.' ١٥٥ *c*; *abdefghi*WP om. For حكم *h* reads حصكم.

3. حا٥ 'and also,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* om. 'and.' حكزا 'our land,' *c*; *abdefghi*WP, لكزا 'the land.' لمحم حمعم, *a* trs.

from us, and we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law. 4. If therefore we direct and dispose our hearts, we shall receive everything that we lost, and much better things than we lost (yea, better) by many times. 5. For what we have lost was subject to corruption, and what we shall receive will not be corruptible. [6. Moreover, also, I have written thus to our brethren to Babylon, that to them also I may attest these very things.] 7. And let all those things aforesaid be always before your eyes, because we are still in the spirit and the power of

We have nothing now save the Mighty One and His law. The law was Israel's everlasting possession. This sentiment appears also in Josephus, *Apion*, ii. 38: *κἂν πλούτου καὶ πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν στερηθῶμεν, ὁ γοῦν νόμος ἡμῖν ἀθάνατος διαμένει.* In the Talmud, further, we find (*Mechilta*, 68*b*) that whereas the land, the sanctuary, and the kingdom of David, were given conditionally to Israel, the law was given unconditionally. Hence Israel could exist without the former, but not without the latter. This thought combined with that in xlviii. 22 that, so far as Israel observed the law, it could not fall, became the inspiration of Rabbinic Judaism and the safeguard of the race through the storms of later times. On the law see xiv. 7, note.

5. See xxi. 19, note.

6. This verse is due to the final editor.

7. *The power of our liberty*, *i.e.* enjoy freewill. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 11: "Qui fastidierunt legem meam, cum adhuc erant habentes libertatem" (also viii. 56). For the diction compare 1 Cor. vii. 37 *ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος*: Acts i. 7; v. 4; Pss. Sol. ix. 7: *τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν . . ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν*. On the doctrine see liv. 15, note.

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6. ܐܦ ܠܒܒܠ 'to Babylon that also,' *abcg*; *h*, ܠܒܒܠ ܐܦ; *defi*WP, ܐܦ ܠܒܒܠ 'to Babylon and also.'

7. ܕܚܝܠܐ . ܕܚܝܠ *c*; *abdfghi*WP, . ܕܚܝܠ ܕܚܝܠ. ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ 'and the power,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ 'of the power.'

ܐܟܝܠܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ . ܕܥܒ
ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ . ܕܥܒ
ܐܝܬ ܐܢ ܐ ܫܟܚ ܐܢ
4 ܠܐ ܐ . ܡܫܬܥܒܕ
ܕܙܩܝܦ ܕܥܠ ܟܪܣܝ ܝܗܒ
ܕܒܝܬ ܡܢܟܝ ܕܥܡ
ܕܒܝܬ ܥܡܟ ܕ ܡܢ ܕܝܬ
5 ܡܢ . ܐܡܪ ܐܫܟ
ܒܫܡ ܕܒܝܬ ܐ
ܒ ܥܡܕ ܡܢ . ܡܢ
6 ܥܡܟ ܐ . ܟܫܬܥ
. ܟܫܟ ܐܫܐ ܐܫ ܡ
ܥܡ ܡܕ ܡܢ . ܐܡܫ
7 ܟܫ ܡ ܡܢ . ܐܡܫ
. ܥܡ ܕܫܡܫ ܡܢ ܐ
ܥܡ ܕܫ ܡ ܡܢ ܐ
ܡܕ ܡܢ ܡ ܐ ܡ

4. ܕܫܡܫ *acdefghi*WP; *b*, ܡܕ ܕܫܡܫ. ܡܢ *c*; *abdefghi*WP om. ܕܒܝܬ ܥܡܟ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܙܩܝܦ 'and much better things than we lost,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* ܡܕ omitting by hmt.

5. ܕܒܝܬ *abfdgh*WP; *c*, ܕܒܝܬ; *e* om. ܒܫܡ *acdef*; *bgh*, ܒܫܡ; WP, ܒܫܡ. ܡܢ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, om. ܟܫܬܥ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܟܫܬܥ.

our liberty. 8. Again, moreover, the Most High also is long-suffering towards us here, and He hath shown to us that which is to be, and hath not concealed from us what will befall in the end. 9. Before therefore judgment exact its own, and truth that which is its due, let us prepare our soul that we may enter into possession of, and not be taken possession of, and that we may hope and not be put to shame, and that we may rest with our fathers and not be tormented with our enemies. 10. For the youth of the world is past, and the strength of the creation is already exhausted, and the advent of the times is very short, yea, they have

8. *Hath shown to us . . . and hath not concealed from us.* In B^1 Baruch does not use the plural in this connection (cf. lxxxi. 4; see lxxviii. 3, note).

9. *Judgment . . . its due.* Cf. v. 2; xlviii. 27.

Let us prepare our soul. xxxii. 1, note.

That we may enter into possession of, and not be taken possession of = ܘܢܫܬܒܩ ܠܐ ܘܢܫܬ. These words are obscure, probably corrupt.

That we may rest with our fathers. Cf. xi. 4; also lxxxv. 11.

Tormented. Cf. lxxxiii. 8.

10. *The youth of the world is past.* Cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 10: "saeculum perdidit juventutem suam et tempora appropinquant senescere;" also xiv. 16; v. 50-56.

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parallel expressions in v. 2 and xlviii. 27; *bdefghil*WP are wrong here, as they give ܕܝܢܐ 'the Judge.' Next, for ܕܟܝܢ 'of anything,' of *ac*, I follow *bdefghi*WP in reading ܟܝܢ, for ܗܢܘ is clearly the subject and not the object of the verb. The text of *bdefgi*WP = 'before therefore the Judge exact His own and truth that which is its due.' ܕܝܢ ܘܙܕܩ ܕܝܠܗ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܘܙܕܩ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܢܫܬܒܩ ܠܐ ܘܢܫܬ *c*; *bfh*, ܘܢܫܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܐ ܘܢܫܬ. *abcdefh*; WP, ܘܢܫܬ ; *h*, ܘܢܫܬ.

10. ܘܡܬܐ ܕܙܒܢܐ 'and the advent,' *abcdefghil*; WP,

8 ܘܬܘܒ ܙܒܢ . ܕܡܪܝܡ ܥܠܝܐ
ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ
ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܬܘܐ
ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܠܡ̈ܐ .
ܘܟܠ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܢܫܒ̈ܚܘܢ ܠܗ
ܘܟܠ ܫܘܒ̈ܚܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ
ܘܟܠ ܕܡ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܢܫܒ̈ܚܘܢ ܠܗ .

9 ܡܛܠ ܕܗܝ . ܕܝܢܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ⁘
ܐܬܐ ܕܝܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ
ܡܢ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܫܡܝܐ
ܕܒܪ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܘܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ̈ܐ
ܘܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܕܟܠ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫܐ .
ܕܢܬܠ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܠܥܠܡ̈ܐ
ܕܠܐ ܢܥܕܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܒܠ .

10 ܐܝܟ ܕܟܪ̈ܘܒܝܢ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ .
ܕܟܠ ܒܝܫ̈ܐ ܢܬܟܢܥ̈ܘܢ ܠܗ
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ܘܠܐ ܢܥܕܐ ܘܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܒܠ .

8. ܬܘܒ ‘again,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܬܘܒܙ ‘and again.’ ܥܠܝܐ ‘the Most High,’ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܥܠܝܐ ܐܦ ‘also the Most High.’

9. ܕܝܢ . . . . ܡܛܠ ܕܗܝ. The text follows *c* save in two cases: instead of ܕܝܢܗ ‘His judgment,’ of *c*, I read ܕܝܢ ‘the judgment,’ with *a*; this is manifestly required by the

passed by; and the pitcher is near to the cistern, and the ship to the port, and the course of the journey to the city, and life to consummation. 11. And again prepare your souls, so that when ye sail and ascend from the ship ye may have rest and not be condemned when ye depart. 12. For lo! when the Most High will bring to pass all these things, there will not there be again an opportunity for returning, nor a limit to the times, nor adjournment to the hours, nor change of ways, nor place for prayer, nor sending of petitions, nor receiving of knowledge, nor giving of love, nor place

12. *An opportunity for returning.* The Syr. here = "place" or "opportunity for repentance." But as this idea is found again in this verse, and obviously in its right context, it cannot be right here. The difficulty can be resolved as follows:—In early post-classical Hebrew תשובה meant both "return" and "repentance." The Greek translator followed the latter meaning when he ought to have followed the former.

Place of repentance. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 12: "cum adhuc esset eis apertus poenitentiae locus, non intellexerunt." This is the universal teaching in the Books of Enoch and 4 Ezra.

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11. ܕܢܚܬ *abceghi*WP; *d*, ܕܢܚܬ. ܐܬܐ *c*; *abdeghi*WP, ܐܬܐ. ܐܬܕܝܢ 'be condemned,' *abcgh*; *ef*WP, ܐܬܕܝܢ may have rest'; *di*, ܐܬܕܝܢ.

12. ܟܕ 'when,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* om. ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕ. ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ *abcefghi*WP; *d*, ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ. ܕܪܟܐ 'of ways,' *bg*WP; *dei*, ܕܪܟܐ 'of way'; *acfl*, ܕܪܟܐ; *h*, ܕܪܟ. ܡܨܠܬܐ *bcdefghi*WP; *a*, ܡܨܠܬܐ. ܡܫܒܚ ܘܡܫܒܚ 'giving of love,' *cd*; *abcefghi*WP, ܡܫܒܚ ܘܡܚܢܢ 'giving of love,' or 'pardoner of guilt,' accord-

ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܝܥ . ܘܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ . ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ . ܐܡܪ
ܫܡܝܢ . ܐܝܟܐ
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܗܐ . ܫܡ
ܐܡܪ 11
ܕܐܬܐ ܒܝ ܐܡܪ . ܐܡܪ
ܘܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܘܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܘܐܡܪ
ܐܢ ܗܘ . ܕܫܡ
ܐ . ܕܐܡܪ 12
ܐܬܝ ܒܗ ܐܠ
ܠܟ ܠܟ . ܐܡܪ .
ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
. ܗܘ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ . ܗܘ
ܗܘ . ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ . ܗܘ
ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ . ܗܘ
ܐܡܪ . ܗܘ
ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ .

ܕܫܡܝܢ ‘the space.’ ܡܢ *c*; *abdefhi*WP om. ܫܡܝܢ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, ܐܝܟ.

of repentance, nor supplication for offences, nor intercession of the fathers, nor prayer of the prophets, nor help of the righteous. 13. There there is the sentence of corruption, the way of fire, and the path which bringeth to Gehenna. 14. On this account there is one law by one, one age and an end for all who are in it. 15. Then He will preserve those to whom He finds He may be gracious, and at the same time destroy those who are polluted with sins.]

LXXXVI. When therefore ye receive this my epistle, read it in your congregations with care. 2.

Intercession of the fathers. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 102-115; Slav. En. liii. 1.

13. *Way of fire.* Cf. xliv. 15, note.

In the Ass. Moyseos, iii. 12, Moses is called the mediator of the law.

14. *One law by one.* Moses seems to be here referred to. The remark seems directed against the Christians (cf. xlviii. 24). This verse seems either to be interpolated or in its wrong place.

ܕܫܚܬܐ 'of corruption,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܠܫܚܬܐ 'to corruption.' ܐܘܪܚܐ 'the way,' *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܕܐܘܪܚܐ 'of the way.' ܓܗܢܡ 'to gehenna,' *abefghi*; so *d*WP, ܓܗܢܡ; *c*, ܠܓܗܢܡ 'to coals.'

14. ܒܗ ܕܢܬܟܣ *cg*; *defh*WP, ܒܗ . ܕܢܬܟܣ ܒܗ

15. ܗܝܟܢܐ 'then,' *bcgh*; *adefil*WP, ܘܗܝܟܢܐ 'and then.' ܐ *acdefi*WP; *bgh*, ܐ. ܗܠܝܢ 'those,' *c*; *adefghi*WP, ܘܗܠܝܢ 'and those.' ܕܢܫܬܩ *abdefgh*WP; *c*, ܕܢܫܬܩ. ܕܬܗܘܝܢ ܒܗ *c*; *abdefghi*WP trs.

LXXXVI. 1. ܗܢ ܕܟܬܒܐ *c*; *abdefghi*WP trs. ܗܢ 'this,' *abdefghi*WP; *c* om. ܕܬܩܪܝܘܢ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ܕܬܩܪܝ.

ing as we vocalise the phrase. ܫܘܠܡܐ 'supplication,' *abdeghil*WP; *c*, ܫܘܠܡ̈ܐ 'supplications'; *f* om. ܫܘܠܡ ... ܐܙܠ. ܩܕܡ̈ܝܗ, *d* repeats; *e* reads singular. ܥܩܬܐ 'intercession,' *bdefghi*WP; *ac*, ܥܩ̈ܬ 'intercessions.'

13. ܐܙܠ, *c* adds above the line in first hand ܒܡ against *abdefgi*WP; *h* adds ... ܒܗ ܕܐ ܐܙܠ *abdefghi*WP; *c*, ... ܐܙܠ ܕܐ

And meditate thereon, above all on the days of your fasts. 3. And bear me in mind by means of this epistle, as I also bear you in mind in it, and always fare ye well.

LXXXVII. And it came to pass when I had ended all the words of this epistle, and had written it sedulously to its close, that I folded it, and sealed it carefully, and bound it to the neck of the eagle, and dismissed and sent it.

HERE ENDS THE BOOK OF BARUCH THE SON OF NERIAH.

LXXXVII. *Bound it to the neck of the eagle.* These words reappear in the Rest of the Words of Baruch

vii. 8, τὴν ἐπιστολήν . . . ἔδησεν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ αἰετοῦ (cf. vii. 30).

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the first epistle'; in WP, ܗܟܢܐ ܐܓܪܬܐ ‘(here) ends the epistle of Baruch'; *f* om. subscription.

LXXXVII. Found only in *c*, but undoubtedly a part of the original work, as is clear from a comparison of lxxvii. 17, 20—26. As all the other MSS. began with lxxviii., and gave only a fragment of the book for ecclesiastical reading, they naturally omitted this chapter, since it would have been unintelligible without lxxvii., and simply closed the section with the words ܗܟܢܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܒܪܘܟ.

2 ܘܫܠܡ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܗ ܀

ܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܪܐ

3 ✣ ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܓܪܬ ܀ ܐܓܪܬܐ

ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܘܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܫܠܡ

ܐܢ ܚܝ ܐܢ ܡܝܬ ܀ ܐܡܝܢ

ܫܠܡ ܐܬ ܒܟ ܕܒܗ ܀

1 LXXXVII. ܒܪ ܐܬܪ ✣ ܚܕܝܬܐ ..

ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܟܐ

ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ

ܟܪܝܙܘܣܛܘܡ ܐܦ ܐܠܦ

ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ

ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܪܐ

ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ

✣ ✣ ✣ . ܫܠܡ ✣ ✣ ✣

ܒܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܠܫ

ܕܒܪ ܐܠܦ ܐܠܦ . ܐܠܦ

ܕܫܒܥ ܡܐܬ ܐܠܦ . ܐܠܦ

ܕܫܒܥ ܫܒܥܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ

ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ

ܕܒܪ ܐܠܦ ܐܠܦ ܫܢܝܢ

ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ

ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܟܐ

ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ

2. ܫܠܡ ܥܡ, *c* adds ܐܡܝܢ against *abdefghi*WP.

3. ܐܡܝܢ *c*; *abdfgh*WP, ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ. ܐܢ *bcdfgh*WP; *a* om. ܒܗ ܘܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ‘in it and always,’ *c*; *abdefghi*WP, . ܒܗ ܫܠܡ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܗ ‘in it, and always fare ye well’: with these words all MSS. but *c* close. The subscription in *bgh* is ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܓܪܬ ܕܒܪ ܒܪܘܟ ܣܦܪܐ ‘(here) ends the first epistle of Baruch the scribe’; so *a*, but that it writes ܐܠܗܐ for ܐܠܗ; in *dei*, ܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܐܓܪܬ ‘(here) ends

APPENDIX ON VI. 7-10

In 2 Macc. ii. 4-8 there is a tradition closely related to the account in vi. 7-10. Here Jeremiah is warned of God to hide, in a cave-like dwelling in the mountain where Moses climbed up, "the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense" (*τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος*). This place was to remain unknown till God should gather His people again together (*ἄγνωστος ὁ τόπος ἔσται ἕως ἂν συναγάγῃ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπισυναγωγὴν τοῦ λαοῦ*).

The mention here of the "altar of incense" supports the rendering I have given of ܡܕܒ̈ܚܐ in vi. 7. This word implies *θυμιατήριον* in the Greek. In the LXX. this word means "censer," but in Philo, Josephus, Clem. Alex., and Origen it is the ordinary appellation of the "altar of incense." Now as regards the first meaning, there is no mention of any particular censer in the Old Testament, not even in Lev. xvi. 12. The only mention of the golden censer is found in the Mishna, *Joma*, v. 1, vii. 4 (quoted by Lünemann on Heb. ix. 4), which the High Priest took with him into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement. Since, however, in the frequent earlier and contemporary enumerations of the holy vessels in 2 Macc. ii. 5; Philo, *Quis rerum divin. haer.* i. 504; *de Vita Mos.* ii. 149; Heb. ix. 1-5 (?); Joseph. *Ant.* iii. 6, 8; *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 5, *this censer is nowhere given, but the altar of incense always*, it seems right to conclude that *θυμιατήριον* should be taken here in its meaning of "altar of incense," and not in that of "censer," as it was by the Syriac translator.

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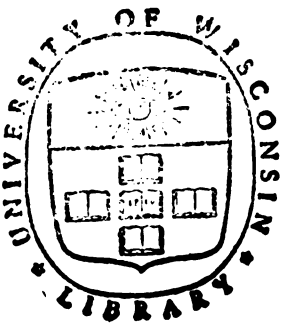

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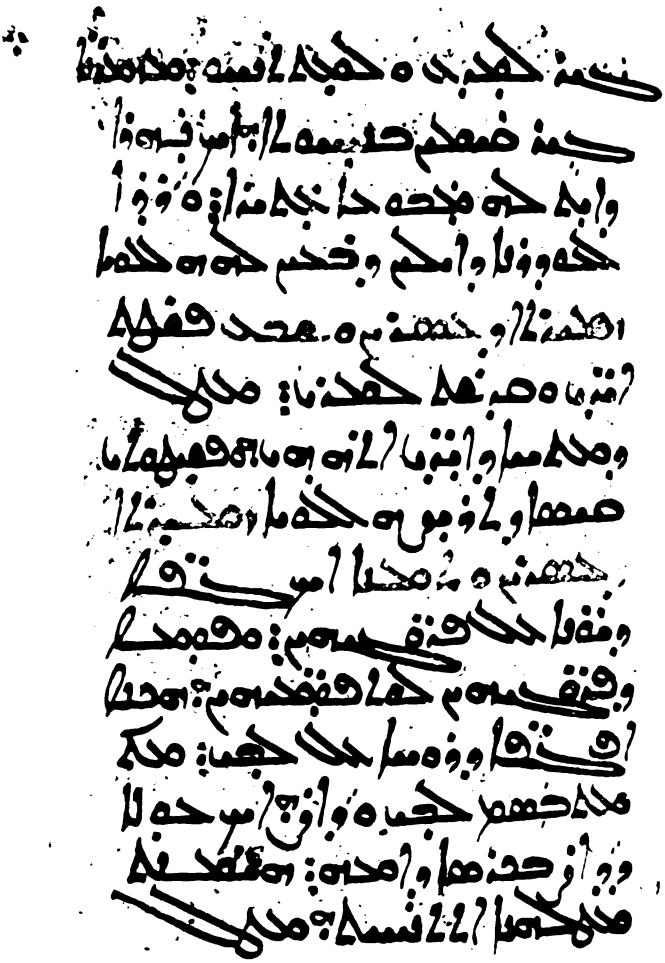

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OF

SOLOMON

PUBLISHED FROM THE

SYRIAC VERSION

BY

J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A.

Hon. D.Litt. (Dubl.), Hon. LL.D. (Haverford), Hon. D.Theol. (Leiden),
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πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι, λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ.

Ad Ephes. v. 19.

οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βρῶσις καὶ πόσις, ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ χαρὰ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

Ad Rom. xiv. 17.

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

IT is not easy to produce a satisfactory edition of a work which has come down to us in a single document, especially when the document itself is late in date, and represents not the original text, but a version of the same, made by some unknown hand. Obscurities are sure to exist in a text so scantily attested and of such an uncertain tradition. In spite, however, of these inherent difficulties, I hope that the translation and editing of these new *Odes of Solomon* (with their associated and already known *Psalms of Solomon*) will be satisfactory; for, although late in date, the text is very well preserved, and the translation from the Greek into the Syriac appears to have been carefully and conscientiously made. If we could come across some more traces of the newly-recovered work in the writings of the Fathers, or if, by good hap, we might find the lost Latin or a copy of the original Greek, much that is obscure in our presentation of the Odes would disappear. Meanwhile we have done our best with the material as we found it and as we were able to reinforce it: our thanks are due to scholarly friends who have assisted us with their keen revising eyes or their nimble emendating brains. My learned lady friends Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson have given me much assistance with the proofs: Mr Glover has criticised obscure passages and inadequate arguments: and Professor Nestle has made some brilliant suggestions for the betterment of the text, and traces of his skilled hand may be seen at several points, of which I note especially Ode 7. 12, Ode 38. 14, Ps. v. 16, Ps. vii. 4, and Ps. xvii. 31. I think it is very likely that a skilled Coptic scholar could also do something to improve either the text or the translation in those Odes which have been transferred to the text of the *Pistis Sophia*.

RENDEL HARRIS

CHETWYND
SELLY OAK
October 1909

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE first edition of this book having been exhausted sooner than I had anticipated, I have decided not to delay the production of a new edition, which should, as far as possible, remove the errors of the former, and incorporate the results of the searching criticism to which the Odes and the manner of their presentation have been subjected.

In response to a number of appeals, I have added a facsimile of the unique manuscript from which I have worked. Then, as far as conviction ruled, I have accepted a number of textual betterments from scholars in England, France and Germany. In the case of the Psalms of Solomon, I have added the readings of the curious fragment of these Psalms, preserved in a MS. in the Cambridge University Library, to which Dr Barnes has drawn attention. In the case of the Odes, the text and the translation and the theories connected therewith have been compared with those of Harnack-Flemming, Zahn, Ungnad-Stärk, Batiffol-Labourt, Barnes, Bernard, Diettrich, Charles, Clemen, Gunkel, Haussleiter, Mead, Menzies, Nestle, Schulthess, Spitta and others. As the range of interpretation is very wide, and critical consent still seems to be somewhat remote, I have added a new section to review the work done on the Odes by the scholars referred to, and to give some estimate of its value in the most important cases. With these corrections and expansions I hope the second edition will be as welcome as and not less useful than the first.

RENDEL HARRIS

SELLY OAK
February 1911

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

In preparing the second edition for the press, it will be convenient to give in the first place, a bibliography of the most important reviews and notices of the Odes, which I have come across: the list makes no pretence at completeness; but it will serve to indicate the currents of opinion, and special attention will be given to those articles or reviews which are important for the resolution of the problems connected with the Odes, by marking them with an asterisk.

Dr J. Vernon Bartlet in *British Weekly* for Feb. 25, 1909. (Announcement of Discovery of the Odes.)

Rendel Harris in *Contemporary Review* for April, 1909, '*An Early Christian Hymn-book.*'

J. M. Leendertz in Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου for May 6, 1909 (Utrecht). (Notice of Discovery etc.)

Prof. Nestle in *Kirchlicher Anzeiger für Württemberg* No. 49, 1909. (Notice of Discovery.)

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Rendel Harris. *An Early Christian Psalter*, London (Nisbet and Co.), 1909. Contains the greater part of the Odes in English with a brief introduction.

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BRIEF SUMMARY OF RECENT CRITICISMS

In the previous edition a first attempt was made to elucidate the various problems which were presented by the new book of Odes. The Psalms which were attached to them were treated in a rapid manner, as there did not seem any necessity to go over again in detail the various critical results at which scholars had arrived with regard to their origin. It is sufficient to say that no considerations have been adduced which should invalidate the reference of the Solomonic Psalms to the period of the Roman Invasion of Judæa by Pompey, and of the years that followed the desecration of the Temple[1]. With regard to these Psalms the critics have been moving in converging paths to a conclusion from which there is no appreciable dissent. With regard, however, to the Odes and their place in the history of literature and of religion, no signs of such convergence or consent are yet to be seen. On every side doubts are expressed as to the explanations which I proposed. If, for example, it was suggested that they were Judæo-Christian in origin, the contradiction comes from two opposite sides, one school affirming that they are not Christian, the other that they are not Jewish. If, again, the suggestion is made that the time of their composition is the latter part of the first century A.D., the contentions have to be met that they are (1) nearly a hundred years earlier or (2) nearly a hundred years later than the time proposed. If I suggest that the Odes frequently betray a Johannine vocabulary, but at the same time decline to recognise actual loans from the Fourth Gospel, preferring to believe that the vocabulary in question is the theological language of a time and school which are not very remote from the time and school of thought of the author of the Fourth Gospel, one has to face the objections, on the one side that the theology is not that of a Christian but of a Jewish mystic, on the other side that it is the regular Christian theology of the Church after it has been charged to saturation with the thought

[1] Prof. Cheyne, in the *Hibbert Journal*, expresses a hope that I shall see my way to the abandonment of the identification of Pompey with the great dragon, and to the desertion of the chronology which is marked by the allusions to his death on the Egyptian shore. I am not to be allured from so certain a piece of critical investigation into the by-paths of ancient astrology.

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and expressions of St John. On the one side there is the alluring hypothesis that we have discovered the missing link from which the Fourth Gospel itself depends, on the other side, the Odes are by invisible links dependent from the feet of St John. Rarely has so much variety of opinion been provoked by the publication of a new document from the lost library of the Early Church: even the *Teaching of the Apostles* did not evoke so many nor so varied suggestions. Indeed, on looking over what has been said on the subject, up to the time of the preparation of this second edition, there does not seem to be anything about which everyone seems agreed unless it should be that the Odes are of singular beauty and of high spiritual value, and that they are probably of Syro-Palestinian origin. Well! that is something gained, for it means that we are moving still further away from the old belief that the origins of the Fourth Gospel are to be sought in Alexandria and that every presentation of the doctrine of the Logos must have passed through the moulding hands of Philo.

Let us then see what has been said on the subject of the Odes by recent writers. We begin, both chronologically and for other reasons, with Dr Harnack: he was almost the first in the field[1], and for most of us who are engaged in historical and critical investigations into Christian origins and history, he is *il maestro di color che sanno*. Harnack's book betrays in its preface the thesis that he means to defend, that the Odes of Solomon are a Jewish Psalm-book composed near the beginning of the Christian era and worked over again at no very distant date by a Christian hand. That is, Harnack accepts most of my arguments that there is little or nothing in many of the Odes that is so distinctly Christian as not to be equally well described as Jewish, and in those cases where the Christian hand must be recognised it is the hand of an interpolator. Without conceding the absolute unity of the collection, for we both agree that this unity may be broken in one or two cases by possible later intrusions, Harnack affirms that the general and obvious unity of style, by which the compositions are characterised, must be qualified by regarding the Odes as emanating from one hand or school, and passing

[1] He was partly anticipated by Diettrich, the first of whose remarkable articles in *Die Reformation* was written and published before Harnack's work saw the light. We shall attend to these articles later on.

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through another. Like myself, Harnack does not love the hypothesis of interpolations, but it is a hypothesis to which one must sometimes resort. In particular, at the time when one great religion is passing into another, and the books are, of necessity, passing over with the migrant people, it is in the highest degree likely that Christian editions will be produced of favourite Jewish books. We have, in fact, proof positive of such transfers in the case of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* and its dependence upon the Jewish *Doctrine of the Two Ways*, and in the Christian additions which can be dissected out of the text of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Something of the same kind, but perhaps not quite so early, has happened in the famous Christian expansions of the text of Josephus; and, for a much less probable, but not impossible, parallel, we might refer to those attempts which have been made to dissect original Jewish writings out of the Apocalypse of John, in which case the hypothesis of Vischer that we should treat the expression 'God and the Lamb' as an interpolated expansion of the Divine Name, has a seductive simplicity which, if I remember rightly, bewitched even Harnack himself, who confesses not to love hypotheses of interpolation.

There is, however, not the least need to apologize for the use of such hypotheses, if the criticism of the text breaks down for want of them. After all, it does not mean, in the present case, more than the substitution of two authors for one: it is not a case of multiplied redaction like that which is affirmed for the Pentateuch or Isaiah. Two authors are not too many for this little book; if two are intelligible where one is unintelligible, by all means let us have two: only let us keep in reserve the caution that it will always be easy to prove a document to be Jewish when you have dissected out of it everything that is Christian.

Certainly I have no right, *a priori*, to object to the extension which Harnack makes of my first thesis, seeing that I had already set aside certain Odes which discussed the Virgin Birth and the descent into Hades, as belonging to a relatively later stratum of thought than the main collection; and if one may resort to the hypothesis of interjection for whole Psalms, how can one reasonably object to the hypothesis of interpolation in selected Psalms; the interpolator has been admitted into the argument

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on the greater scale, how can he be prohibited on the smaller scale? Is it likely that the man who issues a new hymn-book, with which he incorporates some compositions of his own, will carefully keep his editorial hands off the rest of the collection? Such is not the method of the modern compilers of hymn-books, who have less reason to tamper with the texts that they appropriate than people had in the rapidly changing beliefs of the early centuries.

If Harnack is right, however, a curious phenomenon presents itself. My hypothesis of a Judæo-Christian composer, who betrays few of the external signs of Christianity, because of the elevation of his personal experience above the levels of ritual practices and dogmatic definitions, is replaced by Harnack by the hypothesis of a Jewish composer who is as free from definite traces of Judaism as my assumed writer was of the corresponding elements of Christianity. The man who had no Eucharist (so far as his language goes) is replaced by a man without a Passover. The man without a doctrine of penitence is replaced by a man who has no doctrine of sacrifice and no Day of Atonement. The man who moves so lightly amongst the early Christian orders, as not to refer to a bishop, while apologizing for his own priesthood and apparently confounding deacons with evangelists, has to be replaced by a Jew, who loves the Temple but has not a word to say of the associated priesthood and ritual! At first sight this looks very unlikely, and it is made more so, by the necessary deduction that the assumed non-ritualistic, undogmatic, mystical Jew suffered interpolation at the hands of an equally non-ritualistic, undogmatic and mystical Christian. At first sight, I say, this seems to be an improbable collocation: but it is not really so: for we start with the assumption of a mystical writer whose affinities are not with priesthoods or sacraments: one mystic is hereby conceded and perhaps a school: at all events, the Fourth Gospel offers striking analogies of similar spiritual elevation and detachment. If, however, this mystical writer be conceded, he must be either Jew or Christian, and there is no serious difficulty in the use by a Christian mystic of a previously existing Jewish mystic. If such Jewish mystics existed, they must in many cases have passed over, or evolved into Christian mystics, and this almost makes the apparent duality of the hypothesis of Harnack into a unity again. The parts divided are so nearly

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one, that they easily re-compose into a close and ultimate connexion.

Having said so much, I hope I have made it clear that I am animated by no hostility towards Harnack's treatment of the subject. One cannot read the book in which his theory is presented without admiration for the acuteness of its criticism, and the fertility of its illustration. Whether it be right or wrong, it is certainly a notable piece of work. Let us now take one or two cases in detail, in order that we may see the hypothesis in its actual application to the supposed interpolated Odes.

In the middle of the 3rd Ode, Harnack marks an interpolation in the 9th verse, as follows:

8. I have been united to Him, for the Lover has found the Beloved:
9. (And because I love him that is the Son, I shall myself become a Son):
10. For he that is joined to Him that is immortal, will also himself become immortal,
11. And he who has pleasure in the Living One, will himself become living.

Here Harnack's argument is that immortality comes from union with God, and that the allusion to the Son of God disturbs the sequence. He objects to my erasure of the plural points, so as to read 'Living One' for 'Life,' and thinks the parallelism is sufficient between *Life* and 'the Immortal.' Thus the Ode becomes Jewish and not Christian except in the interpolated sentence. But with regard to the erasure of the plural points, it should be noticed that they would almost certainly be added if absent, that the parallelism is improved by their absence, that the title 'the Living One' (ὁ ζῶν) is a characteristic early name for Christ. It is involved again in Ode 8. 24, where the parallelism shows that the terms 'the Beloved,' 'the one that lives,' and 'the one that was saved (!)' all belong to Christ. Accordingly Zahn says of this passage,

> '"Wer an den Lebendigen Wohlgefallen hat." Der Parallelismus membrorum empfiehlt es, mit Harris das Pluralzeichen...zu ignorieren.'

The words 'has pleasure in,' if we have rightly understood the Syriac, should correspond to a Greek εὐδοκέω which is again

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appropriate to a person, and as the account of the Baptism of Jesus shows, to a particular person. But if the expression 'the Living One' stands (especially when we remember the Johannine 'because I live ye shall live also,' and kindred passages), then it follows that Christ is referred to in the original Ode, or the alternative to this conclusion would be that the interpolation is more extended than a single verse. The latter alternative is very improbable.

The concluding sentence of the Ode with reference to the 'Spirit of the Lord which does not lie,' is rightly parallelled by Harnack with the ἀψευδὴς θεός of Tit. i. 2, where notice again that it is immortality that is the gift involved in God's veracity; 'the hope of eternal life is what God promised before the world began.' The Christian doctrine of immortality is that 'God has given unto us eternal life, *and this life is in His Son*' (1 Joh. v. 11). I see no reason to erase the reference to the Sonship in the one case which might not be applied in the other: nor any breach of continuity in a reference to the Son in one case which might not be equally affirmed in the other.

It would, of course, be unfair to discuss a great hypothesis like Harnack's from the standpoint of a single interpolation: the third Ode, for example, might be Christian and be at the same time, a thing apart: but in so far as common authorship in the main body of the Odes is conceded, the proof that one of them is Christian is a proof of the Christianity of the collection.

There are other cases of interpolation in the remaining Psalms where Harnack affirms it, which need to be examined in detail. For the present, however, let us keep to this third Ode, and discuss it in the light of another hypothesis which has been brought forward.

Professor Menzies of St Andrew's University has made a variation upon Harnack's original suggestions. He feels on the one hand the difficulty of resort to interpolation, and on the other hand the general strength of the argument that these Odes are fundamentally Jewish. Accordingly Menzies proposes in a striking article in the *Interpreter* to discard the theory of interpolation, and explain the apparently Christian allusions from the standpoint of Judaism. Let the reference to the Son stand: but interpret the Son as the ideal Israel, in harmony with the doctrine of the Old Testament that Israel is God's first-born son, whom

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He called out of Egypt, carried in the wilderness, &c. The third Ode now reads as follows:

> Because I love Israel (the Son of God)
> I shall myself become an Israelite (i.e. a Son of God).

The language is that of a Jewish proselyte, who has come, as the Talmud says the disciples of Hillel did, 'under the wings of the Shekinah.' Professor Menzies affirms that this note of proselytism is characteristic of the Odes, and in that way having turned the argument to his own account which I made of the proselytism of the writer, he describes the whole collection by the name of *Psalms of the Proselytes*. The advantage of this new hypothesis is obvious; it gets rid of the resort to interpolations and restores to the collection a substantial unity; it mediates between the Jewish mystics of Harnack and my own Judæo-Christian proselyte author, by the suggestion of the Jewish proselytes, and it opens up before the imagination a field of spiritual life in connexion with the propaganda of Judaism, which is almost entirely a *terra incognita*.

As I want to do justice to Professor Menzies' argument, I will try to show how it may be made to illuminate certain other passages, and in particular, let us look a little closer into this same Ode. In the earlier part of the Ode we find the following statement:

> Ode 3. *v.* 5. I love the Beloved and my soul loves Him;
> *v.* 6. And where His rest is, there also am I.
> *v.* 7. And I shall be no stranger there,
> For with the Lord Most High and Merciful, there is no grudging.

Evidently the writer is speaking of spiritual privileges into which he has been introduced by God's grace and liberality. What is this divine Rest of which he speaks? It seems natural to refer to the terms in which God's dwelling in the Sanctuary is spoken of in the Old Testament, such as Ps. cxxxii. 14, 'Here is *my rest*, here will I dwell, for I have desired it': or Ps. cxxxii. 8, 'Arise, O Lord, into *thy rest*, thou and the ark of thy strength,' or to Isaiah lxvi. 1, 'What house will ye build me, or what is the place of my rest?' God's rest is, then, the Jewish temple[1];

[1] We might compare Isho'dad on John xiv. 1; 'He calls mansions...the abiding rests; because all rests and enjoyments are ours in dwellings.'

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and the writer of the Ode is expressing the privilege which he has obtained by his proselytism, of passing beyond the middle wall of partition, from the Court of the Gentiles to the Court of the Israelites. It is precisely the situation which St Paul describes in spiritual language in Eph. ii. 19,

> '*Ye are no more strangers* and sojourners, but fellow-citizens of the saints, and of the household of God...the whole building groweth to *an holy temple* in the Lord.'

The reference to the Sanctuary, however it is to be explained, is a mark of the third Ode, just as it is in the much-disputed Ode which follows it. And if in the third Ode the Sanctuary (whether spiritual or literal) is the place of God's rest, in the fourth Ode, it is forcibly described as the place of God's heart. For it is God's promise to *Solomon* that 'my eyes *and my heart* shall be there continually' (2 Chron. vii. 16) which is responsible for the curious expression, 'Thou hast given Thy heart to thy believers.' Here again we see that the Temple is in the view (whether near or far) of the writer.

These instances will suffice to show the strength of Prof. Menzies' hypothesis. It enables us, as we have said, to avoid interpolation; it emphasises the language of the proselyte which had been previously detected in the Odes; and it makes it unnecessary to explain away, as so many have done, the evident affection of the writer for the actual temple at Jerusalem[1].

I have discussed this particular Ode at length in order to give a clear idea of the theory of Prof. Menzies and the way it mediates between Prof. Harnack's view and my own. The difficulty in accepting it lies in the fact that it does not explain many of the passages which Harnack had got rid of by the theory of interpolation. The simple case of the third Ode does not find parallels in the rest of the book. How, for example, would one read the Jewish proselyte into the following passage in which Harnack had conceded a Christian element?

[1] This question of the reality of the allusions to the Temple comes up most definitely in the 4th Ode, where it has to be discussed. If we do not allow a real reference to the Temple, as I am disposed to maintain, we must say with Zahn (*Die Oden Salomos*, p. 753) 'Dadurch wird klar, dass er nicht an ein von Menschenhänden bereitetes Gotteshaus mit Vorhöfen und Altären denkt, wie der alte Psalmist, sondern an ein geistliches Haus.'

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Ode 31. (He opened His mouth and spake grace and joy:
And He spake a new song of praise to His name:
And He lifted up His voice to the Most High,
And offered to Him the sons that were with him.
And His face was justified, for them had His holy Father given Him.) Cf. Joh. xvii., Heb. ii. 13.
Come forth, ye that have been afflicted.

Surely Harnack must be right in marking this passage as Christian: and unless the whole Ode is to be counted Christian, an interpolation must be assumed. There is no place for a Jewish proselyte here.

It seems, then, that the amendment moved by Professor Menzies to Harnack's interpretation is not of sufficient scope to cover the difficult passages. In some respects it is a brilliant suggestion, but it is inadequate. In one feature it is, I believe, nearer to the truth than Harnack's own exposition, in that it realised the traces of proselytism which are in the Odes. These are hardly appreciated by Harnack. For example, he passes very rapidly by the allusions to the Creation that does not keep Sabbath (with its obvious consequence in the de-sabbatizing of proselytes). Harnack has brushed this argument on one side, too hastily as I think, and others have followed him. His argument is as follows: the words 'do not keep sabbath' in the illustrative sentence quoted from Justin have nothing corresponding to them in the Ode; and therefore an anti-judaic polemic is not to be thought of. In fact the Ode is, like others, of Jewish origin. Upon which I remark, that the Sabbath is involved in the previous sentence that 'God rested from all his works,' and therefore a definite Sabbatic reference with regard to the motion of the luminaries was not required: and further there is no doubt that the reference to the motion of Sun, Moon and Stars on the Sabbath day is one of the chief anti-judaic arguments of the early Church. For example, take Gregory of Nyssa, *Testimonia adversus Judaeos*, 13, in a section headed *περὶ τοῦ σαββατίζειν* and we find that the argument against the Sabbath concludes with these words:

πῶς δὲ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἄστρα τὸν
ὡρισμένον δρόμον ἐκτελεῖ καὶ τῷ σαββάτῳ;

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The writer is using up earlier material in the shape of anti-judaic testimonies: and the parallelism between this particular testimony and the language of the sixteenth Ode is so striking that we must convict the Ode of an anti-judaic tendency.

Harnack fails also, as I did to some extent myself, to emphasise and interpret the repeated allusion to a circumcision that was spiritual and not carnal. It is not sufficient in such a connexion to say that circumcision of the heart is a commonplace of the Old Testament and of the prophets. Why does the writer introduce it, not in the manner of exhortation, but as a personal experience, unless he is speaking *more proselytorum*? The ordinary Jewish mystic (supposing the species to have been discovered) is not likely to break out into song on this note.

Then the references made by the Odist to his being of another race need a closer examination. In Ode 41 Harnack isolates the remarkable passage contained in vv. 8—10, as an interpolation; but while admitting that the passage reminds one of the 'new creature in Christ' of whom Paul speaks, he makes the strange statement that the interpolator this time is a Jew. This Jewish interpolator is followed by a Christian interpolator in the passage from v. 12 to the end ('The Saviour who makes alive and does not reject our souls, the man who was humbled' &c.). It would surely have been simpler to admit that the language was that of a proselyte, and not to make this fantastic variation from the original Jewish author to a second Jewish interpolator, followed in his turn by a Christian annotator. The solution is too cumbrous to be the real one: but this must not be allowed to prejudice our judgment in other cases, in which the dissecting knife appears to be used with extraordinary skill. Whatever the final judgment may be as to the value of Harnack's solution, there can be no doubt that it is criticism of a very high order.

I now turn to a third hypothesis, in some ways more remarkable than either the doubtful one of Harnack or the rejected one of Menzies. In the *Journal of Theological Studies* for October 1910, Dean Bernard has launched the theory that these Odes are not Jewish (whether mystic or proselyte) nor Judæo-Christian, but simply Christian; that they are songs of

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newly-baptized persons, or proper to be sung over such, and that they belong to a much later date than has been supposed. Bernard suggests 150 A.D., which is the time to which Zahn and others would refer them, but I gather from him privately that he thinks this date too early, and is rather disposed to press the close of the second century as their time of composition. In some respects this solution has points of contact with Professor Menzies, for Psalms of the Baptized is a Christian way of writing Psalms of the Proselytes, in the period when baptism was adult baptism, and in that sense every believer was a proselyte. Bernard's hypothesis, however, sweeps away all that Harnack has said on the subject, and a good deal of my own reasoning. For it is clear that if the date be far on in the second century, all references to a pre-Johannine school of Christian or of Jewish thought may be swept on one side. At such a date the parallelisms with St John are equivalent to quotations, and no other explanation needs to be made of them. We are not likely to find the missing link in the ancestry of St John's Gospel from a Christian semi-liturgical book of songs at the end of the second century.

What, then, are the reasons from which Dr Bernard proceeds? For it must be said at once that the case is argued with such learning and force as to make the article to which we refer the most remarkable that has yet appeared. The case is as follows. Bernard points out that a number of striking passages in the Odes can be at once illustrated from the early baptismal rituals. For example, it seems certain that in the early Syrian Church and in the closely associated Armenian Church, baptized persons were arrayed in white robes, and crowns, or garlands, were placed on their heads. The white raiment is well known, but the crowns, which are not a feature of Western religion, as far as it is known to us, have been lost sight of. It is these crowns, according to Bernard, that are alluded to in such passages as the first Ode, 'The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be separated from Him.' The same figure recurs in the 5th, 9th, 17th and 20th Odes. The white garments are also exactly parallelled by the allusions in the Odes to the putting on of brightness or clothing oneself with light. In the Odes this bright raiment is spoken of as an exchange for 'the coat of skin' in the third chapter of Genesis; and Dr Bernard shows that this

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very allusion is found in the early descriptions of Baptism, as, for instance, in the following passage from Jerome,

> 'Praeceptis Dei lavandi sumus, et cum, parati ad indumentum Christi, tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus, tunc induemur veste linea, nihil in se mortis habente, sed tota candida.' (Ep. ad Fabiolam, LXIV. 20.)

Dr Bernard goes on to argue that the Odes also contemplate Baptism when they refer to the 'Seal' on the one hand, and to the 'Living Water' on the other. With regard to the 'Seal,' Dr Bernard thinks he has a less strong case for identification with Baptism than with regard to the 'Living Water.' I think he entirely underestimates the value of his own argument, when he says that the references to the Seal are 'few in number, and their meaning is not as clear as is that of the Living Water.' The history of the 'Seal' is obscure, nor can it easily be said when it passed from being a mark of ownership to a sacramental sign, but that it did become a talisman is certain, and there is much to be said for the belief that this talismanic virtue of baptism is reflected upon the language of the Odes. For example, in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* the talismanic force of baptism is implied in Thecla's words to Paul, 'Give me only the sign of God, and no temptation shall touch me.' But this is exactly parallel to Ode 4. 7, 8,

> 'Who is there that shall put on thy grace and be hurt? For thy seal is known &c.'

Another curious illustration may be taken from Cyprian's *Testimonia* (II. 10) where Cyprian explains that Goliath was killed by a blow on his forehead *because his head had not been sealed.* '*By this seal we also are always safe and live*[1].'

There is, therefore, much to be said for Dr Bernard's contention that the 'seal' in the Odes does sometimes refer to baptism, even if it should not turn out to be always used in this sense.

But it is just at this point that the difficulty of the interpretation lies: while it may be freely granted that the ascription of talismanic virtue to the waters of baptism is early, and that it becomes almost universal (as may be seen by its prevalence even to the present day), it must not be overlooked that *the Seal and its talismanic value are also both pre-Christian.* We need only turn

[1] See also a similar reference from Lactantius on p. 80 *infra*.

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to the Psalms of Solomon in support of this statement. Thus in Psalms of Solomon xv. 8, we are told that 'the sign of the Lord is upon the righteous for their salvation'; and in the same way in xv. 10, 'the mark of perdition is upon the forehead (of sinners).' Granted that this may be based on the signing and sealing in the ninth chapter of Ezekiel, it is nevertheless clear that Ezekiel could be interpreted, and actually was interpreted, mystically before Christian baptism was even thought of. We must therefore be on our guard against reading back a late baptismal gnosis into early Christian or Jewish records.

An even more remarkable case for the need of caution occurs in Bernard's identification of the dragon with seven heads in Ode 22. 5. This dragon is supposed to be latent in the waters of baptism, as originally in the river Jordan, according to a passage in Job (xi. 18) where Leviathan will take the Jordan into his mouth; Bernard quotes appropriately from Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* iii. 11:

> *ὁ δράκων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι κατὰ τὸν Ἰώβ, ὁ δέχομενος τὸν Ἰορδάνην ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.*

To the various allusions to this dragon who lurks in the midst of the waters which Bernard collects from the Eastern Baptismal rituals, I add the following passage of Bar Ṣalibi from his commentary on Matthew[1]:

> 'Baptizatus est...ut confringeret caput draconis spiritalis qui in aquis reptabat, quem etiam olim immersit per Pharaonem.'

Here is again the dragon lurking in the water of Jordan whose head is broken when Christ is baptized: and I find that Bar Ṣalibi has taken this passage from an earlier Syriac writer, Moses Bar Kepha; for in a MS. of that writer in my possession, in which the meaning of baptism is discussed, there occurs the following passage:

ܘܫܒܪ ܠܪܫܗ ܕܬܢܝܢܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܐ ܕܟܡܢ ܒܡܝܐ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܒܡܝ ܝܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܥܩ ܠܦܪܥܘܗ ܕܡܨܪ.
ܒܝܡܐ ܕܝܪܕܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܡܫܒܪ.

i.e. 'And again, it was in order that he might bruise the head of the spiritual dragon because he lurked in the waters: in the

[1] *l.c.* in trans. p. 98.

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same way as erst he typically drowned that dragon, by means of Pharaoh the Egyptian, in the Red Sea.' In this way Bernard's argument is re-inforced, so far as the belief is affirmed (especially the belief of Oriental Christians) that the devil lurks in the waters of baptism, and requires to have his head broken (i) by Christ, (ii) by the insufflation and chrism of the water.

But here again caution would be wise; for the dragon with seven heads is not a Christian conception arrived at by applying baptismal gnosis to the Old Testament; we see him again in the *Psalms of Solomon*, where by almost every critic he is recognised as the equivalent of Pompey and not of the devil or his counterpart the Leviathan of Job: he appears also in the Apocalypse certainly at a time anterior to the development of any baptismal gnosis: and when we look more closely at the language of the twenty-second Ode, we get quite a different kind of dragon from the mystical one of Bernard (*Draco aquatilis Bernardi*). He is indeed a water-snake; but his nearest zoological representative lies in quite another direction than the book of Job or even the ninety-first Psalm. For this dragon has a *wicked poison* which has to be eliminated, and *when his heads have been broken, the roots have to be destroyed.* So it is a *bona fide* hydra which is in the imagination of the Odist. One has only to recall the story of Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra, the battle with the hydra-heads, the searing of the roots, and the ravages wrought by the poison of the creature, to make it a fair suggestion that Bernard has mistaken the species, and that what he saw was really a *Hydra spiritalis Harrisii*, an older form zoologically than the ecclesiastical specimen to which Dr Bernard introduced us. The baptismal metaphors may turn out to have been borrowed from an earlier stratum of Christian thought, as well as from the Old Testament.

Perhaps the most striking of Dr Bernard's illustrations will be found in the quotations which he brings to bear on the obscurities at the beginning of the 24th Ode, where the abysses cry out with terror at the Baptism of the Lord. Dr Bernard observes that 'all Eastern Baptismal rites bring in the idea that the waters were terrified at the coming of Christ for Baptism.' The Scriptural basis for this belief is Ps. lxvii. 17, 18, 'The waters saw thee and were afraid, the abysses were troubled.' Bernard gives many striking patristic and liturgical parallels

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for these beliefs; and, taken all together, they make a very strong impression. His whole argument must be carefully studied. I have only touched on a few points in the briefest manner.

If it should turn out that there is good ground for Dr Bernard's contention, the whole question of the date will have to be re-considered, and, in part, the history of the baptismal rite will have to be re-written. It will not follow, even then, that the date of the Odes is as late as Dr Bernard suggests. Take, for instance, the single point, which he so forcibly expounds, that the baptized in early ritual wore crowns. A reference to Hermas will show that there was a controversy in the early Church of the West as to whether baptized people should be crowned or not, and it is decided in the negative, because the crown belongs properly to the Martyrs. Thus in Similitude VIII (the great willow) the angel gives slips of willow to be planted by the believers, and scrutinizes the result of the planting. Those who put forth shoots and bring forth fruit are crowned with garlands of palm. Those who put forth shoots without fruit are not crowned; but all alike have the white raiment and the seal. The meaning of this is that all baptized people are not crowned; the crown belongs to the martyrs, 'those who have wrestled with the devil and overcome him.' And the suggestion arises that the garlanding of baptized people which Dr Bernard detects in the Eastern rituals was discontinued in the West at a very early period, or never definitely adopted.

Something of the same kind goes on with regard to another form of honour. The Odist speaks of becoming one of the men on the right hand, whatever may be covered by that term (cf. Ode 19, 'They who receive in its fulness are the ones on the right hand'). And in the Visions of Hermas we have a scene in which he wishes to sit at the right hand of the Church, but is refused that position, because that place belongs to those who have actually suffered for the name. So Hermas (see the account in Vis. III) has to sit on the left hand. It seems clear that there has been a transfer of some kind of honour from the ordinary believers to the Martyrs. The case is like the previous one.

I should not, therefore, be surprised to find that Bernard's case for a late dating of the Odes will have, even from his own point of view, to be revised. He will certainly be in difficulties

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over the interpretation of the references to the Sanctuary in the fourth Ode, which are too definite and too Jewish to be got rid of. Perhaps we shall see more clearly the essential Judaism of this Ode, if we examine a little more closely the proof of the unchangeableness of the Sanctuary which the Rabbis deduce from Exod. xv. 17. We shall be able to show that this passage of Exodus was actually in the mind of the writer, and that he is commenting on the following sequence:

εἰσαγαγὼν καταφύτευσον αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄρος κληρονομίας σου.
εἰς ἕτοιμον κατοικητήριόν σου ὃ κατηρτίσω, Κύριε.
ἁγίασμα, Κύριε, *ὃ ἡτοίμασαν αἱ χεῖρές σου.*
Κύριος *βασιλεύων τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπ' αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι.*

Let us see how Philo would comment on this passage: the treatise *De Plantatione* § 47 sqq. introduces the text as above: he begins with an explanation in terms of the Stoic philosophy, that the highest life is that which is in accordance with nature and that this is what is meant by being planted in the mountain of the Lord's inheritance. He then reverts from his philosophical speculations to the earlier doctrine that the sanctuary was made, as a reflexion from holy things, an imitation of an archetype; after which he continues as follows:

'But in order that no one should suppose *that the Creator has need of any of the things that are made*, he subjoins the following most necessary addition, "Reigning for eternity and beyond eternity," for *a king is in need of no one, but his subjects are in everything in need of him!*'

It will be seen that this at once explains why the Ode which began with 'No man changeth thy holy place,' should go on with 'Thou hast given us thy fellowship, it was not that thou wast in need of us, but that we are in need of thee.'

Philo and the Odist are both working over the same Rabbinical gnosis on the fifteenth chapter of Exodus. And it is from the Jewish side of Philo's mind and not from the Hellenistic and philosophical, that the parallel is made. We see, then, that it is right to ascribe a Jewish background to the fourth Ode. In fact, the weak point of Bernard's argument lies just there, that the Jewish background of the Odes is too patent to be neglected. The ultimate origin of the coats of light in place of coats of skin must be Jewish: the mere allegorisation

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of Genesis by Christian hands is insufficient to explain a belief which, as I have shown, can be illustrated from the great Jewish and leading Gnostic teachers, and is perpetuated in the Kabbala and in folk-lore. *A Christian allegorisation of Genesis cannot be responsible for all this.* At the same time, it is well known that all the early Christian teachers used up Genesis by the way of gnosis and allegory in their teachings of redemption by Christ.

In this way it will be seen that Jewish expositions are necessary to the right understanding of the references to the unchangeable sanctuary, whatever meaning be attached to it: even if a reference to Jerusalem's fortunes be denied or to any other temple, the explanation of the fixity of the sanctuary is to be sought in Jewish writers, as I think I have pointed out.

While I am writing on this point a remarkable confirmation comes to light of the early belief in the pre-existence of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem, and its consequent inviolability, which I hold to underlie the language of the opening verses of the fourth Ode. In an odd quarter, too, the evidence alluded to makes its appearance. The last number of *Anthropos* (Heft i. 1911) contains an account by the Carmelite father Anastase Marie, of Bagdad, of his recovery of the sacred books of the Yezidees from their hiding place in the mountain of Ṣinjar, in the Mesopotamian plane between Mosul and Aleppo, about due south from Mardin. These Yezidees, commonly known as devil-worshippers, appear to have been originally devoted to the worship of the Demiurgos as against that of the true God, and they represent the survival of an early Oriental sect, perhaps of Jewish origin. For however much they may disown the Jews in these newly-found documents, and affirm their racial priority to them, it is clear that they believed in the pre-existence of Jerusalem, as the following passage will show:

Yezidi Black-book (*Anthropos l.c.* p. 37):

> XVII. 'The Lord then descended to Jerusalem, and ordered Gabriel to bring a little earth from the four cardinal points of the earth[1]. He did so. To this earth he added air, fire and water, and thus created the first man. He gave him a soul, taken from his own almightiness. He ordered Gabriel to put Adam in Paradise, etc.'

[1] Which four points are, according to early Fathers, latent in the four letters of the name of Adam.

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Here the pre-existence of Jerusalem to the creation of man is clearly involved. We have an excellent parallel to the doctrine that 'thy holy place thou didst design before thou didst make (other) places[1].'

All of this makes a late date impossible, nor will the position of honour given to the Odes in the *Pistis Sophia* be explicable, unless the early date of the Odes be conceded, or unless Dr Bernard succeeds in lowering the date of the *Pistis Sophia* as well as that of the Odes.

I have stated Bernard's case rapidly, with inevitable omission of many of his striking parallels and illustrations, and without trying to break the force of his criticism by drawing attention to its exaggerations. Dr Bernard does not seem to be aware (or was not aware, until I drew his attention to it) that his case had been anticipated. In a series of articles published in *Die Reformation* Dr Diettrich had anticipated Bernard in detecting references to baptismal customs and had equally anticipated Harnack in the assumption of a Jewish background for the Odes. In the first of the series of articles, published as far back as May 1910, Diettrich held that the later stratum was definitely Christian and the earlier was Essene; but, after the first article was out, he had read Harnack's criticisms and reviewed the whole matter more closely, coming to the conclusion that the later Odist was not an orthodox Christian but that he belonged to a little-known group of Eastern heretics whom Diettrich proposed to identify. It is unfortunate that the separate articles appeared in such an out-of-the-way corner, and that they were too summarily set aside as fantastic by those German critics who read them. Diettrich had the advantage, from his studies on the *Nestorian Baptismal Liturgy*, of recognizing any parallels that might exist between the Odes and the Ritual, just as Bernard was helped by Conybeare's publication of the *Ritual of the Armenians*. Moreover, his excellent Syriac scholarship contributes frequently to the right understanding of the meaning of some difficult passages. Whether Bernard and Diettrich have reached the final explanation of the parallels between the Odes and the Eastern Rituals is the matter that has now to be decided. In a recent criticism in the *Theol. Tijdschrift* Mr Lake

[1] Is it possible that the original language of the Ode was 'thy holy place thou didst design *before thou madest man*'?

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has thrown out, independently, the same suggestion as Diettrich and Bernard, that the Odes are not a case of 'Mystic' but of 'Sacramental Mystic'; that is the problem that at present is before us. The remaining question, after this problem is solved, will be the residual Judaism of the Odes. If Bernard is right that the Odes are all Christian, and late as well as Christian, the Jewish background has to be denied or explained away: if Diettrich is right that the Odes are strongly coloured by Essenism, then much of Bernard's argument will be weakened; the 'white robes' in which the singer is assumed to be clad, will be Essene drapery, and the songs before sunrise, which Bernard refers to the Easter baptisms, will be illustrated from the well-known solar adorations of the ascetics of the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea. I reserve my own judgment as to whether such explanations are at all required. They may all be vitiated by over-subtlety. I do not, however, wish to spoil so interesting a debate by summing it up prematurely.

Of the many other tracts and discussions which have hitherto appeared, it must suffice to refer briefly to two or three.

The revision of the Syriac text by Schulthess in Preuschen's *Zeitschrift* is excellent, and contains some of the best things that have been said linguistically and with reference to the translation. I am pleased to find that, while recognizing the excellence of Flemming's translation (as I myself am forward to do) he points out that my renderings are not always to be rejected for Flemming's. Some of the differences between us were due to unfortunate misprints or transcriptions, which I have done my best to remove in the present edition. With Schulthess should be taken the valuable reviews of my book and of Harnack's by Wellhausen in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* for September 1910. As was to be expected, the criticism of the text is searching and the interpretations proposed are acute. W. will not allow that the Odes are Jewish; even the reference to the unchangeable sanctuary is to be treated as ideal, and the Odes furnish no definite historical date. They know nothing of the Law, but only of the yoke of Love. Their idea of God is as un-Jewish as possible; the initiation by circumcision is replaced by that through the Spirit. The community to which the writer belongs is grounded on inward,

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rather than outward, fellowship. The transitions in the Odes from the speaking believer to the speaking Christ are illustrated by Bacchic parallels. While the Odes are as little to be classed as Gnostic as the Fourth Gospel itself, they show some Gnostic tendencies, and W. suggests that we might compare the Mandaean hymns, which I have not yet been able to do.

A number of other criticisms lie before me. In the same number of Preuschen's *Zeitschrift* to which I have referred for Schulthess' discussion of the text of the Odes, there will be found an article by Spitta (one of several which he has written), in which, according to his *métier*, he dissects the Odes into Jewish and Christian elements, and arrives independently at conclusions not differing very widely from those of Harnack. This is followed by a very interesting article by Gunkel, who discards Harnack's hypothesis in favour of a reference to a heretical Christian sect, to which there was a secret initiation, as betrayed by the language of Ode 8, which Bernard explains by the theory of *disciplina arcani*. Finally Preuschen himself promises to prove that the Odes are the work of the great Gnostical Mystic Valentinus. It is not difficult to imagine some of the arguments that will be brought forward. It is clear that it will be some time before these investigations are concluded and the final grains of truth gathered from the miscellaneous heap of opinions.

Meanwhile, we ought not to lose sight of the spiritual value of the recovered document, which cannot be seriously affected by the variety of the solutions that may be offered as to the time and place of its production. Dr A. C. Headlam's article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, which has just come to my hands, expresses this duty, in a very able and sympathetic discussion.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON RECENT CRITICISMS.

In the pages that precede I have attempted to give some view of the critical debate that has been in progress with regard to the right interpretation and correct chronology of the Odes. It has been difficult to obtain a correct representation of what is really a moving picture. As I left the matter in the foregoing summary Dr A. C. Headlam's article in the *Church Quarterly Review* had just appeared and had delighted me by its appreciation of the spiritual value of my book of songs, and by its just handling of many of the points that had to be decided. It also seemed to me to be very judicious in its estimate of what one may call the Baptismal Parallels of Dean Bernard, for while recognising much that was forcible in the criticism, Headlam also suggested that the elevated tone of the writer's experience implied a certain priority over the highly evolved Gnosis to which Bernard drew attention. The baptismal cult was, in fact, reposing upon an earlier stratum, and there was no need to chronologically depress the Odes to the level, say, of the Nestorian Liturgy. As the Odes themselves would say, "That which is earlier shall not be changed by those that are younger than itself." Dr Headlam's actual language is as follows:

> "The writer of the Odes is thinking primarily of the new life he is experiencing and not of Baptism. No doubt he had been baptized. No doubt Baptism may have provided language to express his own spiritual experience, but it is not of Baptism that he is thinking. Further, in some cases this reference to Baptism is forced and unreal. It would be far truer to say that language which is here as elsewhere used of the Christian life as a whole was quite naturally introduced into baptismal services and songs and so obtained a specialized use. This particular development of his theory on which Dr Bernard insists is probably more than doubtful."

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There has also just reached me an article by S. Reinach in the *Revue de l'Histoire les Religions* (*Annales du Musée Guimet*) for 1910, in which there is contained a brilliant survey of the question of the Odes, expressed with the acuteness and insight that one would naturally expect from such a quarter. I have no wish to re-analyse the analysis of M. Reinach, but there is one passage in which he appears to say something like what we just now quoted from Headlam. On p. 15 of the reprinted article which M. Reinach has kindly sent me, after discussing Bernard's hypothesis in detail, he says:

> "Dans l'hypothèse où les Odes de Salomon auraient été adoptées par l'Église chrétienne, ou par telle partie judaïsante de cette Église, on comprendrait que cette littérature dont le mérite n'est pas médiocre, eût exercé de l'influence sur le langage métaphorique usité pour le sacrement de baptême."

If I understand this rightly, it runs parallel to Dr Headlam's suggestion, but at the same time runs farther, into the *terra incognita* of the history of baptismal symbols, and into a branch of literature that corresponds to it, and is itself equally unknown. M. Reinach does not commit himself to any definite position, but makes a half promise that when the translators have come to some closer agreement as to the rendering, and the interpreters are a little nearer to one another and to the meaning, he may return to the subject again. As far as I am concerned, he will be sure of a hearty welcome.

It is clear that M. Reinach is right that we have to go a good way in the acceptance of the Bernard parallels ("les ressemblances si ingénieusement signalées"). Accordingly I pick up the threads of the argument again, and turn once more to the loom.

It was suggested a little way back that the treatment of the dragon with seven heads was too exclusively made from the standpoint of the Baptismal ritual, and that there was in the figure a pre-Christian origin (as shown by the Psalms of Solomon) and perhaps a pagan parallel of great antiquity, for which the closest correspondence would be found in the Lernaean Hydra of Hercules. This, at all events, helped us to explain the destruction of the wicked poison of the dragon, and of his roots. Thus there would be more dragons involved than the

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Leviathan who would swallow up the Jordan, or the Pharaoh who pursues the Israelites in the Red Sea.

To be quite fair to Bernard's hypothesis, we will show that the *virus* of the dragon in the midst of the waters was actually exorcised in the waters of baptism, according to early Christian belief, and we shall also suggest that the dragon in the Jordan still exists in the local folk-lore.

For the first of these points it is sufficient to refer to Cyprian *Ep.* lxviii (Hartel, p. 764), where Cyprian says definitely:

> "diaboli nequitiam pertinacem usque ad aquam salutarem ualere, in baptismo autem *omne nequitiae suae uirus* amittere, quod exemplum cernimus in rege Pharaone":

here we have the baptismal parallel to the language of Ode 22 "Thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison." Cyprian continues with the argument that serpents and dragons lose their poison when they pass from dry places into waters:

> "nam si scorpii et serpentes qui in sicco praeualent, in aquam praecipitati praeualere possunt sua uenena retinere, possunt et spiritus nequam, qui scorpii et serpentes appellantur et tamen per nos data a Domino potestate calcantur, permanere ultra in hominis corpore, in quo baptizato et sanctificato incipit spiritus sanctus habitare."

Perhaps this contribution to the history of the virus of the dragon may not be unacceptable to Dr Bernard.

The second point, as to the existence of a folk-lore belief in the dragon that lurks in the Jordan, was gathered from my own experience. I was one day, when travelling in the East, planning to rid myself of the discomforts of travel by a bath in the Jordan, the river being at that time in flood. It was certainly a dangerous experiment, even for a good swimmer, and I was deterred from it by the natives who used, amongst other more valid arguments, the statement that there was a whale in the waters into which I proposed to plunge. The whale was, of course, the Biblical *tannin* (Arabic *tinn*), and can be equated with *serpent* or *dragon* or *sea-monster*. The Palestinian folk-lore, therefore, retains the belief that there is a dragon in the Jordan. I have no means of deciding whether this belief is older or younger than the belief of the baptismal rituals: but it should certainly be connected with it.

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In order to test Bernard's hypothesis more closely, for the value of a hypothesis depends on the number of things it explains, I propose to try whether it will help us to understand the very difficult thirty-eighth Ode.

The opening of this perplexing and discontinuous Ode has perplexity and discontinuity of its own:

"I went up into the light of truth as if into a chariot:
And the truth took me and led me and guided me across pits and gulleys:
And from the rocks and the waves it preserved me:
And it became to me a haven of salvation."

Here we have a chariot flying across pits and ravines, after which we have, what is not usual in chariot riding, the risk of rocks and waves, and finally the chariot arrives—in harbour. This is perplexing. Is it impossible that the chariot can be a ship?

The Syriac word (markebā) which we have translated "chariot" does sometimes mean "ship," as the lexicons will show (v. Payne Smith *ad voc.*). This rendering is probably due to Arabic influence, for in Arabic *markab* means *inter alia* a ship (as a reference to the story of Sindbad the Sailor will show). Perhaps the Odes have been translated into Syriac at a later age than the golden age of Syriac literature, and then the word we are discussing is an Arabism. Let us, then, translate it as *ship*. We are now on the way to the rocks and waves and haven at the close of the passage. The "pits and ravines" must now be marine and not terrene: they are the gaping and yawning depths of the sea sailed over: so we translate:

"I went up into the light of Truth, as into a ship:
And the Truth took me and led me and guided me over the hollows and yawning depths (of the sea):
From the rocks and the waves it preserved me:
And it became to me a haven of salvation."

That is certainly much more reasonable than going to sea in a chariot. The perplexity and discontinuity of the opening is gone.

But what is the ship? Does he mean the Ark? If so, we are again in contact with a baptismal symbol, for the earliest

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figure borrowed from the Old Testament to illustrate baptism is the Ark of Noah, in which few, that is eight, souls were saved by water (1 Pet. iii. 20). And Justin carries on the argument by quoting (*Dial.* 138) a passage which he says comes from Isaiah, to the effect that God says to Jerusalem, "At the flood of Noah I saved thee": and this mystery of human salvation took place at the flood, says Justin. We should, therefore, naturally expect that a person who is writing a book of baptismal hymns would not neglect the typology of the Ark of the Flood.

But here also the difficulty will be felt that the mode of criticism is perilously near the line of over-subtlety and unrestrained imagination. A poet who was working up baptismal symbols would probably not neglect Noah's Ark, but would he express himself so obscurely? and would the "disciplina arcani" cover such obscurity? Perhaps Dr Bernard will tell us when he writes next on the subject.

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CORRECTION

P. 121, l. 33, *for* See Preface to this edition *read* See above, pp. xxv sq.

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INTRODUCTION

The present volume contains an important addition to our knowledge of the literature which immediately anticipates or directly follows the time of Christ. It contains, on the one hand, a hitherto unknown version of the Psalms of Solomon, a collection which has often been studied, from the standpoints both of the higher and lower criticism, and which is, by common consent, referred to the middle of the first century B.C.; and on the other hand it presents a new collection which I have called, for the sake of distinction, and in harmony with the references in ancient writers, by the name of the Odes of Solomon; they are here edited and translated from a Syriac MS. in my own possession: and it will probably be no rash prediction to say that their value and antiquity will be at once recognized by students and critics, and that they will be assigned, either wholly or in part, to the first century of the Christian era. The reasons for this belief will appear presently, but, apart altogether from the question of a half-century more or less in the dating of a document, it lies outside controversy that the new Odes are marked by a vigour and exaltation of spiritual life, and a mystical insight, to which we can only find parallels in the most illuminated periods of the history of the Church. They differ, in this respect, by the whole breadth of the firmament, from the extant Psalms of Solomon, with which they are associated in our MS. In these there is little originality, and not much hope: the hard experiences through which Jerusalem passed at the hands of the Romans in the Invasion of Pompey have left a gloom over the sky even in the moments of temporary relief and in the time of exultation over the fall of the great oppressor: what life and light there is may be traced to the severe morality of the traditional Pharisees, and to the Messianic hopes for whose development their times of affliction were the appropriate and necessary nidus; and so far are they from

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religious originality in the expression of personal or national experience, that many of the Psalms in question are little more than centos and expansions from the canonical Hebrew Psalter. In the Odes, on the other hand, we have few quotations or adaptations from previous writings, whether Jewish or Christian; there is little that can be traced to the Old Testament, almost nothing that is to be credited to the Gospels or other branches of the Christian literature. Their radiance is no reflection from the illumination of other days: their inspiration is first-hand and immediate; it answers very well to the summary which Aristides made of the life of the early Christian Church when he described them as indeed 'a new people with whom something Divine is mingled.' They are thus altogether distinct from the extant Psalms of Solomon which are bound up with them in our MS. Whatever we may have to say of these latter is limited to the interest which arises in the discovery of an Eastern Version of a book whose Greek text is peculiarly difficult to edit, and whose original Hebrew text has altogether disappeared. We shall show that the new Syriac version is itself a translation of the Greek; we shall point out in what ways, if any, it serves to the betterment of the Greek text, and whether it gives any assistance to the detection of the lost Hebrew text.

Our chief interest, however, will be with the Odes. We shall discuss the quotations and fragments of these which are found in early Christian writers: we shall try to determine the limits of time within which the composition of the Odes must lie, as well as the locality or Church from which they emanate: we shall try to find out also how they became attached to the Psalms, and whether they were originally composed in Greek; and we shall add a brief commentary and notes to the Odes as translated. In this way we hope to clear up some perplexities in the historical tradition, while leaving, no doubt, a number of unsolved problems to those who shall follow after us.

The Syriac MS.

The MS. from which our texts come is a paper one of quite a late period: its age may be between three and four hundred years: but as it is imperfect both at the beginning and ending, and so has lost both its preface and colophon, we cannot tell how it was described by the person who made the copy, nor can we say anything definite about the date. It has been lying on my shelves for some time, perhaps

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for as long as two years, along with a heap of leaves from various Syriac MSS. written on paper, which came from the neighbourhood of the Tigris. In spite of its relatively late date, the text is a good one: it is carefully, if somewhat coarsely written, and is furnished with occasional vowels in the Nestorian manner, to which there have been added, probably by a later hand, sundry Greek vowels in the Jacobite manner. As we have said it is incomplete both at the beginning and the end: we can, however, make out pretty clearly what the original MS. was like.

The book is arranged in quires of ten leaves: of the first quire three leaves are missing: these three leaves contained the first and second Odes and the beginning of the third Ode. The Odes then run continuously till the fourth quire, where they stop on the verso of the fourth leaf: thus the Odes occupy roughly thirty-four leaves. Then the extant Psalms begin: they occupy the remaining six leaves of the fourth quire (say six leaves *plus*), the fifth quire, and the sixth quire, of which the last leaf is gone, *plus* whatever was needed to complete the book from a seventh quire: and since the extant portion of the Psalms in our Syriac MS. takes us up to Ps. xvii. 38 there is not much to add from a seventh quire. Suppose we say that the Psalms occupied twenty-six leaves, and that three more leaves are required to complete the text, we have then approximately

Odes = 34 leaves
Psalms = 28 leaves
or Psalms and Odes = 62 leaves[1].

Psalms and Odes compared.

Now let us turn to the accounts given us by ancient writers of the extent of the books in question: first of all we know that the 18 Psalms of Solomon once stood in the great Codex Alexandrinus: for in the index to the MS. we find as follows:

Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου
Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ α′
Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ β′
ὁμοῦ βιβλία—
Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος ιη′.

[1] I have made a slight correction here, following Harnack's estimate of the missing matter.

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Here the eighteen Psalms stand just outside the accepted Christian books of the N.T., in the very penumbra of canonicity. Next turn to the *Synopsis Sanctae Scripturae* which passes under the name of Athanasius: here we find as follows, after the enumeration of the *Antilegomena* of the Old Testament:

> *σὺν ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἠρίθμηνται·*
> *Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δ'*
> *Πτολεμαϊκά*
> *Ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδὴ* [l. *ᾠδαὶ*][1] *Σολομῶντος*
> *Σώσαννα.*

Here we find the Psalms in the company of the Odes, and forming a part of the disputed writings of the Old Testament: from the supplementary manner in which they are introduced, following an unknown book on Egyptian history, we may perhaps describe their position as the penumbra of uncanonicity, or, rather of deuterocanonicity. The Psalms and Odes are here (say in the sixth century) definitely grouped together.

Next take the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Patriarch of Constantinople in the beginning of the ninth century: here we find as follows:

1. Three books of Maccabees.
2. The Wisdom of Solomon.
3. Ecclesiasticus.
4. The Psalms and Odes of Solomon, containing 2100 verses (*στίχοι ,βρ'*).
5. Esther.
6. Judith.
7. Susanna.
8. Tobit.

Here we find our two books again grouped together, and very well placed amongst the Apocrypha of the Old Testament: they do not seem to have lost any dignity between the sixth and ninth centuries; and they have been carefully measured, after the manner of books which are likely to be transcribed and whose contents must therefore be estimated on some recognized scale.

[1] Zahn tries to justify the singular, by reference to the LXX. of 1 K. viii. 53 *οὐκ ἰδοὺ αὕτη γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ᾠδῆς:*

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In the same connexion we have a list of books which is found attached to the *Quaestiones et Responsiones* of Anastasius the Sinaite, and is commonly known as the Catalogue of the Sixty Books. After the sixty canonical books, we have a list of nine deuterocanonical books, and then a list of twenty-five definitely apocryphal writings; amongst these last we find

8. Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως.
9. Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος.
10. Ἡλίου ἀποκάλυψις. etc.

Here we cannot be certain whether Psalms means Psalms and Odes, nor is any estimate made of the extent of the composition. The book is not in such good company as it is in the Catalogue of Nicephorus.

Assuming the correctness of the statement that the Odes and Psalms contain 2100 verses, let us now turn to the Greek texts of the eighteen Psalms, and see what the scribes say about their compass. The Vatican MS. (Cod. R of Gebhardt's edition of the Psalms) says that the book contains στι ψν′: the Copenhagen MS. (Cod. H) says ἔπη ,α; and the Paris MS. (Cod. P) says ἔπη τριάκοντα. Here, as Gebhardt says, Cod. P has misread Δ as Λ′; so we have two statements as to the length of the book. One statement says *verses*, the other *verses of Homer*, but since that is what verses mean in a stichometric reckoning, there is no discrepancy here except in the numbers. If we imagine that the scribe of Cod. R has misread the sign for 900, ϡ, as ψ, we have 950 verses for R, which agrees closely with the reckoning in Cod. H. Suppose we say then that the 18 Psalms equal 950 verses. But then we are told by Nicephorus that the Psalms and Odes together make 2100 verses: we have then the ratio of Odes to Psalms 1150 to 950 or 23 to 19. Our estimate of the relative lengths in the Syriac was 34 to 28 or 17 to 14. The former estimate is 1·21 to 1, the latter 1·21 to 1, which is so exact as to make the verification that our new Odes are those of which Nicephorus and the other Canonists speak, so far as statistics can make the demonstration.

Stichometry.

It will be observed that Nicephorus has divided the Solomonic literature into two parts, the Canonical books, viz.: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles, and the Antilegomena which include

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the Wisdom of Solomon, perhaps Ecclesiasticus, and the Psalms and Odes of Solomon; that is, there are three canonical books of Solomon, and at least two sub-canonical books. We put it in that way, because there is evidence in some quarters that Ecclesiasticus was also reckoned amongst the books of Solomon. If, however, it is not so reckoned, we have five books of Solomon.

Now let us turn to the Cheltenham Stichometry as published by Mommsen[1].

Here we have the Solomonic writings introduced as follows:

Psalmi David CLI. $\overline{\text{ver}}$. $\overline{\text{V}}$.
Salomonis $\overline{\text{ver}}$. $\overline{\text{V}}$ D.
profetas maiores $\overline{\text{ver}}$. $\overline{\text{XVI}}$. CCCLXX. numero IIII.

The five Solomonic Books of the Church.

This is a little perplexing; at first sight it seems as if the Cheltenham list had only one book of Solomon, or several books reckoned as one, and that the total extent of this book or books is 5500 verses. But, as Preuschen[2] has suggested, the real reckoning for Solomon has got into the next line, and we should read

Salomonis lib. V. ver. $\overline{\text{VII}}$. CCCXX.
profetas maiores numero IIII.

If this restoration be correct, we should have the Cheltenham list in evidence for five books of Solomon, but without any clue to the identification of the five books, or any means of comparison with the stichometry of the Psalms and Odes as given by Nicephorus.

Now, that Preuschen is correct as regards the numbers may be seen from the fact that the figure 7320 agrees with the count which we find in Vulgate MSS.[3] For here we have

Proverbs	1740	verses
Ecclesiastes	800	„
Canticles	280	„
Wisdom	1700	„
Ecclesiasticus	2800	„
Total	7320	„

[1] Mommsen, *Zur lateinischen Stichometrie* in *Hermes*, Bd xxi. pp. 142—156. Cf. Sanday in *Studia Biblica*, iii. pp. 217—303.

[2] Preuschen, *Analecta*, p. 138 ff. [3] Sanday, *l.c.* p. 266.

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This justifies Preuschen's restoration, and shows that five books of Solomon were reckoned amongst the Canonical and deuterocanonical books, but the Psalms and Odes of Solomon are not amongst the five. For our purposes, therefore, we may dismiss the Cheltenham catalogue. The date of this catalogue is soon after A.D. 359, and it is North African in origin: we may say that at this date the Psalms of Solomon were not recognized in Carthage.

The very same thing follows from the consideration of the list of Canonical Scriptures contained in the Acts of the Council of Carthage in 397, for the entry in the list of Canonical Books,

Salomonis libri quinque

can hardly be referred to any other grouping than that which we have already described. The tradition of the Church is steady that there are *five* books of Solomon. Thus we find in Innocentius, writing at the beginning of the fifth century,

> 'prophetarum libri sexdecim, *Salomonis libri quinque*, Psalterium[1],'

and in Cassiodorus, writing at the middle of the sixth century[2],

> 'Psalterium librum unum; Salomonis libros quinque *i.e.* Proverbia, Sapientiam, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Canticorum';

and so in other places. Isidore of Seville, in the early part of the seventh century, divides the five Solomonic writings into groups of three and two respectively, and explains that the two which he detaches (Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus) were really the works of Jesus the son of Sirach, but have been credited to Solomon on the ground of style[3]:

> 'Duo quoque illi egregii et sanctae institutionis libelli, Sapientiam dico et alium qui vocatur Ecclesiasticus; qui dum dicantur a Jesu filio Sirach editi, tamen propter quandam eloquii similitudinem Salomonis titulo sunt praenotati[4].'

[1] *Ad Exsuperium* (Galland, *Bibl.* vol. viii. pp. 561 ff.).

[2] *De instit. div. litt.* c. xiv.

[3] Isidore, *De ordine libb. S. Script.*, *P.L.* lxxxiii. 155 ff.

[4] For the persistence of the tradition as to the five Solomonic books, see Nestle, *Zeitschrift f. altt. Wiss.* (1907), 27, 294 ff.

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There are no further references that I know of to the Psalms or Odes of Solomon in the lists of canonical books which have come down to us, unless there should be a cryptic allusion to them in the new book of Psalms written for Marcion, which the Muratorian Canon condemns (Saec. ii.—iii.), or the ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί which the Council of Laodicea (*c.* 360 A.D.) prohibits from being used in the Church[1]. In the latter case we have the opinion of John Zonaras in favour of the identification. But Zonaras in the twelfth century was probably, like ourselves, engaged in speculation. On the other hand, if we might describe ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί as meaning Psalms of personal experience, the term would exactly suit our collection of Odes.

Lactantius and the Odes.

Having now proved that we have the two books of Solomonic Psalms and Odes in substantially the same compass that they were known to the ancient Stichometers, we now pass on to consider what light is thrown on the matter by actual quotations from the book of Odes which are extant. We begin with a passage from Lactantius, which was first noticed by the learned Whiston[2]. In the *Divine Institutes* (Bk iv. c. 12) we have the following passage:

> 'Salomon in ode undevicesima[3] ita dicit: Infirmatus est uterus Virginis et accepit foetum et gravata est, et facta est in multa miseratione mater virgo.'

And in the *Epitome* of the *Divine Institutes* the passage is introduced by the words *Apud Salomonem ita scriptum est.* These references to a 19th Ode betray a knowledge of the book from which the quotation was taken: on turning to the 19th Ode in our collection we find the very words quoted by Lactantius, the actual Syriac text being as follows:

[1] Origen's Canon, as contained in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25, has an entry of three Solomonic books, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles; with regard to this last he says Ἆσμα ᾀσμάτων, οὐ γὰρ ὡς παραλαμβάνουσί τινες, Ἄσματα ᾀσμάτων. But this is only an alternative title which Origen condemns; it has no suggestion in it of other Songs or Canticles. [In the Latin Vulgate of Sixtus V (1590) the title was first *Canticum* and is everywhere in the headings of the pages pasted over as *Cantica* (Nestle).] Origen is expressly enumerating the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon. The alternative title for Canticles is actually found in the *Synopsis* of Chrysostom, in John of Damascus (*De fide orthodoxa* iv. 17) and elsewhere.

[2] *Authentick Records*, i. 155.

[3] So in the Cambridge MS. Gg. 4. 24 and in all MSS. in the apparatus of Brandt's edition; but in the MS. Kk. 4. 17 of the same University the reference is wanting.

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ܗܘ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܐܬܐ
ܠܘܬ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ.
ܕܒܛܢܗ ܐܬܚܒܠ ܘܐܬܒܪܝ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

The only discordance is in the first word of the passage, which is certainly wrong in the Latin[1], and very difficult to interpret in the Syriac. It is clear, however, that Lactantius is working from a book of Odes arranged in the same order as ours: if he had both Psalms and Odes in his collection, then the Odes preceded the Psalms. And further, since Lactantius quotes in Latin, the book was extant in a Latin translation in his time; for when Lactantius quotes Greek books, as in the case of the Sibylline verses, he quotes in Greek and does not offer a translation. From which it appears that by the beginning of the fourth century the Odes of Solomon must have been translated into Latin[2].

Ryle and James in their edition of the eighteen Psalms of Solomon drew attention, following Whiston, to this passage of Lactantius, and made the correct inference from it that there must have been more Solomonic matter at one time accessible to Christian scholars than the eighteen Psalms. And since the Ode quoted by Lactantius is undoubtedly Christian, they suggest that the original collection of Psalms of Solomon was fitted with an Appendix of Odes of Solomon, the added matter being approximately equal in length to the original collection, and either Christian or marked by distinctly Christian interpolations. So far they were undoubtedly right, as our MS. incontestably shows. Only our book presents the matter of the Appendix in a different light: here it is the Odes that have the first place and the Psalms that are appended; and possibly this was also the case with Lactantius' book of Solomon. We shall show, presently, that there is reason to believe that the two books came together in both orders, in different lines of tradition,

[1] I am inclined to believe it is simply a mistake for 'insinuatus.' Just above Lactantius says, 'Descendens itaque de caelo sanctus ille spiritus dei sanctam virginem cujus utero se *insinuaret* elegit.' Harnack points out, by reference to Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata* p. 371 that the word *infirmatus* is only used of sick people in the time of Lactantius. The Ode expressly denies sickness to the Virgin. For further suggestions see notes to text and translation.

[2] We shall show later that there is some probability that Lactantius has been influenced by our fourth Ode in a passage of *Div. Inst.* iv. 27.

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and that there was current not only a book of Odes and Psalms but also a book of Psalms and Odes[1].

The Odes and the Pistis Sophia.

And now let us pass on to a more interesting question, the existence of extracts from the Odes of Solomon in that curious Gnostic book, preserved in the Coptic (or more exactly, Thebaic) language, and known as the *Pistis Sophia*. These extracts will be important, not only because they give us, in the form of a version, a good deal of matter that coincides with what we have recovered from the Syriac, but because they present this matter at an earlier time than that of Lactantius, from whom our first quotation was made, and the writer who made these quotations in the latter part of the third century was not only quoting from the Odes of Solomon, but from those Odes as forming a part of his accepted Biblical text. We shall endeavour to make these points clear, and also to show that in the Biblical text from which the writer quoted the Odes of Solomon were preceded by the Psalms of Solomon. If we can establish these points, the antiquity of the Odes will be made out, for it is on the one hand clear that they are traditional companions of the Psalms of Solomon for a considerable length of time and on the other hand it is quite improbable that a book written, say, as late as the end of the second century, should be a part of the accepted Egyptian canon in the latter part of the third century[2]. To get into the canon at all, in any of the great centres of Christian life, a book must have a measure of antiquity on its side: those books which secured such canonicity, Clement's *Epistle*, or Barnabas' *Epistle* or the *Shepherd* of Hermas, obtained their position by the presumption of antiquity, and even then were not easily rooted in the positions that they acquired, as the history of the Canon will show. Let us, then, try to establish the points to which we have referred above: and first with regard to the date of the *Pistis Sophia* from which the extracts have been made.

The best investigation into the *Pistis Sophia* is the one

[1] Note that the five apocryphal Psalms published by Wright from the Syriac in *Proc. S. Bibl. Arch.* for 1887 have nothing to do with our collection.

[2] [Harnack puts the point equally strongly: *Die Oden Salomos* p. 9: 'dass irgend eine Provinzialkirche ein nach der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts entstandenes Schriftstück in das A.T. aufgenommen hat, ist ganz unwahrscheinlich.']

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made by Harnack in Bd vii. of his *Texte u. Untersuchungen* in 1891. His treatise is divided into five sections: (i) the relation of the *Pistis Sophia* to the N.T.; (ii) the relation of the *Pistis Sophia* to the O.T.; (iii) the biblical exegesis of the author; (iv) its general Christian and catholic elements; and (v) a discussion of the character, origin, time and place of production of the work in question. Under this last head Harnack comes to the conclusion that the book is of Egyptian origin, and that it was written in the second half of the third century; that its Gnosticism is Ophite in character, and betrays an origin in a Syrian rather than an Egyptian school; *i.e.*, it is an imported Gnosticism developed on Egyptian soil, and that the actual school from which it emanated can be detected from allusions made by Epiphanius in his treatise on Heresies. He tells us of certain Gnostics who had a Gospel according to Philip, from which he makes a quotation which is quite in the manner of the *Pistis Sophia*, in which Philip appears as the principal scribe of the discourses; they had also *inter alia*, books called the *Longer* and *Shorter Questions of Mary*: and as a large part of the *Pistis Sophia* is taken up with questions addressed to Jesus by Mary Magdalene and her women friends, it is natural to regard at least a part of the *Pistis Sophia* (as we call it) as coinciding with the books spoken of by Epiphanius. But since Epiphanius gives us an extract from the *Longer Questions* which cannot be identified with the Pistis Sophia (it is in fact, to judge from the extract, an obscene book, though it has many points of contact with the *Pistis Sophia*, which definitely contradicts its obscenity), we are led to the conclusion that the *Pistis Sophia* is identical, either wholly or in part, with the *Shorter Questions of Mary*.

In discussing these Gnostic heretics, Epiphanius tells us that in his early youth he came under their influence in Egypt, and that he was mercifully preserved from entanglement with them. He read their books, understood the sense of them, and then, like the virtuous Joseph from the house of Potiphar, he made his escape from their seductions and denounced the sect to the bishops of the province, and had the heretics expelled from the city in which he had met them. (See Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26, c. 17, 18.)

We thus succeed in locating in Egypt a group, or rather two

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related groups of heretics, who may be described as Ophites or as Sethites (Epiphanius uses several names to describe the same groups); to one of these bands of Egyptian heretics the *Pistis Sophia* may be referred: and we thus get a fairly accurate idea of the place, time and character of the people to whom the book must be referred.

The Odes not Gnostic and not Egyptian.

It must not be supposed that all of Harnack's arguments under these heads are valid. For instance on p. 101 he shows that the Gnostic writer uses an Egyptian calendar, for he makes Jesus to be transfigured before His disciples on the 15th of the month Tybi, when the moon is full; this suggests the use of an Egyptian calendar: and then he goes on to say that Egypt is also betrayed by the fact that the book quotes the Gnostic *Odes of Solomon*[1], which are probably of Egyptian origin, and allude to the inundation of the Nile. It is instructive to enquire how the *Odes of Solomon* came to be suspected of Gnosticism, and of references to Egyptian events.

Amongst the passages quoted by the Coptic writer from the *Odes of Solomon* there is one which can be identified at once with the sixth Ode in our collection; it describes a great overflow or inundation of the water of life, which has for its first objective point, if not its actual point of departure, the Temple at Jerusalem, and which flows out over all lands, bringing healing and strength.

The Psalm is a very beautiful one, and thoroughly Christian. But because it happens to describe the breaking out of the waters by the Greek word *ἀπόρροια*, which the Coptic has carefully transliterated, and because this is a favourite word in the *Pistis Sophia* to describe a Gnostic Emanation, it has been assumed that the Ode was Gnostic and that the illustration of the efflux was borrowed from the rising waters of the Nile. In support of this it may be urged that the waters were fought by a professional class of water-restrainers, and that those who

[1] [As soon as Harnack came to the knowledge of the complete collection of Odes, he withdrew the Gnostic epithet: see p. 103 note 2. 'Häretisch-Gnostisches ist auch nicht zu finden. Früher, als man nur fünf kannte und diese in der Beleuchtung der Pistis Sophia, habe ich, wenn auch nicht ohne Bedenken, an Gnostisches gedacht. Allein, wie auch Harris richtig gesehen hat—die vollständige Sammlung zeigt, dass der Verfasser nicht zu den Gnostikern gerechnet werden kann (oder nur so, wie auch Johannes zu ihnen gehört).']

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drank of them were, according to the Coptic, a people who lived on the dry sand. It might, therefore, be maintained that this language suited Egypt better than Palestine. It is difficult, however, to see how Jerusalem comes in, if the scenery of the Ode is Egyptian, and it would have been better to express the matter more cautiously, as was done by Ryle and James in their first attempt on the problem of the Odes. Their language was as follows[1]: 'Ode iii. (*i.e.* the third of the quoted Coptic Odes) is also Christian, and the employment of the term ἀπόρροια seems to stamp it as Gnostic. But we cannot see that there is anything unmistakably Gnostic in the doctrine. The imagery employed is that of Ezek. xlvii.[2], and of our Lord's words concerning the living water: and the thing described appears to be the preaching of the Gospel, which no human effort can avail to hinder, and which brings life and health to a thirsty heathen world. If our theory of these Odes is correct, we have here a hymn of the second century at latest, and one filled with Johannine phraseology and ideas.'

Thus far Ryle and James; and I think we must say that their judgment is a sound one. There is no reason to take ἀπόρροια in a Gnostic sense, nor do the remaining Psalms of our collection encourage the belief in a Gnostic origin: they are as Gnostic as the New Testament, no more and no less. Of course I do not mean that the author of the *Pistis Sophia* will take this colourless view of ἀπόρροια. His business is to write a book dealing with Gnostic philosophy, and with the Effluxes and Emanations that cause the different strata of the spiritual world: so he will naturally employ the word ἀπόρροια in his own sense, and will build a castle of cloudy words upon it. But we have no reason to follow him in any such architecture nor even to accept his foundation. Consequently we do not regard Harnack's case as made out with regard to the Gnostic character of the Odes of Solomon. If Gnostics could write such beautiful praises of God as we have in our recovered volume, we can only say 'Would God all the Lord's people were Gnostics!' But this they never were nor ever can be in the Valentinian, or Ophite or Sethian sense. With this deduction from the argument,

[1] *l.c.* p. 160.

[2] [This should not be so strongly stated: we shall see later that the real parallel is with the 35th chapter of Isaiah.]

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Harnack's general inferences from the Ode which we have been discussing are so just that we are tempted to examine his analysis a little more closely.

The sixth Ode not Gnostic.

Let us, in view of the importance of the matters at issue, set down a translation of the sixth Ode as it stands in Syriac, and see what Harnack says by way of interpretation.

'As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by his love. For he destroys everything foreign, and everything that is bitter: thus it was from the beginning and will be to the end, that nothing should be His adversary, and nothing should stand up against Him. The Lord has multiplied the knowledge of Himself, and is zealous that those things should be known, which by His Grace have been given to us[1]. And the praise of His name He gave us: our spirits praise His holy Spirit.

'For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad: it flooded and broke up everything, and it brought [water] to the Temple: and the restrainers of the children of men were not able to restrain it, nor the arts of those whose business it is to restrain waters: for it spread over the face of the whole earth and filled everything; and all the thirsty upon earth were given to drink of it: and thirst was relieved and quenched: for from the Most High was the draught given. Blessed then are the ministers of that draught who are entrusted with that water of His: they have assuaged the dry lips and the will that had fainted they have raised up: and souls that were near departing they have caught back from death; limbs that had fallen they straightened and set up: they gave strength for their coming (?) and light to their eyes: for every one knew them in the Lord and they lived by the water of life for ever. Hallelujah.'

The first thing that we notice when we transcribe the Ode is that the passage in the *Pistis Sophia* is only an extract; nearly half of the Ode has been neglected. Consequently the word *ἀπόρροια* which is supposed to be the key to the character of the Psalm, is not in its opening sentence at all, but has been

[1] Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 12.

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caught up by the Gnostic writer out of the middle of it. It is certainly not the key-word. The Psalmist (or Odist) is telling in very beautiful language the power of the Lord and the scope of His Gospel. There is nothing Gnostic about this living water: there is not, even, anything Ecclesiastic about it, though Harnack wished to interpret it of the water of Baptism[1]: one might as well say the fourth chapter of John's Gospel was Gnostic and that when the Lord promised the Samaritan woman the water of life, he wanted to baptize her! I submit that the interpretation of the Ode is affected (i) by regarding it in its entirety, (ii) by regarding it in connexion with the main body of the Odes: and that when this is done, the supposed Gnosticism of the Ode vanishes away. Harnack, in fact, did not positively commit himself on the point, and the greater part of his judgment is valid: thus on page 43 he says:

The Odes probably Christian.

'Das Lied ist ohne Zweifel christlichen Ursprungs und damit ist auch die christliche Herkunft der vier übrigen Oden, als zu einer Sammlung gehörig, erwiesen.' I should not go quite so far, nor quite so fast as that. 'Ferner weist die Ode auf Ägypten: denn offenbar hat der Verfasser das Bild der grossen Fluth von der Überschwemmung des Nils genommen, der bis über die Häuser steigt, und das durstige Wüstenland tränkt.' This, as I have said, is extremely doubtful: Harnack tries to make it easier by suggesting that *ναός* should be corrected to *λαός*, which would get rid of the Temple at Jerusalem, but it is not a necessary emendation. The Temple is, as we shall see elsewhere, very much in the field of view of the Odist. 'Endlich scheint mir auch der gnostische Ursprung sehr wahrscheinlich, wenn auch nicht sicher.' Here Harnack is wisely hesitant.

Again on page 45 Harnack sums up the case for the five Odes incorporated in the *Pistis Sophia*: (i) that the composer found them in his collection of Old Testament writings; (ii) that they are of Gnostic origin: but he adds at once that the Gnostic character does not stand out clearly, and that the Christian piety of the Ode is powerfully expressed and not discoloured by Gnostic language: a statement which is much

[1] [Harnack withdrew this interpretation in his complete study of the Odes. See p. 32. 'An die Taufe ist nicht zu denken!' Bernard, as we shall see, would retain and emphasise the baptismal allusion.]

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strengthened when we read the Ode in its entirety and not merely the part excerpted in the *Pistis Sophia.*

Further Harnack admits (p. 46) that if the Odes are Gnostic, their Gnosticism is separated by a deep gulf from that of the *Pistis Sophia*; which is certainly a just statement: and that, since at the time of the composition of the *Pistis Sophia* the Odes must have been of considerable antiquity, we may perhaps refer them to the first half of the second century. With this I have little fault to find; only I suggest that they may be 50 years earlier than Harnack's upper limit[1].

Use of the Odes in the Pistis Sophia.

In order to understand more clearly what the writer of the *Pistis Sophia* has been doing with the matter that he has borrowed from the Odes of Solomon, we must try to get a better understanding of the Gnostic book itself. At first sight this is a very repellent task, for the book appears to be mere useless jargon. Harnack evidently thought as much when he first began to study it, for he says:

'In der That kann man kaum etwas Verwirrteres und Ermüdenderes lesen als diese mit den Ausgeburten der gnostischen Phantasie bedeckten Blätter, die bei flüchtigerem Studium zum Zwecke der Verbreitung des systematischen Blödsinns geschrieben zu sein scheinen.'

The impression that the writer is busied with the propagation of systematic imbecility is certainly the result of a cursory or preliminary study; but there is method in the madness and meaning in the aberration, and after a while one begins to pick up threads of continuity and to see what the writer is aiming at. And then the underlying Christianity begins to assert itself through its Gnostic superincumbent weight. Let us see if we can get at the writer's argument.

Jesus is sitting with His disciples, male and female, on the Mount of Olives. It is the twelfth year after the Resurrection; for

[1] The same arguments are repeated by Harnack in his *Chronologie der altchrist. Literatur*, ii. 193, where he discusses the date of the *Pistis Sophia* and the related Gnostic writings in the Codex Brucianus. Here again he dates the *Pistis Sophia* in the second half of the third century, following the lines of his previous investigation. He remarks again on the use of the Odes of Solomon as an ancient book ranking with the Old Testament, but says they are of Gnostic origin: 'Die fünf Oden Salomos, die das Buch neben den alt-testamentlichen Psalmen zitiert, sind selbst gnostischen Ursprungs, und werden doch wie alte Urkunden behandelt. Wir haben hier also einen Gnostizismus, der über einem älteren auferbaut ist.'

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eleven years Jesus has been teaching His disciples the mysteries of the Kingdom of God: at the end of that time He has ascended to the place of the Prime Mystery (which is the Gnostic expression for the Supreme God); this ascension took place while they were sitting with Him on the Mount of Olives. He was suddenly transfigured before them. A Light-Power, or Glory of the Supreme Being, descends from the twenty-fourth or highest mystery and surrounds Jesus with splendour. The disciples were amazed and terrified at the sight. While they gazed on Him, Jesus ascended into Heaven. After a while Jesus, out of compassion for their fears, for they thought the end of all things was at hand, descended again and appeared to the disciples. He begins to teach them further the secrets of the Kingdom. He explains to them their own miraculous births, the miraculous birth of John the Baptist and His own incarnation. He tells them the story of His ascent through the various heavens and the orders of spiritual beings, 'thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues, powers.' They proceed to interrogate Him on various points. The company consists of Peter, John, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Matthew, James, Bartholomew and Simon the Kanaanite: Mary the Magdalene and Mary the Mother of Jesus, Martha and Salome are all mentioned. The chief place is given to the enquiring women, especially to Mary Magdalene, the lowest place to Simon Peter. Between Mary Magdalene and Peter there is something like a feud. Peter complains that the women talk too much and that the men don't get a chance: and Mary complains that Peter hates our sex and wants to suppress us. Jesus mediates gently between them: advises Mary to make place for the brethren; but when the dispute breaks out again, Jesus definitely takes the side of the women, and Peter is suppressed[1]. The meaning of this is that there has been a conflict over the place of women in the ministry of the Church: it is even possible that the hostility of Peter may imply the attitude of the Roman Church towards the prophesying woman of the early centuries. At all events there has been an acute situation

[1] The crisis in the feud between the men and women will be found in *P.S.* 161. 'Progressa Maria dixit: mi domine, meus νους est νοερος omni tempore, ut progrediar omni vice: dicam solutionem verborum, quae dixit, ἀλλα timeo Petrum, quod ἀπειλει mihi et odit nostrum genus. Haec δε quum locuta esset, dixit ei primum μυστηριον: unumquemque qui impletus fuerit πνευματι luminis, ut progressus proferat solutionem horum, quae dico, nullus κωλυσει.'

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created, which has found its reflection in the Gnostic circles in which our book was produced.

The sorrows of Sophia.

Jesus answers a number of enquiries as to the worlds through which He has passed, and then we come to what is the kernel of the first part of the book, the account of the sorrows of Sophia, or, as she is called in the book, *Pistis Sophia.* Jesus relates how He found Sophia sitting below the thirteenth Aeon. She was mourning over her inability to rise further. Her path was blocked by fearful forms, named προβολαὶ αὐθαδοῦς or *Emanations of the Self-willed.* They and the rulers of the upper regions prohibit her advance and ascent. One of them had the face of a lion, half flame and half darkness. They chase poor Sophia back into Chaos. But in the midst of her affliction, she sees Jesus passing by, and to Him she addresses a series of Repentances and Hymns. Jesus relates these successively to His disciples. The method of the composition must now be carefully studied: we shall find the key in the lock.

Gnostic Targums in the Pistis Sophia.

Sophia makes her penitence, let us say, from one of the canonical Psalms. But in using this, she carefully alters every possible term in a Gnostic sense: instead of God, she says Prime Mystery or Light of Truth; instead of my adversaries, she says the Emanations of the Self-willed; by a series of substitutions of this kind she turns the Psalm into a Gnostic Targum, in which you can only detect the original by the expressions which remain unaltered and by the general tenor of the confession. When Jesus has reported to the disciples what Sophia has said, He turns to the disciples and asks, 'Who knows what Sophia said?' It is a game of guessing. Mary Magdalene or some other of the company springs forward, begs permission to speak, and then says, 'This is what your Light-Power (the Light-Power is a substitute for the Divine Name) prophesied through David in the 69th Psalm,' or whatever the portion of Scripture may be that has been selected for disguise. Jesus gives an approbation and a blessing to the successful guesser. Sometimes, to make the matter still clearer, the Gnostic Targum is gone over again in detail with the text and explained sentence by sentence, so that we have the matter treated three times over: viz. the LXX. text, the Gnostic Targum, and the detailed commentary upon the

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text with the Targum. It is of the utmost importance that the method of the composition should be clearly grasped: if this is understood, the major part of the *Pistis Sophia* will become intelligible. To make this quite clear we will transcribe a short passage: here is an extract from one of the first prayers of repentance which Sophia utters[1]:

Serva me propter ἀρχοντας, qui oderunt me: *nam tu scis afflictionem meam* et cruciatum meum, et fractam meam vim, quam abstulerunt a me. *Sunt coram te* qui plantarunt me in haec mala omnia. Χρω iis κατα voluntatem tuam. Vis mea prospicit e medio χαους atque e medio tenebrarum. *Exspectavi* meam συζυγον, ut veniens pugnaret pro me, et haud venit. Atque exspectaveram, ut veniens daret mihi robur, *et haud reperi eam.* Et quum quaererem lucem, *dederunt mihi* caliginem: et quum quaererem meam vim, *dederunt mihi* ὑλην. Nunc igitur, lumen luminum, caliginem et ὑλην duxerunt super me προβολαι αὐθαδους. *Sunto iis insidiae* et involvunto eas; et *retribuas* iis, *ut* σκανδαλιζωσιν, ne veniant in τοπον sui αὐθαδους. *Manento in tenebris, ne videant lucem.* Contemplantor χαος omni tempore, neve intuentor in altitudinem. *Adduc in eas suam vindictam et aprehendito eas tuum iudicium.*

Probably without the aid of the Virgin Mary, who in this case is the successful guesser, one could have identified the following verses of the 68th (69th) Psalm:

19. ἕνεκα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου ῥῦσαί με·

20. σὺ γὰρ γινώσκεις τὸν ὀνειδισμόν μου· καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην μου καὶ τὴν ἐντροπήν μου. ἐναντίον σου πάντες οἱ θλίβοντές με.

21. ὀνειδισμὸν προσεδόκησεν ἡ ψυχή μου καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν· καὶ ὑπέμεινα συλλυπούμενον, καὶ οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν, καὶ παρακαλοῦντα καὶ οὐχ εὗρον.

22. καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου χολήν, καὶ εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπότισάν με ὄξος.

23. γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα· καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδοσιν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον.

24. σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν· καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς σύγκαμψον.

25. ἔκχεον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ὀργήν σου. καὶ ὁ θυμὸς τῆς ὀργῆς σου καταλάβοι αὐτούς.

Now if we go over the Penitence of Sophia, with these texts

[1] *P. S.* ed. Schwartze and Petermann, p. 50 of MS.

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from the Psalms, we shall easily pick up out of the Penitence the *disjecta membra Psalmistae.*

I have italicized some of the words, which are either unchanged or almost unchanged. The rest, as I have said, is Gnostic Targum.

The importance of the underlying equivalence of the Targum and text is evident. We are dealing with Biblical matter; Psalm after Psalm is treated in this way, and sometimes short passages of the Gospels are similarly treated. It is not even necessary that the discourse be limited to a single Targum. Sometimes two or three occur of short passages. For us, however, the important thing is that the Odes of Solomon are treated just like the Canonical Psalms, with which they stood in an equal honour in the Bible of the author of the *Pistis Sophia.* This position of unassailed honour and undoubted confidence marks the antiquity and the prestige of the Odes of Solomon. And as there is no such thing as a Gnostic Bible, these Odes cannot be Gnostic Odes, as was at first surmised.

It is clear, moreover, that in editing the portions of the Odes which occur in the *Pistis Sophia* we shall have to edit the Targums as well as the texts. We must print the excerpted matter in double form, and in cases where there is a detailed commentary, in triple form. And in this way we can finally make a Coptic apparatus to the Syriac text of the Odes.

One curious result will be arrived at almost immediately.

The missing first Ode recovered.

The second of the passages taken from the Odes of Solomon by the author of the *Pistis Sophia* is definitely stated to be from the nineteenth Ode. It does not find any place in our collection. Neither does it agree, except in its opening sentence, with its Targum. On the other hand the Targum does agree with the fifth of the Syriac Odes. It is easy to see what has happened. The Targum was made on the fifth Ode, but when the author came to transcribe the Ode on which he had been commenting, he took out of his Psalter another Ode with a similar opening. This must, then, be one of the missing Odes at the beginning of our book. And since it is numbered 19, it will be the first of our collection, and will have followed directly on the eighteen extant Psalms of Solomon. The Gnostic author had, therefore,

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both the Psalms and the Odes in his Bible; and the Psalms stood before the Odes, and not as in our MS. and perhaps in Lactantius' Bible, after the Odes: this is an important discovery, and the study of the text with its Targum has led to the recovery of part of the missing matter at the beginning of our MS.

To make this clear I transcribe the Targum side by side with the Syriac text, in order to show their coincidence:

The Hymn of Sophia as contained in the Gnostic Targum of the *Pistis Sophia*, 115, 116.

Incepit ὑμνευειν vis εἰλικρινης luminis, quae in σοφιᾳ. Ὑμνευουσα δε meae vi luminis, quae est *corona eius capiti*, cecinit ὑμνον δε dicens, Lumen est corona meo capiti et haud ero absque ea, ut ne privent me προβολαι αὐθαδους et, *quum motae fuerint* ὑλαι *omnes, ego* δε *haud movebor, et quum perierint* meae ὑλαι omnes, ut maneant in chao, *quas videbunt* προβολαι αὐθαδους, *ego* δε *haud peribo, quod* lumen *est mecum, atque etiam ego ero cum* lumine.

The Syriac Odes of Solomon, Ode 5, ad fin.

For my hope is upon the Lord, and I will not fear: and because the Lord is my salvation, I will not fear: and he is a garland on my head, and I shall not be moved: Even if everything should be shaken, I stand firm, and if all things visible should perish, I shall not die: because the Lord is with me and I am with Him.

Hallelujah.

Remembering the method of composition of the Targum, there can be no doubt that it is the fifth Ode which is being commented on. It is equally clear that the Ode which is set as the text to the Targum and which is introduced as the 19th Ode of Solomon does not coincide with it.

It runs as follows[1]:

Dominus super caput meum sicut corona, neque ero absque eo (ea). Plexerunt mihi coronam veritatis, et ramos in me germinare fecit. Nam non similis est coronae aridae quae non germinat; sed vivis super caput meum, et germinasti super caput meum: fructus tui pleni et perfecti sunt, pleni salute tua.

Clearly this is not the right Psalm, except as regards the opening sentence. Probably the mistake arose in the first instance with the Targumist who copied a line out of a wrong Ode, and thus made the way for copying the whole Ode from a

[1] Schmidt's rendering in *Texte u. Untersuch.* vii. 2. 37.

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wrong place. The inference is that we have recovered the missing first Ode.

It is not uncommon in our book of Odes for the openings to be similar or to be repeated. The most striking example will be the short 27th Ode, which appears again almost bodily at the beginning of the 42nd Ode. The coincidences are important, as suggesting the same hand at different parts of the book.

The Odes in the Pistis Sophia collected.

As our object is not so much the interpretation of the *Pistis Sophia*, as the elucidation of the Syriac Odes, we must collect the matter which is quoted from the Odes in the *Pistis Sophia*, in order that the texts may be compared. It will be convenient to do this in one place, rather than under the heading of the separate Psalms that may be quoted. For the text of the Odes, we have two translations, that of Schwartze-Petermann, and that which is emended from the original translation (Woide-Münter) by Schmidt, and is given in Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, Bd vii. We may quote these as S.-P. and W.-M.-S. We print these translations side by side. It is to be observed that Schmidt did not revise the Gnostic Targums when correcting the text of the Odes for Harnack, no doubt because their importance was not sufficiently recognized. But he went on to publish a complete translation into German of the *Pistis Sophia*, as well as of other Gnostic books preserved in Coptic. We shall have to refer to this enlarged and emended translation, but I do not think it necessary to give the German text of the quoted and commented Odes in full[1]. [A complete German revision has been made by Schmidt for Harnack's edition, and will be found pp. 14—20.]

ODE 1.

The text is introduced as follows:

Respondens δε Maria, mater Jesu, dixit: Mi domine, tua vis luminis ἐπροφητευσε de his verbis olim per Salomonem in eius decima nona ode et dixit:

[1] There has also been a French edition by Amélineau, which has been employed by Mead in his English edition of the *Pistis Sophia*. But as Amélineau is impossible in his paleography, and, I believe, an unsafe guide in other respects, I do not refer to him. I am not engaged upon the *Pistis Sophia*, except indirectly.

Schmidt's German edition appeared in 1905 under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, with the title *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften*.

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S.-P. p. 116.

Dominus super meum caput sicut corona, neque ero absque eo. Plexerunt mihi coronam ἀληθειας. Et fecit tuos κλαδους germinare in me, quod non tulit coronam aridam, haud germinantem, ἀλλα vivis super meum caput et progerminas super me: tui καρποι pleni sunt et perfecti, pleni sunt tua salute.

W.-M.-S. pp. 37, 38.

Dominus super caput meum sicut corona, neque ero absque eo (ea). Plexerunt mihi coronam veritatis, et ramos tuos in me germinare fecit. Nam non similis est coronae aridae, quae non germinat, sed vivis super caput meum, et germinasti super caput meum: fructus tui pleni et perfecti sunt, pleni salute tua.

ODE 5.

The Gnostic Targum on the closing verses of this Ode has been already given: I repeat it for completeness below: the Targum on the rest of the Ode, and the text corresponding to it, are also found in the *Pistis Sophia*, as indicated. The text is introduced as follows:

Factum δε est, quum Jesus finisset dicere haec verba suis μαθηταις, progressa Salome dixit: mi domine, mea vis ἀναγκαζει me ad dicendam solutionem verborum, quae dixit πιστις σοφια. Tua vis ἐπροφητευσεν olim per Salomonem dicens:

S.-P. p. 114.

Manifestabo me tibi, domine, quod tu es meus deus. Ne sine me, domine, amplius, quod tu es mea ἐλπις: dedisti mihi meum ius gratis [P tuum iudicium] et servor a te: labuntor persequentes me, neve vidento me. Nubes caliginis obtegito eorum oculos atque nebula ἀερος, esto caligo iis, neve vidento diem, ut ne prehendant me: esto impotens eorum consilium, et quae deliberarunt, veniunto in eos: meditati sunt consilium neve esto [P et non factum est] iis. vicerunt [P et vicerunt] eos validi, et quae pararunt collapsa sunt infra eos. Est mea ἐλπις in domino, et haud timebo, quod tu es meus deus, meus σωτηρ.

W.-M.-S. p. 37.

Gratias tibi agam, quia tu es deus meus. Ne relinquas me, domine, quia tu es spes mea. Dedisti mihi iudicium gratis, et liberatus sum a te. Cadant persequentes me, et non videant me. Nubes fumi tegat oculos eorum et nebula aeris obtenebret eos, neve videant diem, ne prehendant me: consilium eorum fiat inefficax, et quae consultarunt, veniant super eos: meditati sunt consilium, neve succedat illis. Et vicerunt eos potentes[1], et quae praeparaverant malitiose, descenderunt in eos. Spes mea est in domino, et non timebo, quia tu es deus meus, servator meus.

[1] Schmidt, 'Und sie sind besiegt, obwohl sie mächtig sind.'

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ODE 5.

The Gnostic Targum. S.-P. p. 113.

Cecinit ὑμνον et clamavit sursum ad me dicens: ὑμνευσω sursum *ad te, lumen,* quod volo venire ad te, ὑμνευσω *tibi, lumen, nam tu es meus* servator. *Ne sine me* in chao, libera me, lumen altitudinis, *nam tu es,* cui ὑμνευω. *Misisti mihi tuum* lumen a te et *servasti* me. Duxisti me in τοπους superiores chaus. Collabuntor [P *delabuntor*] igitur in τοπους inferiores chaus προβολαι αὐθαδους, *quae persequuntur me,* neve veniunto in τοπους superiores *ut videant me. Et magna caligo obtegito eas, et venito iis obscura caligo; neve vidento* me in lumine tuae vis, quam misisti mihi ad servandam me: *ut ne prehendant* iterum *me*; *et eorum consilium quod excogitarunt* ad auferendam meam vim, *ne fiat illis,* et sicut [P κατα modum, quo] dixerunt mihi, auferre meum lumen mihi, aufer suum quoque loco mei; et dixerunt auferre meum lumen totum, neque poterant auferre id, quod tua vis luminis est mecum propterea quod consilium ceperunt sine tuo statuto, lumen, propter hoc non potuere auferre lumen meum, quod ἐπιστευσα lumini, *non timebo, et* lumen *est meus servator, neque timebo.*

S.-P. 115, 116.

Ὑμνευουσα δε meae vi luminis, quae est corona eius capiti, cecinit ὑμνον δε dicens, Lumen est *corona meo capiti, et haud ero absque ea*[1], ut ne privent me προβολαι αὐθαδους et, *quum motae fuerint* ὑλαι *omnes, ego* δε *haud movebor, et quum perierint* meae ὑλαι *omnes,* ut maneant in chao, *quas videbunt* προβολαι αὐθαδους, *ego* δε *haud peribo, quod lumen est mecum, atque etiam ego ero cum lumine.*

ODE 6.

The text of this Ode is introduced as follows:

Progressus Petrus dixit: mi domine, de solutione verborum quae dixisti, tua vis luminis ἐπροφητευσε olim per Salomonem in eius ᾠδαις.

S.-P. 131.

Egressa ἀπορροια facta est magnum flumen latum: attraxit eos omnes, et conversam super

W.-M.-S. *l.c.* p. 38.

Egressa est emanatio et facta est magnum flumen dilatatum. Attraxit eos omnes et conversa est

[1] Schmidt, 'und nicht werde ich von ihm weichen.'

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templum haud potuerunt capere in clausis et in locis aedificatis, neque potuerunt capere eam τεχναι capientium illos. Duxerunt eam super terram totam, atque prehendit eos omnes. Biberunt versantes super arenam aridam. Eorum sitis soluta est et exstincta, quum dedissent iis potum ab excelso. Μακαριοι sunt διακονοι potus illius, quibus concredita est aqua domini. Converterunt labia arida, sumserunt vigorem animi [P in me] hi, qui erant soluti: prehenderunt (i.e. confirmarunt) ψυχας, eicientes halitum, ut ne morerentur: erexerunt μελη collapsa: dederunt robur suae παρρησιᾳ, atque dederunt lucem suis oculis, quod isti omnes cognovere se in domino, atque servati sunt aqua vitae usque ad aeternum.

super templum[1]. Non potuerunt eam capere in locis munitis et aedificatis: neque potuerunt eam capere artes eorum qui intercipiunt (aquas). Duxerunt[2] eam super omnem terram, et ipsa comprehendit eos omnes. Biberunt qui habitabant in arena arida: sitis eorum soluta est et exstincta, cum daretur illis potus ab Altissimo. Beati sunt diaconi potus illius, quibus credita est aqua domini. Converterunt labia, quae arida erant, accipiebant gaudium cordis, qui soluti erant: comprehenderunt animas, halitum inmittentes, ne morerentur. Restituerunt membra quae ceciderant, dederunt robur parrhesiae eorum, et lucem oculis eorum. Nam omnes illi se cognoverunt in domino et salvati sunt per aquam vitae aeternam[3].

ODE 6.

The Gnostic Targum. S.-P. pp. 128—130.

Ego igitur et altera vis, exiens a me, necnon ψυχη quam accepi a Sabaothe ἀγαθῳ, venerunt ducentes se invicem, *factae sunt* ἀπορροια una luminis, existens lumen quam maxime. Vocavi Gabrielem desuper ab αἰωσιν atque etiam Michaelem per κελευσιν mei patris, primi μυστηριου introspicientis, dedi eis ἀπορροιαν luminis, feci eos descendere in chaos, ut βοηθωσι πιστει σοφιᾳ et uti ferrent vires luminis, quas abstulerunt ab ea προβολαι αὐθαδους, ut auferrent eas ab illis et darent πιστει σοφιᾳ; et tempore, quo duxerunt ἀπορροιαν luminis desuper in chaos, resplenduit quam maxime in chao toto et *dilatata est* in eius [P eorum] τοποις omnibus; et quum vidissent magnum lumen ἀπορροιας illius προβολαι αὐθαδους, timuerunt super se invicem, atque ἀπορροια illa extraxit iis vires omnes luminis, quas abstulerunt a πιστει σοφιᾳ *neque* ἐτολμησαν προβολαι

[1] Schmidt, 'gegen den Tempel.' [2] Schmidt, 'er wurde...geführt.'
[3] Schmidt, 'Wasser ewigen Lebens.'

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αὐθαδους *prehendere* ἀπορροιαν luminis illius in chao tenebrarum, *neque prehenderunt eam* τεχνῃ αὐθαδους dominantis in προβολας. Et Gabriel et Michael attulerunt ἀπορροιαν luminis in corpus ὑλης πιστεως σοφιας et iniecerunt in eam lumina eius omnia, quam [P quae] abstulerunt ab ea, atque accepit lumen totum σωμα ὑλης [P + eius]: atque etiam acceperunt lumen eius vires omnes, quae in ea, hae quae acceperunt suum lumen et cessarunt indigere luminis; nam acceperunt suum lumen, quod abstulerunt ab iis, *propterea quod dederunt lumen iis a me.* Et Michael et Gabriel, qui διηκονησαν mihi, duxerunt ἀπορροιαν luminis in chaos daturam iis μυστηρια luminis: *his concredita est* ἀπορροια luminis: hanc, quam dedi iis, intuli in chaos. Et Michael et Gabriel non sumserunt quidquam luminis sibi in luminibus πιστεως σοφιας, quae abstulerunt a προβολαις αὐθαδους. Factum igitur est, quum ἀπορροια luminis intulisset in πιστιν σοφιαν suas vires omnes luminis, quas abstulerunt [P abstulit s. abstulerat] a προβολαις αὐθαδους facta est lux tota, atque etiam vires luminis, quae sunt in πιστει σοφιᾳ, quas haud abstulerunt προβολαι αὐθαδους, hilares redditae sunt iterum et impletae sunt luminis, et lumina, quae iniecerunt in πιστιν σοφιαν, vivificarunt σωμα eius ὑλης, in qua nullum lumen, *haec quae peritura* est aut haec quae perit, et *constituerunt* eius vires omnes, *quae erant solvendae*, et dederunt iis vim luminis[1]. Factae sunt iterum, sicut erant ab initio. Atque etiam exaltatae sunt in αἰσθησει luminis, et vires omnes luminis σοφιας *cognovere se invicem* per ἀπορροιαν luminis, *et servatae sunt* a lumine ἀπορροιας *illius.*

I have indicated some of the points where the Ode crops out: the broad stream of water has been replaced by an ἀπορροια of light, and this makes it difficult to follow the sequence of the Ode, satisfied thirst having been replaced by illumination. But the detailed commentary which follows will make it all clear.

ODE 6.

The detailed Commentary. S.-P. 131—135.

Peter explains the meaning of a prophecy which the *vis luminis* had formerly made through Solomon.

Audi igitur, mi domine, proferam verbum in παρρησιᾳ κατα modum quo tua vis ἐπροφητευσε per Salomonem: "ἀπορροια

[1] Schmidt, 'und sie nahmen sich eine Lichtkraft u.s.w.'

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egressa facta est magnum flumen latum," quod est ἀπορροια luminis dilatata est in chao, in τοποις omnibus προβολων αὐθαδους; atque verbum iterum, quod tua vis dixit per Salomonem, "*attraxit eos omnes, duxit eos super templum*," quod est hoc, attraxit vires omnes luminis a προβολαις αὐθαδους quas abstulerunt in [a] πιστει σοφιᾳ, et iniecit eas in πιστιν σοφιαν altera vice; atque verbum rursus, quod tua vis dixit, "*haud potuerunt capere eam* [*loca*] *clausa neque loca aedificata*," quod hoc est: προβολαι αὐθαδους haud potuerunt prehendere ἀπορροιαν luminis in septis tenebrarum chaus, atque verbum iterum, quod dixit: "*duxerunt eam*[1] *super terram omnem, et implevit res omnes*," quod hoc est: quum Gabriel et Michael duxissent eam [P eam super] σωμα πιστεως σοφιας, intulit in eam lumina omnia, quae abstulerunt ab ea προβολαι αὐθαδους atque splenduit [pr. factum est lumen] σωμα eius ὑλης; atque verbum, quod dixit: "*biberunt versantes in arena arida*," quod est, acceperunt lumen quae sunt omnia in πιστει σοφιᾳ quorum lumen abstulerunt (*i.e.* abstulerant) prius[2] (*i.e.* antehac); atque verbum quod dixit "*sitis eorum soluta est et exstincta*," quod hoc est: eius vires cessarunt indigere luminis, quod abstulerunt [P *om.* quod abstulerunt], *quoniam dederunt* (*i.e.* datum est) *iis* lumen [P + suum], quod abstulerunt ab iis. Atque iterum κατα modum [P + quoque] quo dixit tua vis, "*dederunt iis potum*[3] *ab excelso*," quod hoc est: dederunt lumen iis ex ἀπορροιᾳ luminis, quae exiit a me, primo μυστηριῳ, et κατα modum, quo dixit tua vis: "μακαριοι *sunt* διακονοι *potus illius*," quod est verbum, quod dixisti: Michael et Gabriel, διακονησαντες, duxerunt ἀπορροιαν luminis in chaos, atque etiam duxerunt eam sursum. Dabunt iis μυστηρια luminis altitudinis, *quibus concredita est* ἀπορροια luminis, atque etiam κατα modum, quo dixit tua vis: "*verterunt* labia arida," quod hoc est: Gabriel et Michael haud sumserunt sibi e luminibus πιστεως σοφιας, quae eripuerunt προβολαις αὐθαδους, ἀλλα iniecerunt ea in πιστιν σοφιαν; atque iterum verbum, quod dixit: "*acceperunt vigorem*[4] *in me qui sunt soluti*," quod est hoc: aliae vires omnes πιστεως σοφιας, quas haud abstulerunt προβολαι αὐθαδους, valde praeditae sunt vigore[5] et impletae lumine a suo socio lumine, quod iniecerunt ea in illas. Et verbum, quod tua vis dixit:

[1] Schmidt, 'er wurde...geführt.'
[2] Schmidt, 'früher genommen war.'
[3] Schmidt, 'es wurde...gegeben.'
[4] Schmidt, 'Herzensfreude.'
[5] Schmidt, 'sind sehr fröhlich geworden.'

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"*vivificarunt ψυχας eiicientes halitum, ut ne morerentur*," quod hoc est: quum iniecissent lumina in *πιστιν σοφιαν* vivificarunt *σωμα* eius *ὑλης* a quo lumina sua abstulere prius, hoc, quod erat periturum. Atque iterum verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*constituerunt μελη quae collapsa sunt, aut ut ne collaberentur*," quod hoc est: quum intulissent in eam eius lumina, constituere (*i.e.* erexere) eius vires omnes, quae erant dissolvendae; atque etiam *κατα* modum, quo tua vis luminis dixit: "*dederunt robur earum παρρησιᾳ*"; quod hoc est: receperunt iterum illorum lumen atque factae sunt, sicut fuerunt prius: atque etiam verbum, quod dixit "*dederunt lumen eorum oculis*," quod hoc est: acceperunt *αἰσθησιν* in lumine et cognoverunt *ἀπορροιαν* luminis, quod pertineat ad altitudinem. Atque etiam verbum, quod dixit: "*isti omnes cognoverunt se in domino*," quod hoc est: vires omnes *πιστεως σοφιας* cognovere se invicem per *ἀπορροιαν* luminis: atque etiam verbum, quod dixit, "*servati sunt aqua vitae usque ad aeternum*[1]," quod hoc est: servatae sunt per *ἀπορροιαν* luminis totius: atque verbum, quod dixit: "*attraxit eos omnes ἀπορροια* luminis *et attraxit eos super templum*[2]," quod est: quum *ἀπορροια* luminis accepisset lumina omnia *πιστεως σοφιας*, et quum eripuisset ea a *προβολαις αὐθαδους*, iniecit ea in *πιστιν σοφιαν*, atque conversa est, exiit a chao, [3]ascendit in perfectionem [P vel "super te"] quod tu es templum[3]. Haec est solutio verborum omnium, quae dixit tua vis luminis per oden Salomonis. Factum igitur, quum primum *μυστηριον* audisset haec verba, quae dixit Petrus, locutum est ei: *εὐγε, μακαριος* Petre, haec est solutio verborum quae dixerunt [*i.e.* dicta sunt].

ODE 22.

This Ode is introduced as follows:

Respondens *δε* primum *μυστηριον* dixit: *κελευω* tibi, Mathaee, ut proferas solutionem *ὑμνου*, quem dixit *πιστις σοφια*. Respondens *δε* Mathaeus dixit: de solutione *ὑμνου* quem dixit *πιστις σοφια* tua vis luminis *ἐπροφητευσεν* olim in *ᾠδῃ* Salomonis:

S.-P. pp. 155, 156.	W.-M.-S. p. 39.
Qui deduxit me in locis excelsis super caelum, et duxit me	Is, qui duxit me deorsum e locis altis, caelestibus, et duxit me

[1] Schmidt, 'Wasser ewigen Lebens.'
[2] Schmidt, 'riss alles an sich, und zog (?) es über den Tempel.'
[3–3] Schmidt, 'und kam über Dich, der Du der Tempel bist.'

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sursum in locis quae in fundamento inferiori: qui abstulit ibi haec, quae in medio, et docuit me ea, qui dispersit meos inimicos, et meos ἀντιδικους, qui dedit mihi ἐξουσιαν super vincula ad solvenda ea, qui ἐπαταξε serpentem cum septem capitibus meis manibus. Constituit me super eius radicem, ut evellerem eius σπερμα atque tu eras mecum, adiuvans me, in omni loco circumdedit me tuum nomen. Dextra tua perdidit venenum huius, qui dicit malum. Tua manus stravit viam tuis πιστοις. Redemisti eos e ταφοις et transtulisti eos e mediis cadaveribus. Sumsisti ossa mortua, induisti iis σωμα et qui haud movent se, dedisti eis ἐνεργειαν vitae. Via tua facta est perniciei expers, atque tua facie duxisti [P tua facies. Duxisti] tuum αἰωνα in perniciem, ut dissolverentur omnes et fierent novi, et uti tuum lumen sit duplicatum [P fundamentum] iis omnibus. Construxisti tuam opulentiam per eos et facti sunt habitaculum sanctum.

in loca, quae in fundamento inferiori. Is, qui abstulit ibi haec, quae in medio sunt, et docuit me ea. Is, qui dispersit inimicos meos et adversarios meos. Is, qui dedit mihi potestatem super vincula ad solvenda ea. Is qui percussit serpentem septem capita habentem manibus meis: constituit me super radicem eius, ut exstinguerem semen eius. Et tu eras mecum, adsistens mihi. Omni in loco circumdedit me nomen tuum. Dextra tua perdidit venenum male loquentis. Manus tua planavit viam fidelibus tuis. Liberasti eos e sepulcris et transtulisti eos e medio cadaverum. Accepisti ossa mortua, induisti iis corpus, et, qui non movent se, dedisti eis ἐνεργειαν vitae. Via tua facta est expers perniciei, et etiam facies tua: duxisti aeona tuum in perniciem[1] ut dissolverentur omnes et renovarentur. [2]Et ut lumen tuum duplicaretur iis omnibus[2], superstruxisti divitias tuas super eos, effecti sunt habitaculum sanctum[3].

ODE 22.

The Gnostic Targum. S.-P. 153—155.

Pergens δε adhuc πιστις σοφια, ὑμνευσε rursum ad me dicens: "ὑμνευω sursum ad te hoc. Tuo statuto *eduxisti me ab aiwni excelso, qui supra caelum, et deduxisti me ad τοπους inferiores*, atque etiam tuo statuto liberasti me e τοποις inferioribus, et per te abstulisti ὑλην ibi, quae est in meis viribus luminis, et vidi eam, atque *tu dispersisti* a me προβολας αὐθαδους, quae affligebant me et erant *inimici* mihi, atque *dedisti mihi ἐξουσιαν ut solverer*

[1] Schmidt, 'Du hast Deinen Aeon über das Verderben geführt.'
[2-2] Schmidt, 'und Dein Licht ihnen allen Fundament sei.'
[3] Schmidt, 'Du hast Deinen Reichtum auf sie gebaut.'

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e vinculis προβολων Adamae, *et ἐπαταξας serpentem basiliscum cum septem capitibus.* Proiecisti [P eiecisti] eum *meis manibus, et constituisti me super eius ὑλην.* Perdidisti eam, ut ne *σπερμα* suum surgeret inde ad hoc tempore, atque *tu* es qui *eras mecum,* dans mihi vim in his omnibus, et tuum lumen *circumdedit me* in *τοποις* omnibus, et per te reddidisti *προβολας* omnes *αὐθαδους* impotentes, quod abstulisti vim sui luminis ab eis *et direxisti meam viam* ad educendam me ex chao, et transtulisti me e tenebris *ὑλικαις* et abstulisti meas vires omnes ab iis, [1]quarum lumen abstulere[1]. Iniecisti in eas lumen purum, et meis *μελεσιν* omnibus, quibus nullum lumen, dedisti lumen purum ex lumine altitudinis, et direxisti viam iis, et lumen tuae faciei *factum mihi est* vita, *pernicie vacua.* Duxisti me sursum super chaos, locum (*τοπον*) chaus et perniciei, *ut dissolverentur omnes ὑλαι,* quae in eo, quae sunt in *τοπῳ* illo, *et uti fiant novae* meae vires omnes tuo lumine, et *ut tuum lumen sit in iis omnibus.* Posuisti lumen tuae *ἀπορροιας* in me. Facta sum lumen purgatum." Hic iterum est secundus *ὑμνος* quem dixit *πιστις σοφια.*

ODE 22.

The detailed Commentary.

Matthew then goes on to show in detail the parallelism between the Ode of Solomon and the hymn of the *Pistis Sophia.*

S.-P. pp. 156—160.

Haec, igitur, mi domine, est solutio *ὑμνου* quem dixit *πιστις σοφια.* Audi igitur, dicam eam ingenue. Verbum quod tua vis dixit per Salomonem: "*qui deduxit me e locis excelsis quae super caelum, atque etiam duxisti me sursum in locis, quae in fundamento inferiori,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: *ὑμνεω* sursum ad te hoc. Tuo statuto duxisti me ex hoc *αἰωνι* excelso, qui super caelum, et duxisti me in *τοπους* inferiores, atque etiam servasti me tuo statuto, duxisti me sursum in *τοποις* inferioribus. Et verbum, quod tua vis dixit per Salomonem: "*qui abstulit ibi haec, quae in medio, et docuit me ea,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: atque etiam per te abstulisti[2] *ὑλην* quae in media mea vi, et vidi eam: atque etiam verbum,

[1–1] Schmidt, 'deren Licht genommen war.'
[2] Schmidt, 'hast...reinigen lassen.'

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quod tua vis dixit per Salomonem: "*qui dispersit meos inimicos et meos ἀντιδικους*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et tu es, qui dispersisti a me *προβολας* omnes *αὐθαδους* quae affligebant me, et quae erant inimici mihi; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*qui dedit mihi suam σοφιαν super vincula ad solvenda ea*": ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*; [+ et P] dedit mihi suam *σοφιαν* ut solverer e vinculis *προβολων* illarum; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*qui ἐπαταξε serpentem cum septem capitibus meis manibus et constituit me super eius radicem, ut evellerem eius σπερμα*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et *ἐπαταξας* serpentem cum septem capitibus meis manibus et constituisti me super eius *ὑλην*, perdidisti eum, ut ne eius *σπερμα* surgeret inde ab hac hora; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*et tu mecum eras, adiuvabas me*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et tu eras mecum, dans vim mihi in his omnibus; et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "*et tuum nomen circumdedit me in omni loco*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et tuum lumen circumdedit me in eorum locis omnibus; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*et tua dextera perdidit venenum huius qui dicit malum*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*; et per te factae sunt impotentes *προβολαι αὐθαδους*, quod abstulisti lumen vis suae ab iis; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*tua manus stravit viam tuis πιστοις*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*; direxisti meam viam ad educendam me e chao, quod *ἐπιστευσα* tibi; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*redemisti eos e ταφοις et transtulisti eos e mediis cadaveribus*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et redemisti me e chao et transtulisti me e tenebris *ὑλικαις* quae ipsae sunt *προβολαι* caliginis, quae in chao, e quibus suum lumen abstulisti; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*sumsisti ossa mortua, induisti eis σωμα, et hi, qui non movent se, dedisti iis ἐνεργειαν vitae*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et abstulisti meas vires omnes, in quibus nullum lumen, et [*om.* et P] indidisti eis lumen purum, et meis *μελεσιν* omnibus, in quibus nullum lumen movetur, dedisti eis lumen vitae tua altitudine; et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "*tua via facta est pernicie vacua et tua facies*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et direxisti viam [+tuam P] mihi, et lumen tuae faciei facta[1] mihi est vita, pernicie vacua; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit:

[1] factum P.

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"*duxisti tuum αἰωνα in perniciem, ut dissolverentur ut fierent novi omnes*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: [1]duxisti me, tuam vim, in chaos et in perniciem[1], ut dissolverentur ὑλαι omnes, quae sunt [+ sursum P] in τοπῳ illo, et ut fierent novae meae vires omnes lumine; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit, "*et tuum lumen duplicatum* [P *fundamentum*] *est*[2] *iis omnibus*": ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: et tuum lumen est in iis omnibus: et verbum quod tua vis luminis dixit per Salomonem: "*posuisti* [3]*tuam opulentiam*[3] *in eo, et factus est habitaculum sanctum*": ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: firmasti lumen tuae ἀπορροιας super me, et facta sum lumen purum. Haec igitur, domine mi, est solutio ὑμνου, quem dixit πιστις σοφια.

ODE 25.

The text of this Ode is introduced as follows:

Respondens δε primum μυστηριον dixit Thomae: κελευω tibi, ut proferas solutionem ὑμνου, quem ὑμνευσεν sursum ad me πιστις σοφια. Respondens δε Thomas dixit: mi domine, de ὑμνῳ quem dixit πιστις quod liberata est a chao: tua vis luminis ἐπροφητευσεν olim per Salomonem, filium Davidis, in eius ᾠδαις:

S.-P. p. 150.

Servatus sum e vinculis. Fugi ad te, domine, quod fuisti mihi dextra servans me, atque servans me et adiuvans me, ἐκωλυσας pugnantes contra me, neque apparuerunt, quod tua facies mecum erat servans me tua χαριτι. Affecta sum ignominia coram multitudine, atque proiecerunt me. Fui sicut plumbum coram iis. Facta mihi est vis a te adiuvans me, quod posuisti lucernas ad dexteram mihi et ad sinistram mihi, ut ne quidquam circa me esset luminis expers. Ἐσκεπασας me sub umbra tuae misericordiae et fui super vestes

W.-M.-S. *l.c.* p. 39.

Liberatus sum e vinculis. Fugi ad te, domine: quia fuisti mihi ad dextram, salvans me. [Et salvans me] et adiuvans me, prohibuisti adversarios meos, neque se manifestaverunt, quod tua facies mecum est, liberans me gratia tua. Accepi contumeliam coram multitudine, et eiecerunt me: fui sicut plumbum coram iis. Fuit mihi robur per te adiuvans me. Quia posuisti lucernas ad dextram meam et ad sinistram meam, ne neutra parte luminis expers essem. Texisti me sub umbra gratiae tuae et [4]superavi vestimenta pellicea[4]. Dextra tua

[1–1] Schmidt, 'Du hast mich, Deine Kraft, über das Chaos hinaufgeführt und über das Verderben.'

[2] Schmidt, 'ist ihnen allen Fundament (geworden).'

[3–3] Schmidt, 'Deinen Reichtum.'

[4–4] Schmidt, 'ich wurde überhoben den aus Fellen gemachten Kleidern.'

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pelliceas. Tua dextra exaltavit me et abstulisti infirmitatem a me: Factus sum validus tua veritate, purgatus tua δικαιοσυνῃ. Remoti sunt a me pugnantes contra me, et iustificatus sum tua χρηστοτητι, nam tua quies est ad aeternum aeternitatis.

exaltavit me, et abstulisti infirmitatem porro a me. Fui corroboratus veritate tua, purgatus iustitia tua. Procul remoti sunt a me adversarii mei, et iustificatus sum iustitia tua, quia requies tua est in saecula saeculorum.

ODE 25.

The Gnostic Targum. (S.-P. 148, 149.)

Pergens δε iterum in sermone primum μυστηριον dixit μαθηταις: Factum est, quum duxissem πιστιν σοφιαν sursum in chao, exclamavit iterum dicens: "*Servata sum* in chao, et soluta e *vinculis* caliginis. *Veni ad te*, lumen, *quod fuisti* lumen ex omni parte mihi *servans me, et adiuvans me.* Et προβολας αὐθαδους *quae pugnant contra me*, ἐκωλυσας tuo lumine, *et haud potuerunt adpropinquare mihi, quod erat* tuum lumen *mecum, et servabat* me tua [P me in tua] ἀπορροιᾳ luminis, quoniam γαρ προβολαι [P + αὐθαδους] affligentes me abstulerunt meam vim a me, *iniecerunt me* in orcos (chaos Plur.) nullum lumen habentem. *Fui sicut* ὑλη gravis *coram iis.* Atque post haec vis ἀπορροιας *venit mihi a te servans me.* Splenduit *ad sinistram mihi et ad dextram mihi;* et circumdabat me, ex omni parte mihi erat, *ut ne ullum* μερος quo fui, essem [P *esset*] *sine lumine, et* obtexit [P *obtexisti*] *me* lumine tuae ἀπορροιας et purgasti in me omnes meas ὑλας malas, *et fui super* meas ὑλας omnes propter tuum lumen [1]et tuam ἀπορροιαν luminis. Ista *exaltavit me*[1] *et abstulit* me προβολαις αὐθαδους θλιβουσαις me. Atque fui confisa tuo lumini, nec non lumen purum [P lumini puro] tuae ἀπορροιας, *et remotae sunt a me* προβολαι αὐθαδους quae affligebant me, et facta sum lux tua magna vi, quod tu servas omni tempore.

ODE 25.

The detailed Commentary.

Thomas explains that he will interpret openly the words of the Pistis Sophia, and proceeds to speak ἐν παρρησίᾳ, as follows:

[1-1] Schmidt, 'und Dein Lichtabfluss ist es, der mich erhöht...hat.'

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S.-P. 150—153.

Verbum igitur, quod tua vis luminis dixit per Salomonem: "*Servatus sum e vinculis. Fugi ad te, domine*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: soluta sum e vinculis caliginis, veni ad te, domine [P lux]: et verbum, quod dixit tua vis: "*Fuisti mihi dextra servans me et adiuvans me*"; ipsum iterum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: factus es lumen ex omni parte mihi et adiuvans me: et verbum quod tua vis luminis dixit "*ἐκωλυσας pugnantes contra me, et haud apparuerunt*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: et προβολας ἀνθαδους quae pugnant contra me, ἐκωλυσας tuo lumine, et haud potuerunt adpropinquare mihi": et verbum, quod tua vis dixit, "*quod tua facies mecum erat servans me tua χαριτι*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: quod tuum lumen erat mecum servans me tua ἀπορροιᾳ luminis: et verbum quod tua vis dixit, "[1]*contemnor eorum multitudine et proiecerunt me*[1]," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια; afflixerunt me προβολαι ἀνθαδους et abstulerunt meam vim a me, et contemta sum coram iis et proiecerunt me in chao expertem luminis. Et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*fui sicut plumbum coram iis*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: quum abstulissent mea lumina a me, facta sum sicut ὑλη gravis coram iis. Et verbum, [+ rursus P] quod tua vis dixit, "*et facta mihi est vis a te adiuvans me*," ipsum [+quoque P] est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: et post haec vis luminis venit mihi a te servans me": et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "*posuisti lucernas ad dextram mihi et ad sinistram mihi, ut ne quidquam circa me esset luminis expers*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια, Tua vis luminis [P + splenduit] ad dextram mihi et ad sinistram mihi et circumdans me ab omni parte, ut ne quidquam circa me esset luminis expers: et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "*ἐσκεπασας me umbra tuae misericordiae*," ipsum iterum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: et obtexisti me lumine tuae ἀπορροιας; et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "[2]*fui super vestes pelliceas*[2]," ipsum iterum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: et eiecerunt a me meas ὑλας omnes malas, et [3]elevavi eas[3] tua lumine; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit per Salomonem: "*tua dextra exaltavit me et abstulit infirmitatem*

[1–1] Schmidt, 'ich wurde verachtet im Angesichte vieler und hinausgestossen.'
[2–2] Schmidt, 'ich wurde überhoben den aus Fellen gemachten Kleidern.'
[3–3] Schmidt, 'ich erhob mich über sie.'

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a me," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: et tua ἀπορροια luminis haec est, quae exaltavit me tuo lumine, et abstulit a me προβολας αὐθαδους θλιβουσας me; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*factus sum validus tua veritate et purgatus tua* δικαιοσυνῃ," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: facta sum valida tuo lumine et sum lumen purgatum tua ἀπορροιᾳ: et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*remoti sunt a me pugnantes mecum*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: remotae sunt a me προβολαι αὐθαδους, hae quae affligebant me, et verbum quod tua vis luminis dixit per Salomonem: "*et iustificatus sum tua* χρηστοτητι, *quod tua quies est ad aeternum aeternitatis*": ipsum est verbum, quod dixit πιστις σοφια: servata sum tua χρηστοτητι quod tu servas unumquemque. Haec igitur, o mi domine, est solutio tota μετανοιας quam dixit πιστις σοφια quum servata esset in chao et soluta est e vinculis caliginis.

These, then, are the extracts and comments on the Odes of Solomon which are contained in the Pistis Sophia.

Original language of the Odes.

We will now examine what light they throw on the original form of the text, and we will also enquire as to the language in which the book was originally circulated. We begin by comparing the Odes quoted in the Coptic book with their Syriac equivalents.

The presumption is that the Coptic is a direct translation from the Greek: the number of Greek words that are embedded in the Coptic at once suggests this, and it is natural to carry back these Greek words into the text from which the Coptic is derived.

A little caution is necessary, for it will be remembered that Greek words are often used in the Coptic to redeem the language from its linguistic poverty, and it will also be found that the Coptic does not always directly transliterate a Greek word: it sometimes translates by another and more familiar Greek word. But with some reserve of this kind, the Greek elements in the text are sufficient evidence that the book was taken from the Greek to the Egyptian language; and we know that the Psalms and Odes had a wide circulation amongst Greek-speaking peoples. The *Pistis Sophia*, in which the Odes are embedded, dates from the third century, and the author of the *Pistis* had, as we have shown, the Odes bound up with his Canonical Psalter; at the time intimated there was no Coptic

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[Thebaic] Bible from which the extracts could have been made; so we may be sure the Odes were taken from a Greek Bible, and, with almost equal certainty, that the *Pistis Sophia* itself was a Greek book. Detailed examination leads to the same result.

Suppose we examine the parts of the sixth Ode which we have preserved both in Coptic and in Syriac: this is the Ode in which Harnack thought we could detect both Gnostic and Egyptian elements, the supposed Gnostic feature being the use of the word *ἀπόρροια*, and the supposed Egyptian feature being a sudden inundation, which sweeps over a whole country and defies professional attempts to regulate it. Near the end of the Ode is a beautiful passage describing the way in which the ministers of the water of life have assuaged the thirst of the world: they have given ease to dry lips, strength to paralysed wills and weak limbs. Then the writer adds

> "Members which had fallen they made straight and set up. They gave strength for their coming and light to their eyes."

There is something awkward about this word 'coming': and when we turn to the Coptic we find

> "Restituerunt membra quae ceciderant. Dederunt robur *παρρησιᾳ* eorum et lucem oculis eorum."

This is almost as unintelligible as the former; what does he mean by 'strength for freedom of speech'? However we have found out that the Greek behind the Coptic read *τῇ παρρησίᾳ αὐτῶν*; and it is not difficult to infer that the Syriac has rendered a Greek text *τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτῶν*. Now which of these is correct? Neither of them makes good sense. But if we write

> *τῇ παρέσει αὐτῶν* or *τῇ παραλύσει αὐτῶν*
> "they gave them strength for their paralysis,"

we can make the passage intelligible, and explain both the Coptic and Syriac readings[1].

[1] The key to the passage is Is. xxxv. 3 = Heb. xii. 12; *ἰσχύσατε...γόνατα παραλελυμένα* (Is.), and cf. *τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε* (Heb.).

For a similar confusion between *παρουσία* and *παρρησία* we may compare the words of Valentinus, quoted in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 22: *εἷς δέ ἐστιν ἀγαθός· οὗ παρρησία ἡ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ φανέρωσις*, where Grabe, *Spic.* 2 conjectures *παρουσία*.

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This suggests that the Syriac as well as the Coptic has a Greek text behind it. We shall examine this point more in detail presently.

We are not limited to the occurrence of the single Greek word *παρρησία* (whether it be the right word or only a corruption); nor to the favourite word *ἀπόρροια* which the Pistis Sophia has caught at, on account of its Gnostic associations.

The Syriac tells us that the flood could not be restrained by the professional restrainers, nor by the arts of those who make the management of floods their business. The Coptic text tells us

haud potuerunt capere in clausis et in locis aedificatis, neque potuerunt capere eam *τεχναι* capientium illos.

Here the Syriac is somewhat at variance from the Coptic, but it is clear that 'capere' stands for the Syriac 'restrain,' and that *τεχναι* is the Greek word for the Syriac 'arts of the restrainers.'

The Gnostic Targum has also worked in *τεχναι* in the following form:

neque *ἐτολμησαν*.....prehendere *ἀπορροιαν*.....neque prehenderunt eam *τέχνῃ*.....

Here 'prehendo' is the same as 'capio,' and stands for the Syriac 'restrain.' *Τεχναι* seems to come from the original Greek. I should have said that *ἐτολμησαν* came from the same source, if it were not that the text and the comment have 'potuerunt' in harmony with the Syriac.

Another bit of the original Greek is picked up in the clause which answers to the Syriac,

'Blessed are the ministers of that draught.'

Here the Coptic gives us, *Μακαριοι* sunt *διακονοι* potus illius, and the Comment, as well as the Targum, explains that the ministers are Michael and Gabriel, *οἱ διακονήσαντες*. So that we can restore the words *Μακάριοί εἰσιν οἱ διάκονοι οὗτοι* to the Greek. And so in other cases.

But this raises the question whether the Greek is the last stage. Were the Odes written in Greek? Or may we say, as for the eighteen Psalms, that they were translated into Greek from an original Hebrew? The possibility must at all events be kept in mind. But we can only advance by slow stages. The

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next step should be to confirm the suggestion that the Syriac has been translated from a Greek base by discussing the case for the eighteen Psalms.

Here we should naturally expect dependence on the Greek.

The Syriac of the 18 Psalms depends on the Greek.

For it is now clearly made out, as Ryle and James have shown, that the original Hebrew of these Psalms was done into Greek at a very early period. For the Greek version of the 11th Psalm is used by the author of the book of Baruch in his fifth chapter, and this chapter is quoted at length by Irenaeus. So it would be unreasonable to put the Greek of the eighteen Psalms later than the middle of the first century, when it is employed by Baruch writing, probably, not later than the end of the first century.

So the Greek of these Psalms is available for translation into Syriac at a very early date; we have to determine from the evidence before us whether it was so translated from the Greek. Let us see whether the Syriac confirms any conjectures either in Greek or in Hebrew that the editors have thought necessary to the understanding or betterment of the text. It does not confirm Hilgenfeld's brilliant suggestion of *ὀρίων* for *ὀρέων* in Ps. ii. 30: the Syriac has 'mountains' and agrees with the Greek tradition. In Ps. ii. 20 Gebhardt's emendation of *κατέσπασεν* to *κατεσπάσθη* is confirmed by the Syriac ܐܬܬܪܥ, which is rather a free translation. In Ps. v. 4 Gebhardt conjectures

οὐ γὰρ λήψεταί [τις] σκῦλα παρὰ ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ

and the word added is confirmed by the Syriac, which adds ܒܪ ܐܢܫ (a son of man, a man): but then the Copenhagen MS. has *σκῦλα ἄνθρωπος*, and the Syriac might just as well be a translation of this.

In Ps. viii. 3 Hilgenfeld's emendation

καὶ εἶπα [ἐν] τῇ καρδίᾳ μου

is not confirmed by the Syriac, which follows the MSS. in omitting *ἐν*.

In Ps. x. 1 Fritzsche made a striking emendation to the first couplet,

Μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ ὁ κύριος ἐμνήσθη ἐν ἐλεγμῷ,
καὶ ἐκυκλώθη ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ πονηρᾶς ἐν μάστιγι

by reading *ἐκωλύθη* for *ἐκυκλώθη*.

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The Syriac confirms this conjecture, which Gebhardt has discarded in favour of a misunderstood Hebrew text. If this is not a successful emendation on the part of a scribe, the Syriac at this point takes precedence of the existing Greek texts: but that does not mean that it is not dependent on a Greek text.

In Ps. xvi. 9 the Greek text

τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν μου κατεύθυνον ἐν τόπῳ σου

is altered in the Syriac to *ἐνώπιόν σου* which seems a better, as well as an easier reading.

In Ps. xvii. 16 [14] where Gebhardt has emended

[καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι] τοῦ σθένους αὐτῶν

for *τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν* of Cod. R the Syriac reads 'to their gods' with the rest of the Greek MSS.

In Ps. xvii. 23 [21] Gebhardt emends

εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὃν εἵλου σύ, ὁ θεός

for the current Greek

εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὃν εἶδες [ἴδες, οἶδες, οἶδας].

The Syriac has ܕܒܪܬܢ, which answers most nearly to *εἶδες*.

This is one of the places where Felix Perles found a trace of the original Hebrew, which had been corrupted from יעדת to ידעת, *i.e.* from 'thou hast appointed' to 'thou hast known.' Most of the proposed emendations seem to me to be more ingenious than necessary. The Syriac, at all events, does not endorse them.

In Ps. xvii. 32 [30] the Syriac renders *ἐν ἐπισήμῳ* by ܒܓܠܝ, which throws light on the same expression in Ps. ii. 6, where the Syriac seems to have left the words untranslated, but there Felix Perles conjectured that they stood for an original Hebrew בגלוי. The Syriac seems, while itself following the Greek in Ps. xvii. 32, to support this restoration of Perles for the Hebrew in Ps. ii. 6.

In Ps. xvii. 37 [33] Gebhardt has added conjecturally the word *λαοῖς* in

καὶ πολλοῖς [λαοῖς] οὐ συνάξει ἐλπίδας εἰς ἡμέραν πολέμου.

The Syriac has 'and he shall not hope in a multitude for the day of war,' and so does not favour the emendation. So far, then, as these passages go, there is not much ground for taking the Syriac outside the grouping of the Greek MSS., and erecting

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it into a separate authority. There are one or two passages to be considered in which the Syriac gives us either an independent conjecture, or something nearer to the original text.

In Ps. i. 6 the difficult

καὶ οὐκ ἤνεγκαν

Singular readings of the Syriac.

of the MSS. is replaced by ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ, and the sentence connected with the previous εἶπαν by omission of the intervening matter, so as to read

'And they spake what they did not understand';

whether this was arrived at in the first instance by substituting ἔγνωκαν for ἤνεγκαν is not quite clear: but the whole treatment of the text is too drastic to allow us to believe that the Syriac is the original. Another suggestion is that the Syriac translator read καὶ οὐκ ἔγνων, and took it for a 3rd person plural instead of a 1st person singular.

In Ps. ii. 29 [25] the difficult

τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν τοῦ δράκοντος

appears in the Syriac as ܕܢܫܬܘܩ which makes excellent sense, from whatever quarter it is derived. Perles conjectures that the original Greek was ταπεινοῦν: it is just conceivable that the Syriac might stand for a translation of this.

In Ps. ii. 41 [37] for

εὐλογητὸς κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐνώπιον δούλων αὐτοῦ

the Syriac has the equivalent of ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ, and a glance at the previous line of the Greek will show that ἐνώπιον has been accidentally borrowed from there, so that we may replace ὑπὸ τῶν on the faith of the Syriac, which at this point establishes a better Greek text.

In Ps. iv. 25 [21, 22] for

καὶ παρώργισαν τὸν θεόν· καὶ παρώξυναν
ἐξᾶραι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

the Syriac reads

καὶ παρώργισαν [ܐܟܥܣ] τὸν θεόν·
καὶ παρωργίσθη [ܘܐܬܬܟܥ] ἐξᾶραι κτέ.

Here the translator seems to have taken a slight liberty with his text, by translating the same word in two different

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ways, unless we prefer the explanation that *παρωξύνθη* stood in his copy, instead of *παρωργίσθη*.

In Ps. viii. 23 [20] the clause

ἀπώλεσεν ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν καὶ πάντα σοφὸν
ἐν βουλῇ

has for its last words

ܡܛܠ ܕܚܟܝܡ ܗܘ ܒܥܙܬܐ

'because he is wise in counsel';

it is, however, only a blunder in the Syriac text itself: read ܚܟܡ for ܒܥܙ and you have the equivalent of the Greek.

The same thing has happened in Ps. x. 9 [8], where the Syriac reads

'The salvation of the Lord is upon the house of Israel
for an eternal Kingdom':

a very slight change restores ܠܥܠܡܝܢ for ܠܥܠܡ and gives us the Greek *σωφροσύνην* as in Codd. H (R). This must, in its turn, be corrected to *εὐφροσύνην* with Codd. J L C.

Here the Syriac follows a corrupt Greek text, and has itself been corrupted. For more violent changes in the Syriac we may take the following:

Ps. ii. 37 [33]

εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεόν, οἱ φοβούμενοι
τὸν κύριον ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ·
ὅτι τὸ ἔλεος κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους
αὐτὸν μετὰ κρίματος.

The Syriac reads *ἐν σχήματι* for *ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ*: but the parallelism shows that the Greek is right, and perhaps the Syriac ܒܬܩܢܐ should be corrected to ܒܚܟܡܬܐ.

In Ps. v. 8 [6] for *μὴ βαρύνῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς* the Syriac has

ܠܐ ܬܬܩܠ ܐܝܕܟ ܥܠܝܢ

'let not thy hand be delayed from us';

which appears to answer to

μὴ βραδύνῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν,

the error being due to a false transcription of the Greek. For the correctness of the Greek, we may compare Ps. Sol. ii. 24 and

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the Biblical parallels cited by Ryle and James [Judg. i. 35: 1 Sam. v. 6: Ps. xxxi. (xxxii.) 4].

In the difficult passage Ps. xv. 8, 9 [7]

λιμὸς καὶ ῥομφαία καὶ θάνατος ἀπὸ δικαίων μακρὰν,
φεύξονται γὰρ ὡς διωκόμενοι πολέμου ἀπὸ ὁσίων,

the Syriac boldly says in the second clause, that

'they shall flee as death flees away from life.'

Perles compares Lev. xxvi. 36

καὶ φεύξονται ὡς φεύγοντες ἀπὸ πολέμου

which suggests that ἀπὸ has dropped from our text, and gives the original Hebrew.

The Syriac variation is very vivid, but I am afraid it is an evasion of a difficult text: the parallelism would be spoilt by saying that 'death flees from the righteous, as death flees from life.' The Greek seems to be right as it stands, and to mean 'they shall flee from the saints as fugitives of war [are wont to flee].'

In Ps. xvii. 11 [9] Gebhardt edits

οὐκ ἠλέησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός.
ἐξηρεύνησεν τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν
καὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτῶν ἕνα.

The Syriac has a series of imperatives, or of futures equivalent to imperatives: so that we ought to have in the Greek, if that were the original of the Syriac,

οὐκ ἐλεήσεις αὐτούς, ὁ θεός.
ἐπίσκεψον [? ἐξερεύνησον] τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν,
καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσεις αὐτῶν ἕνα,

and since the MSS. have ἐλεήσει and two of them have ἐξερεύνησον we may, by the Syriac, bring the Greek into closer agreement with what must have been its original form.

So far, then, our investigation has not taken us sensibly out of range of the Greek MSS. There are one or two obscurities still to be cleared up, but the above are the principal cases. Here is one microscopic, but significant error. In Psalm v. 16 the Syriac translator has definitely blundered over the word οὐ in

καὶ οὐ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλπὶς ἐπί σε,
οὐ φείσεται ἐν δόματι.

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Here he reads the first *ου* as a negative, and is obliged to discard the second. Cod. R also reads *οὐκ* for the first *ου*.

We may, then, conclude that the Syriac translator of the Psalms has worked from a Greek text; and we will presently try to find out its nearest affinity amongst the existing MSS.

In one or two cases the translator makes very successful paronomasiae in his translation, such as might almost deceive the very elect into a belief that he had recovered a play on words of the original Hebrew.

For example in Ps. xi. 6, 7 [5]

οἱ δρύμοι ἐσκίασαν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ παροδῷ αὐτῶν,
πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός.

For the second line the Syriac reads

ܟܠ ܐܝܠܢ ܕܒܣܡ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܝܠܢ ܕܒܣܡ ܐܬܪ ܠܗܘܢ

As it does not seem possible that ܐܬܪ can be a direct translation of *ἀνέτειλεν* we are almost obliged to believe that the writer has introduced a paronomasia: 'every tree of sweet breath God caused to breathe upon them.' It cannot be original, for as Perles points out[1], Baruch read *ἐνέτειλεν* (cf. Bar. v. 8, *πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας τῷ Ἰσραὴλ προστάγματι*), and this can only be a variant of *ἀνέτειλεν*.

Another similar case will be found in Ps. ix. 9 [5]

ὁ ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνην θησαυρίζει ζωὴν
αὐτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ,

which the Syriac renders by

ܡܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܙܕܘܬܐ ܟܢܫ ܚܝܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ.

As this ܟܢܫ ܚܝܐ cannot be a Hebrew form of speech, we are obliged to admit that the play on words is due to the ingenuity of the translator.

Now let us see whether we can get a rough idea of the place which the Syriac text of the Psalms of Solomon occupies amongst the Greek MSS.

Relation of the Syriac text of the 18 Psalms to the Greek MSS.

The edition of Ryle and James is based upon four MSS. of which the chief is the very beautiful Copenhagen MS. But since the other three (at Paris, Vienna and Moscow respectively) have been shown by

[1] *Zur Erklärung der Psalmen Salomos*, p. 9.

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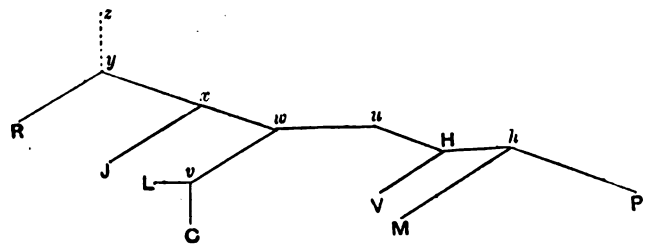
Gebhardt to be derived from the Copenhagen MS., the text of Ryle and James is reduced to a single authority, for the other three may be neglected.

To this MS. Gebhardt adds four more, one from the Vatican, two from Mount Athos, and one from Monte Cassino. We have thus eight MSS. as follows:

C = Codex Casanatensis 1908.
H = Codex Hauniensis 6: (the Copenhagen MS.).
J = Cod. 555 of the Monastery at Iveron.
L = a MS. in the Monastery of the Laura.
M = a Moscow MS.: Library of the Holy Synod 147.
P = Paris Gr. 2991 A.
R = Vatican Gr. 336.
V = Vienna: Theol. Gr. 11.

The relations between these eight MSS. Gebhardt reduces to the following scheme:



Here ε is the archetype: y, x, w are uncial MSS. which make connecting links between the existing texts, and v, u and h are similar links in the shape of minuscule MSS.

The first thing we notice is that in numbering the Psalms, H proceeds as follows:

Psal. Sol. 1 = α'
..... 2 = β'
..... 3 = ... thus missing one in the count.
..... 4 = γ'
..... 5 = δ'
..... 6 = ϵ'
..... 7 = ς'
..... 8 = ζ'
..... 9 = θ' thus missing a numeral:

after which the count is regular.

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This error in the numbering of Ps. 5 has led its copy V astray, which has no number by the first hand, but has a wrong number δ' on the margin by a later hand.

Now turn to the Syriac MS.; we have

Psal. Sol. 1 = Psalm 43 of the Syriac.
..... 2 = ... 44 .....
..... 3 = ... 45 .....
..... 4 = ... 47 .....
&c. = &c.

all the numbers being now one in excess.

It will be seen that the Syriac numeration has gone wrong very nearly at the same place as Cod. H, and in correcting an error in one direction, the scribe has made a continuous line of errors in another direction. This suggests that Syr. and H are not very widely removed from one another. Now let us examine some special readings.

In Ps. i. 3 we have

R L Syr. for πολλὴν
J H πολὺν

In Ps. i. 4 we have

R J L Syr. against H (διέλθοι).

In Ps. ii. 1 we have L H Syr. for κατέβαλε
R J for κατέβαλλε

this suggests that the Syriac comes on the diagram somewhere between *x* and *w*.

In Ps. ii. 24 [22]

ἱκάνωσον, κύριε, τοῦ βαρύνεσθαι χεῖρά σου
ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ ἐθνῶν.

Here ἐπαγωγῇ is clearly right, but some MSS. have ἀπαγωγῇ: the Syriac has it correctly: thus the MSS. divide R J L and Syr. against H.

In the same connexion it is somewhat perplexing to find both R and Syr. in what seems to be a common error, reading 'Israel' for 'Jerusalem.' One would have expected the same reading to turn up in J, but perhaps it was corrected by the scribe. If Gebhardt's diagram is correct, it looks as if R and Syr. might be the original reading and not an error at all.

In Ps. iv. 3 R and the Syriac are together in reading ἁμαρτωλῶν against J L C H (ἁμαρτιῶν).

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In Ps. iv. 10 [8] we have J L C H Syr. (*νόμον μετὰ δόλου*) against R (*μόνον μετὰ δούλου*).

In Ps. viii. 24 [21] the Syriac seems to involve

ἁ with R against *ἁς* of J L C H.

In Ps. viii. 26 [22] Syr. and R are again together in reading *ἐμίανεν*.

In Ps. xvi. 12 the Syriac omits a clause by homoioteleuton, in company with L.

In Ps. xvii. 8 [6] the Syriac reads *ἀλλάγματος* with R J L against H (*ἀλαλάγματος*).

In Ps. xvii. 23 [21] the Syriac reads *εἶδες* with R J L against H and the rest.

These are the most striking of the non-singular readings of the Syriac, and they show clearly that the version belongs to an earlier strain of text than Cod. H, and that its place is with the group R J L, being perhaps intermediate between J and L. The singular readings and free translations on the part of the Syriac give us no assistance in regard to the grouping of the MSS., and we must leave the matter in the approximate manner explained above.

It must be clear from the foregoing that we cannot expect to get any nearer to the original language of the Psalms by means of the Syriac. The original Hebrew must be sought in the emendations to the Greek text made by Wellhausen, Geiger, Ryle and James, and Perles. [Dr Barnes has discovered in the Cambridge University MS. Add. 2012 (a volume containing two short works of Bar Hebraeus followed by a collection of prayers), the Syriac text of the Psalm of Solomon xvi. 6—13. The Psalm, which is wrongly numbered as the 59th in our collection, is actually numbered 58, which shows that the arrangement in our MS., viz. Odes and Psalms numbered continuously, beginning with Odes, is not unique. I have added the readings of this fragment, Cod. C, to the text.]

The Syriac text of the Odes taken from the Greek.

Let us turn in the next place to the Odes, and see whether we can trace their linguistic history. Here we have no Greek text extant, but we have the Coptic text of certain Odes and there are Greek words embedded; we have also traces of a Latin version, which we may assume, provisionally, to have been made from the Greek; and we have the Syriac version.

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In Ode 6, *v.* 16, we have tried to explain the variation between a Coptic = *παρρησία* and a Syriac = *παρουσία* by reference to a misread Greek word.

We can frequently detect Greek compounds in their awkward Syriac substitutes; for example, in Ode 7, *v.* 26, 'excellent beauty of the Lord' is an attempt to render the Greek *μεγαλοπρέπεια*[1]. The constantly recurring ܠܐ ܫܚܬܐ, 'without corruption,' stands for *ἄφθαρτος* and *ἀφθαρσία*.

A good instance is in Ode 9, *v.* 3, where the literal rendering

'His thought is everlasting life,
And without corruption is your perfection'

probably stands for

καὶ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν,

and should therefore be translated,

'And your end is immortality.'

A somewhat similar case is the frequently repeated ܠܐ ܡܝܬ which stands for the Greek *ἄφθονος, ἀφθόνως*[2]. An interesting example will be found in Ode 11, *v.* 6, where we read that 'speaking waters touched my lips from the fountain of God without grudging' (*i.e.* abundantly). In the passage just quoted I was at first tempted to emend 'the speaking waters' to 'waters of a flood,' but it is clear that this must not be done: the expression is the same as in Ignatius *ad Rom.* 7, *ὕδωρ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν*, which Lightfoot too hastily altered to *ζῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενον* and thus made a direct Johannine parallel. For 'talking water' there are sufficient literary and folk-lore parallels.

Lightfoot quotes from Jortin [*Eccl. Hist.* i. 356] the reference to Anacreon 11 (13),

δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου λάλον πιόντες ὕδωρ,

for the expression 'talking water' and for the prophetic inspiration that was supposed to be produced by drinking it: but objects to Jortin's inference that, as there was one of these 'speaking' fountains at Daphne, the famous suburb of Antioch,

[1] We may compare with the LXX. of Ps. lxvii. (lxviii.) 34 and the Peshitta.

[2] An interesting parallel to this series of translations will be found in Irenaeus (247) where the Latin text shows a double translation: '*sine invidia largiter* donans hominibus.'

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Ignatius may have borrowed his image from thence. Lightfoot thinks the reference doubtful, even if the text were correct. It seems clear, from the language of the Ode, that the text, about which Lightfoot hesitated, is correct, and I think we may say that the Greek text lies behind the Syriac[1]; as to the interpretation, that may require a little further deliberation.

Unity of Authorship?

We may now pass on to discuss briefly the question of the unity or multiplicity of the authorship of the Psalms. Do they come from a single hand or are they a collection made up out of various authors extending over a period of time? It is natural that we should be on our guard against a too hasty belief that the whole of a collection like the present one comes from a single workshop: for we have before our eyes the example of the traditional authorship of the Canonical Psalter, where the authors to whom the compositions are referred are far too few and where the Psalms are often referred to periods when it is impossible to believe the compositions can have been extant.

In the case before us, however, we can apply a number of

[1] Lightfoot was quoting Jortin by way of Jacobson. A reference to Jortin himself shows that Lightfoot has not done justice to Jortin, whose statement of the case for λαλοῦν and against ἀλλόμενον is admirable. I transcribe a part of it: 'The expression, ὕδωρ λαλοῦν, resembles the *vocales undae* which inspired the Poets and Prophets.

Statius, *Silv.* i. 11. 6,

Et de Pieriis vocalem fontibus undam.

An oracle of Apollo Delphicus given to Julian, and preserved by Cedrenus:

Εἰπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ, χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος αὐλά.
Οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφνην,
Οὐ πηγὰν λαλεοῦσαν, ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ.
....

In these verses, which, to do them justice, are elegant, Apollo, to raise Julian's compassion, deplores the silence of his oracles, and of *speaking streams*. In the first line read βασιλῆι.

Anacreon xiii., Οἱ δὲ Κλάρου παρ' ὄχθαις
Δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου
Λάλον πιόντες ὕδωρ
Μεμηνότες βοῶσιν.'

Then after discussing the passage in Ignatius and its variant readings, he shows that the Greek Menaeum had both readings, and goes on to say, against Le Clerc, that 'the λαλοῦν ὕδωρ must not be altered: it is sufficiently confirmed by the citations of Cotelerius in this very note where he is inclined to reject it, and it is more elegant and proper than Le Clerc imagined.' References to Antioch and Daphne follow.

Our seventh Ode shows the fitness of the Ignatian expression. It is not necessary to assume any connexion, either of place or authorship, with the Ignatian letters.

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tests as to style and matter, and I think it will be evident that the majority of the Odes do come from a single hand. They are so often cast in the same mould, both as regards ideas and expressions, that we are obliged to recognize kinship in the separate compositions[1]. Moreover the very elevation of the thoughts of the Odes is an index of a single personality: even if we cannot identify him, we are sure that the writer was a rare spirit, and rare spirits do not agree with multiplied authorship. When our Odist is at his best, he is certainly one and not many. A good way to test for unity of authorship is to group together those Odes which have the same ideas similarly expressed.

For example, we are all familiar with the expression in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xiii. 15) in which we are told to offer to God through Christ the fruit of our lips in a continual sacrifice of praise. This expression is borrowed from Hosea xiv. 3 according to the Septuagint, or perhaps from the Hebrew of Is. lvii. 19. The expression is one which is already employed in the extant Psalms of Solomon, where we find as follows:

Ps. Sol. xv. 5 [3]

ψαλμὸν καινὸν μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καρδίας,
καρπὸν χειλέων ἐν ὀργάνῳ ἡρμοσμένῳ γλώσσης,
ἀπαρχὴν χειλέων ἀπὸ καρδίας ὁσίας καὶ δικαίας.

Here the expression has caught the fancy of the Psalmist, who works it into a parallel between 'fruits' and 'firstfruits.'

In the Odes it is a very favourite expression, as the following instances will show:

> Ode 8. 'Let your love be multiplied from the heart and even to the lips, to bring forth fruit to the Lord, living fruit, holy fruit, and to talk with watchfulness in His light.'
>
> Ode 12. 'Like the flow of waters flows truth from my mouth, and my lips show forth His fruit.'
>
> Ode 14. 'Teach me the Odes of thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in thee.'
>
> Ode 16. 'His love has nourished my heart, and even to my lips His fruits He was pouring out.'

[1] A good parallel case would be the modern recovery of the works of the seventeenth century poet Traherne.

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The recurrence of the theme 'the fruit of the lips' suggests that this group of Psalms should be credited to a common author.

The sixteenth Ode from which we just quoted is one of a group that begins with a similitude, something like those which we find in the Songs of Degrees in the Canonical Psalter. For instance we have:

> Ode 14. 'As the eyes of a son to his father, so are my eyes, O Lord, at all times towards Thee.'

The parallel to this is Ps. cxxiii. 2, 'As the eyes of servants to the hands of their masters, and as the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress, so are our eyes to the Lord our God.'

Very similar is Ode 15.

> 'As the sun is a joy to them that seek for its day-break, so is my Joy the Lord,' with which we may compare Ps. cxxix. (cxxx.) 6, 'more than they that watch for the morning.'

Ode 16 begins something in the same way:

> 'As the work of the husbandman is the ploughshare: and the work of the steersman is the guidance of the ship: so also my work is the Psalm of the Lord: my craft and my occupation are in His praises.'

With these three Odes we may probably take Ode 28:

> 'As the wings of doves over their nestlings, and the mouths of their nestlings towards their mouths, so also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart.'

Suppose we group these four together, viz. 14, 15, 16, 28: of these we have already 14 and 16 in the group 8, 12, 14, 16: so the six Odes 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 28, belong together and have a common authorship.

Next let us try the association and repetition of ideas: one of the harshest symbols employed by the Odes is the figure of milk from the breasts of God: we have the following coincidences:

> Ode 8. 'My own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby.'
>
> Ode 14. 'With thee are my breasts and my delight.'

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Ode 19 contains a parallel in extended form in which Christ is the cup that contains the milk from the breasts of the Father.

With this we must probably take

Ode 35. 'I was carried like a child by its mother, and he gave me milk, the dew of the Lord.'

The same connexion between the milk and the dew of the Lord is found in Ode 4

'Distil thy dews upon us and open the rich fountains that pour forth milk and honey.'

Here then is a group of Odes, 4, 8, 14, 19, 35, which appear to belong together: but of these 8 and 14 are in the previous group, which must now be enlarged to

4, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 28, 35.

In this way then, we may form the Odes into groups, as a preliminary test for authorship. Here are some more suggestions for grouping.

In Ode 6 we begin with

'As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord.'

From the use of an opening similitude, it may be suggested that this belongs with the similitudes in Odes already quoted: but the actual figure of the hand and the harp recurs: the very next Ode has

Ode 7. 'They shall go forth to meet Him and shall sing to Him with the harp of many notes':

and this Ode also opens with a similitude.

In Ode 14 we have

'Open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit, that with all its notes I may praise Thee, O Lord.'

In Ode 26

'His harp is in my hands and the Odes of His rest shall not be silent.'

These four odes may be taken together, and attached to the previous group, which now contains

4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 26, 28, 35.

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Ode 7 and Ode 10 are connected by the use of a curious expression, 'the traces of the Light'; thus

Ode 7. 'He set over it the traces of His Light.'

Ode 10. 'The traces of the Light were set upon their heart.'

Ode 4 and Ode 8 are connected by their reference to the seal of God which is set on His creatures:

Ode 4. 'Who is there that shall put on thy grace and be hurt? For thy seal is known.'

Ode 8. 'On their faces I set my seal' &c.

Ode 3 and Ode 8 are connected by the fact that both of them speak of Christ as (*a*) the Beloved, (*b*) the Living One.

Ode 3 and Ode 17 have a common feature in that they speak of believers as the members of Christ.

Odes 1, 5, 9(?), 17 and 20(?) contain the doctrine of the crown of life which does not wither.

Odes 17, 21, 40 and 41 speak of the transfiguration of the face of the believer: *e.g.*

Ode 17. 'I received the face and the fashion of a new person.'

Ode 21. 'The exultation of the Lord increased on my face.'

Ode 40. 'My face exults with His gladness.'

Ode 41. 'Let our faces shine in His light.'

We have now, tentatively, grouped together Odes

1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9(?), 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20(?), 21, 26, 28, 35, 40, 41.

No doubt other coincidences and parallels may be detected: the net result of this is the recognition that the majority of the Odes come from a single hand, or if we prefer it, from the same school. The doubtful member, in my judgment, is Ode 19 which is far too grotesque to be by the same hand as the other compositions. It appears to me to be an imitation of the other Psalms that speak of the breasts of God. It is tritheistic as well as grotesque. There will be some short Psalms that do not readily furnish material for identification, but even these short Odes will sometimes be capable of grouping; thus the figure of the Cross in prayer is found in Ode 27, and reappears in a

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longer composition Ode 42. It is very difficult, however, to believe that this 42nd Ode belongs to the main body of the collection.

Setting aside such small compositions and such as are late or discordant, I believe it will be found that the internal evidence will throw nearly all the Odes together, and that those which are thus grouped will be found to be Christian compositions, although at first sight many of them might seem to be Jewish, or not definitely marked one way or the other. Their internal parallelisms enable us to say with confidence that they are either Christian or at least Judaeo-Christian compositions.

Several of the longer Odes do not admit of grouping with the others: amongst these we note

Ode 22, which contains an account of the victory over the dragon with seven heads.

Ode 23, which records the descent from heaven of a mysterious letter, inscribed with the name of the Trinity.

Ode 38, which records the preservation of the writer from various errors and deceits.

Ode 39, which explains the dangers which attend the rapid rise of great rivers, and how the believers walk firmly on their waves, following the footsteps and example of Christ.

These are also, in all probability, Christian; but the question of their authorship must be reserved and examined in detail.

We now proceed to examine the historical allusions in the book of Odes.

Historical allusions in the Odes.

The first thing that strikes us is the poverty of historical background compared with that in the extant Psalms of Solomon. In these known Psalms it is impossible to miss the historical situation which provoked them: they were made under the stress of national exigency, and the troubles stand out from the Psalms with their dates on them. Pompey is written large over several of the Psalms, and when Rome is not expressly mentioned it is distinctly felt. The great dragon of the Psalms of Solomon is a classified specimen. We can tell him a mile away.

Not only so, but when the history is recognized, the theology

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also becomes patent. The Pharisaism of the Psalms is transparently clear, and the Messianism that went with it. So that it was with justice that some critics labelled the compositions Psalms of the Pharisees. That does not mean that all these Psalms are necessarily by one hand nor that all of them are decidedly marked. Some of them are, in fact, colourless, and in that sense, dateless: but the collection, as a whole, is identified, both historically and theologically. The case of the Odes is very different. If there are any national disasters behind the songs, they have been lost in the songs. There is not a sad note, and there is hardly a vindictive note in the whole collection. And on the theological side, the leading characteristic is experience, and not dogma: and experience is much harder to date than dogma, and shows fewer of the weather-marks of evolution. Sometimes, indeed, the expressions of the Odists rise to such a height that they catch from the object of their Faith something that is everlasting rather than evolutionary. It is difficult to date a man who has disclosed the fact that he is supremely happy and that God has made his face to shine with the light of heaven. The only way in which we could date such a phenomenon would be to say that, if he is not an isolated specimen, the songs must proceed from some time of general spiritual elevation; and since it is historically verifiable, that the experimental time of the bloom of Church life is the first age (for one hardly expects to find people generally rejoicing with 'an unspeakable and glorified joy,' say, in the time of Constantine), then these hymns or odes must belong to the first days of the Church: but even that way of dating them is somewhat indefinite.

The proposal to found another Sanctuary.

When we go in search of special historical details, we do not get a very rich harvest. The most important cases must be carefully examined. The first case is Ode 4, which has a reference to a proposal or suggestion to change the Sanctuary of God from Jerusalem to some other position, and it is a noble protest from a standpoint, which at least in part is a Jewish standpoint, against the suggestion. The Ode begins as follows:

> 'No man, O God, changes thy holy place: and it is not possible that he should change it and put it in

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> another place: because he has no power over it: for thy sanctuary was designed before thou didst make other places: that which is the elder shall not be altered by that which is younger than itself.'

Now here it is clear that some change in the value of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem is threatened at the hands of man. The writer does not mean the same thing as the author of the seventh of the extant Psalms of Solomon, where he prays God not to remove His tabernacle from amongst them, lest the enemy should tread the inheritance of the Sanctuary. It is at the hands of man that the Sanctuary is threatened, and the writer is confident that the Lord himself has never changed and never will change.

His thoughts turn to the origin of the holy place. That holy place had a pre-existence and a corresponding eternity: it was a 'Sanctuary from the beginning.' Here we are certainly face to face with Jewish beliefs; the writer of the Ode may be shown on other grounds to be a Christian, but on this point he is betrayed as having Jewish sympathies. And his views with regard to the Temple are not merely Jewish in a general sense, but highly evolved.

The first theories of the Heavenly Sanctuary appear to have been almost Platonic in character: there was a pattern in the mount: according to that pattern or idea the visible thing was fashioned; but the idea was eternal, and pre-existent. This Platonic idea underwent change at the hand of later Rabbins, who came to teach that the actual Sanctuary had been created before other things, and had been caught away to Heaven and disappeared.

Accordingly we find in the Apocalypse of Baruch, c. 4, that the Lord explains the doctrine of the Sanctuary to the prophet, in language which depreciates the earthly sanctuary:

> 'Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said, On the palms of my hands have I graven thee? It is not this building which is now built in your midst: it is that which will be revealed with Me, that which was prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned,

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> but when he transgressed the commandment, it was removed from him, as also Paradise.'

Here, then, we have the view of a first-century writer who is amazed at the desolation of Zion, and like our Odist, is concerned with the problem of the deserted Sanctuary: he concludes that it has been caught away, as Paradise was. The real city of God is that which was made at the beginning; like Paradise, it was only here temporarily: what is left is not the real thing.

Now our Odist does not go so far in despair as the writer of the Apocalypse, of whom he may have been a contemporary. He believes the Sanctuary was made at the very beginning before other things, but still holds to the belief that Jerusalem is the Holy City and the Temple the true Sanctuary. He does not go so far even as the Epistle to the Hebrews, in drawing a distinction between the tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and that which was made by man.

His position appears to be very closely that of the great Jewish Rabbis, who taught the pre-existence of the Sanctuary and its priority to the rest of the works of God, and who do not appear to have explained this pre-existence according to the theory of Ideas, for in that case where would the priority have been of the Temple amongst other works of God? Their method of teaching can be seen from

Bereshith Rabbah, 20:

> 'Seven things were created before the world: Thorah, Gehenna, the Paradise of Eden, the Throne of Glory, *the Sanctuary*, Repentance and the Name of Messiah.'

Very nearly to the same effect is the dictum of Rabbi Meir in *Pirqe Aboth* vi. 10:

> 'Five possessions possessed the Holy One, blessed is He, in His world and they are these: Thorah, one possession: Heaven and Earth, one possession: Abraham, one possession: Israel, one possession: *the Sanctuary*, one possession.'

The Scriptural proofs of these statements are important: the case of the Sanctuary is proved as follows:

> 'The Sanctuary, whence is it proved? Because it is written, "The place, O Lord, which thou hast made for

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> thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established" (Exod. xv. 17): and it saith, "And he brought them to the border of his Sanctuary, even to this mountain, which his right hand had possessed"' (Ps. lxxviii. 54).

That will suffice to show the nature of the Scripture proofs employed: and it is clear that the same beliefs were in the mind of the writer of our Ode. The question then arises as to the situation which provoked his expression of faith.

In the case of the Apocalypse of Baruch, to which we have referred as a parallel, it is clear that it is the desolation of Jerusalem by Titus which is the historical background: and it is some similar situation which is reflected in this fourth Ode. Only the language in this latter case seems to imply that some deliberate suggestion or attempt had been made by man to move the Sanctuary: and against this the writer protests. The agent who makes or suggests the change cannot be the Roman conqueror: he might carry away the holy vessels, but that does not remove the Sanctuary, any more than it was moved in the days of Nebuchadnezzar. So it must be a suggestion coming from Jewish or quasi-Jewish quarters. And the difficulty lies in this: it is hardly possible that in the time of the last Jewish wars, any body of Jewish believers could have cherished the thought of a temple anywhere else than at Jerusalem. If the temple was gone, it was gone back to Heaven and to God: it was not to be sought elsewhere. It is not easy to believe that in A.D. 70 or in A.D. 135, under the hand of Titus, or at the time of Bar Cochba, the Jews would have thought of another temple.

For this reason I suggest that the writer is referring to an attempt which had been made in earlier days to provide an alternative Sanctuary to that at Jerusalem.

We know of at least three such attempts to change the Holy Place; one, the Samaritan temple on Gerizim, another the Sanctuary at Assouan, whose officials were in friendly relations with both Jerusalem and Gerizim, the third the temple of Onias at Leontopolis in Egypt, said to be actually modelled on the temple at Jerusalem, and designed as a substitute for it. Of these the Sanctuary on Gerizim was destroyed by John Hyrcanus in B.C. 128; the Sanctuary at Assouan was wrecked

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by the Egyptians, after the retreat of Cambyses; the temple of Onias actually outlasted the temple at Jerusalem, and was destroyed in A.D. 73 by the Roman general Paulinus in consequence of the fears of the Romans that this temple also might become a rallying point for sedition and revolt. And I have suggested that it is the destruction of this temple, and not the Jerusalem temple, that provokes the protest of the fourth Ode. Unless it can be shown that there is a probability that some one actually proposed building a new temple, soon after the great Jewish disasters, elsewhere than at Jerusalem, it seems to me that this is the likeliest solution: and it furnishes an exact historical date.

There can be no doubt as to the writer's affection for the temple at Jerusalem: but he does not wail or lament: he is satisfied with the unchangeableness of God and the immutability of His promises. If he had been a Jew, he could not have displayed such equanimity: compare, for example, the language of the Apocalypse of Baruch or of Fourth Ezra, to see how the real Jew would feel. It may be inferred that the writer of the Ode is a Judaeo-Christian. If his date was not, as I suggest, soon after A.D. 70, the only other possible date seems to be soon after A.D. 135[1].

The importance of the temple at Leontopolis, in connexion with the desecration of the temple at Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, as a factor in the decentralization of the Jewish religion, is indicated by Harnack in his *History of Dogma*.

'The spread of Judaism in the world, the secularization and apostasy of the priestly caste, the desecration of the Temple, *the building of the Temple at Leontopolis*, the perception brought about by the spiritualizing of religion in the Empire of Alexander the Great, that no blood of beast can be a means of reconciling God—all these circumstances must have been absolutely dangerous and fatal, both to the local centralization of worship, and to the statutory sacrificial system[2].'

In view of this luminous statement, it is not difficult to

[1] The desecration of the Temple by Pompey in B.C. 63 is not a possible situation; for no serious interruption of the Temple Worship took place, and therefore no acute religious problem was provoked. Nor can our Odes be referred to so early a period. We have shown that they belong, almost entirely, if not absolutely, to the Christian period.

[2] Harnack: *l.c.* i. 69 note, Eng. trans.

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imagine the resentment of a Palestinian Jew against Leontopolis, nor the expression of such resentment in song, when the offensive institution had been swept away.

We shall get a good idea of the theological position of the writer amongst the early Christian sects and schools, if we contrast his position with (i) that of the Ebionites on the one hand, and (ii) that of the author of the epistle of Barnabas on the other. Irenaeus tells us, for example, that the Ebionites persevere in the customs of the law and in the Jewish mode of life, and adore Jerusalem as if it were the house of God[1]. Without pressing too closely the language of Irenaeus concerning the Ebionites, which may be coloured by polemical exaggeration, there is certainly a common ground between the writer of the fourth Ode and the Ebionites, in their affectionate religious attachment to the ancient Sanctuary.

Now turn to the sixteenth chapter of the very anti-judaic epistle which passes under the name of Barnabas. Barnabas begins by telling us that the poor wretches (*sc.* the Jews) are in error about the temple, which they take to be a house of God. They have almost consecrated God in a shrine, as the Gentiles do. He then quotes prophecies to show the vanity of the Jewish belief. In the course of these quotations he has to explain Isaiah xlix. 17, 'Behold those that have destroyed this temple shall build it again,' and affirms that this is actually taking place at the hands of the Romans, who had wrecked the temple because the Jews had made war against them. But instead of drawing the Ebionite conclusion from this (to us) obscure historical allusion, he flies off to prove that the only real temple of God is a redeemed soul. It is clear that the writer of the fourth Ode, while accepting the spiritual interpretation of life, would never express himself like Barnabas.

As Dr Taylor says[2], 'those who felt with Barnabas would have looked with disfavour upon the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem.' [For a further discussion of the Unchangeable Sanctuary see what is added in the preface.]

There is another way in which we can see that the position of the writer of the fourth Ode is not that of the normal Christian of Gentile extraction. One of the commonest exercises

[1] Iren. (ed. Mass. 105).

[2] *Pirqe Aboth*: ed. ii. p. 153.

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of the early Christian was the demonstration to the orthodox Jew by means of Testimonies from the Old Testament—that his religion was no longer acceptable to God. From the traces of these early collections of Testimonies which have come to light, it is easy to see that they involved special statements under the heads 'that the Jews were to lose Jerusalem,' and 'that the old temple should pass away and a new one take its place.' The new temple was to be a spiritual one, but whether the new temple was Christ or the believer, is not quite clear. The writer of the fourth Ode is prepared with spiritual interpretations of the older religion, he spiritualizes the priesthood (if it be the same hand as wrote Ode 20) and perhaps the rite of circumcision (cf. Ode 11), but he is not prepared to say that the old Sanctuary was to pass away. His position, therefore, is an intermediate one, not wholly Gentile, though with strong Gentile leanings, and, as we said above, much nearer to the doctrine of the Ebionites than to that of the epistle of Barnabas.

Possible reference to wars which have occurred.

In connexion with the foregoing argument, it may be proper to examine the references made in the Odes to the prevalence of wars, and to determine whether the writer is speaking of actual wars or only of spiritual conflicts. When we read the eighteen Psalms of Solomon, the noise of war is common; we can see the engines moved up for the siege, we can hear the thud of the battering rams. These Psalms open in affliction: 'instead of peace,' says the writer, 'there was heard the sound of war.'

'Distress and the sound of wars,' so another Psalm begins, 'mine ears have heard, the sound of the trumpet, and the noise of slaughter and destruction.' When this writer says war he means war, and there is no alternative. But the case is not so clear in the Odes. The references to war are few, and obscure.

In Ode 8 we have:

> 'The right hand of the Lord is with you, and He is your helper: and peace was prepared for you, before ever your war was.'

Predestined Peace.

How shall we explain this allusion? Does it simply mean that the Divine foresight had seen to the end of the man's spiritual troubles and had designed for him

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the happy issue out of them? The objection to this is (i) that it is somewhat forced; (ii) that the language is evidently addressed to a community of persons who have passed through affliction together; and are spoken of as those who have been despised, whose righteousness has now been exalted. But if it is addressed to a community, the distresses can hardly be spiritual: and it is possible, though I should not like to affirm it positively, that the persons addressed are those Judaeo-Christians at Pella, who escaped from the siege of Jerusalem by flight, in harmony with the evangelic precepts. The Ode to which we have been referring finds a striking parallel in Ode 9, where we have as follows:

> 'For I announce to you peace, to you His saints: that none of those who hear may fall in war, and that those again who have known Him may not perish.....There have been wars on account of the crown. Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord. And all those who have conquered shall be written in His book. For their book is victory.'

Is this spiritual or carnal warfare? the concluding sentences sound like the language of the Apocalypse, 'To him that overcometh,' and in that case, are spiritual. But the opening sentences sound like an exemption from actual strife and its dangers: and this might again be compared with the condition of the Judaeo-Christians at Pella.

When we turn to Ode 29 we have again allusion to victory over one's enemies, and to war made by the word of the Lord. But as this Ode is definitely Christian, and its language is parallel to the vigorous expressions of Paul about the casting down of imaginations and the bringing of every thought into the captivity of obedience to Christ, we may be sure that the warfare and the victories are spiritual. Examine the following sentences:

> 'From the mouth of death he drew me back, and I laid my enemies low, and He justified me by His grace: for I believed in the Lord's Messiah.'

These are certainly spiritual statements: justification by grace through faith in Christ is the record of spiritual experience, and the victories must be interpreted in the same sense: and so must the following:

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cf. Ps. cx. 2
cf. 2 Cor. x. 5

'He gave me the rod of His power:
that I might subdue the imaginations of the peoples:
and the power of the men of might to bring them low:
to make war by His word,
and to take victory by His power:
And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His word:
and he became like the stubble that the wind carries away.'

So far, then, as this 29th Ode is concerned, it is a Christian and a spiritual product, and relates to a warfare that is not carnal.

We come now to a much more difficult Psalm of conflict, the story of a triumph over a dragon with seven heads.

The fight with the Dragon.

In the twenty-second Ode the Lord is praised because

'He overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads:
Thou hast raised me up over his roots, that I might destroy his seed:
. . . . . .
Thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison, &c. &c.'

Then follows an account of the raising of an army of dead bodies, something like the scene in Ezekiel's valley of dry bones.

The Ode is a striking one and attracted the attention of the author of the *Pistis Sophia*, who found in the dragon with seven heads one of the Emanations that threatened the upward progress of Sophia. When Sophia escapes from these Emanations, she does it to the music of the ninety-first Psalm, in which it is promised that the believer shall tread on the lion and the dragon. And the *Pistis Sophia* says (p. 140):

'Conculcabat προβολην cum facie basilisci serpentis, *cui septem erant capita*; et conculcabat vim cum facie leonis et cum facie δρακοντος. Feci πιστιν σοφιαν manere stantem super προβολην αὐθαδους, quae habet faciem basilisci serpentis, *cui sunt septem capita*.'

and (p. 147)

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> 'Atque verbum quod tua vis luminis dixit per Davidem: meabis super serpentem et basiliscum..... super hos, qui sunt facie serpentis, et super hos, qui facie basilisci serpentis, *quibus septem sunt capita.*'

And then the Ode of Solomon is quoted and commented on. The *Pistis Sophia*, therefore, has annexed this dragon with seven heads and given him a spiritual interpretation. We may say that the dragon was the cause of the quotation of the Ode. As far as natural history goes, he is a lay figure. But is this the original idea? We remember that in the eighteen Psalms of Solomon, the dragon is palpable and tangible: he is Pompey himself, and not a spiritual force or opposing influence.

Then there is an even closer parallel to our Ode, in the almost contemporary twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse; a dragon with seven heads and ten horns persecutes the woman who brings forth the man-child. And the same dragon appears to be intended in the seventeenth chapter, where it is ridden by the mystical Babylon that makes war with the saints. The dragon stands for the power of Antichrist[1], exhibited especially in the adverse action of imperial Rome. This, then, is the nearest parallel to the situation in our Ode.

Now the situation cannot be reduced to an actual war, as when Rome subdues Jerusalem under Pompey, for in these wars Rome always wins: so it must be some other form of conflict, either the passive resistance and triumph of the saints in times of persecution, or the conflict between truth and error, which results in the defeat of heretical teaching.

The Odist refers to the conflict as a personal one carried on from place to place by himself:

> 'Thou hast raised me up over his roots to destroy his seed: thou wast there and didst help me; and in every place thy name was blessed by me: thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison.'

This is the story, not of a persecution, but of a conflict

[1] Thus Irenaeus, in denouncing the Gnostic leaders, such as Simon Magus, and Carpocrates, calls them expressly the precursors of the dragon, who is by his magic going to cast down from Heaven the third part of the stars; that is, Simon and Carpocrates are rehearsals of the coming Antichrist. See Irenaeus (ed. Mass. 164).

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between truth and error: and the dragon with seven heads stands, not for a world-power nor an aggressive world-ruler, but for the Antichrist who is spreading the poison of false doctrine and must be confuted from city to city. A parallel situation would be the conflict between Peter and Simon Magus in the Clementine Homilies. Who this Antichrist is, in the mind of the writer, or what is the special form of error that is combated, we have not sufficient information to decide: and for that reason must leave the historical situation somewhat obscure.

The next Ode to be discussed, in the hope of finding some points of contact with history, is the twenty-third: and it is the most difficult of all the Odes to interpret, and quite unlike any of the other compositions in the series.

The mysterious letter.

After some opening sentences, affirming that Joy, Grace and Love are the marks of the elect of God, we are informed that a letter was mysteriously sent down from heaven to earth, as if it had been shot from a bow. People rushed to read it; but it was talismaned by a seal, which none dared to break. Like the tables of the law, it was wholly written by the finger of God and the name of the Trinity was on it.

A mysterious wheel (?) protects the letter from venturesome or hostile hands. This wheel with the sign upon it went down to the feet, along with the head. Perplexing as this language is, it appears to be explained of Christ's descent into Hades: for in Ode 42, where there is an account of Christ's under-world triumph, we are informed that death cast Him up, and *let go the feet with the head.* Christ is the head, and the feet are those members of His who are imprisoned in Hades. This explains our statement about the head going down to the feet. It seems, then, that the mysterious letter has something in it relating to the *Descensus ad Inferos.*

We may compare it with the little book in Apoc. v., which is sealed so that no one can open it, and read it: here there are seven seals, which are to be broken successively. Another suggestive parallel would be the letter in the Bardesanian Hymn of the Soul, which is sent to rouse the King's Son in Egypt[1].

[1] See *Acts of Thomas* for the Hymn, and the translation of it in Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity.*

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This letter was also talismaned with a powerful seal:

'This was my letter, sealed with the King's own seal on the cover,
Lest it should fall in the hands of the fierce Babylonian Demons.'

It flew rapidly as an eagle:

'High it flew as the Eagle, King of the birds of the heaven,
Flew and alighted beside me, and spoke in the speech of my country.'

Such flying letters are not uncommon in Apocryphal literature: one such is sent by Baruch to Babylon, and carried by an eagle. The machinery is not unlike that in our Ode.

We have not, however, succeeded in finding a historical situation for this Ode and the implied document.

It does not seem to belong to the main body of the collection; it may, however, be connected with the forty-second Ode, and both of them may belong to a later period than the rest of the book.

The deceiver and his bride.

We referred above to the suggestions furnished in Ode 22 of a conflict with Antichrist in the form of some heretical teaching, whose poison was being widely diffused. This suggestion finds some further confirmation in Ode 38, where the writer refers to his pursuit of Truth and the protection which it gave him from the poisons and plagues of Error. He came across a mysterious Bridegroom and Bride, who are corrupting the whole world, and giving them to drink from a cup which, in Circean manner, makes away with their understanding. The Odist escapes by Divine Grace, and by his passion for Truth. But who are these that furnish the blandishments that our writer succeeds in resisting? It cannot be the language of a mere crusader in favour of celibacy, though we know there was a strong tendency in the early Church, especially in the East, to regard all married life as a form of corruption that was to be avoided. But here a mysterious Bridegroom and Bride spread a seductive table before the world, and after they have intoxicated their victims, they forsake them as soon as they have robbed them of their understanding. This can hardly be the language of a general hostility to

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marriage. And it seems more natural to regard the seducers in the Ode as real people, who are bewitching the world. One thinks of 'thy wife Jezebel' in Apoc. ii. 20, of Simon Magus, and his 'lost sheep' Helena, or some other of the many Anti-christs with whom the Church had to contend in the first and second centuries. The description in the Ode is too shadowy for a more exact identification.

Jew or Gentile?

In one passage in the Odes the writer speaks of himself in language which suggests that he was by birth a Gentile, and that he was looked upon by those to whom he had joined himself with astonishment. The Ode to which we refer is the forty-first, where in the midst of a noble strain of Christian exultation and confession of Christ and the great day that has dawned in Him, we find:

> 'Let us exult with the joy of the Lord. All that see me will be astonished: for I am from another race: the Father of Truth remembered me.'

The writer is explaining his position in a Christian community as a Gentile amongst Jews. He explains his faith in a Saviour who 'makes alive and does not reject our souls.'

The language suits the first century better than the second, and the Church in Palestine better than that in Asia Minor, Greece or Egypt.

Christ receives Gentiles.

In another Ode, Christ Himself makes something like an apology for the reception of the Gentiles. Thus in Ode 10:

> 'I was strengthened and made mighty and took the world captive.....The Gentiles were gathered together who were scattered abroad. *And I was unpolluted by my love*.....They became my people for ever and ever.'

There can be no doubt that this Ode is Messianic, and that, to put it in the lowest possible terms, it is explanatory of the coming in of the Gentiles. No such explanation, or, if we prefer it, apology, would be natural in Corinth or in Ephesus. It belongs farther East, and seems to me to savour, in any case, of the first century. Certainly the Gentile could not feel himself isolated,

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nor have to be apologized for in the great Churches of the West, nor in the second century, when Gentile bishops began to appear in Jerusalem itself.

There is another direction in which the writers of the Odes show a curious contact with Judaism.

The coat of skin.

It is well known that the teaching of the earliest Christians and of the philosophically minded Jews of the first century made a special study of the story of creation in the first chapters of Genesis, which they systematically allegorised. We have a statement of Anastasius the Sinaite that all the early Christian exegetes, from Papias onward, interpreted the Hexahemeron, or Six days of Creation, by reference to Christ and the Church[1]. And those who did not make this direct mystical reference, especially the great Alexandrines, followed Philo in a general allegorisation of the narrative. Many of these explanations, whether Jewish or Christian, are well known. But there is one case which is more obscure. The clothing of Adam and Eve with coats of skins at the time of their expulsion from Paradise was a point that required explanation, and taxed the ingenuity of Philo himself. In his *Questions upon Genesis* he first apologizes for the homely occupation attributed to the Most High, and argues that at any rate simple leather garb is superior to purple and fine linen, and then he boldly breaks away from the literal explanation and says that the coat of skin simply means the human body, which is the receptacle for the Mind and the Life which God had already created.

Now this interpretation is not confined to Philo[2], for there is a steady stream of Rabbinical opinion which has coloured the folk-lore of Eastern Europe that Adam had before his fall a nature clothed in light, like God Himself 'whose robe is the light,' and that after his fall the light was replaced by the ordinary integument. It will be interesting to trace this belief, which agrees with that of Philo so far as to make the coat of skin to be the human body, and to see whether it has left its mark on early Christian circles of thought.

The origin of the belief appears to be indicated by a various

[1] See Routh, *Rell.* i. 15.

[2] We find it, for example, in the Encratite Cassianus in the second century, according to the testimony of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 14), χιτῶνας δὲ δερματίνους ἡγεῖται ὁ Κασσιανὸς τὰ σώματα.

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reading of the passage, Gen. iii. 21, which is credited to a MS. belonging at one time to Rabbi Meir[1], viz. that instead of

כתנות עור = coats of skin

we should read

כתנות אור = coats of light.

We could then translate the passage, 'And for Adam and his wife Jahveh Elohim had made coats of light and had clothed them.' It is quite possible that this may be the origin of the Rabbinical conceit as to the 'Light-Body' of Adam. And the opinion is strongly reflected upon European folk-lore. It appears also in Gnostic circles: for we find in the Bardesanian *Hymn of the Soul* which is embedded in the *Acts of Thomas*, that the Prince who forgets the Imperial Palace whence he came, in his journey to Egypt to find the Pearl of great price, had left behind him in the homeland the robe of glory with which he had been adorned. The account tells us

> 'They took off from me the glittering robe, which in their affection they had made for me, and the purple toga which was measured and woven to my stature.'

He puts on the disguise of an Egyptian dress and forgets his race and his country. When the young Prince comes to himself in the far country, he gets possession of the pearl, and promptly strips off from him the filthy and unclean dress in which he was clad. On his way home, the robe came to meet him; it fitted him closely and seemed to be a mirror of himself. It was, in fact, his double, and had grown, with his growth, during his long absence.

Prof. Burkitt points out that this Heavenly Robe represents the Body Celestial, it is 'our house which is from heaven':

'That which St Paul desired was no fixed "house" or "habitation" but a Heavenly Form. So here, too, the Robe is no article of clothing, but a Bright Form. The Syriac word means *The Bright* or *The Shining* thing. It is "put off" and "put on" by the Soul[2].'

Here, then, we have a companion to the belief in the Body of

[1] So in Midrash Rabboth:

> 'In the Thorah of Rabbi Meir they found it written, Coats of light: these are the garments of the first Adam.'

[2] Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 215.

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Light which belonged to Adam before he fell from celestial to terrestrial life. The two ideas, that of the pre-existent soul that has to leave heaven for earth, and that of the unfallen creation of God, whose environment is changed from a coat of light to a coat of skin, are evidently worked out on parallel lines.

Now it is not difficult to recognise the traces of the clothing of the Old Adam and the clothing of the original Man, who is also the New Adam, in the New Testament. We have, for example, the instruction to put off the Old Man, and to put on the New Man, or to put on (it is the language of clothing) the Lord Jesus Christ. But what we want now to examine is whether there are any similar traces in our Odes. Is there any doctrine of a Light-Body or of a Skin-Body? Let us see. For instance, in Ode 25, we have

> 'In me there shall be nothing that is not light: and I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit, and I cast away from me *my raiment of skin*.'

Here we have the very figure of the third chapter of Genesis, explained in a spiritual manner of the conversion and regeneration of the Soul.

Something similar to this appears in Ode 21,

> 'I put off darkness and clothed myself with light.'

Very nearly the same idea is involved in Ode 11,

> 'I forsook the folly which is spread over the earth, and I stripped it off and cast it from me: and the Lord renewed me in His raiment (cf. Ps. civ. 2) and possessed me by His light.'

And notice that this re-creating act of God is immediately followed by the statement of Paradise Regained: we are engaged in an allegory of the third chapter of Genesis. I think it will be admitted that the writer (or writers) of the Odes knew the allegorical explanation of the coat of skin with which Adam was clad. If this be conceded, then we must again recognise that we are moving in Jewish circles, for it is very unlikely that, at the early date required for our Odes, a Jewish conceit could have penetrated very far into the Gentile world. The 'coat of

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skin' is a significant proof of the Jewish or semi-Jewish authorship of the Odes[1]. [It appears again in the *Kabbala*, as Mr G. R. S. Mead points out to me. *Zohar* ii. 229 b: 'When Adam was in the Garden of Eden, he was dressed in the celestial garment, which is a Garment of Heavenly Light. But when he was expelled from the Garden of Eden and became subject to the wants of this world, what is written? The Lord God (Elohim) made coats of skins to Adam and his wife and clothed them (Gen. iii. 21), for, prior to this, they had Garments of Light —Light of that Light which was used in the Garden of Eden.' For further allusion to the coats of light see *Sepher Hayyashar* in Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, tom. ii. coll. 1102—1150.]

This allegorical treatment of the particular case in question could not have continued very long in use in the Church, because of the complication with the story of the fig-leaves; if the coat of skin is the human body, what are the fig-leaves? Evidently the allegory will have over-reached itself. It will survive, however, in folk-lore and in Gnosticism.

It may, perhaps, be objected that the interpretation of the coats of skins as equivalent to human bodies might just as well be Gnostic as Judaeo-Christian. For instance, we have quoted above the language of Cassian the Gnostic for this very belief[2]. But we have not only detected the equation of the coat of skin with the human body; we have also found traces of the belief in a coat of light which has been lost when the coat of skin was acquired, and have connected this belief with a various reading, or a Rabbinical conceit, in the text of Gen. iii. 21. So that, while it is quite likely that some early forms of Gnosticism depend directly upon Palestinian teaching, we ought also to allow that the language of our Odes on this subject is very near to the source of the Gnosis, which is very nearly the same thing as saying that it is not Gnostic. We will illustrate this by showing another case of allegorisation of the text of Genesis,

[1] For the curious developments of this belief in an original light-body of Adam which are current in Eastern Europe, we may consult Dähnhardt, *Natursagen* ii. 225. The coat of light was held to be of the nature of horn, and this bright integument fell away when Adam and Eve sinned. All that remains of it is the human nails!

[2] We might also have quoted Valentinus, the prince of the Gnostics; for according to Irenaeus' account of Valentinus' cosmogony, the Demiurge first fashioned the *ἄνθρωπος χοϊκός* from some invisible and fluid substance, and then clothed him in the 'coat of skin' which is *τὸ αἰσθητὸν σαρκίον* (cf. Iren. ed. Mass. p. 27).

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which might be claimed as Gnostic, if it were not a recognised fact that the allegorising of these early chapters of Genesis is common to all the early Christian fathers.

Paradise Regained and the bitter herbs.

In Ode 11 we have a beautiful sketch of the recovery of the lost Paradise, and of the blessedness of those who are planted in that land (being considered as 'trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord') or who live by the fruit of the trees (being considered as those who have returned to the privileges of the unfallen Adam). Incidentally it is stated that such persons 'have turned from wickedness to God's delights, and have turned back the bitterness of the trees from them, when planted in God's land.'

The metaphor is confused; on the one hand the believers are the trees, on the other hand they are the denizens of Paradise, who will have nothing to do with the bitterness of the trees. Disentangling the similitudes we see that the entry into Paradise goes along with an avoidance of certain bitter trees or products of trees. Can we find out what this means?

The early interpreters of Genesis had to face a Divine injunction to eat of every tree in the Garden, with one single exception of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. But this injunction raised the question as to whether all the trees, herbs and fruits were fit to eat. What about the bitter herbs? The answer could only be, either that there were no bitter herbs, or else that they were to be avoided as uneatable, being made for some other uses. The author of the Ode to which we refer evidently takes the latter view: there are bitter herbs, but they are to be avoided. He does not think them useless, for nothing is useless in the Paradise of God. Now this doctrine of the avoidance of the bitter herbs had been credited to our Lord Himself, in a conversation between Himself and Salome, which has been preserved for us by Clement of Alexandria from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*. The passage is strongly Encratite. Salome asks how long death is to rule over men, and receives the answer that it is as long as women bear children. 'Then,' rejoined Salome enquiringly, 'I did well in not having any children?' to which suggestion our Lord replies, 'Eat every herb, but shun the bitter herb.' It is certain that this reply is based upon the language of Genesis, *e.g.* Gen. i. 29 'Behold! I have given you every herb, whose seed is in itself

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on the face of the whole earth and all the trees...to you they shall be for food': and Gen. ii. 9 'And the Lord God had brought forth from the ground every tree that was fair to the sight and pleasant to the taste,' &c. It is clear, then, that the language of Jesus in the passage cited from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, refers to the Garden of Eden. What, then, is meant by shunning the bitter herb? If we examine the passage in which Clement of Alexandria discusses the meaning (*Strom.* iii. 9), we shall find that he is opposing a school of Encratites, who said that the bitter herb was marriage. Clement, himself, who is Anti-encratite will have none of this: he challenges the opinion and affirms that marriage is not a sin, nor is there anything bitter about the rearing or producing of children. So he rejects the Encratite doctrine. In so doing, he has shown us that the doctrine existed and that it was a wide-spread interpretation. What shall we say, then, of the writer of our eleventh Ode? If he says that the saints restored to the life of Paradise have nothing to do with the bitter trees, must we not allow that he, too, is allegorising and that he holds Encratite views with regard to marriage? Such views were wide-spread in the early Christian Church, and survived in Gnostic circles, as in the Old Syrian Church, and amongst the followers of Tatian, but I do not see that they need to be especially labelled Gnostic, since they spring quite naturally out of the allegorical treatment of the first chapters of Genesis, or attached themselves easily to that particular form of interpretation[1].

This case of the 'bitter herbs' and the previous one of the 'coat of skin,' are the closest points of contact of primitive teaching with Gnosticism. I do not see that we need to definitely attach the Gnostic label.

We shall see presently that the writer of the main body of the Odes does not keep the Sabbath and gives very early Christian reason for his neglect of that Jewish duty.

We may now go on to discuss the traces of Christian Scriptures in our book of Odes, and the dogmatic and ecclesiastical position of the writer or writers involved.

[1] We may compare the *Acts of Thomas*, where the King's son and his bride are persuaded by our Lord to renounce marriage, and 'the care of children, the end of whom is *bitter* sorrow.' The bride explains to her mother, 'I have not had intercourse with a husband, the end whereof is *bitter* repentance.'

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Use of Scriptures.

When we examine the Odes to see how far they are under the influence of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, we find the problem is quite different from that which presents itself in the eighteen Psalms. In these the use of the Old Testament is patent both in language and in quotation, as one can see by examining the portions of the Psalms which are printed in uncial type by Ryle and James, in order to mark the coincidence of language with the Old Testament. Moreover certain parts of the prophets, especially the latter part of Isaiah, have been closely studied and followed: and it is the recognition of this fact that has suggested to Felix Perles some of his most attractive emendations through the supposed original Hebrew[1].

But in the case of the Odes we are at a loss: we cannot tell what Greek lies behind the Syriac, except in a very few cases: and this makes linguistic identifications difficult and almost impossible: nor does the examination of the ideas which the writer expresses lead to a large harvest of coincidences with the Canonical Psalter or the Hebrew Prophets. Perhaps this is natural, in view of the originality of the writer, with whom it was easier to say inspired things than to report them.

When we turn to the New Testament, the result is equally surprising: the name of the Gospel is not found, nor the name of Jesus: direct historical references are limited to those events which are recorded in the Creed, to which we may perhaps add an oblique allusion to Christ's power to walk on the waters, with a possible allusion to the Dove at the Baptism. Not a single saying of Jesus is directly quoted, though there seem to be one or two indirect references. For instance Christ's yoke is spoken of in Ode 42 ('my yoke was over those that love me') and there is one passage in Ode 22, which looks like a reflexion from the words 'on this rock I will build my church' (Matt. xvi. 18)[2]: only in this case if coincidence were more than accidental, the Ode has the substitution of Kingdom for Church, which suggests for it priority over the Evangelic language.

Setting aside for the moment the question of the use of

[1] Perles: *Zur Erklärung der Psalmen Salomos.* Berlin, 1902.

[2] *l.c.* 'That the foundation of everything might be thy rock: and on it thou didst build thy Kingdom.'

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Johannine writings, and of the Apocalypse, we find next to nothing from the Pauline Epistles: there is a sentence in Ode 3,

> 'The Lord is zealous that those things should be known, which by His grace have been given to us,'

which may perhaps be an echo of 1 Cor. ii. 12 'that we may know the things which are freely given us of God.' We have also some doubtful references to Rom. viii. 35, 36 in Ode 1 ('I shall not be separated from Him') and Ode 5 ('If everything should be shaken, I stand firm') and Ode 28 ('The sword shall not divide me from Him, nor the scimitar'), and there are occasional allusions to salvation and justification by Divine Grace. There are also frequent allusions, which have a Pauline ring, to Christ as the Head, to whom believers are the members. The figure is worked out so as to include the souls in Hades, who are Christ's feet[1].

Frequent allusions to a living crown can be illustrated from 1 Pet. v. 4 and from Jac. i. 12 and Apoc. ii. 10, but no direct quotations can be established. They may all run back into a primitive Logion, 'I will give thee a crown of life.'

The chief coincidences with the Apocalypse are in the title of 'the Living One' (Apoc. i. 17) given to Christ (but this was also at the beginning of the book of Sayings of Jesus[2]): in some of the expressions of victory over spiritual enemies, and the possession of Paradise and its trees, as well as in the allusion to an opposing dragon with seven heads, and perhaps to the story of the Sealed Book. It is doubtful if any of these parallelisms can be pressed to the point of established quotation: the dragon with seven heads is, perhaps, the best case for an identification: but it will be remembered that dragons are a common feature of apocalyptical machinery in the period to which the Odes must belong.

Ode 3. 11. Cf. Ode 8. 24.

It is when we come to the Gospel and Epistles of John that we find the community of ideas to be the most pronounced. We have clear statements that Christ is the Word, that He is before the foundation of the world; that He bestows living

[1] As in Ode 42.

[2] *l.c.* 'These are the [wonderful] words which Jesus the Living One spake': a form of introduction which is imitated in the Coptic Book of Jeu.

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water abundantly; that He is the door of everything; that He stands to His people in the relation of Lover to Beloved: that they love Him because He first loved them (for so we may interpret the language of Ode 3: 'I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not loved me'), that their love to the Christ makes them His friends (Ode 8). These and similar phrases betray a Johannine atmosphere: but do they betray the use of the Fourth Gospel? The problem is, on a wider scale, something like that which arises in the discussion whether Valentinus the Gnostic used the Fourth Gospel. Hippolytus tells us in his *Refutation of Heresies* (p. 185) that Valentinus taught that 'God the Father was all love, but love is not love where there is no object of love. So the Father begat two emanations, *νοῦς* and *ἀλήθεια*[1].' Now is that a case of the Fourth Gospel or not? The serious critic would hesitate to affirm it; yet the language is very like that of our third Ode; and it would probably be wise to hold the judgment in suspense with regard to the use of the Fourth Gospel in the Odes, especially when it is so difficult to trace any other Gospel quotation or incident, or Saying of Jesus. But I think it will be conceded that we are in a Johannine atmosphere.

One coincidence has been detected between the Odes and the Ignatian Epistles, in the allusion to 'talking water'; but there is no need to assume quotation on either side, the language being sufficiently explained by the folk-lore of the time.

The net result of these comparisons is to place the collection of Odes at a very early period in the history of the Christian Church. One or two of them had already been referred to the early part of the second century, on account of the almost canonical use made of them in the *Pistis Sophia*. The main body of the Odes, when studied, takes us in the same direction, only perhaps somewhat further.

Dogmatic of the Odes.

We come now to the question of the underlying doctrines which can be traced in the Odes. We have already alluded to Christ's pre-existence[2], to His pre-eminence in the Church[3], and to the spiritual union between Himself and believers[4]. We have also pointed out some refer-

[1] 'Αγάπη γάρ, φησίν, ἦν ὅλος, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγάπη, ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ τὸ ἀγαπώμενον.

[2] As in Ode 28, Ode 41, &c.

[3] As in Ode 31, Ode 33, &c.

[4] As in Ode 3, Ode 42, &c.

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ences to His yoke, and to the foundation of His Kingdom, and to His power to walk upon the stormy waters.

One of the strongest expressions with regard to the nature of Christ will be found in Ode 41, where He is called 'the Son of the Most High, who appeared in the perfection of His Father, ...the Word that was before-time in Him, the Messiah *or* Christ who is truly one, and was known before the foundation of the world.' In the words 'The Christ is truly one,' taken in connexion with the other statements as to His pre-existence, we have suggestions of controversy, over a division in the nature of Christ, of which, perhaps, the earliest known trace is in the first Epistle of John[1] (*πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν*) where the various reading, *λύει* for *μὴ ὁμολογεῖ*, if not primitive, is certainly very early. This Ode cannot come from a Docetic, nor can it easily be referred to an Adoptionist source[2].

An equally pronounced Christology may be detected in Ode 29 where the writer says,

> 'I believed in the Lord's Messiah,
> And it appeared to me that He is the Lord.'

We must not too hastily assume that all these statements come from one hand, and we must be prepared to find, along with variety of authorship (if that can be made out), a variety also of theological definitions. There are some Odes which are a little hard of explanation on orthodox lines, because they appear to use Adoptionist language[3]. But if this suggests subordination of Christ to the Father, in another Ode it is the Holy Spirit that is subordinate, for we are told (Ode 24) that 'the Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head[4].' Again in the Ode previously quoted (Ode 36) it appears to follow that the Holy Spirit was the Mother of Jesus, which we know to have been a feature of Ebionite belief. These variations suggest that theology had not fixed her land-

[1] 1 John iv. 3.

[2] Cf. Novatian, *De Trinitate* 30. Irenaeus (M. 206 *et passim*): 'Non ergo alterum Filium novit evangelium nisi hunc qui ex Maria est, qui et passus est, sed neque Christum avolantem ante passionem ab Jesu.'

[3] As in Ode 36.

[4] In later ages this would be known as the heresy of Macedonius, but the language here is innocent of heretical intention.

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marks nor laid down her definitions. On the other hand, it is clear that the Odes do not regard Christ as a mere man, but as a pre-existent being and as the Divine Logos. One Ode has the doctrine of the Trinity under a grotesque form worthy of the Middle Ages. But this Ode we are unwilling to class with the rest of the book.

In regard to the points of early Christian belief which occur in the Odes, it is clear that the Crucifixion is definitely alluded to, less clearly the Resurrection; but what surprises us is the extraordinary emphasis upon the Virgin Birth and the Descent into Hades. The former of these is in a state of evolution beyond the Canonical Gospels: the birth is explained as painless[1], and unexpected: we are on the very verge of the details which occur in the apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy.

The other Article of the Creed, the Descent into Hades, is also treated with picturesque detail, very much as in the Gospel of Nicodemus. Just as in the latter gospel[2] Hades complains of the inward pain which he feels and which intimates an approaching discharge of imprisoned souls, so in Ode 42 we are told that 'Hades saw me and *was miserable*: death *cast me up*, and many along with me.' But the prayer of the Souls in Hades is very fine, and has no vulgar suggestions of Jonah and the Whale about it, such as we find in the byways of Patristic literature.

It will, perhaps, be said that the advanced state of evolution of these two dogmas renders it impossible that the collection should be referred to the end of the first century[3]. There is,

[1] Here, at all events, we are in the region of folk-lore; the Chinese legend of the birth and conception of Hou-tsi, the founder of the dynasty of Tchū, runs on the same line. His mother brought him forth as a tender lamb without effort, without pain and without pollution. See amongst the Chinese Classics, the *Shi-King* III. ii. 1, which has been Englished as follows:

'Lo! when her carrying time was done,
Came like a lamb her first-born son,
No pains of labour suffered she—
No hurt, no pain, no injury.'

Cf. *Ev. Ps. Matthaei*, c. 13 'Nulla pollutio sanguinis facta est in nascente, nullus dolor in parturiente.'

[2] Tischendorf, *Evan. Apocrypha*, p. 396 'Contremui perterritus pavore, et omnia officia mea simul mecum conturbata sunt.'

B. H. Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 305 'For lo! I see that all I have ever swallowed are in commotion and my belly is in pain' (Jonah ii. 2); which is taken from the Greek *Descensus*, see Tisch. *l.c.* p. 327.

[3] The Descent into Hades is a first century doctrine. Harnack says of it: 'the notion of a *descensus ad inferna*...commended itself on the ground of Old

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however, an alternative suggestion, that the forty-second Ode, for instance, may be a later product: for it has not been demonstrated that all the Odes come from the same hand or time.

Church Order and Discipline.

The organic life of the Church can hardly be detected in the book of Odes. The Church itself is not mentioned, unless it should be in the reference to a Pure Virgin in Ode 33 who stands and proclaims the invitation of the Gospel. The figure of the Pure Virgin is well known[1] to have been a common one in the first and second centuries, and has influenced the New Testament itself. But the Pure Virgin may equally well be the Divine Wisdom who stands and calls men[2].

There is also the implication of corporate unity in the figure of the Head and the members[3]: this may be directly derived from St Paul. Of Church officials there are only, (*a*) the writer of Ode 20 who calls himself a priest of God and defines his priesthood as any mystic might, as the offering to God of the sacrifice of his thought, and (*b*) there are a body of persons engaged in carrying the water of life to the thirsty, who are called Blessed Ministers or Blessed Deacons (Ode 6): we may compare the language of Perpetua concerning 'Tertius and Pomponius, *blessed deacons* who ministered to us,' who bribed the gaolers and obtained us relief. But the writer of the Odes does not necessarily mean anything so highly evolved as the ministry of the African Church at the beginning of the third century. His ministers have a commission to preach the word and are counted happy in so doing.

Sacraments.

Of Sacraments the Odes do not seem to know much[4]. The only directions in which one could look for references to Baptism would be (i) the Living Water, (ii) the allusion to the Seal. Of the former it is unnecessary to speak. It is frankly impossible that the living water which the thirsty are invited in the Scriptures to come and take freely can

Testament prediction. In the first century, however, it still remained uncertain, lying on the borders of those productions of religious fancy which were not at once able to acquire a right of citizenship in the communities.' *Hist. of Dogma*, i. 202, Eng. tr.

[1] *e.g.* 2 Cor. xi. 2, and cf. Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22. In the letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienna (c. 12) the Virgin Mother is the Church (καὶ ἐνεγίνετο πολλὴ χαρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ μητρί).

[2] Cf. Proverbs viii. 1, 2.

[3] As in Ode 1, Ode 17, &c.

[4] [Unless Diettrich and Bernard should be right that the whole of the hymns are charged with references to Baptism: see preface for details of the argument.]

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be any outward affusion: but perhaps something ought to be said of the Seal, because although, in the New Testament, this is a term used of the gift of the Holy Spirit, it is often employed by Patristic writers to denote baptism and the baptized (*e.g.* in the epitaph of Abercius and elsewhere).

In the Odes we have plenty of reference to seals: we have the abysses of Hades sealed up with the Lord's seal in Ode 24: we have the mysterious Letter from Heaven sealed with a magic seal in Ode 23; and we have in Ode 4 a statement of the talismanic power of the Seal of God, which angels as well as men possess and which all creation knows and fears. And in Ode 8 the Lord says He has set His seal upon the faces of His people, just as we have in the Apocalypse (vii. 3, xiv. 1). But in the Apocalypse, as Dr Swete points out, the seal is not sacramental. Perhaps it was a taboo-mark of some Jewish sect.

If there is any scriptural reference in this doctrine of the Seal, it must be sought in Ezekiel ix., and the ink-mark which an angelic scribe is told to set on the righteous[1]. The seal is alluded to in the extant Psalms of Solomon (Ps. Sol. xv. 6) where we are told that 'the sign (*σημεῖον*) of God is upon the righteous for Salvation.' It is, therefore, a pre-Christian conception. Here Perles very naturally compared Ezekiel ix. 6 and supplied the Haggadic explanation from Shabbath 55[a], as follows:

> 'God spake to Gabriel: Go and stamp on the forehead of the righteous a mark of ink, that the destroying angels may have no power over him[2]: and on the forehead of the hypocrites a mark of blood, that the destroying angels may acquire power over them.'

From this talismanic sign (with which the archangels are here entrusted), there was developed, as is well known, the doctrine of the talismanic virtue of the sign of the cross in baptism. But this development (arising out of an interpretation of the use of the letter Tau as the sign in Ezekiel) is, I think, later than what we have in the Odes[3]. There does not seem, therefore, to be any definite allusion to Baptism. We can see

[1] In the East it is still common to seal with ink.

[2] Cf. Ode 4. 7, 8 'who is there that shall put on thy grace and be hurt? for thy seal is known.'

[3] We have it in Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii. 22 where the letter Tau is explained to be 'the very form of the Cross which was foretold to be the sign upon our foreheads.'

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the later interpretation very clearly in Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* iv. 27, who says that the gods cannot approach those in whom they see the heavenly mark, nor hurt those whom the sign as an impregnable wall protects, which is very like Ode 4. 7, 8. Perhaps Lactantius has here a reminiscence of the Ode[1].

As to the Eucharist, I can find no allusion whatever: there are no references to the religious use of bread and wine; the writers of the Odes seem to prefer milk and honey; but these are not spoken of sacramentally, but mystically and allegorically.

The allegorical use of the terms 'milk and honey' is natural enough in view of the Old Testament descriptions of the Land of Promise: but it should be remembered that there are traces of a milk-and-honey sacrament in the early Church. For example in the Epistle of Barnabas[2], we have a question raised as to the meaning of the milk and honey in the Old Testament. And after some preliminary allegorising to show that the believers in Jesus are themselves the good land, he asks, 'Why milk and honey?' And the answer is that 'the young child is first quickened with honey and then with milk.'

Probably this refers in the first instance to a folk-lore custom in connexion with newly-born children, but it seems to have very early developed into a Christian sacrament for new converts, who had been born again into the Kingdom of God[3].

It does not, however, seem that the milk-and-honey passages in the Odes will bear the sacramental interpretation. The nineteenth Ode, for example, has no suggestion of a recent conversion about it. The only one where it seems possible to make connexion with the new-birth is Ode 8, where the Lord says, 'My own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby'; this might perhaps, in view of the previous reference to the 'seal upon the faces,' be interpreted sacramentally, but it does not seem likely. The baptismal sacrament, as we have shown, is not milk but milk and honey.

[1] 'Sed quoniam neque accedere ad eos possunt, in quibus coelestem notam viderint, nec iis nocere, quos signum immortale munierit, tanquam inexpugnabilis murus.'

[2] c. 6.

[3] Besides Barnabas, we may refer to Tertullian, *De corona*, c. 3 (inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus): *Adv. Marc.* i. 14: Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6, p. 128: Coptic Canons, ii. 46, &c.

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The only allusion to wine is in the account of the Seducer in Ode 38, who lays plots for the elect and wishes, by an intoxicating cup, to rob them of their reason. So far as the enquiry has gone, the Odes are hardly to be quoted in the history of the Sacraments; they ought, therefore, to belong to an early period of evolution in the organic life of the Church.

The lost Second Ode.

There is still something to be said with regard to the missing portions of our MS. The closing portions of the 18 Psalms of Solomon are preserved for us adequately in the Greek, but the lacuna at the beginning of the Odes is serious, and involves the whole of the second Ode, and the beginning of the third Ode.

It has occurred to me that perhaps a sentence from this second Ode may be preserved in Clement of Alexandria. For in his *Protrepticus* (p. 5) we have the following sentence: *ὁ δὲ ἐκ Δαβίδ, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, λύραν μὲν καὶ κιθάραν, τὰ ἄψυχα ὄργανα, ὑπεριδών, κόσμον δὲ τόνδε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν σμικρὸν κόσμον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ψυχήν τε καὶ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἁρμοσάμενος, ψάλλει τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ πολυφώνου ὀργάνου καὶ προσᾴδει τούτῳ τῷ ὀργάνῳ, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,*

Σὺ γὰρ εἶ κιθάρα καὶ αὐλὸς καὶ ναὸς ἐμός.

Thus according to Clement the Word of God made music of its own, earlier than David and upon a loftier instrument than his harp and lyre; for its music was produced from the macrocosm of creation and the microcosm of the body and soul of man: to this instrument of many strings[1] it sings and addresses the instrument itself, saying to it:

'Tis thou my harp, and flute and temple art.'

Now this is a quotation from some poetical composition, and we may infer that it is a fragment of an early Psalm or hymn. Accordingly Potter notes on it as follows:

'Christi verba, ut videtur, a sacro hymno citata.'

But if it is a hymn, there are two considerations which suggest that it came from the Odes of Solomon: first, it is one of the features of these Odes (often causing no little perplexity) that the singer makes his Psalm, either wholly or in part, in the

[1] [More exactly *notes*: and cf. next page.]

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name of Christ: second, the reference to the harp or flute in describing Christ's music, and the representation of the mind of man as an ὄργανον πολύφωνον is thoroughly in the manner of the Odes. Thus in Ode 7 believers go forth to meet the Lord with a harp of many strings [literally, *voices*: = κιθάρα πολύφωνος exactly, as we have it involved in the passage quoted from Clement]. In Ode 14 the writer says:

> 'Open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit,
> That with all its notes I may praise Thee,'

and the same spiritual music is in the opening of Ode 6,

> 'As the hand moves over the harp...
> So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord.'

Here it is the Spirit that plays upon the human instrument.

So it is quite possible that Clement's little quotation may be part of the missing matter of our Odes. To which of them shall we refer it? The first Ode is already identified, the third is almost complete, and it is unlikely that Christ should be the speaker in the opening of the third Ode, when he is not so in the closing portion. So the suggestion arises that the sentence comes from the second Ode.

This is a speculation, and must not be taken too seriously, in view of the insufficiency of the evidence. But it can do no harm to record it, with the necessary *Valeat quantum.* [The observation made above as to the coincidence in language between Clement and the Odes, makes it no longer necessary to speak so diffidently. Harnack passes the matter by too lightly with 'im besten Falle eine blosse Möglichkeit.']

The Odes known to Irenaeus.

It will, perhaps, be enquired whether the use of the Odes of Solomon by early writers can be detected in cases where there are no introductory formulae or definite allusions. We have just suggested that a fragment of the second Ode may be preserved in an anonymous quotation by Clement of Alexandria. Are there any similar traces to be identified in the early Patristic literature? The difficulty of making such identifications is well known. We had a case in the use of 'talking water' by Ignatius and by the writer of the Odes. Such an expression to us in the present day seems very striking; but a draught from a magical or

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medical spring is probably a common folk-lore way of obtaining inspiration, and need not imply any dependence of one of the coincident writers upon the other.

Here is a somewhat similar case from Irenaeus, in which the evidence is rather in the direction of recognising a quotation on the part of that writer from the Odes. Irenaeus discusses[1] the question why God made man and why He chose the fathers and why He called the saints. He begins by the doctrine that God, for His part, had no need of man: 'non quasi indigens hominis, plasmavit Adam.' This sentiment of the Divine independence of His works is in our fourth Ode. It is, however, so common an expression in Greek philosophy and theology, that we should pay no attention to its occurrence in Irenaeus, if it were not that it is the key-note of the section and that he returns to it with an added amplification, which is also found in the fourth Ode. For he says that the less God needs man, the more man needs God and *His fellowship*:

> 'in quantum enim Deus nullius indiget, in tantum homo indiget Dei communione.'

Here we have the thought of fellowship with God, as the expression of man's need, which we have in Ode 4:

> '*Thou hast given us thy fellowship:*
> It was not that thou wast in need of us,
> but that we were in need of thee.'

A little lower down Irenaeus returns to the same thought: God distributed His prophets over the earth to habituate men to the reception of His Spirit and to fellowship with Himself: 'He Himself was in need of no man: *but on those that needed Him, He bestowed His fellowship.*'

Here we have the same thought, in closely coincident terms; and since it is the fundamental thought of the chapter, we suggest that Irenaeus may be working from a text, and the text is a verse from the Odes of Solomon. The same sentiments recur in Bk V. c. ii. in the following form: 'Nihil enim illi ante dedimus, neque desiderat aliquid a nobis, quasi indigens: nos autem indigemus *eius quae est ad eum communionis*: et propterea benigne effudit semetipsum'; where the last clause may be

[1] Lib. IV. c. xxv. (p. 243, Mass.).

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compared with what follows in the Ode: 'Distil thy dews upon us and open the rich fountains that pour forth milk and honey.'

There is still, however, something abrupt in the transition from the discussing of the Holy Place and the Holy People to the general question of whether God has any need of man corresponding to the need which man has of God. We may detect the motion of the writer's thought in passing from one subject to the other in the following manner.

From Irenaeus we see that while God has no need of man, man has need of communion with God. The language is, as we have shown, so closely parallel to that of our Ode as almost to amount to a quotation. But at an earlier time than that of Irenaeus the thought of communion with God was not detached from the thought of communion by means of a Holy Place, and by sacrifice offered there.

We get this thought brought out clearly in the prayer of the priests in 2 Macc. xiv. 15:

> 'Thou, O Lord of the universe, *who in thyself hast need of nothing*, wast well pleased *that a sanctuary of thy habitation should be set amongst us*: so now, O Holy Lord of all hallowing, keep undefiled for ever this house that hath been lately cleansed.'

Here the 'sanctuary of the Divine habitation' is an earlier form of the Christian 'communion with God' which we find in Irenaeus. When, therefore, the writer of the Ode, who began by chanting the inalienable sanctity of the Temple, says that God, who did not need us, has given us His fellowship, he is still thinking of the fellowship that is associated with one special holy place. He cannot think that this form of communion is abandoned or made void. The opening verses of the Ode make it clear that this is his key-note. The parallel in the New Testament is in Paul's speech before the Areopagus (Acts xvii. 24, 25), 'God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped of men's hands, *as though He needed anything*.' Our writer would say, 'He dwells in a Temple, because we need Him.' And as we have pointed out, the situation is for our writer Judaeo-Christian.

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The Author does not accept Jewish customs.

At the same time we see clearly that the writer is not really a Jew, though he is in a Judaeo-Christian environment. We see this in a number of ways, both direct and indirect. First we had his definite statement as to his being of a different race, which must surely mean that he is a proselyte, in the Christian sense, from among the Gentiles to a community of Judaean origin. Then we had his peculiar apologetics, in the person of Christ, for love to the Gentiles. But even more striking is his indirect argument against the necessity of the maintenance of the Sabbath. I have drawn attention to this under Ode 16, by pointing out that the sequence of thought in the words

'He rested from His works:
And created things run in their courses and do their works:
And they know not how to stand and be idle:
And His ⌜heavenly⌝ Hosts are subject to His word'

contain the argument of Justin with Trypho for the non-validity of the Sabbath, on the ground that

> 'the elements, *στοιχεῖα* (*or more exactly*, the heavenly bodies[1]), do not idle or keep Sabbath.'

And Justin tells Trypho that he learnt this from the very old man to whom he owed his conversion, who taught him, in reference to the Sabbath and Circumcision, that he should remain as he was born. This is very early teaching on the subject of the leading Jewish practices. It does not necessarily mean the abandonment of the Sabbath by Jews. Our author stands where Justin stood, and both of them employ an argument of the more liberal-minded in the primitive Church. He is no more a Jew than Justin is.

It will be asked whether he argues against circumcision as well as against the Sabbath. This is more difficult to answer. It depends upon the interpretation of the opening sentences of Ode 11. If our alternative translation is correct, the writer refers to the work of Divine Grace which he has experienced as a circumcision of the heart, a figure of speech which is justified by the Old Testament references to Israel as 'uncircumcised in heart and ears[2],' and by the Pauline affirmation that 'we are

[1] Gal. iv. 9.

[2] Cf. Deut. x. 16, 'Circumcise your hearts and be not any more stiffnecked.'

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the true circumcision,' and that 'he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, nor is circumcision in the letter, but in the spirit.' In this sense our writer may be held to affirm that, although not an Israelite by birth, he is one of the spiritual Israel. And this would agree exactly with the other statements to which we have alluded.

We found no allusions by which we could identify the Gospels used by the Odists.

Trace of an uncanonical Gospel.

But if there are no references of a direct character to the Gospels, and only scanty allusions to the historical incidents which make the framework of the Gospels, there is one indirect reference to an early Apocryphal Gospel, which is of the first importance. We have discussed under the twenty-fourth Ode the question whether the reference of the Ode is to the Baptism of Jesus or to some other unknown incident connected with His crucifixion, and have decided that the allusion to the fluttering of the Dove over the head of the Messiah must mean the events at the Baptism, although there was in the context matter which seemed to suggest the descent into Hades rather than the Baptism. The reason for this conclusion lies in the coincidence of the expression of the Odist with the language employed by Justin Martyr in his dialogue with Trypho (c. 88). The Syriac of the opening verse is literally

'The Dove flew upon [*or* over] the Messiah';

and this curious phrase answers exactly to the word which Justin twice uses in his account of the Baptism. The repetition of the word has long since provoked a suggestion on the part of the critics that we had here a fragment of Justin's actual gospel, and that it was not one of the canonical Gospels, though Justin himself refers his account to the Apostles of the Lord. And when it was observed that the same peculiar verb turned up elsewhere in Greek Patristic accounts of the Baptism, a very strong case was made out for the use of an actual document of an apocryphal, or, at all events, of a non-canonical character.

When, therefore, we detect the same expression in the Syriac text of the Odes, the coincidence is so striking that we are justified in removing the allusions to the Baptism of Jesus from the matter credited to the canonical Evangelists, and assigning

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it instead to a lost Gospel of a very early date. It will be convenient to collect[1] under one view the cases in which it may reasonably be held that the Greek word *ἐπιπτῆναι* is used of the Descent of the Dove (Justin Martyr: *Dial.* 88):

> *ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν.*

Ibid.:

> *τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν τὸ ἅγιον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς προέφην, ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς ἐπέπτη αὐτῷ.*

Celsus (*v.* Origen *contra Celsum* i. 41):

> *λουομένῳ, φησί, σοι παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ* [v. l. *Ἰορδάνῃ*] *φάσμα ὄρνιθος ἐξ ἀέρος λέγεις ἐπιπτῆναι.*

Origen (*c. Celsum* i. 40):

> *ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, τάχα δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελίων, λαβὼν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐπιπτάσης τῷ σωτῆρι βαπτιζομένῳ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου περιστερᾶς διαβάλλειν βούλεται.*

Origen (*in Joan.* tom. ii. 11):

> *ὅτε τῷ σωματικῷ εἴδει ὡσεὶ περιστερὰ ἐφίπταται μετὰ τὸ λοῦτρον αὐτῷ.*

Orac. Sib. vii. 64—70:

> *Ἄ, Συρίη κοίλη, Φοινίκων ὕπατον ἀνδρῶν,*
> *Οἷς ἐπερευγομένη κεῖται Βηρυτιὰς ἅλμη,*
> *Τλήμων, οὐκ ἔγνως τὸν σὸν Θεὸν, ὅς ποτ' ἔλουσεν*
> *Ἰορδάνου ἐν ὑδάτεσσι, καὶ ἔπτατο πνεῦμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ.*
> . . . . . .
> *Σάρκ' ἐνδυσάμενος, τάχυς ἔπτατο Πατρὸς ἐς οἴκους.*

To the foregoing coincidences from Greek sources, Resch adds a number of suspicious coincidences in Latin:

Tert. *adv. Valent.* c. 27:

> 'Super hunc itaque Christum *devolasse* tunc in baptismatis sacramento Jesum per effigiem columbae.'

Hilarius *in Ps.* liv. 7:

> 'Nam et in columbae specie Spiritus in eum *volando* requievit...ut *volando* requiescat.'

[1] See Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu Luc.* p. 15.

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Hilarius *in Matt.* ii. 6:

> 'post aquae lavacrum et de caelestibus portis sanctum in nos spiritum *involare.*'

Severi *de ritibus baptismi*, p. 24, ed. Boderianus (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 363):

> 'Et Spiritus sanctitatis in similitudinem columbae *volans* descendit mansitque super caput filii.'

These references are not of equal value in the determination of the language of a primitive account, but taken together, they certainly make a very strong impression in favour of the belief in an uncanonical account of the Baptism, and it is to that account that the first line of Ode 24 must be referred.

But what are we to say of the Spirit singing over the Messiah? Is this also from the uncanonical source?

We may sum up the investigation as far as it has gone as follows:

There can be no reasonable doubt of the antiquity of the recovered Book of Odes. That which seems to be the latest composition amongst them is attested already by Lactantius in the beginning of the fourth century as having the place in the collection which it occupies in our Manuscript. The portions of the Odes which have been transcribed by the author of the *Pistis Sophia* towards the end of the third century, are evidently taken from a book which was either canonical in the writer's judgment, or not very far removed from canonicity; so that it is quite easy to carry the Odes back into the second century, and those who have studied the extant fragments of them before the recovery of our Manuscript have, in fact, referred them to the earlier part of the second century. Our own investigations have shown that the Odes agree in the extent of their composition with the statistical data for their measurement, preserved in the early Stichometries. We have also shown that they agree in sentiment with the beliefs and practices of the earliest ages of the Church. It came out clearly in the investigation that the writer, while not a Jew, was a member of a community of Christians, who were for the most part of Jewish extraction and beliefs, and the apologetic tone which is displayed, in the Odes, towards the Gentiles, as a part of the Christian Church, is only consistent with the very

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earliest ages, and with communities like the Palestinian Churches where Judaism was still in evidence and in control. We think, therefore, that it will be admitted on all hands, that the discovery of this collection of Odes and Psalms is not only valuable for the fact that it presents us, for the first time, with the Syriac version of the extant Psalms of Solomon, but that the Syriac text of the Odes of Solomon is in itself a memorial of the first importance for rightly understanding the beliefs and experiences of the Primitive Church.

We have expressed our belief that in part, at least, the collection belongs to the last quarter of the first century; but if it should be objected that this is too early a date, it cannot be very many years in excess. Even if the writings do not fall within the actual time of the composition of the books of the New Testament, they scarcely fall outside the limits of the same, and we may, therefore, be sure that the Christian Church of to-day has been enriched by the discovery of a literary monument of the highest value. Apart, also, from all critical questions concerned with the little less or little more of a determined date, or with the 'Lo! here' or 'Lo! there' of an assigned locality, we have in our Odes the language of Christian experience upon the highest levels of the Spiritual Life, and we should have to go far afield to find such expressions of the Joy of the Lord as recur in almost every one of these Spiritual Songs.

We have no means of knowing who it was that in the first instance ascribed them to Solomon, nor have we any clue at present to their actual authorship, but we may be sure that whatever Solomon did, or did not, in the composing of Odes, with which he has been credited to the number of one thousand and five, according to the insistent accuracy of the Jewish Chronicler, we may say of these new-found compositions, that not even Solomon at his very best could have been spiritually arrayed like one of these.

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ODE 1. (*Pistis Sophia* 116.)

[1]The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be without Him[1]. [2]They wove for me a crown of truth, and it caused thy branches to bud in me. [3]For it is not like a withered crown which buddeth not: but thou livest upon my head, and thou hast blossomed upon my head. [4]Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect, they are full of thy salvation.

ODE 1. This Ode is not in our Syriac text, but in the Coptic version of the *Pistis Sophia*, where it is said to be the 19th Ode. I have identified it with the missing first Ode of our collection, on the supposition that in the collection of Solomonic Psalms known to the author of the *Pistis Sophia*, the eighteen Psalms of Solomon stood first, and not, as in the Syriac collection, in the last place. The question is discussed, more at length, under Ode 5. The argument of the Psalm is that God is the crown of the soul, whose supreme experience is the knowledge of His truth. This crown is of the amarant variety; it fadeth not away. On the contrary, it buds and blossoms and is full of immortal fruit. The similitude is not uncommon in the book of Odes to which we have placed this Psalm as an introduction. [Diettrich and Bernard think the reference is to a crown put on the head of newly-baptized persons[2]. We may also compare the crown offered to the worshipper of Mithra on his admission to the rank of *miles*. He sets it aside declaring Mithra to be his only crown[3].]

ODE 2. (*Deest.*)

ODE 3. (*Priora desunt.*)

..... I put on: [2]And his members are with him. And on them do I hang, and He loves me: [3]for I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not loved me. [4]For who is able to distinguish love, except the one that is loved? [5]I love the Beloved, and my soul loves Him: [6]and where His rest is, there also am I; [7]and I shall be no stranger, for with the Lord Most High and Merciful there is no grudging. [8]I have been united

[1] *Or* it.

[2] Bernard: *J.T.S* for Oct. 1910, p. 7. Diettrich: *Die Reformation* for May 1910, p. 307 n. [3] Cumont: *Monuments*, i. 318.

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⌜to Him⌝[1], for the Lover has found the Beloved, [9]and because I shall love Him that is the Son, I shall become a son[2]; [10]for he that is joined to Him that is immortal, will also himself become immortal; [11]and he who has pleasure in the Living One[3], will become living[4]. [12]This is the Spirit of the Lord, which doth not lie, which teacheth the sons of men to know His ways. [13]Be wise and understanding and vigilant. Hallelujah.

Ode 3. This Psalm, of which the first verses have disappeared along with the leaves that contained the first two Psalms, is evidently a Christian product; the author is a mystic with a doctrine, or rather an experience, of union with the Son. With Him his whole nature has become mingled, as water is mixed with wine. In Pauline language, he has been joined to the Lord, and has become one spirit with Him[5]. In Johannine language, because the Beloved lives, he himself lives also[6]. He has, at least in hope and faith, attained immortality through union with the Living One. The name here given to Christ is very ancient, it has been detected by the Revisers of the English New Testament in the Apocalypse ('I am the Living One')[7], and it is found in the opening sentences of the Sayings of Jesus, recovered in recent years from Egypt: ('these are the words.....which Jesus the Living One spake'). [Cf. also Ode 24. 14 where 'Him that liveth' is Christ.]

Other Johannine touches are the doctrine that 'we love Him because He first loved us[8].' For the Psalmist tells us that 'he should not have known how to love the Lord if the Lord had not loved him.'

It would be a mistake to suppose that we have here any direct quotations or that the language necessarily involves acquaintance with the text of the New Testament. In translating the Syriac, I have not tried to distinguish the two words for love which are used: even if it could be inferred that the Greek had used ἀγαπῶ and φιλῶ, as in the 21st chapter of John's Gospel, it would be a mistake to indicate this in the translation by a subtlety which is now exploded. For the Syriac makes no such distinction, nor need we imagine it in the original Aramaic spoken by Jesus. When the Syriac translators turn back our Lord's words in John xiv. 21, 'He it is that loveth me, and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father,' although the Greek word is consistently ἀγαπῶ, they use both the available Syriac words, without distinction, and where they do not distinguish we have no call to over-refinement.

[1] Mingled with (as water with wine); cf. 1 Cor. vi. 17. [2] *Or* the Son.
[3] The MS. has 'in life.' Cf. Apoc. i. 17. [4] *Or* the living One.
[5] 1 Cor. vi. 17. [6] John xiv. 19. [7] Apoc. i. 17. [8] 1 John iv. 19.

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ODE 4.

[1]No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place; [2]and it is not [possible] that he should change it and put it in another place: because he hath no power over it: [3]for thy sanctuary thou hast designed before thou didst make [other] places: [4]that which is the elder shall not be altered by those that are younger than itself. [5]Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers: never wilt thou fail, nor be without fruits: [6]for one hour of thy Faith is more precious than all days and years. [7]For who is there that shall put on thy grace, and be hurt? [8]For thy seal is known: and thy creatures know it: and thy [heavenly] hosts possess it: and the elect archangels are clad with it. [9]Thou hast given us thy fellowship: it was not that thou wast in need of us: but that we are in need of thee: [10]distil thy dews upon us and open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey: [11]for there is no repentance with thee that thou shouldest repent of anything that thou hast promised: [12]and the end was revealed before thee: for what thou gavest, thou gavest freely: [13]so that thou mayest not draw them back and take them again: [14]for all was revealed before thee as God, and ordered from the beginning before thee: and thou, O God, hast made all things. Hallelujah.

Ps. lxxxiv. 11.

ODE 4. This Psalm is one of the most important in the whole collection, on account of the historical allusion with which it commences. The reference to an unsuccessful attempt to alter the site of the Sanctuary of the Lord can only be explained by some unknown movement to carry on the Jewish worship outside the desolated and proscribed sanctuary, or by the closing of the Jewish temple at Leontopolis in Egypt, which was, perhaps, itself in the first instance built under the pressure of the situation which resulted in the desecration of the temple at Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes. As the latter explanation leans on fact, rather than on hypothesis, we may accept it provisionally as the real interpretation of our Psalm, which is thus dated soon after A.D. 73 when the temple of Onias was closed and dismantled by the Romans. The writer of the Psalm, if not of Jewish origin is, at least, Jewish in sympathy: he holds the Jewish belief that the Sanctuary at Jerusalem was older than the world in which it stood; it was, according to Rabbinic teaching, prior to all other created things: thus we find in *Bereshith Rabbah* that 'seven things were created before the world, Thorah, Gehenna, the Garden of Eden, the Throne of Glory, *the Sanctuary*, Repentance and the name of Messiah.'

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The proofs of these pre-existent creations can easily be made from the Scriptures: *e.g.* 'the Lord God had planted a garden in Eden *from afore-time*' (Gen. ii. 8)[1], and so on. The matter is discussed with some detail in *Pirqe Aboth* vi. 10 'Five possessions possessed the Holy One, blessed is He, in His world: and these are they: Thorah, one possession; Heaven and Earth, one possession; Abraham, one possession: Israel, one possession; the *Sanctuary, one possession*:.....:..... ...*The Sanctuary*: whence [is it proved]? Because it is written, The place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established (Exod. xv. 17): and it saith, And He brought them to the border of His sanctuary, even to this mountain, which His right hand had possessed (Ps. lxxviii. 54).' This Rabbinical belief has affected the mind of our Psalmist, who comments upon the fall of the Egyptian temple unsympathetically, and evidently has his heart set amongst the ruins of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem. He does not think the covenant between God and the people of Israel is disannulled; all God's promises are irrevocable; His gifts and callings are without repentance on His part. But there are no lamentations on the part of the writer over the ruins of Jerusalem; the temple which is in his thoughts has not developed a wailing-place. God has sealed His own people with the marks of His ownership. All creation, and both worlds, recognise this seal. And He is able to pour out blessings on His chosen, comparable to the dew of heaven, and the milk and honey of the earth. If we please, we may definitely call it a Judaeo-Christian Psalm: and it might very well have been composed by one of the refugees at Pella. It is not easy to see how it could have been written outside Palestine, nor by a purely Jewish hand.

There are no Scripture references; perhaps the nearest parallels are Rom. xi. 29 ('the gifts and calling of God are without repentance,' ἀμεταμέλητα), and the adaptation of Ps. lxxxiv. 11 in *v.* 6, where again the temple is in the mind of the writer.

The thought that God does not need us, but we need God, is a common religious expression in this period, and is found constantly in Greek literature. We may compare the *Apology of Aristides*, c. 1, and Irenaeus (ed. Mass. 244) 'ipse quidem nullius indigens: his vero qui indigent eius, suam praebens communionem,' which is very near indeed to the language of our Ode, and may almost be taken as a quotation. The opposite sentiment can be illustrated from Schiller:

> 'Freudlos war der grosse Weltenmeister,
> Fühlte Mangel, darum schuf er Geister,
> Sel'ge Spiegel seiner Seligkeit.'

Clement of Rome, *Ep.* i. *ad Cor.*, c. 52, takes an intermediate position: 'The Lord needs nothing...except our praise.'

[1] So Jerome: *a principio.*

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ODE 5.

[1]I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, because I love thee; [2]O most High, thou wilt not forsake me[1], for thou art my hope: [3]freely I have received thy grace, I shall live thereby: [4]my persecutors will come[2] and not see me: [5]a cloud of darkness shall fall ⌜on⌝ their eyes; and an air of thick gloom shall darken them: [6]and they shall have no light to see: that they may not take hold upon me. [7]Let their counsel become thick darkness[3], and what they have cunningly devised, let it return upon their own heads: [8]for they have devised a counsel, and it did not succeed[4]: they have prepared themselves for evil[5], and were found to be empty. [9]For my hope is upon the Lord, and I will not fear, and because the Lord is my salvation[6], I will not fear: [10]and He is as a garland on my head and I shall not be moved; even if everything should be shaken, I stand firm; [11]and if all things visible should perish, I shall not die: because the Lord is with me and I am with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 5. The interest of this Psalm lies in the fact that at this point we begin to strike the region of coincidences with the Gnostic book, known as the *Pistis Sophia*. The Ode has been used, apparently, in the composition of two Odes or Prophecies of Solomon, quoted respectively by Salome and the Virgin.

Salome recites nearly the whole of the Ode, with some slight variations and expansions: and it is possible that one or two clauses may be missing in the Syriac and may be capable of restoration from the Coptic.

The remaining portion of the Ode before us appears, at first sight, from the parallelism of the first sentence, to be the same as what is given in the *Pistis Sophia* as the recitation of the Virgin from the 19th Ode of Solomon. And this ascription and numbering led Ryle and James astray, to identify the matter in question with the sentences about

[1] *Or, as in the Coptic*, do not thou forsake me.

[2] *Or, as in the Coptic*, let my persecutors come.

[3] Copt. weakness.

[4] *lit.* and it became not to them.

[5] *lit.* evilly, *as in the Coptic*, which expands as follows: *Et vicerunt eos potentes* et quae paraverant malitiose, descenderunt in eos. Cf. the German of Schmidt: '*Und sie sind besiegt, obwohl sie mächtig sind*, und was sie böswillig (κακῶς) bereitet haben, ist auf sie herabgefallen.'

[6] Copt. quia tu es deus meus, salvator meus.

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the Virgin quoted by Lactantius[1], as from the 19th Ode of Solomon. We have, however, shown elsewhere that Lactantius' quotation is really in our 19th Ode, so that Lactantius does not appear in the discussion, having been found in another quarter. And we have suggested that the supposed 19th Ode of the Coptic writer is the first of our collection, and that it followed on the eighteen Psalms of Solomon. The mistake can be traced, by comparing, in the *Pistis Sophia*, the text and the Gnostic comment upon it; it will be found that a wrong Ode has been copied out for the text of the Gnostic comment, in consequence of two Odes, the first and the fifth, having some similar sentences. The difference can be exhibited thus:

Coptic Ode 19 [= our Ode 1]	Syriac Ode 5.
'The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be separated from Him: a crown of truth has been woven for me: my branches were planted in me: for they did not bear a crown that was dried up, and without a shoot: but thou livest upon my head: and thou growest upon me: thy fruits are full and perfect: they are filled with thy salvation.'	'He is like a crown on my head and I shall not be moved. Even if everything should be shaken, I stand firm: and if all things visible should perish, I shall not die: because the Lord is with me and I am with Him.'

The comment upon the foregoing Coptic Ode follows the text of the Syriac Ode, by an unconscious error of the writer who mistook one hymn for the other.

It is clear, then, that the Coptic nineteenth Ode and the Syriac fifth Ode are two different Odes, as we have explained above. We thus recover the missing first Ode of our collection.

Whether this fifth Ode is Christian or not, does not appear decisively at the first reading. It opens in a rather Jewish strain of praise, accompanied by prayer for the discomfiture of enemies. If there is a definite Christian feature, perhaps it is the garland upon the singer's head, which appears in several other Odes. In the 17th Ode, for example, we get the same figure, and here the theme is the praise of the Messiah for His triumph over Hades. This must, of course, be Christian.

The crown is a crown of life, that is a living crown or garland: and this meaning is carefully brought out in the Coptic Ode, which explains

[1] *Psalms of Solomon*, p. 160. '*Ode* ii. [of the Coptic Odes] should be another fragment of that quoted by Lactantius, the 19th Ode. Here alone is a number given. The Virgin, be it noted, is the reciter here, and the Virgin is the subject of Lactantius' quotation.'

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that the crown does not wither, but (like Aaron's rod), it buds and bears fruit. We have similar allusions and explanations to the crown of life in the New Testament, as in 1 Pet. v. 4 'a crown of glory, *or* glorious crown, which does not fade away.' The close of the Ode is a noble expression of trust in the Lord, amidst adverse circumstances, which one instinctively compares with the close of the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. It may be regarded as a Christian composition, on account of its affinity with other Odes that are certainly Christian, as well as on account of its intrinsic spiritual value.

ODE 6.

[1]As the hand[1] moves over the harp, and the strings speak, [2]so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by His love. [3]For it destroys what is foreign, and everything that is bitter[2]: [4]for thus it was from the beginning and will be to the end, that nothing should be His adversary, and nothing should stand up against Him. [5]The Lord has multiplied the knowledge of Himself, and is zealous [3]that these things should be known, which by His grace have been given to us[3]. [6]And the praise of His name He gave us[4]: our spirits praise His holy Spirit. [7]For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad; [8]for it flooded and broke up everything and it brought [water] to the Temple[5]: [9]and the restrainers of the children of men were not able to restrain it, nor the arts of those whose business it is to restrain waters; [10]for it spread over the face of the whole earth, and filled everything: [6]and all the thirsty upon earth were given to drink of it[6]; [11]and thirst was relieved and quenched: for from the Most High the draught was given. [12]Blessed then are the ministers of that draught who are entrusted with that water of His: [13]they have assuaged the dry lips, [7]and the will that had fainted they have raised up; [14]and souls that were near departing they have caught back from death[7]: [15]and limbs that had fallen they straightened and

[1] *Or perhaps* plectrum.

[2] Cod. and everything is of the Lord.

[3–3] 1 Cor. ii. 12.

[4] *lit.* His praise He gave us to His name.

[5] *i.e.* the temple at Jerusalem. Schmidt: 'wandte sich gegen den Tempel.'

[6–6] Schmidt: es tranken, die sich auf dem trockenen Sande befinden. Cf. Is. xxxv. 1.

[7–7] Schmidt: 'Herzensfreude haben empfangen die Entkräfteten. Sie haben Seelen erfasst, indem sie den Hauch hineinstiessen, dass sie nicht stürben.'

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set up: [16]they gave strength for their feebleness[1] and light to their eyes: [17]for everyone knew them in the Lord, and they lived by the water of life[2] for ever. Hallelujah.

Ode 6. In this Psalm again we are fortunate in having a large part of the Coptic text preserved to us: and, as is common in Coptic texts, some Greek words have been also preserved by it. But this very circumstance has led Ryle and James to a wrong supposition as to the existence of Gnostic elements in the Psalm. They recognize that it is a Christian Psalm but suggest, hesitatingly, that the use of the word ἀπόρροια may stamp it as Gnostic. It is quite unnecessary to pay this little tribute to Gnosticism. Neither here nor anywhere else is there anything definitely Gnostic in the book. And Ryle and James are right in saying, 'we cannot see that there is anything unmistakeably Gnostic in the doctrine[3].' They are also clearly right in saying that what is described in the Psalm is 'the preaching of the Gospel which no human effort can avail to hinder.' We must also recognize a reference to the waters in Ezekiel which go forth from the temple. But there is a suggestive difference in our Psalm from the parable in Ezekiel: in the Syriac text the stream appears to rise elsewhere than in the temple, and part of its function is to water the temple. It is a river deep and broad before it reaches the temple. If this be what is intended, then the restrainers who build dykes to keep waters out or cisterns to keep them in are very likely the Temple officials themselves, who were often hard put to it to hinder the propaganda of the new religion within the limits of the Holy Place.

The writer is exultant in his universalism; the stream of living water has gone out into all the earth: thirsty souls everywhere have been refreshed by it: dying souls have been revived.

The writer is as universal as St Paul. But he is not so detached from Judaism as not to know that the living water was connected with the temple. Perhaps, then, he is a Judaeo-Christian of an enlightened type. Ryle and James suggest for him a date not later than the second century, and intimate the presence of Johannine phraseology and ideas. We think the date is too late; the Johannine features do not appear to us to be directly due to the Gospel: if such a long composition had been under Johannine influence, it would have betrayed its ancestry more definitely. Neither here nor elsewhere does it seem possible definitely to convict the Psalms of having borrowed from St John. On the other hand there is one expression which

[1] Cod. *ex errore* 'for their coming.' [2] *lit.* by living water.

[3] Harnack, who has missed the meaning of this hymn, called it a Gnostic baptismal hymn (*Hist. of Dogma*, i. 297 note). He admits now that it is not Gnostic, and it is doubtful if it has anything to do with baptism.

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recalls a sentence in 1 Cor., where the writer says that God is zealous 'that those things should be known, which have been given us by His grace': this is very like 1 Cor. ii. 12, 'that we may know the things that have been freely given us of God.' Whether the coincidence should be pressed will depend to some extent upon the existence of further and similar echoes of New Testament speech.

Near the close of the Psalm the Greek word παρρησία occurs in the Coptic; but the Syriac 'coming' suggests παρουσία. Παρρησία, as the *Pistis Sophia* shows, is one of the words which the Coptic transliterates: so we must retain it, or else find a Greek word which may be misread either as παρρησία or παρουσία. We have suggested that παράλυσις is the right word. This is confirmed by the preceding clause, 'Members that had fallen they straightened and set up.' Here the Coptic has *erexere* for the two Syriac words which we render by 'straightened and set up.' The Syriac has been translating a compound verb by two simple verbs; and the original was evidently ἀνώρθωσαν. We may now compare Is. xxxv. 3 and Heb. xii. 12; especially note τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε. We now see the meaning of the words which follow, 'they gave strength to their paralysis'; it is a reflexion from ἰσχύσατε, γόνατα παραλελυμένα. The correctness of the reference to Isaiah may be further seen from the following words 'and light to their eyes,' which are a reflexion from 'then shall the eyes of the blind be opened.' It is clear then that the writer is working from Isaiah and not from Hebrews: and in that case the ἀπόρροια of which the *Pistis Sophia* makes so much is the stream of water which, in the prophecy, makes glad the wilderness and the solitary place. We can now explain the variation between the Syriac and Coptic in *v.* 10. The 'dry sand' is the ἔρημος διψῶσα of Is. xxxv. 1, and the Syriac should be 'all upon the thirsty land drank of it.'

[The Ode is translated into English by Barnes in *Expositor* (July 1910). He suggests that we read 'wind' for 'hand' in *v.* 1 as if the harp were an Aeolian harp! Perhaps 'hand' is wrong, as there is the trace of a connecting line before the actually visible Olaph. If it is not 'hand,' I suspect it is 'plectrum.']

ODE 7.

[1]As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over what is lovely, and brings in of its fruits without restraint: [2]my joy is the Lord and my impulse is toward Him[1]: this path of mine is excellent[2]: [3]for I have a helper, the Lord[3]. [4]He hath caused me to know Himself, without grudging, by His

[1] *lit.* my running: cf. Cant. i. 3. [2] So Schultheß.
[3] B.-L. remove ܠܡܪܝܐ to the end of previous verse.

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simplicity: His kindness has [1]humbled His greatness[1]. [5]He became like me, in order that I might receive Him: [6]He was reckoned like myself[2] in order that I might put Him on; [7]and I trembled not when I saw Him: because He was gracious to me: [8]like my nature He became that I might learn Him and like my form, that I might not turn back from Him: [9]the Father of knowledge is the word of knowledge: [10]He who created wisdom is wiser than His works: [11]and He who created me when yet I was not knew what I should do when I came into being: [12]wherefore He pitied me in His abundant grace: and granted me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice[3]: [13]because He it is that is incorrupt, the fulness of the ages and the Father of them[4].

[14]He hath given Him to be seen of them that are His, [15]in order that they may recognize Him that made them: and that they might not suppose that they came of themselves[5]: [16]for knowledge He hath appointed as its way, He hath widened it and extended it; and brought it to all perfection; [17]and set over it the traces of His light, and I walked ⌜therein⌝ from the beginning even to the end. [18]For by Him it was wrought, and He was resting in the Son, and for its salvation He will take hold of everything: [19]and the Most High shall be known in His Saints, to announce to those that have songs of the coming of the Lord; [20]that they may go forth to meet Him, and may sing to Him with joy and with the harp of many tones[6]: [21]the seers shall come before Him and they shall be seen before Him, [22]and they shall praise the Lord for His love: because He is near and beholdeth, [23]and hatred shall be taken from the earth, and along with jealousy it shall be drowned: [24]for ignorance hath been destroyed, because the knowledge of the Lord hath arrived. [25]They who make songs shall sing the grace of the Lord Most High; [26]and they shall bring their songs, and their heart shall be like the day: and like the excellent beauty[7] of

[1-1] So Flemming: seine Grösse klein erscheinen lassen.

[2] *lit.* in likeness as myself.

[3] Gk. θυσίας: Nestle conjectures ὠσίας: cf. Clem. *Ep.* ii. *ad Cor.* i. ἠθέλησεν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς: and the verse of the Ode that precedes, 'when I came into being.' Also Ode 8. 16. For an opposite error see Cod. k in Mk. ix. 49.

[4] For the expression 'Father of the Ages,' cf. 1 Clem. *ad Cor.* xxxv. 2, lv. 6, lxi. 2, and Is. xi. 6 (Heb.).

[5] Ps. c. 3.

[6] *lit.* voices.

[7] Gk. μεγαλοπρέπεια as in Ps. lxvii. (lxviii.) 34.

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the Lord their pleasant song: [27]and there shall neither be any thing that breathes without knowledge, nor any that is dumb: [28]for He hath given a mouth to His creation, to open the voice of the mouth towards Him, to praise Him: [29]confess ye His power, and show forth His grace. Hallelujah.

ODE 7. In this Psalm the writer dilates joyfully[1] on the theme of the Incarnation; and the combination of lowliness and wisdom that are involved therein. The condescension of Christ to human form is not only a sympathetic approach to human conditions, it is a divine welcome. He says 'Come unto me' by coming unto us. 'Like my nature He became that I might learn of Him.'

But the incarnate Messiah is still the maker and sustainer of all things, in whom all things consist. The knowledge of this revelation produces praise and expectation, praise for those who sing His advent, expectation for those who look for His triumphant rule among men. All evil is to pass away, and all hate. The saints who sing are already exulting in the new life which He has bestowed upon them[2].

For the argument with which the Ode opens we may compare Lactantius, *de Div. Inst.* iv. 26: 'is, qui humilis advenerat, ut humilibus et infimis opem ferret, et omnibus spem salutis ostenderet, eo genere afficiendus fuit, quo humiles et infimi solent, ne quis esset omnino, qui eum non posset imitari.'

[The difficulty in translating *v.* 3 has been variously met: Flemming translates 'ein Helfer zum Herrn,' Zahn, (in Verhältnis) zum Herrn: Batiffol and Labourt, as intimated, remove the words 'to the Lord' to the end of the previous verse.]

ODE 8.

[1]Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord: [2]and let your love be multiplied from the heart and even to the lips, [3]to bring forth fruit to the Lord, living ⌜fruit⌝, holy ⌜fruit⌝[3], and to talk with watchfulness in His light. [4]Rise up, and stand erect, ye who sometime were brought low: [5]tell forth ye who were in silence, that your mouth hath been opened. [6]Ye, therefore, that were despised, be henceforth lifted up, because your righteousness hath been exalted. [7]For the right hand of

[1] The opening sentence about the 'impulse against evil' may be illustrated from Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 8, p. 140 ἕπεται τῷ ἀγαθῷ, ᾧ φύσει ἀγαθός ἐστιν, ἡ μισοπονηρία.

[2] The combination of 'seers' and 'singers' is peculiar, and belongs to a very early period in Church History; it would be best illustrated by the saints in the beginning of Luke's Gospel, who were looking for redemption in Jerusalem, if we could imagine that peculiar religious society of prophets and singers continued and extended.

[3] Ungnad-Stärk, *a holy life.*

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the Lord is with you: and He is your helper: [8]and peace was prepared for you, before ever your war was. [9]Hear the word of truth, and receive the knowledge of the Most High. [10]Your flesh has not known what I am saying to you: neither have your hearts[1] known what I am showing to you. [11]Keep my secret[2], ye who are kept by it: [12]keep my faith, ye who are kept by it. [13]And understand my knowledge, ye who know me in truth. [14]Love me with affection, ye who love: [15]for I do not turn away my face from them that are mine; [16]for I know them, and before they came into being I took knowledge of them, and on their faces I set my seal: [17]I fashioned their members: my own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby. [18]I took pleasure in them and am not ashamed of them: [19]for my workmanship are they and the strength of my thoughts: [20]who then shall rise up against my handiwork, or who is there that is not subject to them? [21]I willed and fashioned mind and heart: and they are mine, and by my own right hand I set my elect ones: [22]and my righteousness goeth before them and they shall not be deprived of my name, for it is with them. [23]Ask, and abound[3] and abide in the love of the Lord, [24]⌜and⌝ ye beloved ones in the Beloved: those who are kept, in Him that liveth: [25]and they that are saved in Him that was saved; [26]and ye shall be found incorrupt in all ages to the name of your Father. Hallelujah.

Cf. Is. lxiv. 4.

Ode 8. This Psalm again is Johannine in many of its ideas and expressions. But, even when this is conceded, it is difficult to prove a direct dependence on the Fourth Gospel.

The Psalm is, like a number of others, marked by a sudden transition of personality from the Psalmist or Prophet to the Lord Himself: after the writer has addressed those who have been lifted up out of affliction and have found peace after war, he suddenly in prophetic manner, cries out, 'Hear the word of the Lord,' 'Receive the heavenly knowledge,' and then proceeds to speak in the person of the Lord. The same abrupt transitions are found in the canonical Psalter, and they appear to have characterized the Montanist inspirations. It will be remembered that Montanus describes his own spiritual exaltation in the words: 'Behold! the man is as a lyre, and I sweep over him as the plectrum. The man sleeps and I wake. Behold! it is the Lord, who

[1] The MS. by an error of transcription reads, 'your raiment.' But perhaps the aiment means the human body?

[2] *Clem. Hom.* xix. 20; and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 10, apparently from a lost Gospel.

[3] Fl.: Bittet ohne Unterlass.

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estranges the souls of men from themselves, and gives men souls.' The same address by the Lord in the first person is in the utterance of Maximilla, the Montanist prophetess, who said, 'I am chased as a wolf from the midst of the flock. I am no wolf; I am word, and spirit, and power.'

The language of Montanus finds a close parallel in the opening of the sixth Psalm, where the writer says, 'As the hand [*or perhaps* plectrum] moves over the harp, and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord.' This might easily be claimed as a Montanist utterance, and I can imagine that on account of these and similar sayings, the whole Psalter might be claimed as a Montanist product. But the sentiments are simply Christian, on a high experimental plane; and we must not forget that one of the chief characteristics of Montanism is its attempt to perpetuate the life of the primitive Church. Towards the end of the Psalm the prophet returns abruptly to speech in his own name. There seems to be some breach of continuity in the discourse, as well as a change of personality.

I do not know whether the allusion to an actual war, from which the saints have emerged or escaped, is to be taken literally. If it be a literal, and not a spiritual reference, the choice will lie between the Jewish war under Titus or that under Hadrian; in either case we should be in Judaeo-Christian circles. It is, however, quite possible that the 'war' and the 'peace' refer only to spiritual experiences.

The injunction in *v.* 11 to keep the Lord's secret (*μυστήριον ἐμὸν*) is frequently quoted in the Fathers. A striking instance will be found in Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* vii. 26: 'nos defendere hanc [doctrinam] publice atque asserere non solemus, Deo jubente, ut quieti ac silentes arcanum ejus in abdito atque intra nostram conscientiam teneamus... *abscondi enim tegique mysterium quam fidelissime oportet, maxime a nobis, qui nomen fidei gerimus.*' The last sentence is very like the language of the Ode, 'Keep my secret ye who are kept by it; keep my faith ye who are kept by it.' These Patristic quotations may be traced ultimately to a variant translation of Isaiah xxiv. 16, which has crept into some texts of the LXX from the Hexapla of Origen. But there are a number of cases where the citation is not directly from Isaiah, but from a saying of our Lord in an uncanonical Gospel. Thus in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 10 we have *οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν, φησί, παρήγγειλεν ὁ κύριος ἔν τινι εὐαγγελίῳ· μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου.* Again in *Clem. Hom.* xix. 20 we have, *μεμνήμεθα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκάλου, ὡς ἐντελλόμενος εἶπεν ἡμῖν· τὰ μυστήρια ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς μου φυλάξατε.* It seems that the Odist has been working from the same source as Clement of Alexandria and the Clementine Homilist: and if this be the case, the uncanonical Gospel of which he makes use is very likely the same which we shall find quoted in the 24th Ode. [Bernard thinks the reference is to the *disciplina arcani.*]

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ODE 9.

[1]Open your ears and I will speak to you. Give me your souls that I may also give you my soul, [2]the word of the Lord and His good pleasures, the holy thought which He has devised concerning His Messiah. [3]For in the will of the Lord is your salvation[1], and His thought is everlasting life; and your end is immortality[2]. [4]Be enriched in God the Father, and receive the thought of the Most High. [5]Be strong and be redeemed by His grace. [6]For I announce to you peace, to you His saints; [7]that none of those who hear may fall in war, and those again who have known Him may not perish, and that those who receive may not be ashamed. [8]An everlasting crown for ever is Truth. Blessed are they who set it on their heads: [9]a stone of great price is it; and there have been wars on account of the crown. [10]And righteousness hath taken it and hath given it to you. [11]Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord. [12]And all those who have conquered shall be written in His book. [13]For their book is victory which is yours. And she (Victory) sees you before her and wills that you shall be saved. Hallelujah.

Is. lii. 7. Cf. Ps. lxxxv. 9.

ODE 9. This Psalm is, from a historical point of view, somewhat colourless. The only definite points are the allusions to the Lord's Messiah, or Christ: and a promise of peace and deliverance from war, which is made to the saints. Of the first of these allusions, we may say that while it makes the Psalm a Messianic one, this does not mean that it is not Christian. The promise of everlasting life which follows must be the holy thought of God concerning the Christ. And this seems to definitely mark out the Psalm as Christian.

What then are we to say of the wars and victory to which the Psalm refers; are they spiritual or are they outward, or a mixture of both? We shall have the same problem before us in other Psalms. From the fact that Victory is personified and writes a book, with which we may compare Apoc. iii. 5 ('He that overcometh shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name from the book of life'), we may perhaps conclude that the Victory spoken of is a spiritual one. This is in harmony with the references to redemption by grace and to the will of Victory that the saints should be saved. These are Christian expressions. On the other hand the promise that none of those who

[1] *lit.* life. [2] *Or*, and without corruption is your perfection.

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obey the Lord's word shall fall in war might have been very strikingly illustrated in the case of the Christians who escaped to Pella. But even then the Psalm is a Christian one, and it remains an open question whether outward allusions may not have been coupled with inward victories.

The alternative rendering for the third verse suggests that the Syriac words answer to a Greek sentence, *καὶ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν.*

ODE 10.

[1]The Lord hath directed my mouth by His word: and He hath opened my heart by His light: and He hath caused to dwell in me His deathless life; [2]and gave me that I might speak the fruit of His peace: [3]to convert the souls of them who are willing to come to Him: and to lead captive a good captivity for freedom. [4]I was strengthened and made mighty and took the world captive; [5]and it became to me for the praise of the Most High, and of God my Father. [6]And the Gentiles[1] were gathered together who were scattered abroad. [7]And I was unpolluted by my love ⌜for them⌝[2], because they confessed me in high places: and the traces of the light were set upon their heart: [8]and they walked in my life and were saved and became my people for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 10. In this vigorous little Psalm Christ must Himself be accounted the speaker through the mouth of His prophet; unless we should prefer to say that any of the opening sentences are spoken in the Psalmist's own name, and that after them there is an abrupt alteration of personality, such as we have already referred to. It is certain, however, that the one who gathers the peoples together by his love must be the Messiah: ('unto him shall the gathering of the peoples be[3]'). And it can be no psalmist or prophet who declares that the Gentiles became his people for ever and ever. The one who goes forth to lead captivity captive is again the Christ: we have in the New Testament (Eph. iv. 8) the Messianic interpretation of Ps. lxviii. 18, 'He ascended up on high, he led captivity captive'; and the same explanation underlies the Ode before us. The Ode is, therefore, a Christian one: and its soteriology is universal in character. But we are still in the region where apologetic is necessary for the reception of the

[1] Christ has accepted the Gentiles.

[2] *i.e.* erasing the plural points, so as not to read 'by my sins.' Barnes suggests the emendation 'by their sins.' Wellhausen: ist natürlich *haubai* zu sprechen, nicht *hubbi.*

[3] Gen. xlix. 10.

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Gentiles, and where it does not suffice to quote a verse of the Old Testament and say that such reception was foretold. In our Ode Christ explains that the reception of the Gentiles has not polluted Him. Such language does not belong to the Hellenic world, nor, we think, to the second century. But it is quite natural in a Judaeo-Christian community in Palestine in the first century.

The fact that prophets spoke in the person of God or of Christ was a common observation with the early fathers: a good illustration may be seen in Justin's *Apology*[1], where Justin explains that the opening sentences of Isaiah ('The ox knoweth his owner...but my people doth not consider') are a case of the kind; and then goes on to explain that the words 'all day long I have stretched out my hands' are to be understood of the prophet speaking in the person of Christ. In the canonical Psalms also the same feature was easily traced, and those who composed the early books of Testimonies against the Jews constantly point out that the real speaker is not the prophet, but One whom he impersonates. It is inevitable that this impersonation should cause difficulties of interpretation, due to the obscurity of personality involved in the different parts of the prophecy or psalm. And we must not be surprised if we sometimes find it hard to tell in the text of our Odes who is to be regarded as the speaker.

ODE 11.

[1]My heart was cloven[2] and its flower appeared; and grace sprang up in it: and it brought forth fruit to the Lord, [2]for the Most High clave ⌜my heart⌝[3] by His Holy Spirit and searched my affection[4] towards Him: and filled me with His love. [3]And His opening[5] of me became my salvation; and I ran in His way in His peace, even in the way of truth: [4]from the beginning and even to the end I acquired His knowledge: [5]and I was established upon the rock of truth; where He had set me up: [6]and speaking waters[6] touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord plenteously: [7]and I drank and was inebriated with the living water that doth not die; [8]and my inebriation was not one without knowledge, but I forsook vanity and turned to the Most High my God, [9]and I was enriched by His bounty,

[1] 1 *Ap.* 37, 38.
[2] *Or*, circumcised.
[3] *lit.* clave me *or* circumcised me. Cf. Rom. ii. 29.
[4] *lit.* revealed my reins: cf. *Sap. Sol.* i. 6: Ps. vii. 9: Ps. lxii. (lxi.) 2: Apoc. ii. 23.
[5] *Or*, circumcision.
[6] Cf. Ignatius *ad Rom.* 7 ὕδωρ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν. Wellhausen: das redende Wasser findet sich bei den Mandäern.

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and I forsook the folly which is diffused[1] over the earth; and I stripped it off and cast it from me: [10]and the Lord renewed me in His raiment[2], and possessed me by His light, and from above He gave me rest in incorruption; [11]and I became like the land which blossoms and rejoices in its fruits: [12]and the Lord was like the sun shining on the face of the land; [13]He lightened my eyes, and my face received the dew; and my nostrils[3] enjoyed the pleasant odour of the Lord; [14]and He carried me to His Paradise; where is the abundance of the pleasure of the Lord; [15]and I worshipped the Lord on account of His glory; and I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in thy land! and those who have a place in thy Paradise; [16]and they grow by the fruits of thy trees[4]. And they have changed from darkness to light. [17]Behold! all thy servants are fair, who do good works, and turn away from wickedness to the pleasantness that is thine: [18]and they have turned back the bitterness of the trees from them, when they were planted in thy land; [19]and everything became like a relic of thyself, and a memorial for ever of thy faithful works. [20]For there is abundant room in thy Paradise, and nothing is useless[5] therein; [21]but everything is filled with fruit; glory be to thee, O God, the delight of Paradise for ever. Hallelujah.

Ode 11. This lovely Psalm is altogether personal and experimental: the writer describes the visitations of Divine Grace, which he calls the cutting open[6] of his heart, and his establishment upon the rock of eternal truth. He is renewed by these visitations, as if he had been newly clad in light and had already reached the eternal rest. He becomes like a land that drinks in the dew of heaven, and brings forth fruit to God. He finds himself at last in the Paradise of God and amongst the fragrant trees of a new creation. He breaks out into exultant praise of the good things which God has prepared for them that love Him.

There are no Scriptural references in the Psalm that can be claimed as quotations, however closely the language approximates to that of the ancient Scriptures. Perhaps the nearest parallel would be the promise in Apoc. ii. 7, that the one who overcomes, shall eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.

[1] *lit.* cast. U.-S.: die auf Erden lagert.
[2] Cp. Ps. civ. 2. [3] *lit.* my breathing.
[4] Better with Fl.: they grow according to the growth of thy trees.
[5] *Or*, idle = ἀργός. Cf. 2 Pet. i. 8: οὐκ ἀργοὺς οὐδὲ ἀκάρπους.
[6] *perhaps* the circumcising.

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ODE 12.

[1]He hath filled me with words of truth; that I may speak the same; [2]and like the flow of waters flows truth from my mouth, and my lips show forth His fruit. [3]And He has caused Ps. li. 17. His knowledge to abound in me, because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word, and the door of His light; [4]and the Most High hath given it to His worlds, [worlds] which are the interpreters of His own beauty, and the repeaters of His praise, and the confessors of His counsel, and the heralds of His thought, and the chasteners of His servants[1]. [5]For the swiftness of the Word[2] is inexpressible, and like its expression is its swiftness and force; [6]and its course knows no limit. Never doth it fail, but it stands sure, and it knows not descent nor the way of it[3]. [7]For as its work is, so is its end: for it is light and the dawning of thought; [8]and by it the worlds[4] talk one to the other; and in the Word there were those that were silent; [9]and from it came love and concord; and they spake one to the other whatever was theirs; and they were penetrated by the Word; [10]and they knew Him who made them, because they were in concord; for the mouth of the Most High spake to them; and His explanation ran by means of it: [11]for the dwelling-place of the Word is man: and its truth is love. [12]Blessed are they who by means thereof have understood everything, and have known the Lord in His truth. Hallelujah.

ODE 12. This Psalm rises to a high level of spiritual thought, but for that very reason its language is occasionally obscure. The writer describes his own inspiration and how his heart and lips become filled with the words of God. Here, as elsewhere, God's fruit is found in the lips of the faithful, and we are often reminded in these Psalms of the expression which is borrowed in Heb. xiii. 15, from the prophet Hosea, about offering to God the 'fruit of lips that confess to His name.' From the general thought of the words of God, the writer rises to the abstract idea of the Word of God, or Logos, which is the totality of God's revelation and which interpenetrates all things, so that even things that are silent find their speech in it. But especially this Word, which is both truth and love, finds its dwelling-place in man. Happy

[1] *Or*, works.

[2] Cf. *Sap. Sol.* vii. 24. Philo, *De Mut. Nom.* 42 κοῦφον γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ πτηνὸν φύσει, βέλους θᾶττον φερόμενος καὶ πάντη διάττων.

[3] *Or by slight emendations*, no man knoweth its length or breadth.

[4] *Or possibly*, the aeons.

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are they that have come to know Him. Here, perhaps, we are nearer to Gnostic ideas, such as the doctrine of the Word and the Silence, than in any other part of the Psalter: yet there is nothing that can fairly be called Gnostic. We are also very close to the doctrine of the Logos as we have it in John, where the Logos becomes flesh and dwells amongst us: but it is not the Johannine thought of the Incarnation that is imitated or reproduced. The dwelling of the Logos with man is personal and not collective; and we cannot infer from this Psalm a direct statement of the doctrine of Incarnation, for the writer does not go beyond Inspiration; but his thought is noble, even if, as we have said, it is sometimes obscure, at least in a translation.

ODE 13.

[1]Behold! the Lord is our mirror[1]: open the eyes and see them in Him: and learn the manner of your face: [2]and tell forth praise to His spirit: and wipe off the filth from your face: and love His holiness, and clothe yourselves therewith: [3]and be without stain at all times before Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 13. This strange little Psalm is an exhortation to holiness: we are to behold the Lord in the beauty of His holiness, but we are also to see ourselves reflected in God as in a mirror; then we shall behold our natural face in an unexpected glass and know what manner of men we are: and in that glass we shall cleanse the dirt from off our faces, and attain to purity. We are reminded of St Paul's statement that we behold, as in a mirror, the glory of our Lord and are transfigured into the same image; though here the thought is not as high as in Corinthians, where holiness is found by the Vision of God rather than by the scrutiny of ourselves.

We may also in this connexion refer to a remarkable passage which is found in a tract falsely ascribed to Cyprian, and known as *De Montibus Sina et Sion.* We are reminded in this passage first that Christ is the Unspotted Mirror of the Father, as is said of Wisdom in the book called the Wisdom of Solomon[2]. Hence the Father and the Son see one another by reflexion. The writer then continues as follows:

'And even we who believe in Him see Christ in us as in a mirror, as He Himself instructs and advises us in the Epistle of His disciple

[1] Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 9, p. 172 Τὸ ἔσοπτρον τῷ αἰσχρῷ οὐ κακόν, ὅτι δεικνύει αὐτὸν οἷός ἐστιν. Cf. Jac. i. 24. *Clem. Hom.* xiii. 16 καλῷ ἐσόπτρῳ ὁρᾷ [ἡ σώφρων γυνὴ] εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἐμβλέπουσα.

[2] *Sap. Sol.* vii. 26.

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John to the people: "See me in yourselves, in the same way as any one of you sees himself in water or in a mirror"; and so he confirmed the saying of Solomon about Himself, that "He is the unspotted mirror of the Father."'

Here we have the doctrine of dual vision in a mirror, as though the mirror saw the observer as well as the observer the mirror; in this way the Father sees Himself in the Son and the Son sees Himself in the Father: and then we are told of something said by John, speaking in the person of Christ, in a lost epistle, that we are to see Christ in ourselves as in a glass. This is something like the doctrine of our Psalm that we are to see ourselves in Christ. If we could really be sure of the correctness of the reference of the supposed Cyprianic tract to St John, we should have more confidence in saying that here also we are in the region of Johannine ideas: but, even in that case, there would seem to be no question of direct quotation from canonical Johannine writings[1].

ODE 14.

[1]As the eyes[2] of a son to his father, so are my eyes, O Lord, at all times towards thee. [2]For with thee are my consolations (*lit.* breasts) and my delight. [3]Turn not away thy mercies from me, O Lord: and take not thy kindness from me. [4]Stretch out to me, O Lord, at all times thy right hand: and be my guide[3] even unto the end, according to thy good pleasure. [5]Let me be well-pleasing[4] before thee, because of thy glory and because of thy name: [6]let me be preserved from evil, and let thy meekness, O Lord, abide with me, and the fruits of thy love. [7]Teach me the Psalms of thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in thee: [8]and open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit, that with all its notes I may praise thee, O Lord. [9]And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, so thou shalt give to me; and hasten to grant our petitions; and thou art able for all our needs. Hallelujah.

[1] The passage in Ps.-Cyprian is so curious, that for convenience I transcribe the Latin: *De Mont. Sina et Sion* 13: 'Ita inuenimus ipsum Saluatorem per Salomonem speculum inmaculatum patris esse dictum, eo quod sanctus spiritus Dei filius geminatum se uideat, pater in filio et filius in patre, utrosque se in se uident: ideo speculus inmaculatus. Nam et nos qui illi credimus Christum in nobis tanquam in speculo uidemus, ipso nos instruente et monente in epistula Iohannis discipuli sui ad populum: "ita me in uobis uidete, quomodo quis uestrum se uidet in aquam aut in speculum," et confirmauit Salomonicum dictum de se dicentem, "quis est speculus inmaculatus patris."'

[2] Ps. cxxiii. 2. [3] Ps. xlviii. 14.

[4] =εὐαρεστεῖν, *walk before God*, as Enoch, Gen. v. 24 etc.; cf. Peshiṭta.

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ODE 14. In this Psalm the canonical Psalter is somewhat more closely imitated than is generally the case with our collection. The opening sentences recall Ps. cxxiii. 2, 'As the eyes of servants to the hands of their masters, and as the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress, so are our eyes to the Lord our God.' The prayer that the Lord will be 'my guide even to the end,' recalls Ps. xlviii. 14, 'This God is our God for ever and ever: He will be our guide even unto death.' But the Psalm is by no means a cento from the canonical Psalter, even though it does not contain anything that could, at the first reading, be definitely labelled as Christian.

ODE 15.

[1]As the sun is the joy to them that seek for its daybreak[1], so is my joy the Lord; [2]because He is my Sun and His rays have lifted me up[2]; and His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face. [3]In Him I have acquired eyes and have seen His holy day: [4]ears have become mine and I have heard His truth. [5]The thought of knowledge hath been mine, and I have been delighted through Him. [6]The way of error I have left, and have walked towards Him and have received salvation from Him, without grudging. [7]And according to His bounty He hath given to me, and according to His excellent beauty[3] He hath made me. [8]I have put on incorruption through His name: and have put off corruption by His grace. [9]Death hath been destroyed before my face: and Sheol hath been abolished by my word: [10]and there hath gone up deathless life in the Lord's land, [11]and it hath been made known to His faithful ones, and hath been given without stint to all those that trust in Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 15. This beautiful Psalm, like so many others in the collection, opens with a similitude: these openings are characteristic of the book, and betray a single writer. This does not mean that they do not sometimes imitate the opening of the canonical Psalms. In the present case the 130th Psalm seems to have furnished the key-note, viz. the watchers for the morning. It is an experimental Psalm of the first order: the Sun has risen upon the soul of the writer. Eyes, ears and heart have all been opened. Salvation has been realized: the comeliness of the Lord has been put upon him: death has lost its terrors, the grave its power.

[1] Cf. Ps. cxxx. 6.
[2] *Or*, made me rise up.
[3] =Gk. μεγαλοπρέπεια.

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There is one passage which is either obscure, incorrect or extravagant where the writer says that 'Sheol has been abolished by my word.' Unless there has been a transition of personality, this seems extravagant, and invites the correction 'has been abolished at His word.' In any case, I think the Psalm is a Christian one, though the positive or dogmatic identifications are not forthcoming, apart from the victory over death and the grave.

ODE 16.

[1]As the work of the husbandman is the ploughshare: and the work of the steersman is the guidance[1] of the ship: [2]so also my work is the Psalm of the Lord: my craft and my occupation are in His praises[2]: [3]because His love hath nourished my heart, and even to my lips His fruits He poured out. [4]For my love is the Lord, and therefore I will sing unto Him: [5]for I am made strong in His praise, and I have faith in Him. [6]I will open my mouth and His spirit will utter in me [7]the glory of the Lord and His beauty; the work of His hands and the operation of His fingers: [8]the multitude of His mercies and the strength of His word. [9]For the word of the Lord searches out[3] all things, both the invisible and that which reveals His thought; [10]for the eye sees His works, and the ear hears His thought. [11]He spread out the earth and He settled the waters in the sea: [12]He measured the heavens and fixed the stars: and He established the creation and set it up: [13]and He rested from His works: [14]and created things run in their courses, and do their works: [15]and they know not how to stand and be idle[4]; and His ⌜heavenly⌝ hosts are subject to His word. [16]The treasure-chamber of the light is the sun, and the treasury of the darkness is the night: [17]and He made the sun for the day that it may be bright, but night brings darkness over the face of the land; [18]and their alternations one to the other speak[5] the beauty of God: [19]and there is nothing that is without the Lord; for He was before any thing came into being: [20]and the worlds were made by His word, and by the thought of His heart. Glory and honour to His name. Hallelujah. Cf. Heb. i. 2.

[1] *lit.* traction. Schulthess suggests 'the mast.' (l. ܡܓܕܦܐ).

[2] *lit.* in His praises is my craft and in His praises my occupation.

[3] *Or*, searches out: everything, the invisible and the revealed, (is) his thought.

[4] Justin, *Dial.* 22.

[5] Cod. complete; *but read* ܡܡܠܠ.

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ODE 16. This Psalm is, in its closing sentences, specifically Christian, and it is clearly from the same author as those that have immediately preceded. The theme is the beauty of God's creation; especially the writer considers the heavens which are the works of God's fingers, he contemplates the 'spacious firmament on high' (Ps. xviii.). We frequently catch refrains from the story of Creation. But curiously the writer appears to avoid the mention of the moon: instead of saying that God appointed the sun to rule the day and the moon to rule the night, he says that 'the treasure of the light is the sun, and the treasure of the darkness is—the night': and he tries to work out this broken parallel by a further statement about the offices of the sun and the darkness. It would be, perhaps, too much to assume that he had some reason for neglecting the moon: but the omission is curious: (there is a similar omission in *Sap. Sol.* vii. 18). The Psalm is certainly a beautiful one, especially in its opening verses. These find an appropriate parallel in Clement of Alexandria, who tells us[1]: 'We do not force the horse to plough nor the bull to hunt, but we allure each species of animal to the craft that suits it. So we also invite man to the vision of the open heaven, and to the knowledge of God, because he is of celestial birth.....Plough, indeed, if ploughman thou be, but know God while thou ploughest: sail, if thou love to voyage the seas, but make thy appeal to the steersman on high.'

The opening verses of this Ode find also a close parallel to Stoic thought in one of its loftiest expressions; for, according to Epictetus, the praise of God is the greatest of occupations: 'Seeing that most of you are blinded, should there not be some one to fill this place, and sing the hymn to God on behalf of all men?...Were I a nightingale, I should do after the manner of a nightingale. Were I a swan, I should do after the manner of a swan. But now, since I am a reasonable being, *I must sing to God; that is my proper work:* I do it, nor will I desert this my post, as long as it is granted to me to hold it: and unto you I call to join in this self-same hymn' (Epictetus, *Discourses*, i. 16). I am almost tempted to believe that our Odist knew this saying of Epictetus, and had Christianised it. It may well have been a popular religious quotation in the latter part of the first century. Stoicism and Christianity were, as is well known, very near neighbours; and this passage is one of the finest of Epictetus' sayings[2].

On examining the Ode more closely we detect an unmistakeable case of anti-Judaic polemic. The writer after describing the beauty of

[1] Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 80.

[2] T. R. Glover (*Conflict of Religions*, p. 165) refers to this saying of Epictetus and remarks that 'Stoicism was never essentially musical. Epictetus announces a hymn to Zeus, but he never starts the tune.' Certainly the language of the Ode is much loftier and more musical than that of Epictetus.

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creation and the Lord's rest from His works, goes on to say something which shows that he does not mean to deduce the Jewish Sabbath from the statements in Genesis. 'Created things run in their courses, and *do their works and know not how to stand or be idle.*' Suppose we turn to Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 22, where Justin is arguing with Trypho for the non-necessity of circumcision and the Sabbath: 'I will declare to you and to those who may wish to become proselytes,' says Justin, 'a divine word which I heard from the old man to whom I owe my conversion. He said, "you observe that the heavenly bodies *do not idle nor keep sabbath*[1]. Remain, therefore, as you were born, do not keep sabbath nor practise circumcision."'

It is clear, then, that the 16th Ode means to say that the Sabbath is not kept by the Heavenly bodies; and as it goes on to say 'and the [Heavenly] hosts are subject to His word,' it follows that God is regulating the motions of the worlds on the Sabbath days as well as on the week-days: a point which Justin expressly makes in c. 29, 'God undertakes the regulation of the world on this day, exactly as on other days[2].'

The writer then is a Christian of the type of Justin Martyr, who accepts the Gospel without the obligation of the Law, and makes a quiet intimation of the position which he takes towards the stricter Judaism. But we notice, further, that the argument which underlies his verse is older than Justin Martyr; it is contained in the reply of the ancient Christian whom Justin consulted on the question of sabbath and circumcision; he calls it a Divine Word or Oracle (*θεῖον λόγον*). It may, then, have come from some early Christian handbook; but, whether this be the case or not, it is a dictum of the first century; for the very old man who talked with Justin was not inventing a solution for immediate perplexities, but giving him a rule which prevailed in the Church to which he belonged.

So it seems clear that the Ode is really Christian, and that its Christianity is of a very early type, to judge from the arguments involved in it.

ODE 17.

[1]I was crowned by my God: my crown is living: [2]and I was justified in my Lord: my incorruptible salvation is He. [3]I was loosed from vanity, and I was not condemned: [4]the choking bonds were cut off by her[3] hands: I received the face

[1] *l.c.* τὰ στοιχεῖα οὐκ ἀργεῖ οὐδὲ σαββατίζει.

[2] ὁ θεὸς τὴν αὐτὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ κόσμου ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πεποίηται καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἁπάσαις.

[3] *Query* his?

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and the fashion of a new person: and I walked in it and was saved; [5]and the thought of truth led me on. And I walked after it and did not wander: [6]and all that have seen me were amazed: and I was regarded by them as a strange person: [7]and He who knew and brought me up is the Most High in all His perfection. And He glorified me by His kindness, and raised my thought to the height of ⌜His⌝ truth. [8]And from thence He gave me the way of His precepts[1] and I opened the doors that were closed, [9]and brake in pieces the bars of iron; but my iron melted and dissolved before me; [10]nothing appeared closed to me: because I was the door of everything. [11]And I went over all my bondmen to loose them; that I might not leave any man bound or binding: [12]and I imparted my knowledge without grudging: and my prayer was in my love: [13]and I sowed my fruits in hearts, and transformed them into myself: and they received my blessing and lived; [14]and they were gathered to me and were saved; because they were to me as my own members and I was their head. Glory to thee our head, the Lord Messiah. Hallelujah.

Ode 17. This Psalm is one that we alluded to above in connexion with 'the crown of life' that has been put upon the writer's head. That it is a Christian Psalm is evident: the Messiah or Christ is definitely referred to, and he is spoken of as being to believers in the relation of the head to the members. But we have again in this Psalm the peculiar change of personality: this time it comes so imperceptibly that we might be tempted to doubt the reality of the transition, if it were not for the abruptness of the return from it at the close of the Psalm. The breaking of the bars of iron must surely refer to the Messiah[2]: it need not be an allusion to the descent into Hades[3]; for the problem of liberation of souls is stated in general terms: all men are to be free; there is to be no more one that binds and one that is bound. The transformation of believers into Christ's nature is also referred to; 'I transformed them into myself.....they became my own members.'

ODE 18.

[1]My heart was lifted up in the love of the Most High and was enlarged: that I might praise Him for His[4] name's sake.

[1] *lit.* steps.

[2] So Zahn: Wer anders sollte das sein als Jesus der Messias?

[3] Batiffol: Avec M. Harris, avec M. Harnack aussi, et contre M. Gunkel, je crois que ces vv. ne parlent pas de la descente du Christ aux enfers.

[4] *Cod.* my.

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[2]My members were strengthened that they might not fall from His strength. [3]Sicknesses removed from my body, and it stood to the Lord by His will. For His Kingdom is true. [4]O Lord, for the sake of them that are deficient do not remove thy word from me! [5]Neither for the sake of their works do thou restrain from me thy perfection! [6]Let not the luminary be conquered by the darkness; nor let truth flee away from falsehood. Cf. Joh. i. 5 [7]Thou wilt appoint me to victory; our Salvation is thy right hand[1]. And thou wilt receive men from all quarters, [8]and thou wilt preserve whosoever is held in evils: [9]Thou art my God. [10]Falsehood and death[2] are not in thy mouth: [10]for thy will is perfection; and vanity thou knowest not, [11]nor does it know thee. [12]And error thou knowest not, [13]neither does it know thee. [14]And ignorance appeared like a blind man[3]; and like the foam of the sea, [15]and they supposed of that vain thing that it was something great; [16]and they too came in likeness of it and became vain; and those have understood who have known and meditated; [17]and they have not been corrupt in their imagination; for such were in the mind of the Lord; [18]and they mocked at them that were walking in error; [19]and they spake truth from the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them; Praise and great comeliness[4] to His name. Hallelujah.

Ode 18. The writer of this Psalm speaks as a prophet, who has known the Divine visitation, and has felt its effect both on mind and body, in the dispelling of error and the healing of disease. He prays for a continuance of the heavenly gift for the sake of the needy people to whom he gives his message. He has evidently been regarded by them as a light and foolish person, whose talk is like the foam on the wave of the sea. But there are others who are inspired like himself, and who mock at the unbelievers for their stupidity and ignorance. We catch the echo of some serious controversy upon religious matters, but the subject of the dispute is unknown. There are no definitely Christian features in the Psalm.

[1] *Or*, To Victory may thy right hand bring our Salvation.

[2–2] *Perhaps* Falsehood and the like.

[3] *Or by a slight change*, And I appeared like a blind man without knowledge. *Or better*, like chaff, *reading* ܟܢܝܐ (so Schulthess). Cf. Ode 29. 10.

[4] Gk. μεγαλοπρέπεια.

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ODE 19.

[1]A cup of milk was offered to me: and I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord. [2]The Son is the cup, and He who was milked is the Father: [3]and the Holy Spirit milked Him: because His breasts were full, and it was necessary for Him that His milk should be sufficiently released; [4]and the Holy Spirit opened His[1] bosom and mingled the milk from the two breasts of the Father; and gave the mixture to the world without their knowing: [5]and they who receive in its fulness are the ones on the right hand. [6][The Spirit][2] opened the womb of the Virgin and she received conception and brought forth; and the Virgin became a Mother with many mercies; [7]and she travailed and brought forth a Son, without incurring pain; [8]and because she was not sufficiently prepared[3], and she had not sought a midwife, (for He brought her to bear), she brought forth, as if she were a man[4], of her own will[5]; [9]and she brought Him forth openly, and acquired Him with great dignity, [10]and loved Him in His swaddling clothes[6], and guarded Him kindly, and showed Him in Majesty. Hallelujah.

ODE 19. Fantastic as this Psalm is, it might at first sight have been discarded as being out of harmony with the lofty spiritual tone of the rest of the collection. But it happens to be attested by Lactantius, and in the MSS. of his *Divine Institutes* we have not only a quotation from the Psalm in regard to the painless delivery of the Blessed Virgin, but we have also the number of the Psalm given, either as 19 or 20. So it was found in the collection known to Lactantius.

The harshness of the opening figure with regard to the bosom of the Father does not necessarily detach it from the rest of the collection; for we have had already allusion to the breasts of God. Thus in Psalm 8, the Lord is represented as saying: 'My own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby.' The eighth and the nineteenth of our Psalms appear therefore to be connected together by a common authorship. For the figure of the breasts of God in the literature of the early Church we may refer to Clement of Alexandria who, in the *Paedagogus* (lib. I. c. 6, p. 124), has

[1] MS. her bosom.

[2] Lact. *Div. Instit.* iv. 12; *Epit. Div. Instit.* c. 44. The original Greek was perhaps ἐνεκολπίσθη (= Aram. ‏אֶתְחַבַּק‏). Flemming: er umarmte (?)

[3] *Perhaps*: and because there was not (pain) she was sufficient.

[4] Batiffol: as it were a man: *reading* ὡς ἄνθρωπον for ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

[5] Batiffol: by the will [of God]: cf. Joh. i. 13 ἐκ θελήματος.

[6] *Reading* ‏ܒܣܘܪ̈ܝܗ‏ for ‏ܒܣܘܪ̈ܝ‏.

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a long discussion of the milk with which Christ's babes are nourished. Our nourishment, he says, is the Divine Word, it is '*the milk of the Father*, by which only the babes are fed.' Through the Word 'we have believed in God, to whose care-allaying breast we have fled.' And again (p. 125) 'to the babes, who seek for the Word, the breasts of the Father's kindness supply the milk' (*τοῖς ζητοῦσι νηπίοις τὸν Λόγον αἱ πατρικαὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας θηλαὶ χορηγοῦσι τὸ γάλα*). So Clement comes very near to the figurative language of the Ode, without its crudity of expression. The harshness of the figures employed and the tritheistic character of the theology may be paralleled in writers of the middle ages, whose repute in the Church is very wide. For is it not St Bernard who expounds the Evangelic statement that the beloved disciple leaned on Jesus' breast in the words 'hausit de sinu Unigeniti quod de paterno hauserat ille'? but if John imbibed from the breast of the Only-begotten what He had imbibed in like manner from the Father, we can only say that a very lofty theology is presented in a very harsh metaphor; but we cannot dismiss St Bernard as unworthy of further notice. And if it comes to tritheism, with which all the Christian Ages are more or less discoloured, where shall we find it more pronounced than in John Tauler's great sermon on the coming of the Bridegroom, where God the Father presides over the nuptials of Christ and the Church, and where the Holy Spirit acts as cup-bearer at the feast: a representation which is not so very remote from what we have in our Psalm, when wine has been substituted for milk. But I am afraid the matter is past apologetic. Further than this, we must admit that it is in many ways perplexing: the doctrine seems too highly evolved to allow us to reckon the Psalm to the same period of production as the rest of the book. When the writer speaks of milk from the two breasts of God, he evidently means the two covenants, or testaments. But that exegesis implies that the writer is no Marcionite rejecting an old covenant in the interests of a new, or else he wishes us to understand that he is no Jew, clinging to an old covenant to the neglect of the new covenant. And he seems to imply that the Christians whom he represents are distinguished from some other body of believers by being on the right hand of Christ. Is it the Jews from whom he wishes to be distinguished or is it the Marcionites? The Ode must be, at the earliest, a product of the second century. It is conceivable that the allusion to the Cup of Milk may cover an early Milk-Eucharist. Wine is nowhere mentioned in the religious language of our Psalter.

Turn in the next place to the account of the Virgin Birth, which follows the parable of the cup of milk, and can almost be detached as a separate composition. It certainly presents the miraculous conception and birth in a form which has already undergone considerable development: that the birth was painless was a very

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early corollary to the statement that it was supernatural; in the commentary of Ephrem on the Gospel there was a statement that 'it was indecent that she who had been a habitation of the Spirit should bring forth with pains and curses[1]'; and this must have been a very early reflection upon the statement of the Virgin Birth. But our writer goes much further than that: he dispenses with the usual aids to child-birth, and introduces details for which we find parallels in the Apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy. And it is frankly impossible that the doctrine of the Miraculous Birth should have become so highly evolved in the first century. So that the doubts raised by the first part of the Psalm are reinforced by a study of its latter half. As far then as this Psalm is concerned, it seems as if we must refer it to a later date than the majority of those which we have been discussing. We detected something like polemical tendency in the first half of the composition, as if the writer turned aside to rebuke either Jews or Marcionites: if we might assume tendency in the latter half, it must be directed against persons who did not believe in the Virgin Birth. Palestine and especially trans-Jordanic Palestine would furnish opponents of all the classes mentioned; so that, if we should be obliged to depress the date to the second century, we have no reason to remove the composition to another locality than that which has already been suggested.

ODE 20.

[1]I am a priest of the Lord, and to Him I do priestly service: and to Him I offer the sacrifice of His thought. [2]For His thought is not like ⌜the thought of⌝ the world nor ⌜the thought of⌝ the flesh, nor like them that serve carnally. [3]The sacrifice of the Lord is righteousness, and purity of heart and lips. [4]Present your reins before Him blamelessly: and let not thy heart do violence to heart, nor thy soul to soul. [5]Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by ⌜the price of thy silver⌝[2], neither shalt thou seek to devour thy neighbour[3], [6]neither shalt thou deprive him of the covering of his nakedness[4]. [7]But put on the grace of the Lord without stint; and come into His Paradise and make thee a garland from its tree, [8]and put it on thy head and be glad; and recline on His rest, and glory shall go before thee, [9]and thou shalt receive of His kindness and of His grace; and thou shalt be flourishing[5] in truth in the praise of His holiness. Praise and honour be to His name. Hallelujah.

[1] J. R. Harris, *Ephrem on the Gospel*, p. 31.

[2] *Literally*, by the blood of thy soul. I correct the Syriac, which is faulty, and has repeated 'thy soul' from the previous verse.

[3] Cf. Exod. xxii. 24. [4] Exod. xxii. 26. [5] *lit.* fat.

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ODE 20. This Psalm is a mixture of ethics and of mysticism, of the golden rule and of the tree of life. The writer, whether Jew or Christian, is wholly detached from external ritual; he calls himself a priest of God, but explains that this means the thinking of God's thought, and that the sacrifice he offers is the pure heart and life. He might be an Essene, one of that strange company who did not frequent the temple because they had purer sacrifices of their own. He drops a few ethical maxims, such as we find in the Pentateuch, protests against the owning of slaves (another Essene tenet) and against taking the neighbour's garment in pledge. Then he leaves morals and is away in search of the honey-dew and milk of Paradise. There glory waits the soul that enters into the Divine rest.

It is a beautiful Psalm, but one could not say of it, taken by itself, that it was necessarily Christian; though its affinities are with Psalms that are definitely Christian. For the sacrifices which the good man offers to God we may compare Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* vi. 25 'Donum est integritas animi; sacrificium, laus et hymnus: si enim Deus non videtur, ergo iis rebus coli debet, quae non videntur. Nulla igitur alia religio est vera, nisi quae virtute et justitia constat.'

In Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11 the sacrifice is an ascetic life.

ODE 21.

[1]My arms I lifted up to the Most High, even to the grace of the Lord: because He had cast off my bonds from me: and my Helper had lifted me up to His grace and to His salvation: [2]and I put off darkness and clothed myself with light, [3]and my soul acquired a body[1] free from sorrow or affliction or pains. [4]And increasingly helpful to me was the thought of the Lord, and His fellowship in incorruption: [5]and I was lifted up in His light; and I served before Him, [6]and I became near to Him, praising and confessing Him; [7]my heart ran over and was found in my mouth: and it arose upon my lips; and the exultation of the Lord increased on my face, and His praise likewise. Hallelujah.

ODE 21. This Psalm is short, and somewhat obscure. The reason for this lies in the fact that the writer is assuming a mystical explanation of the 'coats of skin' in the third chapter of Genesis, which are held to represent the ordinary human body which has replaced a body originally clad in light. See Ode 25 where the same idea of the acquisition of a Light-Body, and of its freedom from pain is more definitely expressed. It is impossible to decide definitely from the reading of the

[1] *lit.* there became members to my soul, etc.

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Psalm whether it is Christian or Jewish: if the writer was a Christian, he was a very joyous Christian; if he was a Jew, he knew the salvation of Israel that comes out of Zion, and had the dew of Heaven upon his vineyard.

ODE 22.

[1]He who brought me down from on high, also brought me up from the regions below; [2]and He who gathers together the things that are betwixt is He also who cast me down: [3]He who scattered my enemies and my adversaries: [4]He who gave me authority over bonds that I might loose them; [5]He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads[1]: and thou hast set me over his roots that I might destroy his seed. [6]Thou wast there and didst help me, and in every place thy name was a rampart to me[2]. [7]Thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison[3]; and thy hand levelled the way for those who believe in thee: [8]and thou didst choose them from the graves and didst separate them from the dead. [9]Thou didst take dead bones and didst cover them with bodies; [10]they were motionless, and thou didst give ⌜them⌝ energy for life. [11]Thy way was without corruption, and thy face; thou didst bring[4] thy world to corruption: that everything might be dissolved[5], and then renewed, [12]and that the foundation for everything might be thy rock[6]: and on it thou didst build thy Kingdom; and it became the dwelling-place of the saints. Hallelujah.

ODE 22. In this Psalm we seem to be nearer to the known Psalter of Solomon than elsewhere. There is a pointed reference to a dragon with seven heads whose seed is to be destroyed, and whose wicked poison has found its antidote in the Divine power. We think at once of the description of Pompey as the great dragon in the second of the published Psalms of Solomon. But dragons generally are difficult to identify. Who, for instance, is the dragon in Ps. lxxiii. (lxxiv.) 14 whose heads are broken? Is it Tiamat the Babylonian cosmic monster or the Leviathan whom the faithful are to eat in the last day, or is it a real person? In Ezekiel xxix. 3 it is Pharaoh of Egypt that is called the great dragon in the midst of the waters, but it might not be so easy to say which Pharaoh: any political monster may be a beast or a dragon:

[1] Cf. Apoc. xii. 3: and *Pistis Sophia*: see Introd. pp. 61—63.
[2] *Reading* حنبي with the Coptic, so Diettrich and others.
[3] Copt. the poison of the slanderer.
[4] Following a correction of Flemming.
[5] Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 11.
[6] Cf. Matt. xvi. 18.

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so in the present case we have to hunt around among the fallen gods to find him. There has evidently been a great slaughter of Jews for the writer uses the imagery of the Valley of Dry Bones in Ezekiel, in order to show that God can raise up His people from the gates of death: the ruin of all things becomes the occasion for a new Kingdom founded upon the rock.

The Psalm is one of those which are transferred to the pages of the *Pistis Sophia* where it is recited by Matthew from an Ode of Solomon. It is suggested by Ryle and James that the opening sentences are of a Gnostic character, from the allusion to things above and things below and things between. But the whole tenor of our Psalms is foreign to Gnosticism, and I do not see any reason to introduce it as a factor in the interpretation. If the Psalm is really the expression of some person triumphing over a fallen tyrant, or of Israel personified in such a situation, we have to search the political crises for such a time of trial and recovery. It is not easy to find the solution. The Hadrianic wars are too late, and they were followed by no recovery on the part of the Jews in Palestine. Antiochus Epiphanes is too early, in every respect. The next cases to examine are those of Pompey and Titus. Pompey is already known as the dragon, and the destruction of the dragon is historical. Titus on the other hand is a triumphant dragon without a subsequent collapse: nor does there seem to be in his case a sufficient recovery of Judaism to justify the triumphant language of the Odist. The statement that God levelled the way for those who believe in Him seems to imply a return from exile, in greater or less degree; but this also is not easy to justify from a historical point of view. [Bernard thinks the dragon is to be explained by Patristic gnosis of the defeat of the devil in the waters of Baptism, as in Cyril *Cat.* iii. 11 and the Baptismal rituals. I add to Dr Bernard's references one from a MS. of Moses Bar Kepha on Baptism, in my own collection: 'Our Lord was baptized that he might trample on the head of the spiritual dragon that lurked in the water etc.' The passage has been borrowed by Bar Ṣalibi, *Comm. in Matt.* p. 98. See Preface to this edition.]

ODE 23.

[1]Joy is of the saints! and who shall put it on, but they alone? [2]Grace is of the elect! and who shall receive it except those who trust in it from the beginning? [3]Love is of the elect! And who shall put it on except those who have possessed it from the beginning? [4]Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High without grudging: to His exultation and to the perfection of His knowledge. [5]And His thought was like a

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letter; His will descended from on high, and it was sent like an arrow which is violently shot from the bow: [6]and many hands rushed to the letter to seize it and to take and read it: [7]and it escaped their fingers and they were affrighted at it and at the seal that was upon it. [8]Because it was not permitted to them to loose its seal: for the power that was over the seal was greater than they. [9]But those who saw it went after the letter that they might know where it would alight, and who should read it and who should hear it. [10]But a wheel received it and came over it: [11]and there was with it a sign of the Kingdom and of the Government: [12]and everything which tried to move the wheel it mowed and cut down: [13]and it gathered the multitude of adversaries, and bridged[1] the rivers and crossed over and rooted up many forests and made a broad path. [14]The head went down to the feet, for down to the feet ran the wheel, and that which was a sign upon it. [15]The letter was one of command, for there were included[2] in it all districts; [16]and there was seen at its [?] head, the head which was revealed, even the Son of Truth from the Most High Father, [17]and He inherited and took possession of everything. And the thought of the many was brought to nought, [18]and all the apostates hasted and fled away. And those who persecuted and were enraged became extinct.

[19]And the letter was a great volume[3], which was wholly written by the finger of God: [20]and the name of the Father was on it, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

Ode 23. This is the most difficult of all the Psalms in the collection, and I have almost despaired of being able to explain it. It describes the descent from heaven of a sealed document, with a message from God in it. The description is something like that of the little sealed book in the Apocalypse, which no one can open, except the triumphant Lamb[4]. If the allusion in the Apocalypse is to some previous document which the author has incorporated, perhaps the same thing may be true here. Some book may have been published, claiming Divine Authority. What can it have been? A Gospel? An Apocalypse? It appeared suddenly, unexpectedly, and met with opposition rather than with universal acceptance. It came from the head and it went down to the feet. If we may use the language of a later Psalm in which the saints

[1] *lit.* covered. [2] *lit.* gathered. [3] *Or* tablet.

[4] Another parallel would be the letter sent from the home-land in Bardesanes' *Hymn of the Soul* in the Acts of Thomas.

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in Hades are called the feet of Christ, we should say that the mysterious little book conveyed a message to those below from one above, and that it interpreted the region below to include the invisible world. Was the little book then a 'Descensus ad Inferos'? It is impossible to decide with certainty. It contained some pronounced statement concerning the Trinity, for we are expressly told that it had the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost upon it. When any one writes in cipher, about a document which itself appears to have been written in cipher, for that is the natural meaning of a sealed book, we ought not to be surprised if it is not quite obvious, two thousand years later, what the writer meant or to what he was referring.

ODE 24.

[1]The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head; and she sang over Him and her voice was heard: [2]and the inhabitants were afraid and the sojourners were moved: [3]the birds dropped their wings, and all creeping things died in their holes: and the abysses were opened which had been hidden; and they cried to the Lord like women in travail: [4]and no food was given to them, [1]because it did not belong to them[1]; [5][2]and they sealed up the abysses with the seal of the Lord[2]. [3]And they perished, in the thought, those that had existed from ancient times[3]; [6]for they were corrupt from the beginning; and the end of their corruption was life[4]: [7]and every one of them that was imperfect perished: for it was not possible to give ⌜them⌝ a word that they might remain: [8]and the Lord destroyed the imaginations of all them that had not the truth with them. [9]For they who in their hearts were lifted up were deficient in wisdom, and so they were rejected, because the truth was not with them. [10]For the Lord disclosed His way, and spread abroad His grace: and those who understood it[5], know His holiness. Hallelujah.

[1-1] *Or perhaps*, because that which was non-existent belonged to them.

[2-2] U.-S.: und es versanken die Abgründe in der Versenkung des Herrn.

[3-3] Fl.: und es gingen zugrunde durch diesen Gedanken sie, die vorher existiert hatten.

U.-S.: und es gingen durch jenen Gedanken die zugrunde, die vor alters gewesen waren.

[4] *Or*, was the life of all; and whatever of them, etc. [5] sc. the way.

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ODE 24. The Psalm opens with a reference to the Baptism of the Lord, when the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a Dove on the head of the Messiah. The occasion was one of great dread to all created things, man and beast and creeping things shared the terror. The abysses, personified as living creatures, cried out in pain. They were sealed up and ended, as belonging to the order of non-existent things. Men also whose hearts were proud were rejected, when the way of the Lord was revealed and His holiness known.

In this Psalm with its reference to the abysses, and the things which are not and are brought to nought, we seem to be nearer to the world of Gnostic ideas: but it would be difficult to say that any of the catch-words or peculiar terms of Gnosticism are here. If we are right in referring the Psalm to the Baptism of the Lord, we are only furnishing one more proof of the extraordinary prominence given to that event in the early Church, for which it was the beginning of the Gospel: and we need not be surprised that the event should be treated in many ways, both theological and hymnological.

If it is not the Baptism that is alluded to, it must be the Crucifixion, and in that case we must assume an unknown incident connected with the Crucifixion, comparable with the appearance of the Dove at the Baptism. In that case the plaint of the abysses is another allusion to the descent into Hades.

But there is a special reason why I feel sure that the Baptism must be the incident to which reference is made: I think we can say that a written Gospel has here been employed, but not a Canonical Gospel. It will be remembered that Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 88, takes his account of the Baptism from a source which is either uncanonical: or, if canonical, is interpolated. When Jesus went down into the water, a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and when He came up from the water, the Holy Spirit, like a dove, *fluttered upon Him* (ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα): and Justin says expressly that this was recorded by the Apostles of our Christ (ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν). This 'fluttering down' of the dove is very near indeed to the language of our Ode. Its ultimate origin is probably to be found in the language of Gen. i. 3.

It is well known that the account of the Baptism by Justin has been the centre of serious controversy, on account of the apocryphal expansions of the narrative, especially the reference to the Fire which appeared at the Jordan: and it has been argued, reasonably enough, that Justin cannot have used our Canonical Gospels, or at least must have used an uncanonical Gospel with them. The same difficulty turns up in the descent of the Dove, for the word ἐπιπτῆναι, which recurs in Justin, must come from the written source which the author is using. A reference to Resch, *Aussercanonische Parallele zu Luc.* p. 15, will show

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the wide diffusion of the account from which Justin is working[1]. The word ἐπιπτῆναι can be traced in Celsus and in Origen and in the seventh book of Sibyllines, as well as in a number of Latin authors. The inference, therefore, is that a very early written Gospel is responsible for the detail: and it is this early Gospel that has been employed by the writer of the Ode. We conclude, then, that the reference is to the Baptism and that it is taken from a lost primitive Gospel. [If the Dove sang the words 'Thou art my beloved Son,' the Holy Spirit must be regarded as the mother of Jesus as in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The same belief is involved in Ode 36.]

There is, however, a possible suggestion that the Psalm may refer to the Descent into Hades, and to the Baptism, as events happening in close connexion. I mean that it is not out of the region of reasonable criticism to suggest that in the earliest times the Baptism of Christ was the occasion of His triumph over Hades. We find suspicious hints of this in the *Descensus ad Inferos*. Thus in c. xx[2] we have a statement made by Seth concerning his father Adam that he will receive the oil of healing from Paradise in the last days: 'veniet enim amantissimus dei filius de caelis in mundum, et baptizabitur a Johanne in Jordane flumine, et *tunc* recipiet pater tuus Adam de hoc oleo misericordiae et omnes credentes in eum.'

And in c. xxi we find Jesus talking to John the Baptist concerning his Descent into Hades: 'Ego Johannes vocem patris de caelo super eum intonantem audivi et proclamantem, Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacuit. *Ego ab eo responsum accepi quia ipse descensurus esset ad inferos.*'

Here are two curious references connecting the Baptism and the Descent into Hades. And the question arises whether this 24th Ode may not look in the same direction. The evidence is, of course, inadequate, but the statement of the case may perhaps lead to the discovery of fresh evidence in the same direction.

ODE 25.

[1]I was rescued from my bonds and unto thee, my God, I fled: [2]for thou art the right hand of my Salvation and my helper. [3]Thou hast restrained those that rise up against me, [4]and I shall see him[3] no more: because thy face was with me, which saved me by thy grace. [5]But I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many: and I was in their eyes like lead[4],

[1] See Introd. pp. 84, 85.
[2] Tischendorf, *Ev. Apoc.* p. 425.
[3] *l.* them.
[4] Cf. *Sap. Sol.* ii. 16 εἰς κίβδηλον ἐλογίσθημεν αὐτῷ.

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[6]and strength was mine from thyself and help. [7]Thou didst set me a lamp[1] at my right hand and at my left: and in me there shall be nothing that is not bright[2]: [8]and I was clothed with the covering of thy Spirit, and thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin[3]; [9]for thy right hand lifted me up and removed sickness from me: [10]and I became mighty in the truth, and holy by thy righteousness; and all my adversaries were afraid of me; [11]and I became admirable by the name of the Lord, and was justified by His gentleness, and His rest is for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 25. In this Psalm we are back again in the region of personal experience, and there is no allusion to any definite historical event. The writer, whether Christian or Jew, has been brought out of spiritual bondage into liberty: he has had to face contempt and scorn, but the Lord has filled him with brightness and covered him with beauty, and given him health of mind and body: his enemies have turned back, and his portion is with the justified saints of the Most High. It is possible that this Psalm may be meant to express the experience of the Messiah, emerging from His conflicts into victory: in that case it need not be the Christian conception of the Messiah, but it might conceivably be such a human representation as we find in the Psalms of the Pharisees (*e.g.* Ps. 17, which is our Ps. 60). But our collection, as to its first block of Psalms, is certainly of a later period than the Pharisee Psalms, so we ought to hesitate before ascribing the same Messianic ideas to the two parts of the hymnal. For the allusion to the 'coat of skin,' see Introd. pp. 66—70, and cf. Ode 21.

ODE 26.

[1]I poured out praise to the Lord, for I am His: [2]and I will speak His holy song, for my heart is with Him. [3]For His harp is in my hands, and the Odes of His rest shall not be silent. [4]I will cry unto Him from my whole heart: I will praise and exalt Him with all my members. [5]For from the east and even to the west is His praise: [6]and from the south and even to the north is the confession of Him: [7]and from the top of the hills to their utmost bound is His perfection. [8]Who can write the Psalms of the Lord, or who read them? [9]or who can train his

[1] Ps. cxxxii. 17. [2] *lit.* light.

[3] Cp. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6, p. 117 τῆς κακίας ἐκδυσάμενοι τὸν χιτῶνα and Gen. iii. 21.

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soul for life, that his soul may be saved, [10]or who can rest on the Most High, so that with His mouth he may speak? [11]Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord? [12]For he who could interpret would be dissolved and would become that which is interpreted[1]. [13]For it suffices to know and to rest[2]: for in rest the singers stand, [14]like a river which has an abundant fountain, and flows to the help of them that seek it[3]. Hallelujah.

ODE 26. This beautiful song of praise recounts the goodness and greatness of the Lord. All within the writer magnifies the great Name, but all within is insufficient to tell out what waits to be told. His praise is widespread to the utmost bound of earth and beyond the bound of the everlasting hills. The creature cannot express God's praise perfectly; if he could, he would be no longer a creature: he would be the Word, and not the interpreter of the Word. So it suffices to know and to rest, while at our feet the river of grace rolls on, an unchanging flood:

Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.

It is impossible to say whether the Psalm, as detached from the rest of the collection, is Jewish or Christian.

ODE 27.

[1]I stretched out my hands and sanctified my Lord[4]: [2]for the extension of my hands is His sign: [3]and my expansion is the upright tree (*or* cross)..

ODE 27. This tiny Psalm is Christian, and is based upon the early Christian fondness for finding the Cross everywhere in the outward world: in the handle of the labourer's plough, in the mast and yards of the seaman's ship; and in the human body, when the man stands erect in the act of prayer with outstretched arms. There can, therefore, be no doubt that this is a Christian Psalm, and the figurative language which it employs is characteristic of the second century and not unknown in the first century. Justin Martyr, for example, sees the

[1] Cf. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* praef.: 'there would be no difference between God and man, if human thought could reach to the counsels and arrangements of that eternal Majesty.'

[2] Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 115) ὥστε ἡ μὲν γνῶσις ἐν τῷ φωτίσματι· τὸ δὲ πέρας τῆς γνώσεως, ἡ ἀνάπαυσις.

[3] Cf. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* iv. 30 'Si quis aquam vitae cupiat haurire, non ad detritos lacus deferatur, qui non habent venam, sed uberrimum Dei noverit fontem, quo irrigatus perenni luce potiatur.'

[4] U.-S.: und heiligte [sie] meinem Herrn.

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Cross, in the outspread arms of Moses in the battle against Amalek; but so does Barnabas also: and the same thought is involved in the conclusion of the Teaching of the Apostles, where an outspread cross in the sky is one of the signs of the Advent and answers to the Sign of the Son of Man in Matthew. So it is very likely that the figure in our Psalm is one of the oldest forms of Christian symbolic teaching. We shall find it used again in the 42nd Psalm which may, therefore, be by the same hand as the present one: otherwise it would be an imitation of it.

Those who care to have a Gnostic example of the use of this widespread Christian figure, will find one in Schmidt, *Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk* (l.c. p. 336): 'Die Haare seines Gesichtes sind die Zahl der äusseren Welten, und die Ausbreitung seiner Hände ist die Offenbarung des Kreuzes.'

ODE 28.

[1]As the wings of doves over their nestlings; and the mouth of their nestlings towards their mouths, [2]so also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart: [3]my heart is delighted and exults: like the babe who exults[1] in the womb of his mother[2]: [4]I believed; therefore I was at rest; for faithful is He in whom I have believed: [5]He has richly blessed me and my head is with Him: and the sword shall not divide me from Him, nor the scimitar; [6]for I am ready before destruction comes: and I have been set on His immortal[3] pinions: [7]and immortal life has come forth and given me to drink[4], and from that life is the spirit within me, and it cannot die, for it lives. [8]They who saw me marvelled at me, because I was persecuted, and they supposed that I was swallowed up: for I seemed to them as one of the lost; [9]and my oppression became my salvation; and I was their reprobation because there was no zeal in me[5]; [10]because I did good to every man I was hated, [11]and they came round me like mad dogs[6], who ignorantly attack their masters, [12]for their thought is corrupt and their understanding perverted. [13]But I was carrying water in my right hand[7], and their bitterness[8] I

[1] *Or*, leaps.
[2] Cf. Luke i. 41.
[3] *lit.* pinions without corruption.
[4] Reading ܢܫܩܢܝ. Fl.: has kissed me. So U.-S.
[5] *Perhaps* because I was not a Zealot.
[6] Ps. xxii. 16.
[7] *Query* 'that I might put out their flame.'
[8] As water is plural, Fl. would refer the bitterness to it; but Zahn says: 'das pluralische Suffix an dem Worte Bitterkeit ist selbstverständlich nicht mit Fl. auf das Wasser zu beziehen.'

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endured by my sweetness; [14]and I did not perish, for I was not their brother nor was my birth like theirs, [15]and they sought for my death and did not find it: for I was older than the memorial of them; [16]and vainly did they make attack upon me[1] and those who, without reward, came after me[2]: [17]they sought to destroy the memorial of him who was before them: [18]for the thought of the Most High cannot be anticipated: and His heart is superior to all wisdom. Hallelujah.

ODE 28. This exquisite Psalm has the music in it of the 'Quis separabit?' of Romans viii. Nor sword nor scimitar divide the believer from the Lord. In some respects the Psalm appears to be Messianic in a Christian sense, for the writer concludes his exulting strain over enemies who had come round him like mad dogs and had left him for dead, with the remark that it was not possible for them to blot out the memory of one who existed before them, and who was of a different birth from theirs. He also speaks of their attacks as having been directed against his followers as well as himself. Perhaps, then, the writer is speaking, in these verses, as if in the person of Christ.

ODE 29.

[1]The Lord is my hope: in Him I shall not be confounded. [2]For according to His praise He made me, and according to His goodness even so He gave unto me: [3]and according to His mercies He exalted me: and according to His excellent beauty He set me on high: [4]and brought me up out of the depths of Sheol: and from the mouth of death He drew me: [5]and thou didst lay my enemies low, and He justified me by His grace. [6]For I believed in the Lord's Messiah[3]: and it appeared to me that He is the Lord; [7]and He showed him[4] His sign: and He led me by His light, and gave me the rod of His power; [8]that I might subdue the imaginations of the peoples; and the power of the men of might to bring them low: [9]to make war by His word, and to take victory by His power. [10]And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His word; and he became like the stubble which the wind carries away; [11]and I gave praise to the Most High because He exalted ⌜me⌝ His servant and the son of His handmaid. Hallelujah.

[1] *The margin suggests*, slaughtering me: *i.e.* reading ذبحوني for the marginal رجموني (cast lots).

[2] *Or*, who came after me. To no purpose they sought, etc.

[3] *Or*, Christ. [4] *Query* me?

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ODE 29. Some one wrote this Psalm, who was a follower of the Christ and had recognised Him to be the Lord. Out of great conflicts he had been brought into the place of victory: his enemies had become like the straw before the wind: he has passed through deep distresses, which he speaks of figuratively as the pains of Sheol and the gates of death. But for the reference to the Lordship of the Messiah and to faith in Him, we might have imagined this Psalm to belong to the ancient Psalter: we shall be justified in regarding it as a Judaeo-Christian composition.

ODE 30.

[1]Fill ye waters for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord, for it is opened to you: [2]and come all ye thirsty, and take the draught; and rest by the fountain of the Lord. [3]For fair it is and pure and gives rest to the soul. Much more pleasant are its waters than honey; [4]and the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it. [5]For it flows forth from the lips of the Lord and from the heart of the Lord is its name. [6]And it came infinitely and invisibly: and until it was set[1] in the midst they did not know it: [7]blessed are they who have drunk therefrom and have found rest thereby. Hallelujah.

ODE 30. The Psalm is an invitation to the thirsty, somewhat in the manner of Isaiah lv. The water of life, which here is explained to be the teaching of the Lord, is flowing from an open fountain, whose waters, to use the language of the 19th Psalm in the canonical Psalter, are 'sweeter than honey and the honeycomb.' The Ode is not so far removed from Old Testament thought and expression that we can positively call it a Christian composition. The writer is fond of the similitude of honey and the honeycomb: we find it, for instance, again in our fortieth Ode, where we have it for the opening similitude:

'Like the honey that drops from the comb of the bees.....so is my hope on thee, O God.'

But this Psalm, also, appears, at first sight, to be destitute of specific Christian colouring.

The fountain, however, whose waters come without limit, and invisibly, corresponds to the unexpected appearance of Christ and Christ's teaching in the world, when there stood in the midst One whom they knew not.

[1] *lit.* given.

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ODE 31.

[1]The abysses were dissolved before the Lord: and darkness was destroyed by His appearance: [2]error went astray and perished at His hand: [1]and folly found no path to walk in[1], and was submerged by the truth of the Lord. [3]He opened His mouth and spake grace and joy: and He spake a new song of praise to His name: [4]and He lifted up His voice to the Most High, and offered to Him the sons that were with Him[2]. [5]And His face was justified, for thus His holy Father had given to Him. [6]Come forth, ye that have been afflicted and receive joy, and possess your souls by His grace; and take to you immortal life. [7]And they made me a debtor when I rose up, me who had not been a debtor[3]: and they divided my spoil, though nothing was due to them. [8]But I endured and held my peace and was silent[4], as if not moved by them. [9]But I stood unshaken like a firm rock which is beaten by the waves and endures. [10]And I bore their bitterness for humility's sake: [11]in order that I might redeem my people, and inherit it, and that I might not make void my promises to the fathers[5], to whom I promised the salvation of their seed. Hallelujah.

ODE 31. The Psalm is Messianic, and records how the Christ fulfilled the promises which, in a pre-existent state, He had made to the fathers. He has closed the abysses and banished error and vanity. With a new song in His mouth, He appears before God with the children whom God has given Him. His similitude is the rock against which the waves had beaten in vain. It stands firm, whether the waves advance or retire. Here Christian speech comes near to the language of the Stoics. One thinks of Marcus Aurelius, and his advice to 'be like the promontory against which the waves continually break, but it stands firm and tames the fury of the water around it[6].' One thinks also of Ignatius, and his advice 'to stand steady like the beaten anvil[7].' For the opening sentences about the destroying of the abysses, we must compare the language of the 24th Psalm of our collection, where the abysses cry out in pain at the time of the Baptism of the Lord. These Psalms are by the same Christian hand.

[1-1] *lit.* and folly, there was given her no path.
[2] *lit.* in His hands. Cf. Is. viii. 18; Heb. ii. 13.
[3] 2 Cor. v. 21. Perhaps we should translate 'a criminal.'
[4] 1 Pet. ii. 23.
[5] Rom. xv. 8; Luke i. 55.
[6] *Medit.* iv. 49.
[7] *ad Polyc.* 3.

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ODE 32.

[1]To the blessed there is joy from their hearts, and light from Him that dwells in them: [2]and words from the Truth, who was self-originate[1]: for He is strengthened by the holy power of the Most High: and He is unperturbed for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 32. Joy, Light, Inspiration, Strength and Calmness belong to the believer through Him that dwells within.

ODE 33.

[1]Again Grace ran and forsook corruption, and came down in Him to bring it to nought; [2]and He destroyed perdition from before Him, and devastated all its order; [3]and He stood on a lofty summit[2] and uttered His voice from one end of the earth to the other: [4]and drew to Him all those who obeyed Him; and there did not appear as it were an evil person, [5]but there stood a perfect virgin[3] who was proclaiming and calling and saying, [6]O ye sons of men[4], return ye, and ye daughters of men, come ye: [7]and forsake the ways of that corruption and draw near unto me, and I will enter into you, and will bring you forth from perdition, [8]and make you wise in the ways of truth: that you be not destroyed nor perish: [9]hear ye me and be redeemed. For the grace of God I am telling among you: and by my means you shall be redeemed and become blessed. [10]I am your judge; and they who have put me on shall not be injured: but they shall possess the new world that is incorrupt: [11]my chosen ones walk in me, and my ways I will make known to them that seek me, and I will make them trust in my name. Hallelujah.

ODE 33. Apparently this Psalm is Messianic, though Christ is not named. He must be the one that rises from the dead and sends forth his triumphant voice to the ends of the earth. A virgin also stands and proclaims, who must be either the Divine Wisdom (the language is

[1] Gk. *αὐτοφυής*, as in the oracular reply to the enquiry as to the Divine Nature, *αὐτοφυής, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀστυφέλικτος*. See Lact. *De Div. Inst.* i. 7.

[2] Prov. viii. 2. [3] Prov. viii. 1. [4] Prov. viii. 4.

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very like that of the eighth chapter of Proverbs) or the Church[1]. She promises salvation by Divine Grace and immortality in a new world to those that walk in her ways.

ODE 34.

[1]No way is hard where there is a simple heart. [2]Nor is there any wound where the thoughts are upright: [3]nor is there any storm in the depth of the illuminated thought: [4]where one is surrounded on every side by beauty, there is nothing that is divided. [5]The likeness of what is below is that which is above; for everything is above: what is below is nothing but the imagination of those that are without knowledge. [6]Grace has been revealed for your salvation. Believe and live and be saved. Hallelujah.

ODE 34. All the hard things are easy, where the soul itself is right: no storms invade the hidden place of communion with God. Evil itself becomes unreal, and that which is beneath exists not before that which is above.

ODE 35.

[1]The dew of the Lord in quietness He distilled upon me: [2]and the cloud of peace He caused to rise over my head, which guarded me continually; [3]it was to me for salvation: everything was shaken and they were affrighted; [4]and there came forth from them a smoke and a judgment; and I was keeping quiet in the order of the Lord: [5]more than shelter was He to me, and more than foundation. [6]And I was carried like a child by his mother: [7]and He gave me milk, the dew of the Lord[2]: [7]and I grew great by His bounty, and rested in His perfection, [8]and I spread out my hands in the lifting up of my soul: and I was made right with the Most High, and I was redeemed with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 35. The dew lies on the branch of the man that sings this Psalm: Divine Peace guards him like a sheltering cloud. The Lord is his sure defence in the day of evil. Mother's arms are his place and mother's milk his portion. 'No cradled child more softly lies than I: Come soon, eternity.'

[1] *Or* Prov. i. 20. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 123) μία δὲ μόνη γίνεται μήτηρ Παρθένος· Ἐκκλησίαν ἐμοὶ φίλον αὐτὴν καλεῖν. See also Introd. p. 77.

[2-2] *Or*, and the dew of the Lord gave me milk. U.-S.

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ODE 36.

[1]I rested on the Spirit of the Lord: and ⌜the Spirit⌝ raised me on high: [2]and made me stand on my feet in the height of the Lord, before His perfection and His glory, while I was praising ⌜Him⌝ by the composition of His songs. [3]⌜The Spirit⌝ brought me forth before the face of the Lord: and, although a son of man, I was named the Illuminate, the Son of God: [4]while I praised amongst the praising ones, and great was I amongst the mighty ones. [5]For according to the greatness of the Most High, so He made me: and like His own newness He renewed me; and He anointed me from His own perfection: [6]and I became one of His neighbours; and my mouth was opened, like a cloud of dew; [7]and my heart poured out as it were a gushing stream of righteousness, [8]and [1]my access ⌜to Him⌝[1] was in peace; and I was established by the spirit of His government. Hallelujah.

ODE 36. This is a perplexing Psalm, from a theological point of view. It is almost impossible to determine whether the Psalmist is speaking in his own name, or in that of the Messiah; or whether it is an alternation of one with the other. It seems almost a necessity, when the Holy Spirit is spoken of as a Mother, that the offspring should be the Son of God: and that such was the theology of certain early believers we know from the fragment of the Ebionite Gospel, in which Christ speaks of being taken by the hair of His head by His mother, the Holy Spirit, and carried to Mount Tabor. If this be the right interpretation, then the Illuminated Son of God is Christ. But the latter part of the Psalm seems to be in too low a strain for this interpretation: to be one of those who are near to God is certainly not orthodox theology, though it may conceivably be Adoptionist: and the heart that pours out righteousness and makes its offering in peace seems rather to be the language that describes one of the pious in Israel.

ODE 37.

[1]I stretched out my hands to my Lord: and to the Most High I raised my voice: [2]and I spake with the lips of my heart; and He heard me, when my voice reached Him[2]: [3]His answer came to me, and gave me the fruits of my labours; [4]and it gave me rest by the grace of the Lord. Hallelujah.

[1–1] *Or perhaps*, my offering. [2] *lit.* fell to Him.

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ODE 37. A colourless Psalm, something like one of the shorter and more elementary Psalms of the Hebrew Psalter. The writer has cried to God: his prayer has been heard: his heart has appealed, and an answer has come. His work has been followed by Divine blessing.

ODE 38.

[1]I went up to the light of truth as if into a chariot: [2]and the Truth took me and led me: and carried me across pits and gulleys; and from the rocks and the waves it preserved me: [3]and it became to me a haven of Salvation: and set me on the arms of immortal life: [4]and it went with me and made me rest, and suffered me not to wander, because it was the Truth; [5]and I ran no risk, because I walked with Him; [6]and I did not make an error in anything because I obeyed the Truth. [7]For Error flees away from it, and meets it not: but the Truth proceeds in the right path, and [8]whatever I did not know, it made clear to me, all the poisons of error, and the plagues of death which they think to be sweetness: [9]and I saw the destroyer of destruction, when the bride who is corrupted is adorned; and the bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted; [10]and I asked the Truth, 'Who are these?'; and He said to me, This is the deceiver and the error: 2 Joh. 7
[11]and they are alike in the beloved and in his bride: and they lead astray and corrupt the ⌜whole⌝ world: [12]and they invite many to the banquet, [13]and give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication, and remove[1] their wisdom and knowledge, and ⌜so they⌝ make them without intelligence; [14]and then they leave them; and then these go about like madmen corrupting: seeing that they are without heart, nor do they seek for it. [15]And I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the deceiver; and I congratulated myself because the Truth went with me, [16]and I was established and lived and was redeemed, [17]and my foundations were laid on the hand of the Lord: because He established me. [18]For He set the root and watered it and fixed it and blessed it; and its fruits are for ever. [19]It struck deep and sprung up and spread out, and was full and enlarged; [20]and the Lord alone was glorified in His planting and in His husbandry: by His care and by the blessing of His lips, [21]by the beautiful planting of His right hand[2]: and by the

[1] *lit.* they vomit up.

[2] Is. lx. 21.

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discovery[1] of His planting, and by the thought of His mind. Hallelujah.

ODE 38. The Psalm opens with a beautiful description of the power of the truth over those that surrender to it. Truth becomes to them guidance in all difficult and rough and dangerous places. But the Psalm is not merely a Psalm of the Truth, it is a Psalm concerning Truth and Error. They appear to stand like Christ and Antichrist. We are tempted to believe that the writer had at one time been brought face to face with some special outbreak of erroneous teaching, one of the many Antichrists of the first century. There are some things which suggest Simon Magus and his Helena, who went about to mislead the faithful. It is, however, useless to try and define the situation more closely. Whatever form the attractions of Truth and Error took to the Psalmist, he tells us that he escaped the Circean blandishments, and sailed past the Sirens. His foundations were in the holy mountain; his growth was in God and of God. God planted, God watered, God gave the increase. The Father was the husbandman.

ODE 39.

[1]Great rivers are the power of the Lord[2]: [2]and they carry headlong those who despise Him: and entangle their paths: [3]and they sweep away their fords, and catch their bodies and destroy their lives. [4]For they are more swift than lightning and more rapid, and those who cross them in faith are not moved; [5]and those who walk on them without blemish shall not be afraid. [6]For the sign in them is the Lord; and the sign is the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord; [7]put on, therefore, the name of the Most High, and know Him: and you shall cross without danger, for the rivers will be subject to you. [8]The Lord has bridged them by His word; and He walked and crossed them on foot[3]: [9]and His footsteps stand ⌜firm⌝ on the water, and are not injured; they are as firm as a tree that is truly set up. [10]And the waves were lifted up on this side and on that, but the footsteps of our Lord Messiah stand firm and are not obliterated and are not defaced. [11]And a way has been appointed for those who cross after Him and for those who adhere to[4] the course of faith in Him and worship His name[5]. Hallelujah.

[1] *Or perhaps*, reading ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬ with Schulthess, 'by the splendour of His planting.'

[2] Is. xliii. 2.

[3] Matt. xiv. 25.

[4] I follow the correction of Flemming.

[5] Cf. Matt. xiv. 28.

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Ode 39. When I first read this Psalm I thought that we had another historical landmark, in the allusion to some great accident connected with the sudden rise of one of the great Oriental rivers. But upon reflection, I have come to the conclusion that the writer is speaking of disasters generally, under the natural figure of a rising and rushing river. In such times of flood the unbelievers find no footing and are swept away: believers on the other hand walk the waters like their Lord and with their Lord. Perhaps there is a reference to Isaiah xliii. 2, 'When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee.' The same promise appears to be quoted in Psalms of Solomon vi. 5, 'When he passeth through rivers, yea, through the surge of the sea, he is not affrighted.' Their feet stand firm where His feet had stood unmoved. Here the background of the teaching is the account of our Lord's walking on the sea of Galilee. The reference is valuable[1], for we have hardly any other allusion to events recorded in the Gospel, beyond the Birth, Baptism and Crucifixion, to which we have already referred. The paucity of parallels to the New Testament in the new Psalter should be one of the strongest reasons for believing that, as regards the major part of the collection, we are dealing with very early material.

ODE 40.

[1]As the honey distils from the comb of the bees, [2]and the milk flows from the woman that loves her children[2]; [3]so also is my hope on Thee, my God. [4]As the fountain gushes out its water, [5]so my heart gushes out the praise of the Lord and my lips utter praise to Him, and my tongue His psalms. [6]And my face exults with His gladness, and my spirit exults in His love, and my soul shines in Him: [7]and reverence confides in Him; and redemption in Him stands assured: [8]and His inheritance[3] is immortal life, and those who participate in it are incorrupt. Hallelujah.

Ode 40. One may say of the writer in the language of St Bernard: 'Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuae et torrente voluptatis tuae potabis eos (Ps. xxxv. 9). O quanta amoris vis! quanta in spiritu libertatis fiducia.' Praise flows out of his life and from his lips as honey drops from the comb or milk from the breast. God's gladness

[1] Moreover, if Peter's walking on the sea is involved in the reference of the Odist, it is not Mark's gospel that is being quoted, nor any of the canonical four except Matthew.

[2] Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 119) φιλοστόργοις πηγάζουσα μαστοῖς.

[3] Following the emendation of Charles.

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makes his face without to shine, and his soul within to be radiant. If mortality is not quite swallowed up of life, it is irradiated by it. There is assurance of faith and the confident hope of immortality.

ODE 41.

[1]All the Lord's children will praise Him, and will collect the truth of His faith. [2]And His children shall be known to Him. Therefore we will sing in His love: [3]we live in the Lord by His grace: and life we receive in His Messiah: [4]for a great day has shined upon us: and marvellous is He who has given us of His glory. [5]Let us, therefore, all of us unite together in the name of the Lord, and let us honour Him in His goodness, [6]and let our faces shine in His light: and let our hearts meditate in His love by night and by day. [7]Let us exult with the joy of the Lord. [8]All those will be astonished that see me. For from another race am I: [9]for the Father of truth remembered me: He who possessed me from the beginning: [10]for His bounty begat me, and the thought of His heart: [11]and His Word is with us in all our way; [12]the Saviour who makes alive and does not reject our souls: [13]the man who was humbled, and exalted by His own righteousness, [14]the Son of the Most High appeared in the perfection of His Father; [15]and light dawned from the Word that was beforetime in Him; [16]the Messiah is truly one[1]; and He was known before the foundation of the world, [17]that He might save souls for ever by the truth of His name: a new song ⌜arises⌝ from those who love Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 41. This Psalm, again, is Messianic, but certainly not in the prophetic sense. The writer knows that the Son of God is come. The glorious day of which prophets spoke has dawned: the dayspring from on high has become the noontide glory. Christ who was humbled is now exalted; the Word, who existed before the foundation of the world, has appeared. The language finds its nearest parallel in the Johannine theology.

It is not, at first sight, quite clear what the writer means by being sprung from another race[2]. Is it that he is of Gentile origin and persuaded to dwell in the tents of Shem? That would agree well with the general Palestinian origin of the Psalms. In that case he has become

[1] Cf. Ign. *ad Magn.* 7 εἷς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.
[2] But see Introd. p. 66.

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sufficiently Hebraized to sing Zion's songs in a Zionite manner: and to praise God night and day, where a Gentile would naturally have done it by day and night.

ODE 42.

[1]I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord: [2]for the stretching of my hands is His sign: [3]my expansion is the outspread tree which was set up on the way of the Righteous One[1]. [4]And I[2] became of no account to those who did not take hold of me; and I shall be with those who love me. [5]All my persecutors are dead; and they sought after me who hoped in me, because I was alive: [6]and I rose up and am with them; and I will speak by their mouths. [7]For they have despised those who persecuted them; [8]and I lifted up over them the yoke of my love; [9]like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride, [10]so was my yoke[3] over those that know me: [11]and as the couch that is spread in the house of the [4]⌜bridegroom and bride⌝[4], [12]so is my love over those that believe in me. [13]And I was not rejected though I was reckoned to be so. [14]I did not perish, though they devised ⌜it⌝ against me. [15]Sheol saw me and was made miserable: [16]death cast me up and many along with me. [17]I[5] had gall and bitterness[6], and I went down with him to the utmost of his[7] depth: [18]and the feet and the head he let go, for they were not able to endure my face: [19]and I made a congregation of living men amongst his dead men, and I spake with them by living lips: [20]because my word shall not be void: [21]and those who had died ran towards me: and they cried and said, Son of God, have pity on us, and do with us according to thy kindness, [22]and bring us out from the bonds of darkness: and open to us the door by which we shall come out to thee. [23]For we see that our death has not touched thee. [24]Let us also be redeemed with thee: for thou art our

[1] Zahn thinks the text of this verse has been altered, and suggests ܥܠܗ ܐܬܬܠܐ ܚܒܝܒܐ, 'on which the Beloved was hanged.'

[2] Christ speaks.

[3] Matt. xi. 29. [4–4] *lit.* bridegrooms. [5] *Cod.* He.

[6] Cf. *Descensus ad Inferos* 4 'They crucified him, and gave him gall and vinegar to drink. Be ready, therefore, to hold him firmly when he cometh.' Flemming objects to the correction which I have made in the text, and says we should render 'I was gall and bitterness to him.' So U.-S. Probably this is the right sense of the passage: but I am not quite satisfied. [7] *or* its: sc. Sheol's.

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Redeemer. [25]And I heard their voice; and my name I sealed upon their heads: [26]for they are free men and they are mine. Hallelujah.

ODE 42. This Psalm concludes the collection of Odes ascribed to Solomon: what follows is the extant book of Solomonic Psalms. The collection up to the present point is marked in each case with a final Hallelujah. The remaining Psalms, with one accidental exception, are not marked this way. So we may add the editorial remark at the end of this Psalm, that 'the Odes of Solomon, the Son of David, are ended.'

The concluding Psalm is Christian and Messianic: its main theme is the descent of Christ into Hades in order to liberate the imprisoned souls of the fathers: and it should be read along with the extant apocryphal books that deal with this subject.

Almost the whole of the Psalm is *ex ore Christi*: the writer begins, as in the short 29th Ode, with the statement that his lifted hands make the figure of the Cross of the Righteous One. But he soon diverges into the harrowing of hell. The imprisoned souls cry out for release to Him over whom death, which binds them, has no power. A congregation of saints is gathered in the place of the dead. They become Christ's free men. Incidentally an expression is used of their relation to the Lord which appears to be employed elsewhere: they are called, not the members, but the feet of the Lord. Hades disgorges both the head and the feet: the head is, of course, Christ; and the feet are the saints of old time[1]. [For *v.* 18 we may compare *Acta Thomae* c. 156 *οὗ τὴν θέαν οὐκ ἤνεγκαν οἱ τοῦ θανάτου ἄρχοντες.*]

The Psalm is too highly evolved, in its imaginary treatment of the Descent into Hell, to be reckoned as belonging to the same period as the main body of the collection. Still it cannot be very much later, for its mystical language is in close agreement with many of the most beautiful of the Psalms before us: and the union of Christ with the Church, under the figure of the Bridegroom and the Bride, is expressed with great beauty. Incidentally the textual critic will find something suggestive for his New Testament apparatus. The writer speaks of 'the couch that is spread in the house of the bridegrooms,' marking the plural by dots in the usual Syriac manner: it is evident that he means 'in the house of the bridegroom and the bride.' Perhaps, then, the curious Western reading of Matt. xxv. 1, 'went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride,' may be due to a more accurate interpretation of an Aramaic original than what we find in the received and edited texts.

[1] Cf. Ode 23.

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PSALM 43 = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 1.

[1]I cried unto the Lord, when I was in affliction at my end; and to God when sinners set upon me: [2]for suddenly there was heard before me the sound of war: for He will hear me, because I am filled with righteousness: [3]and I reckoned in my heart that I was filled with righteousness: in the day that I became rich and was with the multitude of my children. [4]Their wealth, however, has been given to the whole earth: and their glory as far as the ends of the earth. [5]They were lifted up as high as the stars: and they said, [6]speaking without knowledge.... [7]For their sins were in secret, and I knew them not: [8]and their wickedness exceeded that of the nations that had been before them: and they defiled the sanctuary of the Lord with pollution.

PSALM 44 = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 2.

[1]In the insolence of the sinful man, he cast down with battering rams[1] the strong walls and thou didst not restrain him. [2]And the Gentile foreigners went up on thy altar, and were trampling on it with their shoes in their insolence. [3]For the children of Jerusalem had polluted the Holy House of the Lord: and they were profaning the offerings [2]to God[2] with wickedness. [4]Wherefore He said, Remove them, cast them away from me. And He did not establish with them the beauty of His glory: [5]it was rejected before the Lord: and they were utterly torn in pieces. [6]Her sons and her daughters were in bitter captivity: and on their neck was put the sealed yoke of the Gentiles: [7]according to their sins, so He dealt with them: for He suffered them to pass into the hand of him that was stronger than they: [8]for He turned away His face from His mercy: young men and old men

[1] *lit.* great beams. [2–2] *lit.* of God.

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and their children together: [9]because they also had worked evil together, that they might not hearken unto me: [10]and the heaven was mightily angered, and the earth rejected them: [11]because none in the earth had done therein like their doings: [12]and that the earth may know all thy righteous judgments, O God. [13]They set up the sons of Jerusalem for mockery within her, in the place of harlots; and every one that transgressed[1], was transgressing as if before the sun: while they made sport in their villainies, as they were used to do. [14]In the face of the sun they made a show of their villainies. And the daughters of Jerusalem were polluted according to thy judgments; [15]for they had polluted themselves in lustful intercourse. My belly and my bowels are pained over these things. [16]But I will justify thee, O Lord, in the uprightness of my heart; because in thy judgments is thy righteousness, O God. [17]For thou dost reward sinful men according to their deeds: and according to their wicked and bitter sins. [18]Thou didst disclose their sins, in order that thy judgment might be known: [19]and Thou didst blot out their remembrance from the earth. God is a judge and righteous, and accepteth no man's person. [20]For the Gentiles reproached Jerusalem, in their wickedness, and her beauty was cut off from the throne of His[2] glory. [21]And she was covered with sackcloth instead of beauteous raiment: and there was a rope on her head instead of a crown. [22]She cast off from her the dazzling[3] glory which God had put upon her: [23]and in contempt her beauty was cast away on the ground. [24]And I beheld and I besought the face of the Lord, and I said: Enough! Thou hast made thy hand heavy, O Lord, upon Israel, by the bringing in of the Gentiles: [25]for they have mocked and not pitied, in anger; [26]and in reproach they are consumed, unless thou, O Lord, shalt restrain them in thy wrath. [27]For it was not in zeal that they did ⌜this⌝, but in the lust of the soul: [28]that they might pour out their wrath upon us in plundering us. But thou, O Lord, delay not to recompense them upon their own heads: [29]to cast down the pride of the dragon to contempt. [30]And I delayed not until the Lord showed me his insolence smitten on the mountains of Egypt: and despised more than him that is least on land and on sea: [31]and his body coming on the waves in much contempt, and none to bury

[1] *Or*, passed by. [2] Gk. her. [3] Gk. her diadem of glory.

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⌜him⌝. 32 Because He had rejected him with scorn, for he did not consider that he is a man. And the end he did not regard. 33 For he said; I will be lord of land and sea: and he knew not that the Lord is God, great and mighty and powerful, 34 and He is King over Heaven and over Earth: and He judges kingdoms and princes, 35 He who raiseth me up in glory and layeth low[1] the proud in contempt, not temporal but eternal; because they knew Him ⌜not⌝.

36 And now, behold, ye great ones of the earth, the judgment of the Lord, for He is a righteous King, and judges what is under the whole heaven. 37 Bless ye the Lord, ye who fear the Lord reverently: for the mercies of the Lord are on them that fear Him with judgment, 38 to separate between the righteous and the sinful, and to reward the sinful for ever according to their deeds: 39 and to be gracious to the righteous after their oppression by sinners: and to reward the sinful for what he has done that is right: 40 because the Lord is kind to those that call upon Him in patience, to do according to His mercy to His saints: so as to stand before Him at all times in strength. 41 Blessed is the Lord for ever by His servants.

PSALM 45 = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 3.

1 Why sleepest thou, my soul, and dost not bless the Lord? 2 Sing a new song to God and keep vigil in His watch. For a psalm is good ⌜to sing⌝ to God out of a good heart. 3 The righteous will ever make mention of the Lord: in confession and in righteousness are the judgments of the Lord. 4 The righteous will never neglect[2], when he is chastened by the Lord: because his will is always before the Lord. 5 The righteous stumbles and justifies God: he falls and I wait[3] what the Lord will do to him. 6 And he looks to see from whence his salvation comes. 7 The stability of the righteous is from God their Saviour: for in the house of the righteous there does not lodge sin upon sin: 8 because He always visits the house of the righteous to remove the sins of his transgressions. 9 And He delivers his soul, in whatever he has sinned without knowledge, by fasting and by humiliation: 10 and the Lord purifies every holy man and his house.

[1] Gk. κοιμίζων and so Syr.
[2] = Gk. ὀλιγωρήσει: cf. Prov. iii. 11; Heb. xii. 5.
[3] Read, 'and he waits.'

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[11]But the sinner stumbleth and curseth his own life, and the day in which he was born: and the birth-pangs of his mother; [12]and he adds sin upon sin to his life: [13]he falls, and because his fall is grievous, he rises not again: for the destruction of the sinner is for ever: [14]and He will not remember him when He visits the righteous: [15]this is the portion of sinners for ever. [16]But those who fear the Lord shall rise to eternal life: and their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and he will not fail any more. [Hallelujah[1].]

PSALM 46 (47) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 4.

[1]Why sittest thou, O wicked man, in the congregation of the righteous: and thy heart is far removed from God; and by thy wickedness thou provokest to anger the God of Israel, [2]exceedingly by thy words, and exceedingly by thy ⌜outward⌝ signs, more than all men? He who is severe in his words in his condemnation of sinners in judgment, [3]and his hand is the first to be on him, as though ⌜he acted⌝ in zeal: and he is guilty himself of all kinds of sinful crimes: [4]his eyes are upon every woman immodestly: and his tongue lies when he answers with oaths. [5]In the night and in the darkness, as if he were not seen; by his eyes he talketh with every woman in the cunning of wickedness: [6]and he is quick to go into every house with joy, as if he had no wickedness. [7]God shall remove those who judge with respect of persons: but He lives with the upright, in the corruption of his body and in the poverty of his life. [8]God will disclose the deeds of those who are men-pleasers: in scorn and derision are his works: [9]and let the saints justify the judgment of their God, when the wicked shall be removed from before the righteous: [10]the accepter of persons who talks law with guile, [11]and his eyes are on a house, quietly like a serpent, to dispel the wisdom of each one by words of villainy: [12]his words are with an evil intent, with a view to the working of the lust of the wicked: [13]and he does not remove until he has scattered in bereavement, and has desolated the house because of his sinful lust. [14]And he supposes in his words that there is none that sees and judges: [15]and he is filled with this sinfulness; and his

[1] This is an addition by the scribe, under the influence of the Odes of Solomon, which he has been copying.

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eyes are on another house to devastate it with words of prodigality: and his soul is, like Sheol, never satisfied. [16]For all these things, let ⌜his portion⌝[1], O Lord, be before thee in dishonour; let his going out be with groans and his coming in with curses: [17]in pains, and in poverty and in destitution, O Lord, let his life be: let his sleep be in anguish and his waking in vexation: [18]let sleep be removed from his eyelids by night: let him fall from every work of his hands in dishonour; [19]and let him enter his house empty-handed: and let his house be destitute of everything that can satisfy his soul: [20]and from his offspring let not one draw near unto him: [21]let the flesh of the hypocrites be scattered by wild beasts; and the bones of the wicked be before the sun in dishonour: [22]let the ravens pick out the eyes of those who are men-pleasers: [23]because they have laid waste many houses of men in dishonour: and have scattered them in lust: [24]and they remembered not God; nor feared God in all these things; [25]and they provoked God, and He was angered to destroy them from the earth; because with crafty intent they had played the hypocrite with innocent souls. [26]Blessed are they that fear the Lord in their innocency: [27]and the Lord will save them from all the cunning and wicked men; and He will redeem us from every stumbling-block of the wicked. [28]May God destroy all them that work fraud with pride[2]: for a strong judge is the Lord our God in righteousness; [29]let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all them that love thee.

PSALM 47 (48) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 5.

[1]O Lord my God, I will praise thy name with exultation, amongst those that know thy righteous judgments. [2]For thou art gracious and merciful, and the place of refuge of the poor. [3]When I cry unto thee, be not thou silent unto me. [4]For one does not take spoil from the strong man: [5]or who shall take aught from what thou hast made, unless thou give it him? [6]Because he is man, and his portion is before thee in the balance: and he shall not add aught to better it apart from thy judgment, O God. [7]In our afflictions we call thee to our help: and thou hast not turned away our petition: for thou art our God. [8]Delay not thou thy hand from us: lest we be strengthened

[1] Syr. let him. [2] *lit.* excess.

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to sin: [9]and turn not away thy face from us, lest we remove away from thee: but to thee we will come: [10]for if I should be hungry, O Lord, unto thee will I cry, O God: and thou wilt bestow. [11]For the fowl and the fish thou dost feed. When thou givest rain in the desert to cause the grass to spring up, [12]to prepare food in the wilderness for every living thing, and if they shall be hungry, unto thee will they lift up their faces: [13]kings and rulers and peoples thou dost provide for, O God: and the hope of the poor and the miserable, who is it except thyself, O Lord? [14]and thou wilt answer him, because thou art kind and gentle: and his soul shall be satisfied when thou openest thy hand in mercy. [15]For the kindness of a man is with parsimony; to-day and to-morrow; and if it should be that he repeats his gift and does not grumble, ⌜well!⌝ that is a wonder! [16]But thy bounty is plenteous in kindness and in wealth; and there is no expectation towards thee that He will be sparing in gifts[1]. [17]For over all the earth is thy mercy, O Lord, in kindness. [18]Blessed is the man whom the Lord shall remember in poverty: for that a man should exceed his measure means that he will sin. [19]Sufficient is a low estate with righteousness[2]: [20]for those that fear the Lord are pleased with good things: and thy grace is on Israel in thy Kingdom: [21]blessed be the glory of the Lord, for He is our King.

PSALM 48 (49) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 6.

[1]Blessed is the man whose heart is prepared to call upon the name of the Lord: [2]and when he shall remember the name of the Lord, he will be saved. [3]His ways are directed from before the Lord: and the works of his hands are preserved by his God: [4]and ⌜in⌝ the evil vision of the night his soul shall not be moved. because he is His: [5]and his soul shall not be affrighted in the passing through the rivers, and in the tumult of the seas. [6]For he rose from his sleep and praised the name of the Lord, [7]and in the quiet of his heart he sang psalms to the name of the Lord: and he made request from the face of the Lord concerning all his house: [8]and the Lord hears the prayer of every

[1] The Gk. *οὗ ἐστιν ἐπί σε* has been misread *οὐκ ἐστιν τέ*.

[2] The Syriac has omitted a sentence of the Greek by a common transcriptional error. Add ⌜and herein is the blessing of the Lord that a man be satisfied in righteousness⌝.

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one that is in His fear, and every petition of the soul that trusts in Him; and the Lord fulfils it. [9]Blessed is he who doeth mercy upon them that love Him in truth.

PSALM 49 (50) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 7.

[1]Remove not thy tabernacle from us, O Lord, lest those rise up against us who hate us without a cause: [2]for thou hast put them away, O God, that their foot may not tread the inheritance of thy sanctuary. [3]Thou in thy good pleasure chasten me and deliver us not over to the Gentiles. [4]For if thou shouldest send death, it is thou who givest it command against us; [5]for thou art the Merciful One, and wilt not be angry so as to consume us utterly. [6]For because of thy Name that encamps amongst us, mercies shall be upon us: and the Gentiles shall not be able to prevail against us, [7]for thou art our strength: and we will call upon thee and thou wilt answer us: [8]for thou wilt be gracious to the seed of Israel, for ever, and thou wilt not forget him[1]: [9]thou wilt establish us in the time of thy help, to show favour to the house of Jacob, in the day that is prepared for them.

PSALM 50 (51) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 8.

[1]Distress and the sound of war mine ears have heard, the sound of the trumpet, and the noise of slaughter and destruction: [2]the sound of much people like a mighty and frequent wind: like the tempest of fire which comes over the wilderness. [3]And I said to my heart: Where will he judge him? [4]I heard a sound in Jerusalem, the Holy City; [5]the bonds of my loins were loosed at the report[2]: and my knees trembled, [6]and my bones were moved like flax. [7]And I said, They will make straight their paths in righteousness and I remembered the judgments of the Lord, from the creation of the heaven and the earth: and I justified God in all His judgments from the beginning[3]. [8]But God laid bare their sins before the sun: and to all the earth was made known the righteous judgments of the Lord. [9]For in

[1] The Syriac has dropped the sentence: 'and we are under thy yoke for ever, and under the scourge of thy chastening.'

[2] Gk. *adds*: and my heart was afraid.

[3] *lit.* from eternity.

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secret places of the earth were they doing evil; [10]the son had connexion with the mother and the father with the daughter: [11]and all of them committed adultery with their neighbours' wives: and they made solemn covenants amongst themselves concerning these things: [12]they were plundering the House of God's Holiness, as if there was none to inherit and to deliver. [13]And they were treading His sanctuary in all their pollutions, and in the time[1] of their separation they polluted the sacrifices, as common meat: [14]and they left no sins which they did not commit, and even worse than the Gentiles. [15]For this cause God mingled for them a spirit of error, and caused them to drink a living cup for drunkenness: [16]He brought him from the other side of the world, the one that afflicts grievously: [17]and he decrees war against Jerusalem and against her land: [18]and the judges of the land met him with joy: and they said to him: Thy path shall be ordered, come, enter in peace. [19]They levelled the lofty paths[2] for his entering: they opened the doors against Jerusalem: and they crowned the walls. [20]And he entered like a father into the house of his children, in peace: and he set his feet ⌜there⌝ in great firmness: [21]and they took possession of the towers and the walls of Jerusalem. [22]For God brought him in assurance against their error: [23]and they destroyed their princes because he was cunning in counsel: and they poured out the blood of the dwellers in Jerusalem like the water of uncleanness: [24]and he carried off their sons and daughters, who had been ⌜born⌝ in pollution, [25]and had wrought their pollution even as also their fathers had done. [26]And Jerusalem defiled even those things that were consecrated to the name of God: [27]and God was justified in His judgments upon the nations of the earth, [28]and the saints of God were as innocent lambs in their midst. [29]God is to be praised who judges all the earth in His righteousness. [30]Behold, O God, thou hast shown us ⌜thy judgments⌝[3] in thy righteousness, [31]and our eyes have seen thy judgments, O God: and we have justified thy name that is honoured for ever.

[32]For thou art a God of righteousness: who judgest Israel with chastening. [33]Turn thy mercy towards us and be gracious to us: [34]and gather the dispersion of Israel, in mercy

[1] *lit.* blood. [2] *lit.* paths of elevation. [3] Cod. om.

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and in kindness: [35]for thy faithfulness is with us: and we are stiff-necked, and thou art our chastener: [36]do not desert us, O our God! lest the Gentiles should swallow us up, as though there were none to deliver: [37]and thou art our God from the beginning, and upon thee is our hope, O Lord: [38]and we will not depart from thee, for thy judgments are good; [39]upon us and upon our children is thy good will for ever, O Lord God, our Saviour, and we shall not be shaken again, for ever. [40]The Lord is to be praised for His judgments by the mouth of His saints: [41]and blessed is Israel from the Lord for evermore.

PSALM 51 (52) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 9.

[1]When Israel went forth into captivity to a strange land, because they departed from the Lord their Saviour: [2]then were they cast out from the inheritance that God gave them: amongst all the Gentiles was the dispersion of Israel, according to the word of God, [3]that thou mightest be justified, O God, in thy righteousness over our wickedness: [4]for thou art a just Judge over all the peoples of the earth. [5]For there will not be hidden from thy knowledge any one who doeth wickedness: [6]and the righteousness of thy upright ones, O Lord, is before thee. And where shall a man be hidden from thy knowledge, O God? [7]For we work by free-will and the choice of our own souls to do either good or evil by the work of our hands: [8]and in thy righteousness thou dost visit the children of men. [9]For he who does righteousness lays up a treasure of life with the Lord: and he who does wickedness incurs judgment upon his soul in perdition.

[10]For His judgments are in righteousness upon every man and his house. [11]For with whom wilt thou deal graciously, O God, unless with them that call upon the Lord? [12]For he purifies the sins of the soul by confession, [13]because shame is on us and our faces because of all these things. [14]For to whom will He remit sins except to those that have sinned? [15]For the righteous thou dost bless, and dost not reprove them for any of their sins; for thy grace is on those that have sinned when they have repented. [16]And, now, thou art our God: and we are thy people whom thou hast loved: behold and have mercy, O God of Israel; for thine are we: remove not thy compassions

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from us, lest the Gentiles should set upon us: [17]for thou hast chosen the seed of Abraham rather than all the Gentiles, [18]and thou hast put on us thy Name, O Lord: and thou wilt not remove for ever. [19]Thou didst surely covenant with our fathers concerning us: and we hope in thee, in the repentance of our souls. [20]The mercies over the house of Israel are of the Lord, now and evermore.

PSALM 52 (53) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 10.

[1]Blessed is the man whom God remembers with reproof: and He has restrained him from the way of evil by stripes: so as to be purified from his sin, that he may not abound ⌜therein⌝. [2]For he who prepares his loins for beating shall also be purified: for He is good to those that receive His chastening. [3]For the way of the righteous is straight, and His chastisement does not turn it aside. [4]For the face[1] of the Lord is upon them that love Him in truth, and the Lord will remember His servants in mercy. [5]For the testimony is in the law of the everlasting covenant: the testimony of the Lord is in the ways of the children of men, by ⌜His⌝ visitations. [6]Righteous and upright is our God in all His judgments: and Israel will praise the name of the Lord with joy. [7]And the saints shall give thanks in the congregation of the people: and on the poor the Lord will have mercy, in the gladness of Israel. [8]For God is kind and merciful for ever: and the congregations of Israel shall praise the name of the Lord: [9]for of the Lord is the salvation upon the house of Israel, unto the everlasting kingdom[2].

PSALM 53 (54) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 11.

[1]Blow ye ⌜the trumpet⌝ in Zion, the certain trumpet of the saints: [2]proclaim in Jerusalem the voice of the heralds, because God is merciful to Israel in His visitation. [3]Stand up on high[3], Jerusalem, and behold thy children, who are all being gathered from the East and the West by the Lord: [4]and from the North they come to the joy of their God: and from the far-away islands God gathereth them. [5]Lofty mountains has He humbled and made plain before them; and the hills fled away before their

[1] Gk. mercy (ἔλεος).
[2] Gk. gladness, εὐφροσύνην.
[3] Baruch v. 5—8.

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entrance: [6]the cedar[1] gave shelter to them as they passed by: and every tree of sweet odour God made to breathe[2] upon them: [7]in order that Israel might pass by in the visitation of the glory of their God. [8]O Jerusalem, put on the garments of thy glory; and make ready thy robe of holiness. For God speaks good things to Israel, now and ever. [9]May the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel: and concerning Jerusalem: may the Lord raise up Israel in the name of His glory. May the mercies of the Lord be upon Israel, now and evermore.

PSALM 54 (55) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 12.

[1]O Lord, save my soul from the perverse and wicked man and from the whispering and transgressing tongue, that speaks lies and deceit. [2]For in the response of his words is the tongue of the transgressor[3]: for he shows like one whose deeds are fair, and kindles fire among the people. [3]For his sojourning is to fill[4] (set fire to) houses by his lying talk: for the trees of his delight he will cut down with the flame [5]⌜of his tongue⌝[5] that does lawlessly. [4]He has destroyed the houses of the transgressors by war: and the slandering[6] lips God has removed from the innocent, the lips of transgressors: and the bones of the slanderer shall be scattered far from those who fear the Lord. [5]By flaming fire He will destroy the slanderous tongue from among the upright, and their houses. [6]And the Lord shall preserve[7] the soul of the righteous who hateth them that are evil: and the Lord shall establish the man that makes peace in the house of the Lord. [7]Of the Lord is salvation upon Israel His servant for ever: [8]and the sinners shall perish together from before the face of the Lord: and the saints of the Lord shall inherit the promises of the Lord.

PSALM 55 (56) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 13.

[1]The right hand of the Lord has covered us: the right hand of the Lord has spared us: [2]and the arm of the Lord has saved

[1] Gk. *οἱ δρυμοί*, the groves.
[2] Gk. *ἀνέτειλεν*, caused to rise. Corr. the Syriac to ܐܫܪܐ (Schulthess).
[3] The Greek of this passage is obscure.
[4] The translator read *ἐμπλῆσαι* for *ἐμπρῆσαι*.
[5–5] Cod. om. [6] *lit.* whispering.
[7] *Better*: 'and may the Lord preserve' as in Gk.: and so in following clauses.

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me from the spear that goes through and from famine and the pestilence of sinners. [3]Evil beasts ran upon them: and with their teeth were tearing their flesh; and with their jaw-teeth[1] were breaking their bones. But us the Lord has delivered from all these things. [4]But the wicked man was troubled on account of his transgression: lest he should be broken along with the evil men. [5]Because dread is the fall of the wicked: but the righteous not one of these things shall touch. [6]For one cannot compare the chastening of the righteous who have ⌜sinned⌝ ignorantly with the overthrow of evil men who sin [2]knowingly. [7]For the righteous is chastened[2] so that the sinner will not exult over him. [8]For the righteous He will admonish as His beloved son[3]; and his chastening is like that of the first-born: [9]for the Righteous One will spare His saints, and their transgressions He will blot out by His chastisement. For the life of the righteous is for ever. [10]But sinners shall be cast into perdition: and their memorial shall no more be found. [11]But upon the saints shall be the mercy of the Lord. He will cherish all them that fear Him.

PSALM 56 (57) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 14.

[1]The Lord is faithful to them that love Him in truth: even to them that abide His chastening: to them who walk in righteousness in His commandments: He has given us the Law for our life: [2]and the saints of the Lord shall live thereby for ever. The Paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are His saints: [3]and the planting of them is sure for ever; nor shall they be rooted up all the days of the heaven. For the portion of the Lord and His inheritance is Israel. [4]Not so are the sinners and evil men, those who have loved a day in the participation of sin: for in the brevity of wickedness is their lust; [5]and they did not remember God; that the ways of the children of men are open before Him continually: and the secrets[4] of the heart He knoweth before they come to pass: [6]therefore their inheritance is Sheol, and Perdition and Darkness: and in the day of mercy upon the righteous they shall not be found. [7]For the saints of the Lord shall inherit life in delight.

[1] *Or* molars: rendering the Greek μύλαι literally, as Wellhausen has observed: it should have been ܟܐܦ̈ܐ

[2–2] Or perhaps: For the righteous is chastened secretly. (See Ryle and James, ad loc.)

[3] Corr. 'He will cause the righteous to inherit Him.'

[4] *lit.* secret places.

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PSALM 57 (58) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 15.

[1]In my affliction I called on the name of the Lord, and for my help I called on the God of Jacob: and I was delivered, [2]because thou, O God, art the hope and the refuge of the poor. [3]For who that is strong will praise thee in truth? [4]and what is the strength of a man, except that he should praise thy name? [5]A new song with the voice in the delight of the heart: the fruit of the lips with the instrument attuned to the tongue: the firstfruit of the lips from a heart that is holy and just. [6]He that doeth these things shall never be moved by evil: the flame of fire and the anger of sinners shall not touch them, [7]when it goeth forth against the sinners from before the Most High to root up all the roots of sinners: [8]because the sign of the Lord is upon the righteous for their salvation: death and the spear and famine shall remove from the righteous; [9]for they shall flee from them, as death flees from life: but they shall pursue after the wicked and catch them: and those who do evil shall not escape from the judgment of the Lord: for they will get before them like skilled warriors: [10]for the sign of destruction is upon their faces. [11]And the inheritance of sinners is Perdition and Darkness: and their iniquity shall pursue them down to the lower hell. [12]And their inheritance shall not be found by their children: [13]for their sins shall lay waste the houses of sinners: and sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the Lord's judgment: [14]when God visits the earth with His judgment. [15]And upon those who fear the Lord there shall be mercy therein; and they shall live in the compassion of our God: and sinners shall perish unto eternity[1].

PSALM 58 (59) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 16.

[1]When my soul declined a little from the Lord, I had almost been in the lapses of the sleep of destruction; and when I was far away from the Lord, [2]my soul had almost been poured out to death, hard by the gates of Sheol along with the sinners: [3]and when my soul declined from the God of Israel, unless the Lord had helped me by His mercy which is for ever—! [4]He

[1] *lit.* the time of eternity.

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pricked me, like the spur of the horse, according to His watchfulness: my Saviour and Helper at all times is He: He saved me: [5]I will praise thee, O God, because thou hast helped me with thy salvation: and hast not reckoned me with sinners for destruction. [6]Withdraw not thy mercy from me, O God: and let not the remembrance of thee remove from my heart until I die: [7]save me, O Lord, from the wicked sinful woman, and from every wicked woman who sets traps for the simple: [8]and let not the beauty of a wicked woman lead me astray, nor any sin that is, [9]and establish the work of my hands before thee: and preserve my walk in the remembrance of thee. [10]My tongue and my lips in words of truth do thou establish: anger and unreasonable passion do thou remove from me: [11]grumbling and little-mindedness in affliction do thou remove from me: for if I shall sin when thou hast chastened me, it is for repentance: [12]but by thy good-will establish my soul: and when thou shalt strengthen my soul, whatever has been given shall be sufficient for me: [13]for if thou strengthenest me not, who can endure thy chastening in poverty? [14]for a soul shall be reproved[1] in his flesh and by the affliction of poverty: [15]and when a righteous man shall endure these things, mercy shall be upon him from the Lord.

PSALM 59 (60) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 17.

[1]O Lord, thou art our King, now and for ever: for in thee, O God, our soul shall glory. [2]And what is the life of man upon the earth? for according to his time, so also is his hope. [3]But we hope on God our Saviour: for the stronghold of our God is for ever according to mercy: [4]and the Kingdom of our God is over the Gentiles for ever with judgment. [5]Thou, O Lord, didst choose David for king over Israel: and thou didst swear to him concerning his seed, that their kingdom should not be removed from before thee. [6]But for our sins sinners rose up against us: and they set upon us, and removed me far away: they to whom thou gavest no command have taken by violence, [7]and have not glorified thy honourable name with praises: and they have set up a kingdom instead of that which was their pride. [8]They laid waste the throne of David in exultation of their change[2]. But thou wilt overthrow them, and wilt remove their

[1] *Or* (*see note to text*): thou wilt reprove.
[2] *Reading* ἀλλάγματος.

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seed from the earth: [9]even when there shall rise up against them a man that was a stranger to our race. [10]According to their sins, thou wilt reward them, O God: and it shall befall them according to their works. [11]And thou wilt not have mercy upon them, O God. Command their seed, and do not leave a single one of them. [12]The Lord is faithful in all His judgments which He has done upon the earth. [13]The wicked man[1] has devastated our land, so that there is none to dwell therein. They have destroyed both young and old and their children together. [14]In the splendour of his wrath he sent them away to the West, and the princes of the land to mockery without sparing. [15]In his foreign way the enemy exults, and his heart is alien from our God. [16]And Jerusalem did all things[2] according as the Gentiles did in their cities to their gods. [17]And the children of the covenant took hold of them in the midst of the mingled Gentiles: and there was none amongst them that did mercy and truth in Jerusalem. [18]They that love the assemblies of the saints fled away from them: and they flew like sparrows who fly from their nests: [19]and they were wandering in the wilderness, in order to save their soul from evil: and precious in their eyes was the sojourning with them of any soul that was saved from them. [20]Over all the earth they were scattered by the wicked. Therefore were the heavens restrained that they should not send down rain upon the earth, [21]and the everlasting fountains were restrained, both the abysses, and from the lofty mountains: because there was none among them who did righteousness and judgment; from their ruler to the lowest of them they were sinning in everything. [22]The king was in transgression, and the judge in wrath, and the people in sin. [23]Behold, O Lord, and raise up to them their king, the Son of David, according to the time which thou seest, O God: and let Him reign over Israel thy servant, [24]and strengthen Him with power that He may humble the sinful rulers: [25]and may purify Jerusalem from the Gentiles who trample her down to destruction, [26]so as to destroy the wicked from my inheritance: and to break their pride like a potter's vessel: to break with a rod of iron all their firmness: [27]to destroy the sinful Gentiles with the word of His mouth: at His rebuke the Gentiles shall flee from before His face: and to confute sinners by the word of their

[1] Gk. ἄνομος, not ἄνεμος. [2] Gk. = ὅσα ἐποίησεν Ἰερουσαλήμ.

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heart: [28]that He may gather together a holy people that shall exult in righteousness: and may judge the tribes of the people whom the Lord His God sanctified: [29]and He shall not any more suffer sin to lodge amongst them; and no more shall dwell amongst them the man that knoweth evil. [30]For He knoweth them that they are all the children of God, and He shall divide them according to their tribes upon the earth: [31]and the sojourner and the foreigner shall not dwell with them: for He will judge the Gentiles and the peoples in the wisdom of His righteousness: [32]and He shall possess a people from among the Gentiles: and they shall serve Him under His yoke: and they shall praise the Lord openly over all the earth: [33]and He shall purify Jerusalem in holiness, as it was of old time: [34]that the Gentiles may come from the ends of the earth to behold His glory: bringing her sons with them as an honourable gift; those who were scattered from her, [35]and to see the glory of the Lord wherewith He hath glorified her: and He the righteous king, taught of God, is over them: [36]and there is no wicked person in His days amongst them, because they are all righteous, and their king is the Lord Messiah: [37]for He will not trust on horse nor on his rider; nor on the bow: nor shall He multiply to himself gold and silver for war: nor shall He rely on a multitude in the day of war: [38]for the Lord ——.

(*Caetera desunt.*)

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ܠܐ ܐܢ ܒܥܝ ܕܐ ܒܪ ܒ[30]. ܟܕ ܕܥܒ ܕ ܟܕ ܐ ܕ ܕ ܕ

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܘ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܡܡܝܐ ܕܢܫܬܘܕܘ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܒܡܫܒܚܬܐ
ܒܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܘܚ ܡܠܟܘ ܘܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܩܫܝܛܘܬܐ[19] ܕܢܦܩܘ ܥܡ[n]
ܥܡܡܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܢܗܘܘ ܒܝܕ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܩܫܛ ܘܕܝܢ ܘܢܬܪܕܘܢ ܒܟܠ
ܐܪܥܐ ܕܐܦܣܐ[o] ܘܢܫܪܘ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܚܝܝܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܘܥܕ ܒܗܡܬܐ[20]
ܘܥܕ ܥܦܪܐ ܘܢܬܪܕܘܢ ܒܝܡܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܒܢܗܪ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܚܝܝܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ
ܘܥܕ ܒܗܡܬܐ ܘܥܦܪܐ ܘܢܬܪܕܘܢ ܒܝܡܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܒܢܗܪ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܚܝܝܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ
ܐܢܫ

ܟܗܐܠܐ ܐܙܠܘ .ܟܗܫܒܐ ܟܝܐ ܟܐ ܠܥܠ ܐܡܙ[7] ܠܐ
ܟܝܐܒܐ ܢܐܢ ܡܘܝܐ ܐܙܝܟ[8] ; ܐܡܒܐ ܣܠ
ـ ܐܡܙ ܝܐܗ . ; ܐܝ ܐܡܐ[f] ܡ ܗܟ ; ܐܡܠܘܐ[e]
ـ ܟ ܟܝܐ ܟܝܐ ـ ; ܐܡܠ ܒܐ ܢܐ[9] .ܟܙ ܟ
.ܟܠ ; ܐܝ ܐܗܐ ـ ܐܡܫܠ ܟ[10] .ܠ ܟܗ
ـ ܐܡܠ ܒܝ[g] ܠܐ[11] ; ܐܡ ـ ܐܡ ܡܐ
.ܐ ܠܐ ـ ܐܡ ـ ܐܡ ـ ܐ[h] .ܟܠ
.ܟܙ ـ ܐܡ ـ ,ܐ ـ ܐ[12]
ܟܠ ܠ .ܗ ـ ܐ[13] ـ ـ ـ
ـ ـ ـ

[11] ... [r]... [12] ... [s] ... [t]. [13] ... [u] ... [14] ... [v]. [15] ...

[r–r] A literal rendering of ὀλιγοψυχία.

[s] Cod. c ... [t] Cod. c adds ...

[u] Cod. c adds ...

[v] The translator has omitted the difficult line [ἐν τῷ ἐλέγχεσθαι] ψυχὴν ἐν χειρὶ σαπρίας αὐτοῦ· ἡ δοκιμασία σου; but perhaps ἐν τῷ ἐλέγχεσθαι is latent in ..., for in Ps. xvii. 27 he renders καὶ ἐλέγξαι by .... I have added the word ... to make the text clear. Wellhausen suggests ... (cf. Gk. ἡ δοκιμασία σου) which makes the addition of ... unnecessary. Cod. c ends here.

PSALM 17 (= Ps. 60).

[1] ... [a] ... [a]. [2] ... [b], ... [3] ... [c] ... [4] ... [5] ... [6] ... [d] ...

[a–a] Gk. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι = Heb. לעלם ועד. For the Syriac rendering *v. supra*, Ps. ix. 20 etc.

[b] Gk. ὁ χρόνος ζωῆς. [c] Cod. ...

[d] Gk. βασίλειον αὐτοῦ and so in *v.* 7.

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PSALM 16 (= Ps. 59)[a].

ܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܒܝ ܟܬܒ. ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܡܠܐ ܕܥܒ ܗܘܬܐ ܒ[b1]
ܒܝ ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܬ[2] ܡܫܠ. ܡܫܠ ܟܗܢܐ ܟܗܢܬܐ
ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܠ ܟܗܢ ܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܐ
ܡܠܐ[c] ܒܝ ܥܒ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܬ[3] ܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܒܝ ܥܒ
ܟܕ ܒܬ[4] ܡܠܐ. ܡܫܬܘܬ ܒܬ ܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܐܠܐ
ܡܐ ܒܝ ܒܬ ܡܫܬܘܬ ܡܐ ܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܕ
ܟܗ. ܟܬܒ[d] ܠܐ ܟܬܒ[5] ܠܐ ܡܫܠ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܕ
ܒܬ[g] ܟܬܒ ܗܘܝ[e] ܒܝ[6f] ܠܐ. ܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܡܫܠ ܒܝ ܥܒ
ܟܗ. ܠܐ[g] ܒܬ ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܠܐ ܟܬܒ
ܟܗ ܠܐ ܒܝ[7] ܟܬܒ[h] ܒܝ ܡܫܠ[i] ܟܗ. ܒܝ ܠܐ
ܟܗ ܒܝ ܟܬܒ[k] ܠܐ[8] ܟܬܒ[l] ܟܗ ܟܬܒ ܟܗ
ܟܬ ܒܝ[9] [.]ܟ[m] ܡܫܠ ܠܐ ܒܝ ܠܐ ܟܗ.
ܟܬ[n]. ܟܬ ܒܝ ܟܬ ܠܐ[o] ܟܗ[10]. ܟܬ ܒܝ
ܒ[q]. ܟ[p] ܟܗ ܠܐ[o] ܟܗ ܒܝ ܟܬ ܒ.

[a] This Psalm is quoted in part in the Cambridge MS. Add. 2012 where it is introduced as follows:

ܒܝ ܟܬ ܡܫܠ ܒ ܟܬ ܒ

and is rightly numbered as Ps. 58. We may call the fragment Cod. c.

[b] The translation of the difficult opening verses is somewhat paraphrastic, but the Greek can be seen through the Syriac.

[c] Gk. *κυρίου θεοῦ*. [d] Cod. ܒ [e] Cod. bis ܒ

[f] Inc. Cod. c. [g-g] Cod. c transposes. [h] Gk. *ὁ θεός*.

[i-i] Cod. c om. [k] Gk. *ἄφρονα*. [l] Gk. *ἀπατησάτω με*.

[m] A paraphrase for *καὶ παντὸς ὑποκειμένου ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας ἀνωφελοῦς*.

[n] = *ἐνώπιόν σου* for Gk. *ἐν τόπῳ σου*.

[o-o] A literal rendering of *ἄλογον*.

[p] Cod. c ܒ

[q] Cod. c adds ܟܗ ܒ ܟܬ ܗ ܟ

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PSALM 15 (= Ps. 58).

ܡܫܠܐ ܕܝܘ ܕܝܢܝܐܠ ܕܠܚܕܝܐ ܕܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܥܡܐ ܕܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ[1]
ܕܐܫܬܟܚ ܟܡܐ ܒܝܕ ܕܟܝܢ ܐܠܐ[2] ܒܝܬ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܥܘܠܐ.
ܐ[a]ܟܝܐ ܠܐ ܕܐ[a] ܒܥܝ ܕܐ ܠܡܢ[3] ܡܠܐ ܐܦ ܒܢ
ܕܒܝܫܐ[5] ܒܥܠ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܟܝܢ ܫܠ ܠܥܠ[4]
ܕܟܐ ܕܒܐܫܐ ܕܝܟ ܐ. ܒܐ ܕܟܐܫܐ ܕܒܐ ܕܐ
ܕܡܐ. ܕܐ ܒ ܒܐ ܕܒܐܫܐ ܕܒܝܫ ܐ. ܕܐ ܕܒ
ܕܒܐܫܐ[6] ܕ ܐ ܫܠ ܕ ܒ ܕ. ܐ ܕ ,ܒܐ[7] ; ܐ
ـ ܐ[c] ـ ܐ ܕ ܐ[b] ܒ ܐ ܕ ـ ـ ـ

ܒܝܫ ܡܫܘܒܚܐ. ܐܡܝ ܡܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܫ. ܐܡܝ ܐܢ ܒܝ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܐܡܝ ܐ[h] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ[9]. ܐܝܟܐ
ܒܟܠ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܐܡܝ. ܫܡܝ ܒܝ ܕܐܠܗ ܠܟܠ ܒܝ
ܕܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܐ. ܐܡܝ ܒܝ ܕܐܠܗ ܠܟ[10]
ܐܡܝ ,ܐܡܪ ܕܐ ܒܝ ܕܐ ܫܡܥ ܐ[11] ܟܠ ܫܦܝ ܒܝ ܕܐ
ܟܠ ܟܠܝ ,ܐܡܪ ܐ ,ܫܡ.

[h] Gk. *ὁ κύριος*.

PSALM 14 (= Ps. 57).

ܐ[1] ܐܡܪ ܐ ,ܐܡܪ ܐ ,ܐܡܪ ܐ ,ܐܡܪ ܐ ,ܐܡܪ ܐ
ܐ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ

ܒܟܬ ܐܒܪ[e]4 .[d]ܒܫܒܐ ܒܟܐ ܒܪܒܐ[d] ܒܫܒܐ ܒܠܒ
ܫܒܪ .ܒܟܒܠܐ ܒܟܐܫܐ[f] .ܒܟܐ ܒܫܒܐ ܒܟܐ, ܠܐ ܒܐܒܐ
ܒ ܐܒܒܐ .[g]ܒܫܒܐ ܒܟܐ, ܒܐܒܐ ܒܟܐܫ .ܒܟܒܟ ܒ ܒܠܒ
ܒܐܐ[5] .ܒܟܐ ܒ ܒܠܒ ܒܐ ܒ ܒܠܒ .ܒܟܒܠ ܒܟ
ܒ ܐܒܟ[h] .ܒܟ ܒ ܒܠܒ ܒܐ ܒ ܒܠܒ ܒܟ ܐ ܒ
ܒܟ .ܒܠ ܒܟ .ܒܟ[i] ܒܟ ܒ ܒܟ ܐ[6]
ܐ ܒܟ[7] .ܒܟ[k] ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ
ܒ ܒ[8] .ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ
ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ

[d–d] Gk. ἐν φλογὶ παρανόμου? [e] Gk. συγχέαι. [f] Cod. ܒ
[g] Gk. adds ἐν ἀπορίᾳ. [h] Gk. omits. [i] Gk. ἡσύχιον. [k] Gk. omits.

PSALM 13 (= Ps. 56).

ܒ[1] .ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ
ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܒ[3] .ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ[a] ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܒ[b] ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ[4] .ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܒ[5] .ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ[c] ,ܒ .ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ .ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܒ[6] .ܒ[d] ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܒ[f] ,ܒ[e]7 .ܒ ,ܒ .ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܒ[g] ,ܒ[8] .ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ ,ܒ

[a] Cod. ܒ
[b] i.e. Gk. ἀσεβής as in Codd. and not εὐσεβής as Wellhausen conjectured.
[c] Perhaps for ܒ (= Gk. συμπαραλημφθῇ). [d] Cod. ܒ
[e] = Gk. ἐν περιστολῇ? [f] Syr. begins verse here. [g] Gk. νουθετήσει.

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ܡܪܝ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܦ4 .ܟܬܘ ܒܝ ܒܘ ܥܡܠ[b] ܡܚܕܪ ܟܬܒ
ܥܠ ܐܢ ܟܫܡܝ ܟܫܝܒ ܒܦ . ܥܡܠ ܫܡܥ ܫܡܥ
ܫܒܚ ܟܫܒܚ[6] ܒ ܥܡ ܠܥܠ ܡܚܐ ܟܐ ܟܝ ܟܝܐ[5] .ܟܡܪ
ܠܥ ܥܡܫ .ܥܡ ܡܝܚ ܒ ܥܡܠ ܠܠ ܟܝܪ[c7] ܒܦ ܚܠܨ ܒ ܥܡܠ
ܠܠ .ܟܡܪ ܥܡ ܫܝܪ[d] ܟܥܡܐ ܟܫܝ ܟܥܐ
ܒ ܥܡܠ ܫܡܥ ܫܫܒܚ ܟܝܒܥܐ .ܠܟܝܐ ܫܒܚ
ܟܠܠ ܒܥܐ .ܫܫܒܚ ܟܝܟ ܒܥܐ[8]
ܟܥ[e] ܠܟܝܐ ܟܫܐ ܠܠ ܟܡܪ ܠܠ .ܫܫܒܚ
ܠܥ .ܠܟܝܐ ܠ ܠܠ ܫ ܟܝܟ ܒܝ[9] .[e]ܥܠܡ
.ܫܫܒܚ ܫܒܥ .ܠܟܝܐ ܒܝ ܟܝܟ .ܥܠܝܐ
.[f]ܥܠܡ ܟܥ[f] ܠܟܝܐ ܠ ܟܝ ,ܫܒܥ

[b] Gk. εἰσάπαξ (= Heb. כחדה). [c] Gk. οἱ δρίμοι.
[d] Gk. ἀνέτειλεν (= Syr. ?ܫܝܪ).
[e–e] Gk. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι = Heb. לעלם ועד ut supra.
[f–f] Gk. as in note [e–e].

PSALM 12 (= Ps. 55).

ܒܦ .ܟܠܥ ܟܥܫ ܟܝܟ ܒܝ ܠܫܥ ܫ ܟܝ[1]
.ܟܠܫ ܟܫܠ ; ܠܠ .ܟܥܫ ܫܥ ; ܠܥ ܫܠܫ ; ܟܥ
.ܟܥܫ ܫܥ ܟܝܟ ; ܠܥ ,ܫܠ .ܟܠ ; ܟܥ ܒ ܟܥ[2]
.[a]ܟܥ ܟܝ ܫܥ . ܥ ; ܫ ܟ ; ܟ ; ܒ ܟ ; ܟ
ܠܥ[c] .ܟܠ ; ܟܠܠ ܟܫ ܠܠ[b] ܒ ܫܝ[3]

[a] The Syriac translator has had difficulty, as every one else, with this passage: but it seems clear that he had a text very near to the Gk. ὥσπερ ἐν λαῷ πῦρ ἀνάπτον καλλόνην αὐτοῦ. It seems natural to correct this to ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλῳ πῦρ ἀνάπτον καλάμην with the Copenhagen MS. But the Syr. is clear for λαῷ, and it suggests καλλόνην αὐτοῦ by the clause which it prefixes (ܫܥ).
[b] i.e. ἐμπλῆσαι (H) for ἐμπρῆσαι (RJLC). [c] Gk. ἐκκόψαι.

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PSALM 10 (= Ps. 53).

ܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܒܠܐ ܒ[a]ܐܬܪ̈ܥܝܬܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܪ̈ܥܝ ܠܒ̈ܗ ܕ[b]ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܠܝܬ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[2]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[3]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[c]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[d]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[4]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[5]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[6]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[e]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[f]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[7]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[g]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[8]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[9]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[h]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ

[a] Cod. ܒܐܬܪ̈ܥܝܬܐ. Gk. ἐν ἐλεγμῷ.

[b] l. ἐκωλύθη as suggested by Fritzsche, for ἐκυκλώθη of the MSS.

[c] Gk. adds ὁ κύριος.

[d] Gk. τὸ ἔλεος (= ܚܣܕ, cf. 14[6]).

[e] Gk. ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.

[f] Gk. ἐν κρίμασιν αὐτοῦ and adds εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

[g] Gk. ὁ θεός.

[h] Perhaps we should read ܣܘܦܪܘܣܢܐ answering to the Gk. σωφροσύνην.

PSALM 11 (= Ps. 54).

ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[a]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[2]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܠ[3]ܐ ܐ̈ܠ̈ܗ̈ܐ

ܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐ ܠܥܠ[5]. ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܐܝܟ ܫܡܝܗ ܡܢ ܕܐܒܕܘܢ[6]. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܚ ܐܡܪ
ܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܦ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܦ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܢܚ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܫ[7]
ܒܢ ܐܒ ܫܡܝܗ[8]. ܒܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܒܐܠ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܚ ܐܡܪ[9]
ܐܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܚ ܐܡܪ

ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡ ܡܪܕܦܝܢ ܠܢ ܠܡܐ ܐܠ ܠܥܠܡ ܫܪܝܥܐ[n26]
ܕܝܢ ܕܚܝܠ ܕܚܛܝܬ ,ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟ ܒܢܝܐ[27] .ܡܠܟ
ܘ ܐܡܬ ܕܚܛܝܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܡܠܟ ,ܡܐ[28]
.ܡܬܩܢ ܕܚܝ ܫܠ ܪܒ ܡܠܟ ܐܦ ܫܒܚ[29]
.ܥܒܕ ,ܫܐ[31] .ܬܬܩܢ[o] ܒܢ ܡܠܟ ܒܢ ܐܡ[30]
ܐܦ ܒܢ ܠܐ[32] .ܠܚܠܡ ܕܝܢ ܥܒܕ ܡܢ .ܡܠܟ
.ܬܚܝܢ ܠܝܫܪ ܒܢ ܪܒ .ܬܚܝܢ ܡܠܟ
.ܠܝܫܪ ܡܝܢ ܕܢ[34] .ܫܡܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܚ ܥܡ[33]
ܡܢ ܫܡ .ܟܠ ܬܚܝܢ[35] .ܬܚܠܨ ܕܫܘ
ܘ ܡܠܟ ܒܢ ܕܡܐ ܠ[36] .ܒܢ ܡܢ ܒܢ .ܩܕܡ
ܒ ܡܠܟ ܒܢ[37] .ܢܝܚ ܒܢ ܥܒ ܕܫܘ ܠܚܠܡ ܕܡܠ
ܠ ܫܡ[38] ܕܝܢ ܒ ܚܢ ܐܦ ܥܠܚ .ܒܢ ܒ ܒܢ
ܢ ܡܐ ܠܚ ܐܠ[39] ܥܒܕ ܪ ܒܢ ܢܟ .ܐܠ
.ܢܬ ܠܚ ܐܠ[41] .ܢܝܚ ܠܡ ܠܚ ܕܝܢ ,ܡܐ[40]
.ܠܚ ,ܕܝܢ ܒ ܠܝܫܪ ܐܦ ܥܒܕ

[n] Gk. *ἐμίαναν*, (not as in Cod. R *ἐμίανεν*).
[o] Cod. om. *τὸ κρίμα σου*.

PSALM 9 (= Ps. 52).

ܐܡܝܢ ܙ .ܡܒܘܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܠ ܥܒܕ ܠܝܫܪ ܒܐ ܙ[1]
ܫܡ ,ܒ ܡܒܐ ܒ ܐܝܬ[2] ; ܐܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܒ
.ܠܝܫܪ ܡܝܢ ܪܐ ܥܒ ܬܚ .ܡܠ[a] ܐܡ
.ܡܒܐ ܡܠ ܪܒ[3] .ܡܠ ܡܠ ܒܢ
ܐ ܐܡ ܠ ܚܠ .ܡ ܒ ܢܝ ܐܦ ܒܢ ܠܐ[4] .ܠ ܠ

[a] Gk. *κύριος*.

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ܐܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ[8] . ܐܠܗ ܒܟ ܐܢ, ܡܢ ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ
ܕ, ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܒܚ ܐܠܗ . ܐܢܐ ܒܟ ܡܢ ܕ[d]ܐܠܗ
ܗ[e]ܐܠ ܐܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܐܢ ܐܠܗ[9] . ܐܠܗ ܐܢܐ
ܐܠ ܐܠܗ . ܐܠܗ ܒܟ ܐܢ . ܐܠܗ ܒܟ ܐܢ[10]
ܐ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ; ܐܠܗ ܒܟ ܐ ܐܠ ܐܠ[11]
ܐܠ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ[12] . ܐܠ ܐ[f]ܐܢ
ܐ[13]ܐ ܐ[g]ܐ ܐ . ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ; ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ[14] . ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ .
ܐ[15] ܐ ܐ ܐ . ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ, ܐ[16] . ܐ ܐ[h]ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ; ܐ[17] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
. ܐ[18] . ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ[19] . ܐ ܐ ܐ . ܐ[i]ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ . ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
. ܐ[20] ,ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ[21] . ܐ ,ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ[k]ܐ ܐ[22] . ܐ ܐ
ܐ[l]ܐ ܐ[23] ; ܐ ܐ ܐ
. ܐ[l] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ[24] . ܐ ܐ
. ܐ[m25] ܐ ܐ ܐ

[d] Cod. *ex errore* ܐ.
[e] Gk. adds *ἐν παροργισμῷ.*
[f] Gk. adds *μετὰ ὅρκου.*
[g] Gk. *τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου.*
[h] Gk. *οἴνου ἀκράτου.*
[i] Gk. *ἐπευκτή.*
[k] Cod. ܐ
[l–l] Gk. *καὶ πάντα σοφὸν ἐν βουλῇ.* This requires that we correct ܐ to ܐ.
[m] Cod. ܐ

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PSALM 7 (= Ps. 50).

[1] ... [2] ... [3] ... [4] ... [5] ... [6] ... [7] ... [8] ... [9] ...

[a] Cod. ...

[b] Cod. *ex errore* ..., cf. Gk. *σὺ ἐντελῇ αὐτῷ περὶ ἡμῶν.*

[c] Gk. *ὑπερασπιστής.*

[d] The Syriac has dropped the following sentence: *καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ ζυγόν σου [εἰς] τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ μάστιγα παιδείας σου.* [e] Cod. ...

PSALM 8 (= Ps. 51).

[1] ... [2] ... [3] ... [4] ... [5] ... [6] ... [7] ... [8] ... [9] ...

[a] Cod. ... [b] Syr. om. *ἐφοβήθη ἡ καρδία μου.* [c] Gk. *θεοῦ.*

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ܫܒܘܝ ܐܢ ܟܐܝܪ ܡܠ ܠ[17] .ܟܬܒܡܟܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܫܒܠ
,ܡܐܝܟܠܗ ܟܐܝܠ ,ܡܟܠ[18] .ܟܫܠܚ ܟܐ
ܟܐܝ ܐܫܠ ܐܢ ܡܫܟܐ[19] .ܟ[h]ܫܐܟܟ ܟܐ
ܐܟܟܫܟ[21] .[l]ܟܫܐܐ ܟ[k]ܫܐܟܟ ܟܐ[20] .ܠ ܟܠܐ
ܠܟܐ ܠ ܫܫܐܠ ܟܬܠ ,ܡܠ ܐ ܐܢ
ܐܐ ܠܠ ܟܐ ܡܫܐܟ ,ܡ ܟܐ[22] .ܫܠܐ
ܠܠ.

[h] Gk. θεός.

[i] Gk. συμμετρίᾳ αὐταρκείας. [k] Gk. τὸ μέτριον.

[l] Syr. omits by ὁμοιοτέλευτον the words καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ κυρίου εἰς πλησμονὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.

PSALM 6 (= Ps. 49).

.ܟ ,ܡܟܠ[1] ܠ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܠ ,ܟ
ܒ ܝ ܒ ܡ[3] .ܐ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ[2]
ܡ[a]ܡ[4] .ܡ ,ܡ ܟ ܐ .ܟ
[a]ܟ .ܡ ܠ ܠ .ܠ .ܠ ܟ ܠ ܟ
ܟ[6] ܡ ܟ ܟ .ܟ[b]5

[a–a] The text is in confusion: we should read ܟ, and add ܟ after ܠ. The words ܡ ܠ ܠ are missing in the Greek.

[b] Cod. ܟ [c] Gk. τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ.

[d] Gk. adds θεοῦ.

[e] Cod. *ex errore* ܟ

[f] Cod. *ex errore* repeats ܠ in passing from one page to the next.

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ܢܥܕ ܒܝ ܚܠ ܚܙܐ ܗܘ ܠ ܡܠ ܐܠܗ ܗܘ ܠ ܡܠ ܐܠܗ ܗܘ ܠ ܡܠ ܐܠܗ

ܒ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܚܕ ܠܒ ܒ ܠܒ ܚܕ ܒ ܕܚܕ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܪܘܚܐ.
ܕܡܝܬ ܫܡ ܪܥܝܐ. ܕܡܝܬ ܠܒ ܕܥ, ܕܡܝܬ ܡܝܬ[k] ܕܥ[19]
ܕܡܝܬ ܕ ܠ[l] ܕܡ ܠܒ[20]. ܪܥܐ ܕܚܫܒ ܕܚܫܒ ܕܚܕ. ܒ ܠ ܚܕ.
ܪܥܝܐ. ܪܥܐ ܥܩܒ ܕܫܬ ܒ ܫܬ ܪܥܐ ܕܥ ܪܥܝܐ[21]
[ܪܥܝ[m]] ܪܥܐ ܒ ܥܫ[22]. ܪܘܚ ܪܥܐ ܕܥ ܪܥܐ ܕܚܕ ܕܚܕ
ܪܥܝܐ ܪܥ ܕ ܪܥ ܠܒ[23]. ܪܥܝܐ ܠܫܬ ܕܚܕ ܕܚܕ
ܪ ܠ[24]. ܪܥ ܪܘ, ܕܪ ܪ. ܪܘ ܪܥ ܪܥ ܕ
ܪ[25]. ܕ ܠ ܕ ܪ ܒ ܠ ܪ. ܪ
ܪ ܠ ܪ. ܪ ܒ ܪ ܕ ܪ ܪ. ܪ
. ܕ ܪ ܕ ܪ ܪ ܪ
ܪ ; [26] ܪ ܠ ܕ ܒ ܪ ܪ ܒ ܪ
. ܪ ܪ ܒ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ[27]
ܪ ܪ ܒ ܪ ܪ[28]. ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ
ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ
ܪ ; [29] ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ
ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ ܪ

ܡܢܪܐ[3] . ܪܒܢ ܕܐܠܗ ܠܫܒܚܐ ,ܡܠܟ ܕܟܠ ܪܥܝܐ ܒ
ܪܟܒ ܕܣܘܣ ܒܡ . ܪܒܐ ܗܘ ,ܡܠܟ ܠܥܡܡ
ܠܐ ܟܒܘܪ ܠܟ ܠܟ ,ܡܢܝ[4] . ܐܠܗ ܟܒܘܫ ܐ
ܟܒܘܫ ܟܠ[5] .. ܟܒܝܫ ܟܒܝ ܠܟ ܡܢ . ܟܒܝ
ܟܒܘܫ ܟܒܘܪ ܠܟ ܟܠ ,ܡܢܝ ܪܒܐ ܠܐ ܗܘ
ܒܡ ܗܘ . ܟܒܘܫ ܟܒ ܟܠ ܠܟ ܠܟ[6] ܟܒܝ
ܟܝܟ ܟܡܟ ܐܠܗ ܡܠܟ ܡܠܟ ܒܝܢ[7] . ܟܒܝ ܡ ܟܠ
ܟܒܘܡܟ[d] ܡܝܟ ܠܟ ܟܣ ܟܝܫ ܟ ܒ ܡ ܟ[c] .
ܒ ܡ ܟ[8] [e],ܡܢ ܐ ܒ ܡ ܐ ܠ ܡ ܐ ܟ ܠ ܡ ܐ ܠ ܐ ܒ ܡ ܐ ܠ

ܚܠܨ ܟܬܒ[3] . ܟܠ ܟܠ ܒ ܟܡܠ ܟܠ ܟܝܐܨ
. ܟܝ ,ܡܢ ܟܢܢ . ܟܝ ܒ ܟܝ ܟܡ[4] ܠ
ܠ ܡܨ ܟܝ . ܟܡܠ ܡ ܟܡ[5] . ܟܝ ܡ
ܟܡ ܒ ܝ[6] . ܟܝ[c] ܠ ܟ ܟ[b] ܟ[b]
. ܡ ܟ ܒ ܟ[7] . ܟ ܠ
ܠ[8] . ܟ ܠ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܠ
ܟ ܠ ܟ . ܟ ܡ ܟ
ܟ ܠ ܟ . ܟ[9] .
. ܟ ܠ ܟ[10] .
ܟ ,ܡ ܠ ܟ[11] .
ܠ ܟ ܟ[12] . ܟ
. ,ܡ ܠ[13] .
ܟ ,ܟ ܟ[14] . ,
ܟ[16] ܡ . ,[15] .
. ܒ ܟ . .
.[d] ܠ .

[b–b] ἀποβλέπω for ἀποβλέπει. [c] κύριος for θεός.
[d] An addition by the transcriber, due to reminiscence from the Odes.

PSALM 4 (= Ps. 47[a]).

ܠ[1] . ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ
. ܟ[b] ܒ ܟ . ܟ
. ܟ ,ܡ ܟ ܟ[2] .

[a] Either the numeration has gone wrong, or a Psalm 46 has been dropped. The Greek shows that the former must be the correct explanation.
[b] A marginal note says that one copy reads ...

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.ܟܕܒܪ ܟܬܝܪ ܒܝܬ ܟܠܡ ܟܠ ܟܝ ܒܟ ܒܟ[33] .ܕܒܒ
.ܟܒܠܣ ܟܠܒܟ ܟܝ .ܟܠܟ ܡܐ ܟܒܟ ܕܐ ܟܠ
ܟܒܐܠܟ ܟܐ .ܟܒܟ ܠܐ ܟܒܐ ܠܐ ܟܠܟ ܐܡܡ[34]
ܟܒܐܠ ܟܒܟ[q] .ܟܒܣܐܟ ܠ ܟܠܡ ܐܡ[35] .ܟܒܐ
.[s]ܡܟܟ ܐܠ[s] ܟܠ .ܟܒܟ ܟܠ ܟܠܟ ܟ[r]ܒܒ
ܟܠܟ ܟܠ .ܟܒܟ ܡܐ ܟܒܟ ܡܒܒܐ ܐܡ ܟܡ[36]
ܟܒܟ ܐܟ[37] .ܟܒܐ ܡܐ ܠ ܡܒܠ ܒ ܡܒ .ܟܡ ܐܡ
,ܡܟܡ ܟܠ .ܟܟܡܟ[t] ܟܒ ܒ ܟܒ ܡܐ
.ܟܐܠ ܟܡ ܐܡ ܡܐ ,ܟܡ[38] .ܟܒ ܐ ,ܡܐ ܠ ܟܒ
ܟܡ ܐܡ[39] ؛ ܡܡ ܟܟ ܟܠ ܟܠ ܟ
.ܟܡ[u] ܐ ܟܒ ܟܠ ܟ .ܟ ܒ ܟܟ ܟ
.ܟܡ[40] ܟܠ ܐ ܟ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܟ
ܟ ,ܡܟ ,ܡ ,ܡܟ ,ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ ,ܟ ,ܟ
.ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ[41] .ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ ,ܡ ⁘

[q] The Syriac corresponds exactly to the Greek *κοιμίζων*. In spite of Ryle and James' advocacy of this difficult word, I think it must be a translator's blunder. The Syriac itself suggests the emendation ܡܟܟ (and lowers the proud).

[r] This looks like a corruption of ܟܒܟ (= *εἰς ἀπώλειαν*): but with the added ܟ it makes good sense.

[s–s] Cod. ܡܟܟ ܐܠ

[t] Gk. *ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ* (read as *ἐπὶ σχήματι*?).

[u] The translator has misunderstood or misread the Greek.

PSALM 3 (= Ps. 45).

ܟ[1] .ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ
ܟ[a] ܟ .ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ[2] .ܟ ,ܡ ,ܟ ,ܡ

[a] The translator or scribe has dropped the words *ψάλατε* [*τῷ θεῷ*] *τῷ αἰνετῷ*.

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ܕܦܘܫ ܠܚܩܠ ܒܝܪ ܕܡܬܩܛܠ ܒܝܪ ܕܡܫܬܠܚ ܒܝܪ
ܕܝܬܒ ܒܐܪܥܐ. ܘܟܝܢܐ ܕܚܛ[18] ܒܟܠ ܕܡܫܬܠܚ ܒܝܪ
ܕܡܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܡܬ. ܕܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܬܒܥ ܒܟܠ[19]
ܠܥܠܡ ܕܚܛܐ ܒܚܛ ܕܐܫܬ[20] ܕܚܛ ܢܚܫ ܕܠܐ
ܕܡܫܬܕܪ ܒܐܪܥ ܚܝܐ ܠܐ ܡܝܬ[h] ܕܡܫܬܕܪ ; ܕܡܬܥܒܕ[g]
ܒܟܠ ܕܟܫܦ. ܕܚܛܝܢ ܕܚܛ ܠܚܛ ܐܦ ܕܡܐ ܒܫܡܚܝܢ[21]
ܐܡ [i]ܕܫܬܚܛ ܕܐ[i] ܡܢ ܒܚܛܝܢ[22]. ܕܟܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ
ܒܟܠ ; ܒܚܛ ܡܝܬ ܕܝܢ[k 23]. ܕܐܡ ܡܢ ܚܛܝܢ
ܒܝܫܐ ܕܝܢ ; ܡܐܪ ܒܢܦܫ ܒܝܫ ܕܐ[24]. ܕܐܝܟ
ܕܚܛܐܒܚܛ. ܒܝܫ ܒܟ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܚܛܝܢ ܒܝܢ ܡܐ
[l]ܕܚܛܐ ܕܝܢ. ܡܐ ܕܐ ܐܫܬ ; ܒܟܠ[25]. ܕܚܛ
ܚܛܝܢ ; ܡܐ ܕܐܝ[26]. ܕܐ ܐܠ ܕܝܢ ܒܝܢ ܒܢ
ܕܚܛ ܐܠ ; ܕܐ ܒܟܠ[27]. ܕܐ ܕܐ ; ܕܐ ܒܟܠ
ܒܢ ; ܒܢ. ܕܚܛ ܒܟܠ[m 28]. ܕܚ ; ܡܐ ܕܐ
ܕܝܢ[n 29] ; ܡܐ ܕܝ ܐܠ ܒܢ. ܐܫ ܕܐ ܕܝ
ܕܐ ; ܕܐ ܒܟ[30]. ܕܝ ܒܟ ; ܕܐ ܒܟ
ܒܝ ; ܒܟ. ܕܐ[p] ܒܟ ܕ ܒܟ ܕ[o] ܕܝ
ܕܐ ; ܒ ܕ ; ܒ[31]. ܒ ܕ ܕ ; ܒ ; ܕ
ܒܟ ; ܒ[32]. ܕ ; ܕ. ; ܕ ; ܒ
ܕ ; ܕ. ; ; ;

ܡܠܟܐ ,ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܡܪܚܩܝܢ .ܟܝܢ ܗܘ [b]ܡܬܓܠܝ
.ܫܡ [c]ܕܠܐ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܡܪܝ[c] .ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܠܐ[4] .ܫܒܚܠܘ
ܒܫܡ ܠܥܠܡ .ܡܫܘܒܚܬܗ ܪܝܒܐ ܕܐܡܬ ܚܒܝܒ ܗܘܐ[d 5]
ܫܪܝܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ[6] .ܫܒܝܠ ܫܪܪ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟܘܢ[e] .ܟܝܢ
.ܫܪܪܬ ܫܒܝܫ ܪܝܫ ,ܡܠܟ ܒܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ .ܪܝܫ
ܕܠܐ ܫܝܪ ܠܐ ; ܐܡܬ ܚܕ ܠܡ ܫܪܪ ܕܐܡܝܬܝ ܗܘܐ[7]
ܒܝ ,ܡܫܪ ܒܢ ܗܘܐ[8] ; ܐܡܬ ܒܥܝܢ ܒܝ ܫ ,ܫܪܪ
ܫܒܥܬ ܠܐ[9] .ܫܒܥ ܕܐܡܝܬܐ ܫܪܐ ܕܠܓ ,ܡܫܝ
ܒܫܒܝܥܐ[10] .ܢܫܬܒܩ ܠܐ ܫܒܥ[f] ܕܐܡ ܫܒ ܐܬܪ
ܐܬܪ ܠܐ ܠܐ[11] ; ܕܐܡ ܒܠܡ ܫܒܥ .ܒܪܝܐ ܫܪܪ
ܕܐܡܬ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ[12] .ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܠܒ ܒܥ ܫ
ܫܡܫܐ ܒܥܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠܡ .ܫܠܡ ܫܪܐ ܘܢ
ܫܡ ܒܢ ܫܡ ܒܒ .ܫܠ ܘܫ[13] .ܫܒܐ ܡܠ ܒܢ ܫ
; ܐܡܫܠܫܬ ܫܡ ܡܫܬܫ[14] .ܫܪܫܬ ܠܡܠ ܫܪ
ܘܡܒ ܫܪܫܬ ܠܡܠ .ܫܡ ܡܪܒ ܕܐܡ ܫܪ ܠ
.ܢܘܢ ܫܪ ܡܪܟܠܫ ܒܥܠܝܐ ܡܒܪܐ ; ܐܡܫܠܫܬ
ܒܫ .ܫܒܘܫܪ ܪܟܠ ܫܡ ,ܪܟܠ ܫܡ ܘ ܠܫ[15]
.ܪܝܒ ܫܢ ܪܫ[16] .ܫܡ ܫ ܒ ܠ ,ܫܪ ܒ ܫ ܪ ܫ
ܠܫ[17] .ܫܠ ܫܫܐ ܘ ܢ ,ܫ ܘ ܠ .ܫ ܒ ܫ ܪ ܫ ܒ

[c–c] A double translation to express *ἀπορίψατε...μακράν.*

[d] Here the division of the sentences follows the Greek MS.: *οὐκ εὐόδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ κάλλος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ· ἐξουθενώθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.* For the emendation (Hilgenfeld's) of the passage (*οὐκ εὐδοκῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς· τὸ κάλλος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ* [so Syr., not *αὐτῆς*]) see Gebhardt in loc. The Syriac ܒܫܪ appears to be a rough translation of *εὐόδωκεν.*

[e] *Read* ܫܪܐ (Wellhausen) to agree with the Greek *ἠτιμώθη.*

[f] The Syriac has twice ܒܫܒܥ for *εἰσάπαξ*, the Greek word which is found in Daniel as the rendering of כחרה: *εἰσάπαξ* must mean 'together,' and the Syriac must have very nearly restored the original word employed by the Psalmist.

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PSALM 1 (=Psalm 43 of MS.).

ܐ ܫܒܚ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܪܝܐ ܘܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܝܫܪܝܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܒܡܨܥ ܥܡܡܐ ܘܠܫܢܐ ܘܫܪܝ ܒܩܪܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܝܫܪܝܐ ܒܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܥܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܫܡܥ ܒܐܕܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܒܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܩܕܫ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܠܡܫܪܐ ܘܠܡܩܛܪ ܠܗ ܩܛܘܪܬ ܣܡܐ ܠܦܢܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܒܗܝ ܘܐܒܗܬ ܒܢܝ ܒܝܬܗ ܘܐܬܪ ܕܐܒܗܝ ܘܐܒܗܬ ܒܢܝ ܒܝܬܗ ܠܐ

ODE 42.

ܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܠܦ ܠܝ ܒܝܕ ܝܡܝܢܗ ܘܐܩܝܡ ܠܝ ܐ
ܒ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܬܐ ܘܟܪܙ ܒܝ ܒܝܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܒ
ܓ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܓ
ܕ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܕ
ܗ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܗ
ܘ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܘ
ܙ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܙ
ܚ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܚ
ܛ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܛ
ܝ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝ
ܝܐ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝܐ
ܝܒ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝܒ
ܝܓ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝܓ
ܝܕ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝܕ
ܝܗ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝܗ
ܝܘ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝܘ
ܝܙ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝܙ
ܝܚ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝܚ
ܝܛ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܝܛ
ܟ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟ
ܟܐ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟܐ
ܟܒ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟܒ
ܟܓ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟܓ
ܟܕ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟܕ
ܟܗ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟܗ
ܟܘ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟܘ
ܟܙ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟܙ
ܟܚ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟܚ
ܟܛ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܟܛ
ܠ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܠ

[a] Cod., ut videtur, ܕܟܪܙ, probably under the influence of the preceding ܟܪܙ

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ODE 40.

ܫܠܡ ܡܪܝܐ ² .ܪܘܚܝ ܕܚܝܐ ܒܝ ܐܬܝ ܟܠܗ ¹ ܥܡܝ
ܥܠ ܥܠܝ ,ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܡܪ ³ .ܫܦܝ ܫܦܝ ܪܘܚܝ ܒܝ
ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ⁵ .,ܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ⁴ .,ܥܡ
ܠܥܠ .ܪܘܚܝ ܠܐ ܥܩܡ ,ܫܩܝܠ ܐܢܐ ܪܘܚܝ
ܫܦܝ .ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܐܢܐ ⁶ .ܪܘܚܝ ,ܡܫܬܘܕܥ
.ܝܕܥ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ⁷ .ܡܢ ܡܝ ,ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ⁷ .ܡܢ
ܐ ⁸ .ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ,ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ,ܫܦܝ ⁸ ,ܡܫܬܘܕܥ

[a] Cod. ܡܫܬܘܕ : the emendation is by Charles.

ODE 41.

ܐܬܐ ,ܫܦܝ ,ܡܫܬܘܕ ¹ .ܫܦܝ
ܐܢ ܐܡ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܡܪ ² .ܡܫܬܘܕ
ܫܦܝ .ܡܫܬܘܕ ³ .ܫܦܝ
ܫܦܝ ⁴ .ܡܫܬܘܕ
ܡܫ ⁵ .ܡܫܬܘܕ
ܫ ⁶ .ܐܬܐ ,ܫܦܝ
ܫ ⁷ .ܫܦܝ
ܐ ⁸ .ܐܬܐ
ܐ .ܫܦܝ
ܫ ⁹ .ܐܬܐ
ܫ ¹⁰ .ܫ
ܫ ¹¹ .ܫ
ܫ ¹² .ܫ
ܐ ¹³ .ܫ
ܫ ¹⁴ .ܫ
ܫ ¹⁵ .,ܫ
ܫ ¹⁶ .ܫ
ܫ ¹⁷ .ܫ
.ܫ .ܫ

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[17]ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܕܗ ܕܬܫܒܚܘܢܝ
[18]ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ
ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ
[19]ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ
ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ
[20]ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ
ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ
[21]ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ
ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ
ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ
ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ
ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܬܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܘܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܐܚܪܢ

ODE 38.

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ[2] .ܫܒܚܝܢܠܗ ܥܡ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ ܒܠܒܗ[1]
ܕܠܐ ܫܩܝܪ ܒܦ .ܫܩܪܐ ܫܒܚ ܕܐܡܪ[a] .ܡܫܒܚ
ܫܝ ܠ ܫܡܥ .ܫܒܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܠ ܫܡܥ[3] .ܕܐܡ
ܫܡܥ ܠܐ ܠ ܫܡܥ ܫܡ ܠܐ[4] .ܫܒܚ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ
ܠ ܫܡ ܠܐ[5] .ܦܡ ܫܡ ,ܡܫܒܚ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܫܒܚ
ܒܫܡ ܫܡܥ ܠܐ[6] .ܫܡܦ ܥܡܟ ܫܒܚ ܒܕܐ
ܠܐ .ܫܒܚܥ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܠܡ ܫܡܥ .ܠ ܫܒܚܒܐ ܐܠ
.ܫܟܘܒ ܐܘܒܫ ܫܡ ܐܠ ܡ ܐܝܟ[7] .ܠ ܫܡ ܫܐ
ـܥܠܡ ܠ ܫܡ ܫܡܥ .ܠ ܫܡ ܢܫ ܠܐ ܒܫܠܒ[8]
ـ, ܡ ܫܒܥܠ[b] ܒܐܒ ـ ܡܐ ܫܒܚܐ ܫܒܚ
ـܫܒܚܟ ܒ ܫܡ ܫܐ ܐܫܟ ܡܥܠܡ[9] .ـܫܒܚ
ـܒܥܠ[10] .ـܥܡܫ ـܥܡܫ ـܫܡ ـܥܡܫ ـܫܠ
.ـܫܒܚ ـܫܥ ـܥܠ ـ ـܡ ـ ـܐ ـ ـܐ ـ ـܐ
ـܥܠ ـܥ ـ ـ ـ

ODE 35.

ܡܫܝܚܝ[1] ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ[2] ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ
ܠܐ ܐܒܕ ܠܝ ܐܬܝ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ[3] ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ
ܕܐܬܝ[a] ܕܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܗܘ[4] ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܬܝ
ܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ[5] ܕܐܬܝ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ
ܡܫܟ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ[6] ܕܐܬܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ
ܒܢܝܗ[7] ܕܐܬ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ
ܒܠܒܗ ܡܫ ܒܢܝ[8] ܕܐܬ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ
ܟܠ. ܡܫ ܒܢܝ ܕܐܬ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ

[a] Gunkel suggests ܟܚ

ODE 36.

ܟܠ. ܕܐܬܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ[1] ܕܐܬܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ
ܡܫܟ ܒܢ. ܕܐܬܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ[2] ܕܐܬܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ
ܒܢܝ[3] ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ
ܒܢܝ ,ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܝ. ܕܐܬܝ ,ܡܫܟ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܝ ,ܡܫܟ ܒܢ
ܒܝ. ܟܠܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ[4] ܟܠܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ
ܟܠ. ܟܠܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ[5] ܟܠܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ
ܡܫܟ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ. ܒܢܝ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ ܟܠ ܕܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫܟ ܒܢܝ
ܟܠ ܒܢ ,ܡܫܟ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ[6] ,ܡܫܟ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫܟ ܒܢ
ܟܠ. ܡܫ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ[7] ܟܠ ܡܫ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫ ܒܢ
ܟܠ. ܡܫ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ[8] ܟܠ ܡܫ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫ ܒܢ
ܟܠ. ܡܫ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫ ܒܢ ܟܠ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܡܫ ܒܢ

ODE 37.

ܟܠ. ܡܫ ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ܐܬ ,ܠܐ ܡܫ ,ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ܐܬ[1] ,ܠܐ ܡܫ ,ܒܢ
ܡܫ ܐܬ ,ܠܐ ܡܫ ,ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ܐܬ[2] ,ܠܐ ܡܫ ,ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ܐܬ ,ܠܐ
ܐܬ ,ܠܐ[3] ,ܡܫ ,ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ,ܐܬ ,ܠܐ ,ܡܫ ,ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ,ܐܬ ,ܠܐ
ܐܬ[4] ,ܠܐ ,ܡܫ ,ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ,ܐܬ ,ܠܐ ,ܡܫ ,ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ,ܐܬ ,ܠܐ
ܠܐ ,ܡܫ ,ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ,ܐܬ ,ܠܐ ,ܡܫ ,ܒܢ ,ܟܠ ,ܐܬ ,ܠܐ ,ܡܫ

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ODE 33.

[1] I will speak the truth of my Lord, and will not turn aside from Him; [2] for I am His, and He is mine, [3] and I am the dwelling of His rest. [4] His holy spirit I have loved, and I have run after His truth. [5] I will not be ashamed, for He is my helper. [6] I will not be afraid, for I am His. [7] Error[a] has been destroyed before Him, and darkness has been driven away from His face. [8] Ignorance has been annihilated in His presence, and forgetfulness has been destroyed in His days. [9] His knowledge is immortal, and it is in the light that it is not hidden, because He has been revealed and has been manifested to all His world, that they may be awakened and may know that they are asleep, and that He may raise the dead and give life to the mortal. [10] For His way is the truth, and in it we have walked. [11] From the beginning to the end is His knowledge, and He has given us the eternal hope which we have received from Him.

[a] Sic cod.: as Fl. suspected.

[b] Fl. suggests ⟨ⲛ⟩. I follow the MS.

ODE 34.

[1] As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, [2] so speaks in the members of the Lord His love. [3] And as the harp is inanimate, and its strings are dumb, [4] so are we also while His Spirit is not with us. [5] And as the harp is stirred, and its strings are heard, [6] so the Lord desires, and His love is diffused in us. [7] And as the harp-player runs his fingers over the strings, and they are moved, [8] so the Lord's thoughts are moved in His members, and they run to Him, and are gathered to Him, because they are not dumb. [9] And as the harp-player's thoughts are in the harp, and his fingers run over the strings, [10] so the Lord's thoughts are in His members, and His love is diffused in them, and they speak to Him.

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ODE 31.

ܒ ܫܒܚܘ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܫܒܚܘ ܠܐܒܐ ܕܒ ܐܝܬ ܒ ܕܚܝ[1]
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ[a] ܘܐܬ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܗ ܕܝܢ[2] ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܝ ܩܒܠ ܒܢܝ[3] ܘܐܬܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܒ ܕܝܢ ܕܫܠܡ ܠ
ܐܡܠ ܕܫܘ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܗ ܠܐܡܠ. ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܗ ܠܐܡܠ
ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܝܕ ܠ ܐܝܢ ܕܐܝ ܕܫܘ ܫܠ ܠ ܐܝܢ[4]
ܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ. ܘܩܒܠ ܕܝܢ[5] ,ܐܡܪ ,ܘܐܝܬ
ܫܠܡ ܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ[6] ܐܝܟ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܘܐܝ ܠ
ܐܝ ܒ ܐܝ ܕܫܘ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕ ܐܝ ܕܫ ܐܝ. ܕܫܘ
ܕ ܐܝ ,ܫܘ ܕ ܐܡ ܠ ܐܝ ܕ[7] ܕܫܘ ܕ
ܐ ,ܫܘ ,ܕ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ[8]
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ[9]
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ[10]
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ[11]
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ

[a] Sic cod.

ODE 32.

ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ[1]
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ[2]
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ

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ODE 29.

ܐ ܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܩܕܡ[2] ܕܡ ܒܡܫܒ ܠܐ ,ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ[1]
ܩܕܡ[3] .ܠ ܕܡ ܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܡܗܝܠ ܩܕܡ .ܡܫܒ
ܫܒܘܩܐ[4] .ܡܫܒ ,ܡܫܒ ܒܗ ܐܬܐ ܩܕܡ .ܡܫܒ ,ܡܫܒ
.ܡܫ ܟܗܢܐ ܡܫܒ ܦܡ ܒܟ .ܠܐܠ ܫܡܫܒ ܒ
ܐ ܒܫܒܬ[6] .ܡܗܝܠ ܠܐ ܫܒܚܬ ܒܒܐ[5]
ܡ[a] ,ܐܡ[7] .ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ,ܠ ܐܡܪ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܝܟ ܫܡܫ
.ܡܗܝܠ ܐܝܠܐ ܐ ܫܡ ܠ ܐܡܪ .ܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܫ[a]ܡ
[8]ܐ .ܡܫ ܐܝܟ ܐ .ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
[9]ܐ .ܡ ܐ ܐ ܐ .ܡ ܐ ܐ
ܫ[10] .ܡ ܐ ܐ .ܡ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܩܕ ܐ .ܡ ܐ ܐ .ܐ ܐ
ܡ ܐ .ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ[11] .ܐ ܡ
ܐ .ܡ ܐ ܐ

[a–a] We should perhaps read ܐ ܫ

ODE 30.

ܐ[1] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
.ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ[2] ܐ ܐ .ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ[3] .ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
.ܡ ,ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ .ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ[4] ܐ ܐ ܐ .ܡ ܐ[5] ܐ
ܐ ܐ[6] .ܐ ܐ ܐ .ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ,ܐ[7] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
.ܐ ܐ

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ODE 28.

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܫܒܚܐ .[b]ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠ[b] ܕܐܡܪ ܕܟܝ[a] ܥܠ[1]
ܫܒܚܬܝ[3] .ܠܝ ܠ ܕܫܘܝܬ ܒܝ ܟܝ ܕܫܒܚ[2] .ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ
.ܒܫܡܝ[4] .ܡܫܒܚ ܕܫܘܝܬ ܕܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܥܠ .ܟܝ ܐܡܪ
ܒܫܒܚܬܐ ܐܡ ܐܦ ܡܫܡܫ ܠܐ .ܒܫܘܝܗܝ ܕܫܒ ܠܐ
ܫܠܝܚ ܟ ܫܘܝ .ܐܦ ܡܗܝ ܐܝܬ .ܫܒܚ ܫܒܚ[5] .ܡ
ܫܡܐ ܟ ܡܢ ܒܝ ܒܫܒܚ[c] ܠܐ[6] .ܫܡܥ ܟ ܐܦ .ܡܫ
ܫܡܥ[7] .ܫܠܚ ܟ ,ܒܫܒܚ ܫܒܚ ܒܫܡܗܝ .ܫܒܚ
.ܕ ܫܘܝ ܒܗܝ ܫܡܥ .ܫܡܥ ܫܒ ܟ ,ܫܒ
ܡܠܝ ܐܝܫ[8] .ܡ ,ܫ ܐܡ ܠܐ .ܒܫ ܠ ܫܡܥ ܟ
.ܠ ܒܫܠܒܗ .ܒܫ ܠܐ .ܒܫ ܐܡ ܠ .ܫܡ ܡܐ
ܫܒܠܐ[9] .ܫܒܚ ܒܝ ܡ ܟܝ ܡܢ ܒܫ ܠܐ
.ܒܗ ܡ .ܡ ܟ ܐܝ ܫ .ܠ ܫܡ ܫ .ܒ ܫ
ܒܫ ܫ ܠܐ[10] .ܫ ܫ ܒ ܫ ܠ ܫ ܠܐ
ܡ .ܫ ܫ[11] .ܒ ܫ ܫ ܟ ܫ
ܫ ,ܫ ܫ ܠܐ[12] .ܫ ܫ ܠ ܫ ܫ
ܫ ܫ ܡ ܫ[13] .ܫ ܫ ܫ ܫ
ܫ[14] .ܫ ܫ ,ܫ ܫ ܫ ܫ
ܫ ,ܫ ܫ ܟ ܫ ,ܫ ܫ ܫ ܫ
ܫ ܫ .ܫ ,ܫ ܫ[15] ,ܫ ܫ
ܫ ܫ[d] ܫ[16] ,ܫ ܫ ܫ
ܫ ,ܫ ܫ .ܫ ,ܫ ܫ[17]
ܫ ܫ ܫ[18] .ܫ ܫ
.ܫ ܫ ܫ ,ܫ ܫ .ܫ

[a] Sic cod.: as Flemming suspected.

[b–b] = ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτῶν νοσσίᾳ· cf. Luke xiii, 34.

[c] Schulthess suggests ܫ

[d] Marg. ܫ

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ܡܬܚܙܐ ܕܝܬܗ[a] ܒܝܕܗ[11] . ܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ
. ܐܡ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܟܚܕ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܝ[12] ܕܝܬܗ
ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ.

[a] Cod. ܕܝܬܗ

ODE 26.

ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ[2] . ܕܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܕܝܬܗ ܕܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܒܝܕ[a 1]
ܡܝܬ[3] . ܐܦ ܡܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ . ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܝܬܗ
ܡܐ ܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ[4] . ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܝܬܗ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ,. ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ
ܕܐܡܪ . ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ, ܒܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ
[5] ܒܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܕܐܫܬܟܚ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܢܐ ,. ܦ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܫܬܟܚ
ܒܗ[6] . ܕܐܢܐ ,. ܦ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܢܐ[7] ܒܗ
. ܐܦ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ
. ܐܡ ܕܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܐܢ . ܕܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ[8] ܐܢܐ
ܐܢܐ ܐܢ[10] . ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ . ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢ[9]
ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ[11] . ܐܢܐ ܒܗ ܐܢܐ . ܐܢܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ
ܐܢܐ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ[12] . ܕܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܢܐ
ܐܢܐ ܐܢ ܐܢ[13] . ܐܢܐ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ . ܐܢܐ
ܐܢ ܐܢ[14] . ܐܢܐ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ . ܐܢܐ ܐܢ
ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ . ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐ ܐܢ
ܐ ܐܢ.

[a] Charles suggests ܐܫܬܟܚ (I will pour), which is an improvement.

ODE 27.

ܐܢ ,ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ[2] . ,ܐ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܐ ܐ[1]
ܐ, [3] . ܐ ,ܐ ܐ ,ܐ ,ܐ ,

ܕܫܪܝܪ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܫܠܡ[6] . ܕܐܡܪ ܒܝ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ
ܕܐܡܪ ܒܝ[7] . ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ,ܡܫܬܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܫܠܡ
ܕܐܡܪ[d] ܠ ܐܫܬ ܐܢܐ ܫܠ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ . ܐܡܪ ܐܫܬ ܐܢܐ
ܕܐܡܪ . ܐܡܪ ܕܫܘܛܐ ܐܝܟ[8] . ܟܠ ܐܢܐ
ܕܫܪܪ ܒܝ ܫܪܪ ܟܠ[9] . ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܠ ܐܢܐ
ܐܡܪ . ܫܠ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܫܠ ܐܡܪ
ܡܐ[10] . ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܫܠ ,ܐܡܪ .
ܡܫܬܪ ,ܐܡ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢܐ ,ܐܡܪ ,ܐܡܪ .
ܡܫܬܪ .

[d] Cod. ܐܢܐ

ODE 25 [= *Pistis Sophia*, pp. 148—153].

ܐܢܐ[2] .,ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ,ܐܡܪ ܒܝ ܫܠܡ[1]
ܐܡܪ ܫܠ[3] . ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ,ܐܢܐ ,ܡܫܬܪ ܐ ܐܡܪ[4] . ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ
ܫܠ[5] . ܐܡܪ ܐ ܐܡܪ ܐ ,ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܐ
ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܐ ,ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܐ ,ܐܡ ܐܡܪ
ܐܝܟ[7] . ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ . ܐܡ ܒܝ ܐܡܪ ܐ ܐܡܪ[6] . ܐܝܟ
ܐ ܐܡ ܐ ܐܡ ܫܠ . ܐܡ ܒܝ ܐܡܪ ,ܐܡ ܒܝ ܐ
ܐܡ ܐ ܐܡ ܐ[8] . ܐܝܟ ܐ ܐܡ ܫܠ
ܐ ܐܡ . ܐ ܐܡ ܐ ܐ[9] . ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ[10] . ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ

ܡܫܒܚ ܟܠܡ ܒܝ ܟܒܝܫܐ[11] . ܡܠܝ ܒܗܡ ܟܒܝܫܐ . ܡܒܠܚ
ܟܠܝܠ ܟܠܡ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ[12] . ܟܒܘܝܕܝܐ ܟܒܚܠܐ
ܟܠܬܐܡ ܒܠܒ ܟܪܥܐ[13] . ܠ ܟܡܦܚܐ ܠ ܒܗܡ ܟܝ
. ܟܪܬܠ ܟܬ ܒܝܢ ܒܝܒܐ ܟܒܝܡ ܒܝܒܠ . ܐܡ
ܠܐ . ܟܠܝ ܒܠ ܟܝ ܒܝ[14] . ܟܒܒܚ ܟܘܝܢ ܒܝܒܐ
ܟܡ ܟܒܝ ܒܝܒ . ܟܠܝ ܒܠܡ ܠܝ ܟܡ
ܟܫܪ ܐܝܒܒ ܠܐ . ܟܝܡܐ ܒܗܡ ܟܒܝ[15] . ܡܠܝ
. ܠܒܝ ܟܝ[a] ܡܝ ,ܫܒ[16] . ܟܒܝܒ ܡܠ
ܫܡ ܒܠܐ ܒܝ[17] . ܟܡ ܟܪ ܒ ܟܝ ܟ
ܡܠ ܡ ܐܝ[18] . ܟܬ ܟܫ ܟܫ ܡ ܒܠ
ܒܡ[19] . ܐܒܒ ܡ ܒ ܡ . ܐ
ܟܠ ܡ ܟ ܟ . ܟ ܟ ܡ
ܟ ܡ ,ܡ ܟ[20] . ܡ
ܟ . ܐ

[a] Barnes suggests ܟܒ, as if ܟ were repeated from the previous word.

ODE 24.

ܒܝ ܟ ܒ ܠ . ܟ ܒ ܠ[a] [1]
ܐ ܟ[2] . ,
ܐ ܠ . [3] .
ܒ ܐ[b] .
[4] . ܠ
ܐ[5] . [c] ܠ .
, ܐ .

[a] = ἐπέπτη, cf. Gen. i. 3 (ܟ) [b] Cod. ܐ
[c] Cod. ܟ ut videtur.

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ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠ ܠܗ[10] ܟܝܢ ܕܐܢܬ ܫܪܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ.
ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܫܪܝܬ ܠܗ[11] ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܫܪܝܬ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ.
ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܒܠ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܒܠ ܠܗ ܠܥܘܬܪܗ ܕܝܠܗ.
ܘܠܐ ܢܬܦܓܪ ܠܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܒܠ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ[12] ܕܝܠܗ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬ ܫܪܝܬ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ. ܗܠܠܘܝܐ.

ODE 23.

ܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫܐ ܘܐܫܒܚ ܠܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܝܐ[1]
ܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫܐ ܘܐܫܒܚ ܠܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܝܐ.
ܕܗܐ ܐܬ ܐܝܬ ܒܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ[2] ܘܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܬ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ
ܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫܐ ܘܐܫܒܚ ܠܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܝܐ.
ܕܗܐ ܐܬ ܐܝܬ ܒܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ[3] ܘܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܬ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ
ܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܪܘܚ ܩܕܫܐ ܘܐܫܒܚ ܠܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܝܐ.
ܕܗܐ ܐܬ ܐܝܬ ܒܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ

ODE 21.

ܐ[1] ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܟ ܘܐܬܦܬܚ ܠܟ ܕܟܝ ܐܬ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܘ

ܠܐ ܡܫ ܒܝܕ ܠܐ .ܒܘܡ ܒܪܚܡܘܗ ܡܢ ܠܐ
.ܡܫܡܫܐ ܒܪܠܐ[9] .ܡܫܟ ܒܝܠ ܡܝܐ ܥܡ .ܫܡܫ
ܒܝܠܐ .ܡܫܝܐܟ[c] ܒܫܡܫ[10] .ܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܒܢܐ
ܟܬܒܬܐ. ܢܐ ܡܫܝܐ ܒܪܐ .ܡܠܐ.

[c] Cod. ܟܬܝܐ

ODE 20.

ܡܠܐ .ܡܪ ܐܬ ܡܢ ܐܦ ܡܠܐ .,ܒܪ ܡܝܐ ܡܫܐ[1]
ܥܡ ܝܟ ܒܘܡ ܠ[2] .ܫܒܚܬܐ ܡܝܐ ܢܐ ܕܝܐ
ܐܠܐ ܥܡ ܠܐ .ܫܒܚܬ ܡܫܐ ܟܐ ܠܐ .ܡܠܐ
.,ܘ ܡܫܢܐ ܡܝܐ ܢܝܐ[3] .ܒܪܝܟ ܟܫܝܡ ܠܐ
.ܡܢܐ ܠܐ ܥܒܠܐ ܢܝ[4] .ܡܫܐܟܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܢ
ܥܠܡ, ܠ ܥܟܐ .ܡܐ ܐܠܐ ܠ ܥܒܝ
ܠܐ .[a]ܥܟܐ ܡܐ[a] ܡܝܐ ܢܐ ܥܡ ܠ[5] .ܐܐ
ܡܫܟܫܟ, ,ܡܝܝܫ ܠܐ[6] ܥܒܝ ܠܒܐ ܠ ܒܐ
.ܡܐ ܠ ܡܝܐ ܫܒܚ ܡ ܐܐ[7] .ܫܝܐ
ܥ ܟܫ[8] .ܫܠ ܒ ܠܐ ܥ ܐܐ ܡܟܫ ܠ
ܥܒܐ ܫܒܚ ܥ ܫܟܒ ܥ .ܟܫܟ ܡܝ
ܒ ܫܒܚ ܒ ܟܫ[9] .ܡܫܟ ܥܒ
.ܫܒܚ ܡܫܟ ܡܝܐ .ܫܐ ܠ ܫܒ
.ܡܠܐ .ܫܐ ܡܝ ܡܫܟ

[a–a] The MS. has ܥܟܐ ܡܐ, which is clearly corrupt: but ܥܟ is repeated by an eye-error from the previous line, and the correction of ܡܐ to ܡܝ is obvious and easy.

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ܐܠܐ[10] ܕܚܝܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܬܚܠܝ. ܡܐ ܒܗ[9]
ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܬܚܙܝܡܐ. ܘܚܝܪ ܐܠܒܫܐ, ܡܐܢܐ
ܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܐܠܐ[12]. ܟܝ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܠ[11]
ܟܝ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ[14]. ܟܝ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܐܚܕ ܠܥܠ ܐܠܐ[13]
ܒܫܠܡ ܕܝܥܬܐ[15]. ܐܝܬ ܡܐܢܐ ܟܝ ܐܬܐ. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ
ܒܐܬܪܐ ܟܝ ـܐܡ ܐܚ ܐܢܐ[16]. ܒ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ
ܐܬܠܒܫ ܐܠܐ[17] ܐܬܫܘܒܚܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܡܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܝܕ.
ܐܬܠܚܐ[18]. ܐܝܬ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܐܡܐ ܐܠܐ ـ ܡܡܫܟܢܬ
ܠܐ ܡܠܐ ـ ܐܡܐ[19]. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܫܠܡ ܐܡܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܬܡܠܝ ܡܠ ܐܝܟ
ܒܐܬܪܐ ܐܬܫܘܒܚ. ܐܝܬ ـ ܐܡܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܟ ܐܝܟ
ܐܬܡܠܐ. ܡܐܢܐ ܠܡܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ.

ODE 19.

ܐܬܫܠܡ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕ. ܐܝܬ ܐܬܠܒܫ ܐܠܗ ܐܡܐ[1]
ܐܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܡܐ, ܡܐܢܐ ܐܡܐ ܐܝܟ[2]. ܐܝܬ ܐܬܚܙܝ
ܐܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ, ܡܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ. ܐܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܚܙܝ[3]. ܐܡ
ܒܫܦܐ[4]. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܡܐ ܐܡܐ ܡܐ[a]
ܐܬܐ, ܡܐܬܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܘܒܚ ܐܬܐ ܐܝܟ
ـܐܡܐ[5]. ܐܝܬ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܐ ܒܫܘܒܚ.
ܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܐܠܐ ܒܗ[b6]. ܐܬܐ ـ ܐܝܟ ܒܐܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ
ܐܬܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܐܡܐ ܒܫܘܒ. ܒܫܠ ܒܫܘ ܐܬܚܙܝ
ܐܠܐ[8]. ܒ ܐܡܐ ܐܬ ܐܝܟ ܐܬ ܒܫ ܒܫܠ[7]. ܐܬܚܙ

[a] Cod. ܐܠ. Diettrich and Flemming retain the MS. reading.

[b] Barnes suggests ܐܡܐ, which might answer to the 'infirmatus est' of Lactantius: but query, as the passage would still be unintelligible. Batiffol-Labourt suggest an original *ἐπέπτη*. Cf. Gen. i. 2: in which case we should have to add ܐ before ܒܫܘܒ.

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[a] B.-L. suggest that ܠ should be added.
[b–b] Something wrong here: perhaps ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
[c] Marg. ܫܬܘܩ .ܓ i.e. one copy reads ܫܬܘܩ instead of ܫܬܘܫ

ODE 18.

[a] Cod. ܒܕܘܢ [b–b] Cod. ܠܐ ܡ

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ܘܐܬ ܠܝܫܥ ⁵ ܕܠ ܐܬܝ ܐܢ ܕܠ ܐܬ ⁴ ܕܐܬ ܠܝ ܐܬ ⁶ ܕܐ ܠ ܐܢ ܕܐܬ ܐܢ ⁷ ܕܐ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰

ODE 17.

¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵

ܥܡܐ[9] . ܪܝܫ ܥܡܪܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ
ܒ ܗܠܝܟ ܠܥܠ ܫܡܝܐ . ܠܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܥܡܪܝܬ ܐܡܪ
. ܐܠܗܐ ܒ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܝ ܥܡ ܐܦ ܗܘܐ

ODE 15.

. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܥܠ ܐܦ ܐܚܘܬ ܐܡܪܬ ܐܝܟ[1]
, ܡܫܠܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܟ[2] . ܐܦ ܐܝܟ , ܚܘܬ ܐܡܪ
ܗܘܐ[3] . ܩܪ ܒ ܐܫܐܠ ܠ ܐܝܟ ܡܝܡܐ . ܐܫܬܡܥ
ܐܬܐ ܠ ,ܐܡ[4] . ܐܡܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘܝ ܐܬܐ ܡ
ܗܢܝܚܐ . ܐܚܬܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠ ܗܘܡ[5] . ܡܝܐ ܗܢܝܚ
ܗܫܘ ܡܐ ܗܘ . ܗܢܝ ܐܚܢܢ ܐܝܢ[6] . ܡܐ
ܒܟ ܡܫܡܫ ܥܡܪ[7] . ܐܫܡܥ ܠ ܐܢ ܐܝܢ
ܠܐ ܠܐ ܗܢܝ[8] . ܐܡܪ [a]ܡܫܝܚ ܗܢ[a] ܥܡܪ
ܐܫܡܥ ܐܚܢܢ[b9] . ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܫܬ ܗܘ . ܡܐ
ܡܐ ܥܡ[10] ,ܗܠܟ ܗܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܐ . ܐܝ ܒ ܐܡ
,ܡܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܐܚܢܢ[11] . [c]ܐܚܢ ܠ ܐܡ[c] ܐܝܟ
, ܡܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ
. ܐܠܗܐ

[a—a] = μεγαλοπρέπεια. [b] = τὸ θνητόν. [c—c] = ζωὴ ἀθάνατος.

ODE 16.

ܐܠܦܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ . ,ܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚ ܐܝܟ[1]
ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܝܬܝ , ܚܝ ܒܟ ܐܡܪ[2] . ܐܠܗ ܗܝ[a]
ܠܐ[3] . ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܫܬ ,ܗܘܝ . ܡܫܝܚܐ
, ܡܝ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ ,ܐܫܐ ,ܐܫܬ ܐܡ ܠ ܐܝ ܡܝ

[a] Schulthess emends to ܗܝ

ܐܦܪܝܡ[d] ܀ ܥܡ ܪܥܐ ܒܢܝ ܐܬܬ ܠܝ ܒܝ ܠܡ ܐܠܗܐ
ܥܡ ܕܝ ܀ ܥܠ ܐܬܬ ܒܝ ܐܬܪ ܥܡ ܐܬܪ[10] ܀ ܐܬܟܠ ܒܝ
ܒܠܫ ܀ ܐܬܝ ܐܬܬ ܡܢ ܀ ܥܡ ܠܐ ܐܠ ܐܬܪ ܀ ܐܬܐ
ܐܬܝ ܒܝ ܐܬܟܠ ܒܝ ܐܬܬ[11] ܀ ܐܬܐ ܐܬ ܐܬ
ܐܬ ܐܬ ܠܥ ܀ ܥܡ[12] ܀ ܐܡ ܐܬ ܐܬ ܀ ܐܡ
܀ ܐܠܠ ܀ ܐܬ ܐܬ ܐܠ ܐܬ ܀ ܐܬ ܠ ܐܬ ܐ

[d] Cod. add. in marg.

ODE 13.

܀ ܐ ܠܥ ܥܡ ܐܬ ܐܬ ܀ ܐ ܐܬ ܀ ܒܥ ܐ[1]
ܐ ܐ ܐ[2] ܀ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܀ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ[3] ܀ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ[a] ܀ ܐ[a] ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ

[16]ومن محبتك لم يكن شيء. وقبل أن تكون الأشياء عرفتها. [17]وأكملت الكل بمشورتك. وبإرادتك أتت إلى الوجود. [18]وما لم تكن أنت أردته. ولم تخفِ عنك أفكار. [19]وأمام عينيك كانت الأشياء كلها. ولم يكن شيء يعجزك. [20]أنت هو الكل قبل أن يكون. وأنت تعرف الكل قبل أن يأتي إلى الوجود. [b21]وكل ما خلقت لم تخلقه إلا بالكلمة.

[b] Sic cod.

ODE 12.

[1]مجد لرأسي الكلمة. وليدي الكلمة. ويدي الكلمة. وقدمي الكلمة. [2]وقلبي الكلمة. ولساني الكلمة. وشفتي الكلمة. وكل ما فيّ الكلمة. [3]لأن الكلمة هو الذي يتكلم بي. [4]وهو الذي يسمع. وهو الذي يفكر. وهو الذي يتنفس. وهو الذي يتكلم. وهو الذي يحمل. وهو الذي يتحرك. وهو الذي يتأمل. وهو الذي يعمل. [5]وهو الذي يتألم. [a]وهو الكلمة الذي هو ابن الرب. [6]وهو الذي يتألم. وهو الذي يموت. وهو الذي يقوم. وهو الذي يصعد. وهو الذي يجلس. [7]وهو الذي يملك. [b]وهو الذي يحكم. وهو الذي يدين. [c]وهو الذي يذهب إلى الأعماق. وهو الذي يتسلط. [8]وهو الذي يخلق. وهو الذي يصنع. [9]وهو الذي يعطي. وهو الذي يأخذ. وهو الذي يرسل. وهو الذي يستقبل.

[a] Apparently the Ode has two different renderings of λόγος.
[b] Sic cod. but read ومالك
[c] It would be better to read وديان

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ܕܚܫܘܟ ܕܚܕܝܬ ܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܠܐ ܕܫܒܚ[a] ܕܝܩܪܟ
ܕܝܩܪܟ ܫܪ ܕܐܠܗ[8] ; ܐܡܪ ܠ ܕܝܠܝ ܕܚܒܝܒ
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠ ܠܠܒܘܫ.

[a] Read ܫܒܚ

ODE 11.

ܐܡܪ .ܕܚܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܒܝܕ .ܫܡܥ ,ܫܘܡܪ ܠ ܐܝܠܝ[1]
.ܕܝܢ ܫܘܝ ܐܝܕ ܠܝ ܕܚܝܢ[2] .ܕܝܠ ܝܕ
ܠ ܒܘܡ[3] .ܫܡ ܡ ܐܠܗ ,ܒܠܒ ܫܠ ܕܝ
ܕܝܘܪ .ܫܐܠ ܕܝܘܪ ܒܠܫ .ܕܝܐ ܫܠ
.ܫܒ ܒܫ ܕܚܝܢ ܕܚܕ ܕܚܝ[4] .ܝܕ
.ܫܐ ܐܢ ܕܟ .ܝܕ ܕܐ ܠ ܒܝܒ[5]
ܠ ܝܕ ܫܐ ܫܐ ,ܒܫ ܠܒ ܐܒ ܠܝ[6]
.ܫܒ ܠ ܝܕ ܒ ܒ ܒܘ ܒܫ[7] .ܫ
.ܕܒ ܒ ܠ ,ܒ[8]
.ܫܐ ܐ ܠ ,ܫ ,ܫ[9]
ܫ .ܒ ܠ ܕ ܕ[10] .ܐ
ܕ ,ܒ ܠ ܐ[11] .ܠ
ܒ ܠ ܐ[12] .ܫ
ܒ .ܠ ,ܒ[13] .ܐ
.ܐ ,ܒ[14] .ܐ
ܐ ܠ[15] .ܐ
ܠ ܐ .ܫ .ܐ
.ܐ ,ܫ .ܐ

[a] We should probably read ܫܒܚ

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ODE 9.

ܚܕܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܣܡ ܘܐܠܠ ܠܗ ܐܚܝܢ ܕܫܘܚܐ[1]
ܕܡܬܟܝ ܟܝܢܐ ܡܚܟܡ[2] . ܐܝ ܕܐܠ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܟܕ
ܒܝ ܡܢܝ[3] . ܡܫܬܐ ܠ ܬܫܡܥ ܟܠܡܐ ܟܠܡܐ
ܟܠܐ . ܠܐܠ ܟܝܢ ܡܫܟܝܗ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܟܝܢ
. ܟܕ ܟܡܠ ܕ ܐܝܟ[4] ܕܐܠ ܕܫܠ ܡܫܟ
. ܡܫܐܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܠܡ[5] . ܟܝܢ ܡܫܟܝ ܐܠ
ܕܡܠ[7] . ܡܫ[a] ܠܗ ܟܠ ܒܝ ܟܕ [a6]
. ܡܫ ܕ ܠܡ . ܟܝ ܕ ܠ ܟ ܕ
ܟܠ[8] ܕ ܐܝ ܕ ܕ ܕ ܕ
ܡ ܟ ܕ ܠ . ܡ ܟ ܟ ܠ
ܠ ܒ ܟ . ܟ ܕ ܐ[9] ܕ
ܐ[11] . ܡ ܕ ܐ ܟ[10] . ܡ ܟ
ܐ ܠ ܕ[12] . ܟ ܟ [b] ܡ ܟ
ܐ ,ܡ ܟ ܒ[13] . ܡ ܐ
. ܟ ܕ ܐ ܕ .

[a–a] = εὐαγγελίζω γὰρ ὑμῖν εἰρήνην· cf. Is. lii. 7. [b] Sic cod.

ODE 10.

ܒ ܐ . ܡ ܐ ܕ ܡ . ܡ ܟ ܟ ܕ ܟ[1]
. ܡ ܟ ܠ ܐ ܕ[2] . ܟ ܟ ,ܡ ܕ
ܟ ܠ . ܡ ܠ ܟ ܠ ܟ ܠ[3]
ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ[4] . ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ
. ܒ ܟ ܠ . ܟ ܕ ܡ ܟ ܕ ܠ[5] . ܟ ܠ
ܠ ܟ[7] . ܡ ܕ ܟ ܒ ܟ[6]

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ܕܝܕܝ ܒܗ ܠܗ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܐ .ܡ ܒܗ ܒܗ ܕܝܕܝ.
ܒ ܒܗ ܥܠ ܠܗ ܒ ܕܡ ܕܡܐ ܒ[8]ܒ
ܠ[10] .ܕܝܕܝ ܡܒ ܠܗ ܒ[9]ܒ ܕܝ ܕܝ ܒ
ܒ[a]ܠ ܠ .ܒ ܒ ܠܗ ܕܝ ܕܝ ܒ ܕ ܒ
ܒ[11] ܠܗ ܕܝ ܕܡ ,ܕܝ ܒ ܒ ܕ
ܕ[13] .ܡ ܒ[12] .ܡ ,ܒ ,ܒ
ܕ[14] .ܠ ,ܕ ,ܒ
.ܠ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܠ[15] .ܡ
ܒ[16] ܒ ,ܡ ,ܡ ,ܡ
ܕ[17] ,ܕ ,ܕ ,ܕ
,ܡ ,ܡ ,ܡ
ܡ[b18] .ܡ ,ܡ
ܡ[19] ,ܡ ,ܕ
ܕ[20] .,ܡ ,ܡ
.ܡ ,ܕ[21] ,ܡ
ܕ[c22] .ܡ ,ܡ
.ܕ ,ܡ ,ܡ
.ܕ[d] ܕ[23] .ܡ ,ܡ
ܒ[25] .ܕ ,ܡ .ܡ
,ܡ ,ܡ[26] .ܡ
.ܡ ,ܡ

[a] Cod. ex errore ; unless 'clothing' should mean the human body, the 'coat of skin.'

[b] = ἐὐδόκησα as in Matt. iii. 17.

[c] Sic cod. [d] Cod.

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ܫܒܚܘ ܥܠܝ ܟܡܐ[17]. ܐܠܗܝܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܡܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܠܗ
ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ[18]. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܪܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܟܡܬܐ. ܡܝܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܠ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ. ܐܡܪ ܥܠܡ
ܠܡܠܟ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܠ. ܕܐܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܟܡܬܐ[19]
ܕܐܠ ܫܪܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ[20]
ܥܠ ܟܠ ܕܪ ܕܪ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ[h]. ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܬܝ
ܠܡܠܟ ܕܐܠ[21]. [h]ܫܠܡ, ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ, ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܐܠ[22]
ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܬܐ ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܠ. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܫܡ
ܕܐܠ ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ[23]. ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܬܝ ܐܢ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ[24]. ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܬܝ ܐܢ
ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ[25]. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚ[26]. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܐܠ[27] ; ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ [i]ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝ[i] ܐܡܪ ; ܡܫܝܚ
ܐܝܟ ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚ ܐܠ ; ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚ ܐܠ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚ ; ܐܠ ܡܫܝܚ ܐܠ. ܡܫܝܚ ܒܫ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ[28]
ܡܫܝܚ. ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܐܠ ; ܡܫܝܚ ܐܠ. ܡܫܝܚ ܒܫ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ[29]
ܡܫܝܚ.

h–h = κιθάρα πολύφωνος. i–i = μεγαλοπρέπεια.

ODE 8.

ܫܠܡܐ[2]. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ; ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ[1]
ܐܝܟ ܡܫܝܚ[3]. ܫܠܡ ; ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܠ ; ܡܫܝܚ
ܡܫܝܚ ; ܐܠ ; ܐܠ ; ܐܠ

ܠܚܬܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܒܗ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܠܥ ܐܠܗܐ[17] ܕܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܠܥ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܡܢ ܚܝܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܥ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܠܠܘܝܐ.

ODE 7.

ܡܠܝ ܕܚܝܐ ܗܘ. ܕܚܠܠ ܚܠ ܕܚܝܐ ܡܠܝ ܫܪ[1]
ܕ[a]ܐܬܚܠܝ ܐܠ[a] ܚܠ ܡܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܠ. ܕܚܝܐ ܚܠ ܕܚܝܐ
ܕܚܝܐ ܒܝܢ ܫܪ ܗܘ. ܡܚܠ ܠܡܝ ܐܡ ܕܚܝ ,ܚܝ[2]
ܐܠ[c] ܡܢ ܢܚܢ ܕ[b]ܚܝ ܠ ܚܝ ܒܢ ܕܚܝ[b3]
ܚܝ[d]. ܡܚܝ ܡܚܝ ܒܢ ܡܚܝ ܡܚܠܨ[4]. [c]ܕܚܝ
ܒܚܝ ܕܚܝ[6] ,ܡܫܒ ܠܐ ,ܚܝ ,ܚܝ[5]
ܠܐ. ܡܚܝ ܕ ܚܝ ܐ[7] ,ܡܫ ,ܚܝ ,ܚܝ
ܫܪ ,ܡܫ ܠܐ ܕܚ ܕ ܫܪ[8]. ܒܝ ,ܚ
ܕܚ ܡܚ[9]. ܡ ܫ ,ܐ ܚ ,ܚܝ
ܐ ܒ[10]. ܕܚ ܐ ܕ ,ܚ
ܒ ܕ. ܕܚ ܐ[11] ,ܡ ,ܒ ,ܕ
ܕ ܡ[12]. ܕ ܚ ,ܕ ,ܚ
ܠ[13]. ܡܚ[e] ,ܒ ,ܚ ,ܕ ,ܚ
ܐ ,ܡ[f]ܚ ,ܡ ,ܕ ,ܚ[f]. ,ܡ
ܠ[15] [g]ܐ ,ܡ[14] ,ܚ ,ܐ ,ܚ
ܒ ,ܐ ,ܚ ,ܐ ,ܚ ,ܐ ,ܚ
ܡ[16]. ,ܐ ,ܐ

[a–a] = ἀκωλύτως.

[b–b] Apparently an attempt to translate *βοηθὸν γὰρ ἔχω τὸν Κύριον.*

[c–c] = ἀφθόνως. [d] Sic cod.

[e] *θυσία*, for which Nestle proposes to read *οὐσία*.

[f-f] = ἄφθαρτος and cf. Rom. i. 23 ܕܠ ܚܒܫ ܕܠ

[g-g] = *τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ* as in Joh. i. 11.

Ode 6, v. 17. The Syriac 'lived by,' answers to the Coptic 'were saved by': the Greek being *ἐσώθησαν* or *ἐσώζοντο διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς.*

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ܕܫܪܝܘ ,ܒܝܬܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܬܪ ܒܗ ܓܒ[8] .ܕܐܬܝܒܘ ܕܝ
ܠ ܐܡܪ .ܕܥܒܕ ܐܬܪ ܕܫܠ ,ܡܢܝܢ ܥܠ ܕܥܒܕ ܠ[9]
ܐܪܥ ܒ ܒܝ ܐܝܬ[10] .ܕܐܬ ܡܠ ܘ ܥܡ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܬܬܒܢܝܢ
ܐܬ[d] ܕܡܠ ܥܡ .ܕܐܝܬ ܡܠ .ܕܐܬ ܡܠ ܒ
ܒ ܐܬܝ ,ܡܠ ܐܬ[11] .[d]ܕܐܝܬ ܒ
ܥܡ ,ܡܥܒܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܕܡܠ[12] .ܕܐܬ ܕܡܢ
ܐܬ[13] .,ܡܐ ܥܡ .ܕܐܬ
ܡ ܐܬ[14] .ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ,ܒ ܐܬ .ܕܐܬ
ܥܡ ܡܠ ܐܬ[15] .ܒ ܥܡ ܐܬ ,ܥܡ
ܐ ܕܡܬ[f] ܠ ܐܬ[f16] .[e]ܐܡܪ ܥ[e]

[d–d] Read ܐܬ ܐܝܬ ܒ (ἐπὶ ἐρήμῳ διψώσῃ Is. xxxv. 1) and cf. Copt. infra.

[e–e] Double translation of ἀνώρθωσαν (cf. Heb. xii. 12).

[f–f] = ἴσχυσαν (Is. xxxv. 3).

Ode 6, v. 8. I should suggest an emendation to the Syriac, ܒܕܪ for ܒܕܐ, but it is not borne out by the Coptic, which has in the Targum 'et duxit eos super templum,' and in the text 'et conversa est super templum.' 'Duxit' would answer to the Syriac ܒܕܐ, but an object to the verb is wanting. Probably the missing word is ܐܬ.

v. 9. The Coptic text suggests that a line has dropped in the Syriac: the comment has 'haud potuerunt capere eam [loca] clausa neque loca aedificata,' and the text has 'non potuerunt eum capere in locis munitis et aedificatis.'

v. 10. There seems to be a slight displacement in the Syriac; for the Coptic Targum has 'biberunt versantes in arena arida,' and the text has 'biberunt qui habitabant in arena arida.'

v. 13. The Coptic shows some variation: the comment has 'acceperunt vigorem in me hi qui sunt soluti,' and the text has 'accipiebant gaudium cordis, qui soluti erant.'

v. 16. The Syriac has παρουσία where the Coptic has παρρησία. Neither Greek word makes very easy reading. Perhaps the Greek was παρέσει αὐτῶν or παραλύσει αὐτῶν, in which case we translate 'they received strength for their paralysed state and light for their [darkened] eyes.' Cf. Is. xxxv. 3, 5.

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ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ[4]
ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ[5]
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ[6] ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ[7] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ[8] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ[9] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ[10] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ[11] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ[12] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩ ⁘ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ

ODE 6 [= *Pistis Sophia*, pp. 131—135].

ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓ[1] ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ
ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ[2] ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ
ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ
ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ
ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ

ODE 4.

ܠܐ[1] ܕܐܬ ܥܠ ܫܦܝܪ ܚܫܘܟ[a] ܠܐ ܕܐܬ ܥܠ ܫܦܝܪ ܚܫܘܟ[a] ܠܐ[1]
ܕܐܬ ܥܠ ܫܦܝܪ ܚܫܘܟ[a] ܠܐ[1]

ܠܐ[1]

ODE 1.

[=*Pistis Sophia* 116 (tr. Schmidt): *Texte u. Untersuch.* Bd. VII. pp. 37, 38.]

[Dominus super caput meum sicut corona, neque ero absque eo. Plexerunt mihi coronam veritatis, et ramos tuos in me germinare fecit. Nam non similis est coronae aridae quae non germinat; sed vivis super caput meum. Et germinasti super caput meum: fructus tui pleni et perfecti sunt, pleni salute tua.]

ODE 2.

Deest.

ODE 3.

Priora desunt.

* * * * * * * *

ܟܠܗ ܥܡܗ ܕ ܐܢܐ ܡܗܠ ܦܪܝܡܐ[a 2] .ܐܢܐ ܚܠܦ
.ܒܝܗ ܠܚܝܣ ܠܚܝܣ ܫܘܡ ܢܕ ܚܢ ܟܠ[3] ܠ. ܥܡܗ ܐܢܐ
.ܟܗܝܢ ܚܒܫ ܠܚܝܣ ܐܢܐ[4] ܠ. ܐܡܪ ܢܫ ܟ ܐܦ ܐܠܐ
ܡ ܟܣܝܐ ܟܣܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܚܒܫ[5] .ܫܝܟܝ ܕ ܐܠܐ
ܟܡܐ ܟܠ[7] .,ܫܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܐ ܡܫ ܟܣܟ[6] .ܒܥ
.ܟܣܝ ܐܝ ܫܠ ܟܣܡ ܫܠ ܟܠ ܟܣܝ
ܠܡ ܟܫ ܫܡ ܟ[8] .ܐܟܫ
ܚܢ ܐܡ[10] .ܐܝ ܟܡܟ .ܐܝ ܠܡ ܫ ܟ[9] .ܟܫ
.ܟܡ ܟܫܟ ܟ ܦ ܐܡ .ܫܟ ܟ ܠܡ ܫ
ܡܫ ,ܒ ܟ[12] .ܟܡ ܟ .ܟ[c] ܟ[b] ܠܡ[11]
ܟ ܟ ܟ .ܟ ܟ
.ܟ .ܐ[13] .ܡ

[a] Cod. prima manu ..., sed ipse correxit. [b] Cod. ...

[c] = εὐδόκησεν (cf. Matt. iii. 17).

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